# ‘Incorporate into one body torne and scattered limmes’:

## Recontextualising *Principal Navigations* within the networks of Richard Hakluyt

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## Abstract

Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589 and 1598-1600) was an enormously influential work in the development of travel writing and a formative influence on early modern English identity. Hakluyt drew on and developed a previously European mode to create his compendium, and *Principal Navigations* is now considered the prime source for sixteenth-century English travel writing, often regarded historically as an objective record. By illuminating and reconstructing the politicised textual network of creators and influences which lay behind the text and analysing the effect they had on Hakluyt's editorial techniques, this thesis offers a new understanding of the intricate and fluid negotiations which shaped English identity and English political and mercantile agency in the early modern period.

The thesis is divided into six chapters (excluding the introduction and conclusion), and thematically into two halves. The first three chapters establish the intellectual networks surrounding Hakluyt in order to place him within a wider societal context, connecting research on his personal history with textual analysis of his work. The subsequent three chapters focus more closely on the representation of specific regions in *Principal Navigations*, taking the Levant, Russia, and Newfoundland as case studies. Each chapter focuses on one of these geographic areas, and through textual and network analysis examines the effect which the community associated with the region had on Hakluyt's treatment of material in *Principal Navigations*. These two sections work to place Hakluyt and his work within wider cultural and literary contexts. While scholarship has examined his editorial approach, this has generally been within the context of individual accounts. This thesis will perform the necessary critical step of expanding that analysis to consider the text as a whole, placing both Hakluyt and his work into context.

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## Note

All references to *The principall nauigations, voiages, [traffiques] and discoueries of the English nation* have been shortened and modernised to *Principal Navigations*, for ease of reading. All other titles retain original typography and spelling, as do quotations. Short Title Catalogue numbers for printed early modern material referenced in the thesis are available in the bibliography and have only been provided in the footnotes for references to editions of *Principal Navigations*.

Access to certain materials — in particular, manuscripts — was extremely limited during my last year of doctoral research owing to the Covid-19 pandemic. Where I have been unable to examine material owing to these restrictions, I have noted so in the footnotes.

## Introduction

On 26 November 1616, Richard Hakluyt was buried in Westminster Abbey. Just seven months previously, another man — William Shakespeare — had been buried in his local church in Stratford-upon-Avon.[1] These two men, linked by almost contemporaneous life spans and separated in death by only a hundred miles, would become posthumous icons of the Elizabethan age. Hakluyt's entombment in the Abbey was a contrast to Shakespeare's less prestigious resting place, a result of Hakluyt's social standing and the reward of a lifetime's worth of religious work. However, both men have been honoured with multiple sites of commemoration within England's national cathedrals: Shakespeare with a life-size eighteenth century marble statue in Westminster Abbey and a twentieth century memorial in Southwark Cathedral; Hakluyt with a tablet and stained glass window in Bristol Cathedral.[2] Such sites of commemoration require observers to engage their own understanding of history in order to appreciate their significance within these explicitly Anglican and state-affiliated spaces. For both Hakluyt and Shakespeare, the significance of these memorials is predicated on their historiographical positioning as exemplars of 'golden age' Elizabethans. Shakespeare's Westminster statue rests his elbow on a pillar with Elizabeth I's head modelled at the bottom of the plinth, and Hakluyt's plaque in Bristol refers to his work as 'patriotic labours' and quotes him describing 'the ardent love of my country'.[3] In both cases, a connection to an England consciously framed as Elizabethan is made explicit for the observer. The connection drawn here between the

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[1] Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [*ODNB*] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11892>; Peter Holland, 'Shakespeare, William (1564–1616), Playwright and Poet', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25200>.

[2] See 'William Shakespeare', *Westminster Abbey* <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/william-shakespeare> [accessed 17 September 2020] for more detail; the eighteenth century statue was created by Peter Scheemakers, designed by William Kent, and is signed by both at the base and dated 1740.

[3] See Nicholas Penny, '"Amor Publicus Posuit": Monuments for the People and of the People', *The Burlington Magazine*, 129.1017 (1987), 793–800 for a deeper consideration of monuments in public space.

memorialisation of Hakluyt and Shakespeare is not based on any recorded personal relationship. There is no known record of the two men interacting, nor of Hakluyt ever attending a performance of any of Shakespeare's plays — although there is evidence that Shakespeare used Hakluyt's work as a source.[4] The comparison is drawn rather to highlight the posthumous construction of both men as national icons, their physical memorials speaking to these historiographical roles.[5] The effect of such memorialisation on the perception of these individuals' historic importance is particularly pertinent when considering Hakluyt, as his place in collective memory is less established than Shakespeare's, whose work is seen as integral within a cultural conception of English literature.

This thesis will offer a reading of Hakluyt's major work, *Principal Navigations*, which takes as its premise the role of accounts of travel as cultural artefacts shaped by imperatives of politics, trade and intellectual exchange. It treats *Principal Navigations* as a literary and constructed text, in order to examine the influences and editorial techniques which affected its creation. In so doing, the thesis consciously engages with the legacy of this historiographical framing of Hakluyt as an exemplary English Elizabethan, as well as the lasting effect this view has had on scholarship which attends to Hakluyt and his work. *Principal Navigations* is a key text for study of the early modern period: Hakluyt drew on and developed existing continental European modes to create the first English

[4] See Charles Frey, 'The Tempest and the New World', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 30.1 (1979), 29–41 and E.P Kuhl, 'Shakespeare and the Founders of America: The Tempest', *Philological Quarterly*, 41 (1962), 123–46 for more information on Shakespeare, Hakluyt and *The Tempest* specifically.

[5] The statue of Shakespeare dates from 1740, the Bristol stained glass 1905, and the memorial tablet 1910. The ongoing debate over public memorials in 2020 has led to an increased interest in their origins: Dr Jessica Moody writes in a think piece for *iNews* that they 'tell us far more about the times in which they were created – the views, values, hopes and anxieties of people at the time who orchestrated their construction – than they do the pasts they are supposed to represent […] They can reveal the ways in which the past is used and abused and the mythologies perpetuated through their creation'. [Serina Sandhu, 'Are Statues History? What Historians Think after the Edward Colston Monument Was Toppled', *iNews* 07 2020 <https://inews.co.uk/news/uk/statues-uk-history-edward-colston-slave-traders-pulled-down-removed-protests-443543> [accessed 17 September 2020].

compendium of travel accounts, and *Principal Navigations* is now considered a prime source for examples of early modern English travel writing. Much of the original material excerpted by Hakluyt has since been lost, making his work an exceptionally and uniquely useful source for historians, literary scholars, geographers, economists and mathematicians, amongst others. *Principal Navigations* is also of interest for scholars working outside the early modern period, as it provided inspiration for later writers as well as being an important text within imperial historiography. By illuminating and reconstructing the network of creators and influences which lay behind *Principal Navigations*, this thesis offers a new understanding of the intricate and fluid negotiations which shaped English identity and political and mercantile agency in the early modern period. It performs the necessary critical step of placing both Hakluyt and his work into context in order to examine the effect of objectivity created by his editorial work. In so doing, it also seeks to engage with certain problems common in Hakluyt scholarship and offer an examination of the work which addresses these issues.

There are three major issues within current scholarship attending to Hakluyt and *Principal Navigations*. The first is the legacy of the work's role within imperial historiography: combined with Hakluyt's own minimising of his editorial presence, this has led to *Principal Navigations* being treated as an objective record, an 'archive-in-print' rather than a subjective and constructed literary work. This view would likely have pleased Hakluyt; the grandeur of its title alone indicates that *Principal Navigations* was intended by its editor to appear both a comprehensive and objective record. The second issue is a tendency towards fragmentation in analysis of the work within scholarship. Studies which use *Principal Navigations* as a source for historical documentary material, for example,

often fail to take into account its literary nature.[6] Similarly, work which attends closely to the literary nature of material in *Principal Navigations* — analysis of specific accounts or events, for example — tends to do so in isolation from the rest of the compendium.[7] This problem of fragmentation is closely connected to the third problem within scholarship: accessibility. The scale of the text means that it is difficult to read in its entirety. This difficulty has been lessened by the advent of digital editions of the work, through resources such as *Early English Books Online*, but this practice in turn leads to further fragmentation, with the excerpts being further dissociated from their original context and history. There is currently no full scholarly edition of *Principal Navigations* in print: the most recent one was published in eight volumes by J. M. Dent & Co in the 1920s and is now out of print, making it expensive to acquire and impractical to rely on. A full critical edition in fourteen volumes is forthcoming with Oxford University Press, under the general editorship of Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, but the problem of scale persists.

These three problems are partly the result of the work's critical history. The first edition of *Principal Navigations* was published in 1589 by George Bishop and Ralph Newberry in London, followed nearly a decade later by a much expanded second edition which took three years to print in three separate volumes between 1598 and 1600, again in London by Bishop, Newberry and Robert Barker. Hakluyt was not the author of most of his material, but served primarily as its editor. He sourced, transcribed, and edited documents before structuring them within largely chronological geographically delineated narratives, adding marginal annotations to highlight potential points of interest for the

[6] See, for examples of works using *Principal Navigations* as a historical source (both of which will be further examined in the thesis): T. S. Willan, *The Early History of the Russia Company: 1553-1603* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968) and Percival Griffiths, *A Licence to Trade: The History of the English Chartered Companies* (London: Benn, 1974).

[7] For example, Julia Schleck, 'Forming the Captivity of Thomas Saunders: Hakluyt's Editorial Practices and Their Ideological Effects', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 129–38; Felicity Stout, '"The Strange and Wonderfull Discoverie of Russia": Hakluyt and Censorship', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 153–63; again, these will be further examined later in the thesis.

reader. Though he explicitly authored only the dedicatory material, introduction and a selection of accounts, his editorial influence affected the remainder of the text as well, and his aims for the work — to encourage investment for England's mercantile endeavours, to promote the potential of colonisation, and to further English geographical knowledge — were central within his editorial process.

*Principal Navigations* was written in its late sixteenth century context specifically to record the history of 'the English nation'. Three years after the publication of its second edition, however, the conceptualisation of this 'nation' changed significantly with the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne, complicating contemporary concepts of national identity and responsibility.[8] This shift in boundaries, and the ensuing period of uncertainty, made Elizabethan England a site of intense national nostalgia. Part of this nostalgia came from a conscious retrospective reframing of the period as one of English literary greatness: Ben Jonson's elegy to Shakespeare in 1623 worked in this vein to establish a canon of English writers heavily tilted towards Elizabethans.[9] In her analysis of the development of this 'golden age', Barbara Fuchs writes of Jonson's elegy that it coalesced 'a sense of national pride, focused on the achievements of the recent past' which in its forcefulness made clear that 'the literary excellence of England depends upon its besting someone else', thus drawing a connection between growing global power and a specifically Elizabethan English mode of literary expression.[10]

Matthew Day has written a careful study of the role that *Principal Navigations* subsequently played in affirming nationalist sentiments in the long eighteenth century,

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[8] See Rebecca Langlands, 'Britishness or Englishness? The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain', *Nations and Nationalism*, 5.1 (1999), 53–69 for more discussion on the effect of this border change on national identity.

[9] Barbara Fuchs, 'Golden Ages and Golden Hinds; or, Periodizing Spain and England', *PMLA*, 127.2 (2012), 321–27 (p. 324).

[10] Ibid. The Jonson quotation Fuchs references is from 'To the Memory of My Beloved, the Author Mr. William Shakespeare, and What He Hath Left Us', quoted from *The Norton Facsimile, the First Folio of Shakespeare*, ed. by Charlton Hinman, 2nd edn (New York: Norton, 1996), pp. 9-10: 'Triumph, my Britaine! Thou hast one to showe | To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe'.

following the 1707 Acts of Union which formalised the creation of the United Kingdom, arguing that Hakluyt's work became contemporarily significant in part because it reflected an English nation now firmly resigned to the past. *Principal Navigations* was intended to counter the contemporary perception that England trailed its rivals in terms of travel knowledge: by the eighteenth century this 'sense of inferiority had been replaced by confidence', Britain reframed within its own national narrative as world leader rather than underdog.[11] *Principal Navigations* was thus retrospectively refigured in the long eighteenth century as ahistorically representative of the beginning of this narrative, and praised accordingly.[12] This valorisation of the Elizabethan era as the beginning of the British empire thus saw the connection recognised by Fuchs become further established, with the literature of Elizabethan England closely tied to the development of imperial power.

This framing continued in scholarship into the nineteenth century: J. A. Froude famously referred to *Principal Navigations* as 'the prose epic of the modern English nation' collecting 'the heroic tales of the exploits of the great men in whom the new era was inaugurated' in an 1852 essay praising the British empire.[13] The first entry for Hakluyt in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by J. K. Laughton quoted Froude approvingly, historiographically framing Hakluyt as a key figure within the history of the British empire. Walter Raleigh's introduction to the 1905 MacLehose edition of *Principal Navigations* — one of the most commonly cited twentieth century editions — quoted Froude as its opening words, removing the line from its original ideological context to

[11] Matthew Day, '"Honour to Our Nation": Nationalism, The Principal Navigations and Travel Collections in the Long Eighteenth Century', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 77–86 (p. 85).
[12] Ibid.
[13] J. A. Froude, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', *The Westminster Review*, 2 (1852), 32–67 (p. 34); Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1867), IV, 446. More specific analysis of Froude's view of *Principal Navigations* and its effect on scholarship will be provided in later chapters.

stand as fact.[14] The iconographic importance of *Principal Navigations* critically overshadowed the content of the work itself: it was often referenced as 'Hakluyt', collapsing the editor and work into one.[15]

This quotation from Froude, much deconstructed by later twentieth and twenty-first century scholars, aptly demonstrates the danger imperial valorisation posed to literary criticism of the work.[16] Viewing *Principal Navigations* as a 'prose epic' reframes its author as an English equivalent of Homer — or, given its imperial ambitions, Virgil — a figure with great national significance, but simultaneously one whose personal life and connections can be divorced from analysis of their work. It also treats *Principal Navigations* as a monolithic entity, rather than recognising its disparate authors and influences or the nuances behind the processes of Hakluyt's editorial work. Some early twentieth-century scholars critiqued this view — most notably E. G. R. Taylor, whose *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* is still an essential text for Hakluyt scholars.[17] She wrote that Hakluyt's editorial technique 'puts the work of critical interpretation and collation entirely upon the reader', a nuanced analysis which recognised its importance to the creation of *Principal Navigations* and asserted the need

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[14] J. K. Laughton, 'Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616)', ed. by Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, 1890) <https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.013.11892>; Walter Raleigh, 'The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century', in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discovieries of the English Nation*, 12 vols (Edinburgh: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903), XII, 1–121 (p. 1). Part of the reason Froude's view gained such prominence was its quotation in Raleigh's introduction: the MacLehose edition was the most commonly available edition of the work, and scholars relied on it for context. See Colm MacCrossan, 'New Journeys through Old Voyages: Literary Approaches to Richard Hakluyt and Early Modern Travel Writing', *Literature Compass*, 6.1 (2009), 97–112 (p. 103) for more detail.

[15] For an example of this 'collapsing' process at work, see Gerhard Friedrich, 'The Genesis of Michael Drayton's Ode "To the Virginian Voyage"', *Modern Language Notes*, 72.6 (1957), 401–6: Friedrich refers to 'Hakluyt passages', 'references in Hakluyt' and '[Drayton's] reading in Hakluyt' [p. 406] and fails to mention the title of the work at all.

[16] See, for examples, David A Boruchoff, 'Piety, Patriotism, and Empire: Lessons for England, Spain, and the New World in the Works of Richard Hakluyt', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62.3 (2009), 809–58; Day, '"Honour to Our Nation"'.

[17] *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935).

for a reader of the compendium to engage in a process of sustained critical reading.[18] Another scholar who critiqued Froude's interpretation was Virginia Woolf, whose review of his *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century* encouraged readers to buy *Principal Navigations* in the Everyman rather than the MacLehose edition, recognising the influence on the latter of Froude's 'famous prejudices and opinions'.[19] For Woolf, *Principal Navigations* was a hugely significant work: she described it as the 'Elizabethan lumber room' of English literature which fuelled the development of English as a literary language.[20]

Though these scholars asserted the essentially subjective and literary nature of *Principal Navigations*, a perception of the work as being primarily a historical record persisted within twentieth-century scholarship, partly as a result of its place within this imperial narrative. In his introduction to *Voyages and Discoveries*, an edited selection from *Principal Navigations* published in 1972, Jack Beeching described the work as a crowning nationalistic achievement 'informed by the mood of the new learning […] [and] free of dogma'.[21] In order to make his edition accessible for a wider audience unfamiliar with Hakluyt or *Principal Navigations*, Beeching located the work within an assumed understanding on his reader's part of an Elizabethan 'golden age', just like those memorials to Hakluyt and Shakespeare described in the beginning of this Introduction. According to Beeching, *Principal Navigations* represented 'the English language […] visibly becoming equivalent to Shakespeare's mind'.[22] This end point of 'Shakespeare's mind' — by which Beeching meant his lexicon — acted in his work as a synecdoche for

[18] E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, (London: Methuen, 1934), p. 5.
[19] Alice Fox, 'Hakluyt's Voyages', in *Virginia Woolf and the Literature of the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 20–49 (pp. 33-6).
[20] Virginia Woolf, 'The Elizabethan Lumber Room', in *The Common Reader: Volume 1*, ed. by Andrew McNeillie (London: Vintage, 2003), pp. 39-47 (p. 43).
[21] Jack Beeching, 'Introduction', in *Voyages and Discoveries*, ed. by Jack Beeching (London: Penguin Books, 1972), pp. 9–31 (p. 12).
[22] Ibid., p. 13.

an idealised image of Elizabethan English, removing the need for a nuanced reflection on cultural development. An essential assumed difference between Shakespeare and Hakluyt is, however, clear from Beeching's framing, which treats *Principal Navigations* almost as an anthropological artefact rather than as a literary work in its own right. This view of the work thus typifies precisely the issue of critical perspective which has plagued Hakluyt scholarship.

More recent scholarship has refocused on examining the literary construction of the text, but in so doing has inclined towards the problem of fragmentation outlined earlier. There is a rich vein of scholarship examining the nuances of Hakluyt's editorial work, though the most useful work examining the textual histories and influences on the text as a whole remains the two-volume edition of *The Hakluyt Handbook.* Edited by David and Alison Quinn, the *Handbook* contains a careful chronology of Hakluyt's life alongside essays on key topics and areas in *Principal Navigations*, as well as analysis of its source material.[23] The *Handbook* is still essential reading for anyone working on Hakluyt, but it does at points reflect contemporary politics, with occasional anachronistic references.[24] Examples of more recent scholarship attending to the question of Hakluyt's editorial work include Felicity Stout on Hakluyt's censorship of Russian material in *Principal Navigations*; Nandini Das's analysis of narrative momentum in *Principal Navigations* through study of the 'changing shape of […] accounts about India' in the work, and Mary Fuller's examination of Hakluyt's editorial treatment of 'fabulous' accounts.[25] This process of fragmentation adds another level to analysis of *Principal Navigations* which

[23] David B Quinn and Alison Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook*, Second Series, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974).
[24] See, for example, references to 'communist schemes' in the 14th century (Ibid., I, 19).
[25] Felicity Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt's Two Indias: Textual Sparagmos and Editorial Practice', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 119–29; Mary C. Fuller, 'Arthur and Amazons: Editing the Fabulous in Hakluyt's Principal Navigations', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 41.1 (2011), 173–89.

both enriches and corrupts it. Placing critical and analytical focus on circumscribed areas contributes a great level of granular analytical and textual detail, but simultaneously makes it difficult to achieve an accurate overview of how the work functions as a whole.

This process of critical fragmentation has been exacerbated by the long-standing custom of excerpting from *Principal Navigations*. This is a result of the work's scale and inaccessibility, the third problem within Hakluyt scholarship, as these factors which make it impractical for anyone to read in its entirety.[26] The practice of cherry-picking material from the work has been common practice since at least the eighteenth century, when excerpts were commonly copied into commonplace books, and the 1972 edition of *Voyages and Discoveries* is a more recent example of this process being enacted in print.[27] In the later twentieth and twenty-first century, the approach has been reinforced by an increasing reliance on digital editions. The lack of a physical edition has made the digitised images of the 1589 and 1598-1600 editions available through *Early English Books Online* by far the most accessible form of the text for researchers.[28] Digitisation has made it possible to search through the text for specific words or features, but in so doing results are detached from their framing narratives and the nuances of their function within these wider frames are simultaneously omitted from analysis.[29] This is not a new issue, but with the increasing scholarly use of and reliance on digital material it is one which threatens to become further embedded in working practices. The effect of digitisation has

[26] The level of microscopic detail also makes it a challenging read. See Mary C. Fuller, '"His Dark Materials": The Problem of Dullness in Hakluyt's Collections', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 231–43.
[27] For *Voyages and Discoveries*, the texts selected were overwhelmingly narratives which focused on moments of 'discovery' (such as 'First voyage to the country now called Virginia' or the 'Discovery of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh') or military voyages ('The Spanish Armada', or the 'Truth of the Flight of the Revenge').
[28] The worldwide closure of libraries and archives due to the Covid-19 pandemic has made this question of reliance on digital editions even more pressing.
[29] Currently, only the second expanded edition has been converted to digital text using Optical Character Recognition, which makes it possible to text search: without the conversion of the first edition, it is difficult to compare the two and the nuances of the differences between the two are more likely to be overlooked.

been to make the text more accessible for readers, encouraging its use within wider, non-Hakluyt specific scholarship, but the inevitable side effect is the hastening of this process of analytical fragmentation. The practice of digital reading thus encourages these disconnected readings of the text without consideration of wider narrative, form, or context.

Any scholarship examining *Principal Navigations* must take these problems into account. The methodology of this thesis combines more traditional literary and historical scholarship with digital humanities methodologies in order to provide a wider framework in which to address them. It is divided into six chapters and thematically into two halves, each essential to the other. If we are to take the travel compendium as a cultural artefact, it must follow that in order to expand our understanding of its form and function, it must first be situated within wider contextual cultural communities. The first half does so by examining *Principal Navigations* within contemporary intellectual contexts, offering a critical perspective which asserts the literary nature of the work. The second half builds on the knowledge established in the first three chapters to conduct a closer examination of the specificities of Hakluyt's editorial techniques. Without the context established in the first half, the second half would not be able to conduct this deeper analysis; similarly, the second half adds to the first through its demonstration of the practical textual results of processes of literary engagement. By offering this critical overview of the work and its background for the three geographic case studies to refer to, the structure also prevents the second half of the thesis from enacting the problem of the fragmentation of analysis outlined above, as their closer textual analysis relies on understanding their relationship to these wider contexts.

The first half of the thesis conducts its investigation through a combination of literary and historical analysis, examining the social and literary communities with which

Hakluyt was involved and their textual outputs contemporary to his involvement. In doing so the thesis reconsiders, and in several cases, reassesses, current critical assumptions about Hakluyt's engagement with these communities and his role within them, while expanding critical knowledge. This reassessment is particularly notable in the third chapter which, through analysis of a manuscript previously unstudied within Hakluyt scholarship, substantively re-evaluates extant critical assumptions on the function of religion in *Principal Navigations*, as well as Hakluyt's own religious identity. The analysis of these three chapters thus establishes a solid basis for further analysis of Hakluyt's geographic work.

The second half of the thesis moves to focus specifically on Hakluyt's editorial work in *Principal Navigations* through three geographic case studies: the Levant, Russia, and Newfoundland. These three have been chosen for their significance within Hakluyt's social circles, as well as for being illustrative of his different editorial priorities. The Levant, for example, had a long-established trading relationship with England which changed significantly in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Hakluyt had close personal connections to mercantile agents involved with this relationship. His depiction of the Levant's history in *Principal Navigations* was strongly influenced by these associations. By contrast, though the Company chartered to lead English trade to Russia was vital within mercantile London, Hakluyt did not have as close a personal connection to merchants involved in the Russian trade as he did to those working in the Levant. The representation of these two areas in *Principal Navigations* thus represents Hakluyt grappling with similar questions of trade and diplomacy, but within different social contexts. By contrast, Newfoundland was only 'discovered' by the English at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Though there was no established diplomatic relationship between the two islands, Hakluyt did have close personal connections to

various proto-colonial writers interested in settling on the island. His editorial objectives were thus markedly different for each of these three case studies, and examining their role and function within *Principal Navigations* sheds light on how Hakluyt used editorial techniques to promote his aims.

Although *Principal Navigations* was the result of Hakluyt's involvement with multiple communities — textual, social, and economic — it primarily represented his viewpoint. The reader is given an essentially and deliberately limited perspective of these communities, the wider background processes of engagement corralled and delineated within specified remits. The restrictions of this limited perspective have been furthered by the problem of analytical fragmentation within critical treatments of *Principal Navigations*, as outlined earlier. In order to tease out these wider processes and make them visible within its analysis, the three geographic case studies which form the second half of the thesis use social network analysis to create and analyse network maps representing the communities associated with these regions.[30] Each geographic chapter begins by examining the historical and literary context associated with that area contemporarily to Hakluyt, then uses social network analysis to create and examine network maps of the contemporary communities. These two forms of enquiry provide necessary background for the final part of each geographic chapter, which examines how Hakluyt presented these regions in *Principal Navigations*. This conscious widening of perspectives has proved especially useful when applied to *Principal Navigations*, which has long been viewed as an essentially static and comprehensive work. Social network analysis prioritises connectedness, eschewing hierarchies of knowledge, whereas Hakluyt's work essentially privileges his position. The methodological approach used here is a conscious attempt to

[30] The data for these social network maps comes from a range of primary and secondary sources: these are detailed in the bibliographies for each chapter, and the process of data collection and curation is described in the Technical Appendix. Specific details on the practicalities of this process, as well as an overview of the technique's use within humanities study, can also be found in the Technical Appendix.

broaden this view and, consequently, our critical understanding of the form and purpose of the best-known sixteenth century English travel compendium.[31]

Through these two halves, the thesis thus sets out to answer the question of how these wider contexts affected the creation of *Principal Navigations,* illuminating the means by which the compendium was created and asserting its identity as a constructed text. By examining these contexts and their effects, the thesis also interrogates the ways in which an increased understanding of the processes behind its creation affects the critical understanding of *Principal Navigations,* addressing questions raised by this process of contextualisation and offering a reassessment of the work's essential purposes, and thus, its identity as a historical source and literary artefact.

The thesis begins with a chapter examining the intellectual communities within England with which Hakluyt was associated, moving chronologically to examine his engagement with Westminster School, the University of Oxford, and the Inns of Court. Each of these communities was vital for the development of Hakluyt's working practices, the growth of his social networks, and his participation with the ongoing development of Elizabethan state ideology. In order to examine these forms of engagement, each section takes a literary text produced within the community contemporary to Hakluyt's time there, to examine both the literary context surrounding him, and the ways in which he was affected by and effected them in turn. These texts are the Latin play *Sapientia Solomonis,* a 1566 performance at Westminster school in which Hakluyt is likely to have participated, the neo-Latin poetry of Stephen Parmenius produced when the two worked together at Oxford, and the 1613 performance of *The Memorable Masque* at Whitehall. Collectively, attending to these works both expands our extant knowledge of Hakluyt's time within

[31] See Ruth Ahnert and others, *The Network Turn: Changing Perspectives in the Humanities*, ed. by Leah Tether and Samantha Rayner, Cambridge Elements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 38-40 for more on how network methodologies can be used to question existing hierarchies of knowledge.

these communities and demonstrates the ways in which his stereotypically 'English' education exposed him to a global network of influences, while also establishing Hakluyt's relationship with the developing Elizabethan state.

From the circulation of texts and people within English intellectual communities, the second chapter moves to focus on Hakluyt's European connections. It is similarly structured around three areas of his engagement with continental European writers and ideologies. Such circulation took multiple forms in this period, from manuscript to print, the monumental to the ephemeral. Attending to texts across that range, this chapter interrogates the idea of *Principal Navigations* as an 'English' text and examines the essential tension that Hakluyt's reliance on European communities and material created in the text's expression of nationalism. It begins with a comparative study of *Principal Navigations* and Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, examining the influences Ramusio's text had as a model for Hakluyt and the similarities and differences in their expressions of nationalist sentiments. It then moves to examine Hakluyt's use of letters — both personally, for sourcing material and expanding his network, and formally within his works — ultimately demonstrating how structurally vital this form was. The chapter concludes with a study of Hakluyt's engagement with translated material, comparing his expressed views on translation and his practice of it to contemporary theories in order to demonstrate both the importance of translation within his work, and further interrogate the tension it introduced.

The first half of the thesis concludes with a chapter examining the context of Hakluyt's religious work. Although Hakluyt's various religious positions have historically been critically regarded largely as work undertaken in order to fund his geographic interests, this chapter will demonstrate how these two strands — the geographic and the religious — were actually inextricable. It begins with the examination of a manuscript

previously unstudied within Hakluyt scholarship, Bodleian Rawlinson MS D 273, which contains notes on a lecture and a sermon given by Hakluyt while at Oxford. The chapter uses these writings to situate Hakluyt's religious beliefs within the context of contemporary religious debates and reassess current critical assumptions. Hakluyt's participation within these religious debates, as laid out in the manuscript notes, demonstrate that he was acutely aware of contemporary developments in religious thought across Europe. The chapter thus brings together the two threads of the first two chapters, combining its analysis of 'English' and 'European' intellectual networks to examine how Hakluyt engaged with European concerns within an English context. The chapter then moves to examine the contemporary comparison drawn between *Principal Navigations* and John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, focusing on the generic and formal similarities between the two works. Through this analysis, the chapter demonstrates the strength of Hakluyt's belief in ministerial vocation and the importance this had on his wider work, showing how *Principal Navigations* can be viewed as a form of ministerial text, and his geographic work a part of his vocation.

Each of these contextual inquiries throws a searching light across the intricate network of textual and personal exchanges through which *Principal Navigations* took shape. The presence and influence of these networks lay behind three distinct geographic regions stretched across the old world and the new, and study of their depictions in *Principal Navigations* forms the focus of the second half of this thesis. This begins with the fourth chapter, which places the Anglo-Levant relationship within its literary and historical context in order to analyse its representation in Hakluyt's compendium. The Levant was a vital region within the history of English trade, but the relationship between the two areas — as well as the ease of movement of people and goods — was hugely dependent on geo-political concerns. Attending to the representation of the area in

*Principal Navigations* thus shows how Hakluyt used editorial techniques and connections to navigate or narratively neutralise these concerns. In order to analyse these techniques, the chapter conducts its examination through a combination of historical, literary and network analysis to shed light on the wider social contexts in which Hakluyt formed his narratives. The approach here reveals the importance of social relationships to Hakluyt's editorial work, with the Levantine narrative of *Principal Navigations* prioritising the perspectives of merchants with whom Hakluyt was personally connected. Through this process, the chapter also highlights the importance of the Levant to other social groups within England whose histories were not so formally preserved, and so reassesses the objectivity of Hakluyt's record while indicating an area requiring further examination.

The fifth chapter moves to take Russia as the next geographic case study. The Anglo-Russian relationship began in 1553, and so the material in *Principal Navigations* depicts a region which had close diplomatic links with the Elizabethan state from its earliest days. Russia was also hugely important for English merchants, with the Muscovy Company being a key for the development of joint-stock companies in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Despite this importance, Russia was viewed contemporarily within England and across Europe as a site of ambiguous threat. Using the same methodological approach as the Levant chapter, this chapter examines the editorial techniques which were used to create the geo-historical narrative surrounding Russia in *Principal Navigations* in order to study how Hakluyt utilised his audience's preconceptions to assist with English diplomatic and mercantile concerns, creating a narrative of 'Anglicisation' which has had a lasting effect on scholarship attending to this early relationship.

The final chapter takes Newfoundland as its case study. Unlike the Levant and Russia, there was no centralised government recognised by the English state on the island, and so no diplomatic relationship existed between the two. The relationship was instead

predicated on imperatives of trade and imperial expansion. With the same combination of textual, historical and network analysis used to study the Levant and Russia, this chapter examines the ways in which the account given by Hakluyt of Newfoundland's history presented a deliberately limited view of the Anglo-Newfoundland relationship. Network analysis is particularly useful here for bringing into view the wider background processes of engagement which were deliberately obscured by Hakluyt, and through this reassessment, the chapter offers a fresh critical reading of the structural presence and purpose of Newfoundland within *Principal Navigations*. The English journeys to Newfoundland represent some of the earliest moments of imperial rhetoric being put into practice. Examining Hakluyt's representation of this process is thus particularly effective in expanding the critical understanding of the processes behind the late sixteenth century proto-colonial movement — long a focus of scholarship — as well as the histories which imperial valorisation has led scholarship to overlook. These three case studies, in taking regions with differing histories from across the globe, thus show through their analysis the need to expand the critical view of sixteenth century history beyond the perspectives presented in *Principal Navigations*, while interrogating precisely how and why those perspectives were preserved.

The critical view of the essential stability of *Principal Navigations* as a 'prose epic' has historiographically aided the perception of the text as proto-imperial literature, leading to both the original textual histories and Hakluyt's bias being overlooked within analysis. Simultaneously, the process of excerpting the text and the development of modern digitised reading practices has led to a fragmentation of analysis. By restating the importance and subjectivity of Hakluyt's editorial work and examining his creation of narrative, the thesis shows that *Principal Navigations* was the result of a sustained and life-long process of engagement with intellectual communities. Far from being a neutral

record of the history of English travel, it was affected at every level of composition by these processes of engagement. Its geographic sections were structured to create specific narratives which were affected by the social context surrounding Hakluyt, often marked by conflicting geo-political and mercantile imperatives. At the same time, its structure was modelled on European texts, and its overarching goal of knowledge dissemination was framed within its editor's wider vocational call to ministry. These varied contexts of engagement must be taken into account when analysing *Principal Navigations*, whether we approach it as a collated series of texts by disparate authors, or as a compendium created by one man. It is no surprise that the different aims and backgrounds of its material have contributed to deep divides in critical opinion of *Principal Navigations*. It is alternately viewed as evangelical or secular; an essentially 'English' text or one formed through multinational textual engagement; Hakluyt either 'hardly an author' or the architect of the engine behind the development of modern English literature.[32] As the chapters of this thesis show, however, situating *Principal Navigations* within these contexts enables and indeed establishes the necessity of attending to the work within both of these modes simultaneously. As chapter three will discuss in great depth, *Principal Navigations* was figured by Hakluyt as a 'corpus' through the bringing together of disparate parts into a single body. In this image, the individual parts of the textual body (the 'limmes' of his image) do not lose their individual nature: this dual status is essential for the work to function. Ultimately, this thesis performs the necessary critical step within Hakluyt scholarship of situating both him and his work within wider contexts, while restating the importance of this textual conception and the inherent and essential tension which lies with the *corpus* of Hakluyt's work.

[32] Hakluyt was referred to as 'hardly an author' by C. S Lewis in *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 437.

## Richard Hakluyt and English Intellectual Engagement

'We bring [forth] […] a serious history, drawn from the fount of truth'.[1] Though this line could well describe *Principal Navigations*, it comes instead from the Latin play *Sapientia Solomonis*, first performed in England in 1566 at Westminster School. The occasion of this performance synthesised several of the contemporary influences at work within the School: the symbolic importance of its Elizabethan re-founding and patronage, its connection to Westminster Abbey, its participation in developing modes of Elizabethan representation, and the influence of pedagogical methods from the continent. Present at the performance — and in all likelihood, one of its performers — was a fourteen-year old Richard Hakluyt, one of the school's Queen's Scholars.[2] This occasion of this performance in 1566 thus represents the first possible instance of Hakluyt being involved with a text actively engaging and articulating ideas of Elizabethan state rhetoric.

This chapter will examine Hakluyt's engagement with three English intellectual communities through three pieces of occasional literature produced contemporarily to Hakluyt's involvement. These examples are structured chronologically, moving from Westminster School, to the University of Oxford, and ending with the Inns of Court. These communities have each been the focus of decades of scholarship, and each has been identified within this body of work as being important for the development and continuation of the Elizabethan state through the ways in which they produced and

[1] Elizabeth Rogers Payne, *Sapientia Solomonis: Acted before the Queen by the Boys of Westminster School January 15 1565/6*, ed. by Sixt Birck, Yale Studies in English (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), LXXXIX, 53.

[2] 14 years is an approximation; Hakluyt's birth date is usually calculated as circa 1552. See Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11892>.

perpetuated its ideology.[3] Though other communities were also significant for the intellectual development of Hakluyt's work, such as merchants and sailors in Bristol and geographers and cosmographers in Paris, the importance of these intellectual domains within the formation and establishment of both Elizabethan ideology and Hakluyt's personal development demands particular attention.

Scholarship on Hakluyt has previously examined his connections with these three communities: Peter Mancall's wide-ranging biographical study *Hakluyt's Promise* and Anthony Payne's *Hakluyt and Oxford* are key examples of such investigations.[4] Both works are proceeded by the scholarship of David and Alison Quinn in 'A Hakluyt Chronology', which similarly examined Hakluyt's engagement with these communities within the context of a detailed chronological study, collating and compressing vast amounts of material from archives and printed texts into a timeline.[5] Though Hakluyt's connections to these communities are thus well documented within scholarship, the effect that he had on them — and in turn, they on him — in terms of their literary outputs has attracted relatively little scholarly attention. The critical use of *Principal Navigations* as a source for historical and geographical information has tended to overshadow any consideration of the compendium itself as a literary text, but it is important to assert this

[3] See, for examples, Lawrence Tanner, *Westminster School: A History* (London: Country Life, 1934); Walter Thornbury, 'Westminster School', in *Old and New London*, 6 vols (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878), III, 462–83 <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol3/pp462-483> [accessed 14 November 2019] on Westminster School; Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); James McConica, 'Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford', *The English Historical Review*, 94.317 (1979), 291–317; *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume III The Collegiate University*, ed. by James McConica, 8 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), III on the University of Oxford; Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590-1640* (London: Longman, 1972); Lauren Working, 'Wit, Sociability, and Empire', in *The Making of an Imperial Polity: Civility and America in the Jacobean Metropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020) pp. 160-99.

[4] Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); *Hakluyt and Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. by Anthony Payne (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2017).

[5] David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, Second Series, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, 263–337.

critical identity for *Principal Navigations* and its author in order to examine the text as a composed and edited work. This chapter traces Hakluyt's changing level of influence within and on contemporary state discourse, as well as the changing concerns of these communities. Examining Hakluyt's engagement with these ideologically significant intellectual communities by using literature as an analytical framework gives a fresh critical perspective of Hakluyt as a literary producer and consumer, which in turn supports and furthers analysis of *Principal Navigations* by locating Hakluyt and his work within these contexts.

**Westminster School and *Sapientia Solomonis***

Though there had been a school attached to Westminster Abbey in some form since its initial foundation, Westminster School as Hakluyt knew it came into existence in 1560 when Elizabeth I established it alongside the re-founded collegiate church.[6] The new foundation was intended as 'a publique schoole for Grammar, Rhetorick, Poetrie, and for the Latin and Greek Languages' and its students were limited to no more than 120 boys, including forty 'Queen's Scholars' who would be maintained and educated free of cost.[7] Richard Hakluyt entered the school in 1564 — 'that fruitful nurserie', as he would later call it — and by 1565 was a Queen's Scholar.[8] This position undoubtedly assisted him in later life, as there was a direct route for Queen's Scholars from Westminster to Christ Church College Oxford through the provision of studentships. Historiographically, Hakluyt's association with Westminster School in the decade immediately after its re-

[6] Thornbury, p. 463.
[7] Ibid., pp. 462-3.
[8] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589) STC (2nd ed.) / 12625, p. 2. It is unclear whether or not Hakluyt was a Queen's Scholar when he entered; later regulations specified that a student must have been a member of the school for a year before being elected a Queen's Scholar and Hakluyt is recorded as entering the school in 1564, meaning that he may not have been made a Queen's Scholar until 1565 [see Mancall, p. 12].

founding has played into largely Victorian narratives which framed him as an exemplary Elizabethan.[9]

Though Hakluyt joined Westminster School relatively soon after its official founding, many of its traditions had histories which predated this Elizabethan re-establishment. Among these was the annual Latin play performed by its students after Twelfth Night. In 1566 the chosen play was *Sapientia Solomonis*, which stages events from the life of Solomon. Its performance was timed to coincide with a visit to England by Princess Cecilia of Sweden, who attended the performance alongside Elizabeth I. The Swedish Princess's visit to England was made for both personal and political reasons: it played an important part within the wider context of Anglo-Swedish relations, but was also personally significant for the two women, who by 1566 had a long-established epistolary friendship.[10] While *Sapientia Solomonis* has received some critical attention within study of the neo-Latin genre, there has been no connection made in scholarship between the occasion of its performance at Westminster and Hakluyt. The only translation of the play is a 1938 edition by Elizabeth Rogers Payne, which also contains the most in-depth critical study of the text to date.[11] Though Payne's analysis of the play is extremely valuable, including a detailed study of the provenance of the extant play text, it also does not specifically examine the context of its only recorded performance.

The level of Hakluyt's participation in this performance is unclear, but there is good reason to suggest he was directly involved. The performance bill specifically lists the performers as 'the children of the grammar school', and Lawrence Tanner notes in *Westminster School, a History* that 'the Queen's or King's Scholars […] in the Muniments

[9] The school's view of its history focuses on this re-founding: the school magazine is titled 'The Elizabethan' and one of its houses, which are named after significant people in the school's history, is called 'Hakluyt'.
[10] Nathan Martin, 'Princess Cecilia's Visitation to England, 1565–1566', in *The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Charles Beem (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2011), pp. 27–44 (p. 27).
[11] All references in this chapter to the text are taken from Payne's translation of the play as published in this edition, pp. 55-131.

of the Abbey […] are invariably referred to as 'the children of the grammar school', which suggests that the 1566 performers were selected from this group.[12] There are twenty two named parts in the play, as well as background characters and narrators needed for the prologue, argument, and epilogue. Working from the basis of there being forty Queen's Scholars, it is therefore statistically likely that Hakluyt had a speaking part in the play. The 1566 performance therefore represents the first possible instance of his involvement with work actively engaging with Elizabethan representation.

The event of this performance was intricately designed to praise its two royal attendees. The performance was given eleven days later than the usual date stipulated in the school's statutes, a delay which enabled the performance to coincide with both the Swedish visit and the anniversary of Elizabeth's coronation.[13] Its subject — the life of Solomon — was chosen to act as an allegorical parallel for Elizabeth, drawing a connection between her restoration of state Protestantism and the wisdom and judgement of the Biblical monarch. The practice of drawing such a propagandic connection between Tudor monarchs and Old Testament rulers was well established by 1566. As early as 1486, a pageant had presented Henry VII as David triumphing over Goliath, while Henry VIII was often depicted as a king in the Solomonic theocratic model after his break from Rome, as well as regularly being compared to Aeneas.[14] While representations of Elizabeth most commonly used women from the Old Testament as models, the gender shift from King to Queen had not lessened the potential of the Solomonic model.[15] A prologue and epilogue added to *Sapientia Solomonis* served both to model the play after court drama and to make

[12] London, Westminster Abbey, Muniments 54000, referenced in Lawrence Tanner, *Westminster School: A History*, p. 56. Tanner also draws this conclusion.
[13] E. R. Payne, p. 31.
[14] Susan Doran, 'Elizabeth I: An Old Testament King', in *Tudor Queenship*, ed. by Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2010), pp. 95–110 (p. 95).
[15] Most famously Deborah, Esther, Jael and Judith. See Alexandra Walsham, '"A Very Deborah?" The Myth of Elizabeth I as a Providential Monarch', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 143–68 and John King, 'The Godly Woman in Elizabethan Iconography', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38 (1985), 41–84 for more detailed analysis.

this connection explicit for the audience, the prologue informing them that 'like will see like; a queen will see a king […] Solomon with his wisdom will be here before us'.[16] A link was also made between the Queen of Sheba and Princess Cecilia: this praise had a further economic goal. Approval of Cecilia was implicitly approval of her brother, King Erik of Sweden, and English merchants were eager to increase their share of the Baltic shipping trade but reliant on Sweden to do so.[17] These Biblical allusions thus served practical economic purposes. The epilogue made the contemporary resonances of the references explicit by praising the way in which 'our Queen [had] restored her sons to the true church […] [and] held nothing more important than to renew quickly the ritual of holy worship which had been overthrown'.[18] This association between Elizabeth's restoration of the 'true church' and the wisdom of Solomon asserted confidence in the *via media* of the Elizabethan Settlement.[19] The Solomonic framework of the drama thus functioned on multiple ideological levels, both spiritual and economic.

*Sapientia Solomonis* itself was adapted from a pedagogical play written by Sixt Birck, a German schoolmaster.[20] Born in Augsburg in 1500, Birck's great interest was 'to train good citizens', with his plays attempting to inculcate the ideals of good citizenship

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[16] Michael Shapiro, 'Early (Pre-1590) Boy Companies and Their Acting Venues', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 123; E. R. Payne, p. 15.

[17] This model was also used for Elizabeth I: see Matthew Dimmock, '"A Pattern to All Princes": Locating the Queen of Sheba', in *Eastern Resonances in Early Modern England: Receptions and Transformations from the Renaissance to the Romantic Period*, ed. by Claire Gallien and Ladan Niayesh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 35–50 for more detail; Shapiro, p. 123. Cecilia was no stranger to the propagandic use of Old Testament models; after a scandal before she married the Margrave of Baden, her brother had a coin produced depicting her as Susanna in her bath to promote her innocence. The coin was rightly received with scepticism by the Swedish people, indicating the potential pitfalls of this mode of representation [See Anders Fryxell, *The History of Sweden*, ed. by Mary Howitt, 2 vols (London: Bentley, 1844), II, 271-2].

[18] E. R. Payne, pp. 129-30.

[19] The use of neo-Latin drama to praise or critique religious policy was common during the decade: John Foxe's *Christus Triumphans* performed at Magdalen College the same year featured 'Ecclesia' as its protagonist. See Andreas Höfele, 'John Foxe, Christus Triumphans', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 123–40 and Daniel Blank, 'Performing Exile: John Foxe's Christus Triumphans at Magdalen College, Oxford', *Renaissance Studies*, 30.4 (2016), 584–601 for more context on this performance.

[20] E. R. Payne, pp. 10-14.

through drama. In Augsburg, this was achieved through dual performances, with a performance given before a school in Latin followed by a German version in the *Rathaus* [town hall].[21] Payne describes this version of *Sapientia Solomonis* as 'amply illustrative of the peculiarly Teutonic blend of humanism and political Protestantism', with its Biblical, classical and contemporary elements 'mingled but hardly fused'.[22] The route by which *Sapientia Solomonis* reached England is unclear. Payne speculates that it was brought over by John Bale, the evangelical polemicist, or by John Foxe, the martyrologist.[23] As will be examined in the third chapter of this thesis, Hakluyt would later use Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* as a model for his own work — both in terms of structure and aims — and this possible transmission history may indicate the first literary connection between the two men. Birck's original play was updated at some point during this this process, with roughly three scenes added for a total of 323 new lines. The original play was kept remarkably intact, with only twelve of the 851 original lines seriously altered. The three new scenes served to situate the play more firmly within its new context: the first adding a moral interlude in the tradition of the English wisdom play, and the second and third extending the role of the character of Marcolph to enlarge the comic elements of the play in the tradition of the English fool.[24] These additional scenes undermine the tonal unity of the piece but do serve to increase its liveliness, fitting for a performance given by school children around Twelfth Night. This blend of political Protestantism, humanism, ideals of citizenship and deliberately English modes of expression are all elements which would be expressed in Hakluyt's *magnum opus* twenty years later.

[21] Ibid., p. 13.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., p. 25.
[24] Ibid., pp. 29-35.

It is both unusual and fortunate that a detailed bill still exists which makes it possible to examine the material contexts of the 1566 performance. This bill is notable for the sheer wealth it describes, recording payments for:

> colors and golde foyle […] for coloring the childrens faces & in gylting the garland for the prologes […] two yards of brode saye for the Quene of Saba hir heade […] perfumes for the chamber […] a trumpeter […] a woman that brawght hir childe to the stadge [and minded it, and] a painter for drawing the cytee and temple of Jerusalem, & for paynting towres.[25]

These rich fabrics, painted backdrops and perfumes must have made the performance a somatically spectacular occasion, especially when contrasted with the weather outside in early January. The inclusion of the 'childe' and its mother must have added a degree of verisimilitude rarely seen even on playhouse stages, and is notably unusual within the genre of pedagogical Latin plays. The school spared no expense: a bill exists for the 1564 Latin play, also given in front of Elizabeth, and while this includes lavish items such as 'frankincense' and 'borrowed armer', it does not go to the extent of turbans, face gilt or backdrop painting, making the 1566 performance an unusually lavish one even by the school's standards.[26] The school's investment in the performance can also be seen in the production costs of the play text. In the 1564 bill one line was dedicated to these costs, but in 1566 there were four, including 'the bynding of one copie in velume with the Queenes majestie hir armes and sylke ribben stringes' and 'vermilion to make red inke for intermingling the lettres of the sayde copies therwith' — high-cost detailing for a high-status object.[27] Extra attention was afforded to the text's creation just as the costuming and set design was made more lavish for the royal visitors.

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[25] Muniments 54000, fol. 1[r].
[26] John Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642: Provincial Companies 1558-1642, Appendices*, 2 vols (London: Constable & Company Limited, 1910), II, pp. 340-1 for detail of these other performances, which took place between 1563 and 1574.
[27] Muniments 54000, fol. 1[r].

This adaptation of *Sapientia Solomonis* reflects several of the key developments of Elizabethan and Jacobean literary expression. Its praise of Elizabeth is effusive and omnipresent; its use of Marcolph an early example of the fool character type; its rich setting a prototype of the fully realised masque form. It is unusual within contemporary neo-Latin plays for both the context of its performance, with its twin royal spectators, and the sheer costs involved. The possible connection to the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* links Hakluyt to networks of Elizabethan diplomacy, state and global trade far earlier than scholarship has previously acknowledged, and thus suggests a previously unexamined formative influence on his later work. This 1566 performance is unlikely to be the extent of his early engagement with this model: Westminster pupils also occasionally performed at the early Tudor court, though it is unclear to what degree Hakluyt would have been involved with the performance.[28] Hakluyt and his contemporaries at Westminster School, however, would see first-hand how *Sapientia Solomonis* used globally sourced goods within a specifically Protestant English framework to praise 'our Gracious Ruler Elizabeth' as the 'rival of illustrious King Solomon'.[29] These goods were not only used on stage: 'sugar candee' and 'boxes of dredge to cleare the children['s throats]' were also purchased for backstage use, details which would have no doubt been remembered by the child performers.[30] Twenty-three years later, Hakluyt would engage in exactly the same process in a different genre, using the textual histories of globally sourced goods to praise Elizabeth's leadership within an explicitly Protestant framework.

[28] Shapiro, p. 120.
[29] E. R. Payne, pp. 129-30.
[30] Dredge is a spice mix: Payne suggests that it was specifically used to help clear the children's throats either before or after the performance, and as there is attention paid in earlier bills to this issue (in 1564 they record 'buttered beer' being purchased to the same effect), I agree with the suggestion [Ibid., p. 41].

**Oxford and *De Navigatione***

After leaving Westminster School Richard Hakluyt joined the University of Oxford, entering Christ Church College in 1570.[31] Once he had matriculated at Oxford, Hakluyt proceeded through the University's ranks, earning a Bachelor of Arts degree by March 1574 and Master of Arts in May 1577. At this point he became a senior member of the University and as such eligible, should he choose, to retain his studentship at Christ Church indefinitely, dependant on certain conditions.[32] Hakluyt's years at Oxford have been important for the construction of a historiographical narrative surrounding his life and work. Christ Church had a distinct connection to the English crown: it was originally founded as Cardinal's College by Cardinal Wolsey in 1525, re-founded as 'King Henry VIII's College' in 1532, then finally established as Christ Church in 1545. This second re-founding gave it a unique distinction amongst Oxford colleges as the only direct royal foundation, which in turn created a connection between the college and the crown reinforced by various Marian, Edwardian and Elizabethan strictures and visits.[33] Elizabeth's presence at the college, by the time Hakluyt studied there, was felt even at an architectural level. During the Queen's visit to Oxford in 1566, she stayed in Christ Church. To enable easy passage between her accommodation and the hall, a temporary bridge was installed and though it had been removed by 1570, the outline of the doorway

[31] See David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in *The Hakluyt Handbook,* I, 263–331 (p. 266). David Quinn considers it likely Hakluyt had entered the university during Michaelmas term 1570 but the list for this term is missing, making January 1571 the earliest he can be definitively placed at Oxford.
[32] These being his continued residence in Oxford and marital status – see Ibid., p. 267.
[33] Three other colleges are nominally royal foundations, but in each case the actual founder had sought royal patronage rather than being directly founded by a royal. See Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Christ Church Oxford* (Hertford: University Printing House, Oxford, 1989), pp. 1-3 and Judith Curthoys, *The Cardinal's College: Christ Church, Chapter and Verse* (London: Profile Books, 2012) for more detail. See James McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', in *The History of the University of Oxford: The Collegiate University*, III, 1–69 (pp. 32-43) for detail on the early regulations and history of Christ Church.

remained above the hall staircase.[34] Hakluyt's education at Oxford thus represents his engagement with an intensely Elizabethan institution, providing him with an education and network of connections which would both be essential for his geographic work.

It also represents one of the first recorded points of personal connection between Hakluyt and the London mercantile community. The Worshipful Company of Clothworkers traditionally supported a student at Oxford, and since 1566 they had been supporting John Field, Bachelor of Arts at Christ Church. By 1571, however, Field was organizing meetings for separatist Puritans and living in London.[35] The Clothworkers, wary of scandal, severed the link. This left space for a new scholar to receive their patronage, and in 1577 the role was taken by a young Richard Hakluyt; the Clothworkers appear to have been so keen to patronise him that they began to pay him before ending the previous exhibition. There has been speculation about whose recommendation it was that convinced the Clothworkers to pay the relatively unknown student, but G. D. Ramsay makes a convincing case for it being the work of Richard Staper. The short gap between his appointment and Hakluyt's, as well as the later reference to Staper in Hakluyt's preface to *Principal Navigations*, all suggest that it was he who put Hakluyt's name forward in 1577.[36] The pension continued even after Hakluyt had left Oxford to begin working as secretary for Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in France. This tangible financial symbol of support would continue to claim Hakluyt's gratitude and acknowledgement even twelve years later, as will be explored in greater detail in the fourth chapter.

According to his autobiographical accounts in *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt used his time at Oxford to develop the knowledge of geographical study which would fuel his

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[34] See Eleanor Sanger, 'Elizabeth I: Advent Doors 2018', *College Life Blog, Christ Church Oxford* (Oxford, 4 December 2018) <https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/blog/elizabeth-i-advent-doors-2018> [accessed 20 November 2019].
[35] G. D. Ramsay, 'Clothworkers, Merchants Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *The English Historical Review*, 92.364 (1977), 504–21 (p. 517).
[36] Ibid., p. 518.

future work. His interest in the subject had been sparked by a visit to his cousin in the late 1560s where he saw 'books of Cosmographie [and] […] an universal Mappe' and 'constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by God[']s assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature'.[37] Once at Oxford, he conducted 'publike lectures', which he claimed were 'the first that produced and shewed both the olde imperfect composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheres and other instruments of this Art'.[38] Hakluyt's account of these lectures would suggest that he was one of the progenitors of the study of geography at Oxford, but this was not the case. Geography was well-established as a subject of study when he joined the University, and Christ Church was a noted centre for the subject along with Gloucester Hall (now part of Worcester College) and Merton College.[39] Hakluyt's connection to Christ Church through the Westminster studentship made Christ Church the most 'convenient place' of the three for him to 'prosecute that knowledge'.[40] These three centres functioned as coteries, drawing people in from across the wider university: their membership included William Camden, Philip Sidney and the Earl of Cumberland.[41] The fact these centres pre-dated Hakluyt was essential for his future work, as it aided him in gaining connections which would be vital in his career.[42]

The geographic lectures given by Hakluyt likely took place after he had finished his Bachelor of Arts degree. He describes himself in the 1589 edition of *Principal Navigations* as 'by degrees read[ing] over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and

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[37] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. 2.
[38] Ibid.
[39] McConica, p. 53.
[40] Ibid. See also Cormack, *Charting an Empire* for detail on the history of geographical pedagogy.
[41] *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), I, 12. See also *Hakluyt and Oxford*, pp. 6-9.
[42] For example, Hakluyt dedicating *Divers Voyages touching the discovery of America* to Sidney in 1583 suggests that the two men were previously acquainted through their joint membership of these coteries.

voyages I found extant either in the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages' once he had finished his 'exercises of duty', at which point he began putting this reading to effect through his lectures to the 'singular pleasure and generall contentment' of his students.[43] There is a general uncertainty within scholarship as to the composition of these audiences: E. G. R. Taylor and Mark Curtis both asserted that the lectures were given generally under the auspices of the University, while John Baker claimed that they were given only to members of Hakluyt's college.[44] With the absence of any documentary evidence it is impossible to ascertain a precise list of the attendees, but it seems unlikely, considering the existence of these geographical coteries within the wider university, that the lectures would have been limited only to members of Christ Church. The fact that the religious lectures Hakluyt gave were delivered to members of the University, rather than just Christ Church, further supports this argument.[45] Geography could not be studied in isolation: even the most theoretical geographer relied on the insight and information provided by navigators, instrument makers, cartographers and surveyors.[46] Hakluyt, whose interest in geography had been sparked by a map, and whose cousin was continually dispensing travel advice to voyagers from his rooms at the Middle Temple, was aware of the importance of cultivating such a wide network and would later be known for taking informative notes from sailors in the ports of London and Bristol.[47] His Oxford lectures represent both the first occasion of his public work in geography, but also his awareness of the importance of disseminating such knowledge.

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[43] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), pp. 5-7.
[44] Taylor, *Correspondence*, II, 397; Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 234; John Norman Leonard Baker, *The History of Geography: Papers Collected from Various Sources.* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1963), pp. 119-21. See also E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968) and *Hakluyt and Oxford* for more detail on the wider geographic community surrounding Hakluyt.
[45] See the third chapter for more detail on these lectures.
[46] Cormack, p. 25.
[47] Taylor, *Correspondence*, I, 12.

Engaging in this process of knowledge dissemination was viewed contemporarily as a patriotic act. John Dee, in his 1577 *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation*, expressly laid out the potential imperial benefits of geographic study:

> [the] chief intent and principall purpose (in all worldly affayres, artes, sciences, and studies) ought to be the procuring, furdering, mainteyning and increasing of the weal and commodity public […] [the] uttermostscope of the said Arte of Navigations is such Publik Commodity.[48]

The ultimate aim of the study of geography and navigation was, for Dee, the support of the 'weal and commodity public'. The connections drawn by Dee between 'studies' at the universities, a proposed expeditionary force, and a Protestant religious duty, were codified in the iconography of the 1577 title page, designed by Dee himself (see figure 1). A light source at the top left of the page contained the *tetragrammaton*, the Hebrew word for God, which shines on an enthroned Elizabeth sailing a ship which is topped with Chi Rho. Ships often stood for the Christian church in early iconography, enhancing the link made between Queen, state, and faith.[49] Elizabeth is steering the ship named 'EUROPE' with what appears to be a sceptre, but is in fact the tiller attached to the rudder — a visual conflation which connects regal and maritime power. She is flanked by Europa riding a bull, a reference to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and accompanied by three men who John Cooper suggests were intended to represent Christopher Hatton, Francis Walsingham, and William Cecil: three of the most important statesmen of the time, emphasising the importance of the state's infrastructure alongside regal power.[50]

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[48] John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Nauigation* (London, 1577), p. 11.

[49] This light source is not the sun, which appears at the centre of the top third of the image and is likely intended to represent God.

[50] John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011), p. 235.

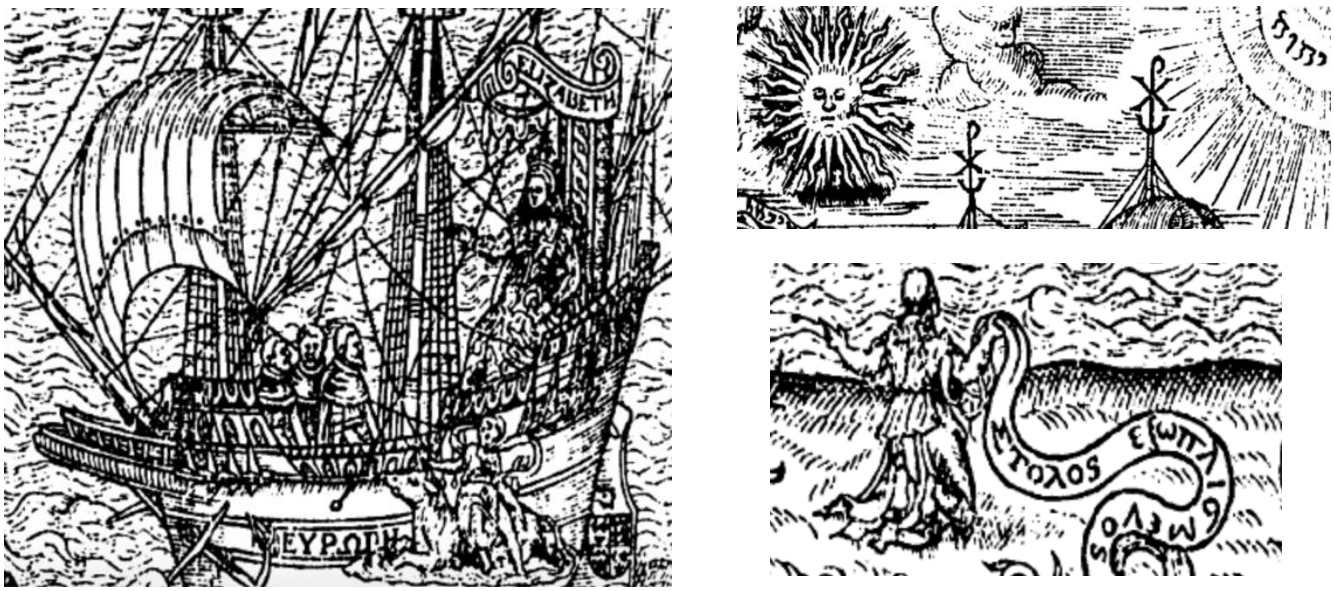



*Figure 1. Extracts from the titlepage of General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Nauigation: clockwise from L-R the ship, the chi rhos, and the supplicating woman.*

This main ship is faced by smaller ships, which Eliza Richter in her analysis suggests were intended to give an impression of generally busy maritime activity, while *Res Publica Brytanica* [the Britannic Commonwealth] appears as a woman kneeling on the shore holding a scroll bearing a supplication (again in Greek) for a fully equipped expeditionary force.[51] The image is packed with symbolism, and its ultimate aim is to articulate a concept of Europe which revolves around competition for naval power while emphasising England's specific and divine right to imperial rule and the corresponding need for militarisation.[52] Dee's aspirations for the nation hinged on its development as a naval power and the continued work of its scholars in geographic study. The heavy use of literary allusions, as well as the untranslated Greek on the frontispiece, indicate an

[51] See, for further analysis, Eliza Richter, '"The Ship of Europe": The Iconography of John Dee's General and Rare Memorials', in *Early Modern Constructions of Europe: Literature, Culture, History*, ed. by Florian Kläger and Gerd Bayer (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 181-94.
[52] Ibid.

intended audience of grammar school and university educated readers: Hakluyt's contemporaries and colleagues, intended to internalise this message.

As evidenced by Dee's use of Latin and Greek, a knowledge of languages was vital in order to play a part within this ongoing development of imperial identity. Language learning was recognised as a vital skill for educated men. Humphrey Gilbert, when he designed a curriculum for the proposed 'Queene Elizabethe[']s Achademy', included Italian, French, Spanish and 'the highe duche toung' alongside Latin, Greek and Hebrew.[53] One of the most obvious indicators of Hakluyt's education was to be his proficiency in languages. Westminster School had been founded by Elizabeth partly for the teaching of 'Latin and Greek', and it is reasonable to conclude that Hakluyt would have been more than proficient in the two even before he entered Oxford.[54] Later, that capacity for language would be used to great effect in the creation of *Principal Navigations*. He translated works into English from Latin, Portuguese, French, Italian, and Spanish, indicating a degree of fluency in at least these six, as well as Greek.[55]

These modern languages, however, were not part of the syllabus at either Westminster or Oxford. Though Gilbert's scheme had failed to materialise, young men commonly became fluent in European languages through extra-curricular activities. In the early seventeenth century, the writer George Buck described all manner of language tutors who could be found in London, including 'Teachers and Professors of the holy or Hebrew Language, of the Caldean, Syriak, & Arabike, or Larbey Languages, of the Italian, Spanish, French, Dutch, and Polish Tongues', alongside 'the Persian and the Morisco, and

[53] Humphrey Gilbert, *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence* (London: Early English Text Society, 1869), pp. 1-2.
[54] See Micha Lazarus, 'Greek Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies*, 29.3 (2015), 433–58 (p. 454).
[55] Hakluyt wrote in the introduction to the 1589 edition that he had translated works from 'Latine, Italian, Spanish [and] Portingall discourse' (sig. *3$^{v}$).

the Turkish, & the Muscovian language, and also the Sclavonian [Slavonian] tongue'.[56] Urban environments were hubs of multilingualism, 'a veritable Babel of tongues'.[57] Hakluyt, having spent much of his youth moving between Westminster and the Middle Temple, would have been exposed to these tutors and their languages from a young age.

Proficiency in European languages was a necessary accomplishment for men who hoped to one day be employed in affairs of state. Wealthy students would often bring private tutors to university with them, and these tutors in turn offered their services to the wider student body. The most famous example of such a tutor is John Florio, the translator and dictionary writer, whom Hakluyt met when Florio was teaching in Oxford between 1578 and 1583.[58] Many of these tutors were religious refugees fleeing persecution on the continent.[59] In all likelihood, Hakluyt learnt his European languages from a combination of these two communities: the well-established migrant networks in London, and the jobbing tutors in Oxford. While Hakluyt was well versed in classical languages, in line with the curriculum of a grammar school and university education, his pedagogical environment clearly expanded beyond the restrictions of these high-status institutions and into the multi-national cities surrounding them, drawing by necessity from the experience and expertise of migrant communities. His connections to these migrant networks were long-lasting: he would later use them to commission various translations of European works such as *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northwest Partes called Newe Fraunce*, which was translated by John Florio into English at Hakluyt's suggestion in 1580. For Hakluyt, language learning and textual dissemination were inextricable and essentially patriotic: he wrote of Michael Lok in *Divers Voyages* that

[56] George Buck, *The Third Universitie of England* (London, 1615), p. 983.
[57] Gallagher, p. 2.
[58] Desmond O'Connor, 'Florio, John (1553–1625), Author and Teacher of Languages', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9758>.
[59] Curtis, p 138; Gallagher, 'Speaking Books: The Early Modern Conversation Manual', in *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 55–100.

he was ‘a man, for his knowledge in divers languages and especially in Cosmographie, able to doe his countrey good’.[60]

These two aspects of Hakluyt’s education at Oxford — his engagement with the ongoing project of developing English imperial identity and his connections to a multi-national Protestant migrant network — were primary influences on the literary work of one of his closest friends. Stephen Parmenius was a Hungarian poet with whom Hakluyt shared a room while at Oxford. Parmenius had previously studied at various Calvinist centres of learning across Europe, and appears to have come to England as part of this religiously motivated migration. Once established in England, he wrote a series of Latin verses praising England and Elizabeth, which drew explicitly on his conversations with Hakluyt. In 1582, he published *Paean*, a thanksgiving hymn modelled on the ‘Psalm of David 104’ dedicated to ‘the Good Lord and Almighty Saviour in gratitude for a safe journey from Hungary to England’.[61] *Paean* was followed later the same year by *De Navigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti* [Of the Voyage of the Distinguished and Courageous Knight Humphrey Gilbert], ‘an embarkation poem’ for a trans-Atlantic voyage by Gilbert, England’s ‘Golden Knight’.[62]

*De Navigatione* is a eulogy in dactylic hexameters which praised England, Elizabeth, and her social policy, presenting the project of colonialism as a ‘missionary rescue operation’ for people under the influence of either paganism or the Roman Catholic church.[63] Parmenius, who referred to himself as ‘an unknown foreigner’, wrote that he had been received in England with such warmth that ‘the delightful friendship of the English

[60] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, p. 17.
[61] *The New-Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583*, ed. by David Quinn and Neil Cheshire (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 141. All quotations are taken from this translation.
[62] Ibid., p. 75.
[63] Ibid., p. 23.

[had] almost dispelled [his] longing for Buda and […] [his] homeland'.[64] The process of writing of *De Navigatione* was framed as a mark of respect, and through its effusive praise of Gilbert and his voyage, Parmenius hoped to 'discharge some part of [his] obligation' to England and its countrymen. Hakluyt's friendship was an essential part of this process. Parmenius noted in his preface that while he was 'concerned with paying tribute to and getting to know eminent people in London', he was introduced to Gilbert by 'my distinguished and learned friend Richard Hakluyt […] [he] having expounded to me [Gilbert's] celebrated plan to lead a colonising expedition to the New World'.[65]

*De Navigatione* began with *'Ad Thamesin'* [To the Thames], a short six line stanza praising the Thames as the gateway to the world, with Parmenius promising that 'when you bring back safely | The ships we put to sea, | Fresh laurels will adorn you | In high festivity'.[66] This short verse served as an introduction to the poem proper, textually mirroring the role of the Thames in introducing the reader to the poem just as the river brought its sailors to the wider world. Hakluyt later referred to *De Navigatione* as 'stately prose' and it was designedly so: Parmenius's Latin vocabulary and grammatical constructions were deliberately classical, notably more formal than the colloquial Latin he would use in his letter to Hakluyt from Newfoundland.[67] His use of hexameters mirrored the similar metrical schemes of Lucretius, his choice of themes echoed Horace's Roman odes, and he made deliberate allusions to Virgil's fourth *Ecologue*.[68] These allusions to the *Ecologue* imply the existence of a deliberate parallel being drawn by Parmenius between him and Virgil, Elizabeth and Augustus.[69] Like Dee, Parmenius was engaging with classical images and language in order to promote England's imperial potential,

[64] Ibid., p. 77.
[65] Ibid., p. 79.
[66] Ibid., p. 81.
[67] Ibid., p. 24.
[68] Ibid., p. 24-5.
[69] Ibid., p. 25.

encouraging Gilbert's explicitly colonial aims for his journey to America: the practical details of these aims will be detailed in the sixth chapter of this thesis.

Parmenius's poem itself self-consciously looked back to these classical authorities even as it described the immediate present. It described Lady Aucher, Gilbert's wife, as a Penelope-like figure 'counting out a list | On gentle fingertips, of all the fears | And hazards of the sea' while Elizabeth looked out 'from lofty battlements, towards the cold | Waters of Father Thames where now she sees | The sails of Humphrey Gilbert's ship begin | To billow'.[70] Here the classical connections were made explicit — just as Elizabeth watched Gilbert, so 'they say Athene watched | […] as Jason's crew put out | Into the river Phasis'.[71] Water imagery flows through the poem, with the reader drawn to 'a world our fathers did not know | […] [and] seas they scarcely saw' through the waters of the Thames, its waterways crowded 'more densely than the swans' with 'ships […] as big | As castles' ready to depart.[72] The river also served in the poem to connect Oxford and London as centres of knowledge. Oxford was described by the speaker as 'that shrine of Art | […] which the Muses sanctify | In place of Helicon'.[73] Helicon was, within Greek mythology, the location of two springs sacred to the Muses. Through this refiguring, Parmenius thus asserted Oxford's role as the source of both Gilbert's voyage and his own verse, a shrine from which literature, ships and rivers flowed. From the 'Muse's spring', he wrote, one could drink 'so deep | That artistry can flow in golden streams | From your [Elizabeth's] golden tongue', a nod to Elizabeth's well-established connection with Oxford.[74] Thanks to the artistry and wisdom provided by this stream, Elizabeth in turn 'alone bestowed a tranquil peace | Upon [her] people, so they might extend | Their empire's range'.[75]

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[70] Ibid., p. 91, p. 83, p. 95.
[71] Ibid., p. 95.
[72] Ibid., p. 83, p. 95.
[73] Ibid., p. 93.
[74] Ibid., p. 97.
[75] Ibid., p. 95.

Knowledge of geography and its application to imperial ideology ongoing within the University was thus essential, within Parmenius's framing, for a peaceful future.

Other contemporary poets also celebrated Gilbert's project in Latin verse, such as Thomas Watson's *Amintae gaudia*, but Parmenius was unique in doing so as a Hungarian poet deeply embedded into English society.[76] To express its praise of England's imperial aims, *De Navigatione* drew from disparate influences: the social networks centred on Oxford and London, which Parmenius had been introduced to through Hakluyt, figures and mythology from classical literature, and the proto-imperial ideology expressed by Dee and Gilbert. It codified the way in which members of the social group surrounding Hakluyt fashioned themselves as the leaders of an English empire which would rival those of 'warlike France', 'much-defeated Spain' and 'Rome itself', drawing on influences from each of these but remaining uniquely and entirely English.[77] The claim to establish such an empire was based on a careful list of historical English voyages from the travels of 'spirited Cabot' to America, 'Jenkinson['s] […] down the Volga's forest course', those of the 'Borough brothers […] crossing the Scythian sea' and that of Frobisher, returning from 'the Passage' with 'Pick-Axes back through oceans where the sea | Is always bristling'.[78] This list of voyages appears to have been drawn from conversation with Hakluyt, reflecting the close relationship between the two and the almost symbiotic influences each had on the other's work.[79] That this 'embarkation poem' was written by a Hungarian, consciously using his nationality to reflect his pride in English nationalism, demonstrates the nature of the multinational circle and influences surrounding Hakluyt at Oxford and the importance of this multinational circle to the contemporary development of imperial

[76] Thomas Watson, *Amintae Gaudia* (London, 1592).
[77] Quinn and Cheshire, *The New-Found Land*, p. 99.
[78] Ibid., p. 101-3.
[79] Hakluyt's first public work, *Divers Voyages*, was published the same year and all of the voyages referenced by Parmenius here are detailed there — as well as in the first and second editions of *Principal Navigations*.

rhetoric. Rather than being either limited by or representative of an essential 'Englishness', Hakluyt's intellectual community in Oxford was characterised by its multinational influences. These influences and influencers worked together to articulate a framework for the development of an English and Elizabethan identity characterised by its participation in these processes of global engagement.

**The Inns of Court and *The Memorable Masque***

Hakluyt's work after Oxford took him across the country and even further afield to Paris during the 1580s, but throughout this period London remained a locus for his intellectual and social networks. Hakluyt's personal connection to the city had been established early in his youth, and his spatial familiarity with it can be seen from the tale of the visit to his cousin in the Middle Temple. Though his tale of textual voyage-discovering began with Hakluyt already in his cousin's rooms, it would have required an unnarrated but essential journey through London to move from Westminster School to the Temple. This journey through the Elizabethan capital, which took place in the 1560s, would have taken him past all walks of life. Beginning at the school, he moved from its surrounding medieval cathedral through Cannon Row, a street dominated by aristocratic families, past 'a house for the lunatic and distraught', by the house of William Cecil, and finally down Middle Temple Lane and into the heart of legal London.[80] The journey, a narratively silent movement, parallels the role of the city in Hakluyt's life. This physical journey required him to interact with spaces belonging to powerful state figures, aristocrats, and the archivally anonymous in a mirror of his later working practices. Hakluyt relied on his network of London connections to bring him material for *Principal Navigations*, and likely

[80] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. 2 — the topographical details of the journey referenced here are detailed in Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, pp. 8–12.

worked on the manuscript in his house in the city before it was printed there. London was an essential site for Hakluyt's work, and he made its importance clear from the start of his work by situating his editorial tale of discovery at the Inns of Court. Though Hakluyt was never a member of any of the Inns himself, his connection to them through many personal and professional contacts ensured their centrality within his social networks. His connection to London and its importance to his work is exemplified best in his relations to the Inns, and the final third of this chapter will examine the relationship between Hakluyt and the Inns through analysis of a work indebted to his influence there: *The Memorable Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*.

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Inns of Court were London legal societies where 'young, hearty and lusty sons of nobles, aristocrats and well-to-do commoners came to learn the common law'.[81] There were four main inns — Grey's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, the Middle Temple and the Inner Temple — and despite superficial differences of architecture and cultural perception they are best understood, according to Jessica Winston, as a single complex entity with a distinct social culture.[82] The Inns were singled out by contemporary writers as a high point of London's intellectual landscape. Edmund Spenser referred to the Inner and Middle Temples as 'bricky towers' where 'studious lawyers have their bowers […] [where] wont the Templer Knights to byde', and George Buck described them as the 'third universitie' of the country.[83] Jasper Heywood compared himself unfavourably with 'Minerva's men' of the Inns in the framing device for his 1560 translation of Seneca's *Thyestes*, writing of the 'finest witts' swarming 'in

[81] Jessica Winston, 'An Intellectual Topography of the Early Modern Inns of Court', in *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558-1581* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 23–45 (p. 23).
[82] Ibid., pp. 24-5. See also Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590-1640* (London: Longman, 1972) for a history of the Inns' social structure, and Arthur F. Marotti, 'The Circulation of Verse at the Inns of Court and in London in Early Stuart England', in *Re-Evaluating the Literary Coterie, 1580–1830*, ed. by Will Bowers and Hannah Leah Crummé (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 53–73 for analysis of their literary coteries.
[83] Edmund Spenser, *Prothalamion* (London, 1596), sig. B1$^{r}$; Buck, p. 961.

Lyncolnes Inne and Temples twayne, [and] Grayes Inne' 'whose names yf I shoulde now resight, | A ten tymes greater woorke […] I should be forste to wright', while Thomas Churchyard wrote in 1580 that '[in London] dwells the Sages of the worlde, and all the Muses nine'. 'The […] Innes of court (where wit & knowledge floes)' were, for Churchyard, home to 'the wheeles of publike state'.[84] These writers framed the Inns, and particularly the two Temples, as ancient centres of knowledge. Home to Muses and historically to the Knights Templar, they were figured as hives of activity with cell-like 'bowers', their lawyers hidden in towers filled with 'studious' activity working for the public and royal good. This image of lawyers working within the hives of the Inns aligned with their role within London's intellectual networks, educating young men in the law of the state and encouraging and enabling them to work for the betterment of the commonwealth, sites 'for the production and dissemination of ideologies of association, from the political ideals of friendship to civic utopianism'.[85]

There was an established interest in the study of geography and colonialism amongst the men of the Inns even before Hakluyt visited in the 1560s. When narrating his visit he wrote that his cousin 'pointed with a wand' to the 'knowen […] rivers, Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part', implying that the map was considerably large, while he also described there 'lying open upon his boord certain books of Cosmographie, with an universal Mappe'.[86] The sense of interrupting *in medias res* suggests that Hakluyt the Elder had been in the middle of a study session, potentially with members of the Middle Temple or other Inns; that he owned a pointer supports the conclusion that the map was used as such for communal study or advice giving. The map had indeed been created for this purpose by Abraham Ortelius, and when initially ordering

[84] Jasper Heywood, *Thyestes*, (London, 1560), fols.. *6$^{r}$-7$^{v}$, Thomas Churchyard, *A light bondell of liuly discourses called Churchyardes charge***,** (London, 1580), p. 16.
[85] O'Callaghan, *English Wits*, p. 34.
[86] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. 2.

it Hakluyt the Elder noted that 'you [Ortelius] will perform a most acceptable service to a number of English lawyers, to the students of both Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and to the citizens of London'.[87] This comment typifies Hakluyt the Elder's treatment of the Inns as a site for ideological dissemination, a working process which was preserved in his younger cousin's later works. There, Hakluyt's the Elder's letters of proto-colonialist advice to various travellers were collected and preserved, credited to 'Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple', a sobriquet which functioned to explicitly connect the Hakluyt family to the Inns community, serving both cousins simultaneously.[88]

Members of the Inns disseminated information in other, more physical ways as well. Upon his return from the raids on the Spanish West Indies in 1586, Francis Drake 'came into the Middle Temple Hall at dinner time', where the benchers met him with applause and 'great joy'.[89] Fragments of the 'Drake Lantern' from his ship gifted by him to the Middle Temple still hang in the Hall, along with an oak desk said to be built partly from the ship's timber.[90] The site of the Middle Temple Hall — which may at that point have counted Hakluyt the Elder as one of its applauding benchers — thus served as an information hotspot. Its location at the heart of legal London near the Thames and the busy thoroughfare of the Strand placed it at the centre of a vast network, well placed for rapid information dissemination by road, foot or river.

Hakluyt's involvement with the Inns of Court, both social and intellectual, continued after his cousin's death in 1591. The 'Advertisements containing meetings about the powder Treason' written in 1605 describe him meeting a group of people including 'the Lord Mordaunt […] Dr Tailor, belonging to the Archduke's Ambassador […] [and]

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[87] Taylor, *The Original Writings,* I, 82.
[88] Hakluyt himself was differentiated as 'Richard Hakluyt (late) of Oxford', effecting the same process with a different institution.
[89] *The Middle Temple Records, Vol. 1: 1501 – 1603,* ed. Charles Henry Hopwood (London: Butterworth & Co, 1904), pp. 285-6.
[90] Working, pp. 170-1.

Robert Catesby' at the 'Mighter' in Bread Street.[91] This report, the only known example of its type to mention Hakluyt, shows his methods of sociability in action: conversing with people well-connected within London society, networking within Middle Temple associated spaces, and disseminating travel texts even after the final edition of *Principal Navigations* had been published.[92] Hakluyt is not the focus of the 'Advertisements'. He is included only because he happened to meet with a group which included Catesby shortly before the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, making Catesby's social network a matter of state interest. That such a record of Hakluyt's daily life exists is thus due solely to his involvement within London's social networks and, in this instance, its overlap with wider national concerns.

The account, though it is fairly short, situates Hakluyt within a space affiliated with the Inns and displays his practical processes of engagement within London's social networks. Taverns were significant within early modern London as sites where 'urban elites congregated […] to fashion new practices of sociability'.[93] The group surrounding him appears to have represented a wide cross section of society including a Lord, a member of the Archduke's retinue, a servant and an aristocrat. As a Protestant preacher, Hakluyt's interests appear to have little overlap with the Catholic conspirator Catesby. The occasion of this meal thus suggests that participating in such forms of sociability took precedence over limiting social circles by considerations of politics and religion. Politics were certainly discussed at the 1605 Mitre dinner, however, with a note made in the 'Advertisements' that 'amongst other discourses this Tailor said that all princes' ambassadors were but honourable spies' — a common sentiment which reflected a

[91] 'Advertisements Concerning Meetings about the Powder Treason [November 1605]', in *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House: 1605*, ed. by M. S. Giuseppi, 24 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), XVII, 492–531 (p. 495). Hakluyt is referenced here as 'Mr Hackelett'.
[92] This activity again reinforces the importance of his connection to the Middle Temple with the specific note that it was a rutter of Drake's which he and Pettingar were looking at.
[93] O'Callaghan, *English Wits*, pp. 61-2.

significant anxiety surrounding the workings of foreign ambassadors in England.[94] The Mitre had been referred to as a particularly fashionable place for gallants to dine in the 1597-8 Middle Temple revels, and by the time Hakluyt dined there in 1605, a connection between Temple and tavern was well-established.[95] The Mitre was also significant within literary circles, and was referenced in multiple works alongside the Mermaid tavern, Ben Jonson's favourite meeting spot for his group the Fraternity of Sirenaical Gentlemen.[96] At the end of the evening, Hakluyt is recorded as leaving to go and look at 'a rutter of Sir Francis Drake's works on navigation' with one Spero Pettingar, another activity which, considering Drake's connection to the Middle Temple, demonstrated the importance of the Inns to both his social circle and wider work.[97] The 'Advertisements' is an apparently unique and incidental record of Hakluyt's quotidian practices of sociability, but it indicates a point of intersection between him and these wider social networks, significant within literary and historical study.

By the time Hakluyt visited the Mitre, the practices of ideological development and dissemination at the Inns had developed in new directions away from the theoretical discussions undertaken by his cousin. In 1605, the most prominent way in which members engaged with the development of the imperial project was through material culture. Lauren

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[94] See Nandini Das, Joao Vicente Melo, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, 'Ambassador', *TIDE: Keywords* < http://www.tideproject.uk/keywords-home/?keyword_id=37> [accessed 10 December 2019] for a more detailed study of the early modern contexts surrounding 'Ambassador'.

[95] Just because Hakluyt is first recorded as visiting in 1605 does not mean, of course, that this was his first or final visit.

[96] There is considerable debate as to the specific location of Jonson's Mermaid, as there were several inns in London at that time known by the name, but his poem 'On the Famous Voyage' explicitly references an evening 'at Bread Street's Mermaid, having dined, and merry' which places the two taverns on the same street. For detail on the geographic placement of the taverns see 'Mitre Tavern', ed. by Janelle Jenstad, *The Map of Early Modern London* (University of Victoria, 2018) <mapoflondon.uvic.ca/MITR1.htm> and for detail on Jonson's use of the taverns as social space see Andrew McRae, '"On the Famous Voyage": Ben Jonson and Civic Space', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Special Issue 3, 1998, 1–31 and Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Patrons of the Mermaid Tavern (Act. 1611)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/95279>.

[97] This meeting also demonstrates a further connection to the history of Elizabethan conspiracies: Pettingar had previously been examined on suspicion of treason after the failure of the Essex rebellion ['Elizabeth: October 1601', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1601-3 with Addenda 1547-6*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green, 8 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1870), VI, 106–19 (p. 111)].

Working has examined this use of material goods within Jacobean Inns communities, focusing on the ways in which such items were used by the 'generation that came of age with empire': precisely the generation who read and absorbed Hakluyt's work.[98] In her analysis, the Inns functioned as both ideological and performative centres, with the 'young, hearty and lusty' participating in discourse through the conspicuous display of colonial goods. Using items sourced through colonial engagement or trading networks, the potential wealth theorised earlier by proto-colonial writers such as Dee and Hakluyt the Elder had become actualised and increasingly integral to the fashionable and social lives of Inns men. Members of the Inns were also key to the development of joint stock companies which sourced such goods. Richard Martin, a Middle Temple lawyer, wrote in 1610 that 'The care that I have of this plantation [Virginia] is a fire that doth not onlie burn in mee, but flames out to the view of everyone'.[99] The same year, the Middle and Inner Temple preacher William Crashaw used the funeral sermon for the governor of the Jamestown colony, Lord de la Warr, as an opportunity to promote investment in Bermuda.[100]

Pearls are a particularly useful example of this process of conspicuous display thanks to their prevalence in portraits. Working's study lists Walter Raleigh's 1588 portrait and Elizabeth I's 'Armada' portrait as examples: both are 'rife with pearls', while in Elizabeth's portrait 'one of the largest pearls [was] […] hanging suggestively below her waist. Lest anyone remain unsure of the statement of Atlantic intent, Elizabeth's hand lay on a globe, specifically on the Americas'.[101] Raleigh and Elizabeth led the way, and men at the Inns similarly encrusted their outfits with pearls. Pearls were important

[98] Working, p. 161.
[99] Richard Martin to William Strachey, 14 December 1610, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.321, fol. 62r, quoted in Working, p. 95.
[100] The Virginia Company was established after the publication of *Principal Navigations*, and so falls beyond the remit of this thesis, but its influence on the culture of the Inns during the 1610s was considerable. For more detail, see Working, esp. pp. 64-97; Patricia Crouch, 'Patronage and Competing Visions of Virginia in George Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* (1613)', *English Literary Renaissance*, 40.3 (2010), 393–426.
[101] Ibid., pp. 171-177.

iconographically as indicators of both wealth and imperial strength, and their use in portraits was intended to project this image to a wide audience.





*Figure 2 (left). Unknown, Walter Raleigh, 1588, National Portrait Gallery.*

*Figure 3 (right). Unknown, Elizabeth I 'Armada Portrait', 1588, Woburn Abbey.*

Another example of a material good used for shows of colonial display is tobacco. The smoking of tobacco was quickly incorporated into practices of 'gentlemanly sociability', creating 'clusters of consumption' to the extent that it became a common target of satires. These were often authored by Inns men, who used them to make political commentary on America, the preferred source of tobacco.[102] On a practical level, such goods became increasingly important to the daily life of the Inns through this process of consumption: bills list prodigious numbers of 'pint[s] of clarett' and 'canarye' being drunk daily, alongside 'sack', 'lemons' and a 'loafe[s] of sugar'.[103] This shift from the theoretical

[102] Working, pp. 179-80.
[103] London, The Middle Temple Archive, MT7/WBA/1, fol. 1[r].

discussion of empire to the material display of colonial wealth within fifty years indicates the success of the imperial rhetoric developed at Oxford in the 1580s, while the quotidian consumption of these high-status goods by the men of the Inns mirrors the use of such goods in *Sapientia Solomonis* forty years earlier. However, while the Westminster performance was an intricately designed piece of statecraft, these material performances by Inns men were part and parcel of their daily lives, their conspicuous consumption figured as an essential part of their presence in and movement through the city. This normalisation demonstrates just how ingrained the imperial project had become within public discourse. Hakluyt's work had been an essential part of this process, providing the men of the Inns with detailed descriptions of foreign lands and encouraging readers to view the acquisition of knowledge and display of mercantile wealth as a nationalistic endeavour.

These influences — the display of colonial wealth through materiality, the imperial rhetoric championed by Dee, Parmenius and Hakluyt, and the use of the Inns as a central site for the dissemination of both — were codified three years before Hakluyt's death in the 1613 performance of *The Memorable Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*. Centred around the territory of Virginia, its author George Chapman had chosen the topic deliberately to play to the interests of Henry Stuart before his death in November the previous year. Henry's interest in Virginia had been tied closely to his Protestant faith. He had viewed English settlement in America as a religious duty; a belief which had its roots in the proto-imperial rhetoric of Hakluyt's circle thirty years previously.[104] Though there is no record of Hakluyt being present at this performance of *The Memorable Masque*, the

[104] James M. Sutton, 'Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594–1612)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12961>.

masque was intimately connected to his work, and took place within a space which he had used all his life as a site of social engagement and information dissemination.

*The Memorable Masque* featured lavish set design, with 'dwarfe palfries with yellow foot-cloathes [and] […] toarches borne on either hand of them' processing through the space alongside chariots, the greatest of which was 'fill'd with moulded worke, mixte all with paintings and glittering scarfings of silver, over which was a Canopie of golde boarne up with antick figures' as well as 'two Carrs Triumphall, adorned with great Maske heads, Festoons, scroules, and antick leaves, every part inricht with silver and golde'.[105] Alongside the glittering metals of the props, the costumes were similarly lavish:

> fiftie gentlemen, richly attired and as gallantly mounted […] a mock-Maske of Baboons, attir'd like fantasticall Travailers in Neapolitane sutes and great ruffes […] the choice Musitions of our Kingdome […] attir'd like Virginian Priests […] strange Hoods of feathers and scallops about their neckes, and on their heads turbans stucke with several colour'd feathers […] the chief Maskers in Indian habits […] [in] cloath of silver, richly embroiudered with golden Sunns […] a rowe of white Estridgefeathers, mingled with springs of golde plate […] bawdricks of golde, embroidered high with purl[s] and about their neckes ruffes of feathers, spangled with pearle and silver.[106]

The sheer wealth of this description leaps off the page: it is impossible when reading it to pin down any single example of a wealthy costume, as the entire performance was designed to be overwhelming. The description of the costumes is as linguistically rich as it was fiscally, and the performance must have been as somatically spectacular — if not more so — than that of *Sapientia Solomonis* fifty years earlier.

The costumes and setting owe a significant debt to the work of Hakluyt and his fellow travel writers such as John Smith and Thomas Coryate. The casual references to 'Neapolitane suits', 'Virginian Priests' and 'Indian habits' are treated as asides within the

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[105] George Chapman, *The memorable masque of the two honourable Houses of Innes of Court; the Middle Temple and Lyncolnes Inne* (London, 1614), sig. A1$^{r}$-A2$^{v}$.
[106] Ibid., A1$^{r}$-A2$^{v}$. See also Gavin Hollis, *The Dead Indian: Virginians in The Memorable Masque, "The Triumph of Time", Henry VIII, and The Tempest of 1613* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) for more information on the display of Virginia in *The Memorable Masque*.

play text, which need no further detailing for the audience — either in print or performance — to understand. They indicate the existence of an assumed base of knowledge built on the work done by Hakluyt, Coryate, Smith and others, this mode of display and colonial engagement rooted in a deep textual history. The fascination these costumes held as dual sites of material and textual engagement is aptly demonstrated by an extant reference in the Middle Temple archives. One Humfry Peters, whose costume for the masque had been made at the 'charge of the howse […] [did] absolutely refuse to deliver the same [back to the Inn]' after the performance was over.[107] It is not clear whether Peters kept his costume to display, or whether he intended to cannibalise it for pearls and feathers to adorn his own wardrobe. Both options, however, suggest the symbolic importance of these costumes for the Inns men who wore them as both objects of awe and intermediaries between colonial wealth and the English body. Hakluyt's work, which had its origin in the intellectual community of the Middle Temple, had by 1613 become capable of influencing that community in turn.

These three sites of literary engagement demonstrate both the intellectual contexts and contemporary concerns which surrounded Hakluyt, and his own impact on their literary outputs. Studied in chronological order, they also reflect the increasing level of influence his work had within Elizabethan and Jacobean state discourse. The earliest, *Sapientia Solomonis*, was written by a German author and edited by an anonymous English one. It is more likely than not that Hakluyt was one of its performers, and he was certainly present at the 1566 performance, but he was not directly involved in its composition. This is not the case for the work of Stephen Parmenius, whose only major work was published the same year as Hakluyt's early work and drew directly from it. Parmenius explicitly framed his work as being influenced by Hakluyt: the two were

[107] London, The Middle Temple Archive, MT7/MAA3, fol. 6$^{r}$.

connected by a wider intellectual community across the university and beyond, and Parmenius's work was preserved and promoted by Hakluyt in *Principal Navigations* as an exemplar of imperial rhetoric. *De Navigatione* is a snapshot of Hakluyt's Oxford community, representative of both the influences surrounding him and the influence he brought in turn. It is also deeply rooted in the concerns and contexts of the 1580s, just as the 1566 performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* reflected the concerns of the early Elizabethan state. The 1613 performance of *The Memorable Masque* differs from both of these examples in that Hakluyt was not directly involved: the occasion instead represents the literary and material afterlife of his work. The Inns of Court was a space Hakluyt had been involved with both as an intellectual community and social space from his earliest years. The play and its surrounding material contexts represented the culmination of Hakluyt's proto-imperial rhetoric and dissemination of geographic knowledge: both were essential components within the intellectual atmosphere which generated the masque and its lavish display. Attending to them allows us to trace a trajectory of community, conversation and influence, and the cumulative, multi-lingual and multidirectional networks that shaped and were shaped by Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt's supposedly 'English' education in fact exposed him from an early age to both a global network of influences, and texts which grappled with placing those influences within Elizabethan ideologies.

## Richard Hakluyt and European Intellectual Engagement

As noted in the Introduction, the view of *Principal Navigations* as a quintessentially English text is best exemplified by James Anthony Froude's famous comment in 'England's Forgotten Worthies' that it was 'the Prose Epic of the modern English nation'.[1] This assessment of Richard Hakluyt and his compendium gained currency within Victorian scholarship, playing into the dominant contemporary historiographical view of Elizabethan England's importance to the development of the British empire.[2] Froude's interpretation of *Principal Navigations* as a 'prose Epic' has largely been dismissed by twenty-first century scholarship, while post-colonial work has reinterpreted the text within a critical framework which does not valorise its imperial ambitions.[3] The idea of the work's essential 'Englishness', however, is still largely accepted as a truism within Hakluyt scholarship: David Harris Sacks, for example, describes the text's 'clear purpose' as being to 'honor the English explorers and navigations whose tales it reports'.[4] While approaching it from a markedly different perspective, Joan-Pau Rubiés similarly situates the work's creation 'firmly within a late Elizabethan moment, when England was highly receptive to the various influences of the European Renaissance'.[5] Emergent nationalism,

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[1] J. A. Froude, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', *The Westminster Review*, 2 (1852), 32–67 (p. 34).
[2] Duncan Bell, 'The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution, and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860–1900', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34.1 (2006), 3–22 (pp. 12-13).
[3] See, for example, David Armitage, 'The Elizabethan Idea of Empire', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6.14 (2004), 269–77; Glyn Parry, 'John Dee and the Elizabethan British Empire in Its European Context', *The Historical Journal*, 49.3 (2006), 643–675.
[4] David Harris Sacks, 'Richard Hakluyt's Navigations in Time: History, Epic, and Empire', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 67.1 (2006), 31–6 (p. 31).
[5] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'From the "History of Travayle" to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Clare Jowitt and Daniel Carey (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) pp. 25–43 (p. 27). See also George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, ed. by James A. Williamson (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), and more recently Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) for longer form examples of work treating *Principal Navigations* as essentially English; Matthew Day, '"Honour to Our Nation": Nationalism, The Principal Navigations and Travel Collections in the Long Eighteenth Century', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 77–86 for analysis of the text's imperial critical history.

in this critical view of *Principal Navigations*, is at the heart of its purpose and thus essential to its function.

This view of the work as essentially and nationalistically English is at odds with an ongoing critical movement which seeks to examine the processes behind the creation of *Principal Navigations*. Such analysis consistently demonstrates that this process of creation was enabled by a process of sustained global — and primarily European — engagement.[6] Scholarship which attends to these processes, while simultaneously treating *Principal Navigations* as an inherently 'English' text, displays a tension which necessarily emerges from viewing the work as both a nationalist monument and a product of wider multinational engagement. Mary Fuller refers to this briefly in her analysis of narrative nationalism in *Principal Navigations*, terming it a 'suggestive incoherence', but does not expand on the textual effect of this incoherence.[7] Felicity Stout, in her analysis of Hakluyt's censorship of Russian material, similarly concludes that the activity of comparing the censored and uncensored versions 'exposes what was not acceptable […] [material] for Hakluyt in his attempt to create and celebrate English overseas exploits'.[8] Stout's analysis situates Hakluyt's active editorial work within the wider body of resources from which Hakluyt sourced material. In so doing, she hints at the editorial processes which obscure that process of engagement, but again does not expand on the conflict this creates in the text's expression of nationalism.

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[6] See, for example, Nandini Das, 'Encounter as Process: England and Japan in the Late Sixteenth Century', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69.4 (2016), 1343–68; Mary C. Fuller, 'Arthur and Amazons: Editing the Fabulous in Hakluyt's Principal Navigations', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 41.1 (2011), 173–89; and Julia Schleck, 'Forming the Captivity of Thomas Saunders: Hakluyt's Editorial Practices and Their Ideological Effects', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 129–38.

[7] Mary C. Fuller, '"Ravenous Strangers": The Argument of Nationalism in Two Narratives from Hakluyt's Principal Navigations', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 6.1 (2002), 1–28 (p. 28).

[8] Felicity Stout, '"The Strange and Wonderfull Discoverie of Russia": Hakluyt and Censorship', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 153–63 (p. 163).

This critical tension is the result of accepting Hakluyt's assertion of an essential 'national identity' for *Principal Navigations*, an over-simplification on his part which deliberately obscured the importance of non-English material to the form and function of the work. This chapter will take as an example the European material and influences on *Principal Navigations*, in order to examine both the textual debts Hakluyt owed to the material and its authors, and the tension which his editorial treatment of these debts created in his work. Hakluyt's engagement with this body of European material was the greatest non-English influence on *Principal Navigations*, and Hakluyt himself recognised that his connection to it undermined his stated intention to create an 'English' text. In the preface of the second edition he asserted that 'I am not ignorant of […] 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 unprofitablie ramassed and hurled together'.[9] The genre of cosmography was one closely associated with European writers for English readers, and Hakluyt's strident critique of the genre here was designed to establish an essential difference between these 'wearie volumes' and his fresh new English perspective.[10] Hakluyt was deeply involved with contemporary English intellectual communities and their projects of ideological development — as examined in the previous chapter — but even here his engagement cannot be delineated on straightforwardly national boundaries, and the importance of the multinational nature of these circles is clear from analysis.

The exploration of the tension between the work's engagement with European models and processes, and the conflict this creates with its expression of nationalism

[9] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 3 vols (London, 1598-1600), I (1598), STC (2nd ed.) 12626a, sig. 3$^{v}$. Joan-Pau Rubiés has also recognised this moment of refutation as reflective of an essential tension in Hakluyt's work, writing that 'Hakluyt imitated Ramusio in his editorial methods [and] corresponded with Gerardus Mercator […] even while […] he attacked the cosmographical genre for its confusions'. [Rubiés, 'From the "History of Travayle"', p. 27.]

[10] See Rubiés, pp. 25-8 for detail on the 'European' nature of cosmographies.

focuses on three examples. The chapter begins by studying the connections between *Principal Navigations* and *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, the Venetian printed text used as a primary model by Hakluyt, to demonstrate the effect that Ramusio's model had on the expression of nationalism in *Principal Navigations*. Secondly, it examines the processes of epistolary engagement which Hakluyt used to source manuscript material, and so illuminates the importance of these connections within both his social and textual networks. Thirdly, it examines the processes of translation by which Hakluyt reframed 'stranger' narratives in both print and manuscript, demonstrating both the threatening status such texts posed to his 'English' work and his editorial attempts to negate this threat. As these three instances collectively demonstrate, the expression of 'English' national identity in *Principal Navigations* was actually created through sustained engagement with European communities and literature, and in some cases reinforced by the very process of their deliberate erasure as sources. The 'incoherence' recognised by Fuller, Stout and Rubiés is inherent to the text, and any critical work which treats *Principal Navigations* as a nationalist work must recognise and engage with this.

**Structural Models: *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* and *Principal Navigations***

When Hakluyt came to form the material for his magnum opus into a single text, he turned to a quintessentially European work as a model: *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, the pre-eminent comparative work to *Principal Navigations* in terms of both scale and approach. Written by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigationi* was first printed in Venice between 1550 and 1559. Like *Principal Navigations*, Ramusio's work was composed of multiple documents collected and collated into a single text, its scale necessitating publication in multiple volumes. *Navigationi* was explicitly recognised by Hakluyt as a source and inspiration for his own work: *Divers Voyages*, the 1582 precursor to *Principal*

*Navigations*, lifted many of its names verbatim from *Navigationi* and praised Ramusio for 'gather[ing] many notable things'.[11] Fiona Lejosne, in her study of the creation of political and geographic spaces in *Navigationi*, notes that 'unlike the travellers, the man who gathered [these] texts had no itinerary to guide him while composing these volumes'.[12] Thanks to Ramusio's work, Hakluyt did have such an itinerary. I have mentioned Hakluyt's denunciation of 'wearie volumes of cosmography' previously, and there were other such models which Hakluyt was able to draw on when creating his compendium.[13] Many of these cosmographies were published in Europe during the sixteenth century, including Johan Boemus's *Omnium gentium mores* (1520), Sebastian Münster's *Universal Cosmography* (printed 1544 in German, 1550 in I, 1561 in I), and André Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* (1575).[14] Each of these cosmographies had, as their primary aim, comprehensiveness, following humanistic ideals in treating classical and modern authorities from different nations with the same weight.[15] Hakluyt's approach differed from this in that he included a great deal more first-hand accounts, with a focus on I accounts rather than aiming to treat national origins equally. This methodology was more similar to Ramusio's than to the authors of these continental cosmographies, and examining the modelling of *Principal Navigations* on *Navigationi* in detail informs us of the influence the work had on the narrative movement and structure of its I successor. Both *Principal Navigations* and *Navigationi* were created through humanist processes of research and transcription. Ramusio trawled through manuscripts and printed works to find material, excerpting narratives he thought would be most useful for his work. It is an

[11] Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, ed. by John Winter Jones (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1850), p. 3.
[12] Fiona Lejosne, 'Les lieux du compilateur: les Navigationi et viaggi de G.B. Ramusio (1550-1559)', *Belgeo: Revue belge de géographie*, 2 (2014), 1–13 (p. 1).
[13] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), sig. 3$^{v}$.
[14] Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 292–309 (p. 296).
[15] Ibid., p. 297.

approach that Hakluyt would memorably adopt, although unlike Hakluyt, Ramusio framed many of these selections with *discorsi*, or brief editorial introductions.[16] In the *discorso* introducting Francesco Alvarez's account of Ethiopia, for example, Ramusio claimed that 'the profit one could make [in Africa], I dare say, would not be less than that which was brought to the world by the discoveries of Christopher Columbus'.[17] Such *discorsi* made Ramusio's editorial presence distinct within the page architecture, and gave him a distinct authority as editor.[18] They also suggest his own biases: there are sixteen *discorsi* in the first volume of *Navigationi*, which focused on travel to Africa and the East, and only six each in volumes two and three, focusing on travel to the west.[19]

Like *Principal Navigations*, *Navigationi* was created by a man engaged with contemporary questions of national reputation and identity. Both works attempt to establish a framework which could both answer these questions and provide a model for future engagement with other countries. The form and function of both *Principal Navigations* and *Navigationi* are ultimately inextricable from their historical context, products of their editors' engagement with their cities and the developing nationalist projects ongoing within them. Joan-Pau Rubiés characterises the atmosphere surrounding the writing of *Navigationi* as characterised by 'close links between mercantile business interests and a humanistic education', especially strong in Venice because 'the whole

[16] *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), I, 49.
[17] Translation taken from Elizabeth Horodowich, 'Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36.4 (2005), 1039–62 (p. 1045) [original from Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, ed. by R. A. Skelton, Mundus Novus, 3 vols (Amsterdam: Theatrum orbis Terrarum Limited, 1968), I, fol. 204$^{r}$. These are facsimile editions of the 1563 (volume one), 1583 (volume two), and 1606 (volume three) editions].
[18] For detail on Ramusio's editorial presence within these *discorsi* — and how it varied between different narratives — see Toni Veneri, 'Giovanni Battista Ramusio, molto più di uno spettatore. Le quinte delle "Navigationi et viaggi"', *Italica*, 89.2 (2012), 162–201; Margaret Small, 'A World Seen through Another's Eyes: Hakluyt, Ramusio, and the Narratives of the Navigationi et Viaggi', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 45–57 (p. 55).
[19] Horodowich, 'Armchair Travelers', p. 1045.

Republic lived off commercial investments'.[20] *Navigationi* was thus both an essentially Venetian and essentially humanist text. Ramusio gave narrative authority to merchant travellers and used their accounts to discriminate between classical and modern contexts: this critical method of systematic verification 'defined the humanist paradigm at its best'.[21] At the same time, the 'humanist paradigm' of *Navigationi*'s creation was deeply rooted in the concerns of contemporary Venice: the availability of texts, the strength of the text markets, and the state's reliance on trade.

Venice acted almost as a data bank in the sixteenth century thanks to its migratory mercantile communities, immediate access to the sea, and pioneering postal system. In the fifteenth century, more books had been printed in Venice than in any other European city — roughly 150 a year for a total of 4,500 — and this level of book production remained stable into the sixteenth century. A rough estimate has around 500 printers and publishers active in the city during this period, producing between 150-175 titles a year for c.18 million copies printed over the course of the century.[22] When Hakluyt began to source material for *Principal Navigations*, he was engaging with an English society remarkably similar in its growing mercantilism and rapidly expanding text markets to Ramusio's Venice. The similarities are especially notable when compared to his English predecessor, Richard Eden, whose translation of *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* in 1555 was a contemporary of *Navigationi*. *Decades*, written while Mary I and Philip II

[20] Rubiés, p. 28. The link between Venetian interests and Ramusio's work is explored best in Marica Milanesi, *Tolomeo sostituito: studi di storia delle conoscenze geografiche nel XVI secolo* (Milano: Unicopli, 1984) and Elizabeth Horodowich, 'Giovanni Battista Ramusio's Venetian New World', in *The Venetian Discovery of America: Geographic Imagination and Print Culture in the Age of Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 63–88, both of which will be discussed further in this chapter.

[21] Rubiés, p. 30.

[22] Peter Burke, 'Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication', in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, ed. by John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 389–418 (p. 398). For more useful detail on contemporary Venice, see Patricia Fortini Brown, 'Behind the Walls: The Material Culture of Venetian Elites', in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, ed. by John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 295–338.

ruled England, contained elaborate prefatory material 'extravagantly praising Spanish heroism in the Americas and urging the English to unite with and copy their European imperial forebears'.[23] While Eden viewed England as essentially imperially inferior to Spain, Hakluyt confidently asserted the existence — and superiority — of England as an imperial rival.[24]

Both Hakluyt and Ramusio claimed authority through their status as representatives of their nations. Their life stories were similar: Ramusio also worked as a secretary for an ambassador to France, though unlike Hakluyt he remained in diplomatic service for the rest of his life.[25] Both men grew up in centres of state power: Hakluyt in Oxford and London, Ramusio in Venice, and both used this childhood exposure to travel to frame their editorial work as well as claiming authority as national representatives. For Hakluyt, this took the form of the narrative of his childhood experience in the Middle Temple. This story served to connect him to both a family legacy and a venerated English institution, teaching him that 'in all former ages, they [the English] have bene men full of activity […] in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then [sic] once, [they] have excelled all the nations and people of the earth'.[26] Ramusio used his childhood experiences in a similar way in *Navigationi*: the most notable example appears at the beginning of the section describing the voyages of the Venetian Marco Polo. This account is markedly different to the other stories in *Navigationi*, and this difference structurally functions to re-iterate Ramusio's specifically Venetian authority. 'Dei Viaggi di Messer Marco Polo' is considered a foundational text within historiographical analysis of the formation of Italian

[23] Andrew Hadfield, 'Eden, Richard (c. 1520–1576), Translator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8454>.
[24] Rubiés, p. 31
[25] The production of *Navigationi* indicates the potential of this secretarial role for sourcing information from across national and diplomatic networks, which Hakluyt likely realised when he began his own work.
[26] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589) STC (2nd ed.) / 12625, p. xvii

national identity.[27] It makes a particularly effective example, then, for analysis of Ramusio's construction of narrative authority as a Venetian.

In the account Ramusio describes Polo and his men returning and, like Ulysses, not being recognised by any of their family, who:

> firmly believed that they had been dead for many years […] these gentlemen, from the length and discomfort of the journey and their many toils of the soul, [were] all transformed into effigies […] [almost like] Tartars in the face and in the speaking, they having almost forgotten the Venetian language.[28]

The comparison elevates Polo to the status of the mythical master-traveller Ulysses, a compliment which is paid to no other traveller in *Navigationi*.[29] It invites another comparison, since it follows that if the Venetian Polo is like the Greek Ulysses, the Venetian Ramusio must be like the Greek Homer. Ramusio, taking on this Homeric mantle, tells the story of the Ulysses-like plot devised by Polo to reintegrate himself into Venetian society and 'recover the honour of the city'. He prefaces this by locating himself within the same Venetian society:

> since I was a young man I have heard much spoken clearly by Gasparo Malipiero, very old gentleman and senator of singular kindness and integrity, who had his house on the canal of Santa Marina […] and the corner of San Giovanni Christomo […] [he] reported to have heard [this story] from his father and ancestors, and through some old men, his neighbours.[30]

Setting the scene this way situates the Polo narrative within Venetian oral history to establish the authority of Malipiero, and by extension, Ramusio.[31] Ramusio's long-standing link to Malipiero connects him to a paternalistic oral tradition, contextualising his knowledge within the history of the city's social networks. Much as Hakluyt would use his connections to his cousin, the Inns of Court, and University of Oxford to mark himself as

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[27] Eugenio Burgio, Marina Buzzoni, and Antonella Ghersetti, 'A Digital Edition of Dei Viaggi Di Messer Marco Polo, Gentilhuomo Venetiano (Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, II, 1559): The Project and Its Recent Updates', *Quaderni Veneti*, 1.2 (2012), 227–33.
[28] Translation mine from Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, ed. by R. A. Skelton, II, sig. 5$^{r}$.
[29] Horodowich, 'Armchair Travelers', p. 1046.
[30] Ramusio, II, sig. 5$^{r}$-$^{v}$.
[31] These being his physical relation to the canals, his position as senator and his familial legacy.

an English authority, Ramusio here reminds the reader that he is entirely Venetian and thus possessed of private information which only he can share with them. Both men used a semi-paternal figure as the mediator between themselves and this knowledge, figuring their participation within this national history within patriarchal terms to re-frame personal mythography as national.

With these credentials established, Ramusio proceeded to describe Polo's Ulysses-like wisdom. Polo and his men hosted a banquet for their disbelieving family, appearing first to greet their guests dressed in 'long floor-length robes of creamy satin'.[32] They then stripped off these robes to reveal similar robes of 'creamy damask', cutting the satin robes into pieces and distributing them to the servants. After eating they left, returning dressed in robes of 'creamy velvet' and distributing the damask robes as before. After finishing the meal they did the same with these velvet robes, appearing finally in 'the habit of usual [Venetian] clothes'. Polo then left the table and brought back 'ill ordered' and 'worn coarse cloth' they had worn when they first returned, sat down, and began unpicking their seams and hems with a sharp knife. Out of them he brought 'rubies, sapphires […] diamonds and emeralds which had been sewn into each of these': a wise choice on Polo's part, as he knew 'for sure that otherwise […] it would not have been possible [for him] to bring so much [on the return journey]'. At this point the banquet guests 'truly knew that these were the honoured gentlemen whom they had doubted and gave them tremendous honour and reverence'.[33]

The tale stands out in *Navigationi* for its tonal differences to other narratives. The tale of Polo's return revolves around the classic mythical trope of the unrecognised

[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

traveller returning home, before moving into traditional folkloric triplicate patterning.[34] Its form speaks to the difficulties of transforming the tale from an oral history to a printed narrative, emphasising through the foregrounding of its origin and structure Ramusio's connection to Venetian tradition and future prosperity. Though Hakluyt did not write a comparable narrative as long or detailed as this, he did use the same tropes to similar effect. In his retelling of 'The voyage of M. Hore and divers other gentlemen to Newfoundland […] 1536', he wrote that 'M. Oliver Dawbeny […] was in this voyage [and] […] told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following'.[35] Further on, he writes that

> [Thomas] Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that [his parents] […] knew him not to be their sonne, until they found a secret marke which was a wart upon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles onely to learne the truth of this voyage from his own mouth.[36]

The veracity of this account relies on its simplicity, coming from its speaker's 'own mouth', but this rhetoric of plainness belies the complex ongoing processes which establish its authority.[37] Like Ramusio, Hakluyt locates it within England through explicit connections to respected institutions (of 'the Middle Temple', 'of Oxford'). He utilised the same tropes as Ramusio — the unrecognised traveller, the truth of oral narratives, and his own personal connection to this orality — to strengthen the text's claim to authority. In transforming these tales from oral to printed form and preserving the signs of this process on the page, Ramusio and Hakluyt both figured their authorial role as that of a link in a chain working to transmit information to a wider readership. This narrative authority is

[34] The importance of cloth to Ramusio's story is worth noting. The wealth of the Polos is hinted at through the descriptions of 'creamy damask' and 'creamy velvet' which they distribute to servants: this cloth wealth serves a vital role within the story, while it is ultimately through cloth that Marco Polo was able to transport his new-found wealth and bring it to Venice.
[35] Taylor, II, 391.
[36] Ibid., p. 393.
[37] See Das, 'Richard Hakluyt', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, pp. 302-3 for analysis of this account and 'plainness' in Hakluyt.

also tied to questions of national inheritance, making nationality of vital importance for the authorial personae behind both works.

Ramusio's nationalism in *Navigationi* was subtle — certainly more so than Hakluyt's, which was made explicit for the reader in the title of his work. In *Navigationi*, it is most visible structurally. The three volumes of the work are organised according to 'different zones of exploration and paths of traffic, trade, and commerce rather than by chronology or continent'.[38] Structuring the work by 'zones of exploration' in this way creates an intermediary exploratory protagonist, required to 'discover' these zones before the reader. Lejosne, in her study of Ramusio's use of space, recognises this as Ramusio 'ascrib[ing] centrality to the Republic of Venice'.[39] The importance of the Venetian state to the text's structure can be seen in this geographic movement: the second volume begins with Leo Africanus's description of Muslim Africa, 'the starting point for all European travel […] [as] its coastal exploration, first undertaken by a Venetian, [which] formed the basis for all [their] subsequent explorations'.[40] The reader's textual passage through the material mirrors the geographic routes pioneered by Venetians, making *Navigationi* 'a decidedly Venetian vision'.[41] Venetians themselves were frequently given honorifics by Ramusio: Polo is a new Ulysses, and his journey to Cathay 'more dangerous, arduous, lengthy, and ultimately monumental than that of Columbus to America', while Antonio Pigafetta, the chronicler of Magellan's circumnavigation, deserved 'a statue in marble' for his efforts — though Magellan, apparently, did not.[42] Hakluyt's centering of England within the structure of *Principal Navigations* mirrored Ramusio's 'zones of exploration':

[38] Horodowich, 'Armchair Travelers', p. 1043.
[39] Lejosne, p. 13.
[40] Horodowich, 'Armchair Travelers', p. 1045.
[41] Ibid., p. 1045.
[42] Ramusio, II, sig. 3v; Horodowich, 'Armchair Travelers', pp. 1044-5.

as with *Navigationi*, the geographic and chronological structure made the history of English travel synonymous with narrative momentum.[43]

The importance of Venice to the narrative drive of *Navigationi* implies, however, a greater world standing than the state actually possessed by the 1550s.[44] Discussions surrounding the decline of Venice as a European power had come 'to permeate Venetian political discourse in the late 1520s', with the Treaty of Bologna in 1530 marking 'the end of an era' in terms of Venice's global reputation.[45] The state's continuing importance as a centre of text production and dissemination led to the development of a new role in the 1540s. In *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* (1543), Gasparo Contarini put forward the idea that Venice could use its role as a textual hub to recreate itself as a modern-day ancient Greece, disseminating advice to nations whose political stars were on the ascendant and thus regain its global significance.[46] Ramusio was a secretary to the Republic's ambassador in his youth, and spent much of his later life working in the service of the Venetian state. His *Navigationi* perfectly fulfils Contarini's brief by collating information from multiple sources using Venice's textual markets for future travellers, thus ensuring that Venice would retain its importance to future travellers as the source of indispensable information. Hakluyt's promotion of an imperial future for England in the model of the Iberian empire similarly belied the fact that, contemporarily, no such English empire existed and attempts at colonial settlements in America had failed.[47] Hakluyt's aim was not to regain England's lost status, but instead to assert that such status existed.

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[43] See Taylor, II, 403-4 for Hakluyt's explanation of this delineation.
[44] Elisabeth G. Gleason, 'Confronting New Realities: Venice and the Peace of Bologna, 1530', *in Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, pp. 168–84 (pp. 169-71).
[45] Ibid., p. 170.
[46] See *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* (Paris, 1543), and see Elisabeth G Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) for more detail.
[47] See David Boruchoff, 'Piety, Patriotism, and Empire: Lessons for England, Spain, and the New World in the Works of Richard Hakluyt', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62.3 (2009), 809–58; David Harris Sacks, 'Richard Hakluyt's Navigations in Time: History, Epic, and Empire'.

There has been critical debate on the extent of *Navigationi*'s Venetian patriotism. Margaret Small argues that 'though aspects of the *Navigationi* had definite commercial applications […] in contrast to [*Principal Navigations*], [it] appears to be less a work of political or commercial propaganda than a humanist geographic treatise', with any nationalist applications 'debatable and […] certainly secondary to the geographic [aim].[48] Small's analysis of the work views it ultimately as a humanist endeavour, with Ramusio's main objective being 'the filling of an intellectual void in the knowledge of the ancients'.[49] Marica Milanesi and Elizabeth Horodowich disagree with this interpretation, arguing that Ramusio's work was designed to promote global trade from a Venetian perspective, and thus functioned as nationalist propaganda.[50] Attempts at such distinctions, however, are unproductive in the context of the contemporary desire amongst Venetian diplomats and statesmen to reframe Venice's global significance within an instructional or advisory role, which ensured that the geographic purposes of *Navigationi* were never so far removed from propagandistic ones so as to lend themselves to separation into 'primary' and 'secondary' goals. Deeply encoded within its form, the propagandistic purposes of the work are indistinguishable from the work the text simultaneously performs in filling 'an intellectual void'.

Another point of similarity between the expression of nationalism in *Principal Navigations* and *Navigationi* was in their expression of anti-Spanish sentiments. In *Navigationi*, Venice was presented as the equal of Spain and Portugal if not their superior: the logic of Ramusio's textual structure implied that they were only beginning to catch up to long established Venetian knowledge.[51] Ramusio was not free to criticise Spain

[48] Small, 'A World Seen through Another's Eyes', p. 48.
[49] Ibid., p. 47.
[50] See Milanesi, pp. 27-74; Elizabeth Horodowich, *The Venetian Discovery of America*, especially 'Giovanni Battista Ramusio's Venetian New World', pp. 63–88.
[51] Horodowich, *The Venetian Discovery of America*, p. 68; Gleason, 'Confronting New Realities', pp. 168–84.

unreservedly thanks to the editorial controls of Counter-Reformation Rome and the 'widespread presence of Imperial Spain in Italy'.[52] The 'Black Legend' of Spanish imperialism could be expressed more strongly in Northern European work, but owed much to Venetian cultural and editorial outputs such as Ramusio's.[53] Like *Navigationi*, *Principal Navigations* was edited and published during a period of strong national anti-Spanish feeling, but unlike Ramusio, Hakluyt made his criticism explicit.[54]

The anti-Spanish sentiments of *Principal Navigations* have generally been viewed as the result of Elizabethan Anglo-Spanish military conflict.[55] While this is certainly true, a significant part of how anti-Spanish rhetoric functions within *Principal Navigations* is the result of Hakluyt's sustained engagement with European communities and his use of Ramusio as a model. Hakluyt's time in Paris had connected him to a European centre of Protestantism. Philippe Duplessis-Mornay was one of the figures at the heart of this community, and his treatise 'Discours au Roy Henri III, sur les moyens de diminuer l'Espaignols' is an example of the explicitly anti-Spanish work produced and disseminated during Hakluyt's time there.[56] 'Discours' advocated an Anglo-French blockade of the English Channel against Spain, as well as a joint attack on Spanish possessions across the Atlantic.[57] Hakluyt in his own 'Discourse' also promoted the idea that displacing Spain should be England's priority.[58] Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière, another member of the Huguenot community, received the honour of being the only French geographer explicitly

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[52] Horodowich, *The Venetian Discovery of America*, p. 82.
[53] The Spanish government were more reticent about printing travel or colonial literature than other nations in order to protect their secrets: many Venetian printers thus took it upon themselves to source and print this material in defiance of Spanish wishes. See Ibid., pp. 63–88 for more detail.
[54] The first edition being printed only a year after the failed Armada invasion.
[55] Francisco J. Borge, '"We (upon Peril of My Life) Shall Make the Spaniard Ridiculous to All Europe": Richard Hakluyt's "Discourse" of Spain', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 167–77.
[56] 'Speech to King Henry III, on the means of weakening the Spanish', Printed in Philippe de Mornay and Charlotte Arbaleste de Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance de duplessis-Mornay* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1824), pp. 580-93.
[57] Borge, p. 168.
[58] Ibid.

quoted favourably in the preface to the first edition of *Principal Navigations*.[59] Hakluyt claimed that Popelinière's 'very words […] whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasse' the world in exploration spurred Hakluyt on 'to undertake the burden of [his] worke', giving the Frenchman credit for the impetus behind Hakluyt's English work.[60] Like Duplessis-Mornay, Popelinière favourably regarded the Spanish policy of sending 'all the rogues' to the new world, which he expressed in *Les Trois Mondes* (Paris, 1582).[61] Hakluyt agreed with Popelinière on this point and suggested the same policy in *Divers Voyages*.[62] Popelinière did not extend his praise to that of the Spanish imperial project: he instead used *Les Trois Mondes* to publicise the events of French-Spanish colonial fights in Florida, building on the propagandist account published by the Calvinist Nicolas Le Challeux. This account framed the French victims as heroic martyrs, falsely claiming they were executed by Spanish forces in an unwarranted bloodbath.[63] Le Challeux's account was written sixteen years before *Les Trois Mondes* was published, and Popelinière's use of his material reflects contemporary developments in European politics. That Hakluyt read and agreed with Popelinière's work is shown by the status accorded to him in the first edition of *Principal Navigations*, indicating a sustained engagement with this French anti-Spanish Protestant literary circle even after he had left Paris.

[59] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), sig. *2ᵛ.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Diego Pirillo, 'Balance of Power and Freedom of the Seas: Richard Hakluyt and Alberico Gentili', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 177–87 (pp. 181-2).
[62] *Divers Voyages* was also printed in 1582, entering the Stationers' Register on 21st May. It is unclear exactly what month *Les Trois Mondes* was printed, but it is unlikely that Hakluyt derived the idea from Popelinière. They agree on another point as well: both Popelinière, Hakluyt and Ramusio supported the English claim to North America through the voyage of Cabot to Florida. See Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, pp. 151-2 for detail of the connection.
[63] Le Challeux's original account was in *Discours de L'histoire de la Florida* (Dieppe, 1566) — for more on the French Protestant polemical uses of Le Challeux's narrative, see John McGrath, 'A Massacre Revised: Matanzas, 1565', *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, Essays in French Colonial History, 21 (1997), 15–29.

Critical interpretations such as Froude's have used Hakluyt's expressions of anti-Spanish sentiment as an example of his status as an exemplar Elizabethan Protestant. It plays into imperial critical constructions which frame the text as purely 'English' and figure it within a historiographic view where the English are deemed explorers rather than pirates.[64] The anti-Spanish sentiments in *Principal Navigations*, however, were influenced by sustained engagement with both the Venetian *Navigationi* and the active community of Parisian Huguenots, complicating the critical assumption that xenophobic sentiment necessarily reflects solely English concerns. The English work intended to promote English voyages and history thus in fact owes a significant textual debt to the quintessential Venetian humanist text, making the basic structure and form of the 'English Prose Epic' profoundly European.

**Sourcing Material: European Letters and *Principal Navigations***

*Navigationi* was a monolith of a text, created out of multiple sources by a single editor with a nationalist purpose. Letters are not influenced by any such editorial hand, and their purposes can range wildly even between the same author-recipient pair. If attending to the similarities between *Navigationi* and *Principal Navigations* shows the influence that one man's work had on Hakluyt's by offering a structural framework, then attending to the letters which often influenced and formed the constitutional material for that work expands this examination to consider the ways in which individual narratives and influences were treated within this established editorial frame. In order to bring letters into *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt required a systematic way to editorially treat them. *Navigationi* only included narratives, but the remit of *Principal Navigations* was generically much wider, and Hakluyt's use of material reflects this. Letters, in particular, intrinsically blur generic

[64] See Nandini Das and others, 'Pirate', *TIDE: Keywords* <http://www.tideproject.uk/keywords-home/?keyword_id=51> [accessed 10 December 2019].

boundaries. They may contain narratives, but their material is inherently coded as subjective: they are always written from a sender to a recipient (and either of those parties can be singular or plural), and they are often a form of report. They may contain lists of facts, prices, or places, but even this data is coded within a wider narrative between sender and recipient.

Letters were key in the process of collation by which Hakluyt collected material, and they performed a vital service structurally within *Principal Navigations*. ~~They~~ They could flesh out communities for the reader, impart authority to individual narratives — especially if they came from royal figures — and a sufficient number in series could create a narrative of progression. To perform this function within *Principal Navigations*, they needed to appear as 'objective' material, but their very presence speaks to the existence of vast social networks operating behind the scenes. In order to source copies of these letters Hakluyt required the permission of either the author or recipient (excepting those which had been placed in either company or state archives, in which cases he required the permission of those bodies). The only way he could have known about the existence of these letters was necessarily through engagement with these networks of creation or preservation. Each letter in *Principal Navigations* thus represents a moment of interaction with a wider social network than is necessarily depicted in the text. Though Hakluyt did not travel widely, he did engage with communities across both England and Europe through epistolary exchanges, a process of sustained engagement which complicates the view of *Principal Navigations* as a work composed of 'English' voices. Examining these processes, the roles they had within Hakluyt's working processes, and his editorial treatment of epistolary material thus enables us to reassess the extent to which we can usefully consider *Principal Navigations* an 'English' text.~~.~~

Early modern intellectuals across Europe communicated primarily through letters. The vast networks created by their correspondence have often claimed attention in modern scholarship as the 'republic of letters', although the sixteenth century republic of letters is usually studied in isolation from those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, due to their radically different social contexts.[65] Desiderius Erasmus summed up its circle of influence in his 1494 work *Anti-Barbari*:

> Some people desire as it were the total destruction of the Republic of Letters, whereas others not so much want to destroy its dominion but rather strive to lock it within firm boundaries. The latter want to save the Republic, but in such a horribly afflicted state that they themselves can tyrannize it.[66]

The cross-continental potential of the network was key, its freedom from 'firm boundaries' essential to its existence. Following Luther's break with Rome, the concept of a *respublica litteraria* or *respublica litterarum* took on new importance, as the idea of a pan-European *respublica Christiana* was no longer possible.[67] Within this wider network smaller and specialized communities began to develop from the second half of the sixteenth century, including those devoted to discussing the study of cosmology and cartography, though issues of religious debate still plagued the republic throughout the period.[68] These factors made it a vibrant community which could only exist through careful adherence to unspoken social conventions: people became part of the republic by the act of writing, so those who failed to sustain lines of communication could not be, by definition, active citizens of the republic. As Dirk van Miert puts it, 'reciprocity was a vital principle'.[69]

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[65] Howard Hotson, Thomas Wallnig, and Dirk van Miert, 'Reassembling the Republic of Letters: What Was the Republic of Letters?', in *Reassembling the Republic of Letters in the Digital Age: Standards, Systems, Scholarship*, ed. by Howard Hotson and Thomas Wallnig (Gottingen: Gottingen University Pres, 2019), pp. 23–41.
[66] Translation quoted from Dirk van Miert, 'What Was the Republic of Letters? A Brief Introduction to a Long History', *Briefgeschiedenis*, 204/5 (2014), 269–87 (p. 272). See, for more detail on Erasmus's work with letters, Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
[67] Hotson, Wallnig and van Miert, p. 23.
[68] Ibid., p. 35; Constance M. Furey, 'Introduction', in *Erasmus, Contarini, and the Religious Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 1–13.
[69] Van Miert, 'What Was the Republic of Letters?', p. 270.

Sustaining communication in the light of religious and political differences required idealism and pragmatism, with writers avoiding drawing attention to their disagreements and stressing their common ground.[70] The republic was 'not a small, heroic cadre of brilliant minds, but rather a much more eclectic, diverse, and conflicted assemblage'.[71]

The journeys which ~~these~~ these physical letters underwent ~~in travelling~~ between sender and recipient were considerable, even when only sent within England. Documents like *A Table of the chieffest citties and townes in England as they ly from London* (1600) detail the distance between towns and the ideal stopping points from London: they suggest that it took in total roughly three and a half days to travel the length of England, and four and a half days to travel its breadth using the wide network of medieval roads.[72] Hakluyt's letters within England likely did not have quite this distance to travel, but his movement between Oxford, London, Bristol and Wetheringsett would have made him intimately familiar with the practical details of movement through the country.

[70] See, for more information, Jeanine De Landtsheer and Henk Nellen, eds., *Between Scylla and Charybdis: Learned Letter Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religious and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
[71] Carol Pal, *Republic of Women: Rethinking the Republic of Letters in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 14.
[72] *A Table of the chieffest citties and townes in England as they ly from London* (London, 1600). These works also demonstrate the important intersections between trade routes and population centres: the cities and towns named have historical significance as diocesan centres (Lichfield, Coventry and Canterbury), or as market towns (Tadcaster, Abingdon and Yarmouth).

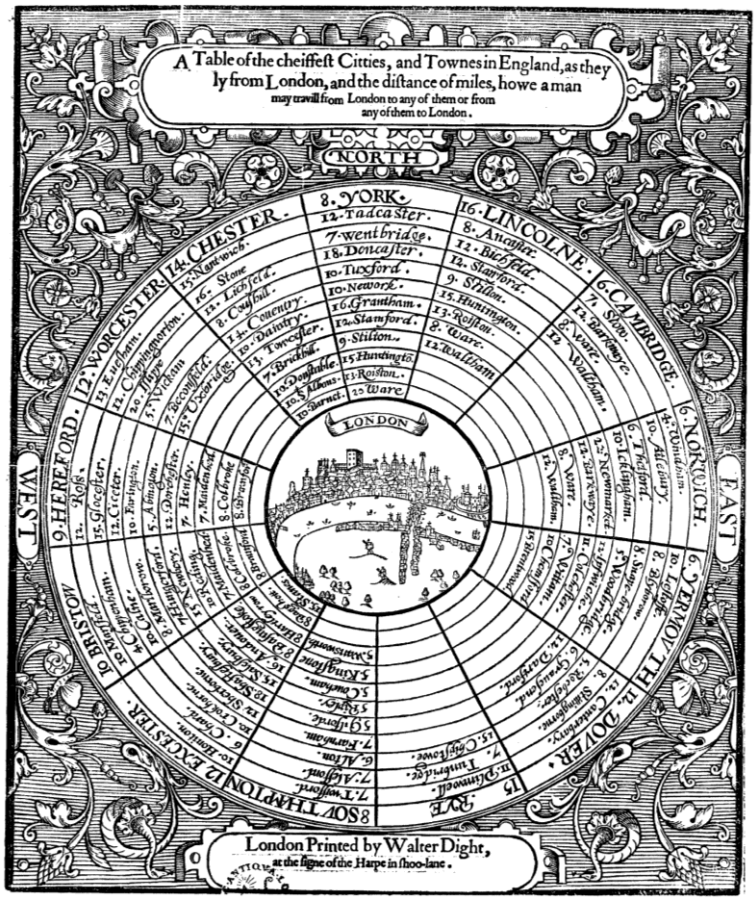



*Figure 4. A Table of the chieffest cities and townes in England as they ly from London (1600).*

Letters sent from England to mainland European had even further to go, with part of the journey necessitating sea-travel. Information on these routes was also readily available to English readers in works such as *The Post of the world* (1576). *Post* contained details of the distances between population centres within mainland Europe and was translated into English by Richard Rowlands.[73] Rowlands dedicated his work to Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange and the royal agent in the Netherlands. In this dedication, Rowlands emphasised his belief in the importance of his work for England's merchant

[73] Rowlands and Hakluyt have similar histories and may have met, though their lives took very different paths. Rowlands attended Christ Church College a decade before Hakluyt, and while he was there converted to Catholicism. Several years after publishing *The Post* he printed a martyrological account of the execution of Edward Campion and was forced to leave England for Europe, where he took his grandfather's surname of Verstegan. He lived in Paris for several years, where he crossed paths with Edward Stafford, before moving to Antwerp. See Paul Arblaster, 'Verstegan [Formerly Rowlands], Richard (1548x50–1640)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24217>.

community, calling it 'a thing of necessitie to be desired […] [by] all suche Gentlemen as are addicted to travaile […] Marchants or Factors'.[74] When considering the letters which formed contemporary epistolary networks, it is vital to consider the ways in which writers either emphasised or obscured these physical histories.

Hakluyt's existing correspondence has been collected in two edited volumes by E. G. R. Taylor~~,~~ published in 1935. These are essential volumes ~~within~~ for Hakluyt scholarship, and though nearly a hundred years old, no more comprehensive edition has yet been published. They contain the correspondence of both Hakluyt and his cousin, Richard Hakluyt the Elder, as well as various other documents such as prefaces or notes written by or naming either of the men. The majority of the letters concern Hakluyt the Younger and were written either to or from figures in England, but there are a number from European contacts. These indicate the existence of a substantial but unknown body of material which either remains untraced or has not survived. A letter from Hakluyt to Walsingham written in Paris in 1584, for example, casually mentions that 'wee have heard [this] by diverse letters from Geneva'.[75] Taylor's volumes contain no letters written either by or to Hakluyt addressed Geneva, but 'diverse letters' suggests either a prolonged conversation with one or more correspondents. Similarly, a letter from Hakluyt to Emanuel van Meteren in 1594 references sourcing a copy of Abilfeda Ismael's work from either 'some of my friends in Venice' or 'my friend Paulus Melissus' in Heidelberg.[76] Melissus was director of the Electoral library in Heidelberg, a position he had taken up in 1586 after a visit to England where he may have initially met Hakluyt. He would therefore have been well placed to supply Hakluyt with material, and this offhand remark suggests that he had done so before. Neither these 'friends in Venice' nor Melissus are referenced in *Principal*

[74] Richard Rowland, *The Post of the World* (London, 1576), sig. Aii$^{v}$.
[75] Taylor, I, 210.
[76] Taylor, II, 420.

*Navigations*, nor are there any other letters to, from, or about them currently known to exist.

The letter from Hakluyt to van Meteren was enclosed within a short note sent from van Meteren to Jacob Valcke regarding the purchase of Hakluyt's services.[77] Valcke appears to have requested a summary 'of such writers or of the sound opinions of experienced men who have observed and noted down anything concerning the north-east passage', information which Hakluyt valued at 20 marks sterling (van Meteren converts this for Valcke as 140 gulden).[78] Van Meteren reassured Valcke that he had known Hakluyt for 'full twenty years', while Hakluyt's letter to him referenced an initial 'friendly letter of 27. Nov'.[79] These details suggest a long and sustained epistolary relationship, evidence of which has, again, not survived. Van Meteren is referenced in *Principal Navigations* as the source of 'The miraculous victory atchieued by the *English* Fleete […] Vpon the *Spanish* huge *Armada* sent in the yeere 1588', which Hakluyt excerpted from his '15 booke […] history of the low Countreys', but there is otherwise no indication in the text of a relationship between the two men.[80] In the absence of epistolary evidence, other literary material provides further details as to the nature of the relationship and the importance of letters in sustaining it.

Van Meteren was a cousin of the map maker Abraham Ortelius, and the two men shared a vast network of family members. Several of them lived in London: Van Meteren, Ortelius's sister Elizabeth, her husband and son (Jacques and Jacob Cool), and their cousin Adrienne de Weyden (also referred to as Adriana van der Weede or combinations thereof). The connection between Van Meteren, the Cools and Ortelius is well known, but de Weyden is rarely included within this group. The details of her connection to the wider

[77] Ibid., p. 418. Valcke had been sent to England as a Deputy of Zeeland.
[78] Ibid., p. 419.
[79] Ibid., pp. 417-8.
[80] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), p. 591.

family network have often been confused, with de Weyden being referred to as a 'distant' relative rather than a first cousin to Ortelius.[81] The connection to Ortelius she provided was vital, however, for her son Daniel Rogers, a close friend of Hakluyt. Rogers used these familial connections to great effect in promoting himself. They gave him access to European communities which proved politically and diplomatically vital in his work for the English state in the 1570s and 80s. The extant evidence indicates the importance of this intermediary work: his diplomatic work saw him recommended to William Cecil and working as an agent for Walsingham, and his engagement with humanist circles connected him to cross continental figures including George Buchanan, the Scottish historical and political theorist, Justus Lipsius, a Flemish philosopher and humanist, and Janus Dousa, a Dutch historian and the first librarian of Leiden University. Simultaneously, his work on neo-Latin poetry placed him within the contested 'Areopagus' group connected with Philip Sidney.[82]

Rogers viewed his poetry as an important part of expanding and consolidating his network, authoring a series of poems dedicated to contemporary figures. These have been collected in a volume known as the 'Hertford manuscript' which consists of 760 pages containing 593 Latin poems: the first 561 by Rogers and the other thirty-two a 'Liber Adoptivus' of poems dedicated to Rogers.[83] One of these 561 poems was written for Hakluyt, titled 'Ad Juvenum Hacklitum' and asserting the strength of their friendship. Rogers claimed that 'I can do without homeland and ancestral hearth, but not any longer

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[81] See Société de Géographie d'Anvers, *Bulletin de la Société de géographie d'Anvers.* (Anvers: Becker, 1876), pp. 316-28.
[82] See Mark Loudon, 'Rogers, Daniel (c. 1538–1591), Diplomat and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23969> for more detail and James. E Phillips, 'Daniel Rogers: A Neo-Latin Link between the Pléiade and Sidney's "Areopagus"', in *Neo-Latin Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1965) and Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 36-9 for more information on the 'Areopagus'.
[83] J. F. P., 'Intramuralia: Books and People', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 33.1 (1969), 85–92 (p. 85).

without your company, my friend', and referenced previous conversations between the two men.[84] Though the form makes it difficult to ascertain how much the poem is adhering to formal structures and how much is reflective of actual conversations, its subject implies that Rogers's travels across Europe had been the subject of regular discussion between him and Hakluyt. Most of the critical work done on Rogers's work has focused on his connection to Philip Sidney and the Leiden humanists, with his own poetry and role as go-between overshadowed: his connection to Hakluyt has been largely overlooked.




*Figure 5. Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library, MS LC.2.113, fol. 38$^{r}$ (left, 'Inscription by Daniel Rogers, in honour of Emmanuel van Meteren'), fol. 90$^{r}$ (right, 'Inscription by John Dee with his coat of arms').*

[84] San Marino, Huntington Library, HM MSS 31188. A photograph of the poem is printed in David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, Second Series, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, 263–337 (pp. 270-1), but the folio number is not provided. This manuscript is very important within Rogers scholarship as the major source for most of his poetic work, but to date it has not been translated or digitally published. As it is owned by the Huntington Library, due to current travel restrictions I have been unable to study it in person and the image printed in *Handbook* is not high enough resolution for accurate transcription. The translation quoted here comes from *Handbook* but is — to my knowledge — the only printed translation of any part of this poem, with Quinn excerpting a fuller translation by Neil Cheshire. Cheshire's translation is likely preserved in Quinn's notes, but these are held in Washington D.C and accessing them presents the same logistical issues. The need for further study of this manuscript has been noted by other critics owing to Rogers' intermediary role within several important early modern communities — see, for example, Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, pp. 37-40.

'Ad Juvenum Hacklitum' was written c.1577-8, and therefore postdates the start of the relationship between van Meteren and Hakluyt.[85] Quinn writes that Rogers 'must have been known to the younger Hakluyt while the latter was still at Oxford'; this could be anywhere from 1570 onwards, and it is currently impossible to ascertain which family member Hakluyt met first. Rogers's use of verse to solidify personal and professional connections was similar to his cousin Ortelius's 'book of friends', the 'Album Amicorum'.[86] Ortelius's 'Album', like Rogers's 'Liber', functioned as a textual distillation of his community. It represents both the cross-continental and high-status reach of his epistolary network, distilling his connections into one volume. The 'Album' featured entries from a wide range of well-known early modern figures, including a number of influential English men such as John Dee and William Camden.[87] This extant epistolary material indicates a wide community connected to Ortelius within Britain: Elizabeth Cary, for example, translated his *Mirroir du Monde* into English in 1598, suggesting the existence of an unexamined female readership for his works.[88] Documents such as the 'Album Amicorum' indicate the importance of connections — both familial and friendly — for self-promotion and imply the maintenance of these connections through letters. Hakluyt used his connection to the Ortelius network to increase his editorial authority, writing in the preface to the 1598-1600 edition that 'Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters unto me do testifie) were many yeeres very inquisitive […] those two famous Cosmographers'.[89] Even though his readers would not in all likelihood have been privy to the workings of this family network, merely signalling his connection to it was sufficient

[85] Quinn, I, 270.
[86] Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library, MS LC.2.113.
[87] MS LC.2.113, fol. 90$^{r}$ and 11f$^{v}$ respectively.
[88] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dep. d. 817.
[89] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), sig. **$^{v}$.

to impart authority to Hakluyt, indicating the importance of these epistolary communities to wider contemporary questions of authority and influence.

Little of Hakluyt's later correspondence has survived: both the letters from van Meteren and to Walsingham date from the period of his work on *Principal Navigations*. What there is, however, suggests that his epistolary conversations with figures based in mainland Europe continued well after 1601. A letter from Ludovicus Tribaldus Toletus, sent 'from Valladolid the Nones of July 1605' calls him 'my Hakluyt' and references both 'the instruction which I promised you' and a previous promise to send letters: '[when] you can finde no letters sent unto you from us, perhaps […] you will accuse us of breach of our friendship & also as little mindful of our promise'.[90] The 'us' here appears to refer solely to Toletus, but his wording suggests a well-established epistolary relationship between the two men. Taylor notes that this letter 'indicates how minutely [Hakluyt] kept himself informed on matters of discovery'.[91] This is certainly true, but it also indicates the longevity of his European connections. The letter suggests that these relationships continued long after the need to source material for his *magnum opus,* and the familiarity it expresses indicates the existence of more letters and possibly more recipients: Toletus writes that 'Andrew Garsia Cespedes, a man […] linked unto us in most straight bands of friendship […] greatly rejoiced of your goodwill towards him', and it is possible Cespedes wrote to Hakluyt himself, though such a letter does not appear to exist.[92] There is no mention of Toletus in *Principal Navigations*, and the only letter relating to Valladolid is 'A letter of Hieronymo de Nabares to […] Iohn Alonso dwelling in Valladolid, written from Panama […] touching the […] extreme feare they haue of the Englishmen': hardly a letter which suggests Hakluyt had a friend in the city.[93] Though these connections were

[90] Taylor, II, 490-1.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., p. 490.
[93] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 564.

evidently important to Hakluyt on both a social and practical level, they were only signalled textually when they could promote his authority. Referencing the connection would likely have brought criticism of Spanish sympathising on his part, though Toletus's reputation within Spain was markedly similar to that of Ortelius in Antwerp.[94]

The evidence of this material suggests both that Hakluyt had well-established connections to ~~the~~ European ~~republic of letters~~epistolary circles and that he used these connections to source material and bolster his reputation within those works — where appropriate. Textual evidence of this epistolary network was not made obvious in either edition of *Principal Navigations*, though his use of 'friends in Venice' to source material in 1594 suggests ~~that~~ he had used them to access Italian material for the 1598 edition: the same with his Paulus Melissus and his friends in Geneva. In the pages of *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt's use of this network is editorially obscured in favour of 'the Navigations onely of our owne nation', in which the accounts of 'strangers' are used only as they 'sufficiently confirme[d] the travels of our owne people'.[95] In fact, these 'strangers' were frequently essential for the text's creation, and though they may not have authored the material excerpted, they were often responsible for Hakluyt's ~~accessing~~access to it in the first place.

## 'Englishing' Strangers: Hakluyt and Translation

Examining Hakluyt's use of *Navigationi* as a textual model indicates the ways in which he infused his textual framework with an emergent nationalism, while studying his use of European letters within this model further complicates any critical assumption of an inherent national identity to the text. The final part of this chapter will advance both of

[94] Dirk Sacré and others, *Humanistica Lovaniensia Volume LIX* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010), p. 205.
[95] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), sig. *3ᵛ.

these points through consideration of Hakluyt's work with translation. This work was not limited to texts translated for *Principal Navigations*: throughout his career Hakluyt was involved in the publication of multiple translated texts, able to translate from at least six languages himself, and aware of many more. Translation was an important process for his work, with its utility in bringing the mercantile or imperial knowledge of other countries into the English vernacular constituting a process that Hakluyt framed as a patriotic duty.

Contemporarily, a wide generic variety of European texts were being routinely translated into English: religious pamphlets engaging with contemporary or historical debates, classical works translated from Greek or Latin, and travel texts describing journeys to previously unknown lands or expanding existing knowledge. The process of 'Englishing' such texts through translation — negotiating between the cultural references and wording of the original language and communicating that message to a new audience while considering the potential limitations or nuances of the secondary language — was intimately connected to conceptions of national identity.[96] Travel texts, which were so often specific to their needs and cultural knowledge of their country of origin, became in a sense textual double agents when subjected to this process, 'Englished' to serve the needs of a different nation. Studying the details of Hakluyt's translation activity, both in terms of the theories he expressed and the translations he commissioned, shows both how important this process was to his editorial work and the effect of its function within the wider frame of *Principal Navigations*. His 'Englishing' of 'stranger' accounts attempted to side-step contemporary questions of textual loyalty and authority. However, establishing the 'truth'

[96] See Nandini Das, Joao Vicente Melo, Tom Roberts, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, 'Translator', *TIDE: Keywords* <http://www.tideproject.uk/keywords-home/?keyword_id=62> [accessed 20 April 2020]; A. E. B. Coldiron, '"Englishing" Texts: Patterns of Early Modern Translation and Transmission', in *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 1–34; Eva Kowalská, 'Language as a Means of Transfer of Cultural Values', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 52–64; William H. Sherman, 'Bringing the World to England - The Politics of Translation in the Age of Hakluyt', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6.14 (2004), 199–207.

of such texts was always predicated on their national potential, undermining any claims to neutrality. Ultimately, although Hakluyt's work succeeded in using translated works to encourage support for English imperial aims, it created a tension which lies at the heart of the work's expression of nationalism.

A key influence on Hakluyt's work with translation was his time in Paris when he served as chaplain and secretary to Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, between 1583 and 1588. During these years the Paris text market was booming, surpassing Venice in the numbers of printers and works produced.[97] Just as the Venetian text market had been for Ramusio, Hakluyt's access to this market was hugely influential for his work. He regularly met French text producers, as well as travellers, with the aim of expanding his library of manuscripts and connections.[98] These continental connections aided Hakluyt in his work of bringing texts from foreign markets into the vernacular. The role of translator in the early modern period was vital for the circulation of material across print communities, and access to European print markets for English readers was often mediated through such go-betweens who 'Englished' foreign texts for vernacular audiences.[99] Many of Hakluyt's contemporary translators, such as John Florio and Lodowick Bryskett, were either immigrants to England or the descendants of immigrants who used these family histories of migration to claim authority in both languages. Their translations relied on creating dynamic authorial personas which could maintain authorial authority across different contexts: hence Florio referred to himself as intermittently 'Giovanni' or 'John' depending on the potential reader, while Bryskett was born 'Lodovico Bruschetto' and

[97] Burke, 'Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication', p. 398.
[98] Quinn and Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', pp. 294-5. He had been directed to just this by Francis Walsingham in 1583 for his 'owne good [and] […] the publike benefite of this Realme' [Taylor, I, 196-7].
[99] See Das et al, 'Translator', *TIDE: Keywords* and more generally, *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473-1660)*, ed. by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018) for a model of the contemporary translation circuit.

anglicised his name for print.[100] The work of such transcultural figures mediating between cultures opened them to potential accusations of treachery which native-born English translators did not face.

Translation — and who had the authority to translate — was thus a thorny question for Hakluyt and his contemporaries. The sixteenth century English pedagogical system relied on double translation to teach students classical languages, and writers would have been intimately familiar on a practical level with the process and potential pitfalls of translation from an early age. Hakluyt set out his own theories on the ideal process of translation in the paratextual material of *Principal Navigations*, writing in the first edition that:

> Whatsoever testimonie I have found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I have recorded the same word for word […] If the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written […] and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the words in English.[101]

Some of this 'testimonie' came from non-English authors, but only where this was essential: these authors were 'none but such as either faithfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the travels of our owne people'.[102] This approach, with the original and 'Englished' account presented simultaneously, turned the page into what Henry Turner has described as a 'machine for translation'.[103] Such architecture, with the original document printed alongside an English translation, made the page itself an archive. The activity of translation was encoded within its structure both for reader and editor: the reader was free to refer back and forth between the two versions, creating 'a circuit of endless reflection

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[100] Manfred Pfister, 'Inglese Italiano - Italiano Anglizzato: John Florio', Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, eds. *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), p. 39.
[101] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. 6.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Henry S. Turner, 'Book, List, Word: Forms of Translation in the Work of Richard Hakluyt', in *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Allison K Deutermann and András Kiséry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 124–46 (p. 129).

and refashioning'.[104] There was a necessary assumed trust between translator and readers: the latter had to accept that a translation was correct in order to accept it as a new form of the original rather than as an entirely new text. Presenting both the original and translated texts reinforced the reader's trust in Hakluyt's work as translator, implying that he was confident in the ability of his work to bear close scrutiny. While the epistolary networks which granted him access to the material were often obscured by Hakluyt's editorial work, the 'stranger' nature of the material itself — especially when it appeared as a narrative — was consciously sign-posted by the page architecture. This contrast suggests that Hakluyt's structure in foregrounding the processes of translation had an intentional purpose.

There are contemporary examples of similar page architecture, and in these cases, it served to strengthen the text's political message. The most notable example is the single sheet folio *Ad Serenissimam Elizabetham Reginam* by the Protestant theologian Théodore de Bèze, published in London in 1588.[105] This folio contains eight versions of a verse celebrating the English victory over the Spanish Armada: the original Latin, then translations in Hebrew, English, Greek, Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish. Hakluyt excerpted *Ad Serenissimam* in *Principal Navigations*, suggesting that he was aware of the existence of this folio.[106]

[104] Ibid., p. 129.
[105] Théodore de Bèze, *Ad Serenissimam Elizabetham Reginam* (London, 1588).
[106] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), p. 606.



AD SERENISSIMAM ELI-
ZABETHAM ANGLIAE REGI-
NAM THEODOR. BEZA.

TRAVERAT immanis in Hispanus
nauibus aquor,
Regnis inuictus, sceptra Britan-
na fuit.
Tanti huius rapidas, quae motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, pexit Auaritia.
Quàm bene, te ambitio mersit tranquilla, Neptus:
Et tumidus tumidè, vos superalta aquae!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis auari,
Hausit inexhaustis iuncta profunda mari!
At tu, cui ventis, cui totum militat aquor,
Regina, ô mundi tutior vna, Deus.
Sic precare Deo porge, ambitione remota,
Prodiga sic opibus parge inuare pios.
Vt te Anglo longum, longum Anglia ipsa fruatur,
Quàm dilecta bonis tam metuenda malis.

THE Spanish Fleete did flote in sauoy Seas,
And bend her Ships against the English shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appeale,
And with such strength as never seene before:
And all to ouyrne the kingdome of that land,
Vnto the kingdome that he hadd in hand.
Now if you aske what fit this king on fier,
To prattle warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and more queene he desire,
To spoile that Illands wealth, by Peace made great:
His Pride which farre aboue the heauens did swell,
And his desire to vnderlord as hell.
But well hase winde his proud blatte soone blowen,
And swelling waues laid his swelling heare,
Well hath the Sea with grendie guilt vnknowen,
Deuoured the deuourer to his feare:
And made his Ships a praie vnto the land,
That meant to praie vpon an others land.
And now O QVEEN aboue all others liued,
For whom, both winde and waues are prest to fight,
So rule your owne, as fauorne friends enioyd,
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
That England you, you England long enioy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

Traduction de D. Fr. R. de M.

LAs furieuſes nuës et Hiſpanes,
Innumerables naves emmeuues,
Para auec de iuntes con ſa gran regno,
Et empire de ſi grand la Europa.
De tanto mouimiento que es la cauſa?
A los ſoperbos ambicion les mueve,
Y auaricia les guia ſu intento.
Con quan juſta raſon el viento vano,
A ſu ambicion ſoviene te confunde:
Y a los ſoberuios nados, y beſtiales,
Los cuentos agotos hondos ha tragado.
Que confuſo à razon, que juſta coſa,
Que a los ſoberuios de auaricia llenos,
Perdiendo ſoguas: i vndo el coſtas,
La tragadora mar los ha engullido.
Mas à ti Reyna ſacra, ſoue del mundo,
El viento, y tierra al mas, el fuego, el eſtre,
Y todo lo demas te da obediencia.
Proſigue en el camino començado,
Remora de ambicion, à Dios ſeruiendo,
Con larga y ancha mano al pobrecillo,
Haziendole partiçipe en tus bienes:
Para que largos tiempos, largos años,
Te gozen tus vaſallos, y los gozes,
Siendo del bueno temida, y tan querida,
Quanto del malo tu virtud temida.

Volgarizamento.

Le meſme Epigramme rendu par autant de vers François en forme de Sonnet.

Excvsvm Londini,
G. B. & R. N.
1588.

*Figure 6. Ad Serenissimam Elizabetham Reginam.*

In the 1588 folio, the multiple translations of the verse work simultaneously to celebrate an English triumph by claiming foreign voices and literary forms. Each translation uses the distinctive forms and nationally associated poetic traditions of its translated language.[107] Though each verse ends with 'long live the Queen', these formal shifts change the emphasis of each translation, bringing the influence of the target's language to bear on its retelling of an English military victory. This process of claiming the literary form mirrors the English military triumph, making the folio's use of translation a highly politicised tool.[108] Translation here was used to layer new meaning onto an original text. Even the

[107] A. E. B. Coldiron, 'The World on One Page: An Octolingual Armada Broadside', in *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 199–254.
[108] This politicisation is particularly clear in the Spanish translation — see Ibid., pp. 214-21.

form of the page heightened the symbolism of its translated elements, with its multiple languages glorifying Elizabeth serving as a global chorus. Though Hakluyt included only one translation instead of de Bèze's eight, his structure served the same purpose. The 'Englishing' of his translation emphasised the strength of the vernacular, signalling a linguistic and intellectual act of possession.

Hakluyt's description of his translation process was similarly politically charged. He expanded on this theory in later works, writing in the dedication to his 1601 translation of António Galvão's *The Discoveries of the World* that 'a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the proprietie of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and […] with the subject or matter it selfe'.[109] In the case of *Discoveries* he had found the extant English translation defective and was forced 'to have recourse unto the originall histories' to translate a new version himself, suggesting within his theory the existence of an ideal which he implicitly reached with his own translation.[110] This theory of effective translation required both competence at translating and a degree of practical knowledge. Translators must be familiar with this specific lexicon being used in the original language, as well as the ways in which these words were used to interact with the wider world.[111] Hakluyt's emphasis in 1601 on the necessity of practical knowledge for translators came after his work on the two editions of *Principal Navigations*, a text which, with its multiplicity of genres, source languages and cultural differences, would certainly test the theories of 'word for word' translation he had espoused in 1589. Placing these statements into chronological order for analysis highlights a limitation of taking such paratextual material at face value. Though Hakluyt's theory of translation was developed

[109] António Galvão, *The Discoveries of the World from the first originall unto the yeere of our Lord 1555* (London, 1601), sig. A3ᵛ.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.

and carefully delineated, it ultimately remained a theory tested by a decade's worth of complex work.

Taylor noted in *Correspondence* that in the nine years between the two editions of *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt's 'style […] altered and become more mannered, more stilted and more ornate […] explained partly by his passage from the prime of manhood to middle age, but also by the changing fashions of the times'.[112] Taylor argues that his increasing use of French idioms and vocabulary in his work, anglicising phrases such as 'dévorer les difficultés' and using 'my Lords' as a class noun, demonstrates the influence of his years in Paris.[113] This argument does not quite fit the timeline: Hakluyt's years in Paris were long before the publication of either edition of *Principal Navigations,* and so an increase in his use of French language between the two cannot be the result solely of his time in Paris. They are more likely to reflect his ongoing engagement with French travel literature throughout this period, which continued even after he left Paris. Hakluyt continued to source material from the city for translation into English as late as 1612. These Gallicisms also, however, contrasted with his continued use of often obsolete 'Saxon' words and derivatives which must have made his work appear conservative, if not old fashioned, to a contemporary audience.[114] This conservatism was enhanced by his use of traditional proverbial idioms such as 'cut large thongs […] of other mens hides' and 'wee shoulde beate the bushe and other men take the birdes'.[115]

The flexibility of the English vernacular was viewed contemporarily as one of its greatest weaknesses, its habit of assimilating words indicating a susceptibility to foreign

[112] Taylor, I, 55-6.
[113] N. E. Osselton, 'Hakluyt's Language', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, I, 23–31 (p. 26).
[114] Ibid., pp. 26-7. Osselton disagrees with Taylor's comment that Hakluyt's shift in writing style can be attributed to aging, though does not dispute that such a shift occurred.
[115] Ibid, p. 27.

influence which threatened to result in a linguistic impurity.[116] Jenny Mann has explored this weakness through her analysis of the figure of *soraismus*, termed by George Puttenham the 'mingle mangle' and recognised as an 'intollerable' vice by early modern writers.[117] This phrase — the 'mingle mangle' — signified, within Mann's analysis, an internal alienation produced by a vernacular which had absorbed too many 'strange' words and become a stranger to itself. Contemporaries railed against this alienation. John Cheke wrote in his preface to Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *Courtier* (1561) that "I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangled with borrowing of other tunges'.[118] Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* (1579) similarly derided those who patched up the vernacular 'with peces and rags of other languages' for making 'our English tongue a gallimaufry or hodgepodge of al other speeches'.[119] The prologue to John Lyly's *Midas* (1592) blamed this alienation partly on travellers, claiming that

> Trafficke and trauell hath wouen the nature of all Nations into ours and made this land like a Arras, full of deuise, which was Broadecloth […] what heretofore hath beene serued in seuerall dishes for a feast, is now minced in a charger for a Gallimaufrey.[120]

Catherine Nicholson, in her analysis of *soraismus*, recognised that foreign contact introduced a tension between England's trade aspirations and its rhetorical ambitions, as figured in Lyly's cloth imagery. Just as travel and trade were viewed as either key to the nation's economic growth or the fastest route to its decline, so too could foreign terms be

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[116] Jenny C. Mann, *Outlaw Rhetoric: Figuring Vernacular Eloquence in Shakespeare's England*, *Outlaw Rhetoric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 174; George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), p. 211.
[117] Puttenham, p. 211.
[118] Baldessare Castiglione, *The Courtyer*, trans. Thomas Hoby (London, 1561), p. 196.
[119] Edmund Spenser, *The shepheardes calender conteyning tvvelue æglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes*, (London, 1579), sig. iii$^{r}$.
[120] John Lyly, *Midas Plaied before the Queenes Maiestie vpon Tvvelfe day at night, by the Children of Paules* (London, 1592), sig. A2$^{r}$-$^{v}$.

either the vernacular's best chance for expansion or its greatest threat.[121] Hakluyt's use of these almost anachronistic idioms may represent an attempt to engage with this question of threat. Though the work was created to praise the travels of the English nation, it used European writers and textual modes to do so, who in turn affected the 'English' nature of the text, even when being so visibly brought to English by Hakluyt's 'machine for translation'. By presenting the English originals alongside the 'stranger' accounts and filling his editorial material and translations with traditional idiomatic structures, he forestalled potential criticism of the threat his work could pose to the vernacular.

For Hakluyt, the question of translation was thus one intimately connected to authority. The accounts of strangers could only be trusted when they 'sufficiently confirme[d]' English ones; translation, in 'Englishing' these accounts, was one method to neutralise the potential threat of their origins and render them useful for an English readership. This textual authority could be reinforced by the page architecture, with the 'endless circuit' serving to reassure the reader of the translation's validity or — as in the case of the folio edition of *Ad Serenissimam* — increasing its political significance. This method of proving a text's 'truth' through translation was also achieved through the judicious use of English narratives to 'confirm' stranger's accounts. For example, when Hakluyt included 'a late intercepted letter of a Portugall reuealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu', he placed it alongside narratives by 'Caesar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now liuing here in London' to 'confirm' it.[122] Fitch's account was heavily based on Federici's, and its inclusion brings the reader no fresh information. An English narrative was evidently required to validate two 'stranger'

[121] Catherine Nicholson, *Uncommon Tongues: Eloquence and Eccentricity in the English Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p. 9.
[122] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), p. 321.

accounts, with Fitch's nationality more important than the information provided by his account.

After the publication of *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt's publications continued to engage with these questions of national potential and 'stranger' authority. There are in total nineteen texts, separate from *Principal Navigations*, in whose translation and/or publication Hakluyt was involved to some degree. The most common form this involvement took was through an informal commissioning process, which was described by several of the translators in their prefatory material. William Philip, translator of *John Huighen van Linschoten his discors of voyages into the Easte and West* describes how '[Hakluyt] brought unto mee [the text] written in the Dutche Tongue, which he wished might be translated into our Language because hee thought it would be not onely delightfull but also very commodious for our English Nation'.[123] Abraham Hartwell in *A report of the kingdome of Congo* (1597) describes Hakluyt as 'a curious and a diligent searcher and observer of Forreine adventures and adventurers', and a persistent one at that: Hartwell initially refused to translate the text and Hakluyt in turn refused his refusal, calling it 'an answere answerelesse'. Upon bringing Hartwell 'this Portingall Pilgrime lately come to him out of the Kingdome of Congo, […] apparrelled in an Italian vesture' and 'intreating me very earnestly, that I would take him with me, and make him English' Hartwell 'sawe there was no remedie [and] […] yeelded'.[124] John Florio, in *A shorte and briefe narration of […] Newe France* hints at this doggedness, describing himself as undertaking the translation 'at the requests and earnest solicitations of divers my very good friends here in Oxforde'.[125] In each case Hakluyt acted as patriotic instigator, bringing

[123] Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *John Huighen van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages into Ye Easte & West Indies Devided into Foure Bookes.*, trans. by William Phillip (London, 1598), sig. A1$^{v}$.
[124] Duarte Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo* trans. by Abraham Hartwell (London, 1597), sig. 1$^{r}$.
[125] John Florio, *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northweast Partes Called Newe Fraunce* (London, 1580), sig. A2$^{r}$.

selected texts to authors and then pressuring them to translate material for the good of the country.

Of these three examples Florio's translation is the earliest, printed in 1580. Hartwell and Philip's translations were published in 1597 and 98 respectively: the reason these were not included in *Principal Navigations* appears to be because they neither described journeys made by English travellers nor affirmed English narratives, and thus did not fit the brief of the work. Hakluyt would likely not have had time to write his own translations of the texts as he was working to prepare the second edition at the time, but he evidently saw the potential value of having these texts available in the vernacular. The translations he was involved with were those which he believed would be 'very commodious for our English nation'.[126] These proved to be works which detailed the discoveries and colonial activities of other countries, signalling Hakluyt's own plans for the future of the English nation. His tenaciousness signals both a fervent belief in the potential of translation and its importance to his idea of England's future, as well as his own status — Hartwell had worked for John Whitgift, and by 1587 was a Member of Parliament and member of the Society of Antiquities.[127] That Hakluyt was able to pressure him at all indicates that he was well-respected amongst such circles.

These nineteen translated texts Hakluyt was involved with originated from a range of European cities and languages. The original publishers (classed as printers and/or venders) are known for sixteen and these have been mapped below, with the size of the circles corresponding proportionally to the volume of works. Paris is by far the most

[126] Van Linschoten, sig. A1ᵛ.
[127] Christina DeCoursey, 'Society of Antiquaries (Act. 1586–1607)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/72906>.

common source, with five works originating from the city, and Paris to London the most common route for translated texts.[128]

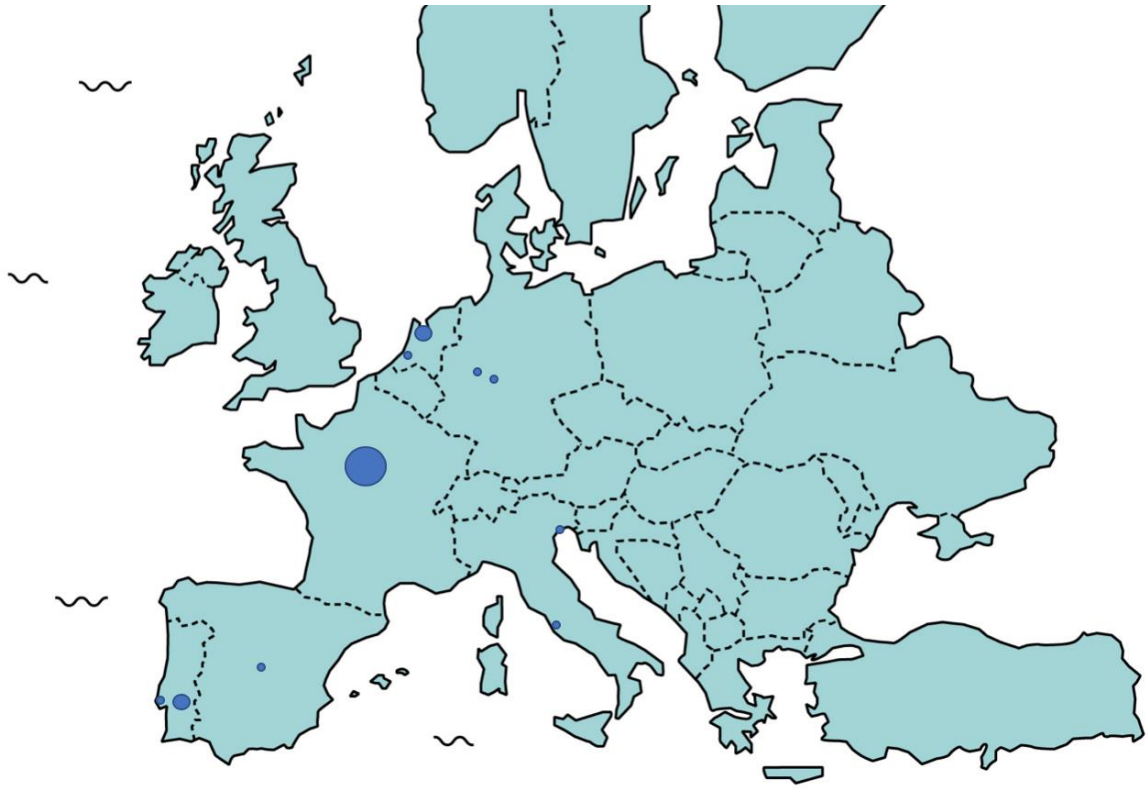


*Figure 7. Map indicating the origins of translated texts*.[129]

The most common language of the original texts was Latin, a result of its role as a contemporary European lingua franca. The frequency of the other source languages indicates the contemporary movements of geo-politics. The texts translated from Dutch focused primarily on the East and West Indies: *The Description of a Voyage Made by Certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies with Their Adventures and Successse*; *John Huighen van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages into Ye Easte & West Indies Devided into Foure Bookes*; and *The Journall, or Dayly Register, Contayning a True*

[128] In total: Paris (5), Amsterdam (2), Évora (2), Venice, Madrid, Helmstadt, Rome, Antwerp, Lisbon and Frankfurt (1 each). One of the texts (*De Novo Orbo*) was printed in Paris in both its original Latin and Hakluyt's English translation; accounting for this there were four translations which were sourced in Paris and printed in London.

[129] Credit for the map to freepik.com.

*Manifestation*.[130] Those from French focused on French territories in America such as Acadia (*Nova Francia: Or The Description of That Part of New France, Which Is One Continent with Virginia*) and the brief colony in Florida (*A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes Unto Florida*).[131] Texts translated from Spanish and Portuguese reflect Iberian imperial power; these range from descriptions of their colonised lands in America (examples being *New Mexico […] the Voiage of Anthony of Espejo* and *Virginia richly valued*) to historical narratives (Galvão's *The Discoveries of the World from their first originall unto the yeere of our Lord 1555* and *Histoire des terres nouvellement descouvertes*).[132] Hakluyt worked with a variety of translators, but most were English: the exceptions were Florio, Martin Basanier, and Pierre Erondelle. Hakluyt's preference for native English translators reinforces the view of his translation as a nationalistic activity. By bypassing accusations of competing national interest he reinforced the 'Englished' nature of the translated works.

These translations were published between 1580 and 1614, with twelve between 1586 and 1601 — the years Hakluyt was working on *Principal Navigations*. These twelve were works which did not fit his brief of narratives either by Englishmen or works which confirmed their narratives, and thus could not be included in *Principal Navigations*, but which he nevertheless viewed as important information to make accessible for English readers. His commissioning process worked in tandem with his main project, but notably his involvement continued for more than a decade after the second edition was published, suggesting that he conceived of it as a worthy endeavour in its own right. The gap between the publication year of the original material and the translated edition increased notably

[130] Cornelius de Houtman, *The Description […]*, trans. by William Phillip (London, 1598), van Linschoten; Jacob Conelissoon van Neck, *The Journall […],* trans. by William Walker (London, 1601).
[131] Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia […]*, trans. by P. Erondelle (London, 1609); René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie […]*, trans. by Richard Hakluyt (London, 1587).
[132] Antonio de Espejo, *New Mexico […]*, trans. by A F (London, 1587); Galvão; Antonio de Espejo, *Histoire Des Terres […]* trans. by Martin Basanier (Paris, 1586).

after 1601. During the 1580s and 90s, the majority of these commissioned translations were published a year or two after the publication of the original, making the information they contained roughly contemporary.[133] For the six translations published after 1601 the average gap widened to 26.6 years, implying that Hakluyt viewed the work as less immediately necessary. His focus remained with works which had some form of national use, including works focusing on Virginia, Hugo Grotius's *Mare Liberum* in 1609, and Gothard Arthus's *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane Languages […] faithfully translated into English tongue* in 1614.[134] *Dialogues* was revised by Augustine Spalding, who commended Hakluyt as a 'singular furtherer of all new discoveries and honest trades'.[135] The text was explicitly intended for 'their sakes, who happily shall hereafter undertake a voyage to the East-Indies', and factors of the East India Company were encouraged to learn Malay.[136] Even after *Principal Navigations* was completed, translation — both in terms of publication, and in terms of linguistic ability — remained for Hakluyt a key tool for the development of an English national and imperial identity and a vital tool for strengthening trading networks. The possibilities of translation were necessarily weighed alongside its dangers, with the risk it posed balanced in his work by careful structural choices. Engaging with these questions of translated authority was essential, as only by translating European texts could Hakluyt bring their information to his English readers.

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[133] In total, seven translations were published less than two years after their original: the average gap was 10.4 years, but this was affected by three translations — *De Novo Orbo*, *A Geographical Historie of Africa* and *The Discoveries of the World* — which had originally been published between 1555 and 1563. The original dates of two other translations are unknown.

[134] Hakluyt's translation was not published until the twentieth century as Hugo Grotius, *The Free Sea*, trans. by Richard Hakluyt (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004); Gothard Arthus, trans. Augustine Spalding *Dialogues […]* (London, 1614).

[135] Arthus, sig. A2$^{v}$.

[136] Anthony Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt: London's Role in Navigation and Discovery' (Gresham College, 2009) <http://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/richard-hakluyt-londons-role-in-navigation-and-history> [accessed 24 April 2018].

With these three examples, this chapter has examined Hakluyt's participation in the circulation of both material texts and ideas between England and continental Europe, as well as the way he treated European texts within an English framework: either developing on the models they provided, structurally obscuring their origins, or alternately foregrounding their origins to force the question of 'Englishing'. In each of these cases, engagement with European intellectual communities and their texts created points of tension within Hakluyt's work and its intended expression of an essentially English national identity. In order to describe the voyages of the 'English' nation, *Principal Navigations* relied on a model established by a Venetian nationalist, while a significant amount of its material was sourced through a network of European writers and geographers. This 'stranger' material posed an essential threat to the vernacular which could not wholly be neutralised through translation, though Hakluyt attempted to do so. His treatment of these 'stranger' texts thus synthesises these questions of his engagement with essential questions of textual authority. The critical reception of *Principal Navigations* in the centuries following his death would suggest that he was successful in creating an essentially English identity to the work, but — as we see in this chapter — closer critical examination complicates this conclusion. European intellectual communities and their texts were essential for his work before, during and after the publication of *Principal Navigations*, and the tension between the necessary European and the nationalist English this reliance created is both essential and symbiotic within *Principal Navigations*.

## Richard Hakluyt and Religious Engagement

When Richard Hakluyt published the first edition of *Principal Navigations*, he framed his interest in geography and cosmography as the result of a spiritual awakening. According to him, no sooner had he become fascinated by the Ortelian map spread out in his cousin's room then he was directed to read Psalm 107, where he 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'.[1] This tale, detailed in the preface of the 1589 edition, established for the reader Hakluyt's belief in an intrinsic connection between travel and faith. Whether journeys were undertaken for reasons of trade, diplomacy, or simply pleasure, by recording their experiences travellers could perform a religious service by increasing a faithful reader's knowledge of the 'works of the Lord and his woonders'. This figure of the future reader was thus made essential to the purpose of the travel accounts in *Principal Navigations*, since only by being read could the text's spiritual dimension function successfully and its true purpose be achieved.

Hakluyt's own profession of faith was a public one: he spent the majority of his working life within the Church of England. This religious work took him across the country from Bristol to Suffolk, and even further afield to Paris between 1583 and 88 when he worked as a chaplain to the English ambassador Edward Stafford, the only occasion on which he is known to have left England. Though this religious work was a significant part of his daily life, the degree of its influence on his geographic work is a contested question within Hakluyt scholarship. Hakluyt never printed any religious material, such as sermons or prayers, and this failure to engage in typical textual ministry

[1] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589) STC (2nd ed.) / 12625, p. xvii.

has led some scholars to regard his religious profession as a necessary but mundane obligation undertaken in order to fund his true passion of geographic study. The first volume of David Quinn's *The Hakluyt Handbook,* for example, contains over one hundred pages of essays detailing the contexts of Hakluyt's life and geographic scholarship, but none of these give any attention to his religious work. More recently, Peter Mancall has exemplified this view neatly in his statement that 'despite [his] clerical commitment, Hakluyt's interests, as far as they can be judged from his writings, lay in geography, not theology'.[2] Though no scholar has wholly denied the existence of some religious influence on the creation of *Principal Navigations,* an assumed critical divide between religious and geographic work has overshadowed the extent to which the two fields were essentially interconnected.

The absence of printed religious material authored by Hakluyt has also presented scholars with great difficulty in establishing the niceties of his religious identity, a major ongoing issue within Hakluyt scholarship. Attempts to conceptualise this identity as that of a 'Protestant evangelical' characterise much of nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship, and continue to shape twenty-first century critical readings. Mancall argues in *Hakluyt's Promise,* for example, that the evangelisation of North America was one of Hakluyt's key aims for his geographic work, moving consideration of his religious identity from the personal and pastoral to the more broadly political to essentially incorporate his religious work within his geographic interests.[3] Yet, as Lauren Working notes in her study of early American colonisation, while evangelisation was a key part of the Protestant vision of reform, reducing the English relationship with America to a question of

[2] Peter C. Mancall, 'Oxford, c. 1580: Passages', in *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 72–102 (p. 72). Mancall also refers to the moment of spiritual inspiration in the Middle Temple as Hakluyt making a 'promise to himself', removing consideration of any divine presence (p. 24).
[3] Ibid. The Victorian attitude is exemplified by J. A. Froude, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', *The Westminster Review,* 2 (1852), 32–67.

evangelisation alone subsumes and minimises the surrounding processes of global exchange.[4] Similarly, Hakluyt's religious identity cannot be reduced to the single aim of evangelism without an understanding of the theological basis from which he purportedly evangelised.

Other scholars, therefore, have argued against predicating Hakluyt's engagement with travel on an inherent basis of evangelisation or the anti-Catholic prejudice that this implies. David Boruchoff considers there to be no evidence that 'Hakluyt's views on Spain and Catholicism [were] part and parcel of a generalized English Protestant Elizabethan creed', 'a Manichean worldview in which right and wrong [were] coequal with English Protestantism and Spanish Catholicism', noting that 'claims to this effect are often made without documentation because the prejudice of Hakluyt and others is taken for granted'.[5] His argument highlights the error of assuming that Hakluyt's religious beliefs equate easily to a simple Protestant/Catholic or English/Spanish binary. Similarly, David Harris Sacks argues that Hakluyt's editorial work in *Principal Navigations* reflects a refutation of such an approach: in collecting material from diverse sources, Hakluyt was enacting his own textual version of the construction of Solomon's temple, his study of geography proving the variety of God's creation.[6] This assessment of the importance of religion within Hakluyt's work has not, however, been totally accepted within scholarship. David Armitage has argued that religious faith was not a major influence in the creation of

[4] Lauren Working, 'Introduction', *The Making of an Imperial Polity: Civility and America in the Jacobean Metropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 10.
[5] David Boruchoff, 'Piety, Patriotism, and Empire: Lessons for England, Spain, and the New World in the Works of Richard Hakluyt', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62.3 (2009), 809–58 (pp. 812-9).
[6] David Harris Sacks, 'Rebuilding Solomon's Temple: Richard Hakluyt's Great Instauration', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Chloë Houston (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 17–55 (p. 55).

*Principal Navigations*; Andrew Hadfield similarly posited that any religious dimension to the text is faintly 'implied' at most.[7]

Matthew Dimmock in his more recent work has taken a mediatory position between these two positions. His analysis views Hakluyt's editorial work as working to draw together texts with conflicting viewpoints, which led in turn to fault-lines running through the narrative voice which make it impossible to critically fix a stable religious identity for Hakluyt using *Principal Navigations* alone.[8] Dimmock's assessment is astute, and his analysis recognises that preceding scholars mentioned above have been variously grappling with the same issue under different guises. The essential problem for any critic attempting to identify Hakluyt's religious position and examine the function of religion within *Principal Navigations* is the lack of documentary material for either Hakluyt's religious views, or his conception of their importance to his geographic work. David Harris Sacks recognises this problem in his analysis of Mancall's work, writing that

> even though Hakluyt commonly identified himself as 'Preacher of the Word of God', not one of the sermons Hakluyt delivered survived from the time he entered into priestly orders in December 1580 […] [although] he must have preached on dozens, and probably hundreds of occasions.[9]

Without such documentary evidence, the essential instability of *Principal Navigations*, with its multiple narrators, makes ascertaining the religious dimensions of the work extremely difficult.

This chapter will shed new light on this critical problem through analysis of a manuscript previously unexamined within Hakluyt scholarship, Bodleian Rawlinson MS D

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[7] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 85; Mancall, p. 71; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 131.
[8] Matthew Dimmock, 'Hakluyt's Multiple Faiths', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 219–28 (p. 228).
[9] David Harris Sacks, 'Review: Cosmography's Promise and Richard Hakluyt's World Reviewed Work: *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* by Peter C. Mancall', *Early American Literature*, 44.1 (2009), 161–78 (p. 164).

273, and comparison to a major contemporary work, John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (editions published 1563, 1570, 1576, and 1583).[10] Rawlinson D 273, written by a student who attended the University of Oxford in the 1580s, contains notes on a lecture and sermon given by Hakluyt while at Oxford in the early years of the decade. The lecture, which focuses on the theological issue of the *decensus*, shows Hakluyt explicitly supporting Calvinist theology and engaging with contemporary European theological debates, nuancing currently held views of Hakluyt as an essentially Anglican Protestant. Analysis of the sermon similarly challenges the critical assumption of Hakluyt's religious work as being obligatory employment; in it he explicitly argues for the importance of ministerial vocation, situating his argument within detailed Biblical exegesis. The effect of that vocation on Hakluyt's geographic work is then examined through comparison with John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, a text which was contemporarily grouped with *Principal Navigations* as instructional and ministerial histories.[11] Comparison of these two texts — their structure, aims, and function — demonstrates the similar ways in which their editors worked to valorise both the act of remembering and simultaneously create a 'national' memory which could serve a ministerial purpose. Through this analysis, this chapter demonstrates both the intrinsic importance of Hakluyt's religious identity to his geographic work and how this religious identity affected his geographic work in turn, arguing that the two identities are ultimately indivisible.

[10] More editions of *Actes and Monuments* were published, but these are the four editions published during Foxe's lifetime.

[11] Evidenced by a directive from the 'Directors of the East India Company to Iohn Sairis, chief commander, and Gabriell Towerson, captain of the Hector, April 4, 1611', which instructs the crew to keep *Principal Navigations* and *Actes and Monuments* on board as ministerial texts [*The Register of Letters &c of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies, 1600–1619*, ed. George Birdwood and William Foster (London: Quaritch, 1893), p. 419].

**Richard Hakluyt's Religious Identity**

Despite working within the Anglican church for most of his life, Hakluyt is not known, as stated, to have printed any explicitly religious work. Contemporary clergymen, especially those connected to print communities, regularly printed material produced for their work such as sermons and prayers, and Hakluyt's failure to emulate them is notable.[12] As discussed, this failure to engage in the textual ministry typical of his contemporaries has led scholars to view Hakluyt's religious work as obligatory employment undertaken in order to fund his 'true' passion of geography. This view is challenged by the manuscript Bodleian Rawlinson MS D 273. A theological commonplace book kept by John Rogers, Rawlinson MS D 273 was mostly written while he was a student at the University of Oxford between 1578 and 1590, and contains notes of a lecture and sermon given by Hakluyt while at Oxford.[13]

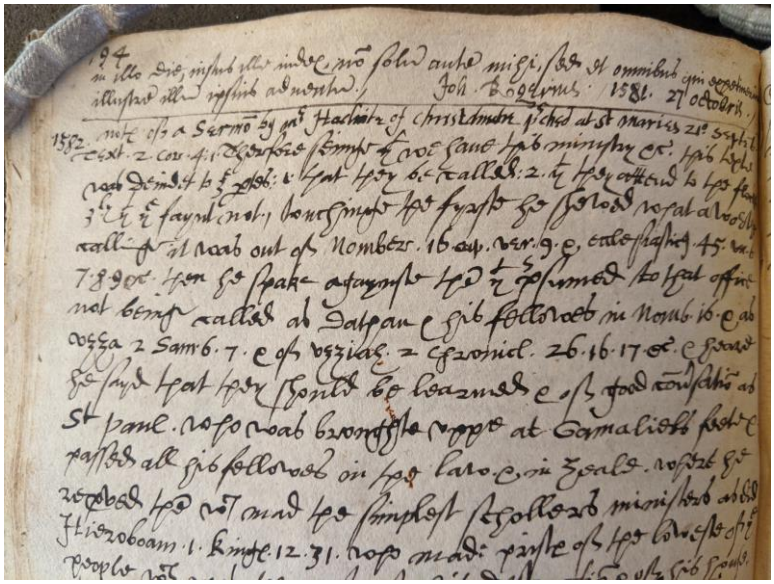


*Figure 8. Image of Rawlinson D 273, fol. 194ᵛ: 'note of a sermō[n] by mʳ Hacluite of christchurche'.*

[12] Contemporary examples of clergymen who did print, all of whom are referenced in this chapter, include Christopher Shute, John Rogers, and later John Donne.
[13] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D 273, fol. 334ᵛ.

The commonplace book entered the Bodleian as part of the Rawlinson collection, bequeathed by Richard Rawlinson upon his death in 1755.[14] It is unclear how it came into his possession and it is not typical of the material he typically collected, indicated by its being catalogued under D for 'miscellaneous' within the collection. Rawlinson D 273 offers up enough information to sketch a provisional biography for John Rogers. The dates of its composition would suggest a birth date for him between 1555-60, which would have made him between thirteen and eighteen on entry into the University and twenty-five to thirty in 1590. Around 1587 he became minister of the church at Chacombe, and the commonplace book contains letters written to him during the early years of this post. While at Chacombe he married and had several children, including a son also named John Rogers (1610-80). This John Rogers, who would become a well-known non-conformist, is commonly identified as 'probably [having been] the great-grandson of the martyr John Rogers'. This would make John Rogers (the commonplace author) the grandson of the martyr.[15] John Rogers (the martyr) had eleven children, the eldest of whom was the close friend of Richard Hakluyt, Daniel Rogers, whose family connections are detailed in the previous chapter. Daniel Rogers was born c. 1538, while his father died in 1555; the timeline works, then, for John Rogers the commonplace author to have been a grandson of the martyr through one of his elder sons born shortly after 1538.

This connection between the two men has been made before: Joseph Lemuel Chester gave biographical details in his 1861 work on the martyr for one 'Rev. John Rogers (op Chacombe), 1565-1620', where he noted that 'this person could not have been

[14] Mary Clapinson, 'Rawlinson, Richard (1690–1755), Topographer and Bishop of the Nonjuring Church of England', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23192>.
[15] Stephen Wright, 'Rogers, John (1610–1680), Clergyman and Ejected Minister', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23984>.

a son, but was, very probably, a grandson of the Martyr'.[16] The link between John Rogers the author and John Rogers the martyr is currently impossible to prove beyond doubt — it not being an uncommon name — but it is strongly supported by circumstantial evidence. All three John Rogers dedicated their lives to religious preaching and took a similar approach to the state's interference in their work: the martyr was killed under the Marian regime, the author consistently neglected the official lectionary in his role as minster and was regarded by the end of his life as a 'puritan veteran', while the non-conformist refused to conform to the provisions of the Act of Uniformity post-restoration.[17] The potential connection between John Rogers the author and Daniel Rogers also provides one explanation for why the younger Rogers chose to attend and record Hakluyt's lecture and sermon.[18]

John Rogers kept his early commonplace book diligently. It was not his only such volume: a large quarto manuscript also survives which contains sermons, 'preparations' for communion, and notes on various prayers written between 1586 and 1601.[19] His annotations suggest that this manuscript served as a key reference text: marginal notes include 'Let this second point be placed first' and he inserted an '*appendix superiori concioni* [appendix of the above sermons]' as well as cross references to another volume, 'my great sermon book', whose location is not currently known.[20] The Rawlinson

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[16] Joseph Lemuel Chester, *John Rogers: The Compiler of the First Authorised English Bible; the Pioneer of the English Reformation; and Its First Martyr* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861) <http://archive.org/details/johnrogerscompi01chesgoog> [accessed 18 December 2019], p. 274. Chester was only estimating a birth date of 1565 — so far, no birth record for this John Rogers has been found.
[17] Wright; David Daniell, 'Rogers, John (c. 1500–1555)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2398>.
[18] David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, Second Series, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, 263–337 (p. 269) – Quinn writes that 'Daniel Rogers […] must have been known to the younger Hakluyt while [he] was still at Oxford', and dates Rogers's verse *'Ad Iuvenum Hacklitum*' to c. 1577-8.
[19] Ian Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 137–52 (p. 145). This manuscript is Bangor, University of Wales Library, UWB Gwyneddon MS 25 13687–88.
[20] Ibid., p. 146.

commonplace book does not appear to have been this 'sermon book': it is an octavo volume, so not 'great', and while it contains some sermons, it is not exclusively dedicated to them. This suggests that over the course of his life John Rogers accumulated vast amounts of theological material which he kept carefully delineated in at least three inter-referenced volumes. This accumulation of theological material has made Rogers's manuscripts a source of interest and useful reference point within early modern theological scholarship. Ian Green, for example, used Rogers as an example of 'godly' clergy treading a fine line between ignoring the lectionary and preaching seasonal sermons.[21] Rogers's letter to Anne Smith, a waiting woman to Lady Cope, has similarly been analysed by John Morgan as an example of the importance placed contemporarily on a connection between record keeping and increasing godliness.[22] Finally, Peter Mack noted Rogers as an example of students practicing the 'arts of language' in commonplace books, using his notes to examine the structure of a sermon and set it out in terms of its rhetorical elements.[23]

This variety of critical approaches to Rogers's notes demonstrates both the sheer variety of his material and its scale. Green estimates that Rogers had over 14,000 pages of material to draw on by 1601 (and this is potentially without the inclusion of Rawlinson D 273, which Green does not reference). The working approach of gathering information across genres and forms and carefully delineating the material into separate volumes for future reference is strikingly similar to Hakluyt's own practices. Like Hakluyt, Rogers was very aware of his audience's requirements: he adopted relatively simple structures in his sermons, employing rural imagery to make his points.[24] He cited a wide variety of authors

[21] Ibid., p. 145.
[22] John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 152.
[23] Mack, pp. 366-8.
[24] Green, p. 142.

as evidence: expected ones, such as Calvin, Foxe and Reinolds, but also Classical and Renaissance authors including Cicero, Horace, Ovid and Cato, theologians opposed to strict Calvinism such as Peter Baro and John Howson, and Augustine and the church fathers.[25]

Rawlinson D 273 represents Rogers's early work within this model of information categorisation and storage. It contains eighty-three separate texts over 413 pages and references authors including Tobie Matthews, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford from 1579 to 1583; 'Nath[aniel] Baxter', a 'vociferous Calvinist' who signed a letter in 1577 censuring the Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge; Thomas Gressop, author of devotional poetry and preacher at St Pauls, whose verse was published in the 1578 edition of the Geneva Bible; 'Laur[ence] Humfredo', the leader of the anti-vestiarian movement; 'Roger Marbecci', a member of Gray's Inn and chief physician to Elizabeth I; 'Mr Barebone', likely John Barebone the 'noted and zealous Ramist', as well as Theodore Beza, John Foxe and Peter Martyr.[26] This wide selection indicates that Rogers was deeply interested in and engaged with contemporary theological questions, and consulted a wide range of European and English writers to find answers. There are no distinctions made in the book between authors in terms of their nationality, suggesting that this had little bearing on his view of their authority.

Amongst this wealth of material, there are two documents which record his involvement with Hakluyt: the first titled 'Note of a sermō[n] by Mr Hacluite of Christchirche p(re)ched at St Maries 21 Septemb. (1582)' and the second 'Notes of Mr Hacluites lector upon this article of the belefe (that is) He descended into hell'.[27] The work

[25] Ibid., p. 146.
[26] Andrew Hadfield, 'Baxter, Nathaniel (Fl. 1569–1611), Church of England Clergyman and Author', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1733>; W. A. Greenhill and Sarah Bakewell, 'Marbeck, Roger (1536–1605), College Head and Physician', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18027>.
[27] Rawlinson MS D 273, fol. 194$^{v}$, fol. 267$^{r}$.

of a minister in the period would have required a significant amount of text production: they were expected to deliver sermons on Sundays and feast days, write prayers and letters, and occasionally deliver lectures. Though the manuscript notes were not written by Hakluyt himself, they represent the only currently known extant record of his contribution to this body of material. Though it is undated and appears later in the manuscript, it is likely that Rogers attended the lecture before the sermon. From analysis of the timeline laid out by David Quinn, there are three periods when the lecture could have been delivered: between May 1580 and July 1581, the beginning of September to 29 October 1581, or between November 1581 and March 1583.[28] From the latter part of 1582 onwards Hakluyt was focusing on compiling material for *Divers Voyages*, making an earlier date more likely.

*Notes of Mr Hacluites lector upon this article of the belefe (that is) He descended into hell*

Hakluyt's lecture, which Rogers likely attended first, addresses the third of the thirty-nine articles agreed by the convocations of the Church of England in 1571. These articles, alongside the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal, contained the principal formularies of the doctrine, order and worship of the Church of England. From 1571, all clergymen — including Hakluyt — were required to subscribe to them.[29] The Thirty-Nine Articles were partly based on Edward VI's Forty-Two articles, but intended to be acceptable to both Edwardian Protestants and supporters of the Marian church who, it was hoped, could be reconciled to the Anglican Church through a *via media* approach.[30] The

[28] See Quinn and Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', pp. 263–337.
[29] Torrance Kirby, *The Elizabethan Church of England and the Origins of Anglicanism*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 58; G. R. Elton, *The Parliament of England, 1559–1581* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 210-4.
[30] Peter White, 'The Elizabethan Church Settlement', in *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 60–81 (p. 62).

first seven Articles were the most important, as denial of these would constitute heresy. Their general continuity with the dogma of the Roman Catholic Church enabled the English church to stake its claim as being part of the 'one holy catholic and apostolic Church', but the *via media* led to a significant degree of doubt regarding the Church's actual position.[31]

The third article is particularly ambiguous and, not coincidentally, is by far the shortest. In the 1571 wording it reads: 'Of the going down of Christ into Hell. As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed, that he went down into Hell'.[32] The article was based on statements of belief in the Apostles' and Athanasian Creed, both of which contain the line '*descendit ad* ***inferos****, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis*' ('[he] descended into **hell**, [and] rose again the third day from the dead').[33] This belief developed out of several New Testament passages and originally meant only that Christ went to the 'abode of the dead' before being resurrected.[34] There was, however, a lack of clarity over the specific meaning of *inferos*. In the original Latin translation of the Apostles' Creed, it was a rendering of the Greek *hades*, implying simply a place people went when dead, but thanks to various translation shifts this specificity was lost.[35] In English, for example, both *hades* and *Gehenna* — which indicated a place of punishment, rather than a place for the dead — were translated as 'hell'. The conception of 'hell' thus became more theologically

[31] E. C. S. Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles Explained with an Introduction*, 6th edn (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 159; Torrance Kirby, 'The Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1563/71) commonly Called the Thirty-Nine Articles, Latin and English Versions Together with an Introduction and Annotations', ed. by K. H. Faulenbach, *Die Bekenntnisschriften Der Reformierten Kirchen*, (2009), 371–410.
[32] Gibson, p. 169.
[33] Ibid., p. 159 (emphasis mine).
[34] Dewey D. Wallace, 'Puritan and Anglican: The Interpretation of Christ's Descent Into Hell in Elizabethan Theology', *Archiv Für Reformationsgeschichte - Archive for Reformation History*, 69 (1978), 248–287 (p. 250).
[35] David Bagchi, 'Christ's Descent into Hell in Reformation Controversy', *Studies in Church History*, 45 (2009), 228–47 (p. 230).

complex, and the creedal line referring to the *decensus* took on an additional meaning: that Christ died and descended to a place of punishment.[36]

By the sixteenth century, post-reformation interpretations of the *decensus* ranged widely between viewing it as a literal or metaphorical event, a corporeal or spiritual one, a triumphant journey or an example of penitential suffering. Martin Luther made several conflicting statements, sometimes speaking of the *decensus* in mythological terms as Christ vanquishing Satan in hell, but elsewhere discussing it as primarily an inner spiritual experience.[37] By contrast, Jean Calvin developed an interpretation of the *decensus* which explicitly denied its literalism. He held that the creedal article simply meant that Christ was in the grave and thus under the power of death, rather than actually being present in hell. '*Descendit ad inferos*' thus referred to Christ's soul's experience of the pains of hell while hanging on the cross: for Calvin a literal descent was 'nothing but a story' and the *decensus* central to his theology of the atonement.[38] In England, the Forty-Two articles entirely omitted the *decensus,* but the 1563 Elizabethan articles reinstated it. The 1571 English formulation was deliberately short in recognition of this contested history.[39] Whatever a clergy member's interpretation of the *decensus*, as long as they professed the Apostles' Creed (a requirement for membership of the church), they could not dispute that 'it [is] to be believed, that he went down into Hell'. What they thought that 'hell' was, whether the action of '[going] down' was physical or spiritual, and whether the journey was triumphant or penitential could be left to personal interpretation.

Despite this *via media,* theological debates regarding the *decensus* were quietly ongoing throughout the late sixteenth century. Christopher Carlile, a clergyman, published

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Wallace, p. 252.
[38] Ibid, p. 254; Jean Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion* (London, 1562), p. 142.
[39] Christina Romanelli, '"Dear Life Redeems You": The Winter's Tale and the Harrowing of Hell', *South Atlantic Review*, 81.I: Text as Memoir, Part II (2016), 8–29.

his interpretation of the article in 1582 with *A discorse concerning two diuine positions*, where he denied the literal interpretation.[40] He enthusiastically defended the Calvinist interpretation of the article, writing that 'Whē[n] he [Christ] was dead they toke him downe, & laide him in his graue. From **thence** the third day he did ryse'.[41] Carlile's work in the 1580s, however, was not representative of contemporary English theological concerns. During this period, debates surrounding the *decensus* were mainly taking place within continental European Protestant groups.[42] They would not reach such a pitch in England until the 1590s, following the publication of Adam Hill's *The Defence of the Article* in 1592 which argued that allegorisations of the third article paved the way to a world where all fundamental doctrines could be made metaphorical, leaving 'every man a tung, no man a[n] eare'.[43]

When Hakluyt gave his lecture in 1582, he was responding to contemporary continental debates rather than presaging the intense pamphlet wars of the late 1590s. It was also, however, an article of belief with a deep English literary and spiritual tradition. Often referred to in this context as the 'harrowing of hell' — Christ 'harrowing' Satan of his rights to human souls — it formed a key part of medieval mystery cycles. The confrontation between Christ and Satan at the heart of the harrowing often formed the climax of these cycles, with performances accompanied by special effects.[44] The story's

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[40] Bagchi, p. 235; Christopher Carlile, *A discorse concerning two diuine positions* (London, 1582); Stephen Wright, 'Carlile, Christopher (d. in or before 1588), Church of England Clergyman', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4682>; J. Andreas Löwe, 'Smyth [Smith], Richard (1499/1500–1563), Theologian', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25885>.

[41] Carlile, p. 177. Emphasis mine.

[42] A series of European publications discussed interpretations of the *decensus* following this publication: Henri de Vicq (Vicus), *De descensv Iesv Christi ad inferos, ex symbolo apostolorvm et sacris scripturis liber* (Antwerp, 1586); Heinrich Ebingshausen, *De descensv Christi ad inferos dispvtatio theologica* (Cologne, 1586); Hieronymus Montanus, *Theses de descensv Christ ad inferos* (Ingolstadt, 1587). More detail is given in Bagchi, p. 237.

[43] Adam Hull, *The defence of the article: Christ descended into hell With arguments obiected against the truth of the same doctrine* (London, 1592), p. 30.

[44] Romanelli, p. 9. See also Peter Stuart Macaulay, 'The Play of the Harrowing of Hell as a Climax in the English Mystery Cycles', *Studia Germanica Gandensia*, 1966, 115–34 and Karl Tambur, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2007).

importance within English dramatic tradition continued even after the reformation: its thematic and dramatic possibilities were appealing, and the pattern of the story was deeply embedded into English dramatic history.[45] Hakluyt's lecture thus shows him engaging with European religious debates regarding a theological concept deeply enmeshed within English literary culture: a combination of influences which, the previous chapter has demonstrated, was also typical of *Principal Navigations*. Such religious lectures had a specific purpose within the post-reformation church: John Donne theorised that

> a Sermon intends *Exhortation* principally, and *Edification*, and a holy stirring of religious affections, and then *matters of Doctrine*, and points of *Divinity*, occasionally, secondarily, as the words of the text may invite them; But *Lectures* intend principally *Doctrinall points*, and matter of *Divinity*, and matter of *Exhortation* but *occasionally*, and as in a second place'.[46]

A sermon was intended to move its audience to spiritual betterment; a lecture was intended to set them on the correct doctrinal course to do so, simultaneously furthering the cause of reformation.

Hakluyt began his lecture by reminding his audience that 'the holy scripture hathe in it milcke for children and […] strong meate [for men]', a reference to I Corinthians 3. 2.[47] This verse was not part of his argument, nor does it contain any references to questions of hell: it appears to have been intended to reassure the reader of his Biblical knowledge and simultaneously prepare them for the need for them to grapple with difficult concepts,

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[45] Romanelli has identified aspects of the tradition in William Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, with Paulina acting as a Christ-like figure bursting through barriers to advocate for innocent souls [Romanelli, p. 11]. A similar moment appears in *Macbeth*, with the porter's knocking in II.2 mirroring Christ's knocking [Alfred Thomas, '"Remember the Porter": Memorializing the Medieval Drama and the Gunpowder Plot in Macbeth', in *Shakespeare, Catholicism, and the Middle Ages*, by Alfred Thomas (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), pp. 191–215], while another obvious point of comparison is Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* [see Heather Anne Hirschfeld, '"The Verie Paines of Hell": Doctor Faustus and the Controversy over Christ's Descent', *Shakespeare Studies*, 2008.36 (2008), 166–81 for a comparative analysis].

[46] John Donne, 'A sermon preached at the Earl of Bridgewaters house at the marriage of his daughter, the Lady Mary […] Novemb. 19 1627', *Fifty sermons. preached by that learned and reverend divine, John Donne* (London, 1649), p. 2. Italicisations are Donne's.

[47] Rawlinson MS D 273, f..267$^{r}$-268$^{v}$. The verse reads 'I gaue you milke to drinke, and not meat: for ye were not yet able (to beare it,) nether yet now are ye able'. All Biblical quotations in this chapter are taken from Anonymous, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated According to the Ebrue and Greke,and Conferred with the Best Translations in Diuers Languges* (Geneva, 1560), the Geneva Bible which Hakluyt and his contemporaries would most likely have been working with.

presaging potentially controversial views. Hakluyt then proceeded to define 'limbus' as 'a place for the dead which was not heaven nor hell […] without joye or sorowe'. It contained 'severall places […] for the infants not chrystened' and 'an other for the holy fathers which dyed before christe['s] incarnation' who, he noted, were 'not for now as yet redeemed therefore not worthy of heaven […] nor of hell by reason of ther houly lyfe'. This conception of a deliberately bland hell maps to the concept of *Hades,* rather than the punishment filled *Gehenna*. Hakluyt's definition was bolstered with Biblical verses: he referenced Lazarus's journey to 'Abrahams bosom' after his death in Luke 16. 22-3 as evidence of the existence of a place occupied by the 'holy fathers' before Christ's resurrection, and referenced Mark 16. 16 as evidence that baptism was essential to enter heaven.[48] This reference to 'Abraham's bosom' within the context of the *decensus* is the first indication that Hakluyt's argument was the result of engagement with the work of continental theologians: Heinrich Bullinger, the Swiss reformer and successor of Huldrych Zwingli had made exactly this point using the same phrasing in his *Decades*, published thirty years earlier.[49]

Hakluyt then moved directly into stating his interpretation rather than laying out the years of debate surrounding the article. 'If Christ wente to hell he wente to conqere deathe', Rogers recorded him saying, 'but christe did conquer deathe on the crosse as hebr. 10.8.10 and to ye collo. 2.13.14 […] if he descended unto hell he descended not to triumphe to suche a place but to ye hummiliatione of him selfe'.[50] Hakluyt thus unequivocally refuted any concept of the *decensus* as being both simultaneously

[48] 'He that shal beleue and be baptized, shal be saued: but he that wil not beleue, shalbe damned'.
[49] Heinrich Bullinger, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, ed. by Thomas Harding, trans. by H. I. Parker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), pp. 137-9.
[50] Hebrews 10. 8-10: 'By the which wil we are sanctified, (even) by the offring of the bodie of Iesus Christ once (made.)'; Colossians 2. 13-14: 'And ye whiche were dead in sinnes, and in the vncircumcision of your flesh, hathe he quickened together with hym, forgiuing you all (your) trespaces. And putting out the hande writing of ordinances that was againste vs, whiche was cōtrarie to vs, he euē toke it out of the way, and fastened it vpon the crosse'.

triumphant and penitential: for him, such a journey could have been nothing but a 'hummiliatione'. Hannah Dawson, in her study of shame in early modern England, has identified two distinct concepts at work in contemporary texts: guilt-shame, brought about by being seen to sin ether by oneself or God, and reputation-shame, which came from being seen to do so by others.[51] The former of these, guilt-shame, Dawson refers to as 'red-hot' in the first half of the seventeenth century, drawing contemporarily from Calvinist and Augustinian theologies of original sin and election.[52] Hakluyt's view of this descent as a shameful humiliation makes sense within this context; there is, if anything, a double guilt-shame possible for Christ to endure, observed by both himself and God simultaneously as he descended to hell to pay penance for his human nature. Sinners could well say that 'if **we** say we have no sin, the truth is not in us', but if their salvation from this sin depended entirely on Christ's righteousness, the image of him shamefully being forced to enter a place reserved for sinners placed their salvation in jeopardy.[53]

This preoccupation with shame and salvation presages Hakluyt's more controversial — and explicitly Calvinist — points. Rogers records him as moving on to say that 'if[] Calvine saythe that Christe beinge on ye crosse in anguishe of bodye & sole was in hell he sayd well'. Calvin's view was unusual, even amongst Reformed Protestants. As detailed above, he held that the clause *descendit ad inferos* in the creed referred to Christ's soul's experience of the pains of hell while his body was on the cross, and thus involved no physical or spiritual descent. Hakluyt's approval of this belief — along with his Calvinist interpretation of shame and salvation — may therefore indicate a deeper

[51] Hannah Dawson, 'Shame in Early Modern Thought: From Sin to Sociability', *History of European Ideas*, 45.3 (2019), 377–98 (p. 379).
[52] Ibid.
[53] Emphasis mine. This formula is an Anglican one contemporary to Hakluyt, quoted in Richard Strier, 'John Donne Awry and Squint: The 'Holy Sonnets', 1608–1610', *Modern Philology*, 86 (1989), 357–84 (p. 374). See also Paul Cefalu, 'Shame, Guilt, and Moral Character in Early Modern English Protestant Theology and Sir Philip Sidney's Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia', pp. 17–46 and 'The Elect Body in Pain: Godly Fear and Sanctification in John Donne's Poetry and Prose' in *Moral Identity in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 115–33.

appreciation of Calvinist theology within his own religious identity than has previously been recognised.[54] This is furthered by Hakluyt's next point, which made a critique of the third article based on its creedal origin: 'this Article was […] nighther […] mencioned of in thycene creeds neyther Augustine […] maketh an mention on this place'. Hakluyt's ultimate conclusion was that 'he [Christ] descended unto hell that is lay in the shadow of death […] as though death & all the kingdome of hell should triumph'. For Hakluyt, the *decensus* was thus not a physical event. The 'hell' which Christ descended to was the 'grave', the 'shadow of death' over him just as Jonah had lain '3 dayes [in] the whales bely'. Rogers finished his lecture notes with an air of reflected triumph at a successful argument: 'so [Christ] sitteth on the righte hand of God the father almighty ec finis'.

While it is impossible to extrapolate all the niceties of Hakluyt's religious views from one lecture, what is notable in the details recorded by John Rogers is Hakluyt's sustained engagement with continental theological debates, particularly the work of Calvin and Swiss reformed theologians. Hakluyt's later social circles would also support the hypothesis that he was commonly identified as a Protestant with Calvinist leanings. Richard Staper, the Levant merchant whose favour was so important for Hakluyt while at Oxford, and who would later be vital for his work on the Levant in *Principal Navigations*, displayed at the end of his life a particular Calvinist piety in his will. He bequeathed his soul to 'Almightie god my maker saviour and redemer, trusting and nothing doubtinge but that for his infinite mercyes sake […] [and] pretious bloud of his dearlie beloved sonne

[54] See Wallace, esp. pp. 253-4.

Jesus Christ our onelie saviour and redemer he will receave my soule into his glorie'.[55] Henry Hewitt, Staper's cousin in law, similarly referenced the 'pretious bloode' of Jesus Christ, 'our onelie Saviour and Redeemer', while William Harborne wrote letters to Francis Walsingham and Elizabeth I which drew repeatedly on scriptural quotations and examples, framing his fealty as a sacred act while praying for God to inspire him with 'divine prudence'.[56] Though the evidence is limited, since extant archival material primarily documents their mercantile activities, these limited glimpses of faith indicate a particularly strong religious fervour. Hakluyt's association with this group had certainly begun by the time Rogers attended his lecture, and his choice to give a lecture discussing the *decensus* in 1582 suggests a greater engagement with the principles of Calvinist theology than has previously been acknowledged.

*Note of a sermon by Mr Hacluite of Christchirche p(re)ched at St Maries*

The other set of Rogers's notes detailing Hakluyt's work record a sermon given by him in the University church of St Mary the Virgin, this time dated specifically as 21 September 1582. The notes begin by establishing the text of the sermon as 'Text. 2. Cor 4:1': 'Therefore, seing that we haue this ministerie, as we haue mercie we fainte not'.[57] The

[55] See Kew, The National Archives of the UK (TNA), 'Will of Richard Staper', 1608, PROB 11/112/156; Ian Archer in 'Staper, Richard (c. 1540–1608)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/49969>. Wills are notable for the personal expression they allow even within legalistic formulas: Hakluyt's brother Edmund, for example, expressed his religious sentiments partly through his connection to sacred music, writing '*Tibi laus tibi honor tibi gratiarum actio in secula seculorum.* Amen' in his will as an echo of the responsory and antiphon in the Trinity Office [Daniel Carey, 'Edmund Hakluyt: New College Singing Man, Tutor', *The Journal of the Hakluyt Society*, 2014, 1–5]. Staper's references to 'infinite mercye' and 'pretious bloud' are both unusual amongst contemporary examples of other wills in their almost Calvinist imagery [see, for more examples, Julia Fernández Cuesta, 'The Voice of the Dead: Analyzing Sociolinguistic Variation in Early Modern English Wills and Testaments', *Journal of English Linguistics*, 42.4 (2014), 330–58].

[56] Kew, TNA, 'Will of Henry Hewitt', PROB 11/91/131/1; London, British Library, MS Tanner 78, fol. 125$^{r}$.

[57] II Corinthians 4. 1.

sermon detailed Hakluyt's engagement with this single text, expanding understanding of it through scriptural quotation to demonstrate the importance of ministerial vocation.

The instruction to Jesus's disciples to go out and preach was integral to the Gospel, but exactly how this was to be done was not prescribed.[58] The sermon as a ministerial response to this teaching was formalised around 1200 and theorised as a *technê* or *ars* — a 'set of rules that provide a definite method and system of speaking'.[59] Sermons were, by the sixteenth century, a rich textual and oral form which represented years of theological thought from Jewish and Christian exegetes filtered through canons of classical rhetoric.[60] In post-reformation England, reformers developed their sermons from a robust tradition of Catholic preaching.[61] By the mid sixteenth century, these influences and the development of the *technê* had coalesced the sermon into four principal forms: the homily, the thematic sermon, the classical oration, and the doctrine-use scheme which expressed complex exegetical methods in deliberately plain and simple language.[62] These forms were carefully delineated in contemporary preaching manuals, which placed particular focus on the oration as the form most influenced by classical rhetoric. Such manuals outlined sermon theory and structure, as well as providing useful commentary for ministers.[63]

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[58] See, for Biblical references to sermon giving, Matthew 10. 27: 'What I tell you in darkenesse, that speake yee in light: and what yee heare in the eare, that preach yee on the houses'; Mark 16. 15: 'And he said vnto thē[m], go ye into all the world and preache the Gospel to euerie creature'; Luke 9. 12 'Send the people away, that they may go into the townes and villages rounde about'.

[59] Gregory Kneidel, 'Ars Prædicandi: Theories and Practice', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 72–86 (p. 74).

[60] Jeanne Shami, 'Sermons', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 185–206 (p. 187).

[61] Ibid., p. 185.

[62] Ibid., p. 187; Kneidel, 'Ars Prædicandi', pp. 72-8; Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 58-9; Morrissey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53.4 (2002), 686–706 (p. 690).

[63] See Peter McCullough, 'Donne as Preacher', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. by Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 167–81 for detail on the Erasmian history of the oration form; Katrin Ettenhuber, 'The Preacher and Patristics', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, pp. 34–53 for detail on the commentary provided by such manuals.

These carefully circumscribed forms represented the contemporary ideal of sermons, but in practice, sermons as they were delivered often recombined structural elements from multiple forms.[64] Mary Morrissey considers this process of recombination to have created a new type in the sixteenth century, which she terms the English reformed sermon. Within this form the preacher 'studied his text, derived doctrines from his explication of it, and decided on the uses to be made of the doctrines'. The structure was 'built around [this] biblical "core" of his oration', then bolstered with 'scriptural proof-texts and quotations from the Fathers and modern commentators to support each of the doctrines […] presented'.[65] At its core, the English post-reformation sermon revolved around the explication and application of scriptural quotation.[66] The form's close attention to language and authority was a response to issues important to English reformers, rising from questions of *sola fide* and patristic authority. This is not to say that the 'English reformed sermon' was any more stable a form than those it developed from. Within universities, contemporary sermons emphasised language, rhetoric, and style, developed Greek and rabbinic exegetical traditions, and provided moral teaching; by contrast, sermons delivered in villages acted by contrast more as state propaganda, aiming to 'break[] popular Catholic resistance to Protestantism' rather than establish exegetical and rhetorical bases for the church.[67] The form was thus flexible, but remained essentially rooted in concerns of English tradition and authority.

According to Rogers, Hakluyt began his sermon by setting out three priorities for ministers: firstly, that they should 'be called', secondly 'yt they attend to the flock' and '3

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[64] Kneidel, 'Ars Prædicandi', p. 86.
[65] Shami, p. 189; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons*, pp. 58-9.
[66] Ibid., pp. 57-8.
[67] Shami, p. 190. For more detail on these more localised sermons, see Christopher Haigh, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', in *Reformation to Revolution: Politics and Religion in Early Modern England*, ed. by Margo Todd (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 13–32; for sermons delivered in universities see Lucy Wooding, 'From Tudor Humanism to Reformation Preaching', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, pp. 329–47.

ly yt ye faynt not' at the responsibility of such a task. The heavy responsibility of this calling was, for Hakluyt, epitomised in 'nomber 16. Cat. Ver 9':

> Semeth it a smal thing vnto you that the God of Israél hathe separated you from the multitude of Israél, to take you nere to himself, to do the seruice of the Tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the Congregaciō[n] and to minister vnto them?[68]

Those who were called would be able to bear such a responsibility, while those 'yt presumed to that office not being called' would meet the fate of Uzza and Uzziah.[69] Those who ministered God's word were required to be valiant, as in the given example of Chronicles II 26. 17, and Hakluyt also noted that they should 'be learned & of good conversation as St Paul, who was brought uppe at Gamaliels feete & passed all his fellowes in the law & in zeale'.[70] He used the example of Jeroboam as an example of why the 'lowest of ye people' should not be 'made prieste', for this 'was the cause of his destruction & of his house'.[71] Having reprehended the pope for having presumed '[to] be the spirituall gouvner [of the church]', Hakluyt then moved to describe 'how diligente ye ministers ought to be' in guiding their congregations. According to him, 'men be carefull for bodyely th[ou]gh [they should be] muche more for ther soule[s]'. Ministers bore the responsibility for ensuring spiritual care; just as 'yt it did not become a captane […] to sleepe all nighte how muche lesse ye captane of mens soules'. By 1582 Hakluyt was giving geography lectures and preparing *Divers Voyages* for publication — as detailed in the first chapter of this thesis — and his reaching to maritime imagery for a comparative analogy was likely inspired by this wider geographic reading.[72] Rather than being divisible fields of study, his geographic reading was used to conceptualise his religious work, with

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[68] Numbers 16. 9.
[69] Rawlinson MS D 273, f.194$^{v}$. The fates of Uzza and Uzziah are depicted in Samuel II 6. 7 and Chronicles II 26. 16.
[70] Gamaliel is recognised in Christian tradition as a Pharisee doctor of Jewish law, referenced as the teacher of St Paul in Acts 22. 3.
[71] A reference to Kings I 12. 31.
[72] *Divers Voyages* was entered into the Stationers; register in May 1582 ['A Hakluyt Chronology', p. 275].

this analogy making an explicit connection between the two. Men called to ministry led their flocks just as captains commanded their ships, a comparison which foreshadows Hakluyt's use of Psalm 107 in the 1589 preface to *Principal Navigations*. There he wrote that his cousin, after showing him the maps which sparked his interest in cosmography, turned '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'.[73]

Hakluyt's choice to begin the preface with the framing device of Psalm 107 has been interpreted by scholars such as Harris Sacks as evidence of him using a religious text as justification for his interest in geography and cosmography.[74] This view of the Psalm's structural position within *Principal Navigations* is, however, undermined by Hakluyt's assertion of the importance of ministerial vocation found in this sermon. According to him, a vocation set a man apart from the 'multitude of Israél' to do the 'seruice of the Tabernacle of the Lord', making them the 'captane[s] of mens soules'.[75] Whether his encounter in the Middle Temple happened exactly as described, structurally the narrative functions within the 1589 edition to connect his interest in geography and cosmography and place them within a wider framework of religious ministry from the very beginning of the work, in one of its longest editorial paratexts. Hakluyt recognised that those who wished to go 'downe to the sea in ships and occupy […] the great waters' would require guidance from authorities, both spiritual and geographical, to do so. His structural use of Psalm 107, when considered alongside the fresh context of his religious writings on ministry, shows a continuity of association on his part between ministerial responsibility

[73] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* (1589), p. xvii.
[74] See David Harris Sacks, 'Richard Hakluyt's Navigations in Time: History, Epic, and Empire', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 67.1 (2006), 31–63, especially pp. 44-6. Sacks notes that curiosity was not an indisputable virtue contemporarily, thus requiring Hakluyt to frame his interest within the boundaries of faith [p. 46].
[75] Numbers 16. 9; Rawlinson MS D 273, f.194$^{v}$.

and geographic knowledge.[76] Rather than representing a religious anomaly within a geographic text, the Psalm reference offered for the reader a framing of Hakluyt's geographic work as part of a religious calling, its suggestion being that the preservation and dissemination of travel narratives, by assisting travellers to 'see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe', was essential ministerial work.[77]

Analysis of the 1582 sermon underscores both the importance of vocation to Hakluyt and this reading of the structural use of Psalm 107 in the 1589 edition of *Principal Navigations*. He was firm on the point of vocation: religious work as a minister was not something which could be considered lightly, nor undertaken without divine permission. Presuming such an office without a 'call' risked incurring divine wrath, a view he reinforced with detailed Biblical exegesis. By 1582, Hakluyt had been ordained and it seems extremely unlikely, considering the content of this sermon, that he did not himself feel a vocation to ministry.[78] Awareness of this must be factored into analysis of his geographic material. Though it has long been acknowledged that religion fed his geographic work, the lack of extant religious writing has led scholars to presume that the passage was one way. This sermon, and the reading it offers of Hakluyt's religious references in *Principal Navigations*, suggests that this was rather a deeply and necessarily reciprocal process. Hakluyt's perception of his ministerial vocation does not appear to have been limited solely to his work with immediate parishioners but was instead figured within a wider framework: just as he dispensed ministry to the parishioners of Wetheringsett, Bristol, and London, so he recorded and dispersed the words of those who

[76] It is also significant that Hakluyt's quotation of the Psalm in the 1589 edition came from the Geneva Bible: a marginal note here explicitly connected safe passage on the sea with God's love [Sacks, 'Richard Hakluyt's Navigations in Time', p. 46].
[77] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. xvii.
[78] Quinn notes in 'A Hakluyt Chronology' that we can assume that he had been ordained before December 1580, as that month he was admitted as one of the *Theologi* in Christ Church, a rank intended for those in priest's orders [p. 272].

had '[gone] downe to the sea in ships' for his readers. The best ministers, for Hakluyt, were both deeply aware of their pastoral responsibilities and well educated: his work compiling and dispensing geographic material enabled him to fulfil both these criteria.

### *Principal Navigations, Actes and Monuments,* and Textual Ministry

This emphasis on the importance of ministerial vocation affirms its importance for Hakluyt and suggests that, rather than being divisible between the 'dutiful' and the 'passionate', it would be more accurate to view his parochial and geographic work as two sides of the same coin. This view is reinforced by the language of the prefatory material for both editions of *Principal Navigations*. The 1589 edition uses Psalm 107, as discussed, to frame Hakluyt's geographic work within ministerial terms. In the expanded second edition, the connections between Hakluyt's geographic project and divine favour were made even more explicit. In the dedication to the first volume of the second edition, he wrote that in 'the first Volume of this worke I haue thus for the present brought to light' and 'the next Spring […] by Gods grace [the other two] […] shall come to the Presse'.[79] When these volumes did follow, they explicitly framed the work required to bring such material to light and disseminate it as vocational. In the dedication to Robert Cecil in the third volume Hakluyt wrote that:

> for an appendix vnto the ende of my worke, I haue [added] […] Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation house of *Siuil* in *Spaine* […] if they [readers] finde [them] good and beneficial […] I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or […] will seeke to bring such as are of that calling vnto better gouernment and more perfection in that most laudable and needfull vocation.

[79] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 3 vols (London, 1598-1600), I (1598), STC (2nd ed.) 12626a, sig. *2.

The idea of establishing an English Contraction house was an ongoing focus for Hakluyt. *La Casa de Contratación* in Seville, founded in 1503, had broad powers over Spanish matters overseas, but its primary interest for Hakluyt lay in its role as a geographic information centre. Maps and charters drawn by experts stationed at the house were used by Spanish sailors to increase their mercantile and imperial strength. Hakluyt's hope was that an English establishment would function similarly as a centre of knowledge, bringing similar economic benefits. He first wrote about the project in *Divers Voyages*, where he hoped that Philip Sidney could be persuaded to support a similar venture in England with the promise of Francis Drake's support.[80] Hakluyt viewed the establishment of such a centre as 'a matter of great consequence and importance for the sauing of many mens liues and goods', and he termed this geographic work within religious terms as a 'laudable and needful vocation', a 'calling'.[81] In the absence of any such physical establishment, *Principal Navigations* would act as the textual manifestation of this calling.

The ministerial potential of *Principal Navigations* was recognised by Hakluyt's contemporaries. This is demonstrated in a letter from the East India Company written in 1611 where the Directors recorded that:

> wee have sent [the factors] […] the worke of that worthie servant of Christe Mr William perkins […] the booke of Martirs in twoe voleumes as alsoe Mr Hackluits Voyadge to recreate their spiritte with varietie of historie […] wee require that they should have espetially care to sanctifie the Sabboth daye, & to reade upon those devyne books.[82]

Although he was involved with the company by this point, giving them practical advice when requested, Hakluyt's work was not selected for this list exclusively for its practical potential.[83] It is telling that it is described as a 'devyne' book, and that it was included

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[80] Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, ed. by John Winter Jones (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. 14-16.
[81] Ibid., p. 16; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), sig. *2.
[82] 'Directors of the East India Company to Iohn Sairis […] April 4, 1611', in *The Register of Letters*, p. 419.
[83] Hakluyt was paid £10 in 1601 for 'his travailes taken in instruccions and advyses touching the preparying of the voyage' and 30s 'for mappes by him provided' ['A Hakluyt Chronology', p. 316].

alongside both William Perkins' work and the *Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous days touching matters of the Church* by John Foxe, often referred to contemporarily (and since) as the *Book of Martyrs*.[84] Hakluyt's work was chosen both for the useful practical detail it provided and for its potential to offer religious instruction. The inclusion of Perkins's work, as well as the letter's framing of Foxe and Hakluyt's works as 'varietie[s] of historie', suggests that the three were viewed within the same religious genre by the East India Company. *Principal Navigations,* within the context of this list, was intended to act as a proxy minister for the Factors on behalf of the East India Company once they had been removed from the spatial influence of the English church.

Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* offers a useful comparative in examining the formal function of *Principal Navigations* as a text offering religious instruction. *Actes* has a critical history similar to *Principal Navigations* as a work significant within historiographical nationalist narratives.[85] The first edition of *Actes* was published by John Day, the evangelical printer, in March 1563. A folio volume of around 1,800 pages, it mainly detailed the history of the English church from Wyclif until the accession of Elizabeth, but also contained an introductory section giving an overview of church history from the year 1000.[86] Over the following twenty years, three more editions were published, each of which varied significantly as Foxe added new material, answered his

[84] Perkins was considered 'one of the ablest exponents of Calvinism' in England [Michael Jinkins, 'Perkins, William (1558–1602), Theologian and Church of England Clergyman', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21973>].

[85] Like *Principal Navigations,* nationalistic readings of *Actes* were particularly common amongst Victorian critics. See, for a summary of this critical history, Mark Breitenberg, 'The Flesh Made Word: Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 25.4 (1969), 381–407 (pp. 383-87). These readings of the text are not exclusively Victorian, however; Breitenberg notes the prevalence of a similar 'sort of nationalistic admiration for Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer' expressed in D. M Loades, *The Oxford Martyrs* (New York: Stein and Day, 1970), especially p. 37 [Breitenberg, p. 386].

[86] See Andrew Pettegree, 'Day [Daye], John (1521/2–1584)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7367>; Thomas S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10050>; Anthony Kenny and Anne Hudson, 'Wyclif [Wycliffe], John [Called Doctor Evangelicus] (d. 1384)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30122>.

critics and adjusted the text's polemical focus. The fourth edition was published in October 1583, running to around 2,100 pages and containing more extensive references than any of its predecessors.[87] The project of *Actes* was one which overshadowed its creator, gaining an independent life of its own.[88] *Actes* was intended to offer spiritual guidance to its readers, supplying faithful models from the church's history for them to follow, and in this it mirrored Foxe's work as a spiritual physician in London where 'both Citizens and strangers, Noblemen and Common-people of all degrees […] [went to him] to seek some salve for a wounded conscience'.[89] It was a collaborative effort, with Foxe sourcing material from across a wide network to distil into a single compendium. It is more accurate to term Foxe the editor rather than author of *Actes,* as so much of the material was written by others, but this term does not convey an accurate sense of the labour required to create the text. As was the case with Hakluyt and *Principal Navigations*, the line between editor and author was often a fine one.[90]

*Actes* predated Hakluyt's work and he drew on it as a source for his work, though not extensively. A notable example occurs in the second volume of the second edition of *Principal Navigations*, where Hakluyt excerpted 'The woorthy voiage of *Richard* the first, K. of *England* into *Asia,* for the recouerie of *Ierusalem* out of the hands of the *Saracens,* drawen out of the booke of *Acts and Monuments* of the Church of England, written by *M. Iohn Foxe*'.[91] This narrative was intended to situate the history of the Anglo-Levant relationship with the region within the wider narrative of the Levant material, which will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter. Telling such history through the narrative

[87] This was the final edition published in Foxe's lifetime, but five further editions would be printed in the following 101 years.
[88] Freeman (2008).
[89] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments,* (London, 1641), II, sig. B2$^{r}$.
[90] See Andrew Hiscock, '"Writers to Solemnise and Celebrate... Actes and Memory": Foxe and the Business of Textual Memory', *The Yearbook of English Studies,* 38 (2008), 68–85 regarding Foxe as editor, and James P. Helfers, 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas', *Studies in Philology,* 1997, 160–186 regarding Hakluyt.
[91] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), p. 21.

of Richard the First's 'recouerie of Ierusalem' emphasised both its religious and proto-imperialist elements, the implication being that England's historical relationship with the Levant was divinely favoured and based on a patriotic religious fervour. Making it explicit that the narrative was sourced from *Actes* emphasised this impression for a contemporary reader, who would have known the propagandic nature of the work.

It can be assumed that Hakluyt owned a copy of *Actes* from his work within the church and from his use of it as source material. His cousin certainly did: a letter from John Appleyard, Robert Dudley's brother-in-law, instructed his servant in 1567 to ask 'Mr Yevance [Evans], if he can, to borrow Foxe's book of the Martyrs, [and] if he cannot, to ask Mr. Haclet [Hakluyt]'.[92] It is possible, in fact, that Hakluyt the Elder possessed a copy of the first edition of *Actes* when his cousin visited him. The readership of *Actes* was extensive across social groups: Christopher Shute, a Yorkshire vicar, bequeathed his copy to his wife Catherine in his will. When she died two years later, she in turn bequeathed it to their daughter Mary, suggesting a pattern of female readership.[93] The work's role as a martyrology for the English church gave it both ministerial and nationalist uses. In 1577, William Harrison observed that:

> euerye offyce at court hath eyther a Byble, or the bookes of the acts and Monuments of the Church of Englande or both […] whereby the straunger that entereth into the Courte of Englande […] shall rather imagine himselfe to come into some publicke schoole of ye universities […] then into a Princes Pallace.[94]

As Harrison's comment indicates, *Actes* carried strong contemporary connotations of learning, religious zeal and English exceptionalism. In 1571, a meeting of Convocation

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[92] John Appleyard, 'Letter from John Appleyard, 1567', in *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable The Marquess of Salisbury*, 24 vols (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1883), I, 351; Roger Virgoe, 'APPLEYARD, John (1529-74 or Later), of Bracon Ash, Norfolk', ed. by S. T. Bindoff, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1982).
[93] Victoria Spence, 'Early Puritan Evangelism in the North: Christopher Shute, Preacher, Puritan and Vicar of Giggleswick in Craven, 1576 to 1626', *Northern History*, 49.2 (2012), 223–50 (p. 223).
[94] William Harrison, 'The Description of Britaine', in Raphael Holinshed, *England, Scotlande, and Irelande conteyning the description and chronicles of England* (London, 1577), sig. 85$^{r}$.

decided that 'euery Archbishop and bishop shall haue in hys house the holy Bible in the largest volume, as it was lately printed in London, and also that full and perfect history, which is intituled Monumentes of Martyres', while copies were also distributed to 'Cathedrall Church[es], in such conuenient place, that the vicars […] and other ministers of the Church, as straungers and forieners may easile come vnto them, and read thereon'.[95] The degree to which this instruction was taken up is unclear: David Loades has noted that 'it was never a popular book in the sense of widespread ownership, because it was far too bulky, and far too expensive for the average literate Englishmen to buy'.[96] Like *Principal Navigations*, *Actes* was a cultural touchstone whose scale made it impractical for many readers to own, with the physical body of the text at once reflective of its authority and a practical impediment to easy dissemination.

*Actes* was a text intended to provoke an emotional response from readers through its graphic descriptions of the deaths of English martyrs. This emotional response was closely associated with a meta-physical one. As Ryan Netzley writes, *Actes* is 'a text that enlists the very practice of reading in its polemic project'.[97] Netzley recognises the difficulties this generates for scholarship on Foxe and his work, since if the very practice of reading is part of the text's polemic function, scholarship which attends to close readings cannot be entirely extraneous to either the work or its functioning. Netzley's article on the reading of *Actes*, written in 2006, was sparked by the question of whether reading Foxe's work as a searchable text on CD-ROM would affect critical responses, leading him to examine the practice of reading the physical text as a book, the conception

[95] Anonymous, *A Booke of certaine Canons, concernyng some parte of the discipline of the Church of England* (London, 1571), sig. A3$^{r}$.
[96] D. M. Loades, 'Introduction: John Foxe and the Editors', in *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 1–11 (p. 4).
[97] Ryan Netzley, 'The End of Reading: The Practice and Possibility of Reading Foxe's "Actes and Monuments"', *ELH*, 73.1 (2006), 187–214 (p. 187).

of the textual body, and the effect of this reading process on its reader.[98] The question of embodiment is all-important within *Actes,* both in its the graphic descriptions of the broken bodies of martyrs, and through their textual limbs — letters, narratives, prayers — which compose the work.[99]

There are a number of structural similarities between *Actes* and *Principal Navigations* drawn to mind by precisely this figure of the text as *corpus*. Both Foxe and Hakluyt had wide epistolary networks which they used to source material, with their editorial work framed in terms of both textual and physical labour.[100] For both men, part of this editorial role focused on establishing the authority and truth of their narratives as forms of textual memory. Andrew Hiscock wrote in his analysis of textual memory in *Actes* that 'Foxe may be seen as wanting to fashion the potentially still lively memories of the Tudor martyrs […] into a newly minted collective memory'.[101] Foxe's reader was urged to view the preservation of memory and, by extension, the possession of an accurate memory, in terms of responsibility, obligation and — notably — vocation.[102] Accurate recollection enabled, in theory, a continued cultural relevance for the stories of the martyrs, which in turn ensured the continued survival of the church. Within Foxe's narrative structure, 'remembering' was thus both an active process and a responsibility, and the creation of a text accurately recording these memories a patriotic and ministerial act. Like *Actes, Principal Navigations* recorded these different forms of English memory — oral, epistolary, narrative — with the aims of both preservation and inspiration.

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[98] Netzley thus presages the question of total digitisation to which this thesis attends: a CD-ROM remains a physical form, giving the text a physical body. *Principal Navigations* in its *EEBO* form does not even retain this.
[99] See Catharine Randall Coats, *(Em)Bodying the Word: Textual Resurrections in the Martyrological Narratives of Foxe, Crespin, De Baeze, and d'Aubignae* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 1992) for more on bodies in martyrological accounts.
[100] See Ross Bardett, 'John Foxe as Hagiographer: The Question Revisited', Sixteenth Century Journal, 27.4 (1995), 771-89 (p. 773).
[101] Hiscock, p. 72.
[102] Ibid., p. 80.

The key line for analysing Hakluyt's conception of his project within this framework of memorialisation comes in the second edition of *Principal Navigations*. Here, Hakluyt wrote that his ultimate aim had been to 'preserve certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieved, from the greedy and devouring jawes of oblivion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both'.[103] These 'limmes' were the textual and oral histories of English travellers, whether ancient or contemporary, mercantile or exploratory. Hakluyt's role is figured within this image as one of restitution. The forces which dispersed these 'limmes' in the first place are left carefully unspecified, creating a tension between two forms of narrative momentum — the reunifying and the fragmentary — which is deliberately unresolved.[104] Nandini Das has explored this tension in terms of the narrative in *Principal Navigations* surrounding the voyage of the *Tiger* to Goa in 1583. Her analysis links Hakluyt's image of the 'torne and scattered limmes' to the figurative concept of *sparagmos*, the Dionysian ritual involving the tearing apart of a body. Das notes the contemporary humanist engagement with this concept: the violence of *sparagmos* viewed as an intrinsic part of the regeneration of knowledge, a concept which keyed with the humanist tradition creating itself through a recognition of knowledge fragmentation.[105] Hakluyt's use of *sparagmos* thus represents, on one level, his engagement with this humanist textual framework.

As well as indicating an engagement with the contemporary humanist project of *sparagmos*, the phrase 'incorporate into one body' takes on an additional religious

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[103] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), p. xxxix.
[104] Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt's Two Indias: Textual Sparagmos and Editorial Practice', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern* Europe, pp. 119–29 (p. 119); Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 152.
[105] Das, pp. 123-4.

significance if we view *Principal Navigations* as an essentially ministerial text in the model of Foxe's embodied memorialisation, while also taking into account Hakluyt's view of the dissemination of geographic information as a ministerial activity. Harris Sacks gestures towards this in his analysis of *Principal Navigations* as a contemporary 'Solomon's temple', noting that readers would have interpreted the text's reunified 'body' as a mirror of the unity lost in the biblical Fall now brought to light by divine providence — an interpretation bolstered by Hakluyt's use of language such as *revocare* (to call back), *reducere* (to lead back) and *recupere* (to recover).[106] Mary Fuller similarly signals a connection between Hakluyt's figuring of a textual corpus as a bodily *corpus*, with the interplay between the differing Latin and English meanings echoing the 'doubleness of travel/travail'.[107] Contemporarily, the concept of a textual corpus most commonly referred to religious texts: *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte* written in 1529 references 'the hole corpus of scripture aswell the new testament as the olde' and 'the corpus of holy scrypture'.[108] The concept of a textual corpus was primarily a religious one: metaphorically figuring the textual corpus as a bodily *corpus* reaffirmed the theological concept of the 'body of Christ' as being formed of believers.[109] This concept was vital within contemporary eucharistic language: the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* read, in its order for communion,

> [when] we spiritually eate the fleshe of Christ, and drincke his bloode, then we dwell in Christe and Christe in us, we be one wyth Christ, and Christe with us […] we be very membres incorporate in thy mistical body, whiche is the blessed company of al faithful people.[110]

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[106] The comparison to Solomon's Temple comes from Harris Sacks, 'Rebuilding Solomon's Temple: Richard Hakluyt's Great Instauration', p. 55. For detail on Hakluyt's use of Latin see Boruchoff, 'Piety, Patriotism, and Empire', p. 823.
[107] Fuller, *Voyages*, p. 156.
[108] Thomas More, *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte*, (London, 1529), p. 24, p. 38.
[109] See, for Biblical context, Corinthians I 12. 12-14; Romans 12. 5; Ephesians 3. 6; 4. 15-16, 5. 23; and Colossians 1. 18 and 1. 24.
[110] Church of England, *The booke of common prayer, and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies in the Churche of England* (London, 1559), p. 34.

Hakluyt's image of the textual corpus as a dismembered *corpus* clearly echoes this language. Just as 'members' of the church were 'incorporate in thy mistical body', so the 'limmes' of his text were 'incorporate[d] into one body'.[111] The echoes of this language must have been clear to Hakluyt, who by the time he wrote this line had been ministering communion services for at least twenty years. The process of creating a textual body from such disparate parts was for him both an essentially humanist project and a deeply religious one. His description of his work unifying the textual 'limmes' into one body mirrored the unification of the church's members in communion, thus figuring his role as editor as a divinely ordained one. His work must be considered inherently ministerial, intended to inspire its readers to emulate the examples of past members of the English body just as Foxe intended to inspire them to religious fervour. Though *Principal Navigations* may not be as explicitly religious as *Actes*, questions of faith, vocation and the spiritual potential of memory were central to both its form and function.

*Principal Navigations* is a work both affected and effected by Hakluyt's religious convictions and concerns. The previous critical interpretation of Hakluyt as a reluctant minister does not match his own expressed views on the importance of vocation, and his engagement with continental theological debates similarly resists the critical categorisation of his religious identity as stereotypically Anglican. Religious principles were evidently not taken into belief lightly by Hakluyt, and his religious identity, as this chapter shows, relied on his engagement with a wide variety of theological material of varying national origins. The ministerial identity of *Principal Navigations* has been little acknowledged, since Hakluyt's religious convictions have not previously been established, but placing the work within the context of his religious identity — enabled by analysis of Roger's notes and juxtaposition with Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* — necessitates this reassessment of

[111] 'limmes' was also, contemporarily, a synonym for members.

the function and form of *Principal Navigations* as a text deeply engaged with the concept and responsibilities of ministry.

On a different but related level, this assessment of *Principal Navigations* as a text both engaged with the humanist concept of *sparagmos* and an expression of an English mode of ministerial memorialisation serves to tie together the work of these three opening chapters. Examining the function and form of Hakluyt's text within these two modes shows the influences of both the English and European intellectual communities on his work. He engaged critically with the work of German theologians on the concept of the *decensus*, figured himself within continental theological frameworks as a Calvinist sympathiser, and used humanist ideas of classical *sparagmos* to frame the process of generating knowledge. Simultaneously, his editorial work minimised the influences of these European connections, asserting an essentially English national identity for his work even as engagement with these wider continental communities and texts proved essential to the creation of an 'English' text. Reassessing these wider intellectual contexts surrounding Hakluyt and his work thus offers both fresh information and a new way of reading *Principal Navigations* as a work to which these forms of engagement — the English and the European — were both ultimately essential and essentially in tension.

## ‘East may be joined and knit to the West’: the Levant in *Principal Navigations*

Establishing the intellectual contexts surrounding Hakluyt and his work provides the basis for the analysis of the second half of this thesis, which will demonstrate their effects on the text through the examination of Hakluyt’s editorial practices. Through this analysis, the second half demonstrates both the subjectivity of the geographic narratives in *Principal Navigations*, the ways in which Hakluyt editorially approached and addressed this subjectivity, and the effect which accepting these editorial interventions as a largely neutral presentation of contemporary accounts has had on cultural perceptions of the history of sixteenth century travel. Each of the three chapters in this second section of the thesis focuses on a specific geographic case study in order to conduct this analysis. These three regions have attracted varying degrees of scholarly attention, and each represents a different aspect of Hakluyt’s editorial engagement with these questions of narrative and subjectivity. Beginning with the Levant, the chapters which follow use a combination of literary and historical analysis to throw new light on the fundamental processes of collection, curation, and representation through which Hakluyt recreated a narrative of encounter in each case. My work also draws on social network analysis, which allows us to throw a raking light across the often-invisible connections which framed and shaped both the encounters themselves, and Hakluyt’s textual access to them.[1] The silent presence of these communities, and Hakluyt’s connections to them, loom behind the voluble ‘witnesses’ whom Hakluyt brings to testify the image of English geo-political activity in *Principal Navigations*.

[1] The technical details of this process and a glossary of terms can be found in the Technical Appendix (Appendix A).

Elizabeth I began the 1592 letters patent which established the Levant Company by thanking three men who 'by the space of sundry late yeeres [had] travelled and caused travell to be taken […] by secrete and good meanes as by daungerous wayes and passages'.[2] They had, according to her, '[found] out and set open a trade […] not before that time in the memorie of any man now living knowen to be commonly used and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other subiectes of us or our progenitors'.[3] It was a radical claim which framed these three 'welbeloued subiects' — Edward Osborne, Richard Staper and William Harborne — as the instigators of a new avenue of economic wealth. Osborne, Staper and Harborne, the letters implied, were solely responsible for the steady stream of Levantine goods arriving in London. Along with the other merchants named on the charter, they would have free license to trade and traffic 'into and from *Venice, Zante, Candie* and *Zephalonia*', dealing in goods including 'the raysins of corrants, or wines of Candie' as they went.[4] The issuing of these letters was a hugely important moment for the Anglo-Levant relationship, and the result of over a decade's worth of diplomatic work. The silent figure in them, unmentioned but necessarily editorially present, is Richard Hakluyt. As discussed previously in the second chapter, each letter in *Principal Navigations* represents a moment of interaction with a wider social network than is necessarily depicted in the work itself, and these letters patent are no exception. Hakluyt's treatment of epistolary material indicates that he was highly attuned to the questions of subjectivity which it could introduce into his work, and the various editorial strategies he used in approaching this material worked to reframe them as objective. As this chapter will argue, Hakluyt's treatment of the Levant material in

[2] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 3 vols (London, 1598-1600), II (1599), STC (2nd ed.) 12626a, p. 296.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 297, p. 300.

*Principal Navigations* clearly shows his editorial processes at work in the creation of a historiographical narrative surrounding the work of Osborne, Staper, and Harborne.

'Levant' in the sixteenth century was a flexible term used to refer to the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean: modern-day Syria, Lebanon, Greece, Palestine, Israel, Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, eastern Libya and Cyprus.[5] Though within European contexts the term referred predominantly to the Eastern Mediterranean, Hakluyt used it more broadly in reference to the wider Ottoman empire in *Principal Navigations*. As such, its application within the context of the work extended further west to cover modern-day Algeria and Tunisia, the term carrying distinct trade connotations created by this link to Turkey. The terms 'Levant', 'Ottoman' and 'Turkey' will be therefore be used interchangeably where appropriate.[6]

This chapter will analyse Hakluyt's use of the Levant material in *Principal Navigations* through a combination of literary, historical and social network analysis. Combining these methods of analysis helps to uncover the potential motivations and methods of Hakluyt's editorial choices and highlights the importance of taking into account the process of the text's composition within literary analysis. In the case of the Levantine material in *Principal Navigations*, the voices and perspectives it preserved overwhelmingly belong to merchants who were personally connected to Hakluyt. Critics have recognised Hakluyt's editorial interventions at work on this material, particularly in terms of his selection processes. However, while the existence of Hakluyt's editorial selection process has been acknowledged, neither the reasons behind it nor the effect it created narratively have been further examined. Even the expanded second edition of *Principal Navigations* gave only a limited history of the Levant, which George Bruner

[5] Michael Gagarin, *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Greece and Rome,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 248.
[6] 'Where appropriate' meaning principally in relation to different aspects of the Ottoman empire: 'Turkey' for the people, 'Levant' for the geographic span and 'Ottoman' for the state.

Parks referred to as being notably 'not so complete' as those relating to other parts of the world, a conclusion which Charles Beckingham concurred with in *The Hakluyt Handbook*.[7] Though Parks offered 'a certain censorship about the new trade' as the reasoning for this incompleteness and Beckingham agreed, neither critic expanded on the effect of this censorship on the work's historiographical narrative.[8] Both, in fact, suggested that this process of censorship ultimately had little narrative effect, since the trade 'was a settled one […] [which] therefore needed small illumination', and this conclusion has continued to be widely critically accepted.[9] This chapter will expand and reconsider the conclusion drawn by Parks by examining both the editorial methods and motivations which created this 'impression' and the people benefited by presenting such a limited history. The chapter begins by examining the historical and literary context contemporarily associated with the Levant in England in order to situate Hakluyt's work in the context of the presence of the region in English lives and imaginations. This contextual analysis demonstrates the potential of the Levant as both an imaginative space and one closely connected to questions of wealth and trade. The chapter then moves to explore the contextual communities surrounding Hakluyt using network analysis, before bringing both of these analytical strands together in examination of the representation of the region in *Principal Navigations* itself. As that analysis suggests, the impression of the trade being 'settled' in *Principal Navigations* is in fact the result of Hakluyt's editorial work, representing a consistent and deliberate making of both text and emergent historiography of English engagement with the Levant.

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[7] George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, ed. by James A. Williamson (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), pp. 127–28, developed further in C. F. Beckingham, 'Near East, North and North-East Africa', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, 176–90 (p. 185). Parks's scholarship did examine *Principal Navigations* as a literary text rather than solely a geographic and scientific one, but still treated its narrative as objective rather than subjective.

[8] Parks, p. 127.

[9] Ibid.




*Figure 9. Extract showing England and the Mediterranean taken from Gerard de Jode, Universalis Exactissima atquenon recens modo […], 1555, Antwerp.*

The first records of an English merchant attempting to establish an English trade route into the Eastern Mediterranean currently rest in the archive of the City of Cologne, testament to the wide range of interests at stake in such an enterprise.[10] These records describe the story of Robert Sturmy, a merchant from Bristol who mounted a full trading expedition to 'divers parts of the Levant' in 1457 using money raised from aristocratic circles with the aim of establishing a direct Anglo-Ottoman trade route.[11] As well as trading English cloth, tin, and lead for valuable goods such as wines, carpets, cloth and spices, Sturmy's expedition was intended to source alum, a valuable supply for the cloth-dying industry. Unfortunately, upon the return journey his ship was attacked by Genoese pirates and both he and the goods were lost, with damages claimed of nearly £20,000.[12] From its earliest beginnings, the relationship between England and the Levant was thus predicated on trade.

[10] Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stack Köln, 'Acta Anglicana', Hanse III.K.3.
[11] See, for more detail, Eliyahu Ashtor, 'Mediaeval Levant Trade at Its Height (1453-1498)', in *Levant Trade in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 433–512.
[12] Stuart Jenks, 'Sturmy, Robert (d. 1458)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/52221>.

With the failure of Sturmy's enterprise, no direct route was established and the movement of goods between England and the Levant continued to be controlled by various Italian states, with the Venetian Republic acting as middlemen alongside a fleet of 'Flanders galleys' delivering goods to English markets.[13]

English merchants had established direct connections to some of the islands in the Eastern Mediterranean under Venetian rule, including Chios and Crete, but after the failure of Sturmy's voyage Levantine goods continued to be sourced through European networks.[14] There was a growing demand for these goods in England throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Carpets are a particularly useful illustrative example, as they were commonly used within portraiture and their use in this form highlights the contemporary associations with Levantine goods.





*Figure 10a (left). Hans Holbein the Younger, William Warham, 1527, Oil on panel, Louvre.*

*Figure 10b (right). Gerlach Flicke, Thomas Cranmer, 1545, Oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery.*

[13] Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 1-3.
[14] Ibid., p. 2.

The 1527 portrait of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury in figure 10a shows a Turkey carpet covering the table behind him underneath the Roman Catholic symbols of his profession: a Crucifix and a *pretiosa* mitre.[15] The carpet functions within this portrait to emphasise the prestige of items placed atop it; for Warham and his English contemporaries, these physical symbols of Roman Catholic faith were appropriate recipients of this status. The portrait of Thomas Cranmer, Henry VIII's reformed Archbishop of Canterbury (figure 10b), also uses a Turkey carpet as a prop. In this case however, the items worthy of being placed on the carpet were texts, indicating the seismic shifts in English religion in the intervening eighteen years. That the Cranmer portrait so closely mirrors Warham's, complete with a floating trompe-l'œil paper (to the top right on Warham's, mid-left on Cranmer's) indicates a deliberate correlation of the iconography between the two to which the Turkey carpet is integral.



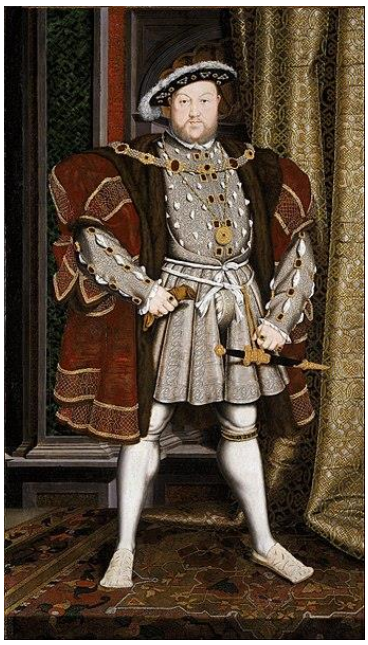


*Figure 11a (left). Workshop associated with 'Master John', King Edward VI, 1547, Oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery*

*Figure 11b (right). Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger, King Henry VIII, 1537, Oil on panel, Walker Gallery.*

[15] The most ornate form of mitre, decorated with gold and precious stones, worn on Sundays and feast days by a Bishop.

The portraits of Edward VI and Henry VIII (figures 11a and b) similarly use carpets to indicate the status of their subjects. As with Warham and Cranmer, Turkey carpets are used within the portraits to display items of wealth and status, but in this case those items are the royal bodies themselves. The wide-legged stances assert dominance within England's social hierarchy, while the placement of the expensive carpet implies the nation's global standing. Turkey carpets were intimately associated with royalty in the period. Henry VIII was a great fan of them, travelling with around sixty-five in tow.[16] A 1532 inventory of the belongings of Sir Henry Guildford at Leeds Castle listed only six carpets 'of Turkey worke', of which three were reserved for use in the 'Quene's dynyng chamber' and 'Kyng's brekefast chamber'.[17] Similarly, a warrant issued by Anne Boleyn in 1533 the month after her coronation requested '[five] small carpets of Turkey making' for her use, alongside a list of items designed to indicate her new status.[18]

The iconographic use of these carpets in portraiture, as well as the surviving evidence of their contemporary usage, situates early sixteenth-century England within a complex web of national and international trade. The geographic origin of the 'Turkey' carpet was precisely the factor which gave them such iconographic resonance through their foregrounding of England's economic reach. The socio-economic status of these carpets was a reflection of their price and rarity, the result of restrictions on Anglo-Ottoman trade in the first half of the sixteenth century. Over following decades the established balance of power in the Mediterranean began to shift, easing these restrictions: the Franco-Ottoman relationship improved, weakening Venetian military dominance, while the discovery of a

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[16] Gerald Maclean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 47-8.
[17] Canon Scott Robertson, 'Inventory of Beds, Tapestry, and Linen at Leeds Castle, A.D. 1532', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 15 (1883), 382–86 (p. 383).
[18] Including, for example, 'cloth of estate of cloth of gold, fringed with silk and gold' and 'cloth of estate of purple velvet, embroidered with our arms'. See 'Warrant to Lord Windsor, Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, to Deliver to Edw[ard] Flowde, Yeoman of the Wardrobe with the Queen, for Her Use', in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII: 1533*, ed. by James Gardiner, 21 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1882), VI, 279.

route around the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese similarly undermined the strength of the Venetian route.[19] As a result of these events the passage of goods along the trade routes between Venice and England was restricted, though Antwerp was quickly established as a new hub.[20] With these factors threatening the historic trade routes between England and the Levant, pressure to establish a direct Anglo-Ottoman relationship to enable direct access to Levant goods increased. Almost a hundred years after Robert Sturmy's failed expedition, Anthony Jenkinson, an English merchant, was granted special license from Süleyman I to trade with his empire, the first Turkish document known to be issued on behalf of an English subject.[21] At this point Jenkinson was an anomaly within the wider community of English merchants, but his journey to Aleppo and the Levant marks the beginning of a direct diplomatic Anglo-Ottoman relationship. Hakluyt, when compiling the Levantine material in *Principal Navigations* thirty years later, would treat Jenkinson's license as the start of the contemporary Anglo-Ottoman relationship, indicating its importance to Elizabethans.[22]

This history undermines the claim in the 1592 letters patent that English subjects had not previously engaged in the Turkey trade. Yet, the claim is understandable: such documents were not necessarily intended to be entirely accurate but represented a complex negotiation between economic and state concerns.[23] Another factor is the national ownership of the trade routes. In the 1592 letters patent, the use of European middlemen

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[19] Wood, pp. 1-5. More detail on the political turmoil of the Mediterranean in this period can be found in Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2009).
[20] Wood, p. 4. For a detailed and economy focused overview of the role of trading companies in the rise and decline in the English cloth trade between 1500-1600, see Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (London: Verson, 2003); for more information on the effect of the Portuguese Empire on England see Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).
[21] *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations*, ed. by Susan A. Skilliter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 7.
[22] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), p. 296.
[23] Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 79-80.

appears to have rhetorically invalidated previously established trade, marking the Elizabethan establishment of a direct route as the 'true' beginning of the relationship. This construction negates the centuries of trade and the importance of these Levantine goods within English culture, but it enabled Hakluyt and his contemporaries to frame the Anglo-Ottoman relationship as wholly Elizabethan in nature.

These shifts in the Anglo-Ottoman relationship are reflected in the contemporary treatment of cultural knowledge of the Levant in literature. Between 1500 and 1550 there were few references to either Turkey or the Levant in English printed texts, and most came originally from texts produced in other European countries which entered the English language and cultural consciousness through translation. The majority of these are references to the area within the context of historical treatises translated from European languages: primarily French and Italian.[24] This pattern reflects the contemporary state of the Anglo-Levant relationship in the early sixteenth century: dependent on continental intermediaries, either mercantile or linguistic, to mediate knowledge into English.[25] As discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, in the context of Giovanni Ramusio's *Navigationi*, this role of intermediary could be used to strengthen national political influence. The processes by which such knowledge passed into England, then, were far from neutral. By the 1540s, printed works began to move from solely using the area as a geographic reference to describing the country itself, but these remained most commonly works in translation such as *The order of the greate Turckes courte* (1542), translated from

[24] Examples include Frère Hayton, *Here begynneth a lytell cronycle*, trans. Richard Pynson (London, 1520); Jacques Bourbon, *The begynnynge and foundacyon of the holy hospytall, [and] of the ordre of the knyghtes hospytallers of saynt Johan baptyst of Jerusalem,* and translated by Robert Copland (London, 1524); William Thomas, *The historie of Italie a boke excedyng profitable to be redde* (London, 1549); Thucydidies, *The hystory writtone by Thucidides the Athenyan of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans*, trans. Thomas Nicolls (London, 1550).

[25] The Levant was also referenced in manuscripts of pilgrimages, but the numbers of these cannot be accurately estimated.

French, and *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes chronicles*, translated from Italian to Latin by Franciscus Bassianates and then into English by Peter Ashton (1546).[26]

This established pattern of knowledge dissemination changed along with the shifting political tensions in the Mediterranean. While Levant references in English-printed literature of the 1550s were fairly similar in content to those from the preceding fifty years, there was a substantial shift in the type and number of references to the Levant and Turkey in works printed between 1560 and 1580. This increase in volume indicates the corresponding growth of the Levant trade in England, sparked by Jenkinson's license. It can also be seen through an increasing linguistic specificity: whereas earlier references primarily focused on historical knowledge, references from 1560 onwards began to describe a wide variety of tradable goods. Readers could feasibly have come across the Levant in references ranging from the 'Turkey gownes with sleves', 'stately tapissarie of Turkey making' and 'Turkey palfreis' in *The second tome of the Palace of Pleasure* (1567), 'Zizipha, or Turky Plomes […] Quinces , Pomegrantes' and 'Turky hennes' in *Foure Books of Husbandry* (1577), or '[a] floure[s] [called] Turkie Gillofers' and 'Tulipa, whiche is a Turkie name or worde' in *A Nievve Herball* (1578).[27] Matthew Dimmock notes in *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* that Shakespeare's casual domestic references to Turkish cushions and tapestries indicate a level of casual familiarity; these references pre-date his by at least twenty years, proving

[26] Antoine Geuffroy, *The order of the greate Turckes courte, of hys menne of warre, and of all hys conquestes, with the summe of Mahumetes doctrine*, (London, 1542); Paolo Giovio, *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius byshop of Nucerne*, trans. Peter Ashton (London, 1546).
[27] William Painter, *The second tome of the Palace of Pleasure* (London, 1567), p. 132, p. 167; Conrad Heresbach, *Foure Books of Husbandry*, (London, 1577), p. 76; Rembert Dodoens, *A Nievve Herball*, trans. Henry Lyte, (London, 1578), p. 176, p. 213.

that such familiarity had a long history.[28] This familiarity has already been demonstrated in this thesis: the 1566 performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* discussed in the first chapter was set in Jerusalem, and used a variety of expensive goods such as ‘golde foyle’, ‘broade saye’, ‘perfumes’ and ‘dredge’ to create its Levantine setting.




*Figure 12. Extract from A Nievve Herball showing the 'Tulpia major' [p. 213]*

Levant goods serve different literary purposes in each of these works. In *Palace of Pleasure* they add descriptive detail, fleshing out the world of the prose novellae, while those in *Foure Bookes of Husbandry* and *Herball* are more practical descriptions of plants, potentially used by both medical practitioners and housewives — assisted in *Herball* by the printed images accompanying each description, which indicates a level of potential visual familiarity (see figure 12). People from across different social levels, both men and women, would potentially have had access to information about Levant goods whether or not they had the fiscal ability to purchase them. Many of these texts belong to genres stereotypically associated with women, indicating the significance of the Levant trade to this demographic group.[29] The dissemination of information about Turkey goods had become both contemporary and available to the literate — especially in London, where merchants and printers were

[28] Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 202.
[29] Bernadette Andrea’s scholarship documents the importance of the Levant trade to women. See Andrea, ‘Elizabeth I and Persian Exchanges’, in *The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 165–99 and Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

concentrated.[30] By the end of the 1580s, the average reader would in all likelihood had a degree of familiarity with the region, if not a detailed knowledge of the workings of the trade. The London-centred nature of Levant trade and literature corresponded also with a strong theatrical presence: according to Jerry Brotton, more than sixty plays were performed which featured Turks, Moors or Persians between 1570 and 1603.[31] By the time Hakluyt began his work on *Principal Navigations* in the 1580s the Levant, far from being an unknown land, was thus an established English imaginative space.

Part of the Levant's role within this imaginative space was as a place of potential threat. While the Levant and Turkey were places of spiritual and historical significance for both Protestants and Roman Catholics thanks to the early history of Christianity, the 'Turks' who lived there contemporarily were synonymous with Islam.[32] This, combined with xenophobic rhetoric surrounding the threat of Islamic invaders, led to the development in Europe of the threat of 'turning Turk'.[33] English consumption of European material helped the trope take root in English depictions of 'Turks' across genres, from theatrical depictions to mercantile narratives.[34] Anders Ingram notes that the amount of material published in England describing Turkish activity tended to follow a pattern of

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[30] Of particular relevance is Linda McJannet's note that 'the central aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral became known as "the Mediterraneo" because it was a gathering place where imports, especially silk and fine clothing, were conspicuously displayed and discussed'. [McJannet, '"Oranges and Lemons Say the Bells of St. Clement's": Domesticating Eastern Commodities in London Comedies', *in Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds*, ed. by Bernadette Andrea and Linda McJannet (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 215–37 (p. 219)].

[31] Jerry Brotton, *The Sultan and the Queen: The Untold Story of Elizabeth and Islam* (New York: Viking, 2016), p. 172.

[32] Nandini Das, Joao Vicente Melo, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, 'Turk', *TIDE: Keywords* <http://www.tideproject.uk/keywords-home/?keyword_id=67> [accessed 20 November 2020].

[33] Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400 - 1536* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 131-59. For scholarship on the perception of the Ottomans within Europe, Dorothy Vaughan's *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances* is a useful if wide overview (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1954).

[34] For scholarship on the trope's use in theatre, see Daniel J. Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Vitkus, 'The English and the Early Modern Mediterranean: Theatre, Commerce, and Identity', in *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 25–44, and Matthew Dimmock's *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture*, particularly useful for synthesising a vast number of descriptions of the Prophet Muhammad in English imaginative thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

activity corresponding with Ottoman military activity in Europe and the Mediterranean in the first half of the sixteenth century.[35] This indicates a correlation between information demand and military threat which underlined the strength of the threat of 'turning Turk', despite the geographical distance. Conversely, it was precisely this which forced a codification of national identity: to negate it, English figures within Ottoman social contexts were forced to perform their manners and behaviour to create a boundary between 'English' and 'Turk'. The threat thus served a distinct purpose within the ongoing formation and establishment of English identity.[36] This rhetorical figure of the 'Turk' also inspired the development of a discursive formation which Gerald MacLean has termed 'imperial envy' amongst the English.[37] This 'imperial envy' stemmed from the perceived economic inferiority of the West to the Ottoman empire, both geographically and in terms of luxury resources: in order to take advantage of these goods it was necessary to establish friendly relations rather than attempt colonisation or military action.[38] The pervasiveness of this envy can be seen in the contemporary literary fascination with Levantine luxury goods such as sleeves, 'tapissarie[s]', 'palfreis' and 'pomegrantes'.[39] Understanding the interior workings and government of the Ottoman empire therefore became a vital factor in establishing an efficient and effective Anglo-Ottoman relationship.

The English attitude towards the Ottoman empire in this period, with its simultaneous and symbiotic elements of threat and potential prosperity, is best synthesised in a fleeting reference made to the nation by Philip Sidney in *Astrophil and Stella*:

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[35] Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern Eng*land (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 41. Ingram's analysis of the threat focuses on the religious ideological threat posed by the Ottomans and the evangelical language used by the English to frame this. Mark Hutchings conducts similar analysis in *Turks, Repertories, and the Early Modern English* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), but differs from Ingram in his analysis of the function of this language, concluding instead that the reformation enabled a new theological framework where, for the English, Turks acted as a 'scourge of God' punishing Rome specifically rather than Christianity [pp. 25-6].
[36] Maclean, *Looking East,* pp. 97–123.
[37] Ibid., p. 20.
[38] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, pp. 25–44.
[39] Maclean, *Looking East*, p. 20.

'Whether the Turkish new-moon minded be | To fill his horns this year on Christian coast […] These questions busy wits to me do frame'.[40] Sidney's mediatory position between literary culture and the court makes his use of the Turkish threat as a literary device particularly telling. Extant state papers from the early years of Elizabeth's reign, as would be expected, focus on the relationships between the Ottoman empire and other European countries in order to understand the English position within a wider geo-political network.[41] The establishment of a diplomatic relationship between England and the Ottoman empire shifted this focus, and rather than collating information about other nations, English statesmen began to place and use Englishmen stationed in the Levant to report on contemporary events. References to Turkey and the Levant in the State Papers increase significantly from the late 1570s onwards, indicating the growing availability and importance of this information. These letters, especially those of William Harborne, demonstrate a detailed and nuanced understanding of the social codes at work in Istanbul. As examined earlier in the context of European epistolary communities, such social codes were vital in the creation and establishment of such networks and an understanding of their nuances was fundamental for the actors involved. Harborne, in his letters, describes '[an] ancient Ottoman custom, [whereby] all ambassadors whose masters "break league are kept prisoners in their own house, but enjoy their provision of diet' and remembers 'the time of Sultan Solyman, when Acmet Bassa, forced into the place of Rustan Bassa, was shortly deprived of life', indicating the duration of his tenure.[42] Sidney's reference in the 1580s to

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[40] Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight*, (London, 1598), p. 529.

[41] See, for example, letters between Challoner and Cecil in 'Elizabeth: September 1559, 26-30', in *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, Volume 1, 1558-1559*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, 23 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1863), I, 575–92 and a letter from Petrus Bizarrus forwarding intelligence 'of the affairs of Venice, Turkey, Spain, Naples, Mantua, Genoa, and Transylvania' to Cecil in 'Elizabeth: March 1565, 1-15', in *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, Volume 7, 1564-1565*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, 23 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1870), VII, 306–15.

[42] 'Elizabeth: July 1585, 11-15', in *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, Volume 19, August 1584-August 1585*, ed. by Sophie Crawford Lomas, 23 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1913), XIX, 594–603.

the barrage of 'busy questions' at court about the Turkish threat rings true when juxtaposed with this body of extant material, and highlights the development of the Levant's importance to England over the course of the sixteenth century from a site of which knowledge was controlled by intermediaries, to one essential within English politics.

**Hakluyt and the Anglo-Levant Community**

The increasing demand for Levant goods, as well as the threats to extant trade routes, led to the formation of a number of joint stock companies: the Spanish Company in 1577, Turkey Company in 1581, and the Venice Company in 1583.[43] These companies would all be influential in establishing an exclusively Anglo-Levant trade, though their initial aims were substantially different. The earliest — the Spanish Company — included prominent London merchants including Richard Saltonstall, Edward Osborne, William Hewett and Thomas Starkey, all of whom would play significant roles in the later Levant Company. This company is primarily interesting for the significant social status of its members, as the worsening political relationship between England and Spain meant that the trade route quickly became less desirable to merchants, and by 1586 the company had largely ceased to function.[44] The Venice Company was chartered specifically to monopolise English trade in and around Venice and its Mediterranean colonies, focusing on Levantine goods including currants and spices. The licence for this trade in England had been given by Elizabeth to one Acerbo Velutelli in 1575 at the request of Robert Dudley.[45] With the

[43] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), p. 296; 'Introduction: The First Spanish Company, 1530-85', in *The Spanish Company*, ed. by Pauline Croft (London: London Record Society, 1973), pp. li–lii; Horatio F Brown, 'Venice: August 1583', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 8, 1581-1591*, 38 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894), VIII, 62–67.
[44] Croft, p. xxix.
[45] Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: Routledge, 1908), p. 20.

worsening Anglo-Spanish relationship more merchants began to join the trade, and in 1583 Elizabeth recalled Velutelli's licence, granting a group of English merchants the privilege instead to trade in Venice for six years and thus creating the Venice Company. The Venice Company was a mercantile Elizabethan heavyweight: though detailed records have been lost, they are recorded as owning fourteen ships with a total of 2,550 tons burden, exporting cloth and kerseys as well as lucrative currant imports.[46]

The Turkey Company's charter was, by contrast, the end result of years of diplomatic work and negotiation. William Harborne — Edward Osborne's factor — travelled to Istanbul in 1578 and spent the next three years building diplomatic networks in the city. Despite facing opposition from the French ambassador, wary of the developing relationship between Elizabeth and Murad III, Harborne was officially appointed ambassador for Elizabeth in 1580.[47] The letters patent which followed in September 1581 establishing the Turkey Company were issued to Staper, Osborne, Thomas Smythe (known as the customer) and William Garret, all four bound to give notice of the number of ships they sent out and the number of men in them.[48] Like the Venice Company, the Turkey Company traded cloth, kersies, and currants as well as 'tin, lead, indigo, raw silk, wines of Candia, cotton' and 'divers other things'; across their first nine years the Company employed nineteen ships and made a total of twenty seven voyages.[49] The work of the Turkey Company overlapped with one of the great London guilds, the Clothworkers, through the connections of two of their founders. Staper and Osborne were both freemen of the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, and Staper was appointed one

[46] Kew, The National Archives of the UK, 'The Answer of the Company of Merchants Trading to Venice to the Five Articles Submitted to Them by Lord Burghley', 1590, SP 12/233, fol. 28$^{r-v}$.
[47] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), p. 166. Susan Skilliter's *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582* is still, over forty years after its publication, an indispensable text for both primary and secondary material relating to Harborne's early work in the Levant, though Skilliter's study ends shortly after the establishment of the Turkey Company [for detail on Harborne's early years, see Skilliter, pp. 34-48].
[48] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), pp. 146-50.
[49] London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 60, fol. 8$^{r}$; Epstein, p. 23.

of its wardens in August 1576.[50] As detailed earlier in the first chapter of this thesis, it was Staper who appears to have been most influential in the appointment of Hakluyt in 1577 as the student supported by the Clothworkers at Oxford. The provision of Hakluyt's university education thus served to connect him to these mercantile communities even before he began publishing geographic works, making his representation of Staper's work a personally charged endeavour.

These trading companies form the basis of the social networks surrounding the Anglo-Levant trade in the late sixteenth century. Historically, critics analysing the workings of the Levant Company have tended to conflate it with the Turkey Company. This is reflected particularly in a critical tendency to refer to 1581 rather than 1592 as the date of the initial Levant charter, excising the significant work and influence of the Venice Company. [51] The establishment of an English ambassador in Istanbul at the centre of the Ottoman court was undoubtedly essential for the future success of the Levant trade, as it established both a network of English contacts in the Levant, and diplomatic relations between Elizabeth I and Murad III. Without the work done by the Turkey Company in the late 1570s and early 1580s, the future of the trade would have been substantially different. However, the letters incorporating the Turkey Company were significantly restrictive: there were only four men named on the letters, and the company was not permitted to exceed twelve members.[52] The trading goods designated in these letters also overlapped with the Venice Company with both trading in kersies, cloth and currants, and their trading

[50] G. D. Ramsay, 'Clothworkers, Merchants Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *The English Historical Review*, 92.364 (1977), 504–21 (p. 518).
[51] For example, Alfred Wood's influential work *A History of the Levant Company* begins with 'The Foundation', a chapter dealing with the early years of the Turkey Company which refers to it ahistorically as the Levant Company. The conflation is not confined to older works: Jason White similarly refers to 'the Levant Company, chartered by Elizabeth I in 1581' in 'Royal Authority versus Corporate Sovereignty', p. 232.
[52] Skilliter, pp. 180–83.

regions were geo-politically inextricable.[53] When the two companies were merged in 1592, former Venice Company merchants easily formed the majority of the new Levant Company membership:

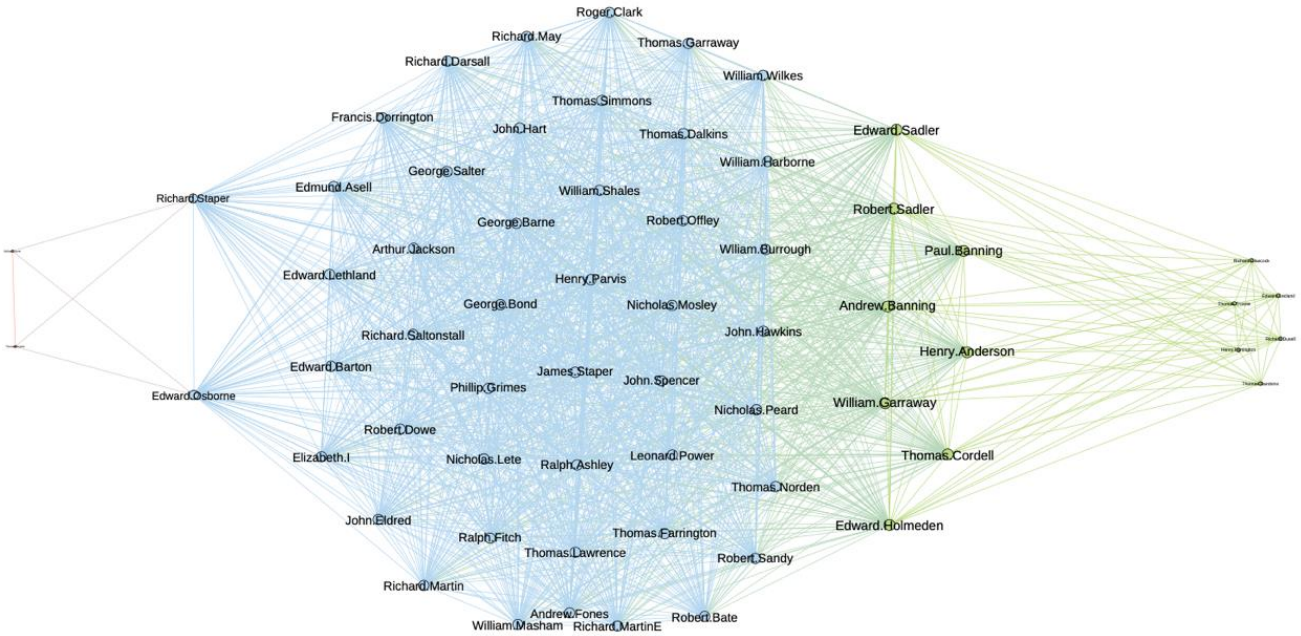



*Figure 13. Network map of the Levant Company charter of 1592.*

Figure 13 represents all the members named on the Levant Company charter in 1592, created from a data matrix which also includes previous company membership. The small group of four on the left-hand side of the map are the men initially named in the Turkey Company's 1581 letters patent (Richard Staper, Edward Osborne, Thomas Smythe the Customer and William Garret), and on the right, linked with green edges, are the men named in the 1583 Venice Company charter.[54]

The names in the middle of figure 13 are members named in the first charter of the Levant Company who had not been recorded as members of either the Turkey or Venice

[53] Many of the Venetian colonies and surrounding islands used by the Venice Company had been Ottoman possessions at various points, alongside the significance of the Venetian Republic to the history of Anglo-Levant trade.

[54] Common between the two groups is a degree of loss between 1581/3 and 1592 – the smaller group on the far right and the two in blue are people who were not named on the later charter.

Companies prior to 1592. The influence of the Venice Company, so often overlooked, is here made clearly visible. Only two Turkey Company merchants were members of the Levant Company in 1592 and of those two, Osborne would be dead by the end of the year.[55] By contrast, eight members of the original Venice Company would go on to become members of the Levant Company.[56] Of course, a map like this by necessity simplifies the relationships between members in flattening them down to one dimensional data points: it does not, for example, reflect Staper and Osborne's wealth and influence in the mercantile communities of London. Structurally speaking, however, this process of data collection and display reflects what was archivally preserved — the technical structures of the company — and the fact remains that the majority of members of the 1592 Levant Company did not have previous administrative links to the Turkey Company. Though the map shows the influence the Venice Company had on the Levant Company in terms of its membership, more than that it reflects the rapid growth of the trade in the majority of members who did not have previous connections — the central block of the map.

*The Anglo-Levant Network in 1590*

The effect that this division had on the social structure of the communities can be clearly seen in figure 14, a network map which represents the Anglo-Levant community in 1590.

[55] Sonia P. Anderson, 'Osborne, Sir Edward (c. 1530–1592)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20874>.
[56] These being Edward Sadler, Robert Sadler, Paul Banning, Andrew Banning, Henry Anderson, William Garraway, Thomas Cordell and Edward Holmeden.

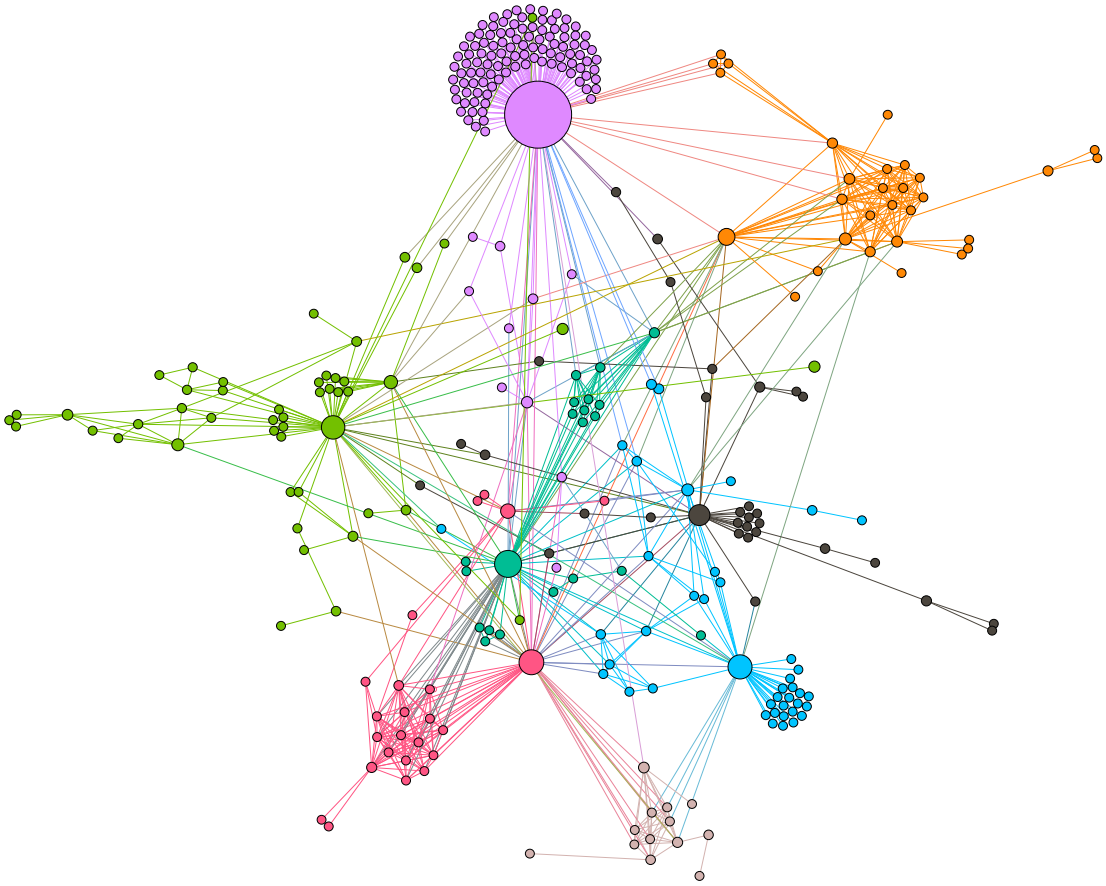


*Figure 14. Network map of the Anglo-Levant community in 1590. A version with labels is available in Appendix B.*

Figure 14 displays the social relationships which comprised the Anglo-Levant community from roughly 1560 to 1590.[57] Each node, indicated by a circle, represents a person, and each connecting edge, represented by a line, shows an extant relationship between those two people.[58]

The sub-network in pink in figures 15a and b (an extract from the wider map) represents the Turkey Company. Its structure reflects the Company's tight knit nature,

[57] The cut off effect of 1590 should be regarded as a rough guide: due to an inevitable lack of data on personal relationships, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly when two people first met and it is possible there are relationships not represented on this map.

[58] See Technical Appendix for a more detailed explanation. These relationships have been categorised in the metadata into a series of categories, which include 'worked_with', 'worked_for', 'family' and 'friends'. These categories are largely subjective, and so have not been used for analysis, but the effect different relationship types had on the wider network is mentioned where relevant. The map thus charts a wide range of social relationships.

while its small size makes it appear as a densely connected cluster on the map. The collection of nodes towards the bottom left of the community are particularly clustered, with Staper and Osborne acting as the primary edges connecting this sub-network to the rest of the map.

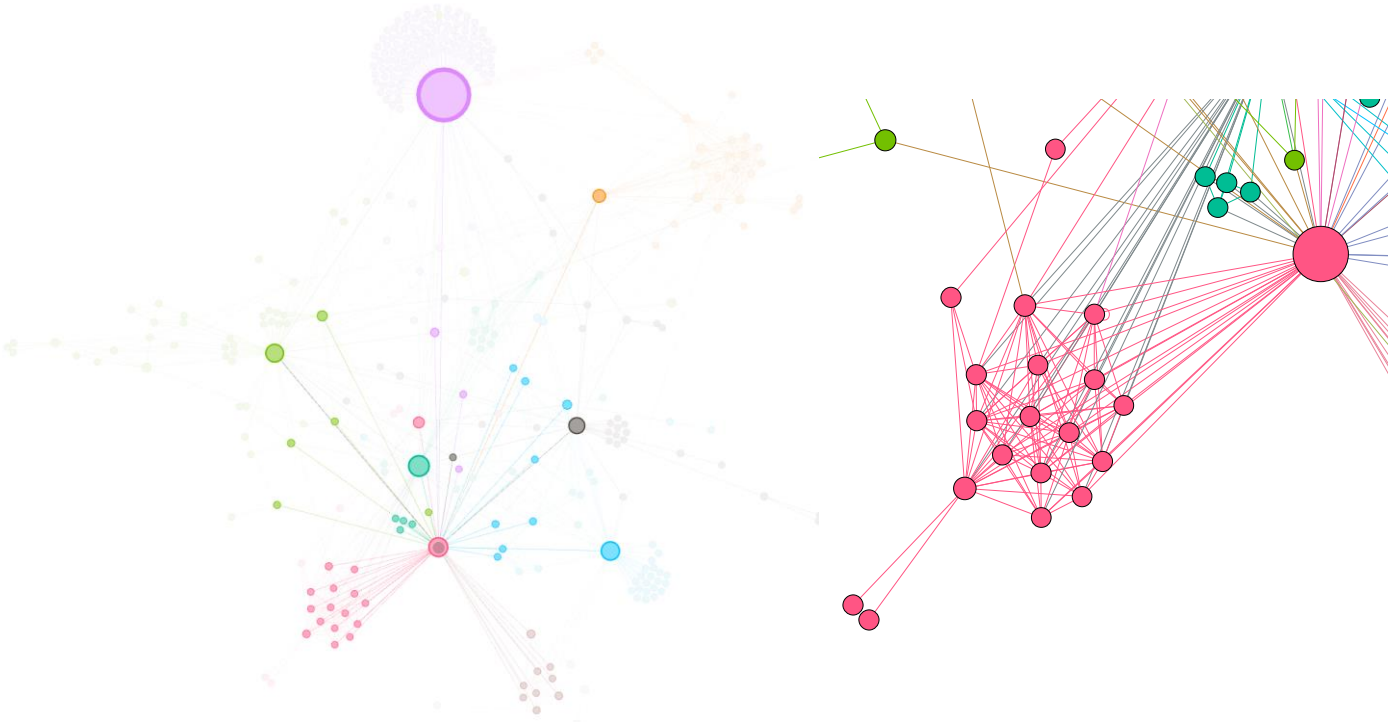


*Figure 15a (left). Edward Osborne's connections highlighted within the wider map (figure 14)*
*Figure 15b (right). Extract from figure 14 indicating the sub-network representing the Turkey Company in pink.*

The data for this cluster comes primarily from two sources: the initial Turkey Company charter, and the *Jesus*, a ship dispatched by Staper and Osborne on behalf of the Company which became entangled in a diplomatic incident in 1583.[59] Because the incident is documented in *Principal Navigations*, the ship can be mapped through the relationships of its crewmembers, but it is unusual for a ship to be so well-documented. That it is in this case speaks to both to Hakluyt's connections to Staper and Osborne and to the purpose to which the account is employed within the narrative movement of *Principal Navigations*.[60]

[59] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), pp. 183-194.
[60] See, for more analysis, Julia Schleck, 'Forming the Captivity of Thomas Saunders: Hakluyt's Editorial Practices and Their Ideological Effects', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 129–38.

The data for the sub-network representing the Venice Company similarly comes from a variety of sources, with the main one being the charter of 1583.[61] While the Turkey Company sub-network on this map is largely composed of Staper, Osborne, their immediate family and the crew of the *Jesus*, the Venice Company sub-network mostly consists of men named on this original charter, with its most well-connected members functioning to connect this sub-network to the wider network map.[62] The spatial visualisation of the sub-network reflects the division between the two companies: the two sub-networks occupy different corners of the network map, with almost no overlap (see figure 16a in comparison to figure 15a).

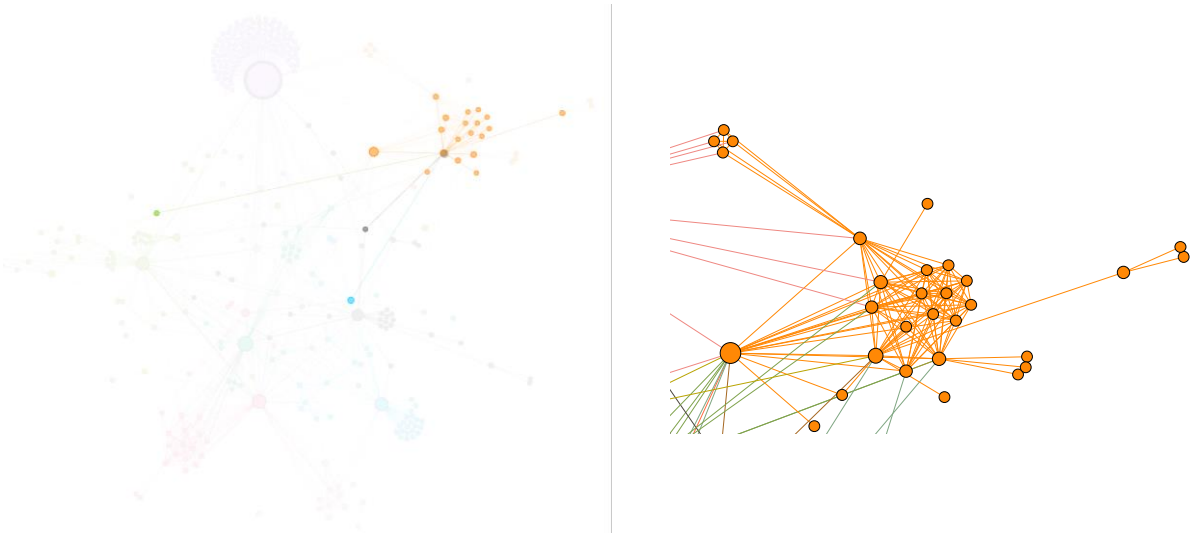


*Figure 16a (left). Thomas Cordell's connections highlighted within the wider map (figure 14).*

*Figure 16b (right). Extract from figure 14 indicating the sub-network representing the Venice Company.*

The two companies remain largely disparate within the map thanks to the charters of 1581 and 1583, which had no overlap in members. Though it is highly likely members of the companies knew each other socially, their relationships prior to the formation of the Levant Company have not been accurately recorded. There are documents which imply the

[61] Brown, pp. 62-67.

[62] These men — Richard Glascock, William Cecil, Thomas Cordell, Robert Sadler and William Garraway — were all, apart from Cecil, merchants named in the original 1583 charter.

existence of social relationships between members of the companies, such as the 'Petition of the merchants trading to Turkey and Venice to the Lord Treasurer' which requests the two companies be 'incorporated into a body politic' and a 'Petition of Sir Edward Osborne, Sir George Barne, Sir John Harte, Sir John Spencer, Paul Bayning and others' requesting the 'sole use of that trade'. However, these documents are recorded in the *State Papers* as dating to 1591.[63] Both charters had expired by 1589, but the Turkey Company's leaders requested an expansion to their trading area to incorporate the Venetian dependencies, while the Venice Company similarly requested the right to participate in the Turkey trade.[64] These discussions resulted in drawn out negotiations which lasted three years, resulting in this confusion over the document's dating. With this uncertainty in mind, the data has been left off this map.

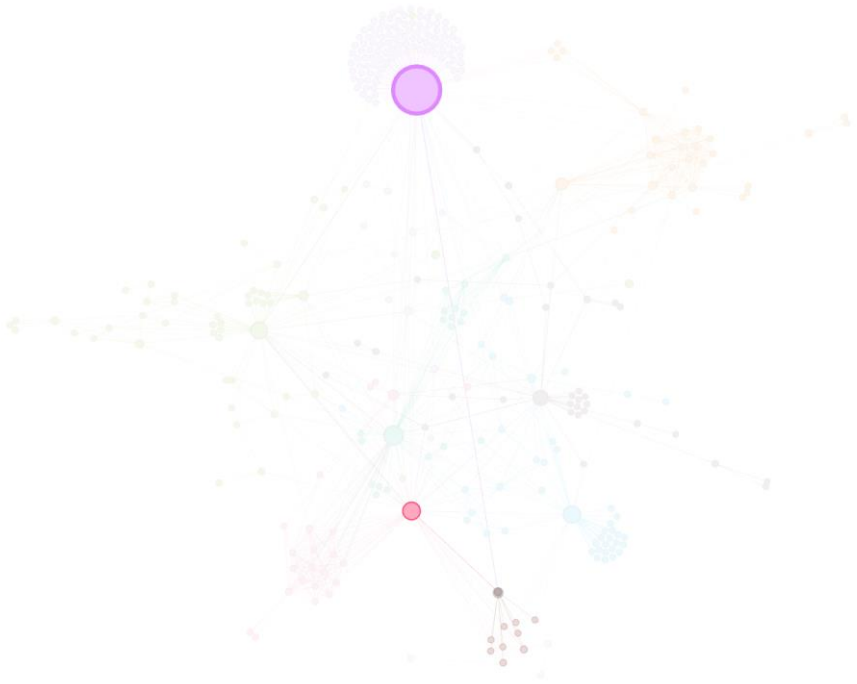


*Figure 17. Extract from figure 14 indicating the sub-network representing the London Aldermen in grey.*

[63] 'Petition of the Merchants Trading to Turkey and Venice to the Lord Treasurer' in 'Elizabeth: June 1591', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1591-94*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green, 8 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1867), III, 49–64.
[64] Percival Griffiths, *A Licence to Trade: The History of English Chartered Companies* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1974), p. 48.

The surrounding communities on this map reveal more about the context of the demographic groups associated with the contemporary trade, with the London Aldermen connected to the trade indicated in grey (highlighted in figure 17).[65] This community represents a wealthy and important stratum of London society and highlights the importance of Sir Edward Osborne (the node appearing in red) in facilitating connections between the Turkey Company and wider London society, as well as the close-knit web of social relations.[66]

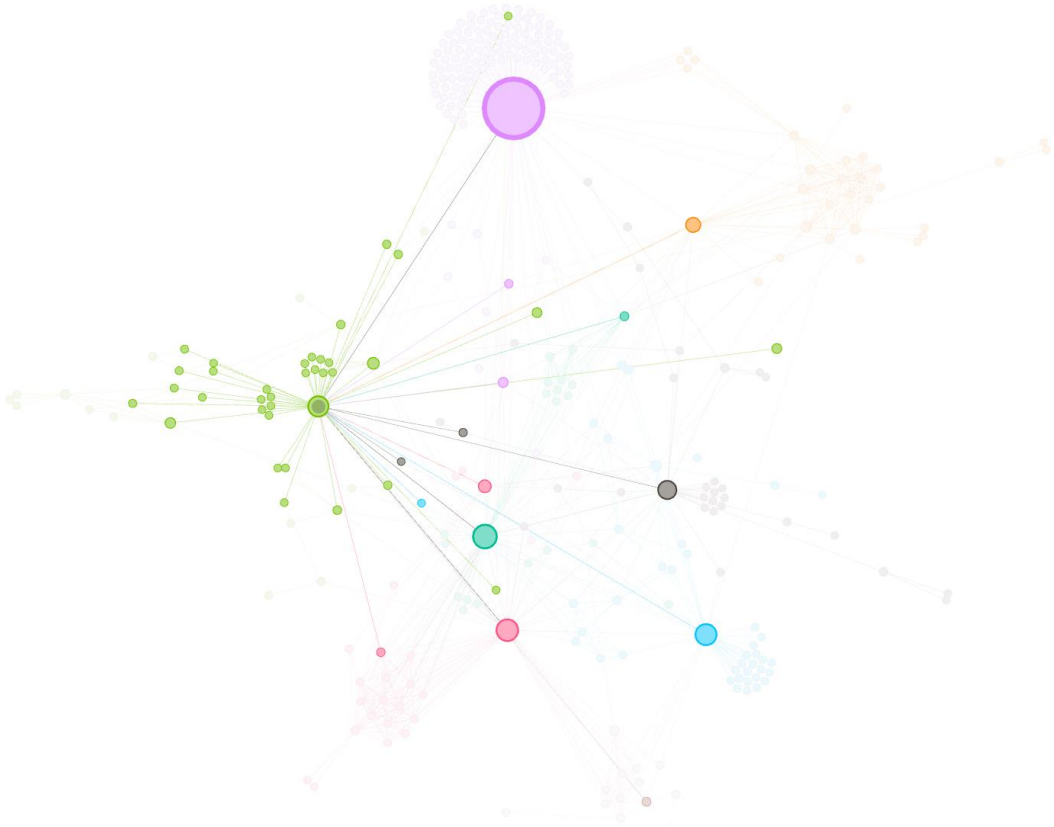


*Figure 18a. William Harborne's connections highlighted within the wider map (figure 14).*

[65] Including those who were appointed as Vice-Aldermen; this data includes men who would become associated with the trade but are not recorded as being so in 1590 (up to 1605) as it can be assumed that the social relationships which would be recognised in their appointment as Aldermen were present at least a decade earlier.

[66] An Alderman himself from 1573, sheriff from 1575-6 and Lord Mayor between 1583-4 [Anderson, *ODNB*].

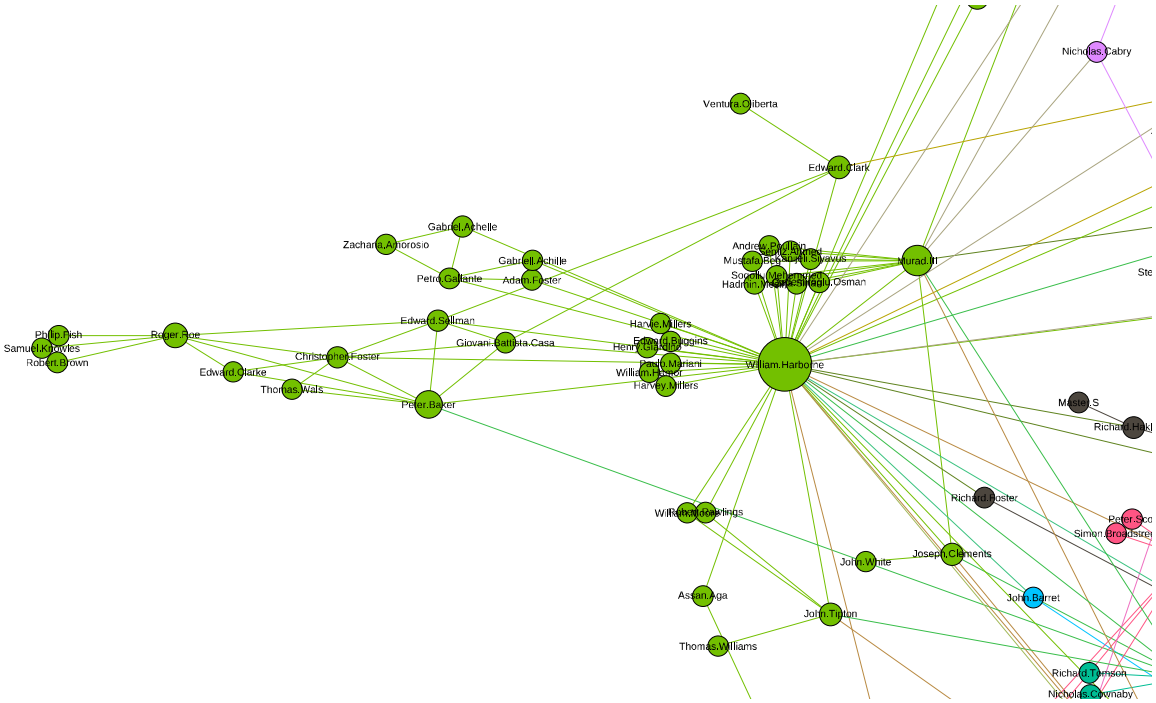



*Figure 18b. Extract from figure 14 indicating the sub-network in green surrounding William Harborne.*

By contrast, the community in green which represents people physically present around the Levant appears more spread out, partly because there is even less documentary evidence available for their lives: they are not connected by a charter, and unlike the alderman group they are not connected by a title, job or single location. This community is centred on Harborne and revolves around his work drawing people together and establishing a political and economic space for England. This explains the lack of clustering in the community: these nodes and edges appear more as branching threads rather than clusters (compared, for example, to figure 16b). The structure, within Harborne's working practices, acted as a filter for information and material from the Levant. At this point in time, Harborne was the best-connected go-between for English traders in the Levant thanks to his longevity in the role and area. Much of the material from the Ottoman empire which passed to English readers or tradesmen would have come through him, or at least travelled through networks supported by his efforts. Harborne, Elizabeth I, Staper, and Osborne are thus all structurally placed within the community: this

connection and its wider importance appears to be what prompted Elizabeth to specifically name the three men in 1592 as the instigators of the trade. This aspect of diplomatic history has, however, obscured the mercantile history in erasing the work done by the Venice Company in the 1580s and their social importance.

*Hakluyt within the 1590 Network*

With the context of the map established, we can return to focusing on the community surrounding and centering on Richard Hakluyt (figure 19). It is relatively small when compared to those representing trading Companies and displays as a mix of dense clusters and branching lines.



*Figure 19. Extract from figure 14 indicating Richard Hakluyt's connections within the 1590 network.*

This structure is a result of the extant data: many narratives and documents from *Principal Navigations*, when collected for entry into a network map, form 'chains' of data rather than direct clusters thanks to their patterns of transmission. Similarly, sources for *Principal Navigations* who do not appear in other Levantine material may only be represented on the map through their connection to Hakluyt. This community is most similar to Harborne's network of influence, suggesting that the two men used and created social networks in similar ways.

What is also notable from this network map is how well-connected Hakluyt was: he has direct connections to nearly all of the surrounding communities and these nodes appear to be some of the highest weighted nodes on the map (such as Richard Staper and Edward Osborne). Notably, he has no connections to key members of the Venice Company, with his influence almost exclusively focused on the Turkey Company. It is this social dynamic which is tellingly replicated in his access to, and selection of texts included in *Principal Navigations*. Connections to nodes with high weighted degree are especially important within this map, as statistical analysis indicates that these figures are of high infrastructural significance: they are significantly outnumbered by low degree nodes.[67] There are 278 nodes with a degree of less than ten, with 176 having a degree of one — the lowest number possible. This indicates a significant number of people within the map who were only very loosely connected to the remainder. This wide community of loosely connected people reaffirms the importance of those figures with the highest degree within the context of the trade in 1590, and correspondingly, the significance of Hakluyt's connection to these figures whose influence made them powerful figures within the community.

[67] See the technical appendix for more discussion of the significance of node weight in analysis.

*The Anglo-Levant Network in 1600*

Between 1590 and 1600, the social context and community surrounding the Anglo-Levant trade changed significantly. Of the original Turkey Company merchants, only two (Osborne and Staper) would be named in 1592, thanks to the deaths of the other two members, and when the company was re-chartered, Staper would be left as the sole original Turkey Company member, Osborne having died earlier in 1592.[68] Examining data solely from this decade (without the context of the network map of 1590) highlights the importance of Staper's role in the trade during this decade and its changing social contexts. However, analysing the statistics for betweenness centrality indicates the importance of the Venice Company in this period.[69] Of the fifteen nodes with the highest betweenness centrality, four were members of the Venice Company, compared to one (the erstwhile Staper) for the Turkey Company. Notably however, this map barely features Hakluyt. There are two reasons for this: firstly, his major Levantine connections appear to have been in place by 1590, so the number of new relationships which can be accurately dated to this decade are fairly limited. Secondly, though there was a significant amount of 'new' material in the 1598-1600 edition of *Principal Navigations*, much of it had been produced before 1589. Hakluyt's reasons for not publishing this material in 1589 are unknown but may be easily conjectured: in the case of manuscript material relating to the Turkey Company, publishing it in 1589 may have revealed some of the company's trade secrets. Publishing it in the second edition, by contrast, increased the focus on the importance of

[68] Turkey Company charter found in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), pp. 183-194; Levant Company charter in *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum: With Indexes of Persons, Places and Matters*, ed. by David Casley and others, 4 vols (London, 1808), I, 188, and an additional list of the 'Names of the persons to be entered in her majesty's grant, for the Turkey and Venice trade' can be found at London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero B XI, fol. 115[r].

[69] Betweenness centrality being a calculation which measures the shortest number of paths from all the vertices to all the other vertices which pass through the node in question (see discussion of the Ahnerts' Protestant letter network analysis in the Technical Appendix for discussion of the uses of betweenness centrality).

the Turkey Company within the new Levant Company, while the need for secrecy regarding its workings had ceased.

Combining the two data sets (1590 and 1590-1600) results in a large network map with nearly 2,500 relationships:

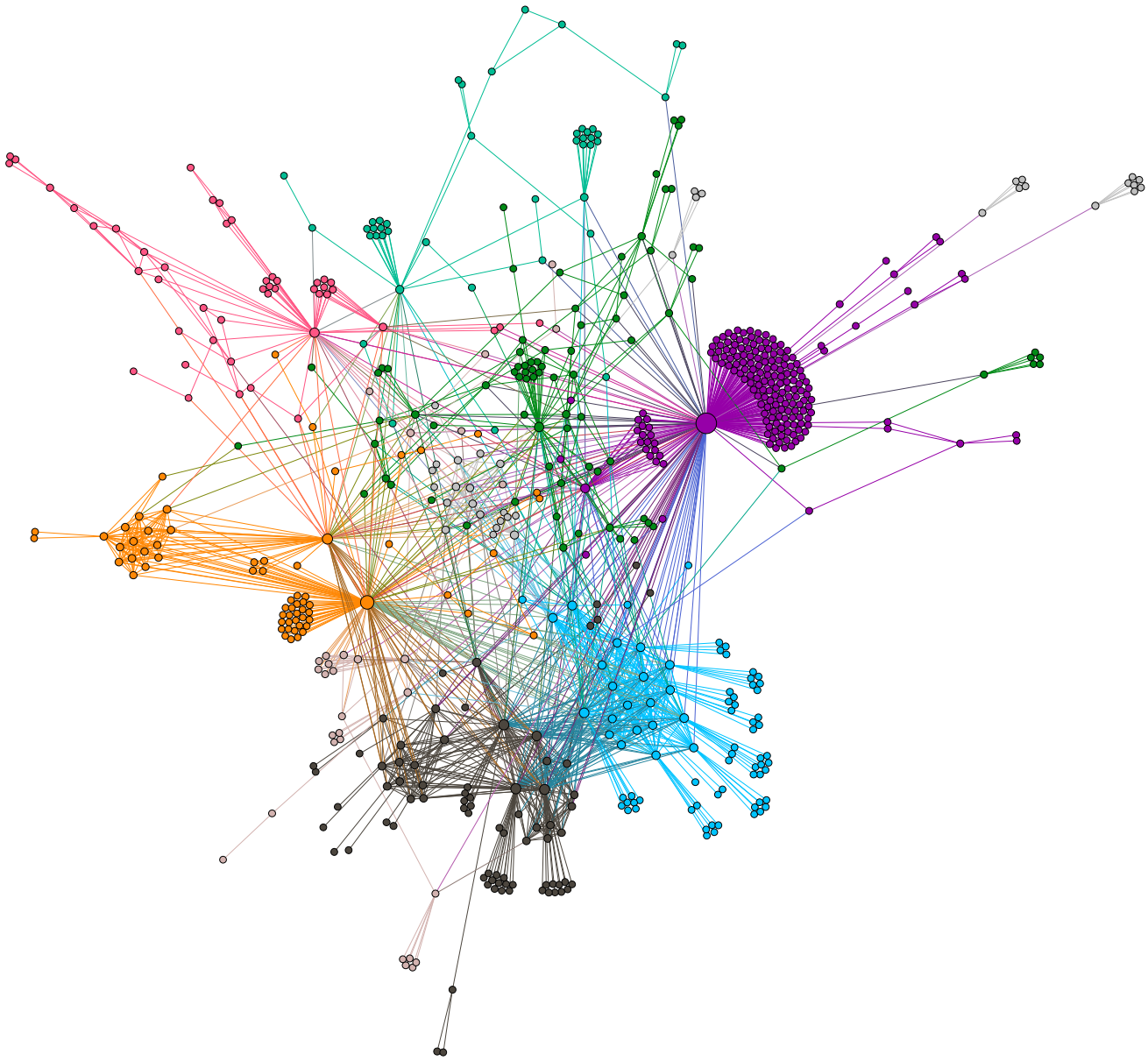


*Figure 20. Network map of the Anglo-Levant community in 1600 (including 1590 data). A version with labels is available in Appendix B.*

Apart from the scale, the most significant difference between the two maps (figure 14 and figure 20) is the structural role of the Levant Company. The algorithm illuminates the company's internal division into three separate communities: one connected to Staper in orange which includes Edward Osborne and a number of aldermen; one in grey which includes Cordell, Holmeden and Banning, and one in blue. The majority of the members of the Levant Company fall into one of these three communities: examining the metadata associated with the nodes, the factor determining which one they are part of is largely temporal. The structure of Staper's community is determined by to the connections and relationships of the original Turkey Company, highlighted by the inclusion of Osborne. As he died in 1592, his significance to the Levant Company in 1600 was through his legacy. The community containing Cordell is also composed of early members of the Levant Company named on the 1592 charter, but those figures represented by the nodes with the highest betweenness centrality had previously been members of the Venice Company. This indicates that these social bonds were significant enough to have affected the lasting structure of the Levant Company. Finally, the community which includes Elizabeth is comprised — generally speaking — of the newer members of the trade, connected to her through charters. This split demonstrates the importance of the previous companies to the social composition of the Levant Company in 1600.

An extant manuscript indicates the social dynamics behind this patterning. A document in the State Papers titled 'Objections against the Tripoli merchants, addressed to Lord [Burghley]' notes that:

> 'the traders are divided into three factions: Aldermen Spencer, Bayning [Banning] and Hamden [Holmden] woulde have no man to be admitted. Mr Stapers and some other with him are contented to accept of some four persons. Mr Cordell and his companye (who is knowne for a merchante and respects the credit of his country)

> woulde that anie man that is desirous shoulde come in upppon some reasonable allowance'.[70]

The letter dates from 5th July 1591. The anonymous writer appears to be aligned with a 'Mr Parvish', as he complains on his behalf that Spencer, Banning and Holmeden 'are not ashamed to oppose themselves against Parvishe'. The writer also notes that there are only 'some xiiii [fourteen] traders [who] enjoe Turkey and all the trade within the Venicyan domynion' though he fails to name them. In total, eighteen men had been named on the Venice and Turkey Company charters in the preceding decade, though only ten of them had gone on to be named in the Levant Company charter of 1592. However, there are four men newly named in the 1592 charter who appear to have some form of family connection to one of the eighteen men: Thomas Garraway, related to William Garraway, Philip Grimes, Staper's son-in-law by his daughter Mary (her first husband, predeceasing her in 1597), Nicholas Lete, Staper's son-in-law by his daughter Joan (married by 1591 and both dead by 1631), and Robert Sandy, Staper's son-in-law by his daughter Elizabeth (she predeceased him during the 1590s, though the exact year of her death is unknown). There is no way of knowing for sure which fourteen merchants the anonymous writer refers to, but it likely correlates with a combined group of these ten 'legacy' merchants and the four 'new' members, a conclusion reinforced by the writer's complaint that '[they] will trayne uppe [few men] the rather to drawe that trade to themselves and theire children'.[71] There are more than fourteen men named in the 1592 charter, suggesting that in the long run Cordell's faction were successful; more evidence of his importance to the development of the Company being overlooked.

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[70] Kew, The National Archives of the UK, 'Objections against the Tripoli merchants, addressed to Lord [Burghley]', 1591, SP 12/239, fol.105r. An almost identical version of this document titled 'Certain articles […] against the partiality of some few who seek to keep the trade of Turkey and Italy to themselves' can be found in Cotton MS Nero B XI, fol. 116r-v.
[71] Ibid.

A common pattern across these three sub-communities is the appearance of clusters emerging from single figures:

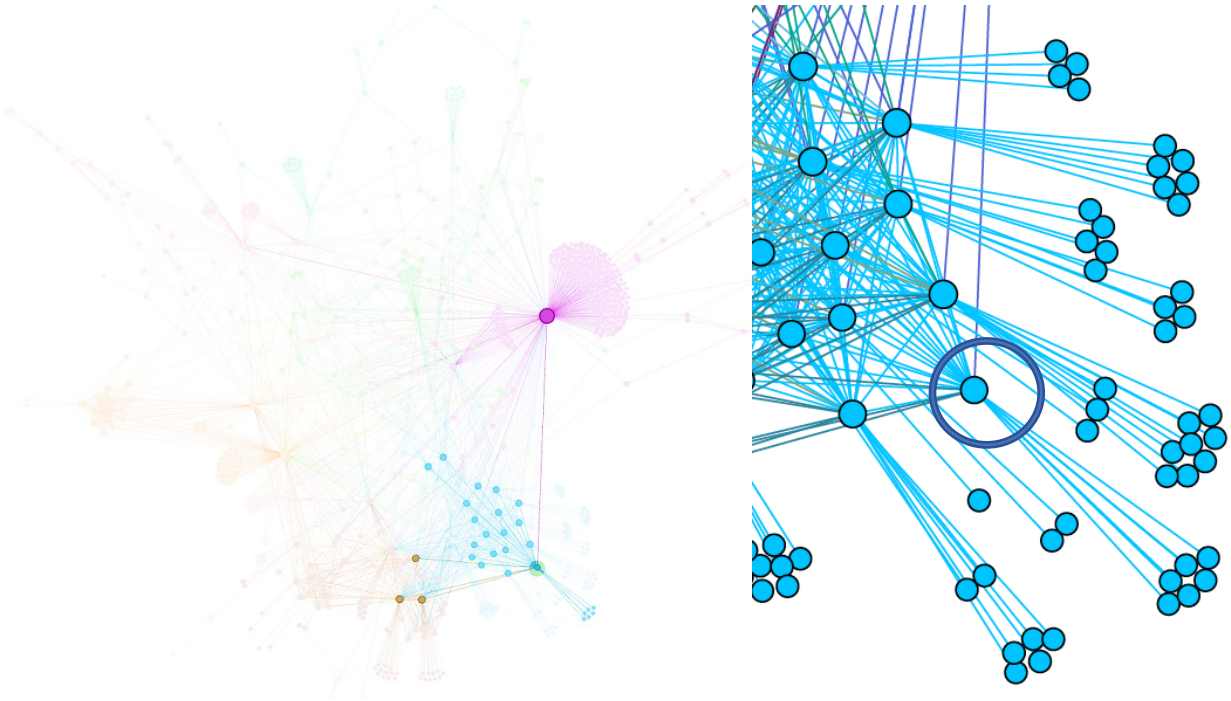


*Figure 21a (left) Arthur Jackson's connections highlighted within the wider map (figure 20).*

*Figure 21b (right). Extract from figure 20 with a circle indicating the node representing Arthur Jackson.*

These clusters of names connected to a single node, as exemplified by figures 21a and b, are each connected to an established merchant. Their names come from a list titled 'The names of the Levant Company now in being this month of June [1600]'.[72] The singly connected nodes are the named servants (and occasionally sons) listed as working for various members of the company over the previous two decades, and their extremely low degree is due to this social status. While relationships between merchants are documented in a variety of formats, relationships between servants are not. Though it would be a fair assumption that many of these people knew each other, without sources the relationships cannot be accurately mapped. The effect of mapping this data is to create a sub-level to the

[72] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, ed. by Robert Cecil Salisbury, 24 vols (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1883), X, 214.

wider network: a group of biographically anonymous figures who exist on the edge of the established Levant Company and revolve around the historically known merchants. In a significant number of cases these figures share surnames with established figures (such as Salter, Glascock, Simmons, Garraway), suggesting familial links.

The anonymous writer's complaints, and this network patterning, give us an insight into the social dynamics of the Levant trade. Staper was well connected thanks to his years of experience and status, but his stature was in part due to the size of his family. Many of the edges between him and other merchants were created by the marriages of his daughters, who are largely anonymous within historical analysis of the Company. This mass of family connections helped to create the dense cluster of the Levant Company, in comparison to the more spread-out communities on the rest of the map. Likewise, the positioning of Cordell, Banning and Holmden reaffirms the attitudes described in the manuscript: they are clustered into the same community within which Cordell has the highest degree of betweenness centrality. The groups of singly connected nodes represent the future of the trade, with the groups of younger men each tracing their place within the Company back to a previous merchant in a diaspora of influence. Hakluyt's association with the Company, however, does not fit within either of these approaches. His two marriages were to women not connected to the trade, while he was never named on any of the Company's charters. The community which connects him to the Levant Company must therefore have functioned in a different way.

*Hakluyt within the 1600 Network*

Hakluyt's community, displayed in teal in the top of figure 20, combines elements of both of the dense clusters of the Levant communities and the more spread out community

surrounding Harborne.[73] As was the case in the 1590 map (figure 14), Hakluyt's high betweenness centrality was not solely a result of the number of people he knew, but also of their social standing. By combining these two social structures (the dense clusters and chained connections), Hakluyt was able to effectively perform an archival role within the map, efficiently placed to collect and disseminate material.

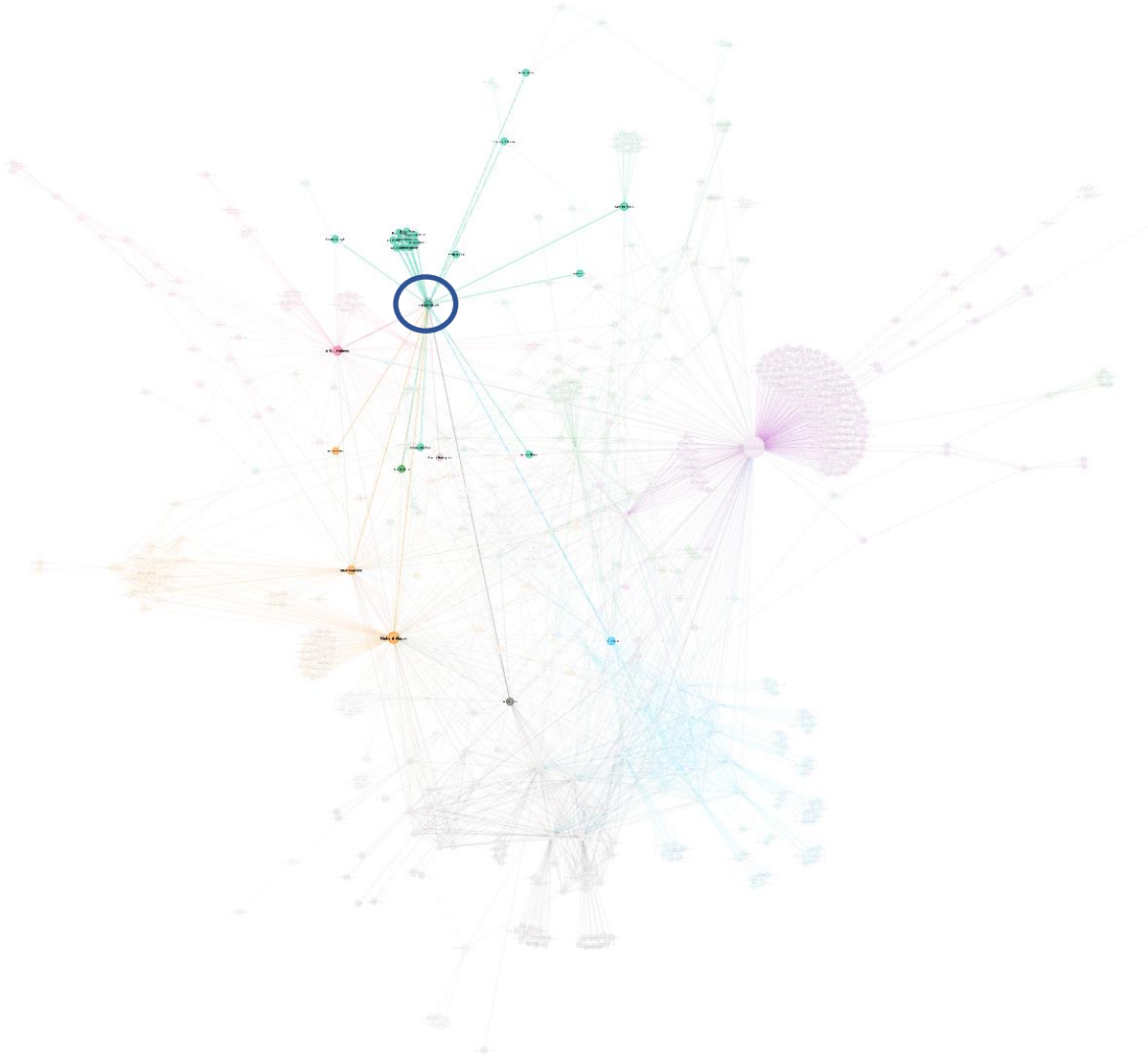


*Figure 23. Extract from figure 20, with Hakluyt's Anglo-Levant connections highlighted (the node representing Hakluyt is indicated with a circle).*

[73] See figures 10a and b for Harborne's community in 1590, which changed very little in the intervening decade.

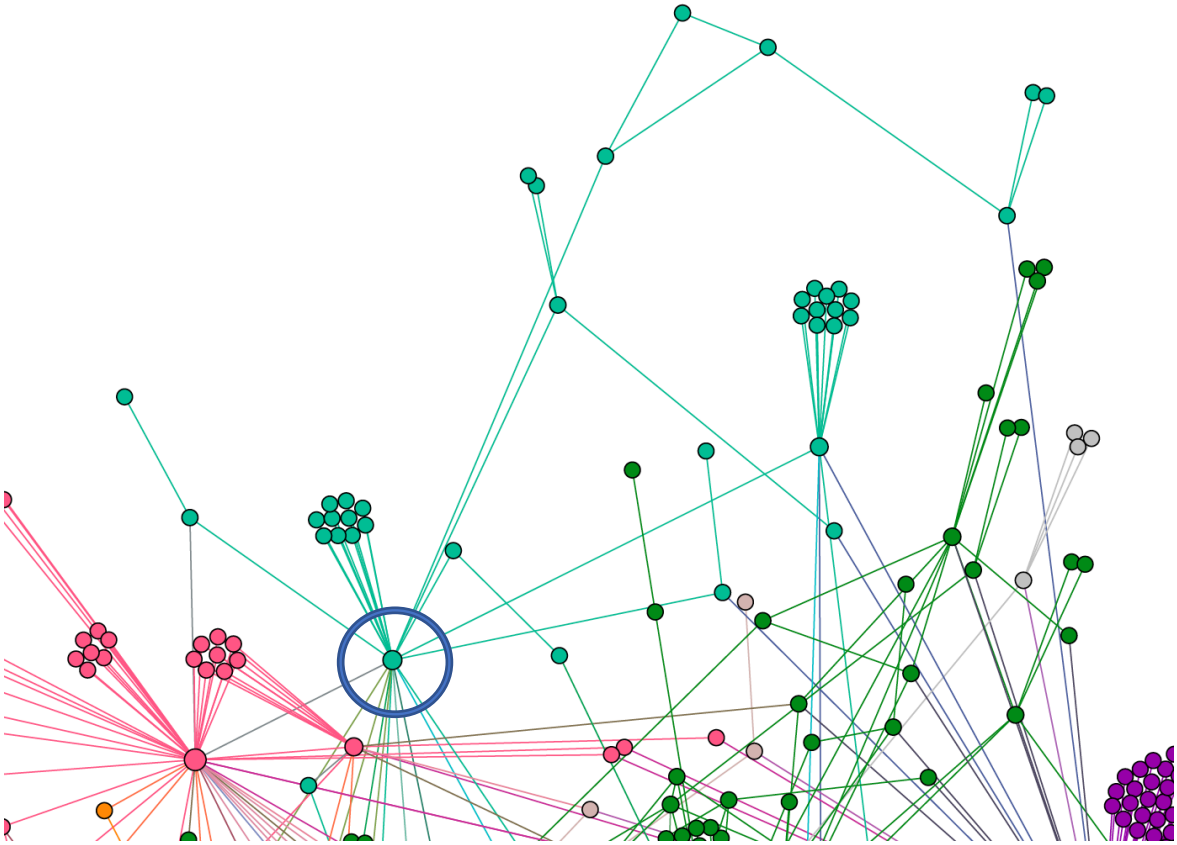


*Figure 23. Extract from figure 20 showing Richard Hakluyt's community (the node representing Hakluyt is indicated with a circle).*

The structure of Hakluyt's community is most similar to those surrounding William Harborne and John Sanderson, a factor for the former Venice Company merchant (and future Levant company founder) Thomas Cordell. However, while Harborne and Sanderson only used these networks to collect and disseminate information amongst the network, Hakluyt was the person who primarily publicised the information to people not connected to the extant communities. The efficient structure of his network helped him with data collection, while his connection to Staper gave him an in with the most well-connected members of the community. His lack of connections to the Venice Company appears starkly on these maps. With Hakluyt's debt to Staper in mind, it becomes easier to analyse whose perspectives and experiences he would be inclined to privilege through his

editorial work: the merchants closely connected to the Levant Company, particularly those involved in the earlier Turkey Company with connections to Staper. Hakluyt's association with the Clothworkers' Company also indicates his loyalties within larger mercantile networks. The Clothworkers and the Merchant Adventurers had a long rivalry, prompted by their overlapping interests in cloth import and export.[74] The established connections between Hakluyt and Staper position him firmly on the side of the Clothworkers' Company, and Hakluyt would, in fact, avoid making any mention of the Merchant Adventurers' shorter-range journeys in the first edition of *Principal Navigations*.[75] Though it was presented as an objective and historical collection of material aimed at educating the English public about England's place within the world, *Principal Navigations* was written within the context of Hakluyt's personal history, and the effect of this history is particularly evident in the Levant material.

**The Levant in *Principal Navigations***

The incompleteness of the Levantine material in *Principal Navigations* has been remarked on by critics, but the effect this has had on the work's wider narrative has not been examined.[76] Placing Hakluyt within the social context of the contemporary Anglo-Levant community makes it possible to ascertain what material was missing and which perspectives were privileged, in order to in turn examine the precise narrative created by these editorial choices. Part of the way Hakluyt used this narrative momentum to promote Levantine trade is encoded even within the physical qualities of *Principal Navigations*. The experience of reading the work is often overlooked in an age of digital reading, but it is a significant feature: within this thesis, it has already proved vital in the analysis of the

[74] Ramsay, p. 504.
[75] Ibid., p. 521.
[76] See discussion of Bruner Parks and Beckingham above.

work's function as a form of textual memorial.[77] A reader in 1589 would have been confronted with pages densely packed with text even before the material was expanded for the second edition, and faced with this scale, they would have had no reason to suspect that the picture the work painted of the Levant trade was anything less than complete. The scale of the material, and its corresponding physical presence thus acted as effective signifiers of the work's importance and comprehensiveness.

One of the first Elizabethan Levantine documents the reader encounters upon opening the work is 'The manner of the entring of *Soliman* the great Turke, with his armie into *Aleppo* in *Syria* […] the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Master *Anthony Ienkinson*'.[78] Jenkinson, the son of an inn owner, travelled through Europe from 1546 and received special license from Süleiman to trade with the Turks in 1553.[79] He passed a great deal of his manuscript material from these travels to Hakluyt, who preserved it in *Principal Navigations*. In the 1589 edition, Jenkinson's narrative follows a description of 'The Ambassage which King Iohn the Second, King of Portugall sent to Edward the fourth King of England […] [in] 1481', creating the impression that nothing of record for the Anglo-Levant relationship happened between 1481 and 1553.[80] More material was included to cover this gap in the second edition, but this only consisted of ten documents to cover a period of seventy years, providing little new information.[81] These ten documents primarily covered the early sixteenth century, and this — combined with Hakluyt's decision to change the order of his material — created a chronological gap of over a

[77] As explored in the third chapter.
[78] Süleyman I (1494-1566) was the longest-reigning Sultan of the Empire and grandfather to Murad III (1546-1595), the Ottoman Sultan in 1589. The document is found in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), p. 112.
[79] John H. Appleby, 'Jenkinson, Anthony (1529–1610/11), Traveller and Writer', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14736>.
[80] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589) STC (2nd ed.) / 12625, p. 81.
[81] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), pp. 72-112.

hundred years in the work.[82] While the second edition may superficially appear to have increased the amount of context available to its reader, significant gaps still existed within its historical narrative.

Jenkinson's narrative depicts an empire preoccupied with two things: military strength and cloth. The text is structured around these duelling points, with descriptions of well-dressed soldiers in 'yellow veluet, and hats of the same, of the Tartary fashion', '1000 pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold', 'seuen pages of honour in cloth of siluer […] [horses] couered with cloth of siluer, all embrodered and garnished with precious stones'.[83] Alongside them were 'sixe more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold', '16000 *Ionizaries* […] clothed in violet silke' who wore on their heads 'a strange forme […] fashioned in this sort: […] a skull made of white veluet [with a] […] traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a French hoode', led by the '*Basha* chiefe conductor of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimson'.[84] Süleyman himself had 'on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of gold' while he sat on 'a goodly white horse, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embrodered most richly with the most precious stones' and on his head wore a 'goodly white tucke, containing in length by estimation fift[ee]ne yards, which was of silke and linnen wouen together, resembling something Callicut [calico] cloth'.[85]

These rich textual descriptions were interspersed between careful detailing of Ottoman military strength, with Jenkinson noting the '10000 men, called *Nortans* […] [with] bowes in their hands', 'foure Captaines […] euery one hauing vnder his banner

[82] The 'Ambassage of King Iohn' narrative was moved to the section documenting travels to the Barbary Coast, leaving a gap between 'A preparation of a voyage of King Henrie the fourth to the Holy land against the infidels in the yere 1413' (Ibid., p. 72) and 'An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the emperor Charles the 5. vnto king Henry the 8. in the yere 1527' (Ibid., p. 96).
[83] Ibid., pp. 112-3.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid., p. 113.

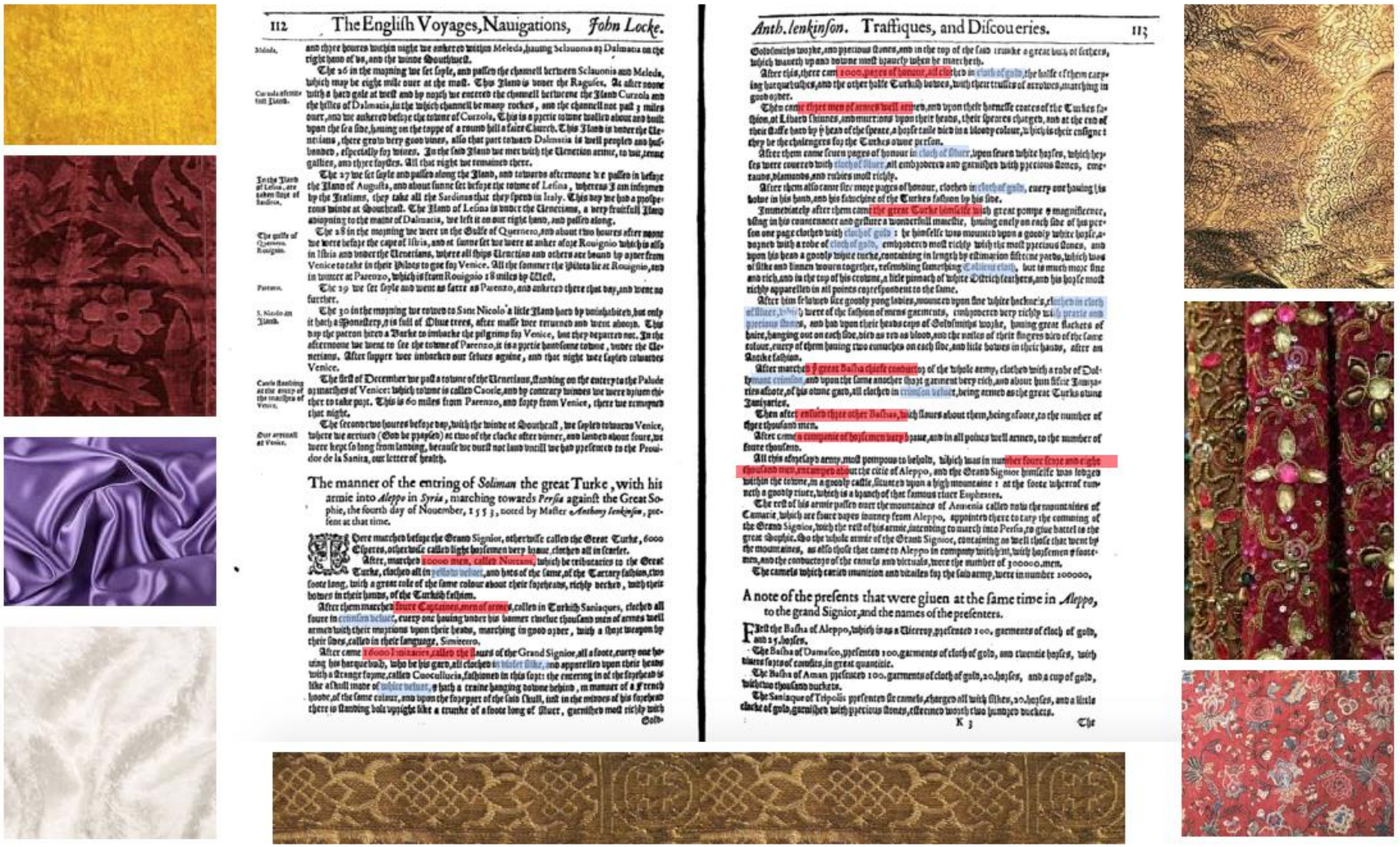
twelue thousand men of armes […] with a short weapon by their sides', '6000 *Ionizaries* […] euery one hauing his harquebush', and one thousand pages of honour 'the halfe of them carying harquebushes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes'.[86] Even the women were armed, with 'sixe goodly yong ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, […] [each] hauing […] litle bowes in their hands'.[87] In total, Jenkinson estimated there were 'foure score and eight thousand men' in the army.[88] The Ottoman empire was an impressive military force in 1553, but their reputation had been tarnished in the intervening decades between Jenkinson's account and the publication of *Principal Navigations*, following their defeat at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 at the hands of the Catholic Holy League. This League was formed of various Catholic European Duchies and Republics, including the Papal States, the Republic of Venice and Habsburg Spain under Philip II. In 1589, a year after England's own naval battle with Phillip's forces, it would have served any English writer well to praise the military strength of Spanish enemies, especially when geographical distance and England's superior naval strength precluded any possibility of Ottoman attack. Opening with Jenkinson's bombastic account thus served to remind the reader of the Ottoman empire's military strength and underlined their suitability as friends — if not quite formal allies — for England. Simultaneously, the riot of colour and richness of cloth wealth signalled the existence of an active cloth market, foregrounding the economic potential of a mercantile relationship. This account must have been immediately resonant for readers used to visualising Turkish presence on the English stage with its almost theatrical sense of display: consider, for example, the 'two yards of brode saye for the Quene of Saba hir heade' used in the 1566 performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*

[86] Ibid., pp. 112-3.
[87] Ibid., p. 113.
[88] Ibid.

compared to the 'skull made of white veluet [with a] […] traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a French hoode' worn by the Janissaries.[89]

Situating the narrative within this historical context adds to our understanding of its place in *Principal Navigations*: even this relatively historical text served contemporary political and mercantile ends through the emphasis placed on it by the work's structural frame. Hakluyt's use of Jenkinson's narrative establishes for the reader his priorities for the Levant material: promoting the Ottoman empire as a space with English economic potential, with a specific focus on the cloth trade. While cloth was an important part of the Anglo-Levant trade, it was primarily traded by the Turkey Company, and the history of the Venice Company thus received little attention within Hakluyt's historical narrative. Across both editions, Hakluyt selected documents from a variety of genres which emphasised the importance of cloth within Levantine culture. Other documents described 'Camels which bring the vestures […] all adorned with cloth of golde, with many little belles' and 'marchants which followe the *Carouan,* [who] […] carry for marchandise cloth of silke, some Corall, some tinne, others wheat, rise, and all sorts of graine'. [90] The instructions given by his cousin to a 'friend sent into Turkie' requested the man 'note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same', to learn 'the arte of compounding […] a Nile [Indigo] wherewith we colour Blew' and to bring this 'into this realme by seed or roote […] [along with] all other herbes vsed in dying in like maner […] all Trees, whose Leaues, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serue to that vse'.[91]

[89] London, Westminster Abbey, Muniments 54000, fol. 1[r]; Ibid., p. 112.
[90] Ibid., 'Of the preparation of the Carouan to goe to Mecca', pp. 203-5.
[91] Ibid., 'A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at *Constantinople*', p. 160.



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Meleda.

Curzola affenite tuit Iland.

Ile the Iland of Lesina, are taken Ships of Sardina.

The gulfe of Quarnero. Rouigno.

Parenzo.

S. Nicolo an Iland.

Caorle standing at the entry of the marishes of Venice.

Our arriuall at Venice.

and three houres within night we anchored within Meleda, hauing Sclauonia on the right hand of vs, and the winde Southwest.

The 26 in the morning we set saile, and passed the chanell betweene Sclauonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile ouer at the most. This Iland is vnder the Raguses. At after noone with a hard gale at west and by north we entered the chanell betweene the Iland Curzola and the hilles of Dalmatia, in the which chanell be many rockes, and the chanell not past 3 miles ouer, and we anchored before the towne of Curzola. This is a pretie towne walled about and built vpon the sea side, hauing on the toppe of a rounde hill a faire Church. This Iland is vnder the Venetians, there growe very good wines, also that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and husbanded, especially for wines. In the said Iland we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, seuene galleis, and three foysties. All that night we remained there.

The 27 we set saile and passed along the Iland, and towards afternoone we passed before the Iland of Augusta, and about sunne set before the towne of Lesina, whereas I am interpreted by the Italians, they take all the Sardians that they spend in Italy. This day we had a prosperous winde at Southwest. The Iland of Lesina is vnder the Venetians, a very fruitfull Iland abounding to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and passed along.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quarnero, and about two houres after noone we were before the cape of Istria, and at sunne set we were at anker afore Rouigno which is also in Istria and vnder the Venetians, where all ships Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their pilots to goe for Venice. All the summer the pilots lie at Rouigno, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rouigno 18 miles by West.

The 29 we set saile and went as farre as Parenzo, and anchored there that day, and went no further.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sant Nicolo a little Iland hard by uninhabited, but only it hath a Monastery, it is full of Olive trees, after maille we returned and went aboord. This day the patron here a Burke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to see the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handsome towne, vnder the Venetians. After supper we imbarked our selues againe, and that night we sayled towardes Venice.

The first of December we past a rowme of the Venetians, standing on the entery to the Palude 25 miarches of Venice: which rowme is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driuen thether to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice, there we remayned that night.

The second we houres before day, with the winde at Southeast, we sayled towards Venice, where we arriued (God be praysed) at two of the cloche after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept so long from landing, because we durst not land vntill we had presented to the Prouidore de la Sanita, our letter of health.

## The manner of the entring of *Soliman* the great Turke, with his armie into *Aleppo* in *Syria*, marching towards *Persia* against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of November, 1553, noted by Master *Anthony Ienkinson*, present at that time.

There marched before the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, 6000 Ciperes, otherwise called light horsemen very loose, clothed all in scarlet.

After, marched 10000 men, called Nouceas, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in pellato velure, and hats of the same, of the Tartary fashion, two foote long, with a great role of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimsin velure, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thousand men of armes well armed with their mottions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a fleet wagon by their sides, called in their language, Somiereo.

After came 10000 Janizaries called the Ianes of the Grand Signior, all a foote, euery one hauing his barquebush, who be his guard, all clothed in violet silke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a strange fayne, called Cuccullucia, fashioned in this sort: the couering in of the foreheade is like a skull made of white velure, & hath a creine hanging behinde, in manner of a French hoode, of the same colour, and vpon the forepart of the said skull, set in the midest of his foreheade there is standing bolt vpright like a trunke of a foote long of Muer, garnished most richly with Gold-

*Anth. Ienkinson.* Traffiques, and Discoueries. 113

Goldsmiths worke, and precious stones, and in the top of the said trunke a great bunch of feathers, which waueth vp and downe most brauely when he marcheth.

After this, there came 1000. paires of honour all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carying turquet bowes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes, with their trusses of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and vpon their horncste coates of the Turkes fashion, of Liberd skinnes, and murrions vpon their heads, their speares charged, and at the end of their staffe bard vp a head of the Spence, a boyste taile died in a bloody colour, which is their ensigne: they be the challengers for the Turkes owne person.

After them came seuen paires of honour in cloth of Muer, vpon seuen white hoyses, which hoyses were couered with cloth of Muer, all embroidered and garnished with precious stones, cornalins, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came sixe more paires of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his sheathe of the Turkes fashion by his side.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himselfe with great pompe & magnificence, viding in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull manlike, looking onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himselfe was mounted vpon a goodly white hoyse, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embroidered most richly with the most precious stones, and vpon his head a goodly white roche, containing in length by estimation fifteene yardes, which was of silke and linnen wouen together, resembling something Cabinet cloth, but so much more fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a little pinnach of white Ostrich feathers, and his hoyse most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him followed fiue goodly young ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of Muer, which were of the fashion of mens garements, embroidered very richly with precie and precious stones, and had vpon their heads caps of Goldsmiths worke, hauing great flockes of haire, hanging out on each side, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the same colour, euery of them hauing two eunuches on each side, and little bowes in their hands, after an Arabe fashion.

After marched 3 great Bashas chiefe conductors of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dolmane crimsin, and vpon the same another short garement very rich, and about him siluer Janizaries aboute, of his owne guard, all clothed in crimsin velure, being armed as the great Turkes owne Janizaries.

Then after followeth three other Bashaes, with flowres about them, being a foote, to the number of three thousand men.

After came a compasse of horsemen very brane, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this stately army, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure score and eight thousand men, are incamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Grand Signior himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle, situate vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a branch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The rest of his armie passed ouer the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Tamaria, which are foure dayes iourney from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the comming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his armie, intending to march into Persia, to giue battell to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also those that came to Aleppo in company with him, with hoysemen & footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which carried munition and victailes for the said army, were in number 200000.

## A note of the presents that were giuen at the same time in *Aleppo*, to the grand Signior, and the names of the presenters.

First the Basha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. hoyses.

The Basha of Damasco, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie hoyses, with diuers sorts of confits, in great quantitie.

The Basha of Aman presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. hoyses, and a cup of gold, with two thousand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis presented six camels, charged all with silkes, 20. hoyses, and a little cloche of gold, garnished with precious stones, esteemed worth two hundred duckets.

K 3 The

*Figure 24. Anthony Jenkinson's account as it appears in the 1598-1600 edition of Principal Navigations (pp. 112-3): references to cloth are highlighted in the text in blue and military references in red. Around the page are images of the various cloth types described.*

Hakluyt the Elder, somewhat optimistically considering the climate, also requested his friend try to find a vent for red caps because a great value in 'knit wares', he wrote, 'may be couched in a small roome in the ship' and many 'poore people [given] worke […] by reason of the knitting'.[92] Texts even recognised the spiritual value accorded to such expensive fabric, noting that while silk was used to cover the Quran during travel, upon 'entring into *Mecca* it is all couered with cloth of golde, adorned with iewels'.[93] The credit for opening this trade to English merchants was given entirely to Staper, Harborne and Osborne. Hakluyt made a point of writing that after 1553 the Levant trade was 'vtterly discontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had neuer bene, for the space of 20 yeares and more' until the work of the 'discreete and worthy citizens' Staper and Osborne in the 1570s.[94]

Of the different generic material types used by Hakluyt to promote the Anglo-Levant cloth trade, letters are some of the most significant sites for analysis. In order to be printed in *Principal Navigations*, these required transformation from object to printed text, a treatment which sheds light on Hakluyt's editorial processes. The effort required for a letter to survive its journeys, be preserved and then returned to be copied was considerable. The physicality of the form is easy to forget when reading text excerpted in print, but the sheer effort involved in the process marks any epistolary material chosen by Hakluyt as significant. In his Levant material, Hakluyt included letters from royalty, ambassadors, imperilled sailors and commercial agents. Longer letters were structurally framed as narratives, removing their subjectivity in the process. Shorter letters, especially those where Hakluyt had access to both sides of the correspondence, were often paired to create a call and response effect. This gave the reader the impression of a stable epistolary

[92] Ibid., p. 164.
[93] Ibid., p. 205.
[94] Ibid., p. 137.

connection between England and the Levant which could be relied upon to transmit information. The second chapter of this thesis examined the case of Hakluyt's connections to the Ortelius family network, and the ways in which he used his connections to this community to assert his editorial authority. In the case of the Levant material, Hakluyt similarly edited epistolary material to create an impression of stability which, in reality, was not the case. His editorial choices thus obscured the practical difficulties which did not fit Hakluyt's narrative.

A prime example of this technique in action is the material surrounding the ship named the *Jesus*.[95] The *Jesus* was a vessel belonging to the Turkey Company, whose sailors were imprisoned when the local authorities in Tripoli (modern Libya) decided that one of the factors aboard the ship owed a local merchant 450 crowns. They promptly seized the ship and confiscated its goods, hanging the master and one of the crew before imprisoning the rest of them as slaves. It was Thomas Saunders's letter to his father, smuggled from Tripoli to Tavistock, which alerted the English merchants to the situation and set the diplomatic wheels in motion for their rescue.[96] In order to tell the ship's story Hakluyt included four separate documents in both editions of the text: a narrative written by Saunders lifted from his own published work, a letter by Elizabeth I to Murad III explaining the situation, Murad III's reply, and William Harborne's letter requesting their release. This complex diplomatic incident, which was a major and successful stress test of Harborne's diplomatic status, is heavily simplified in *Principal Navigations*. Though the horrors the crew of the *Jesus* suffered are not entirely excised, the structure of the material negates any uncertainty as to their rescue by presenting the diplomatic process as almost effortless. While Saunders's narrative itself is largely unchanged, Hakluyt significantly

[95] This community appears on the 1590 network map as an isolated cluster, as noted above (see figures 15a and b).
[96] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), pp. 183-194.

reframed it both through the context created with this framing, and by cutting the dedication and note to the reader as well as many of Saunders's textual notes.

Julia Schleck, in her analysis of Hakluyt's editorial treatment of Saunders's narrative, has examined the ways in which his editorial work put the narrative to new ideological use.[97] Saunders's original paratexts, which primarily took the form of marginal notes, emphasised his eyewitness credibility and duty to the state that rescued him.[98] In Hakluyt's edited version of this narrative these paratexts were cut by sixty percent, which prevented the reader from using them to formulate a coherent alternate framing narrative. Schleck posits that this editorial choice enabled Hakluyt to shift the primary relationship of the text from subject/monarch to monarch/monarch.[99] This process of reframing can also be seen in the surrounding structure, with the narrative supported and confirmed by three letters. Shifting the focus from Saunders to these diplomatic exchanges simultaneously raises the social status of the epistolary relationship surrounding the trade, while eliding the danger of the threat posed to Saunders and his crew. The letters create a call and response pattern, implying that Elizabeth could send a letter directly to the Ottoman Sultan and receive a direct reply, while her ambassador Harborne was able to almost immediately enforce her will on Libya from his 'mansion in Pega [a district in Istanbul]'.[100]

There is one document in the Levant material which, however, does draw the reader's attention to the limitations and dangers of the epistolary form: a letter written from William Harborne to Mustapha Beg challenging his translation.[101] Titled 'A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements', Harborne describes the translations as '*male*

[97] Schleck, 'Forming the Captivity of Thomas Saunders', pp. 129–38.
[98] Ibid., p. 137.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), p. 194.
[101] Ibid., p. 171.

*scripta, plus damni, quam utilitatis adferant* [badly written, bringing more harm than good]'.[102] Mustapha Beg, a diplomatic translator and envoy, had worked alongside Harborne since 1578, even sending his own letters to Elizabeth I.[103] The inclusion of this letter goes some way towards indicating the reality of the difficulties facing Anglo-Levant travel and trade, but rather than revealing the hidden processes of translation to the reader, its inclusion functions instead to highlight Harborne's skill and knowledge. Elsewhere in *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt faced his translations with their originals to create what Henry Turner has described as a machine for translation. The function of this 'machine' has been examined in the second chapter of this thesis, which concluded that in the case of translations from European languages, the structure served to translate the material into the vernacular while reinforcing the reader's trust in Hakluyt's work. That Hakluyt did not use such a structure here, including Harborne's letter only in its original Latin, suggests that this widening of access was not his editorial priority for the material.[104] For many of his readers, the contents of the letter would have remained inaccessible. They would have been forced to rely on Hakluyt's English title to trust that it did, in fact, show 'M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing'. It appears that Hakluyt deliberately withheld translation in this instance in order to keep its information behind an educational — and therefore by extension, gender and class — barrier. His editorial treatment of Harborne's letter suggests that his priorities for the work were not so straightforward as they appeared: he was not interested exclusively in bringing information to readers, but rather in bringing it to the right readers.

It is particularly notable that it is one of Harborne's letters which shows this deliberate absence of Hakluyt's machine for translation. While Harborne's role in

[102] Ibid., p. 174.
[103] Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), pp. 93-8.
[104] Hakluyt frequently included translated versions of other material.

establishing and furthering the diplomatic epistolary relationship was vital in the 1570s and 80s, this work was almost entirely minimised in the 1589 edition of *Principal Navigations*. In this edition, Hakluyt moves chronologically through his Levant and Africa material, yet takes over one hundred pages to reference William Harborne by name, which he finally does in 'The Queenes commission under her great seal to her seruant Master William Harebrown, to be her maiesties ambassador'.[105] Harborne then reappears nine pages later, mentioned in 'The Queenes letter to the Great Turke 1582, written in commendation of M. Harebrowne when he was sent ambassador'.[106] This passive construction — 'when he was sent' — belies the near decade's worth of diplomatic work which preceded Harborne's appointment. Through this construction he becomes part of the page architecture, acting as an impetus for material without producing it himself: an inaccurate account of Harborne's work. Hakluyt also withheld Harborne's letters in the 1589 edition, saving them for the expanded edition a decade later.

Harborne's omission textually from the 1589 edition is glaring in the context of the 1590 network map where Staper, Harborne and Hakluyt were three of the most connected figures, and the 1592 letters patent where he would be explicitly referenced by Elizabeth. David Quinn in *The Hakluyt Handbook* assumed that Harborne's manuscript material was passed to Hakluyt only after his return in late 1588. This would have left little time for the material to be edited for inclusion in *Principal Navigations*, which is a possible explanation for its absence, but not a greatly plausible one: Hakluyt and Staper had a well-established relationship and Hakluyt's geographic work had interested Staper for more than a decade.[107] Plenty of the Harborne material published in the 1598-1600 edition pre-dated 1589 and Staper — and likely Hakluyt — would have been aware of its existence

[105] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. 174.
[106] Ibid., p. 183.
[107] Ramsay, p. 506.

before late 1588. It seems unlikely, then, that gaining access to the material would have been a problem for Hakluyt.

In keeping these materials private for a decade, Hakluyt protected the trade secrets of the Turkey Company by hiding the extent of their network and knowledge. By embargoing information which could have lost the Turkey Company their advantage and painting a picture of the trade in the 1570s and 80s as one which revolved exclusively around their work, Hakluyt promoted Staper and Osborne's work at the cost of painting a full picture of the Anglo-Levant trade. This editorial strategy continued into the second edition. In both editions of *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt glossed words which he did not expect the reader to be familiar with. In the Levantine material, comparatively fewer words are glossed than in other sections, and while a number are immediately obvious through context, many are not. Examining these words indicates a consistent pattern: they are the names of luxury tradable goods in trading lists. These would have been more useful for merchants using the compendium as a trading guide than for the casual reader, but for the latter group, without glosses to explain what the goods were, such documents were rendered almost entirely undecipherable.

A particularly effective example of this editorial choice at work is 'The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara and the Indies, with the customes etc written from Aleppo in Syria anno 1584 by Mr William Barret'.[108] This document comprises a long list of goods and some currency conversions. Barret includes in his list five types of ginger, none of which have modern equivalents, as well as a number of trading goods with names derived from transliterations of their Arabic, Portuguese or Latin names such as '*Dente d'Abolio* [Elephant's teeth]' and '*Sanguis Draconis* [Dragon's Blood]'.[109] Hakluyt fails to translate

[108] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), pp. 271-81.
[109] Ibid., p. 279.

or gloss these, making the list evocative but practically useless for a reader not familiar with this trading dialect. If a reader was unclear as to the use or composition of an item, they would have no recourse in the text to clarify their understanding. By failing to gloss these goods, Hakluyt creates a linguistic sub-community within the readers of those who understood at least some of the names, and those who did not. Though the list's indecipherability to modern readers can be attributed partly to temporal distance, several of the names are not recorded in other extant contemporary English works, implying that they represent a unique dialect of the Levant traders. *Principal Navigations* in theory laid out the history of English travel to its readers, but those reading the Levant material could have been left in no doubt as to the private nature of the trade thanks to Hakluyt's use of these editorial strategies.

The effect of this language is particularly notable when compared with the earlier proliferation of 'Turkey goods' across a variety of literary genres. If readers of housekeeping books and romances in the 1570s and 80s could have been expected to understand references to such items, Hakluyt's failure to provide useful detail here signals his editing as a process of circumscription; the trade as laid out in *Principal Navigations* belongs only to those who understand its linguistics. It is, in fact, an example of what the linguist M. A. K. Halliday terms an 'anti-language': a language generated by a society within a society which has the 'same grammar [but] different vocabulary in certain areas, typically those that are central to the activities of the subculture'. It is a language both 'relexicalised' and 'overlexicalised' which enables its speakers to create and maintain a subjective reality.[110] Such words cannot be translated back into the language of society without losing meaning, encoded within their existence as an 'anti-language'. Halliday used the example of Elizabethan vagabond counterculture as a prime example of an 'anti-

[110] M. A. K. Halliday, 'Anti-Languages', *American Anthropologist, New Series*, 78.3 (1976), 570–84.

language', but Hakluyt's use of these mercantile terms in *Principal Navigations* meets the same criteria and reinforces the importance of this subcommunity to its members.[111] By reproducing the 'anti-language' on the page Hakluyt both created and maintained what Halliday terms a 'subjective reality'; there is no single interpretation of the language available, and thus for readers with no experience of the Levant, no way to access this subjective reality. Such groups — namely women and people excluded from the trade — thus became marginalised by the very experience of reading the text.

These aspects of Hakluyt's editorial process indicate the voices and aims he privileged: Levant merchants, and specifically those connected to the cloth trade. Reading the Levantine material in *Principal Navigations*, a casual reader would have been impressed by the importance of cloth to English economic development and consumption, receiving only a limited impression of the trade's scope as the importance and trade histories of goods such as currants and wine were editorially obscured. Similarly, Hakluyt's selections of Elizabethan material almost entirely excluded the Venice Company, negating their significance to the development of the trade in the 1570s and 80s. By re-creating the community in a network map their importance to the future of the Levant Company can be seen more clearly, providing a contrast to the historiographical narrative established by Hakluyt and accepted by many historians since. *Principal Navigations*, rather than being an objective overview of the English relationship with the Levant, was in fact a collection of material carefully selected and selectively edited by Hakluyt designed to promote the interests of a specific sub-group within a larger community. In doing so, many contemporary perspectives on the Anglo-Levant trade such as Venice Company merchants, women involved in the sale and purchasing of Levantine goods, and sailors and smaller merchants were erased from the historiographical depiction

[111] Ibid., pp. 570-1.

of the trade. The Turkey Company's history was presented as objective and afforded critical status as such, with Hakluyt's editorial strategies such as selective translation and glossing further serving to reinforce its dominance.

## ‘that unknown part of the worlde’: Russia in *Principal Navigations*

While England’s relationship with the Levant was based on centuries of interaction, albeit initially through intermediaries, the Anglo-Russian relationship did not formally begin until the mid-sixteenth century. This shorter history, as well as the very different position Russia possessed within the English imagination, meant that Richard Hakluyt’s priorities for its representation in *Principal Navigations* were substantially different to those for the Levant, and it serves as an effective and contrasting second case geographic case study for this thesis. Though the existence of Russia was known to the English, there was no precedent for a diplomatic or mercantile relationship between the two before 1553. The latter half of the sixteenth century would see several drastic re-drawings of this relationship, which is reflected in Hakluyt’s treatment of Russian material across the two editions of *Principal Navigations*. That Anglo-Russian relationship began in simultaneous tragedy and triumph. In 1553, a trade venture set out to chart the north-eastern passage to Cathay. Financed by 240 prompters and investors who subscribed £25 each, it aimed to find a vent for English cloths and establish an easy trade link to the East Indies.[1] Its two leaders, Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, had differing areas of expertise: Willoughby was an experienced soldier but no seafarer, while Chancellor had trained as an apprentice pilot and navigator. Shortly into their voyage north, the two ships were separated. The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, described the scene when Willoughby’s ship was discovered late in 1555:

> the men on board [were] all frozen […] some of them seated in the act of writing, pen still in hand, and the paper before them; others at table, platters in hand and spoon in mouth; others opening a locker, and others in various postures, like

[1] Felicity Stout, ‘An Adventuring Commonwealth: English Mercantile and Diplomatic Encounters with Russia, 1553–88’, in *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 15–58 (p. 18).

> statues, as if they had been adjusted and placed in these attitudes. They say that some dogs on board the ships displayed the same phenomena.[2]

E. C. Gordon has suggested that Willoughby and his crew may have in fact been poisoned to death by carbon monoxide: this would account for the fact the crew appeared to have frozen to death mid-activity when they were discovered. Chancellor was rather more fortunate, successfully travelling through the northern seas to 'discover' Russia and establish mercantile and diplomatic links with England.

Due to the destruction of the early records of the Muscovy Company in the great Fire of Moscow in 1626 and the Great Fire of London in 1666, scholarship on the subject of the early Anglo-Russian relationship has focused largely on the later seventeenth century history of the Muscovy Company. Studies on the early years of the relationship tend to draw heavily upon the Russian material in *Principal Navigations* as the major extant source of early documentation, and work done in the mid twentieth century by T. S. Willan and Percival Griffiths provided useful analysis of the Company's early years through this approach.[3] The connection between Russia and John Dee has also received critical attention, with Glynn Parry and Ken MacMillan in particular examining Dee's interest on Russia within the context of English imperial ambitions.[4] Recent scholarship has begun to throw new light on the details of the earlier Anglo-Russian relationship. Felicity Stout's work on Giles Fletcher, Russia and the Elizabethan commonwealth, for instance, is a useful and necessary re-examination of Hakluyt's editorial choices, part of a wider critical movement

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[2] This account can be found in 'Venice: November 1555, 1-15', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, 1555-1558*, ed. by Rawdon Brown, 38 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877), VI, 237–50 (p. 240). Gordon's theory is detailed in 'The Fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby and His Companions: A New Conjecture', *Geographical Journal*, 152.2 (1986), 243–7.
[3] T. S. Willan, *The Early History of the Russia Company: 1553-1603* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968); Sir Percival Griffiths, *A Licence to Trade: The History of the English Chartered Companies* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1974).
[4] Glyn Parry, 'John Dee and the Elizabethan British Empire in Its European Context', *The Historical Journal*, 49.3 (2006), 643–675; Parry, *The Arch Conjuror of England: John Dee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Ken MacMillan, 'John Dee's "Brytanici Imperii Limites"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 64.1/2 (2001), 151–59.

problematising the view that he hardly edited his material.[5] Stout's analysis of Hakluyt's editorial treatment of Fletcher has been vital for my work examining his treatment of other Russian material.

Despite this re-examination, the place of Russian material within *Principal Navigations* and Hakluyt's treatment of it, compared to contemporaneous attitudes to Russia, is a subject which demands more attention. As our primary source for contemporary information about the Anglo-Russian relationship, *Principal Navigations* has been an invaluable resource for scholars, but often treated as an objective one. This chapter will conduct analysis of this material using the same approach as the previous chapter, beginning by examining the historical and literary context contemporarily associated with Russia in England, before moving to explore the contemporary Anglo-Russian community using network analysis. These two strands are then drawn together in a close examination of Russia's representation within *Principal Navigations* itself. Combining analysis of a network map of the contemporary Anglo-Russian community with textual analysis of *Principal Navigations* reveals the potential motivations behind Hakluyt's editorial choices and the importance of studying the process of the text's composition. This chapter will demonstrate, through these analyses, how *Principal Navigations* worked to present Russia as a viable and lucrative trading ally for England, countering the historical and literary view of the country as a dangerous and lawless place. This narrative neatly obscured any sensitive information from the Muscovy Company, while simultaneously implicitly praising it as a strong mercantile force.

[5] Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth* and '"The Strange and Wonderfull Discoverie of Russia": Hakluyt and Censorship', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (Farnham: Ashgate, 2017), pp. 153–63.

Though there was no direct contact between England and Russia until 1553, the country had a limited cultural presence within English writing long before that year. The existence and condition of Russia were facts known to English writers, though they were unclear on the country's exact size or bounds. Robert Fabyan in *Fabyans cronycle newly printed* (1533) referenced a 'doughter to the kynge of Russy' and a 'Russylyan' who helped Phillip III of France.[6] The casualness of these references indicates an assumed knowledge of Russia's existence, but simultaneously highlights Fabyan's lack of detailed knowledge — the 'doughter to the King of Russy' was Anne of Kiev, actually the daughter of the Grand Prince of Kiev and Novgorod (King of the historic Kievan Rus' rather than contemporary Russia).[7] *The dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot knight* (1538) defined 'Samartia' as 'all that great countrey, wherein is contayned Russia, Liuonia, & Tartaria', but again Elyot's casual reference belies a lack of useful knowledge: 'Sarmartia' was the name for the territory of the ancient Sarmatian people, and covered only part of southern Russia.[8] While Elyot's definition was not entirely wrong, its implication that this ancient territory included the entirety of contemporary Russia was inaccurate and indicates an inability to geographically conceptualise the country. Four years later the same definition was repeated word for word in the second edition, *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis librarie* (1542), suggesting that neither Elyot nor his readers had seen fit — or were able — to correct this original understanding.[9] The number of references to Russia increased in this edition, though these remained relatively vague: 'Tartaria' was described as 'a countrey of

[6] Robert Fabyan, *Fabyans cronycle newly printed* (London, 1533), sig. CXXXII$^{r}$, sig. LIII$^{r}$.
[7] See Simon Franklin, 'Kievan Rus'' (1015–1125)', in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, ed. by Maureen Perrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 73–97. The apostrophe in Rus' is a strict transliteration of the Cyrillic ь.
[8] Thomas Elyot, *The dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot knight* (London, 1538), sig. YIII$^{v}$.
[9] Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis librarie* (London, 1542). This edition is not the expanded version published by Thomas Cooper, later Bishop of Winchester in 1548, but appears to have been authored by Elyot.

incomparable greatnesse [which] […] boundeth on the west vppon Russia' while the 'Scyate' were a 'people in the northe parte of Asia, whiche were cruell and harde to be vanquyshed, they be nowe callyd Russyans, Moscouytes, and Tartaryens'.[10] Elyot's knowledge of Russian people did, however, show a solid understanding of the country's basic societal structure: '*Moscouitae,* in englysshe Moscouytes […] haue a greatte duke, who nameth hym selfe Emperoure of Russye: they be Chrystened, and doo obserue the ryghtes of the Greekes'.[11] Elyot's work thus indicates a level of extant English knowledge of the Russian people which undermines the later Elizabethan historiographical construction of Russia as an unknown state prior to 1553.

English writers, though unable to accurately delineate the space Russia occupied on a global map, were well-informed regarding its culture through their mutual connections within mainland Europe. Elyot's knowledge of the basic details of Russia's inner workings are likely a result of his work as diplomat, having been appointed at various times as an ambassador to Charles V.[12] The potential iconographic applications of knowledge of other nations are clear from a description of a masque performed in the Parliament Chamber at Westminster on Shrove Sunday in 1510, printed in the chronicle *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke* in 1548:

> the Erle of Essex […] appareled after Turkey fashio[n] […] Henry Erle of Wilshire, and the lorde Fitzwater in twoo long gounes of yelowe satin, trauarsed with white satin, and in euery bend of white, was a bend of crimosen satin after the fashion[n] of Russia or Ruslande, with furred hattes of greye on their hedes either of them hauyng an hatchet in their handes, and bootes with pykes turned vp.[13]

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[10] Ibid., sig. LIi$^{r}$, sig. HhIII$^{r}$.
[11] Ibid., sig. YI$^{r}$.
[12] Stanford Lehmberg, 'Elyot, Sir Thomas (c. 1490–1546), Humanist and Diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8782>.
[13] Edward Hall, *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke*, (London, 1548), p. vi.

The presentation of Russians within this masque, as memorialised by Hall, served a political purpose within both its original 1510 performance and the printed description thirty-eight years later. The 1566 performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* and the 1613 performance of the *Memorable Masque,* as studied in the first chapter, demonstrate that the contexts of performances often served a political purpose, as did the textual records of these occasions. In the case of *Sapientia Solomonis,* the high-cost items involved in producing the royal manuscript play-text were intended to demonstrate the close links between Westminster School and Elizabeth I; for the *Memorable Masque,* the printed masque text disseminated details of the Middle Temple performance, impressing upon readers the sheer excess of its display.

The 1548 record of the Shrove Sunday masque similarly served to place England within a wider context, presenting the 1510 court as one engaged in a wider global network, using Russia and its customs as an example of an 'exotic' land.[14] The costumes of 'Ruslande' fashion appear to have been based on a stereotype of Russia which revolved around a view of the country as cold and violent, with the wealth of the fabrics less as an attempt at verisimilitude and rather a feature of the form, highlighting the wealth of the participants to its audiences in 1510 and 1548.[15] Stout has described the English conception of Russia in 1510 as being fit only for 'a Sunday frolic', but interrogating this scattered evidence suggests there was more to those fragmented references; they possessed a significant iconographic weight.[16] The use of the masque in Hall's overtly Protestant historiography, printed at the start of Edward VI's reign, indicates its importance in

[14] See William Raleigh Trimble, 'Early Tudor Historiography, 1485-1548', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 11.1 (1950), 30–41 for a detailed analysis of Hall's and contemporary texts (especially p. 37).
[15] The export of cloth from London, in particular, would increase in volume 'by 150 percent during the first half of the sixteenth century' [Willan, p. 2].
[16] Felicity Stout, '"The Countrey Is Too Colde, the People Beastly Be": Elizabethan Representations of Russia', *Literature Compass,* 10.6 (2013), 483–95 (p. 484).

establishing an image of an England with international connections.[17] Long before Hakluyt began to compile *Principal Navigations*, there was an established connection between English representations of Russia and English self-promotion.

*Representations of Russia in England after 1553*

When Hakluyt came to collate the documents for the Russia section of *Principal Navigations* in 1589, he was faced with a bounty of material documenting thirty years of interaction. Russia had been treated as an imaginative space of uncertainty even before 1553, but after this date the volume of references to the country in English literature increased significantly.[18] The events of 1553 were consistently framed contemporarily and by later Elizabethans as the English 'discovery' of Russia, but when contemporaries spoke about the country being discovered what they meant was that a relationship, both mercantile and diplomatic, had been formally established. The establishment of this relationship resulted from the above-mentioned trade venture to discover a north-eastern passage to Cathay, launched in late May 1553. A note describing the beginning of the voyage was found on Willoughby's ship which, along with the names of his dead crewmembers, was published in *Principal Navigations* to remind Hakluyt's readers of the sacrifice behind English prosperity while framing Willoughby and his men as economic martyrs for England.[19] Chancellor, as mentioned in the opening of this chapter, lost contact with his companions but continued nevertheless on their planned route towards 'that

[17] For more analysis of Hall's historiographical work and aims see Peter Berek, 'Tragedy and Title Pages: Nationalism, Protestantism, and Print', *Modern Philology*, 106.1 (2008), 1–24; Peter C. Herman, 'Hall, Edward (1497–1547), Lawyer and Historian', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11954>.
[18] Stéphane Mund, 'The Discovery of Muscovite Russia in Tudor England', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 86.2 (2008), 351–73.
[19] The details of their deaths, however, were not, suggesting that Hakluyt felt these would undermine his narrative of divine favour.

unknowne part of the world'.[20] His ship eventually cast anchor in a small bay at the mouth of the Dvina river in northwest Russia. Once the news of their arrival had reached Moscow, Chancellor and his crew were summoned to the capital by Tsar Ivan IV. Here, they obtained trading privileges and formally established an Anglo-Russian trading relationship.[21] Ivan IV also wrote a letter to Edward VI expressing his desire to receive English ships.[22]

The promoters of this voyage needed to be formally incorporated as a company in order to effectively and efficiently monopolise these trading privileges, but this was delayed by the death of Edward VI and the Muscovy Company was only granted a charter by Mary and Phillip in February 1555.[23] Willan, in *The Early History of the Russia Company: 1553-1603*, records that this charter named 199 men and two women, but a manuscript copy of the original preserved in the State Papers actually names three women: Margaret Kirton, Katherine Wigmore and Elizabeth Wilforde.[24] Of its male signatories, two were appointed as governors, four as consuls and twenty-four as assistants. The Company's charter and organisation would provide the model for many of the joint stock companies established in the following decades, making it hugely influential both economically and socially.[25] In 1557, in recognition of this emerging economic and diplomatic relationship, Ivan IV sent Osip Napea as an ambassador to England where he was received by the 'lord mayre, and [5] knyghtes althermen and [5] other althermen, and

[20] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 3 vols (London, 1598-1600), I (1598), STC (2nd ed.) 12626a, p. 246.
[21] Stout, *Exploring Russia*, p. 21.
[22] Willan, pp. 2-7.
[23] Though it is also called the Russia Company in scholarship, this chapter will refer to it as the Muscovy Company.
[24] Kew, The National Archives of the UK (TNA), 'List of 207 Noblemen, Knights, Aldermen, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Merchants, Forming the Russia or Muscovy Company', 1555, SP 15/7, fol. 115.
[25] For a detailed study of the Company's structural organisation, see 'The Organisation of the Company' in Willan, pp. 19-47.

mony notabull marchandes men'.[26] Napea was dressed to impress in a 'gowne of tyssuw ryche, and ys under garmentt in purpull velvett in-brodere[d] […] the border of ys nyght-cape sett with owtchys of perlles and stones, and ys horse trapyd in cremesun velvett in-brodere[d] of gold'.[27] Such contemporary descriptions make it clear how much Napea's visit impressed the mercantile communities of London. In the space of only two years, the Company had become an influential social force.

As would be expected, once trade and diplomatic relations had been established between Russia and England in the 1550s, the volume of references to the country in contemporary literature increased.




*Figure 25. Graph of references to Russia in Early English Books Online.*

[26] As described by Henry Machyn, a member of the Merchant Taylors, in his diary: *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, ed. by J. G. Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1848), p. 125. See, for more detail, Stephen Alford, 'A Russian Embassy', in *London's Triumph: Merchant Adventurers and the Tudor City* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), pp. 89–100.
[27] Ibid. An 'owtchy' is an ouche — a clasp, buckle or brooch set with precious stones.

This graph, generated with data collected from *Early English Books Online*, represents the rough number of texts containing references to 'Russia' in each decade between 1540 and 1600.[28] The graph indicates a shift from 1570 onwards, with the rate of references increasing significantly.[29] This rise is reflected in the increasing diversification of references; between 1550 and 1570 references to Russia were largely within the context of works by European writers translated into English, such as Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's *The Decades of the newe worlde* or André Thevet's *The new found worlde*.[30] As the century progressed these works remained in print and were joined by original works by English authors: John Frampton's *A discoverie of the countries*, Edward Webbe's *The rare and most wonderfull things*, and Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe common wealth*.[31]

The most common contexts for references to Russia within these works tended to be either geographic or religious, with English writers debating where to place Russian Orthodoxy within the spectrum of Christian denominations.[32] The Venetian writer Ambrogio Contarini, author of the first Italian renaissance description of Russia in 1475, had seen nothing in Orthodoxy to censure theologically, and this opinion was disseminated widely amongst contemporary Europeans.[33] The Dutch Roman Catholic Albert Campensé in 1524 also considered the Russian faith to be very similar to his own, differing '[only] of a very few tenets, which by the way in and of themselves are not terribly important for

[28] Search conducted on 10 June 2019.
[29] This can be measured using the ratio of the slope of the graph: the line between 1540 and 1570 has a ratio of 0.75, whereas between 1570 and 1590 it increases to 2.67.
[30] Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the newe worlde*, trans. by Richard Eden (London, 1555); André Thevet, *The new found vvorlde* (London, 1568).
[31] Frampton, *A discouerie of the countries of Tartaria, Scithia, & Cataya* (London, 1580); Webbe, *The rare and most vvonderfull things* (London, 1590); Fletcher, *Of the Russe common wealth* (London, 1591).
[32] See Maria Salomon Arel, 'Masters in Their Own House: The Russian Merchant Élite and Complaints against the English in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 77.3 (1999), 401–47, especially pp. 433-4, and Charles J. Halperin, 'Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts to Muscovy: A Methodological Excursus', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 6.2 (1975), 89–111.
[33] Owing partially to the importance of Venice as a source of information.

spiritual salvation'.[34] The complex negotiations of religion and faith in the period, however, saw even those tenets not 'terribly important' for salvation within Roman Catholicism take on fresh significance following the Reformation, and with the spread of Protestantism across Europe, attitudes to Orthodoxy shifted.[35] Protestant England, according to John Archer, 'turned toward Orthodox Russia as a possible ally against the Catholic church and the Holy Roman Empire'.[36] While this may have been the state's attitude, English travellers commonly wrote denunciations of Orthodoxy as being too similar to Roman Catholicism, suggesting that there was no single 'English' attitude.[37]

Despite broadly positive diplomatic relations between the two nations, the presence of the Orthodox Church and the importance it placed on icons reminded English travellers of Catholicism, and thus provoked aversion even if Elizabeth's political attitude was one of support.[38] The word 'Orthodox' was originally used within Christian contexts to designate non-heretical beliefs of the church and, additionally after the schism of 1054, for the churches of Eastern Christendom.[39] This double meaning within a similar contextual frame caused some issues for English writers: this can be seen in the varying use of the term in religious texts printed between 1550 and 1580. An early example, *A discourse or traictise* by Pietro Martire Vermigli (1550), used as its spokesman 'a good Christian mā[n], beyng of right opiniō[n]s in matters of religiō[n] […] cal[led] by the name of

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[34] Marshall T. Poe, 'Terra Incognita: The Earliest European Descriptions of Muscovy', in *A People Born to Slavery*: *Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 11–38 (p. 23).
[35] See, for example, the debates surrounding the *decensus* described in the third chapter.
[36] John Michael Archer, 'Slave-Born Muscovites: Sidney, Shakespeare, Fletcher, and the Geography of Servitude', in *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 101–39 (p. 112).
[37] See Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey, *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972) for edited accounts of these denunciations, especially the chapter 'A Diplomatic Mission', pp. 59-84.
[38] Ibid., p. 63.
[39] 'Orthodox, Adj. and n.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press) <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/132801>.

Orthodoxus' to discuss transubstantiation.[40] In this case, 'orthodox' was used in its meaning of being right or correct, rather than a specific reference to the Orthodox churches. Similarly, the anonymous *A dialogue concerning the strife of our churche* (1584) featured 'Orthodoxos, a Diuine' as a speaker, the name again used in reference to being 'correct' rather than indicating membership of an Eastern Orthodox church.[41] However, throughout the century works were also being published across Europe which explored the theological differences between the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, such as *An apologie fully aunsweringe by Scripturres and aunceant doctors* by John Ponet (Strasbourg, 1556), *Ptō[n]chomuseion* by William Alley (1565) and *Foure books of the institution, use and doctrine of the holy sacrament of the Eucharist* by Phillipe de Mornay (1600).[42] These texts, which analysed the position of the Orthodox church in comparison to the Church of England and Roman Catholic church, destabilised the 'Orthodox' from characters like Orthodoxos. Hakluyt's own engagement with continental theological debates, as we have already seen, was significantly more extensive than has previously been assumed.[43] It is likely, considering this history, that he was aware of this ongoing tension. The debate over the similarities between Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism — and whether those similarities translated into military support — were ever present in English depictions of the country, writers undecided as to the level of threat it posed.

The diplomatic relationship between the two countries was also strained by the question of allyship. In the 1550s, when the English were first attempting to establish a trade relationship, Ivan IV had been preparing for a military assault on Livonia which

[40] Pietro Martire Vermigli, *A discourse or traictise* (London, 1550), p. xxxviii.
[41] Anonymous, *A dialogue concerning the strife of our churche* (London, 1584), p. 1.
[42] William Alley, *Ptō[n]chomuseion*, (London, 1565); Phillipe de Mornay, *Foure books of the institution* (London, 1600).
[43] See chapter three for more detail.

would eventually escalate into a long and costly war.[44] Extant state documents indicate the difficulties Elizabeth faced in establishing a steady relationship amidst this chaos: a proclamation of 1561 addressed the reports that 'a great part of the arms which the Queen had caused to be made in Germany had been transported into Russia, to the damage of Christendom […] [as being] false, vain, and malicious'.[45] This proclamation was prompted by the outbreak of the Livonian War, and an ensuing panic from European statesmen that the English stockpile of arms was actually intended for the Russians.[46] Elizabeth's denial, with its reference to 'the damage of Christendom', refuted the authority of Orthodoxy as a sect of Christianity while simultaneously diplomatically figuring England as a force united in this battle with Roman Catholic Europe. The refutation appears to have succeeded in pacifying the statesmen, but Elizabeth's claim to be opposed ideologically to the Russian Tsar was undermined by a continuing stream of diplomatic exchange across the following two decades. The majority of the documents sent by Elizabeth's government to Russia discussed issues of trade, focusing on mercantile privileges and instructions for English ambassadors and merchants.

By contrast, Ivan IV remained primarily interested in drawing the country into a military alliance, first proposing one in 1567. Of the fifty one letters exchanged between Ivan and Elizabeth between 1561 and 1583, twenty one were centred on this issue.[47] The Muscovy Company's interests were England's main priority in the relationship but they were not Russia's, and at points during the 1560s and 70s it appeared that Ivan IV's increasingly erratic demands would lead to the collapse of the Company's influence in

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[44] Arel, p. 57. See also Sergei Bogatyrev, 'Ivan IV (1533–1584)', in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, ed. by Maureen Perrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 240–63.
[45] Kew, TNA, 'Proclamation Prohibiting the Exportation of Arms into Russia', 1561, SP 12/18, fol. 23.
[46] Willan, pp. 64-5.
[47] Rayne Allinson, 'Inward and Secret Letters: Tsar Ivan of Russia, 1561-1595', in *Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 111–31 (p. 130).

Russia as he pushed for a military alliance to which Elizabeth would never agree.[48] His quest for an alliance gained a new angle in the early 1580s: a diplomatic marriage with Lady Mary Hastings, cousin of Elizabeth I.[49] At this point, the English ambassador Jerome Bowes was tasked with negotiating an alliance where Elizabeth would be free to consent or withhold assistance when called upon. This served to postpone the issue of a formal alliance, and the dilemma was resolved — temporarily — by Ivan IV's death in 1584. However, when the new Tsar Feodor I and his advisor and brother-in-law Boris Godunov reissued the trading privileges in May 1584, they introduced significant restrictions and omissions on the English merchants, prompting several years of negotiation between Elizabeth, Feodor, Boris and the Muscovy Company.[50]

English attitudes towards Russia throughout these crises in the 1570s and 80s can be seen in contemporary literature. A key example is the writing of George Turberville. Appointed secretary to the ambassador Thomas Randolph in 1568-9, Turberville wrote down his impressions of the country and its people in the form of poetic letters sent to friends in England. Like the poetry of Stephen Parmenius examined in the first chapter, Turberville used his verses to express political concerns and impressions of the country, making them useful for analysis of contemporary ideas. He visited Russia at a difficult time: 1568-9 was the mid-point of Ivan IV's *oprichnina* policy, with ongoing mass repression of the Russian aristocrats (*boyars*) including public executions and land confiscation. Turberville's descriptions of Russia are overwhelmingly negative, but in their details of Muscovite customs apparently accurate.[51] Turberville's letters were known to his

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[48] Arel, p. 57.
[49] Willan, pp. 160-2.
[50] Ibid., pp. 166-80.
[51] See Berry and Crummey, 'A Diplomatic Mission', pp. 59–84; Raphael Lyne, 'Turbervile [Turberville], George (b. 1543/4, d. in or after 1597)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27825>, and Jan Hennings, 'Textual Ambassadors and Ambassadorial Texts: Literary Representation and Diplomatic Practice in George Turberville's and Thomas Randloph's Account of Russia (1568-9)', in *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Tracey A. Sowerby and Joanna Craigwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 175–89.

contemporaries: Turberville published several in *Tragicall tales translated by Turbervile in time of his troubles out of sundrie Italians*, and Hakluyt would later reprint some of them in *Principal Navigations*.[52] The element of 'translation' in the title of this work appears to be a framing device intended to give its author a degree of status: many of the poems are explicitly addressed to Turberville's friends, or focus on praising English women, and so are unlikely to have been written by anyone other than Turberville. Historically, works in translation had a considerable role in influencing English knowledge of other countries, as demonstrated in the previous chapter in the case of early sixteenth century knowledge of the Levant. By claiming the process of translation as a narrative frame, Turberville imparted his poetry with an authoritative status deriving from this history.

The first poem in *Tragicall tales* to describe Russia is titled 'From the citie of Mosqua to his friend in England' and describes a 'frozen skie', 'colde […] wont by kinde | to quench the cole', and 'flames [that] do yéeld to frost'.[53] Turberville ends his poem with the untranslated Italian argument 'ardo e ghiaccio [I burn and freeze]', a reference to the Petrarchan poem 'Pace non trovo'.[54] This argument picks up on the images of fire and frost in Turberville's poem, while also echoing the use of 'translation' in the title, increasing the work's claim to authority. The other Russian-focused poem in the collection, titled 'A Comparison of his mistresse with a brave lady of Russia', uses the country for double metaphorical duty to compare the anonymous 'mistress' and England.[55] The poem emphasises the wealth and 'rich […] robes' of Russian ladies, with their 'eares hanged full of silver hookes' and 'body costly clad', with 'sable [and] […] pearle[s]'. This

[52] George Turberville, *Tragicall tales* (London, 1587).
[53] Ibid., p.149.
[54] 'Pace non trovo' contains the line 'et ardo, et son un ghiaccio [I burn, and I am ice]', taken from Petrarch [see Francesco Petrarch, *Selections from the Canzoniere and Other Works*, ed. by Mark Musa, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 50].
[55] Turberville, p. 148.

economic wealth is contrasted with the natural beauty of English women, whose 'heare is golden' with 'shineng eyes' and 'teeth of pearle'.[56] The poem serves to contrast wealth through beauty and natural wealth, the two women acting as stand-ins for their respective nations. Beauty through wealth, the poem implies, is not something to be trusted, reinforced by the ending Italian argument: '*La mia donna, bella è buona* [my lady, beautiful and good]'. Turberville's verse indicates the contemporary preoccupations with Russia in the 1570s and 80s: the country's economic wealth was attractive to the English but ultimately morally compromised, and it was consistently a threatening place both physically and spiritually for the English.

Elsewhere, Russian metaphors also appear in the poetry of Philip Sidney, similar to the fleeting but telling references like his evocation of the 'Turk' which I have noted previously. In Sidney's posthumously published work composed during this period, *Astrophil and Stella*, Russia and its people were used twice as metaphors.[57] The second stanza of *Astrophil and Stella* focuses on the 'wounds' of love, with Russia a site of threat: 'Now […] that footstep of lost libertie | Is gone; and now, like slave-borne Muscovite, | I call it praise to suffer tyrannie'.[58] The sonnet associates a loss of social position with loss of national identity, with a shame acutely felt in both experiencing and accepting enslavement.[59] Metre is used to emphasise this sense of tyranny, with metrical emphasis falling on 'gone' and 'slave'. Sidney utilises contemporary discourse surrounding the turbulent state of Russian politics to express the classical trope of *servitum amoris*, further

[56] Ibid.
[57] Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (London, 1595); for further analysis of the connections between the Sidney circle, contemporary poetry and Russia, see Stout, 'A Controversial Commonwealth: Censorship, Poetry and Fletcher's Later Career', in *Exploring Russia*, pp. 189–226.
[58] Philip Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), II.10 (p. 196)
[59] See Heather Dubrow, 'Petrarchan Executors: Sidney, Shakespeare, Wroth', in *Echoes of Desire: English Petrarchism and Its Counter Discourses* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 99-162 (pp. 105-6).

emphasising the slave-like state of the Russian people.[60] Simultaneously, the statesman-like language ('liberty', 'slave-born' and 'tyranny') indicates a wider political relationship between the speaker and his queen, expanding the relationship from a romantic duo to give it contemporary political resonance. This is emphasised by the dilemma expressed in the final line: the courtier must suffer 'tyranny' but accept it as an honourable suffering.[61]

In the thirtieth sonnet, Russia reappears alongside a list of other nations: 'cold Muscovy', 'the Turkish new moone', 'Pole[']s right king', 'French' and 'Holland hearts', the 'Scotch court', and 'Ulster'.[62] Sidney's father Henry served as Lord Deputy of Ireland between 1566 and 1578, and Sidney had travelled there himself in 1576.[63] Sidney's interest in a pan-European Protestant cause ensured that he was well-versed in European political and diplomatic disputes, as well as well-connected. His awareness of Russia's military disputes is particularly clear in the reference to 'Pole[']s right king'. This refers to Stephen Báthory, *jure uxoris* King of Poland between 1576-86 and contemporarily embroiled in the Livonian War against Russia. These references serve to frame Russia in the verse as a space of conflict and danger, and Sidney's use of Russia thus indicates both his awareness of the issues plaguing the Anglo-Russian relationship, and his expectation of a corresponding awareness amongst his readers.

This connection between Russia and tyranny was the result of both English experiences in the country and the influence of continental European writings. In one of the first major works published in English to focus on the country, *Decades of the newe*

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[60] *Servitum amoris* being a lover's state or sense of degradation as the slave of the beloved: see R. O. A. M. Lyne, 'Servitium Amoris', *The Classical Quarterly*, 29.1 (1979), 117–30.
[61] See L. Grant Hamby, 'Sacrifice and Transcendence in Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophil and Stella', in *Renaissance Papers 2011*, ed. by Andrew Shifflett and Edward Gieskes (Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), pp. 79–86 (pp. 81-3).
[62] Sidney, *Complete Poems*, I, XXX.1-11.
[63] See H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Sidney, Sir Philip (1554–1586), Author and Courtier', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25522> and Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Sidney, Sir Henry (1529–1586), Lord Deputy of Ireland and Courtier', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25520>.

*worlde* (1555), its translator and editor Richard Eden placed the section discussing Russia after that covering the 'new world', but before the sections on circumnavigation and the West and East Indies. This structure made Russia, according to Archer, 'the linchpin [for Eden] of a newly constructed global system pitched toward to the north'.[64] Eden's discussion of Russia ended with the German diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein's account of the country. Originally published as *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarri* in 1549, this was the most influential continental description of Russia in western Europe during the latter half of the century, and between 1549 and 1611 there were twenty-two editions (or large excerpts) of the work printed across eight major cities.[65] Herberstein's account was influential for a number of English writers, including Turberville and Fletcher, and a complete translation was included in the 1574 edition of Ramusio's *Navigationi*, increasing its reach.[66] Herberstein's account expressed a deep anxiety about the Russian imperial model, writing that the name 'Rosseia' itself meant 'dispersed or scattered' because the people who 'vse the Slauon tongue […] are increased to suche a multitude that they have eyther expulsed [other] nations […] or drawne them to theyr maner of lyvyng'.[67] For Herberstein, Russia's failure to adhere to the Roman (and later Iberian) imperial model created an anxious tension central to his perception of the country.[68] The proportion of domestic slaves within the country was also a source of fear: even before the formal enserfment of the peasantry in the 1590s, around ten percent of the Russian population were enslaved.[69] This anxiety, according to Marshall Poe, became a

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[64] Archer, p. 104.
[65] Ibid.; Marshall T. Poe, '*Rerum Moscoviticarum*: Herberstein and the Origin of "Russian Tyranny"', in *A People Born to Slavery*: *Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 117–44 (p. 135).
[66] Poe, p.
[67] Eden, p. 318.
[68] Archer, p. 105.
[69] Ibid., p. 111; Richard Hellie, 'Russia Slavery and Serfdom, 1450-1725', in *The Cambridge History of Slavery: Volume 3, A.D. 1420-A.D. 1804*, ed. by David Eltis and Stanley L Engerman, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), III, 275–96.

major frame for European writing about Russia in the latter half of the century because of the sheer popularity of Herberstein's account.

The consistent association across early modern European writing between Russians and bond-slaves was strongly influenced by the prevalence of Herberstein's account. It was further exacerbated by unease at a model of territorial expansion which failed to maintain strict racial or spatial limits, fear of the imperial power of the Tsar, and the prevalence of slavery in the country. Within England, the increasing racialisation of the term 'slave' further complicated the connection between Russia, tyranny, and slavery drawn from both European accounts and English travellers. In the 1510 Shrove Sunday masque, the men dressed in the 'fashion of Russia or Ruslande' were joined by ladies dressed as 'blacke mores', their arms covered in thin black cloth.[70] Similarly, in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (written 1595/6), the lovers in 'Russian' disguise are preceded onstage by 'Blackamoors with music'.[71] This juxtaposition of domestic oppression and imperial expansion meant that for contemporary English writers, Russians were alternately threatening and enslaved, wealthy and impoverished. The diplomacy of the Russian Tsar and his advisors provided a framework for English interactions with Russia, but this jarred with English experiences in the country: Elizabeth I and Ivan IV had an established diplomatic relationship, but the rights of the English merchants were never stable. There was, however, a wealth of information and material describing Russia by the time Hakluyt came to collate the documents for the Russia section of *Principal Navigations*. With this in mind, Hakluyt's job in collating and presenting this material was not primarily to disseminate drastically new information to his readers, but instead to

[70] Hall, p. vi.
[71] William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1998), p. 59. For more information on the term's origins, see Nandini Das, Joao Vicente Melo, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, 'Blackamoor', *TIDE: Keywords* <http://www.tideproject.uk/keywords-home/?keyword_id=40> [accessed 2 September 2020]. See also Daryl Palmer, *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

present his version of the Anglo-Russian relationship and either reinforce this ambiguity or attempt to erase it.

**Hakluyt and the Anglo-Russian Community**

The social reach of the Muscovy Company within England — and especially London — was considerable. Its economic strength and influence meant that its members were embedded into the social fabric of the mercantile city, and the spread of the Company across these different levels of English society makes it possible to recreate its social structure. *Principal Navigations* itself is a major source for documents describing the early history of the Company, as Hakluyt consulted their archives while compiling his material.[72] Because of this, *Principal Navigations* is a vital text for historians of the Anglo-Russian relationship but — as discussed — this central role has in turn obscured the work's biases. Willan and Griffiths, in their studies of the Company's history, treated *Principal Navigations* as an objective historical source. Though contemporary critics such as Felicity Stout are attempting to correct Hakluyt's bias in their analysis of his Russian material, this scholarship is usually targeted at specific narratives and does not consider the geographic narrative as a whole.

Analysis of a network map generated using a dataset broadly detailing the sixteenth century Anglo-Russian community helps to counteract this critical tendency by establishing the social context surrounding Hakluyt in order to examine which perspectives are privileged in his work. Initial analysis of the map establishes several immediate points: firstly, that there were communities vital to the survival of the Muscovy Company and Anglo-Russian trade which were not represented in *Principal Navigations*,

[72] Many of the documents he reproduced in *Principal Navigations* were then destroyed, leaving his work the only source — see J. S. G. Simmons, 'Russia', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, 161–68 for detail.

and secondly, that Hakluyt's position within the network, with connections to multiple sub-communities, was vital in establishing him as a mediator between the Company and the reading public. It also shows the areas where further study is essential for understanding the Company's social influence: namely, the women closely connected to the Anglo-Russian relationship, whose lives remain largely unstudied.

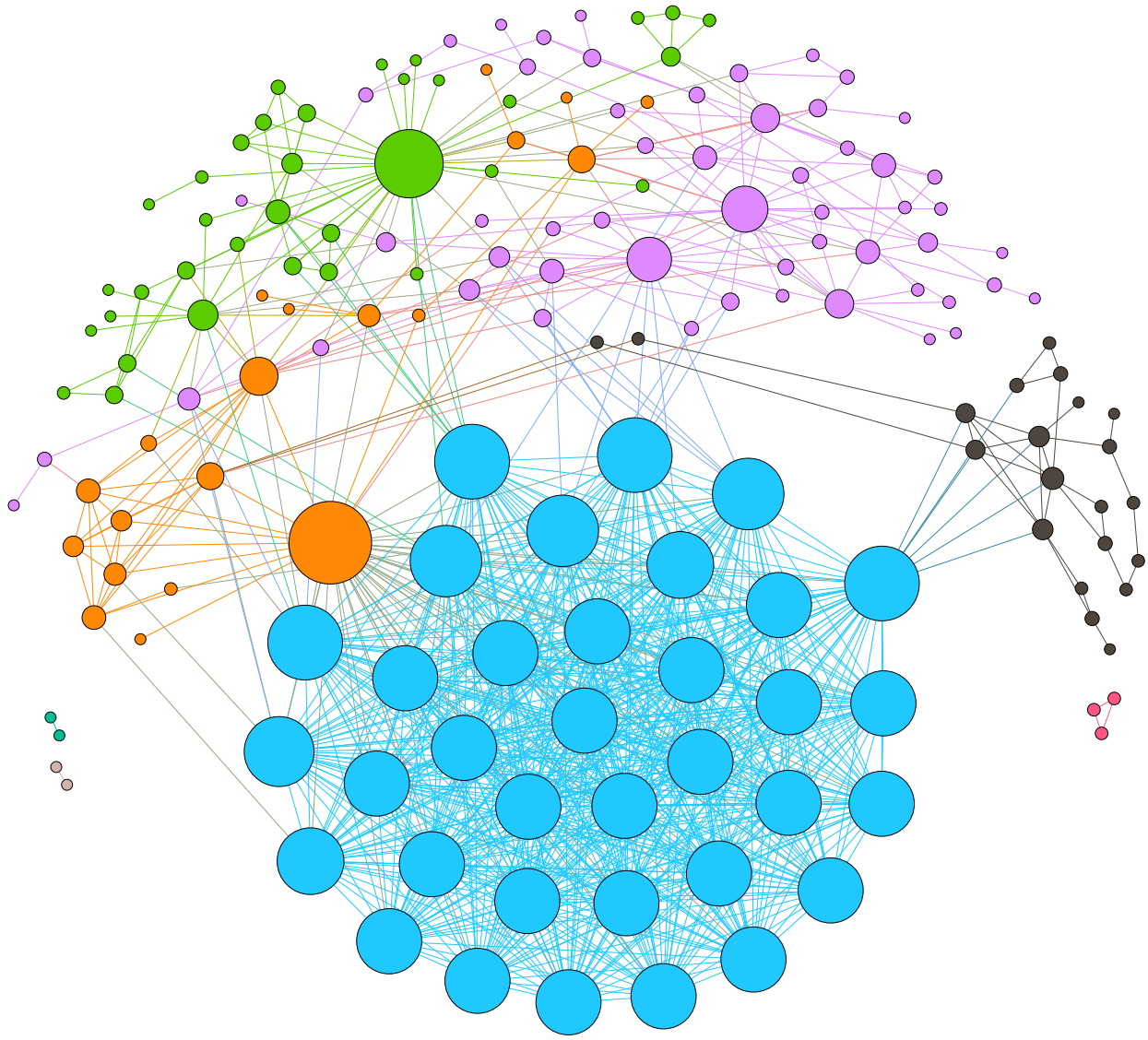


*Figure 26. Initial network map of the Anglo-Russian network, 1550-1600.*

The temporal limits of the dataset used to generate the map in figure 26 are 1550-1600, and the resulting map represents this data cumulatively, meaning that this first

iteration includes everyone associated with the Anglo-Russian trade between those years regardless of when they were active or when they ceased involvement. Considering the scale of the trade and its social reach, this map — which has 192 individual nodes — only represents a fraction of those involved. This is, however, a useful point of analysis in itself. Many of the people connected to the Anglo-Russian trade were sailors, merchants or women. At times these lives are visible within *Principal Navigations*, as was the case in the previous chapter with the crew of the *Jesus*. Their story was preserved because of the ship's connection to Staper and, by extension, Hakluyt, but this was an exception. Generally speaking, when the original archival records have been lost, what remains visible is the public facing side of the community with the most contemporarily significant social or economic standing. The lack of detail provided in *Principal Navigations* is also informative: the high level of information included regarding the ships trading in the Levant indicates Hakluyt's closeness to the inner workings of the Levant Company, whereas the lack of such granular information suggests a greater remove between Hakluyt and the Muscovy Company.

There is also a degree of selectiveness which has caused this impression of sparsity. An example is the community of nodes grouped in blue at the bottom of the map, which represents the signatories of the 1555 charter which established the Muscovy Company.

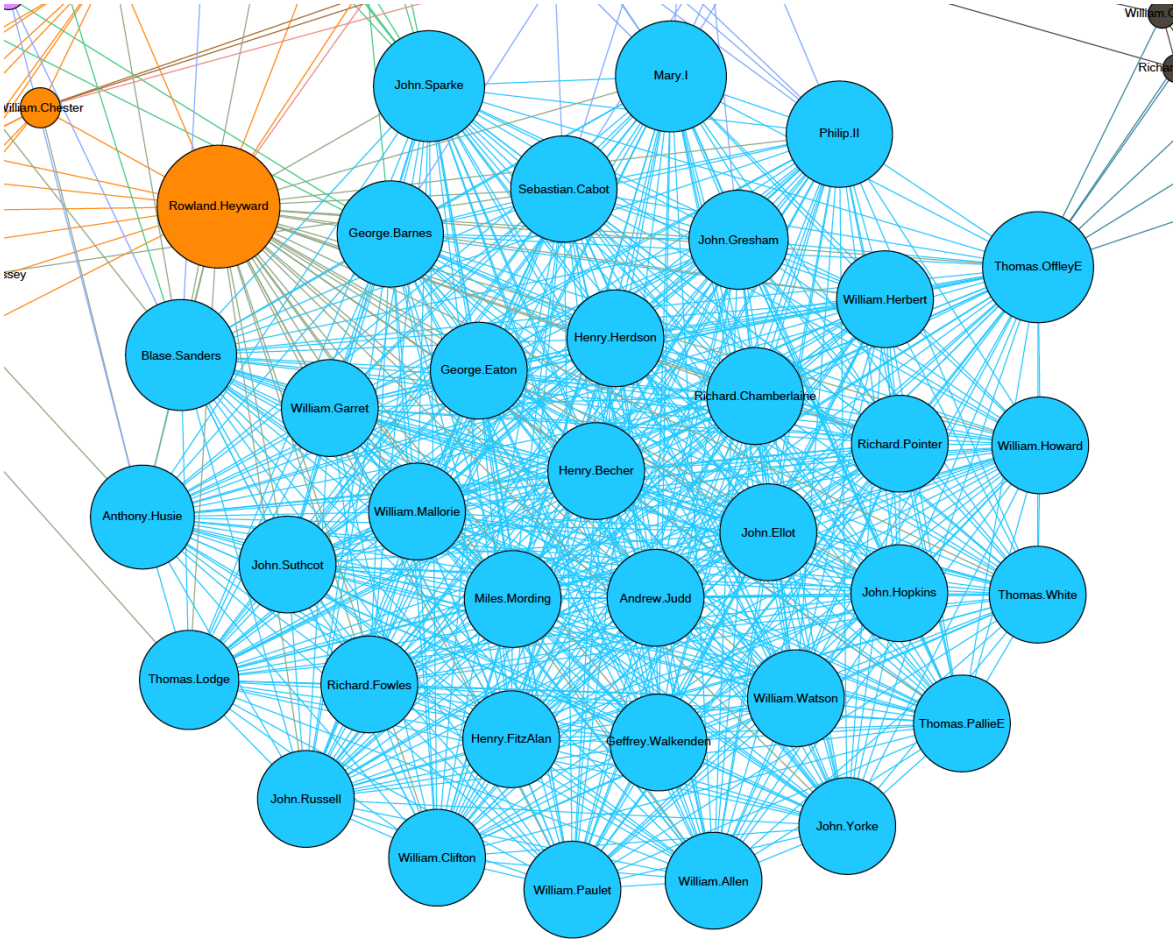



*Figure 27. Extract from figure 26, indicating the community clustered around the 1555 charter.*

There were actually 204 signatories to this charter, but only thirty-four of those names have been included in the network map for reasons of clarity (extracted in figure 27). These thirty-four are, specifically, the council appointed to the company in the charter (five from the aristocracy, the Governor, four consuls and twenty-four assistants). Of the full list, a vast number left no surviving biographical information and as a result, mapping their relationships outside their role as signatories is impossible. It can be assumed that the men appointed to the Council knew each other, hence their significant cluster within the network map, but it would be inaccurate to include the remaining 170 names and link them to each other, while linking them to Mary I (as the charter's issuer) would similarly create inaccurate data, as she died only three years after the charter was signed. As a best practice

approach, these names have therefore been left off the network map, unless they appear elsewhere within it. There are some inevitable risks associated with this approach, despite its proportional accuracy and usability, particularly when it comes to the presence of women. It is worth noting here, for instance, that this process means two of the three women named on the charter, Katherine Wigmore and Elizabeth Wilford, are excluded from the network map.

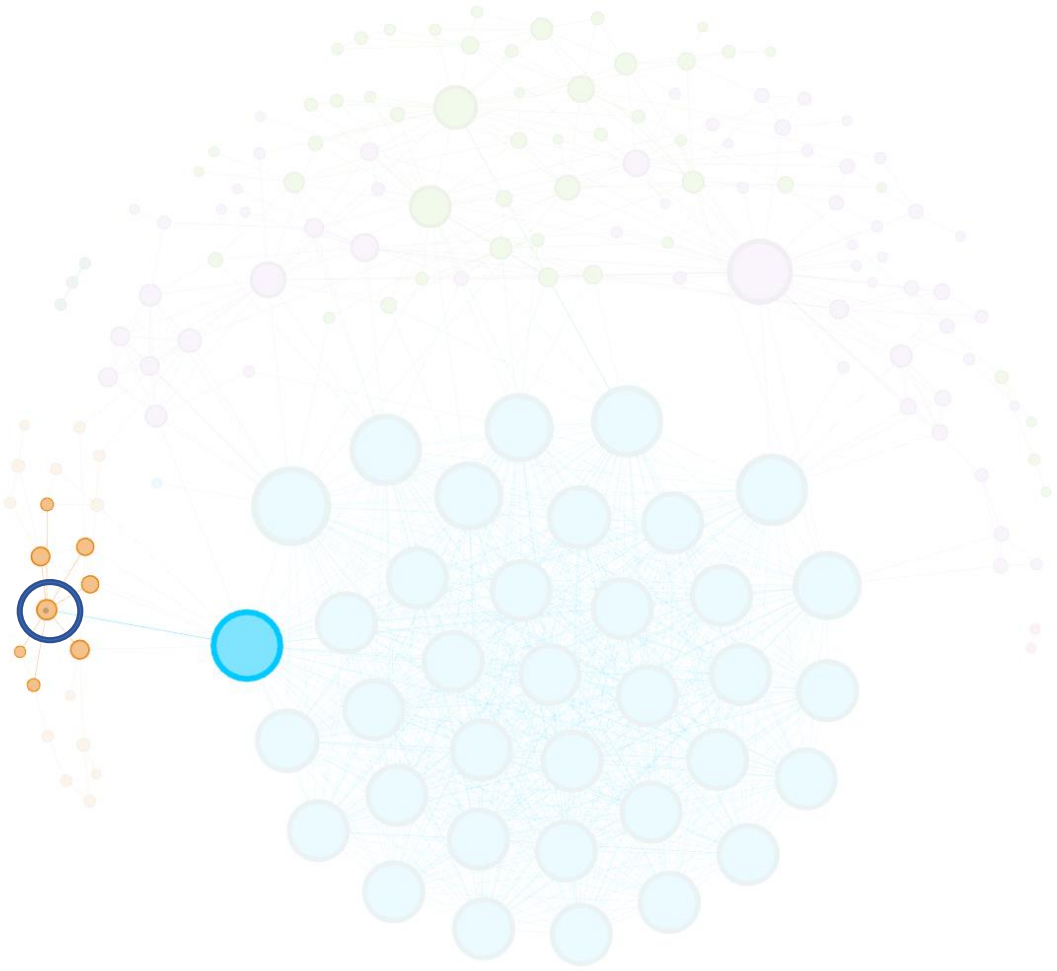


*Figure 28. Extract from figure 26, highlighting Margaret Kirton/Offley's connections (the node representing her is indicated with a circle).*

The third female signatory — Margaret Kirton — remains on the network map, owing to her family connections (shown in figure 28). Margaret's maiden name was

Offley, and she was the eldest sister of Thomas Offley, another signatory of the charter. Born in Stafford, she first came to London to work as a maid in the household of John Nechols, a Merchant Taylor to whom her brother Thomas was apprenticed. During the 1520s, Katherine Jenyns — Nechols's first wife — died, and he married Margaret. A manuscript documenting the family pedigree of the Offley family claims that Thomas had 'deserved great love and liking […] insomuch that in the tyme of his appentiship, hee [Nechols] preferred and p[ro]missed him his Daughter and heire Joane Nichells to be his wife'.[73] Thomas and Joan were married in 1530, but apparently only once Nechols had died and left his daughter in the care of her step-mother, now sister-in-law.[74] Margaret, after being widowed, remarried again to the prominent Merchant Taylor Stephen Kirton. It is unclear whether Kirton was still alive in 1555 when Margaret signed the charter, though it seems unlikely as his will is recorded as being proved in August 1553 and he is not named as a signatory himself.[75]

Margaret's structural role within this first iteration of the network map is an immediate indication of precisely those groups vital to the community whose perspectives were not textually preserved.[76] She had at least nine siblings and half-siblings, and throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the wider Offley family commonly intermarried between these branches to retain its wealth; Margaret herself was left a wealthy woman after the deaths of her husbands and preserved this wealth through the marriages of her children. The privileges and economic strengths of her position are

[73] 'A Comemoracon of the Life of William Offley Baylife of Stafford, & after Alderman of the Citty of West Chester of the Fortunate Blessings of God in His Children & Posterity', in *The Genealogist*, ed. by G. C. Bower and H. W Forsyth Harword (London: George Bell & Sons, 1903), XXIX, pp. 1–11 (p. 3). This manuscript has an unclear provenance but appears to have been written by a member of the Offley family in the early seventeenth century.
[74] Inquisitions: Henry VIII (Part 2 of 3)', in *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post-Mortem For the City of London: Part 1*, ed. by G.S Fry, 20 vols (London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1896), XV, 43–60.
[75] Kew, TNA, 'Will of Stephen Kyrton or Kirton', 1553, PROB 11/36/231.
[76] Margaret is included on the network map under her maiden name of Offley — this is standard practice for network maps in this thesis, as including women under their married names is often impractical.

particularly notable when compared to her stepdaughter. Joan did not have parents or siblings to safeguard her financial interests but Margaret, the eldest daughter of a wide and well-connected family, was a mercantile figure in her own right. She was recorded in the 1555 list of charter signatories under the category of ‘Aldermen’, while Katherine Wigmore and Elizabeth Wilford were included with the list of gentlemen, suggesting that Margaret — whether for her family connections or her wealth — was recognised as a figure of unusual influence.

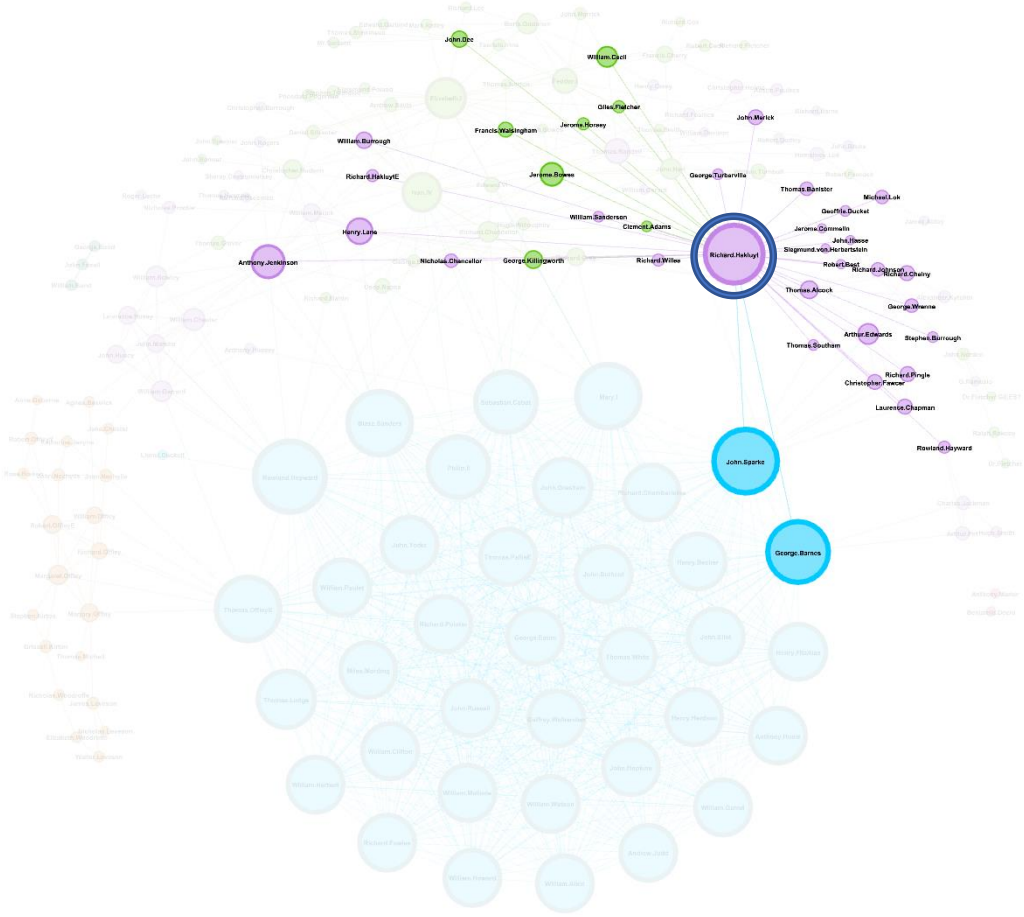



*Figure 29. Extract from figure 26, highlighting Richard Hakluyt’s Anglo-Russian connections.*

The remainder of the 1555 signatories are represented as a clustered community at the bottom of the map. The rest of the Anglo-Russian network — largely comprised of people connected in some way to the Muscovy Company — forms a loosely connected ring at the

top. Within this community Hakluyt is fairly central, forming the key node at the centre of the community coloured in purple (highlighted in figure 29). Reading the map in detail is made difficult by the inclusion of the 1555 community, which is disproportionately weighted thanks to the lack of surviving comparable later data.

In order to examine the network in more detail without this group being so dominant, I collected the death dates for each of the thirty-four members (where available) and generated another map, this time excluding those signatories of the 1555 charter who died before 1589, in order to create a more accurate image of the community contemporarily to Hakluyt.[77] This resulted in a map where the 1555 charter community is reduced to fifteen people, with nineteen removed. A significant number of those named on the charter died long before Hakluyt began his project: fifteen before 1574, with another four (John Sparke, Thomas Offley, William Allen and Thomas Lodge) dying between 1581-3. It is still important, however, to have created the wider 1550-1600 map for contextual analysis, as a number of the men whose names have been removed were important to the community through either their social standing or family legacy. Andrew Judd was Mayor of London, while Thomas Offley was connected to most of the significant contemporary mercantile families of London.[78] The best practice for analysing the community when Hakluyt was working is thus comparing the two maps and consulting the associated metadata (such as date of death, type of connection, professional connections) for clarity.

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[77] These death dates were collected from available wills, though not all of the men named in the counsel left extant wills. These men are Henry Fitzalan, John Eliot, John Suthcot, John Yorke, William Clifton, William Garret and William Herbert. I chose to include them on the reduced map, since their death dates could not be accurately determined. This refinement was applied only to the men named on the counsel in order to increase the detail of the remaining map without the dominant cluster the 1555 charter produced: as men of high status, most of them left wills and as such, the data could be collected. As this was not necessarily the case for the remainder of the map, I left it intact.

[78] Andrew Judd having died on 4th September 1558 and Thomas Offley on 24th January 1582 [Kew, TNA, 'Will of Sir Andrew Judde or Judd', 1558, PROB 15/10/1558; Kew, TNA, 'Will of Sir Thomas Offley', 1582, PROB 11/64/449].

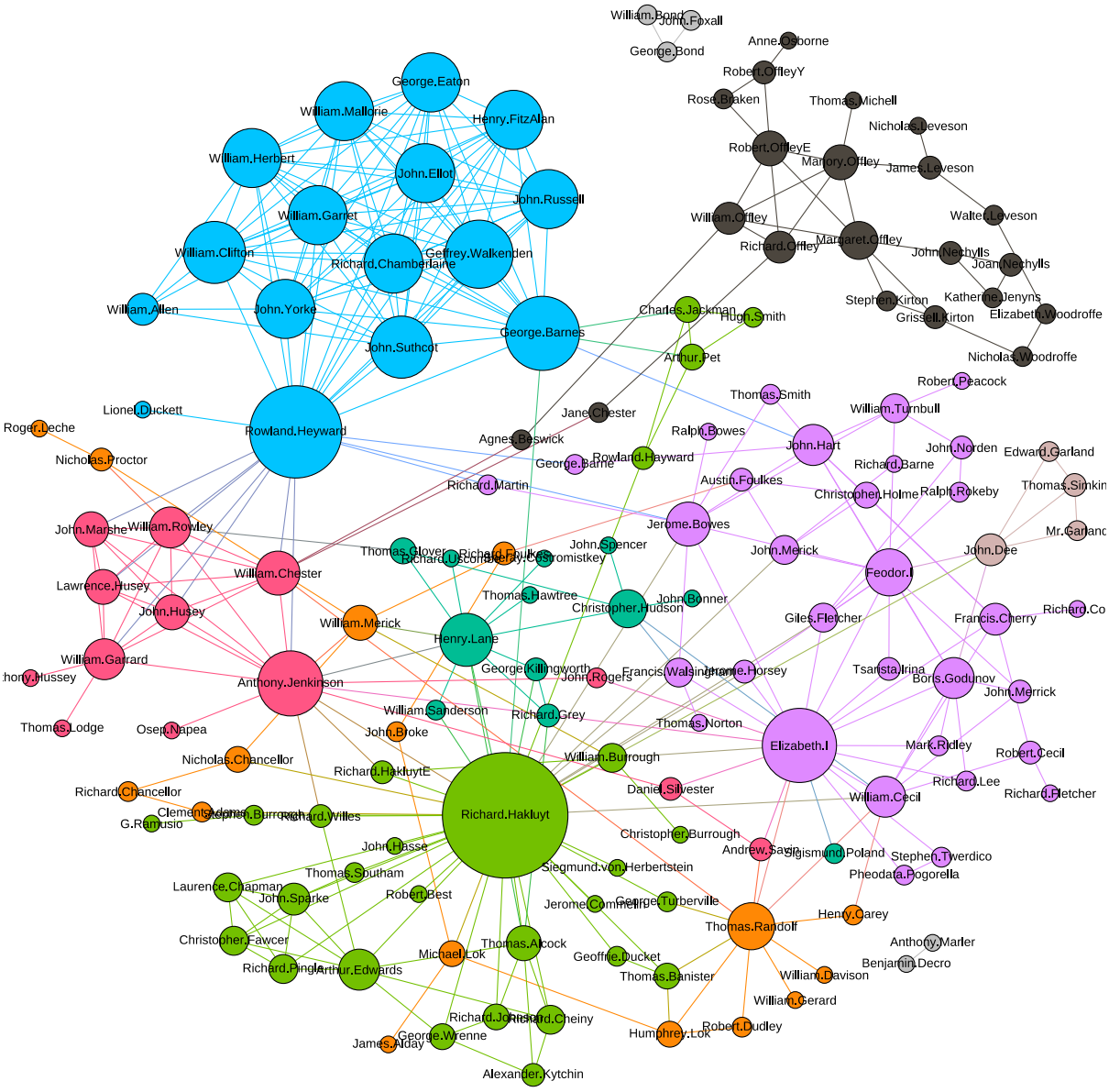



*Figure 30. Network map of the Anglo-Russian community with the signatories of the 1555 charter who died before 1589 removed.*

The other notable data points which have been removed are Mary I, Philip II, Edward VI and Ivan IV, as their involvement with the Anglo-Russian trade had ended by 1589.[79] This is particularly notable as in figure 26, the node representing Mary I has one of the highest

[79] In the case of Mary, Edward and Ivan, this was due to their deaths. Philip II, though still alive in 1589, only appears on the network map thanks to his marriage to Mary. All of Philip's relationship edges on this map date to this brief marriage, and as Mary had been dead for over thirty years by 1589, removing him from the network map is unlikely to erase any data significant for the study of Hakluyt's 1589 context.

weighted degrees.[80] The overlap between the map's timeframe (1550-1600) and Mary's life is only eight years, and taking into consideration that the relationship was not initiated until 1553 and not immediately established, is practically even shorter. Her importance within the 1550-1600 map is a result of the inclusion of the 1555 charter, which Mary I signed, and this provides the majority of her relationships within the network map. Excluding Mary alongside the other deceased signatories of the 1555 charter is unlikely to represent a significant loss of useful data, as she died only three years after signing.[81]

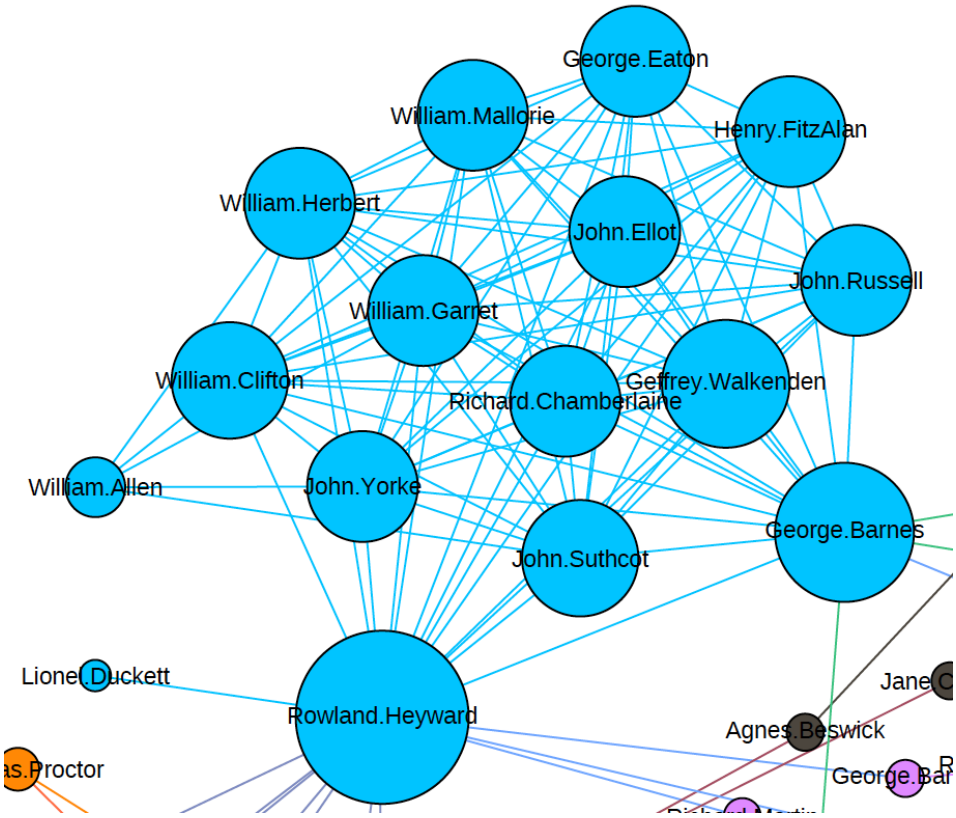



*Figure 31. Extract from figure 30 indicating the remaining 1555 signatories.*

Applying the modularity algorithm to this map creates ten communities. To the top left, in blue, is the community representing the original 1555 signatories of the Muscovy Company (figure 31). The importance of this charter is evident from its position within the

[80] 41, with a betweenness centrality score of 844.52.
[81] 'useful' in terms of studying Hakluyt and *Principal Navigations.*

map and the weighted degree size of the nodes, but its position and size also reflect the scarcity of archival information. By placing the charter at the beginning of his Anglo-Russian material, Hakluyt used it to set the tone for the remainder of the material, framing the early relationship as an essentially mercantile one. Due to the destruction of the archive in 1666, it has also served to frame the historical view of the Anglo-Russian relationship critically. The importance of this charter to the network map, and its weight, are thus reminders of the archival limitations.

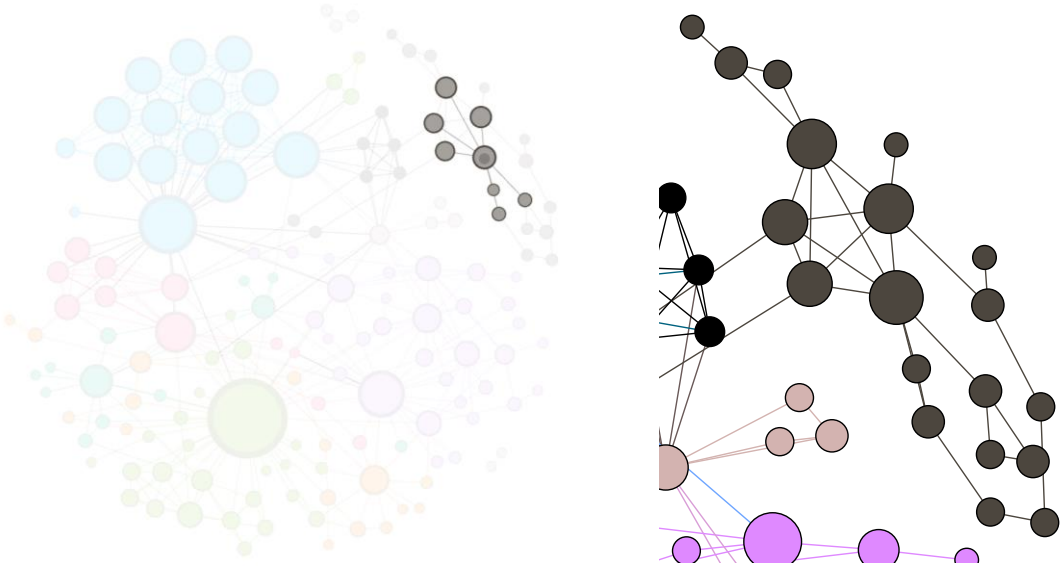
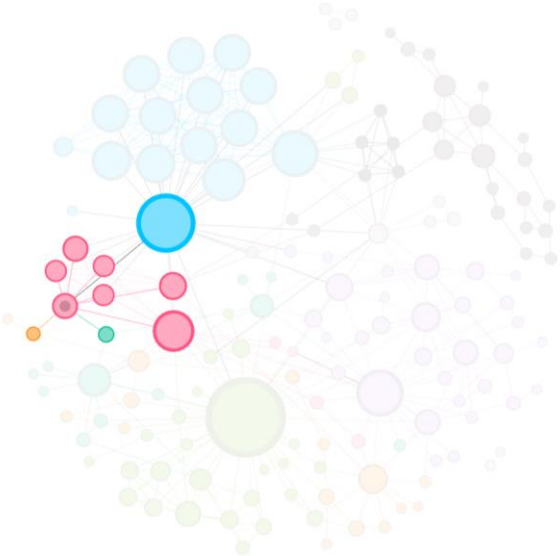


*Figure 32a (left). Margaret Offley's connections highlighted within the wider map (figure 30).*

*Figure 32b (right). Extract from figure 30 indicating the sub-network coloured in grey depicting various family connections.*

The other community which stands out as distinct from the rest is the grey community to the top right of the map (figures 32a and b), which depicts the various family connections linking the Muscovy Company to other mercantile dynasties. Women, again, play vital roles as social connectors in such family networks, enabling the creation of links between separate families through marriage and allowing wealth and property to be moved and condensed. Charting these connections is difficult as many of them were

created through marriage, and there is no existing scholarship charting the lives and histories of these women. As mentioned above, Margaret Offley is a key member of this group: other families included in this group connected to the Offleys through such marriages include the Osbornes, the Levesons, and the Chesters.[82] Were this network map to be placed within a wider network map charting people involved across joint stock Companies in London, this group would act as a significant connector in linking mercantile communities together. The role of these women within the Muscovy Company, though not actively mercantile, still served to support its interests and aid its expansion; a vital role which has been overlooked in scholarship. It is highly likely that if material from the Company's early years were extant, it would evidence the important role these women played in the Company's social dynamics.



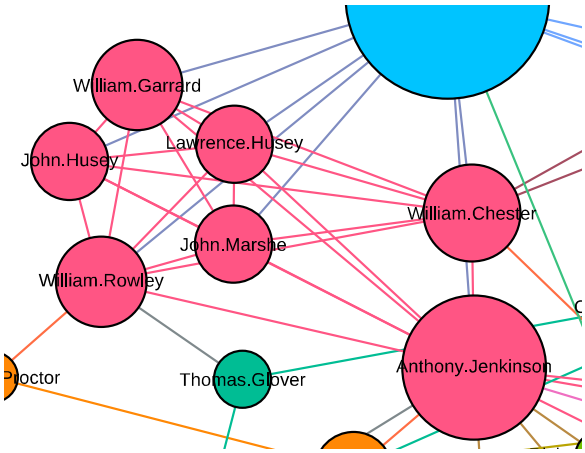



*Figure 33a (left). William Rowley's connections highlighted within the wider map (figure 30).*

*Figure 33b (right). Extract from figure 30 indicating an example of a mercantile sub-network.*

[82] Through the marriage of Robert Offley to Anne Osborne (daughter of Edward Osbourne, a founder of the Levant Company) and the marriage of Marjory Offley to James Leveson, a member of the powerful cloth trading Leveson family. See *The Genealogist*, XXIX, 1–11 for detail. Detail on the marriages of the Chesters can be found in J. D. Alsop, 'Chester, Sir William (c. 1509–1595?), Mayor of London', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5240>.

With the exception of these two communities, the remainder of the network map is strongly interconnected. Though the modularity algorithm has divided the network into colour coded communities, they intersect significantly. The community coloured in pink to the left of the map (figures 33a and b) comprises a number of Muscovy Company merchants, all of whom were named in a letter from Elizabeth I to Ivan IV, carried by Anthony Jenkinson and requesting their safe passage into Russia.[83] Several of these merchants (such as John Marshe and William Rowley) do not appear elsewhere on the map — though the reference to them in this document implies that they were significantly well-connected Muscovy merchants, and it can be assumed that their lack of connections here is a result of limited data rather than insignificance on their parts. Notably, many of the figures on this map (and the mercantile community in pink) appear to be family members of 1555 signatories who had died in the intervening years. John Dee discusses in his diary talking to a 'Thomas Hudson', who may be a relative of Christopher Hudson, while a Lawrence and John Hussey both appear on the map — Lawrence being the eldest son of Anthony Hussey, one of the first council members in 1555, who had died in 1560.[84]

While the communities coloured in pink and blue represent various mercantile factions, the community in purple on the right-hand side of the map (figures 34a and b) includes a high number of diplomatic figures including Elizabeth I, Feodor I and Boris Godunov. The community primarily comprises diplomatic figures and could be said within the context of the map to represent this side of the Muscovy Company's work. This diplomatic community was important in building a relationship between the two countries: in 1601, the then Tsar Boris Godunov sent four *robyata* ('youths') over to England under

[83] 'The Emperor of Russia to the Queen, September 1567', in *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire: 1306-1571*, ed. by S. R. Scargill-Bird, 24 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1883), I, 347.
[84] John Dee, *The Private Diary of Dr John Dee*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Nichols, 1842), p. 19; Kew, TNA, 'Will of Anthony Husey', 1560, PROB 11/43/569.

the charge of the ambassador John Merick, with the instruction that ‘yt they may be trayned up in Learninge, and not be drawne to forsake their religion’.[85]

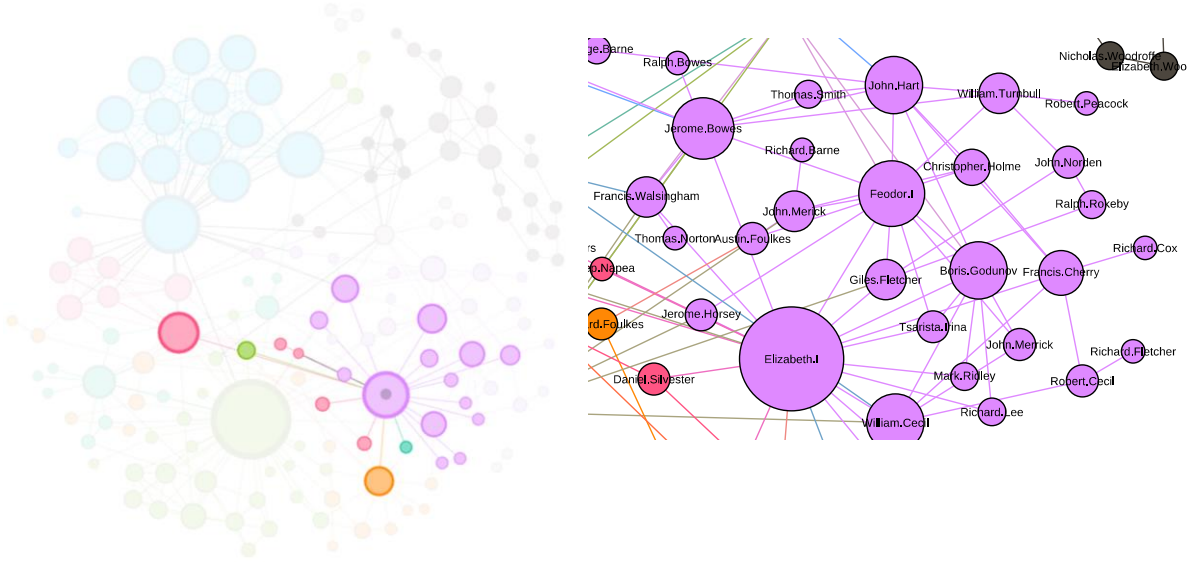



*Figure 34a (left). Elizabeth I’s Anglo-Russian connections highlighted within the wider network (figure 30).*

*Figure 34b (right). Extract from figure 30 indicating the diplomatic sub-network.*

Of these four, two would join the East India Company, one moved to Ireland, and one converted to the Church of England and was ordained.[86] These four Russian youths thus became enmeshed within mercantile and proto-colonial English ventures. Godunov’s instruction that they be sent indicates both interests in encouraging relations between the two countries, and in English pedagogical practices. The timing means that this incident has been left off the map, but it shows the importance of this diplomatic sub-network within wider Anglo-Russian relations.

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[85] Ralph Cleminson, ‘Boris Godunov and the Rector of Woolley: A Tale of the Unexpected’, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 65.3 (1987), 399–403 (p. 400) (quoting London, British Library (BL), Cotton MS Nero B VIII, fol. 40). Cleminson only records one of their names: Mikepher Alphery (or Mikiforko Olfer'yev syn Grigor'yev in Russian documents).

[86] Cleminson, p. 401.

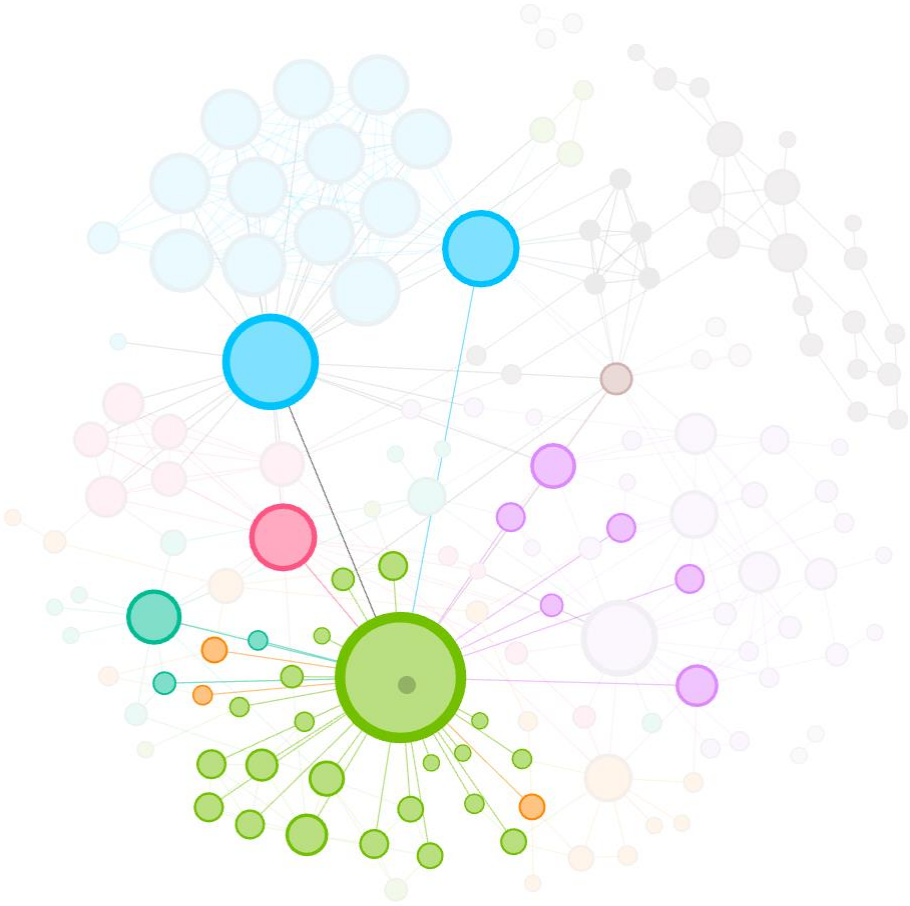


*Figure 35. Extract from figure 30, highlighting Hakluyt's connections within the Anglo-Russian community.*

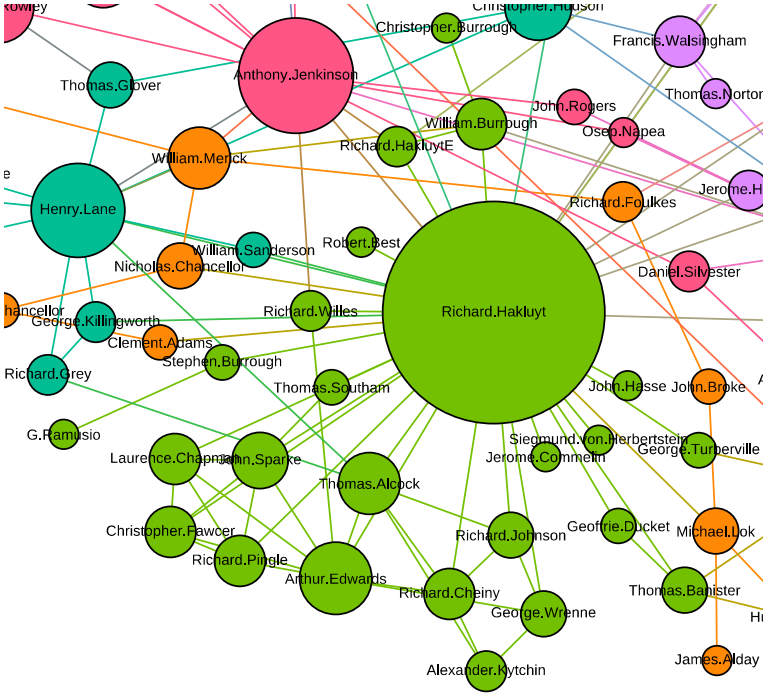



*Figure 36. Extract from figure 30, focusing on the connections in the sub-network surrounding Hakluyt.*

In between these two communities, which roughly map the different arms of the Muscovy Company, the sub-network containing Hakluyt appears in green (figures 35 and 36). The majority of Hakluyt's connections within this community are textual sources, such as Robert Best and George Turberville, but the community's position within the network map is significant. It acts as a structural bridge, connecting the diplomatic and mercantile communities (see figure 35). The node representing Hakluyt has connections to each of the other major communities: however, as he was the editor of the major surviving source for much of this material, his importance within the map is easy to overestimate. It does not appear, either from this map or from historical study, that he was in a position to significantly turn the course of the Muscovy trade. By the time Hakluyt was composing his work, the trade was well-established (if not necessarily stable), and he had no involvement in the diplomatic relationship. This conclusion is also borne out by the analysis of the first section of this thesis: the areas Hakluyt spent much of his early career focusing on were in America, rather than Russia, and his most significant mercantile personal connections were to figures involved in the Levant, rather than Muscovy trade. While he was not in a position to significantly alter the course of the trade, his role in bringing Muscovy Company material to a wider audience is reflected on this map by both his high weighted degree and his structural position connecting the two branches. As *Principal Navigations* dispersed material to the reading public of the late sixteenth century, so it does for the audience of the twenty-first. These social network maps place Hakluyt's work within a wider societal context, showing the social structures which enabled him to access Company material and bring it to a wider audience, while also highlighting areas where further study would deepen our understanding of the Company's social influence.

**Russia in *Principal Navigations***

*Principal Navigations* was created for an audience whom Hakluyt would have expected to have knowledge of Russia, even if only on a superficial level. The Muscovy Company's success and its status as a role model for other joint stock companies would have made this extant body of knowledge particularly prominent in London, where other such companies and many of their merchants were based.[87] The importance of the city was a significant factor in Hakluyt's collection process: David Quinn records in his analysis that a significant amount of the material in *Principal Navigations* came from the Company's archives, which Hakluyt had access to through his cousin, an early advisor to the Company.[88] However, Quinn's conjecture is based at least partly on supposition.[89] Re-creating Hakluyt's selection process is difficult, as so much of the material he excluded has been lost. Creating a network map which represents the community connected to the Anglo-Russian relationship is thus a vital step in highlighting some of the motivations behind his process. Unlike Hakluyt's long-standing debt to Richard Staper of the Levant Company, explored in the first and fourth chapters, he had no such links to the Governors of the Muscovy Company. The map, however, does illuminate the company's wide-ranging reach into every level of London society. Hakluyt evidently used this reach for his own ends, drawing on family connections to access their archives, but it would have been important for him to treat this material in a way which would ensure the continued favour of the Muscovy Company. His editorial strategies for the material, as the final section of this chapter will argue, were carefully designed to promote specific elements of the Anglo-

[87] See Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey, *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom* for accounts of English travellers to Russia, and Erika Monahan, '"For Profit and Tsar": Commerce in Early Modern Russia', in *The Merchants of Siberia: Trade in Early Modern Eurasia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. 33–70, especially pp. 43-4 on the importance of the Muscovy Company to London.
[88] Quinn, 'Principal Navigations (1598-1600), Volume I', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, II, 378–402; Simmons, p. 161.
[89] Arel, p. 403.

Russian relationship in line with the wishes of the Muscovy Company. The narrative these strategies created was one where Russia was 'civilised' through the English merchants, almost a proto-colonial process, resulting in the second edition with a narrative concluding with a contemporary Russia markedly similar to England. Such a narrative encouraged support for the Muscovy Company, ensuring that Hakluyt could maintain his favourable connections. Its accuracy as a portrait of the relationship, however, is less successful.

J. S. G. Simmons in his essay on Russia in *Principal Navigations* in *The Hakluyt Handbook* concludes that 'in spite of his inaccuracies, misprints, errors and tactful omissions, Hakluyt's contribution to the sources relating to sixteenth-century Muscovy remains without rival'.[90] However, while *Principal Navigations* is without rival as the main source for a number of significant Anglo-Russian documents, it is not an objective replication of the original archive. It is impossible to compare the material Hakluyt selected with the material he excluded from *Principal Navigations*. The closest comparative English work is Eden's *Decades*, but that was a translation which predated Hakluyt's work by thirty years. It is clear, however, that, Hakluyt's work pays greater attention to the mercantile experience of Russia than either Eden or Ramusio's works.

Instead, what follows will examine the pattern of material Hakluyt selected and focus on what events he chose to highlight. These are moments of structural emphasis, here termed 'flash points', where Hakluyt included multiple documents to describe single events, incidents or relationships. The importance of the company to early modern London meant that its archives were considerable. These 'flash points' are not therefore the result simply of archival bounty, but instead reflect Hakluyt's movement through the archive and his priorities as he selected material. Such moments indicate his editorial intentions for the section's overarching historical narrative.

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[90] Simmons, pp. 116-7.

As with other geographic areas in *Principal Navigations*, the Russian material is structured chronologically. The cotemporary material begins in both editions with the 1553 'discovery' of Russia. The story of Chancellor's voyage in 1553 was a compelling one and Hakluyt evidently appreciated its potential. He referenced it in the dedication to Charles Howard as 'the strange and wonderfull Discoverie of Russia, the chiefe contents of this present Volume', and thus used the story of the 'Discoverie' to frame the narrative of the first volume of the second edition.[91] This structuring serves to corroborate the truth of the celebratory narrative despite, as mentioned above, the extant knowledge of a route to Russia through the White Sea before Chancellor's voyage. The lack of any diplomatic relationship before the 1553 voyages is another key reason for this framing: *Principal Navigations* as a work is focused on questions of England's global relationships and histories, and with no extant relationship there would have been little material available before 1553. However, Hakluyt explicitly frames Chancellor as 'the **first** discoverer by sea of the kingdome of Moscovia'.[92] In both the 1589 and 1598 editions Hakluyt included the 'testimonie of M. Richard Eden' to bolster Chancellor's claims. Eden's voice is textually preserved as dialogue, beginning almost mid-sentence with 'And whereas (saith he) I have before made mention how Moscovie was in our time discovered by Richard Chanceler'.[93] This structure is similar to that used by Ramusio in his retelling of Marco Polo's journey, and just as in that case, the framing device here serves to increase its editor's authority by demonstrating Hakluyt's recourse to wider authorities.

The framing device serves to add verisimilitude to Eden's claim that Chancellor 'discovered' Russia, as does the account of the 1553 voyage which follows. In the 1589 edition, this account was first presented in Latin and then translated into English,

[91] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), p. 3.
[92] Ibid., p. 243, emphasis mine.
[93] Ibid., p. 146.

indicating the importance of its action. The reader, encountering a narrative which described relatively recent history, would have been notified by Hakluyt's use of Latin that the material possessed an importance within a wider global sphere than just England, hence the need to record it in the closest thing to a 'universal' language. This page architecture shows Hakluyt's 'machine for translation' at work.[94] It also serves as a contrast to the Latin letter by Harborne which Hakluyt left untranslated in the Levant material: that he chose to translate the account here shows him widening access to the material while also making its formal origin clear. In the second edition, the Latin version of the text was removed, and the English account presented alone, implying that by 1598, this need to place England within a global diplomatic framework had lessened.

The success of 1553 voyage could easily be figured as evidence for divine favour towards England, and beginning the Anglo-Russian material with this narrative emphasises such a reading. The narrative describes Chancellor and Willoughby as having 'godly and virtuous intention[s]', while Chancellor's journey into 'that unknowen part of the world' was heralded by 'a continuall light and brightnesse of the sunne shining clearly upon the huge and mightie sea […] [where] at length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay'.[95] The Midnight Sun, a natural phenomenon so far north, was repurposed within the narrative to signify divine favour. The image of divine light, meanwhile, calls to mind the iconography used by Dee in *General and Rare Memorials*, examined in the first chapter. Hakluyt thus began the Russian section of the 1589 edition of *Principal Navigations* with an editorial reminder that the Anglo-Russian relationship was both divinely ordained and globally significant.

[94] The form and function of this 'machine for translation' was further explored in the second chapter.
[95] Ibid., pp. 244-6.

In the second edition, Hakluyt edited this structure, placing 'A briefe treatise of The Duke of Muscovia his genealogie' — extracted from a work printed in Cologne — as the first Russian document. This detailed genealogy only went as far as 1576, and Hakluyt refrained from updating it to cover the intervening eighteen years. The genealogy described Ivan IV as a tyrannical ruler 'addicted unto all rigour and crueltie', though conceded he was still one 'exceedingly addicted unto piety and devotion'.[96] As it ended in 1576, the 'genealogie' listed Ivan's surviving children as Ivan Ivanovich and Feodor Ivanovich: it did not reference Ivan Ivanovich's murder by his father in 1581, the birth of another son Dmitri in 1582, or Ivan IV's death in 1584.[97] Though the genealogy would have been useful historical material for Hakluyt's readers, it provided extremely limited contemporary knowledge. Extracting this document from its original source and placing it before the 1553 narrative indicates an editorial attempt to establish a specific historical context in 1598 for the early Anglo-Russian relationship: that of a country ruled by a pious but tyrannical leader.

There are five 'flash points' in the second expanded edition of *Principal Navigations*: the 1553 Chancellor/Willoughby voyages, described with a variety of document types including royal letters, ship logs, and narratives; Henry Lane's time as an agent for the Muscovy Company, described through epistolary material and a narrative on justice in Russia; Thomas Randolph's work as ambassador in Russia in the late 1560s, again described with narrative and epistolary material; the 1580 commission to Pet and Jackman, described through a series of instructional documents; and finally the ongoing epistolary relationship between Elizabeth I, William Cecil, Feodor I and Boris Godunov throughout the 1590s. Three of these 'flash points' are focused on merchants, placing the

[96] Ibid., pp. 221-226, especially p. 225.
[97] See R. G. Skrynnikov, *Reign of Terror: Ivan IV*, trans. by Paul Williams (Boston: Brill, 2016) for a study of Ivan IV's reign and account of his children's lives.

early narrative focus onto the mercantile relationship. These clusters of material serve to give the reader an insight into the early workings of the Muscovy Company, but as the narrative progresses, the focus shifts to the diplomatic relationship with the letters between Feodor and Elizabeth.

The early material focusing on merchants was excerpted from various sources. Much of it had been written by members of the Muscovy Company, such as George Killingworth (the first agent of the Company in Russia), Stephen Burrough (master of Chancellor's ship in 1553), Anthony Jenkinson, and Henry Lane (an agent of the Company in Russia and a source for Hakluyt).[98] The more factual material was also sourced from the Company, including practical information like 'The coynes, waights and measures used in Russia', 'Instructions given to the Pursers of the Moscovie voyage', 'Notes and observations gathered by Richard Johnson of the severall wayes from Russia to Cathay over-land', 'The distance of divers places in Russia' and 'The way and distances from S. Nicolas in Russia to the Caspian sea'.[99] The inclusion of this information serves another purpose as well as practical use: it shows the reader just how well the English had come to understand and categorise Russian practices, a demonstration strengthened by an increasing volume of factual information as the section progresses chronologically. The inclusion of this material was intended to impress upon a casual reader the sheer scale of English trade with Russia, and the increasingly detailed knowledge English merchants possessed.

Narrative material also played an important part in creating this impression. One of the key narrative texts in *Principal Navigations* is Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe*

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[98] See Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), p. 297; R. C. D. Baldwin, 'Borough, Stephen (1525–1584), Explorer and Naval Administrator', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2914>; John H. Appleby, 'Jenkinson, Anthony (1529–1610/11), Traveller and Writer', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14736>.
[99] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), p. 256, p. 273, p. 335, pp. 363-5.

*Commonwealth*, which is also one of the few texts where we can compare Hakluyt's excerpted version to the original as it was printed for a wider public. This narrative is the single longest of the Russian documents in *Principal Navigations*, and forms nearly ten percent of the overall total of Russian material.[100] In the 1589 edition, Hakluyt mentioned Fletcher's work as upcoming and included a table of contents for the future work, indicating a personal relationship between Fletcher and Hakluyt. *Of the Russe Commonwealth* was written following Fletcher's assignment in Russia as special ambassador between June 1588 and July/August 1589, where he was sent with the aim of assuring the continuation of the special privileges granted to English merchants following Ivan IV's death.[101] The work, originally printed in 1591, was almost immediately suppressed by the Muscovy Company, who were concerned that its criticisms of the Tsar and Russian state would damage their trade.

After the work had been printed and suppressed by the Muscovy Company, Hakluyt included it in his 1598 edition with heavy but silent emendations. In total, fourteen chapters of the work and its preface were omitted, with the remaining eight chapters selectively edited.[102] Considerable work has been done on Hakluyt's treatment of Fletcher by Stout, illuminating the ways in which study of the historiography of *Principal Navigations* has obscured that of Fletcher's narrative, as well as the ways in which Hakluyt's editorial work removed the original editorial narrative and imposed his own.[103] The trade in Russia has traditionally been considered by historians to have been relatively secure by the end of the seventeenth century, but Hakluyt's editorial work highlights the

[100] The extracts from *Of the Russe Commonwealth* being nearly 20,000 words long out of a total of 237,170 words.
[101] Lucy Munro, 'Fletcher, Giles, the Elder (Bap. 1546, d. 1611), Diplomat and Author', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9726>.
[102] Stout, 'The Strange and Wonderfull Discoverie of Russia', p. 160.
[103] Ibid., p. 163.

precarious nature of all early modern trade.[104] While the Anglo-Russian relationship had a long history by 1589, and certainly by 1598, unfavourable material such as Fletcher's narrative could still have immediate and damaging effects on the Company, which had faced a barrage of internal struggles in the 1580s.[105] Fletcher's work posed a real threat to investment in 1591 and the risk had apparently not significantly diminished seven years later, as Hakluyt largely followed the Company's original edits. In the second edition of *Principal Navigations*, Fletcher's narrative forms the final major passage of narrative material before the closing epistolary section.

However, while Hakluyt edited out passages where Fletcher accused Ivan IV of tyranny, slandered the Russian royal family, criticised the societal structures which allowed the nobles to abuse the 'baser sort of people', and insulted the nation on the grounds of its supposed uncleanness and intemperance, very similar critiques were made in the 'Certaine letters in Verse written by Master George Turberville' which Hakluyt included apparently unedited.[106] Turberville describes 'a people passing rude, to vices vile inlinde' for whom 'drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride' while 'the cold is rare, the people rude, the prince so full of pride'.[107] As well as these general insults to Russians, he notes: 'all at princes pleasure bow | So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou rememberest well, | And what his fortune was at last, I know thy selfe can tell'.[108] Assuming that he refers to Tarquin the Proud, the King of Rome whose overthrow led to the establishment of the Republic, the implication of threat to the Tsar is clear.[109]

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[104] See Arel, pp. 401–47 for analysis of the precarities of Russian trade into and from Europe.
[105] See Griffiths, p. 211 — the Company had been reformed in 1586, with members in the 1590s carefully making a distinction between the 'old' and 'new' Companies.
[106] See Stout, 'The Strange and Wonderfull Discoverie of Russia', p. 160 for analysis of these passages. Turberville's originals have since been lost, hence the qualifying 'apparently'.
[107] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), pp. 99-108.
[108] Ibid.
[109] 'Tarquin | King of Rome [534-509 BC]', *Encyclopedia Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Tarquin-king-of-Rome-534-509-BC> [accessed 19 March 2019].

Turberville may not directly refer to Ivan as a tyrant, but lines such as 'the prince and Realme must needs in time decay' are sufficiently blunt.[110]

This sense of a looming threat posed by the power of the Russian monarchy was a common theme in contemporary writings about the country. Archer has described it as 'a latent unease about the subject's status within a suddenly expanding world that might require extreme methods of control and domination'.[111] Even as the reach of mercantile activities increased, noblemen planned proto-colonising ventures, and religious authorities preached the necessity of conversion, English control and influence over the globe remained weak. The contrast between Turberville's verse and Fletcher's edited narrative represents Hakluyt's editorial treatment of this anxiety. While Turberville expressed the same sentiments as Fletcher, his work represented the state of Russia before England's influence had been sufficiently levied. Hakluyt reinforced this impression by chronologically dating Turberville's letters as 1567 in his work. They were in fact excerpted from the edition of *Tragicall Tales* printed in 1587, and Hakluyt's editorial choice entirely elides this twenty-year interval.[112] For a contemporary reader of the second edition, the inference was that the Russia which Turberville described was the relatively distant past, but the Russia that Fletcher narrated was recent. Turberville's comments could therefore be allowed to stand, but Fletcher's required significant editing in order to maintain the narrative that the Muscovy Company's influence had 'Englished' Russia into a country worthy of equal standing.

The end result of this 'Englishing' is demonstrated in the final flash point: the epistolary diplomatic exchange between Elizabeth I, Tsar Feodor, Boris Godunov and William Cecil. This is not the only example of epistolary material in the Russian section of

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[110] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), pp. 105.
[111] Archer, pp. 119-20.
[112] Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, II, 362 and 397.

*Principal Navigations*, but though Ivan IV and Elizabeth I had had an active epistolary relationship it is not depicted in either edition of *Principal Navigations*: letters between them were included but never placed next to each other or in dialogue.[113] The effect was to de-centralise this early diplomatic relationship from the movement of the narrative, with the focus of the first thirty years instead placed on the work of the Muscovy Company and the networks built by its merchants. It also had the effect of obscuring Ivan IV's role in the early Anglo-Russian relationship by allowing him a narrative voice only when granting privileges to Englishmen or receiving letters from Elizabeth. Merchants were made into the primary active narrative figures, with the diplomatic work which assisted them obscured. The second chapter of this thesis examined Hakluyt's treatment of epistolary material and sources, and the ways in which he either foregrounded or obscured its origin for structural purposes. His treatment of epistolary material here is a practical demonstration of these techniques at work and the effects this treatment could produce, as this material was particularly proportionally significant: in the second edition of *Principal Navigations*, there are roughly 237,170 words describing contemporary Russia.[114] Its narrative portions are interspersed with epistolary material: of the nearly 240,000 words roughly 46,000 are in the form of letters, forming around 20% of the material.

The ratio of epistolary to other material increases chronologically, placing early focus on individual accounts from the English of Russia, and later focus onto the wider structural framework of the Anglo-Russian community. Epistolary material is thus used structurally to indicate the establishment of a functioning diplomatic connection built on a mercantile framework. Within the context of the Levant material, Hakluyt used the bevy of epistolary material to indicate safety, the implication being that if letters were able to

[113] See Allinson pp. 111–31 for analysis of these letters and their epistolary relationship.
[114] Defining most of the 'historical' material Hakluyt included *Principal Navigations* as that dating pre-1500.

travel and establish a direct dialogue, travellers and merchants would in turn be able to travel safely. Such material served a similar purpose for the Russian material, giving readers an image of a well-established extant community and simplifying the difficulty of transporting such letters.

By increasing the level of epistolary material alongside the chronological movement of the text, Hakluyt carefully avoided giving the reader an accurate representation of the fraught Elizabeth/Ivan relationship. In the second edition of *Principal Navigations*, more letters were added, charting the diplomatic relationships between Elizabeth, William Cecil, Tsar Feodor and Boris Godunov and making the edition highly contemporary and narratively appearing to place the reader at the centre of the Anglo-Russian diplomatic relationship.[115] This shift in focus from the Muscovy Company to the diplomatic relationship also drew attention away from the workings of the Company, protecting their trade secrets just as Hakluyt had shielded the secretive workings of Harborne and Staper in the Levant material. The 1590s epistolary material added in the second edition comprises seven letters, with the most common route being from Boris to Cecil: these letters are included with no contextual material, appearing one after the other in a solid block of roughly 4,650 words. The structure serves to create an implicit pairing of the figures, as there are no letters exchanged between Elizabeth and Cecil or Feodor and Boris: in both cases this is likely due to a lack of access on Hakluyt's part, but it serves to neatly delineate the figures according to hierarchy. Both Hakluyt and the reader are shielded from the intimate details of stateship, while Boris and Cecil act as royal intermediaries. By deliberately grouping the letters in this way Hakluyt created the impression that the relationship between Feodor and Boris was a mirror of that between Elizabeth and Cecil, implying that like the queen, Feodor had an efficient and dedicated

[115] Godunov being Feodor's second in command and brother-in-law.

second in command — though in actuality, Godunov's role was significantly different to Cecil's, as was his relationship to his monarch.

The content of the letters subtly indicates this difference between Boris and Cecil. While Cecil and Feodor never exchanged letters, there was an established relationship between Elizabeth and Godunov. In letters to Elizabeth, Godunov wrote that '[he would] be a favourer of [English merchants] above all others' and 'have a greate care over them and protect them'. That he kept this promise in Elizabeth's eyes is confirmed by a later reference in one of her letters to 'the honourable course holden by your Lordship n the interposing of your opinions and favourable construction'. [116] By contrast, the relationship between Elizabeth and Feodor was focused entirely on matters of conduct, attempting to smooth over offence inadvertently caused by, variously, the size of her seals and her misuse of the Russian royal address.[117] The effect is to create the impression of Godunov as the power behind the throne, guiding the Tsar to help English merchants. This impression is confirmed by the final document, 'a letter […] touching the death of Pheodor Ivanowich [Feodor]', where John Merick describes the 'wise government of Lord Boris Pheodorowich […] [who is] to be Emperor and great duke of all Russia'.[118] At this point, the reasoning behind Hakluyt's failure to update the genealogy at the beginning of the work becomes clearer. A reader who had only read the editions of *Principal Navigations* would not have known of the death of Feodor's brother, Ivan, nor of the death of his

[116] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, (1598), pp. 339-55.
[117] See Allinson, pp. 115-6 for more detail: Elizabeth had shortened Feodor's full title in one of her letters (which referred to at least 27 cities and regions by name), a breach of conduct in Russian correspondence. The size of the seals was another issue which arose between Elizabeth and both Ivan and Feodor, with Elizabeth's smaller seal being interpreted as an insult by the Russian recipient when it was intended as an indication of friendship.
[118] John Merick was the Muscovy Company's chief agent in Russia during the 1580s, later appointed ambassador — see Richard Raiswell, 'Meyrick, Sir John (c. 1559–1638/9), Diplomat and Merchant', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18641>. The text comes from Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598) pp. 339-55.

daughter, Feodicine.[119] Without some knowledge of Russia separate from *Principal Navigations,* readers would have no way of understanding why Godunov was to become Tsar, and would be forced to use the letters edited by Hakluyt to provide an explanatory narrative.[120]

Merick's letter states that Godunov is 'most unwilling to receive the kingdome, but the people would make no other choise'.[121] This is a deliberate misrepresentation: Godunov did say he would only accept the throne from the Zemsky Sobor, or national assembly, but this was only to ensure his actions appeared legitimate.[122] This misrepresentation suggests another reason for Hakluyt's failure to supply contextual material for his readers. The death of Feodicine in 1594 had sparked a looming succession crisis in Russia, with the Rurikid line of Tsars facing extinction.[123] There is a corresponding silence in *Principal Navigations* between 1594 and 1598, with only one document included dating from the period: a set of privileges issued by Feodor to John Hart. For an Elizabethan reader, reading about the potential end of the Rurikid line must have prompted worries about the Tudor succession crisis. By skipping over these years of uncertainty Hakluyt deftly evaded bringing the comparison to mind, while the letters of Godunov he included all emphasised the future Tsar's support for English merchants.[124] By editing the material this way Hakluyt created a satisfying narrative for contemporary

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[119] Also named Feodosia, depending on the source: her birth was referenced in a letter from Boris to Elizabeth in 1592, printed in *Principal Navigations*, but her death in 1594 went unremarked within the letters Hakluyt printed.
[120] Godunov seized the throne immediately after Feodor's death through his sister, Feodor's widow. See A. P. Pavlov, 'Fedor Ivanovich and Boris Godunov (1584–1605)', in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, ed. by Maureen Perrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 264–85 for more details on the relationship between the two Tsars.
[121] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1598), pp. 339-55.
[122] See R. G. Skrynnikov, *Boris Godunov*, trans. by Hugh F Graham (Gulf Breeze: Academic International Press, 1982) for a more detailed history of Godunov's early reign.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Merick's letter also makes reference to Godunov's two children, a son and a daughter: coincidentally, the same number of children Elizabeth's successor James VI had at this point.

readers of a well-established relationship with a favourable new Tsar, suitably impressed by England's trading prowess.

Structuring the letters this way neatly evaded placing focus on the ongoing political strife and framed the Anglo-Russian relationship as one of equals, ending with Godunov established as the apparently Anglophile new Tsar.[125] Hakluyt created a narrative through his editorial work which used English influence on Russia as a 'civilising' force, moving from Chancellor's 1553 discovery of a wild 'new' world, through Turberville's verse describing an uneasy land filled with rude people 'to vices vile inlinde' in the 1560s, and ending with a diplomatic relationship between equals in the 1590s — all while omitting details which would have disconcerted a contemporary reader. This narrative allowed him to shift the text's focus from mercantile detail to Royal diplomacy, shielding the Muscovy Company's trade secrets. It also served to move attention away from the experience of actually living in Russia. Accounts describing daily life in the country in the 1590s would have likely undermined Hakluyt's narrative of 'civilizing' English influence, as it was this decade that saw the formalisation of serfdom, a key locus for anxiety about tyranny and slavery. Hakluyt's narrative momentum would also have pleased the Muscovy Company, as it promoted the safety of Russia and encouraged further investment. The 'unease' that Archer describes was thus narratively neutralised to the best of Hakluyt's ability, presenting a construction of an 'Englished' Russia which was inaccurate but reassuring to a readership trained on literary stereotypes of Russia as a cold, unstable and ever-expanding land. Hakluyt's editorial work was made possible through his connections to the Company and accordingly it emphasised their role in establishing and supporting the Anglo-Russian relationship; the entire narrative of the section is refracted through the aims of the Company, presenting a deeply biased view.

[125] This impression may not have been entirely without basis, as the incident of the four *robyata* indicates.

## ‘I see nothing but a very wildernesse’: Newfoundland in *Principal Navigations*

‘The Generall […] cried out to us […] ‘We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land!’ […] [and] suddenly [the ship’s] lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and […] [he] was cast away’.[1] So Edward Hayes described the death of Humphrey Gilbert, leader of the 1583 voyage which claimed Newfoundland for England. The voyage has long been subsumed historiographically within the history of English travel to America rather than being examined within its own contexts; a treatment which is partly the result, as this chapter will argue, of the editorial treatment given by Richard Hakluyt to the Newfoundland material. Having a close personal connection to Gilbert’s voyage, Hakluyt used *Principal Navigations* to promote the version of transatlantic settlement that he shared with Gilbert, and served as the chief archivist for Gilbert’s voyage.

The question of Hakluyt’s representation of America in *Principal Navigations* — particularly North America — is one which has received a great deal of critical attention. Scholarship attending to this representation has been closely linked to that concerning Hakluyt’s views on religion, as evangelisation was noted as an explicit motivating force for travel within his North American sections.[2] As examined in the third chapter of this thesis, the critical conception of Hakluyt’s religious role has been affected by a lack of printed explicitly religious material, making his expression of evangelist sentiments in the American material a focus for scholarship attending to this question. Hakluyt’s involvement in Virginia and later American colonial projects has been well studied, but an

[1] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 3 vols (London, 1598-1600), III (1600), STC (2nd ed.) 12626a, p. 159.
[2] See, for example, David Harris Sacks, ‘Richard Hakluyt’s Navigations in Time: History, Epic, and Empire’, *Modern Language Quarterly*, 67.1 (2006), 31–63; David Boruchoff, ‘Piety, Patriotism, and Empire: Lessons for England, Spain, and the New World in the Works of Richard Hakluyt’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62.3 (2009), 809–58; Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise: An Elizabethan’s Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

area which has received less critical attention is his treatment of Newfoundland, one of the earliest sites of English landfall in North America. As Mary Fuller notes, Newfoundland 'was the central experience of America for the vast majority of sixteenth-century Englishmen who had such experience at all', mostly through the existence of the multi-national fisheries which served most of Europe with cod supplies throughout the century.[3] That the English relationship with Newfoundland has received less critical attention than those with Virginia and North Carolina is the result, Fuller suggests, of a historiographical failure to find a way 'to attach significance and meaning to Newfoundland's particular history'.[4] The importance of Newfoundland to the sixteenth century Englishman's experience of America is not matched by a corresponding centrality within imperial historiography, and the specific processes of engagement between England and Newfoundland remain 'startlingly unremembered and unrecorded'.[5]

As in the previous two geographic chapters, this chapter will conduct its study of Newfoundland in *Principal Navigations* first through historical and literary analysis, moving to examine the social composition of the Anglo-Newfoundland community through social network analysis, and finally bringing these threads together in a close examination of the island's representation in *Principal Navigations*. While the chapter focusing on the Levant demonstrated the mercantile focus created by Hakluyt's editorial work, and the Russia chapter showed the careful construction of an alternative historical narrative, this chapter argues that Hakluyt's representation of sixteenth century English

[3] Mary C. Fuller, '"Rebellious Fish": Newfoundland Unremembered', in *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narratives in the Age of European Expansion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 117–63 (p. 118). There is a great deal of scholarship focusing on the English relationship with Newfoundland, but this generally focuses on the establishment of the London and Bristol company (also called the Newfoundland Company) in 1610. See, for example, Gillian T. Cell, 'The Newfoundland Company: A Study of Subscribers to a Colonizing Venture', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 22.4 (1965), 611–25; Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610–1630* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1982); Charles Pedley, *The History of Newfoundland* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863).
[4] Fuller, 'Rebellious Fish', p. 118.
[5] Ibid.

encounters with Newfoundland represents him grappling with, and in turn, enabling the failure of memory recognised by Fuller. His view of western expansion took a cyclical view of progress: a 'return to lost truth' for the native peoples being converted.[6] Within this ideological framework, Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland served as a starting gun for later processes of colonial settlement, and it serves a similar structural purpose in *Principal Navigations* as the first example of attempted Anglo-American settlement. Hakluyt's representation of Newfoundland in his work thus framed it as a proto-colonial site, but in order to do so he deliberately obscured the history of the fisheries. This process of re-framing in turn led to the significant and wide-reaching processes of engagement between England and the island being obscured. Reassessing the Newfoundland material in *Principal Navigations*, within the context of both the historical context and the social networks associated with the island, highlights exactly which communities and histories were excluded from Hakluyt's editorial narrative to offer a fresh view of the island's function within English imperial historiography.

**Newfoundland in English Literature and Culture**

A Venetian by birth, John Cabot moved to Bristol around 1485 with his wife and three sons, keen to find investors for his transatlantic voyaging ambitions.[7] Bristol merchants appear to have accepted him readily, keen to find a new fishing ground, and on 5 March 1486 Cabot was issued a patent by Henry VII. This patent covered John and his sons and empowered them to search for new lands unknown to Christians which would be held by the Cabots in the king's name upon discovery. After one failed voyage, the *Matthew* set

[6] David Harris Sacks, '"To Deduce a Colonie": Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in Its Contexts, c.1580–1616', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 197–219 (p. 199).
[7] David Quinn, 'Cabot, John [Zuan Caboto] (c. 1451–1498), Navigator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66135>.

sail on 20 May 1497, reaching Newfoundland and 'discovering' it for England around the end of June. The ship returned to Bristol in August, with Cabot receiving a reward of £10 for discovering the island as well as a pension of £20 a year.[8] Though the soil was 'barren in some places, & yeeldeth litle fruit', the fish stocks of Newfoundland were plentiful, reported as being 'very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons'.[9] There were also 'soles also aboue a yard in length', and especially 'great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Sauages call *baccalaos* [cod]'.[10] The news of these riches quickly spread throughout Europe, prompting the establishment of migratory fishery operations on the island.[11] Though John disappears from records in May 1498, apparently lost at sea, his son Sebastian would take up the family mantle.

It is important to note here that the foundation of the Anglo-American relationship was built on the falsehood that this was 'virgin' land, and that this myth is embedded into its history at an etymological level. The name 'Newfoundland' implies that the island was undiscovered and uninhabited before Cabot's arrival, which was not the case. Though Cabot appears to have been the first early modern European to travel to Newfoundland, there were indigenous peoples living on the island long before and the English were aware of their existence. In 1502, a group of Bristol sailors travelled to Newfoundland and brought back with them three men: these men were likely members of the indigenous group of the island, the Beothuk people, though this detail was not recorded in contemporary documents.[12] Such tales both give the lie to the name given by the English to this island, and also signal the need to read English accounts of Newfoundland voyages

[8] Ibid.
[9] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 6.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Charles B. Judah, *The North American Fisheries and British Policy to 1713*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1933), p. 142.
[12] See L. F. S. Upton, 'The Extermination of the Beothucks of Newfoundland', in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, by J. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 68–89 and Alden T. Vaughan, 'American Indians in England (Act. c. 1500–1615)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/71116>.

with a critical eye. Even the name 'Newfoundland' simplified the island's history: it was originally named 'St John's' by John Cabot, because it was discovered on St John's Day, and Sebastian Cabot is later noted to have named it '*Baccalaos*' after the cod stocks.[13] That the island was eventually named 'Newfoundland' was thus largely a result of practicality and a reflection of the island's place within English thought.[14]

The island quickly became a centre for European fisheries after Cabot's voyage: the Portuguese had begun fishing there by 1501, and French fishermen by 1504. Though England laid claim to the island through Cabot, they found the fishing grounds in Iceland more convenient, and as such there was little English presence around the island until the mid-sixteenth century.[15] The Newfoundland fisheries produced vast quantities of cod, which were salted wet in the ship holds by continental fishermen for the journey home.[16] The trade was seasonal, with fishermen using the island as a summer base to farm and preserve massive quantities of fish before returning to Europe. The ease of fishing on the island meant that a few months residency was economically sufficient for the sailors — added to which, the inhospitable conditions of northern Canada in winter made staying on the island an unpleasant prospect. Rather than requiring large scale permanent movement and settlement, the Newfoundland fisheries were thus simply incorporated into existing commercial patterns.[17] As such it was an unusual trade which, as Gillian Cell put it, 'flourished without settlement', the island serving as a multi-national transient fishing hub.[18] This remained the island's primary role within continental thought for much of the

[13] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 6, p. 9.
[14] Fuller, 'Rebellious Fish', p. 133.
[15] W. H. Lear, 'History of Fisheries in the Northwest Atlantic: The 500-Year Perspective', *Journal of Northwest Atlantic Fishery Science*, 23 (1998), 41–73 (p. 44).
[16] Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660*, pp. 20-25. The English took a different approach: they split the cod and left it to dry using the sun before lightly salting it, and Fuller notes that 'historians have speculated that this […] technique drew the English […] toward connection with the land', citing Cell, *English Enterprise* [p. 23, p. 27] as an example [Fuller, 'Rebellious Fish', p. 132].
[17] Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, p. 2.
[18] Ibid., p. 1.

sixteenth century: Ramusio, in *Navigationi*, emphasised the island's potential as a source of fish, including a version of figure 37 in his text which gave greater cartographic detail to Newfoundland and surrounding islands than to the remainder of the coast.




*Figure 37. Giacomo Gastaldi, 'Tierra nueva' (Venice, 1548), Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. Newfoundland is represented as an island cluster to the top right.*

After an initial delay, the England-Newfoundland trade grew rapidly in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This growth can be attributed to a number of factors: the Icelandic fisheries previously favoured by the English declined in both supply and availability in the 1570s, after Denmark took control of them and introduced controls on the trade. Simultaneously, the increasing probability of war with Spain pushed the English government to encourage the growth of fisheries in order to provide a future source of

trained seamen.[19] With this bevy of factors in play, the England-Newfoundland fish trade began to increase steadily from the 1570s onwards, with the number of English fishermen on the Grand Banks at least doubling.[20] Dried cod of the type produced in Newfoundland was an extremely popular product, practical for its longevity. It sold well in Catholic Europe, where Friday fasting from meat was strictly enforced on a cultural basis, and during wartime it provided armies with a source of durable protein. David Quinn estimates that a comparison between the 'calories of nutriment provided to Europe by Newfoundland products between about 1500 and 1650' and 'the ounces of bullion extracted from Mexico and Peru' may be found to have had 'at least equal' effect on human life.[21] The gold, historiographically speaking, was just more exciting.

Though the exportation of fish to European countries by English merchants was technically forbidden for much of the latter half of the sixteenth century, many did so anyway, eager to exploit such a lucrative market.[22] The need to expand England's number of trained seamen, combined with the desire to divert this trade away from mainland Europe, led the English government to introduce a policy whereby an extra fish day was added to the English Protestant week. Traditionally only Fridays had been fish days, in line with the Roman Catholic church, but from around 1563 onwards Wednesdays were also designated as 'fissh daye[s]', with the consumption of meat forbidden.[23] Contemporary writer William Harrison recognised that this addition was not for religion's sake, but instead intended 'to the end [that] our numbers of cattell may be the better increased and

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[19] Ibid.
[20] David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 48. The 'Grand Banks' of Newfoundland are a group of underwater plateaus to the south-east of the island, which were the primary factor in the strength of the fishing grounds.
[21] David B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500-1625* (London: Hambledon, 1990), p. 22.
[22] Ibid.
[23] See 'Addenda, Queen Elizabeth - Volume 14: January 1569', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, Addenda, 1566-79*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green, 8 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1872), VIII, 71–72 as referenced in J. C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food: Five Centuries of English Diet*, ed. by Dorothy Hollingsworth, 4th edn (London: Pimlico, 1994), pp. 61-2.

that abundance of fish […] more generallie received'. He also noted 'the great consideration […] for the preservation of the navie, and maintenance of convenient numbers of sea faring men'.[24] Such a policy, rooted in economic and military concerns, served to give the production of dried fish a religious impetus. Providing fish to English Protestants became a spiritual endeavour as much as a practical one, the backbone of a 'political lent' which served to connect the English fishing industry with naval strength and Anglican Protestantism.[25] Consumption of specific foodstuffs was a consistent method throughout the early modern period of forming and maintaining communities, as was the prohibition of other items. Salted cod acted as such a totemic item, combining religious, economic and political concerns. Newfoundland, as a site associated with the production of this item, thus became a space within the English imagination associated with these concerns.

Similar anxieties were also expressed in writing which considered the suitability of Newfoundland as a permanent English settlement. The idea of establishing colonies on the island was first mooted early in the sixteenth century: John Rastell proposed the idea in his moral play *New Interlude* in 1520.[26] Here, the character of Experience described 'new lands […] muche larger than all cristendome' with unknown wealth of limitless potential: 'what commodytes be within | no man can tell nor well imagin'.[27] Before the publication of *New Interlude*, Rastell had attempted to travel to these 'new lands' himself, financing a voyage to North America in 1516.[28] Unfortunately his sailors refused to sail any further

[24] William Harrison, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles* (London, 1577), pp. 93-5.
[25] For more on the interplay between food, faith and community in early modern Europe see Christopher Kissane, 'Food and Inquisition', in *Food, Religion, and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), especially pp. 13–52 and Eleanor Barnett, 'Reforming Food and Eating in Protestant England, c.1560-c.1640', *The Historical Journal*, 63.3 (2019), 1–21.
[26] John Rastell, *A new interlude and a mery of the nature of the iiii. element declarynge many proper poynt of phylosophy naturall, and of dyuers straunge landys* (London, 1520).
[27] Ibid., sig. Bi$^{r}$.
[28] The idea had potentially been sparked by his brother-in-law Thomas More's publication of *Utopia* earlier in the year, a book which would later become integral in the story of Gilbert's death.

than Waterford, and he spent the next two years in Ireland before returning to England.[29] For Rastell, colonisation was both a religious and patriotic act, a chance to seize 'commodytes' for exclusively English use. Experience speaks rapturously in the play about the possibility of an English America:

> O what a thynge had be than
> Yf that they englyshe men
> Myght have ben the furst of all
> That there shulde have take possession
> And made furst buyldynge & habytacion
> a memory perpetuall.[30]

Later within the same speech, Experience spoke further about the potential of colonisation, calling it 'an honourable thynge | bothe to the realme and to the kynge | to have his domynyon extendyng', while simultaneously framing such expansion as an evangelical act, 'a great meritoryouse ded […] to have the people instructed […] to knowe god theyr maker'.[31] This rhetoric, with its combination of ardent patriotism and pious evangelical language, would be common within English writings about America later in the century. The idea of 'a memory perpetuall' expressed here by Rastell picks up on the trope of memory as a political act; in the discovery of the new world a space where England could memorialise itself. This concept of memory as an active process associated with nationalistic potential would be vital for the development of the form and function of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* forty-three years later, showing the longevity of this idea. Despite his fervency, after Rastell's failure to get any closer to America than Ireland, the idea of long-term settlement in Newfoundland lay essentially dormant for the next fifty years.

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[29] S. T. Bindoff, 'Rastell, John (by 1468-1536), of London', *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1982) <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/rastell-john-1468-1536> [accessed 7 October 2019].
[30] Rastell, sig. Bi$^{v}$.
[31] Ibid., sig. Bii$^{r}$.

The primary role of Newfoundland in English imaginative and political spaces thus remained one of economic potential until later in the century when, in the mid 1560s, Humphrey Gilbert (the soldier and maternal half-brother of Walter Raleigh) began promoting the existence of a north-west passage through America to the Pacific. Disagreement with the Muscovy Company regarding the terms of an expedition to establish the route of the passage led to the breakdown of his initial project, and Gilbert spent the next five years in Ulster assisting Henry Sidney in his campaign to defeat Shane O'Neill.[32] Gilbert's campaign in Ireland was ruthless. Its details were recorded by Thomas Churchyard in *A generall rehearsall of warres* as evidence that, according to Churchyard, 'severe and straight handlyng of rebellious people reformes them sooner to obedience than any courteous dealyng'. Churchyard described Gilbert ordering that:

> the heddes of all those (of what soever thei were) which were killed in the daie, should bee cutte of from their bodies, and brought to the place where he incamped at night […] so that none could come into his tente for any cause but […] he muste passe through a lane of heddes.[33]

He noted approvingly that this 'did bring greate terrour to the people, when thei sawe the heddes of their dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolke and freendes lye on the grounde before their faces'.[34] Gilbert's tactics made him a deeply feared figure in Ireland, but earned him an English knighthood in 1570. After a spell serving in Parliament and another fighting the Spanish in Flushing, he proposed a scheme to Elizabeth whereby, by travelling west to search for new lands, he would simultaneously destroy the Iberian fishing fleets of Newfoundland.[35]

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[32] Rory Rapple, 'Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1537–1583), Explorer and Soldier', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10690>.
[33] Thomas Churchyard, *A generall rehearsall of warres, called Churchyardes choise* (London, 1579), sig. Diii$^{r-v}$.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Rapple.

The letters patent issued to Gilbert in June 1578 gave him the right to search out 'remote heathen and barbarous landes' which he and his heirs could hold forever — provided he found them within the next six years.[36] These lands were not explicitly named in the patent, but merely stipulated as those 'lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people', a stipulation which made determining the best location critical.[37] Such letters patent were a public expression of the patentee's rights both at home and abroad, and Gilbert's gave him exceptional power.[38] Epistolary material was a flexible form which could serve a variety of propagandic purposes in its structural use. Hakluyt was aware of this potential, as evidenced by his treatment of the European epistolary networks vital in the creation of *Principal Navigations*, and these three geographic chapters have each demonstrated the role of letters patent in serving similar propagandic and practical purposes. Gilbert's letters endowed him and his heirs with the authority 'to have hould occupie and enjoye […] sea and land', to expel anyone who attempted to establish settlements within two hundred leagues of his colony, or who attempted to 'annoye [him] eyther by Sea or lande'.[39] The span of this projected colony would cover nearly one billion acres.[40] The question of such land and sea claims was a contemporarily fraught one, with which Hakluyt himself was also deeply concerned.[41] He translated Hugo Grotius's *Mare Liberum* [The Free Sea] into English, though it was unpublished during his lifetime, and supported the adoption of its primary principle — that seas should be open to navigation for ships of all nations.[42] By contrast, John Dee adhered

[36] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 135.
[37] Ibid., p. 135; Nathan J. Probasco, 'Researching North America: Sir Humphrey Gilbert's 1583 Expedition and a Reexamination of Early Modern English Colonization in the North Atlantic World' (University of Nebraska, 2013), p. 176.
[38] See, for more on letters patents, Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 79-80.
[39] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), pp. 135-6.
[40] Probasco, 'Researching North America', p. 6.
[41] See Lauren Benton, 'Sovereignty at Sea', in *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 104–61 for more detail.
[42] Hugo Grotius, *The Free Sea*, trans. by Richard Hakluyt (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004).

to the opposing notion of *mare clausum* [closed seas], suggesting that navigable bodies of water under state jurisdiction should not be accessible to other states. Gilbert's letters patent represented a mediatory position between these two principles: he was given free reign to sail anywhere from his colony in order to trade, but also claimed jurisdiction over the seas within his remit.[43]

The question of the role of Gilbert's voyage within the development of an English imperial framework has been largely overshadowed by a critical history seeking to valorise the British empire. England's maritime expansion during the sixteenth century has long been linked by historians to its later committed imperialist expansion. Fernand Braudel in 1979 considered early modern England to be isolated both geographically and religiously from Europe, and argued that this was a necessary pre-condition for its later maritime and imperial development. His work built on similar conclusions drawn earlier in the century, most notably those of A. L. Rowse.[44] David Armitage critiqued Braudel's idea of the early British empire as a 'characteristically and uniquely Protestant' one, 'the first post-Reformation empire […] [which was] of commerce not conquest'.[45] Armitage instead considered the Tudor idea of empire to be wholly derivative, with its imperial language common to European nations thanks to its origin in Roman ideas of *imperium* rather than representing a uniquely reformation development.[46]

The claim of the sixteenth century establishment of a uniquely Protestant and 'British' empire as proposed by Rowse and Braudel is a historically potent one, but as Armitage argues, the concept is ahistorical and fails to acknowledge that the establishment

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[43] Probasco, 'Researching North America', p. 40.
[44] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism* (London: Collins, 1984), p. 353 and A. L. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1955).
[45] David Armitage, 'The Elizabethan Idea of Empire', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6.14 (2004), 269–77 (pp. 270-1).
[46] Ibid, pp. 271-2. See also Ken MacMillan, 'Benign and Benevolent Conquest?: The Ideology of Elizabethan Atlantic Expansion Revisited', *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 9.1 (2011), 32–72 for discussion of the legalistic basis of England's imperial claims.

of such a global empire was not a feasible reality for Elizabethans.[47] Armitage's interpretation also recognises that while commerce was vital within the aims and structures of the British Empire, imperial expansion was not solely a commercial endeavour. John Dee's titlepage to his *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Nauigation*, analysed in greater detail in the first chapter, shows the contemporary connections being drawn between English mercantilism, faith and conquest by the 1570s. Recent scholarship by Lauren Working has further developed analysis of this proto-colonial imperial framework, reasserting the importance of considering the effects of colonisation within England through material and literary culture, emphasising that any scholarly work which studies the articulation of this framework must be aware of the debts it owed to contemporary European imperial models.[48] These debts can be seen in the analysis of second chapter of this thesis, for example, which demonstrated the close connection between the processes of textual empire-building at work in the Venetian *Navigationi* and the 'English' *Principal Navigations*. Braudel's conception of an isolated England is also at odds with modern scholarship which has reconsidered the traditional view of England as an isolated nation and situated it within a global network. As the fisheries prove, an ocean was no obstacle to the movement of people.

One of the weak points in nineteenth and early twentieth century scholarly analyses of sixteenth century English imperial development was this assumption that English imperial expansion began with voyages to America. In fact, the imposition of an imperial model was vital to the English relationship with Ireland throughout the century, and Gilbert's colonial violence in Ireland shows him working within an imperial framework

[47] Armitage, p. 275.
[48] Lauren Working, 'Introduction', in *The Making of an Imperial Polity: Civility and America in the Jacobean Metropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 1–29 (p. 3).

long before his travels to Newfoundland.[49] The graphic stories of his violence within Ireland also serve to clearly refute any view of the English imperial framework as one 'of commerce not conquest'. Later historiographical views of Gilbert have tended to conflate the existence of this imperial framework with the later empire, while overlooking the history of Ireland. A plaque at St John's in Newfoundland, for example, claims that Gilbert 'founded Britain's overseas Empire' even though such a construction could only be made 'in retrospect, and with motivation'.[50] This conflation also undermines the importance of the communities already present in Newfoundland: both the native peoples and the multinational fisheries, who had been a steady if transient presence on the island for eighty years. The importance of Gilbert's Newfoundland voyages, to be accurately understood, must be considered within these contexts.

Gilbert's voyage was important contemporarily as one of the first voyages which realised the colonising rhetoric expounded by Rastell, Dee and Hakluyt within an American context. Gilbert's community was not only centred on London either: a significant number of people involved with the voyage came from outside the capital. The additional articles of agreement between Gilbert and the adventurers, dating from December 1582, named a number of men from Southampton and Bristol.[51] This was partly the result of Gilbert's family connections in the southwest, and partly the result of a lack of investors in London: Gilbert's preparations for his voyage coincided with those of Edward Fenton, whose plan to trade English cloth in the Moluccas meant much of the available capital in London had already been invested.[52] Gilbert's court connections, initially also

[49] For discussion of English colonial violence in Ireland, see Audrey Horning, 'Toward a Colonial Ireland? The Sixteenth Century', in *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), pp. 17–100.
[50] Fuller, 'Rebellious Fish', p. 159.
[51] David Beers Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2 vols (Farnham: Hakluyt Society, 2010), II, 326-335.
[52] Probasco, p. 40.

facilitated through family, meant that these circles were also available to him for recruitment, albeit with the limitations this lack of free capital created.[53] His military history with the Sidney family, both father and son, also helped him establish connections within these circles. Over the five years of preparation, people thus became involved with the voyage from across social and geographic divides.[54] The aims of the project also became divided: a group of court figures centred around George Peckham wanted to use the voyage to establish a Catholic settlement in America which would enable people to escape England's recusancy laws, while the Southampton and Bristol merchants appear to have primarily viewed the expedition as a way of increasing and strengthening their fisheries in Newfoundland rather than fixating on the idea of permanent settlement.[55] Gilbert's initial plan to attack the Iberian forces, with its strongly xenophobic and anti-Catholic sentiments, was subtly at odds with both of these groups, leading to further fractures.

The voyage drew significant literary attention. Thomas Churchyard published *A Discourse of the Queenes Majesties Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk* in 1578 where he praised Gilbert alongside Martin Frobisher, describing the two as 'guided by such grace | as God himselfe hath sent', concluding that '[what] you do, is done indeede | unto a good intent'.[56] He also described the excitement in London at the voyage, writing that 'my Lackey had not walkt in Pawles | but twentie paisis then | but heard that sundrie friends |of mine, had taken leave […] and were all shipte away'.[57] Churchyard framed Gilbert's

[53] Gilbert's aunt, Katherine Astley (*née* Champernowne) was related by marriage to all the leading gentry families in the west country and played a key role in Elizabeth's court, serving as her chief gentlewomen of the privy chamber. See Charlotte Merton, 'Astley [Née Champernowne], Katherine (d. 1565), Courtier', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68016>.
[54] Though the composition of the voyage and its supporters remained largely men from the south of England.
[55] See James McDermott, 'Peckham, Sir George (d. 1608), Colonial Adventurer', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21743> for more detail on Peckham's life.
[56] Thomas Churchyard, *A Discourse of the Queenes Majesties Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk*, sig. Kiii$^{r}$.
[57] Ibid., sig. Hiii$^{r}$.

voyage as being divinely inspired and praised its leader for leading a *vita activa*: an active life focused on pursuing service and duty rather than personal gain.[58] Other works built on this theme, mostly notably *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* by Richard Hakluyt, published in 1582. Hakluyt worked on the volume throughout 1580 and 1581, and its publication was intended to coincide with the preparations for the voyage and drive investment.[59] It was dedicated to Philip Sidney, who remarked to Edward Stafford (Hakluyt's employer and the English ambassador in Paris) that he was 'half persuaded to enter into the journey […] verey eagerly, whereunto your Mr Hackluit hath served for a very good trumpet'.[60] Like *Principal Navigations*, *Divers Voyages* was a collected and edited series of texts designed to establish a specific narrative of English history and simultaneously to promote future endeavours. Likely owing to worsening Anglo-Iberian relations, and possibly in line with the explicitly anti-Iberian aims of Gilbert's venture, Hakluyt did not include any Spanish or Portuguese authors despite their detailed knowledge of the area.

*Divers Voyages* was Hakluyt's first publicly available work, and as such it marked his introduction to a wider reading audience. Hakluyt used this opportunity to express his fervent belief in the benefits of the colonisation of North America, writing in his dedication to Sidney that 'I marvaile not a little […] that since the first discoverie of America […] we in England could never have the grace to set fast footing'.[61] Hakluyt's use of the word 'grace' here is telling, his implication being that divine assistance is necessary for the English to effectively colonise, but that such support had so far been

[58] Erzsébet Stróbl, 'A Vision on Queen Elizabeth's Role in Colonizing America: Stephen Parmenius's *De Navigatione* (1582)', in *Colonization, Piracy, and Trade in Early Modern Europe: The Roles of Powerful Women and Queens*, ed. by Estelle Paranque, Nathan Probasco, and Claire Jowitt (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), pp. 195–222 (p. 205).
[59] Mancall, pp. 92-101.
[60] Ibid., p. 103.
[61] Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, ed. by John Winter Jones (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. 14-16.

unavailable. Rather than necessarily suggesting a failure on the part of the English, viewed in the light of Hakluyt's engagement with religious concepts of ministry and vocation, his phrasing suggests instead that the English had not yet been provided with the grace — by God — to 'set fast footing' on American soil. Gilbert, as the traveller who would correct this oversight, thus becomes a semi-messianic figure, either leading the English 'with' grace, or leading them 'to' grace. In either reading, Gilbert's journey is necessarily viewed as divinely sanctioned, with ideas of religious conversion and territorial expansion implicitly linked. This message was emphasised by Hakluyt's critique of the history of English travel to America:

> If hertherto in our owne discoueries we had not beene led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine then Gods glorie, I assure my self that our labours had taken farre better effecte. But wee forgotte that Godlinesse is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdome of God all other things will be giuen to us, and that as the light accompanieth the Sunne […] so lasting riches do waite upon them that are zealous for the aduancement of the kingdome of Christ and the enlargement of his glorious Gospell.[62]

This reference to 'seeking […] gaine' is likely a nod towards the fisheries of Newfoundland. Hakluyt's image of the sun as a presager of both 'lasting riches' and the 'aduancement of the kingdome of Christ and […] his glorious Gospell' calls to mind the title page of Dee's *General and Rare Memorials*, again indicating his involvement with the imperial framework it developed.

*Divers Voyages* was intended to set out the historic English territorial claim to America through its description of John Cabot's journey. Some of this material was translated from Latin to ensure it reached the widest possible audience, including the letters patent issued to Cabot by Henry VII. The nuances of translation from European languages in Hakluyt's work have been examined earlier in the second chapter of this thesis: here translation served a patriotic purpose, as the letters, written by a Catholic king

[62] Ibid, pp. 13-14.

for a Venetian-born man, were effectively repossessed by a Protestant English editor. While working on *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt connected people to the voyage both textually and in person. The most obvious of these connections was that between Stephen Parmenius and Gilbert. Hakluyt, as we know, met Parmenius in Oxford, where they shared a room, and Hakluyt introduced the two men before 1582.[63]

Once the connection had been made, Parmenius quickly became an enthusiastic supporter of Gilbert's voyage, publishing *De Navigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti* [Of the Voyage of the Distinguished and Courageous Knight Humphrey Gilbert] in June 1582. The copy of *De Navigatione* currently held in the Huntington library particularly demonstrates the reach of this work: it is a presentation copy originally given by Parmenius to his friend Gothfried Brumann in June of that year.[64] Brumann was a French apothecary, patronised by Walsingham, who met Parmenius when treating his friend Edward Unton. Brumann had previously been involved with Martin Frobisher's voyage to Meta Incognita in 1577, and David Quinn considers it likely that the two became friends based on their shared European Protestant histories and interest in this 'new world'.[65] The potential of disseminating Parmenius's works to readers like Brumann was likely a factor behind his choice to write the poem in Latin: it both elevated Gilbert's journey to the status of a classical odyssey and simultaneously made it accessible to readers outside England.

When Gilbert's fleet finally departed on the 11th June 1583, it consisted of five ships: the *Delight, Bark Ralegh, Golden Hind, Swallow* and the *Squirrel*. The *Bark Ralegh* returned first, coming back to England within two days due to a lack of supplies. By the

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[63] *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583*, ed. by David B Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 11. See the first chapter of this thesis for more discussion of Parmenius's work.
[64] San Marino, Huntington Library, MS 17387.
[65] Quinn and Cheshire, pp. 27-9.

end of July, the remaining four ships had sighted Newfoundland, and they entered the harbour on 3 August. Gilbert promptly claimed the island in Elizabeth I's name, imposing his authority on the fleets stationed at the fisheries by claiming possession of the land and then leasing it back to them — a charge the fishermen were forced to pay in order to continue working.[66] Parmenius's thoughts on Newfoundland upon his arrival are recorded in a letter to Hakluyt, and they contrast greatly with the optimism shown in *De Navigatione*. He glumly recorded that regarding 'the maner of the country and people […] I see nothing but a very wildernesse'.[67] Its native people, prime targets for conversion, had already been driven inland away from intruders, while the inhospitable 'wildernesse' was a major reason why, despite the strength of the trade, the island had not yet been settled by traders. Parmenius wrote that '[polar] Beares […] appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey' and that 'the great heapes, and mountaines of [ice] in the middest of the Sea have taught us […] how cold it is in the winter'.[68] Parmenius was briefly excited by a visit to 'Penguin island' but upon arriving wrote that 'wee neither sawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the winds serving for our course directed to another place'.[69] The reality of Newfoundland, it transpired, was markedly different from the literary image constructed in the name of promotion.

Despite these disappointments, Gilbert continued with his original plan and set sail with three of the ships to travel south along the coast to discover and settle new land. On 29 August, the *Delight* capsized, taking mineral specimens, maps and crew members along with it — and amongst them, Stephen Parmenius.[70] After this disaster, the remaining crew insisted on returning to England immediately, and Gilbert was forced to concede. Around

[66] Rapple.
[67] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), pp. 162-4 (p. 162).
[68] Ibid., p. 163.
[69] Ibid., p. 164.
[70] See Quinn and Cheshire, pp. 58-65 for an account of the wreck.

midnight on 9 September 1583 the ships sailed through a strong storm and the *Squirrel*, with Gilbert on board, was wrecked: he was last seen standing on the deck of the ship shouting that 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land' before he was lost beneath the waves.[71] Gilbert's death marked a shift in focus for the Anglo-American community. The authority of his letters patent passed to his brother Walter Raleigh, who placed more importance on establishing settlements further down the coast. Hakluyt, in his depiction of the voyage in *Divers Voyages* and *Principal Navigations*, would serve as Gilbert's primary eulogiser and archivist. To create a narrative of these voyages for the reader, he included accounts from sailors, copies of the letters patent, and his final letter from Parmenius. George Peckham, the leader of the Catholic group which had invested in the voyage, had written *A true reporte, of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the new-found lands*, his narrative of the events leading up to Gilbert's death; this too would be included in *Principal Navigations*. However, Gilbert's death did not mark the end of his role within Anglo-American colonisation. As Mary Fuller noted, he was 'a key node in a thickly connected network': by re-creating this network we can examine exactly what his role was and how he effected it, examining also the afterlife of his voyage and its effect on the community.[72]

**Hakluyt and the Anglo-Newfoundland Community**

Unlike the mercantile basis on which the Levant and Russia network maps could be created for this thesis, there was no Newfoundland Company established while Hakluyt was writing *Principal Navigations*. With Gilbert's death and the passage of the patent's authority to his brother Walter Raleigh, the English-Newfoundland trade routes returned to

[71] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 159.
[72] Fuller, 'Early Ventures: Writing under the Gilbert and Ralegh Patents', p. 17.

being primarily used by the well-established fisheries, and as these are not well documented, there is little data available on their membership between 1583 and 1600. The historiographical focus on Gilbert's voyage does mean, however, that many of the documents surrounding his voyages have been preserved in archives and transcribed by scholars. David Quinn's *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* is an invaluable resource which contains transcriptions of all the manuscript and the print material surrounding the voyage known to Quinn. I have collected data from these sources to produce a network map of the English community in Newfoundland between, roughly, 1578 and 1600 (figure 38).[73]

Two limitations of this map owing to the method of data collection are worth noting, though neither of them significantly limits its research applications. Firstly, while the importance of Humphrey Gilbert to the map and its structure can be seen clearly (he is represented by the large pink node at the top of the map), he and many of the people who sailed with him in 1583 were lost at sea, and so were not involved in the publication of *Principal Navigations*. It would be useful to be able to remove Gilbert from the network map to see how the structure of the community changed after his death, but as the data has been recorded as an adjacency table this is technically difficult.[74] This difficulty, however, speaks to the importance of Gilbert within the historiographical framing of the Anglo-Newfoundland community.

[73] 'Roughly' as there are a number of family connections or established working relationships which were relevant for the years 1578-1600 but which originated before 1578. The approximate start date of these relationships, where known, has been recorded in the metadata.

[74] In an adjacency table only the relationships are recorded: this saves a considerable amount of time and reduces potential errors, but means that within my current software restrictions it is impossible to remove Gilbert from the network map without also removing the people who were only connected to him.

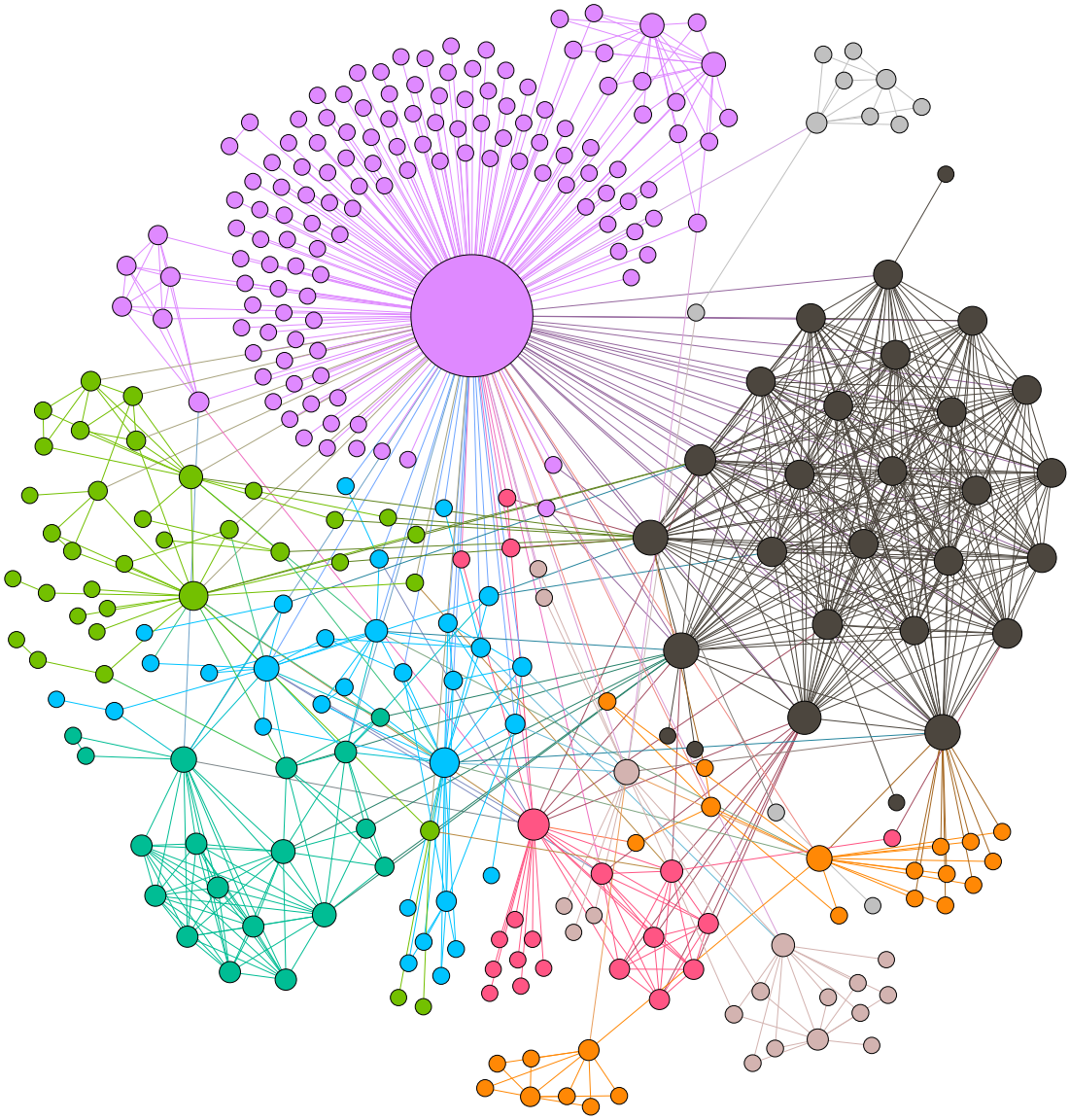


*Figure 38. Network map charting the Anglo-Newfoundland community, 1578-1600. A version with labels is available in Appendix B.*

Secondly, as the map covers a period of over twenty years, I attempted to collect death dates in order to isolate the figures who were still alive when Hakluyt was compiling *Principal Navigations*. This is difficult to do accurately: for many of the people named their death date is unknown and is likely to remain unknown. Either they left no will, they did but it has been lost, or there is no way of determining for sure whether a death record applies to them without biographical material (which, in turn, is often unavailable). This

means that there is little gain to be had from using death dates as a limiting factor in the network map, as the data would only be partially complete and therefore more likely to indicate false results. Preserving the death dates in the associated metadata is still a useful exercise, as it functions as a rough indicator of periods of significant structural changes to the community: for example, of the ten figures with the highest weighted degree, six died before 1600 and three before 1590 (possibly four, since Anthony Parkhurst's death date is unclear). Over the course of the period represented by this network map, the community thus appears to have undergone significant shifts through the loss of these significant figures. The limitations of this methodology also serve as an informative point in the analysis of the community. Whereas for the analysis of the Muscovy Company information on death dates was relatively available, that the approach is not useable here indicates that the community surrounding Newfoundland was not one which was 'naturally' recorded in the archives.[75]

Owing to these limitations, and like the network map representing the Anglo-Russia community, this map represents all the data collected for the roughly twenty-two-year span cumulatively rather than attempting to delimit it temporally.

[75] 'Naturally' is here used not in reference to nature, but rather to the constructed nature of archives: no archival collection is entirely neutral, and state archives in particular represent the state's judgement of what deserves preservation. Records of the lives of important mercantile figures – generally men – fall into this category, while the lives of sailors and women often do not [for discussion of the 'nature' of archives, see Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)].

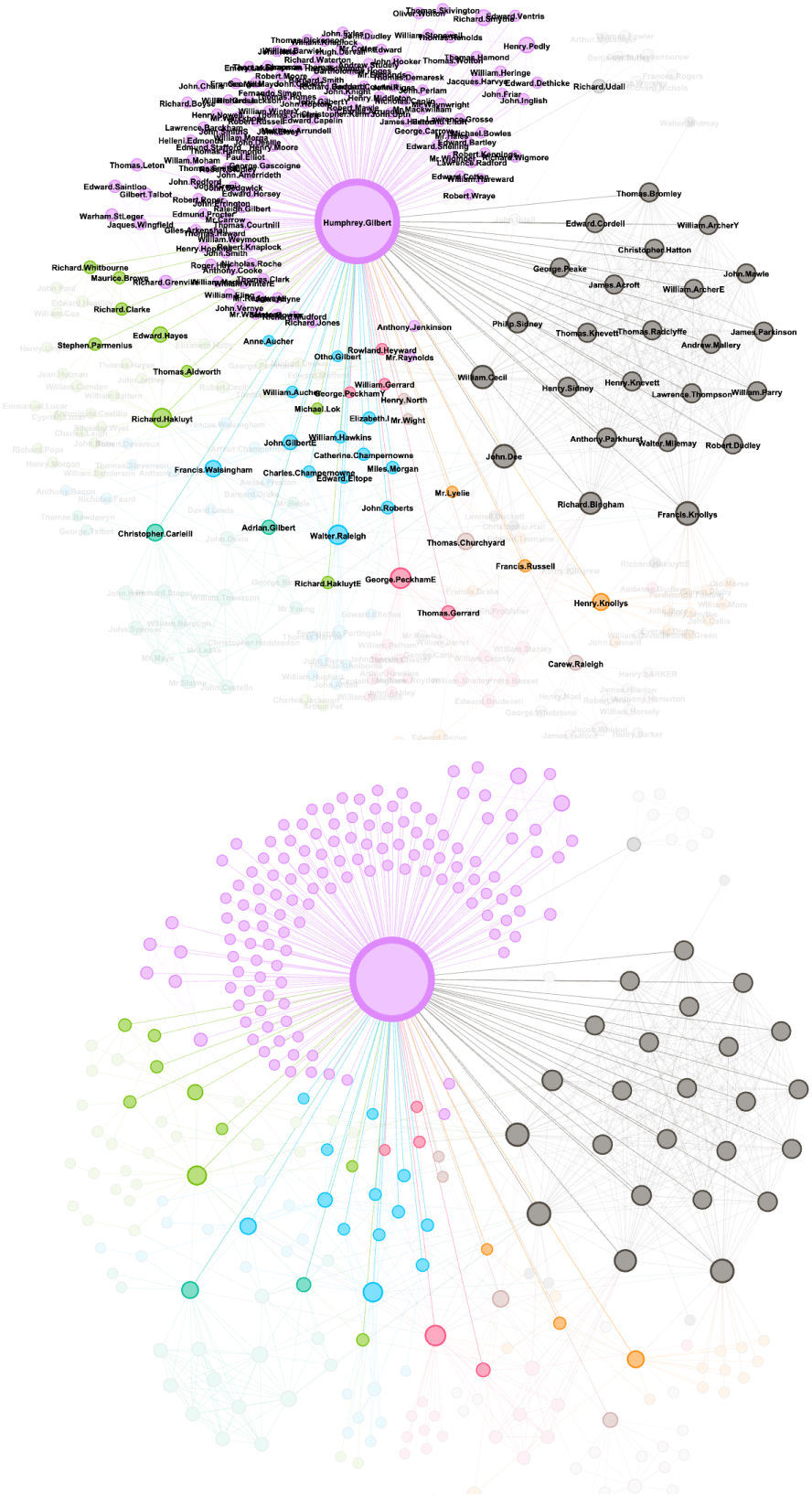



*Figure 39a (top). Extract from figure 38 highlighting Humphrey Gilbert's connections (with labels).*

*Figure 39b (bottom). Extract from figure 38 highlighting Humphrey Gilbert's connections (without labels).*

As can be seen from figures 39a and 3b, Gilbert's connections were many and various. With the sub-networks coloured by modularity and Gilbert's own connections specifically highlighted, the wide-ranging nature of his relationships becomes apparent. He has a connection to nearly every sub-network, connecting a wide number of people to his venture. A key example is the group of names around the top left of the map clustering around Gilbert, indicated in pink. These names come largely from one source: the 'Additional articles of Agreement between Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the Adventurers' written in December 1582.[76] This document lists the personages who 'by the free gift and full consent […] of the said Sir Humfrey […] shall have lawfull freedome and free trade […] [within all the places] nowe intended to be discovered', as well as the names of people who 'with their serverall somes of monny and comodities Adventured with the said […] Gilbert'.[77] The second list in these articles (of those who paid 'somes of monny and comodities') documents a geographically limited demographic, primarily naming tradesmen in Southampton.[78] Appended to it is a shorter list of names of those who had not yet 'putt in their stokes [stakes]': again, primarily men from Southampton.[79] These lists demonstrate the demographic variety of people associated with Gilbert's voyage. The personal histories of drapers and yeomen from Southampton are less likely to have been recorded than those from London, and even those are again less likely than the knights and 'esquires' who also patronised the voyage.[80] With this in mind, names from this list are

[76] Quinn, *Voyages*, II, 326-335. The manuscript can be found in 'December 1582', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1581-90*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1865), pp. 77–81.
[77] Quinn, *Voyages*, II, 329-30.
[78] Notably, this list does have one woman, a 'Helleni Edmondes of Suthampton widowe'. Trade wise, the list contains a number of 'marchants' as well as a 'shipmaster', two 'beerbruer's and several 'drapers'.
[79] This time two clerks, two merchant and six yeomen. 'Dionis Brett' may be a woman, as variants of the name are used for both men and women in the period; otherwise the list consists only of men.
[80] For detail on the social composition of the groups from Southampton investing in Gilbert's voyage, see Nathan J. Probasco, 'Competition Drives Innovation: Assembling Gilbert's Expedition', in *Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the Elizabethan Expedition: Preparing for a Voyage* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), pp. 185–214.

represented on the map as being connected to Gilbert, rather than to each other. This initial analysis clearly supports Fuller's view of Gilbert as a well-connected node.

Though Gilbert's status and the venture's historiographic significance means that it was well documented, these records focus primarily on the men involved with the venture who were based in London, while the established migratory communities connected to Newfoundland have received less attention. Though techniques such as network mapping can be used to indicate areas where data is missing, by design they cannot include it. These under-mapped communities represent significant areas for potential future archival research.[81] The communities in Southampton and Bristol are the most obvious example, but another comprises of the women connected with Newfoundland. In later years, women would be integral to the functioning of the fisheries, processing the fish for transport across to Europe, but it is unclear as to whether they were involved with this process from the beginning of the fisheries or whether they joined later.[82] The name 'Helleni Edmonds […] widowe' listed in the 1582 'Additional articles of Agreement' indicates some female involvement with Gilbert's venture within the Southampton community. It is highly likely that there are additional connections within this community which were facilitated by women, as was the case in the previous two chapters for both the Levant and Muscovy Companies.

Some of the metadata also comes from comparison with other network maps. There is a coterie of names which feature on both the Levant and Russia network maps as well: this data comes mainly from the 'Articles of the Muscovy Company relative to Christopher Carleill's Project', and the community it created is represented on the map in light green (figures 40a and b). Carleill, a soldier and naval commander, had a personal

[81] Owing to their closure as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, I have so far been unable to examine archival material in Southampton and Bristol.
[82] See Cell for more information on women's later involvement in the Newfoundland trades.

connection to the Muscovy Company: it had been co-founded by his grandfather, and he acted as an escort for some of its merchants during a journey to Russia in 1582, suggesting a considerable body of personal knowledge.[83] Carleill was also the stepson of Francis Walsingham, as well as the grandson of George Barne, a previous mayor of London.

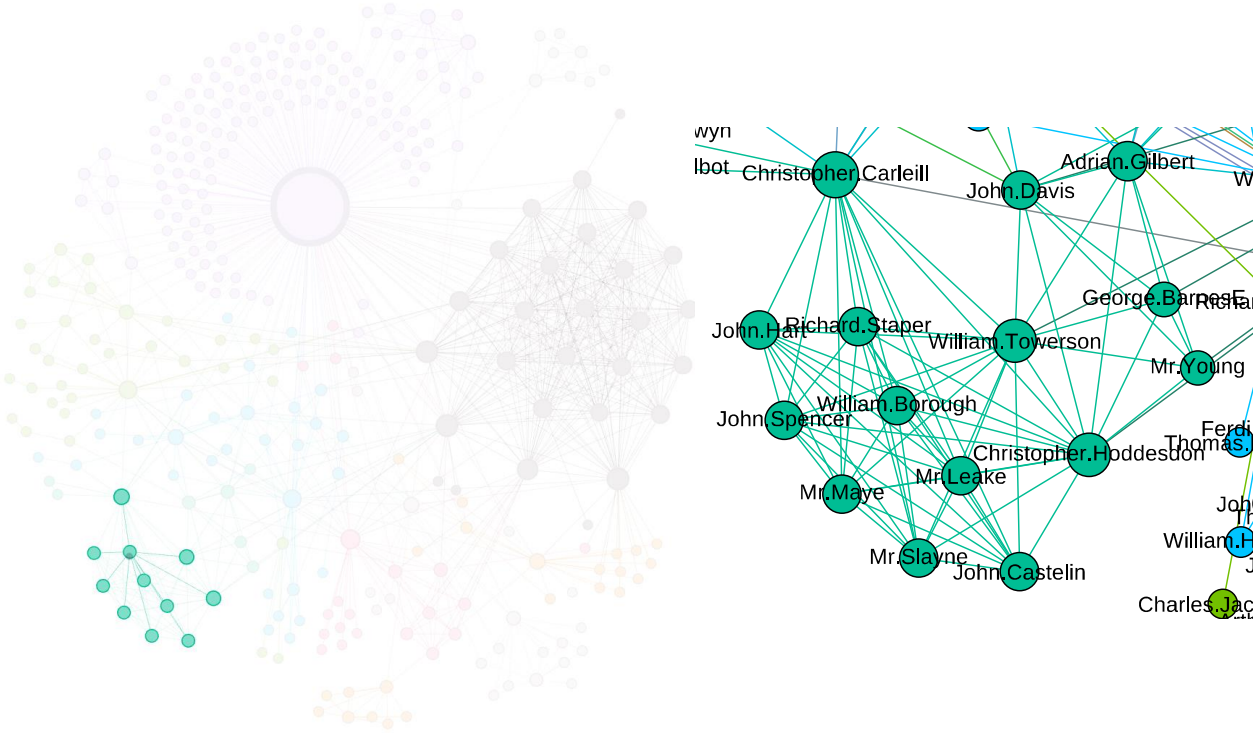



*Figure 40a (left). Richard Staper's connections highlighted within the wider network (figure 38).*

*Figure 40b (right). Extract from figure 38 showing a closer view of the mercantile sub-network.*

The 'Articles set downe […] [on the] behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchants, to conferre with M. *Carlile*, vpon his intended discouerie and attempt into the hithermost parts of *America*' were printed in both editions of *Principal Navigations*, and include the names of several men who were significant figures within London mercantile networks.[84] The 'Articles' noted that 'the Committies are well perswaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with sauage people of a milde and

[83] D. J. B. Trim, 'Carleill, Christopher (1551?–1593)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4668>.
[84] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), pp. 188-9.

tractable disposition'.[85] The date of this document is also significant. Humphrey Gilbert, owing to personal grievances, had forbidden the associates of his planned colony from trading with 'the nowe Marchantes of the Moscovy company', their children, or their issue.[86] Though Carleill nevertheless attempted to acquire investment capital from the Company before Gilbert's voyage, these articles explicitly postdate their involvement to Gilbert's death. Brief examination of this data, combined with extant biographical information, also indicates the importance of family connections in building the community. Carleill was Francis Walsingham's stepson, and other father/son pairs appear on the map, including Philip and Henry Sidney, Henry and Francis Knollys, Humphrey and Raleigh Gilbert, and the George Peckhams Elder and Junior. All of these figures were involved in the Anglo-Newfoundland relationship in various ways, some to a greater extent than others, and their appearance indicates the importance of family networks in bringing people into the community. Family connections were not, however, the only way in which the community was expanded: the most notable example is Parmenius, who was brought in through his friendship with Hakluyt.[87]

Returning to the network map, immediate examination shows that the communities created by the modularity algorithm are neither especially disparate, nor heavily clustered. The most isolated community is coloured in pink and largely represents, as discussed, people based in Southampton or Bristol. There are also two sub-networks within this community which were not connected to these communities. Figures 41a and b consist of men involved in Gilbert's campaign in Ireland who signed a document titled 'Requests for Corporate Privileges in Munster' in 1568. [88] The group includes Richard Grenville, who

[85] Ibid.
[86] Quinn, *Voyages*, II, p. 323.
[87] Ibid.
[88] This can be found in the 'Miscellaneous letters and papers' in the State Papers Ireland, currently held at Kew, The National Archives (TNA), SP 63/26, fol. 84.

would later sign ‘Supplication of certen gentlemen in the west partes for a newe navigacon’ in 1574 along with Christopher Carleill and George Peckham the Elder.[89]

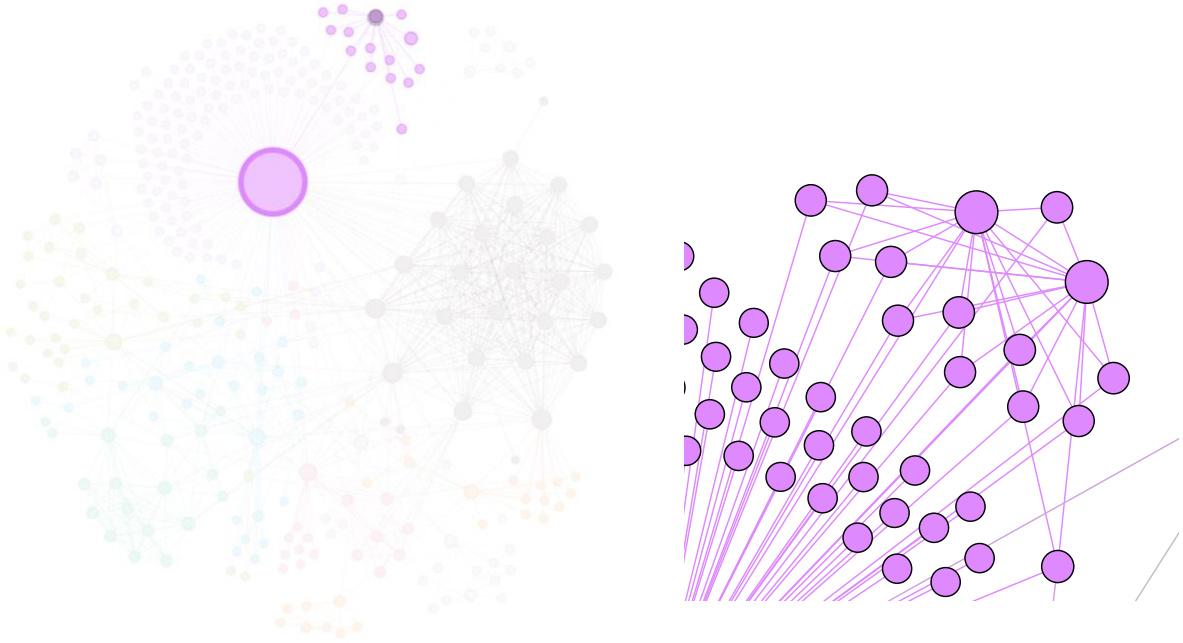


*Figure 41a (left). Signatories of the ‘Requests for Corporate privileges in Munster’ highlighted within the wider network (figure 38).*

*Figure 41b (right). Extract from figure 38 highlighting the signatories of the ‘Requests for Corporate privileges in Munster’.*

The group shown in figures 42a and b represents the recorded ‘names of the shippes officers and gentlemen […] gone in the viage with sir Humfrye Gilbert’ in November 1578, the first venture planned with Henry Knollys. The document includes a limited number of names from Gilbert’s ship named the *Quid non,* ‘Why not’, as well as selections from other ships including the *Hope of Greneway*, the *Red Lyon* and the *Squirrel*.[90] These other ships also appear on the map, and their data forms similar structures: in both cases they are connected to the remainder of the map through their captains, who are well connected men, while the sailor themselves remain fairly isolated sub-networks.

[89] Kew, TNA, SP 12/95, fol. 63.
[90] Kew, TNA, SP 12/126, fol. 49. The reason for referring to the names as ‘recorded’ is that the manuscript only lists a few of the members while acknowledging the existence of many more.

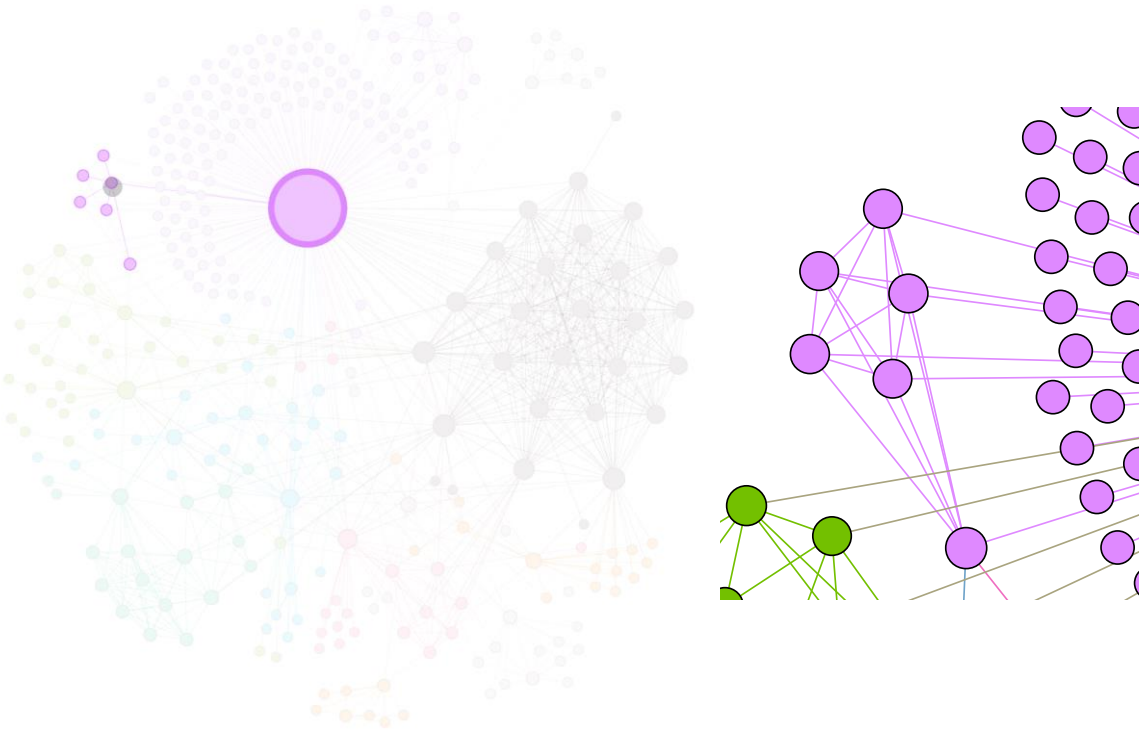


*Figure 42a (left). Signatories of the 'names of the shippes officers and gentlemen […] gone in the viage' highlighted within the wider network map (figure 38).*

*Figure 42b (right). Extract from figure 38 highlighting the signatories of the 'names of the shippes officers and gentlemen […] gone in the viage'.*

It is likely that, if there was more archival material available, these sub-communities would be more closely linked to the remainder of the network — especially in the case of the sailors — but at present their spatial remove again indicates a lack of archival preservation, and a corresponding lack of social status.

Another clustered sub-network in the map is the one represented in dark grey shown in figures 43a and b, which represents the signatories of the 'additional articles' signed between Gilbert and the Merchant Adventurers. These names are those granted 'lawfull freedome and free trade or traffike of marchandize and marchandizing'.[91]

[91] Found in Quinn, *Voyages*, II, p. 329.

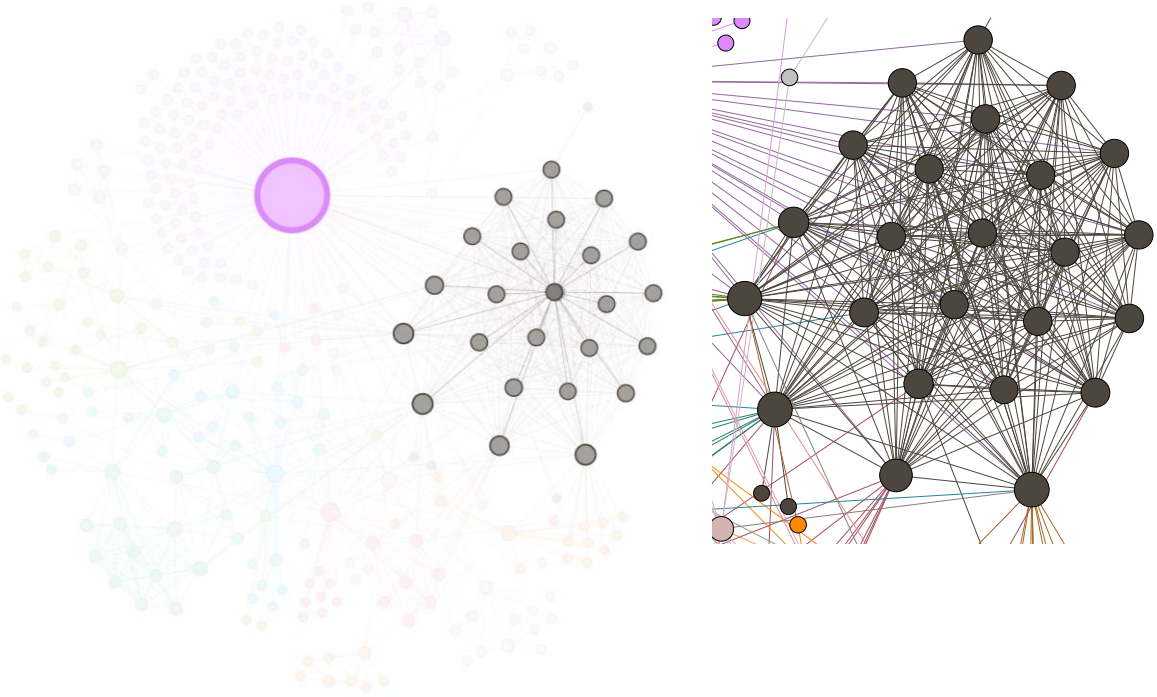


*Figure 43a (left). Signatories of the 'additional articles' highlighted within the wider network map (figure 38). Figure 43b (right). Extracts from figure 38 showing the group formed by the signatories of the 'additional articles'.*

This list consists largely of men connected to the court in some way: it is divided roughly into knights with court positions and 'dyvers other knightes esquires and gentlemen' and Dudley, Hatton and both Sidneys are all named. The majority of the men are connected in other ways as well (be it family connections, court positions, or correspondence), which is why they appear within the network as a closely interlinked community.

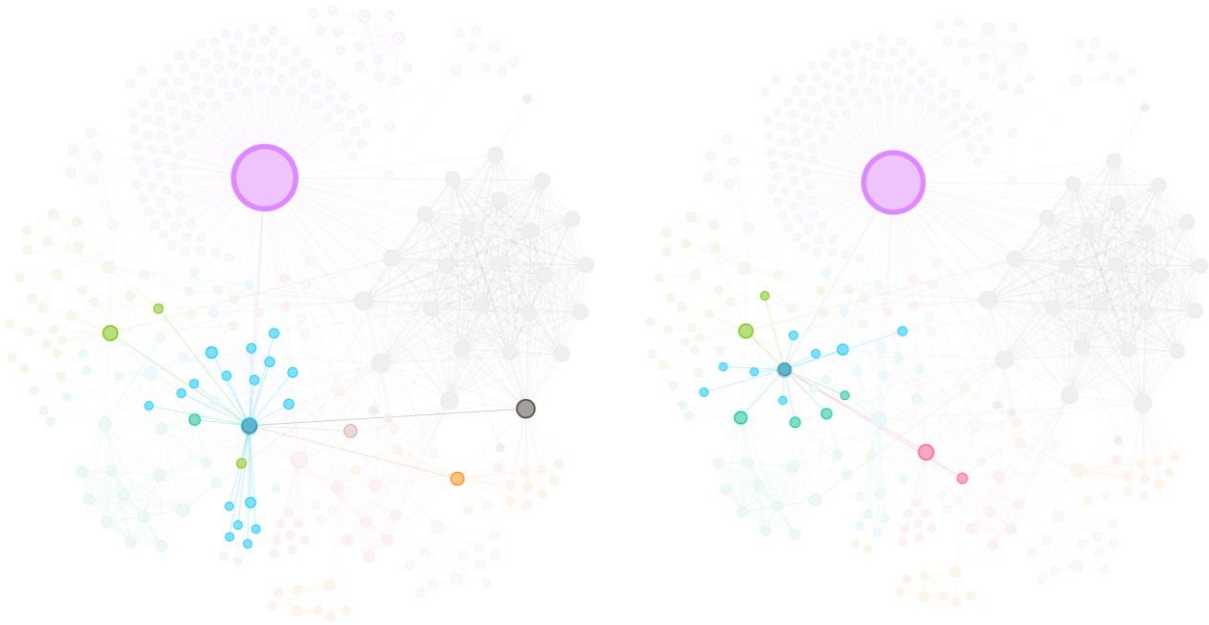


*Figure 44a (left). Francis Walsingham's Newfoundland-related connections highlighted within the wider network map (figure 38).*

*Figure 44b (right). Walter Raleigh's Newfoundland-related connections highlighted within the wider network map (figure 38). The node in pink represents Humphrey Gilbert.*

The remainder of the network is largely un-clustered and consists mainly of two communities. The first is that coloured in light blue (figures 44a and b), which functions as a 'connective' community: that is, it is not heavily clustered, nor spatially isolated within the map, but instead functions to connect different communities on the map. Many of the nodes included within this community are family members of the main figures — for example, Francis Walsingham and his daughter Frances, both family to Carleill, Gilbert's wife Anne Aucher, his uncle Arthur Champernowne, and John and Otho Gilbert.

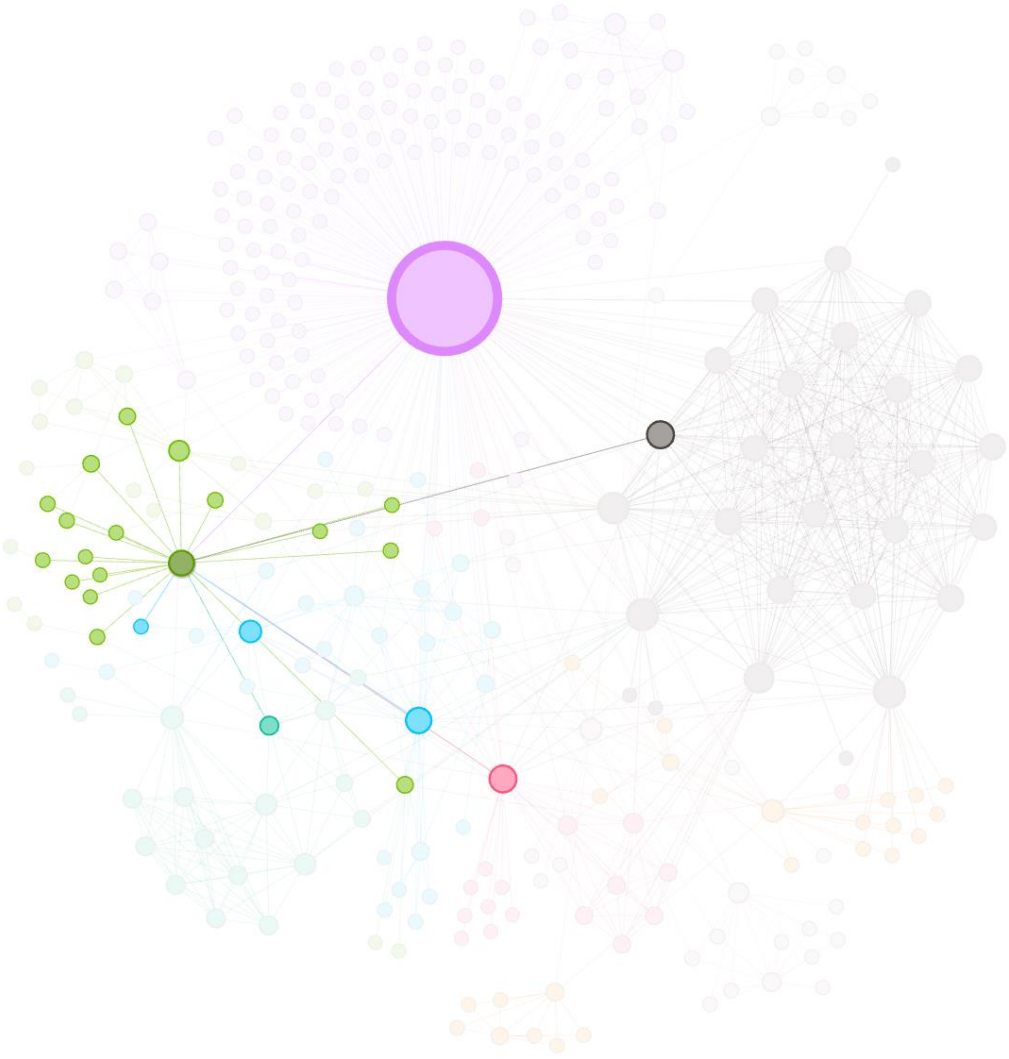


*Figure 45a. Extract from figure 38, with Richard Hakluyt's Newfoundland-related connections highlighted.*

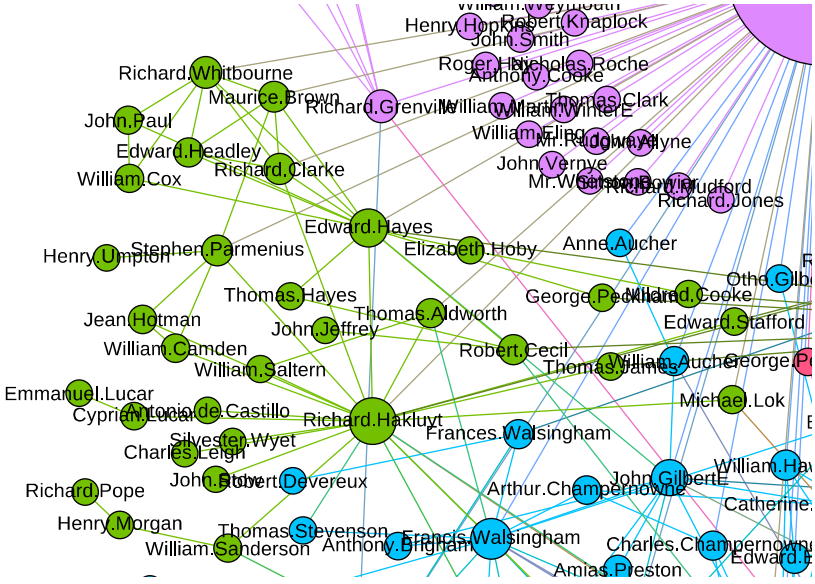



*Figure 45b. Extract from figure 38 showing the sub-network surrounding Richard Hakluyt.*

The final community is the one coloured green (figures 45a and b), which includes Richard Hakluyt. This community includes several of Hakluyt's sources for *Principal Navigations*, including Edward Hayes, Cyprian Lucar, and Parmenius. This community is not significantly clustered. The node representing Hakluyt is marginally more heavily weighted than the surrounding nodes, but not to the extent seen in the Levant or Russia maps, suggesting that though his significant status within the community gave him access to material, Hakluyt was not an integral part of the wider network. However, this position was the perfect one from which to document Gilbert's ventures. Hakluyt's connections helped him source material, while his connections to Bristol also gave him an awareness of the south-west's importance for the voyage.[92]

**Newfoundland in *Principal Navigations***

Hakluyt's involvement with Gilbert's voyage predated his work on *Principal Navigations*, and material describing the journey forms a relatively short yet crucial part of both editions.[93] Narratively and structurally, it functioned to presage the journeys commissioned by Walter Raleigh to Virginia which, unlike Gilbert's, did result in the establishment of an explicitly colonial settlement. The material describing Newfoundland came from various sources. Hakluyt's work on *Divers Voyages* provided him with a selection of historic material 'proving' England's claim to America, while his connections to Gilbert gave him access to material documenting the 1583 voyage.[94] The 1589 edition of *Principal*

[92] See, for example 'A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham […] concerning a Westerne voyage intended for the dis|couery of the coast of America [1583]' which references 'some good light given by M. Hakluyt' [Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 182].
[93] Relatively short in comparison to the Levant and Russian material.
[94] Quinn's analysis provides a full list of sources: see *The Hakluyt Handbook*, Second Series, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), II, 338-49 (detailing the sources of *Divers Voyages*); pp. 366-76 (covering Newfoundland material in the first edition of *Principal Navigations*); pp. 430-437 (covering Newfoundland material in the second edition of *Principal Navigations*).

*Navigations* began its section on 'the discourses, letters, priuileges, relations and other materiall circumstances incident [to voyages to America]' with a document describing the 'offer of the discouerie of the west Indies by Christopher Columbus, to king Henry the seuenth, and the kings acceptation of the offer'.[95] This document specifically did not repudiate the Iberian claim, noting that 'God had reserued the sayd offer for *Castile*', and so although Henry VII had accepted the offer 'with ioyfull countenance', the claim still belonged to Spain.[96] With the inclusion of this document, which was excerpted from the Italian work *Historie del Fernando Colombo*, Hakluyt thus undermined the Iberian claim to the Americas by antedating the English interest in America.[97] His interest in displacing the Spanish claim in the Americas had been clear as early as the publication of *Divers Voyages*, as examined in the second chapter.[98] His calculated choice to begin with a document undermining the claim in *Principal Navigations* represents a continuation of these ideas.

In both editions, the Columbus text was followed with material detailing John Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland: the 'letters patent of King Henry the seuenth granted vnto Iohn Cabot, and his 3 sonnes' and a 'record of the rolles touching the voyage of Iohn Cabot and Sebastian his sonne'.[99] Hakluyt's desired narrative is clear from this structure, which made it clear that the land discovered by the Cabot voyages — Newfoundland — belonged to England. In order to reinforce this claim, Hakluyt actually misrepresented historical events. In both editions, he included 'The Voyage of Sebastian Cabota to the North part of America, for the discouery of a Northwest passage […] anno 1497' as one of

[95] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589) STC (2nd ed.) / 12625, pp. 507-8.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Fernando Colon, *Historie del Fernando Colombo* (Venice, 1571).
[98] In the context of the European Huguenot communities who influenced this thinking.
[99] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), pp. 509-12.

these evidentiary documents.[100] The voyage of 1497 was actually led by John Cabot, Sebastian's father: this is clear from the material included under the heading, but with Hakluyt's choice of title the narrative focus was placed instead on Sebastian.[101] This account begins *in medias res*, with an unnamed man asking 'certaine Gentlemen of *Venice*' 'Doe you not vnderstand […] how to passe to *India* toward the Northwest[?]'.[102] Upon being told that they did not, he instructed them to find 'in the city [of Venice] a valiant man […] named *Sebastian Cabot,* who had the charge of those things'.[103] After establishing Cabot's credentials (he 'coulde make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, was 'a very gentle person', and owned 'a large Mappe of the world'), the narrative then moves to report Cabot's speech. In so doing, the text shifts to position Cabot as the narrator, with 'When my father departed from *Venice* many yeeres since to dwell in *England*, to follow the trade of marchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of *London*'.[104] This complex and interlocking series of narratorial identities builds the 'truth' of the account through this movement.

Placing the focus on Sebastian Cabot in the subtitles also served another purpose. While John Cabot was definitely born in Venice, his son's country of birth was less certain. He was described as a Venetian when he first appeared in English records in 1496, but later claimed to be the subject of the King of England, which he could only be through birth since there are no known records of either his or his father's naturalisation.[105] Cabot claimed to Richard Eden that he had been born in Bristol and taken to Venice as a child, but there is no record of this and his father was recorded as present in Venice between

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[100] Ibid., pp. 511-13; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), pp. 6-9.
[101] David Loades, 'Cabot, Sebastian (c. 1481/2–1557), Explorer and Cartographer', *ODNB* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4290>.
[102] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 6.
[103] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[104] Ibid., p. 7.
[105] Loades, 'Cabot, Sebastian', *ODNB.*

1582-5, making it likely a story of convenience which, thanks to the passage of time and lack of records, cannot be entirely refuted.[106] In the 1589 edition, Sebastian Cabot was described as 'borne in the citie of Bristol', and though in the second edition he was referred to as '*Venetian* borne' it was specifically noted that when 'being yet but in maner an infant his parents caried [him] with them into *England*'.[107] Foreign-born aliens in the late sixteenth century were not permitted to refer to themselves as 'native-born', nor — without naturalisation — were they able to purchase or possess lands.[108] Hakluyt did not repeat Cabot's claim to Eden that he had secretly been born in Bristol in the second edition, but through his inclusion of '6 testimonies' all avowing Cabot's loyalty to England, followed with a document detailing 'The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to *Sebastian Cabota,* constituting him *grand Pilot* of *England*', he emphasised Sebastian's loyalty to England from a young age while inaccurately giving the responsibility for the Newfoundland discovery to him, rather than his father.

As well as describing the Cabot voyage through such 'testimonies', letters patents and 'An extract taken out of the map of *Sebastian Cabot,* cut by *Clement Adams* […] which is to be seene in her Maiesties priuie gallerie at *Westminster,* and in many other ancient merchants houses', Hakluyt supplemented England's claim to Newfoundland through the judicious inclusion of 'ancient' material.[109] In the 1589 edition, he included 'The voyage of Madoc the sonne of Owen Gwinned prince of Northwales to the West Indies Anno 1170', and this was reprinted in the second edition, bolstered with an added set of 'verses of Meredith the sonne of Rhesus making mention of Madoc the sonne of Owen Guined, and of his Nauigation vnto vntowen lands'.[110] The voyage of Madoc, which

[106] Quinn, 'Cabot, John', *ODNB*.
[107] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. 512; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 8.
[108] Nandini Das, Joao Vicente Melo, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, 'Ambassador', *TIDE: Keywords* <http://www.tideproject.uk/keywords-home/?keyword_id=40> [accessed 10 December 2019].
[109] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 6.
[110] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), p. 506; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 1.

Hakluyt sourced from David Powell's *The Historie of Cambria*, had previously appeared in print in 1583 in George Peckham's account of Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland.[111] It functioned in *Principal Navigations* to establish England's territorial claim to the entirety of North America, Hakluyt noting in the paratextual material that 'this land must needs be some part of that Countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themselues to be the first finders […] it is manifest that that countrey was by Britaines discouered, long before *Columbus* led any Spanyards thither'.[112] Like Gilbert, Madoc was a second son who lacked an inheritance due to primogeniture. The semi-mythical prince and the soldier thus served as mirrors of each other, Hakluyt implying with his inclusion of the legend that Gilbert was merely continuing a legacy of travel began by the British.[113] In Jessica Hower's study of the Tudor articulation of empire, she identifies the 1570s and 80s as representing a 'critical moment of intensive, even furious experimentation abroad, in tandem with a concerted literary push at home'.[114] A key part of this mode of representation involved borrowing from the past to articulate contemporary ideas of an imperial future.[115] John Dee, for example, gave equal weight to the authority of Arthurian legends, the writings of Abraham Ortelius and Sebastian Cabot in limiting Iberian claims while legitimising the Tudor 'British' claim to the Americas.[116] The inclusion of the

[111] See Mancall, pp. 136-8 for more discussion of the legend's textual history before *Principal Navigations*.
[112] Ibid., p. 1.
[113] The Welsh aspect of this story is particularly notable considering the Tudor connection to Wales, thus more closely connecting the Elizabethan dynasty to this history of travel. See, for more discussion of the legend, Andrew Hadfield, 'Briton and Scythian: Tudor Representations of Irish Origins', *Irish Historical Studies*, 28.112 (1993), 390–408; Christopher Heaney, 'A Peru of Their Own: English Grave-Opening and Indian Sovereignty in Early America', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 73.4 (2016), 609–646; Jerry Hunter, 'Myth and Historiography: One Hundred and Sixty Years of Madog and the Madogwys', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 46.Writing the Americas, 1480-1826 (2016), 37–55.
[114] Jessica Hower, '"The Very Path Trodden by Our Ancestors": The Elizabethan Moment, 1570–1588', in *Tudor Empire: The Making of Early Modern Britain and the British Atlantic World, 1485-1603*, Britain and the World (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pp. 269–331 (p. 271).
[115] Ibid., p. 272.
[116] Ibid., p. 299.

Madoc legend in the first edition of *Principal Navigations*, and its specific tie to Gilbert, represents Hakluyt engaging with this contemporary mode of discourse.

Following these introductory documents establishing the English claim, the 1589 edition has an erratic geographic movement: material documenting travel to unspecified areas of North America is combined with that detailing journeys to Newfoundland or Meta Incognita. This movement structurally obscures the fact that several decades of material relating to Newfoundland are missing. In neither edition are there any documents detailing the English presence in Newfoundland between 1536 and 1570 — precisely when the island was developing as a hub for multinational fisheries without significant English presence.[117] In a document from the 1520s, 'the voyage of two ships […] for the discovery of the North parts […] set out the 20 of May 1526', Hakluyt editorially emphasised this temporal distance from his contemporary readers. In an editorial aside he notes that 'the one [ship] was called the *Dominus Vobiscum* [Lord be with you] […] a name likely to be given by a religious man of those dayes'.[118] England's Catholic history was thus used to reinforce historical distance, the linguistic difference asserting England's contemporary Protestant identity while emphasising the longevity of the Anglo-Newfoundland connection. The persistent vagueness of the text ('North Parts' and 'those dayes') provides a distinct lack of historical detail. Obfuscating the history of the fisheries in this way enabled Newfoundland to be effectively re-discovered in the 1580s by both reader and nation.

The history of the fisheries could not be completely excised from *Principal Navigations*, however. In the 'letter written to Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple conteining a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland […] [in] 1578',

[117] In total in the 1600 edition, there is one document from 1527, one from 1536, one from 1549 and no material covering the 1550s or 60s (Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, II, 430-7).
[118] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 129.

Anthony Parkhurst described 'above 100 saile[s] of Spaniards that come to take cod […] [of] Portugals' and wrote that 'there are not lightly above 50 saile[s] […] of the French nation' and of 'Britons […] about 150'.[119] Similarly, in the 'true Report of the late discoueries, 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' printed in *Principal Navigations*, Peckham used the fisheries as evidence that 'the planting [settling] there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be'.[120] According to him, the 'marueilous cost' of transporting people could easily be defrayed by the assistance of 'the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in *Newfound land* […] who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, sauing some litle fraight with salt'.[121] In **'**A briefe relation of the *New found lande*, and the commodities thereof**'**, Edward Hayes noted that 'in the South parts [of the island] we found no inhabitants, which by all lilkelihood haue abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are sauages altogether harmelesse'.[122] The trade of the coasts was 'Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world' as well as 'trane oiles', 'a very great trade in the bayes of *Placentia* & the *Grand bay*'.[123] Hayes spatially delineated Newfoundland into three zones: the abandoned south, the savage north, and the populated coasts.

These references to the trade meant that it was not entirely excised from *Principal Navigations*, but the careful delineation between the trade of the coast and the unknown remainder of the island enabled Newfoundland to remain unfamiliar for the reader and the expeditionary forces. The communities present on the island — both the indigenous

[119] Ibid., p. 132.
[120] Ibid., p. 177.
[121] Ibid., p. 178.
[122] Ibid., p. 153.
[123] Ibid.

peoples and the fisheries — were given no historical context, unlike the Cabot journey, framed with the Madoc narrative and letters patent, or Gilbert's, framed with the Cabot claim. The elision of this trade from *Principal Navigations* is particularly notable when compared to the depiction of other profitable trades in the work. For example, to show the development of the cloth trade in the Levant material, Hakluyt included documents which listed the prices of various goods over several years, as well as the exact names of various goods in different areas and precise geographic information for navigators or traders. Similarly, within the Russian material, the economic potential of the Anglo-Russian trade was repeatedly emphasised even in explicitly literary verse material, as was the scale and power of the Muscovy Company. By comparison, the Newfoundland material contains only a few documents mentioning the price of commodities like fish, and these are explicitly framed within wider speculative material about the potential for settlement, rather than being intended to function as evidence of mercantile history or established trade. While Hakluyt's editorial aim for other geographic regions was to promote the potential of their trade for England, when it came to the Newfoundland material this was clearly not his primary motivation.

An efficient way to textually claim Newfoundland was through the renaming of its geographic features. In John Davis's account of his journey, he describes passing landmarks such as 'Hope Sanderson', 'Mount Ralegh', 'Totnes rode', 'Exeter Sound' and 'Cape Walsingham'.[124] This practice of naming locations after significant figures is essentially a re-mapping process, with the network of supporters and financers surrounding the community used to physically re-create the community in a new form to permanently mark the network onto the land. The choice of names was deliberately intended to praise the most important figures within the network: Hope Sanderson after William Sanderson, a

[124] Ibid., p. 100.

financial backer of the voyage, Mount Ralegh after Walter Ralegh, and Cape Walsingham after Francis Walsingham. Hayes referred to this naming process in his account of Gilbert's voyage, complaining that 'the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation [Newfoundland], usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countreys, rivers, bayes, capes or headlands as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts'.[125] This, Hayes believed, was their divine right as the English claim to the land, and therefore its nomenclature, 'seemeth strongly defended on our behalf by the powerfull hand of almighty God'.[126] In naming the land, the English could ensure that their community's experience with it became integral to its history. That the land had already been found, settled, and named by indigenous peoples did not register to either Hayes or his contemporaries. Such names act as historiographical tools in their own right, asserting dominant narratives as they become depoliticised through use; thus the modern-day 'Cabot Strait' to the south of Newfoundland still registers John Cabot as the 'discoverer' of the island.

As mentioned previously, the island had been inhabited by indigenous people long before any Europeans 'discovered' Newfoundland. Within *Principal Navigations*, these groups appear only in the text when they interact with English agents, either offering assistance or provoking threats. This relationship — and thus their relationship with the reader — is thus one essentially concerned with violence, either explicit or implicit. A key example is the account of John Davies 'concerning his three voyages made for the discovery of the Northwest passage', taken out of *The worldes hydrographical description* and printed in the second edition of *Principal Navigations*.[127] In this account, Davies describes meeting a group of indigenous people, and records the key words and phrases he

[125] Ibid, p. 145.
[126] Ibid.
[127] John Davies, *The worldes hydrographical description* (London, 1595). Quoted here from Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 104.

and his crew learnt from their language in order to interact with them. These include '*Yliatoute,* I meane no harme', '*Unuicke*, Give it', '*Sawygmeg*, a knife', '*Quoysah,* Give it to me' and '*Canyglow*, Kisse me'.[128] The English translations are nearly all items or imperatives, a linguistic force which implies a behavioural one, and which paints a very clear view of the English side of the interactions: '*Canyglow*' in particular implies the sexual threat facing indigenous women from Davies's crew. This process of transcription and printing 'fixes' the meaning of the words, refracting the indigenous language through English pronunciation and into the vernacular, enacting another form of violence onto its speakers. The English in recording these words actually misunderstood them, missing the determinators in their vocabulary lists.[129] Through this omission, the English presence is silently encoded into the indigenous language.[130] This narratively unrecognised linguistic violence is continually demonstrated in descriptions of English-indigenous relationships in *Principal Navigations*. The account of Richard Hore's voyage to Newfoundland, for example, describes Oliver Dawbeny spotting 'a boate with Sauages of those parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze vpon the ship and our people'.[131] The crew had 'long and so much desired to see […] the natural people of the country', so 'they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them'.[132] The violence of this potential encounter is treated casually, with the people treated as nothing more than curious goods, akin to the 'boote of leather' and 'great warme mitten' the crew eventually took back as trophies instead.

The elision of this native history of Newfoundland, along with the deliberate omission of the history of the fisheries, signals the island's function within the work as an

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[128] Ibid., p. 104-5.
[129] For example, '*Sawygmeg'* actually means 'your knife', rather than 'a knife'.
[130] Matthew Dimmock, 'Ylyaoute! English Engagements with the "Strange Tongues" of the Far North', in *Polyglot Encounters in Early Modern English Narratives of Distant Travels,* 2020.
[131] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 130.
[132] Ibid.

essentially imaginative space. The version of Newfoundland presented in *Principal Navigations* exists through a series of oppositions held simultaneously and encoded in its name: its locations are named for English men and claimed by them through ancient rights, yet narratively it remains a 'new-found land' until its re-discovery. Newfoundland is both an essentially malleable space and a fixed constant. Nandini Das has written on the similar function of Arcadia within the early modern imagination as a site which accommodates a process of memorial layering, but simultaneously resists it through the locating of its identity as a site of loss and absence. It was, in turn, precisely this active resistance which allowed Arcadia to become 'the superlative locus of the act of memory, of the activity of memorial and fictive reconstruction itself'.[133] Arcadia, within this framing, could only be made visible through memorial and imaginative processes; so too can Hakluyt's Newfoundland only exist through the layering of ancient history and linguistic topography onto an imaginative space created through the act of being discovered by the reader. There is a linguistic and geographic connection between the two as well: Acadia, or L'arcadia, was the name given by Giovanni da Verrazzano to a region further down the coast from Newfoundland, as can be seen in figure 37. The other early modern site recalled by this comparison is Utopia, which is also connected to the history of the island through Gilbert's last words: 'We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land'.[134] A connection between Utopia and England's nascent empire pre-dated Gilbert's voyage, with Thomas Smith, a diplomat and political theorist, drawing the connection in the 1570s in relation to a planned colonial

[133] Nandini Das, 'Placing Arcadia', in *Medieval into Renaissance: Essays for Helen Cooper*, ed. by Andrew King and Matthew Woodcock (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), pp. 143–62 (p. 161).
[134] Walter Raleigh, 'The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century', in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discovieries of the English Nation*, 12 vols (Edinburgh: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903), XII, 1–121 (p. 38).

settlement in Ireland.[135] The view of Newfoundland as a potentially Utopian space may therefore have been present in Gilbert's mind even before the voyage.

Newfoundland as it exists in *Principal Navigations*, like Arcadia, relies on these simultaneous processes of memorialisation and reconstruction in order to exist. The potential of America to act as a space where England could memorialise itself had been discussed earlier in the century by Rastell, and this process was closely connected to religious aims. Earlier, in the third chapter of this thesis, I examined in greater detail the conception of *Principal Navigations* as being a text closely attuned to contemporary ideas of textual ministry through engagement with such a process of memorialisation. Hakluyt's treatment of Newfoundland is a further demonstration of the practical effects of this process, and an example of the links between his religious and geographic work. Hakluyt was closely associated with writers connected to Gilbert's voyage engaging with and disseminating imperial rhetoric throughout the 1580s: Dee's *General and Rare Memorials*, for example, and Stephen Parmenius's *De Navigatione*.[136] Hakluyt's own views were clear in 'Discourse', where he wrote of the 'reducinge of infnite multitudes' of American natives 'into the righte and perfecte waye of their salvacion'.[137] As examined by Harris Sacks, 'reducinge' here refers to a restoration of a previous state, suggesting that for Hakluyt, travel to America represents a 'return to lost truth', the 'forward course of history' in effect cyclical.[138] This narrative momentum is mirrored in Hakluyt's editorial choice to begin the Newfoundland material in *Principal Navigations* with documents setting out the English historical claim to the land, with the figure of Madoc mirroring Gilbert: even his structure suggests a cyclical return to rights already established, rather

[135] Hower, p. 279. See Ian W. Archer, 'Smith, Sir Thomas (1513–1577), Scholar, Diplomat, and Political Theorist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25906> for more detail.
[136] Both examined in greater detail in the first chapter.
[137] Quoted in Harris Sacks, '"To Deduce a Colonie', p. 198.
[138] Ibid., p. 199.

than the claiming of an entirely new land. Hakluyt also included a letter written to his cousin Hakluyt the Elder from Anthony Parkhurst, a merchant who worked in the fisheries, 'conteining a report of the true state and commodities of *Newfoundland*' which stressed the importance of 'setting forth […] Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Christian faith', noting that 'hitherto princes haue not bene so diligent as their calling required'.[139] This letter preceded Gilbert's voyage, being written in 1578, and so established evangelism as a natural and commendable reason for travel by drawing a connection between divine favour and evangelism.

The question of divine favour, however, was not straightforwardly shown in the accounts of Gilbert's voyage. This is particularly clear in Edward Hayes's 'The voyage of Sir Humfrey Gilbert to Newfoundland', printed in both editions of *Principal Navigations*.[140] Little is known for certain regarding Hayes's early life, but he was involved with Gilbert's first voyage in 1578 and maintained a vested interest in colonising America after the events of 1583.[141] It is purely thanks to Hayes that Gilbert's famous last words have been recorded.[142] The poignancy of these words have made them a key part of his legend: 'sufficient memorial', according to the Victorian scholar Walter Raleigh, for the man 'who set his hand to the building up of Greater Britain'.[143] By itself, his speech certainly appears a fitting epitaph for a man intent on increasing England's strength through sea travel. Within the wider frame of Hayes's narrative, however, they are considerably less positive. The opening paragraphs of 'The voyage of Sir Humfrey Gilbert' assert that England has been divinely appointed to travel west and evangelise

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[139] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 132.
[140] Ibid., pp. 143-61; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), pp. 679-728.
[141] David B Quinn, 'Hayes, Edward (b. c. 1550, d. in or after 1613)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37524>.
[142] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 159.
[143] Raleigh, 'The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century', p. 38. Raleigh's view of Gilbert's importance was typical — the contemporary *Alumni Oxonienses* credits him as 'the discoverer of Newfoundland', omitting Cabot entirely [*Alumni Oxonienses: 1500-1714*, ed. by Joseph Foster (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891), p. 564].

America, and that once they have, it will mark the beginning of the end for human history — 'the revolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the East, towards & at last unto the West, where it is like to end'.[144] As with Hakluyt's use of 'reducinge' in 'Discourse', Hayes's framing here suggests a belief in the essentially cyclical nature of the world, and trust in a wider divine plan. He wrote early in the narrative that:

> it behoueth euery man of great calling […] vnto this attempt to examine his owne motions: which is the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils vpon the land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation.[145]

In short, a man who is tempted to travel to America by the prospect of riches cannot be furthering God's cause, and so will not be under God's protection. [146] This framing calls to mind Hakluyt's own discussion of the 'most laudable and needfull vocation' of disseminating travel information.[147] By placing his narrative within this frame, Hayes implies that Gilbert, since he was unable to defend himself against the 'irresistable' violence of the sea, did not have divine protection, and had not therefore been called by God to travel.[148] This interpretation is buried within Hayes's long sentences, and as such is easy to miss if one is reading the text looking to admire Gilbert — as Raleigh and many imperial historians were.

Gilbert's focus on the possibility of material wealth rather than spreading the gospel was, Hayes implies, both evidence of the inevitability of his downfall and one of its major causes. Several days after the crash of the *Delight*, Gilbert came aboard Hayes's

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[144] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 145.
[145] Ibid, p. 144.
[146] See Philip Edwards, 'Edward Hayes Explains Away Sir Humphrey Gilbert', *Renaissance Studies*, 6.3–4 (1992), 270–86 for analysis of Hayes's apocalyptic framework.
[147] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589), sig. *2.
[148] Edwards, p. 280.

ship distressed about something. Hayes at first failed to ascertain what was wrong, but eventually 'gathered [the cause] to be ye Ore' lost with the *Delight*, a belief confirmed when Gilbert proceeded to 'beat his boy in great rage' because he had been dispatched to collect the samples before the wreck and had forgotten.[149] Resolutely failing to critique Gilbert, Hakluyt annotated this incident with a marginal note saying 'Circumstances to be well observed in our Generall, importing the Ore to be of a silver Mine', directing the reader only to acknowledge that the ore indicated the presence of potential riches.[150] Hayes, however, implicitly critiques Gilbert shortly after recounting this incident, noting that '[he] had neuer before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed vpon the *New found land*.'[151] As Nathan Probasco has noted in his work, Gilbert's original destination was Norumbega, not Newfoundland. Probasco contends that Gilbert was well versed in the intricacies of this region, and well prepared for his voyage: though he certainly seems to have been very knowledgeable, Hayes's comment here suggests that he was not viewed as such by his crew members. Their distrust of him is evident: though Gilbert insisted that having found Newfoundland, his crew 'needed not to seeke any further', Hayes wrote that

> the greater number of his followers neuertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept vnto himselfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I haue deliuered.[152]

Recalling the silent crowd of witnesses who can affirm the truth of Hayes's account indicates his confidence in its veracity — not least because they, unlike Gilbert, were still alive.

[149] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 158.
[150] Ibid, p. 158.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., p. 159.

This was not the only account included by Hakluyt which critiqued Gilbert. He also included Richard Clarke's narrative detailing the wreck of the *Delight,* which places substantial blame on Gilbert:

> The Generall came up in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best […] The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest […] [he] sayd, my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her Maiesties name, and as I would shewe my selfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I fearing his threatnings […] did follow his commaundement, and about seven of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away.[153]

This differs from Hayes's account, which primarily blamed the crew of the *Delight* for 'keeping so ill watch' and 'sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes and Fifes'.[154] The discrepancy likely arises from a difference in their motivations for writing: Clarke, master of one of the ships, had a reputation to save, while Hayes did not.[155] Placing Clarke's account of the wreck after the end of Hayes's account (with its description of the wreck of the *Squirrel* and loss of Gilbert) also somewhat obscures the fact that while Clarke wrote with first-hand experience of the causes of the *Delight's* crash, Hayes did not. Clarke was the only surviving witness to record the conversation with Gilbert that led to the crash and Hayes, who was not present, was unavailable to narratively offer a rebuttal. Hakluyt makes his view of Clarke's claim clear in a marginal note which reads 'herein Clarke unsenely chargeth Sir Humphrey Gilbert'.[156] This is a stronger editorial criticism than Hayes ever receives: this may partly be because Hakluyt and Hayes were in regular contact, and so Hakluyt felt disinclined to criticise him, but may also be because Hayes's critiques of Gilbert were obscured within his narrative's framing.[157]

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[153] Ibid., p.164.
[154] Ibid., p.156.
[155] Edwards, p. 280.
[156] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), p. 164.
[157] Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, II, 369.

Neither of these accounts was complimentary to Gilbert, and both suggest that he was responsible for the failure of the voyage — either through a lack of knowledge, or because he did not have a vocation. Though Hakluyt reserved his editorial displeasure for Clarke's account, explicitly disagreeing with him in the paratextual material and undermining his narrative, the fact remains that he included it in *Principal Navigations*. Presenting both accounts increased his work's claim to objectivity, but also served to undermine Gilbert's suitability for the voyage, an effect Hakluyt must have been aware of since he took editorial steps to contradict the impression. Within the wider geo-historical movement of the work, Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland served as an opening for the process of colonial expansion, representing the beginning of the English presence in America and one of the key events directly preceding Walter Raleigh's establishment of the Roanoke colony. Little new material was added to describe Newfoundland in the second edition of *Principal Navigations*: the vast majority was simply reprinted from the 1589 edition, making the story of English travel to Newfoundland a closed chapter after Gilbert's death. The text's silence regarding Newfoundland in the 1590s does not mean that there was no ongoing contact with the island — the fisheries were only growing in strength — but for Hakluyt, the island was narratively significant only for the purpose of encouraging colonisation. It remained a site of memorial layering within the work, a locus for proto-imperial mythologising whose textual history did not accurately mirror its physical one because, for Hakluyt's readers and within his narrative, it did not need to. Neither the fishermen nor the indigenous native peoples were likely to read *Principal Navigations*, and so were unlikely to critique the accuracy of the island's reputation. Within Hakluyt's narrative construction, Gilbert's death was not evidence of the inevitable failure of England's imperial expansion, but conversely an indicator of its future success within the inevitable forward motion of history, its failure a source of valuable lessons for

future travellers — as would be proven structurally by his narrative's movement to Walter Raleigh and Virginia. Newfoundland was thus vital structurally both within *Principal Navigations* and to Hakluyt's wider conception of his work as a form of ministerial memorialising. Its narrative maps rather to abstracted ideas of imperial history and development than actual history; the multinational and indigenous history of the island left deliberately unremembered and unrecorded as it became a site of 'memorial and fictive reconstruction' within *Principal Navigations*.

## Conclusion: The future of the 'Elizabethan Lumber Room'

*Principal Navigations* has had a long literary afterlife. Less than one hundred years after its initial publication, it served as a primary source for John Milton's *A brief historie of Moscovia* (1682).[1] Milton cited the 'Papers of Mr. *Hackluit*' last in the list of his sources for *Historie*, but in actuality all of his material was collected from two works: the first volume of the second edition of *Principal Navigations*, and the third volume of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (itself based on Hakluyt's work).[2] The *Historie* was published posthumously, and between writing the work and its preface, Milton composed *Paradise Lost*.[3] Milton's experience reading Hakluyt's work was vital for the imaginative conception of geographic movement and exploration in this, his most famous work. References drawn from *Principal Navigations* include 'cold Estotiland', a fictional island theorised by the Zeno brothers — Venetian explorers whose reports were detailed in *Principal Navigations* — and a description of the wind travelling from 'Norumbega, and the Samoed shore […] with thunderous clouds | From Serraliona […] [to] the Lévant'.[4] The fallen angels in Pandemonium wait for Satan as a 'great adventurer [returning] from the search | of foreign worlds': their intermediary between imaginative spaces, he brings knowledge of the unknown world to them just as Hakluyt did his readers.[5] These scattered references, combined with the sustained process of critical reading and excerption which created the *Historie*, suggest that Milton owed a great debt to *Principal Navigations* and its imaginative potential.

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[1] R. D. Bedford, 'Milton's Journeys North: "A Brief History of Moscovia" and "Paradise Lost"', *Renaissance Studies*, 7.1 (1993), 71–85 (pp. 80-1).
[2] John Milton, *A brief historie of Moscovia* (London, 1582), p. 109.
[3] See Lloyd E. Berry, 'Giles Fletcher, the Elder, and Milton's A Brief History of Moscovia', *The Review of English Studies*, 11.42 (1960), 150–56; Chester Dunning, 'The Rarities of Russia (1662): A Pamphlet Ghostwritten by John Milton', *Canadian–American Slavic Studies*, 47.3 (2013), 347–67 for more on Hakluyt's influence on Milton.
[4] Milton, John, *Paradise Lost*, ed. by Alastair Fowler, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), x. 685-704.
[5] Ibid., x. 440-1.

Milton was not the only author to use *Principal Navigations* for inspiration: Virginia Woolf had an abiding fascination with the work and drew on it for similar purposes over two hundred and fifty years later. Woolf first read *Principal Navigations* as a child after it was 'lugged home' for her from the London Library by her father Leslie Stephen, the first editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in 'five cumbrous volumes in which the printers of 1811 thought good to entomb [Richard] Hakluyt'.[6] When she came to re-read the work in 1918 in preparation for a review of *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century* she found it an exhilarating experience, the text turning out 'on mature inspection to justify over & over again my youthful discrimination'.[7] The narrative of Raleigh's voyage to Guiana provided inspiration for *The Voyage Out* (1915), and her 1928 work, *Orlando*, used the Russian material as a source for its descriptions of sixteenth century England. *Orlando* features the fictional Russian Princess Sasha who arrives 'in the train of the Muscovite Ambassador' — an image directly inspired by the arrival of Osip Napea into London, detailed earlier in the fifth chapter of this thesis.[8] Sasha, as the embodiment of the 'curious obliquity of the Muscovitish temperament', remains a figure of mystery throughout the work, and though Orlando attempts to elope with her, she fails to make the rendezvous and is last seen on the 'ship of the Muscovite Embassy […] sailing out to sea'.[9] The figure of Sasha is similar to the personification of the Russian woman drawn in Turberville's verse: a figure of economic potential who poses an unsettling threat to those who try to anglicise her. Woolf also wrote two critical essays on early modern prose, both of which devoted attention to Hakluyt's work.[10] The second of these in

[6] Quoted from '8 Dec. 1929', *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, ed. by Anne Olivier Bell, 5 vols (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1977), III, 270, quoted in Alice Fox, 'Hakluyt's Voyages', in *Virginia Woolf and the Literature of the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 20–49 (p. 20).
[7] '7. Dec 1918', *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, I, 33.
[8] Virginia Woolf, *Orlando* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2018), p. 22.
[9] Ibid., p. 30, p. 44.
[10] See Fox, pp. 20-49 for analysis of the connections between each of these texts and Hakluyt.

particular, 'The Elizabethan Lumber Room' (1925), set out Woolf's theory that *Principal Navigations* — the eponymous lumber room — 'helped to inspire the greatest age of English poetry' through its rich descriptions.[11] Like Milton, Woolf recognised the literary value of Hakluyt's work and its imaginative potential. Her image of the 'lumber room' also acknowledges that essential tension within *Principal Navigations* between the fragmented texts and the body of the work itself which this thesis has examined.

In the twentieth century, these literary afterlives have seen further refractions. Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials* fantasy series draws heavily on *Paradise Lost,* and its alternate worlds use the geographic terminology of the sixteenth century found in Milton's work which, in turn, was drawn from Hakluyt.[12] 'Muscovy', within one of these alternate worlds, is another version of Russia; North America is divided into countries including 'Hispania Nova' and 'New France', and the Ottoman empire maintains its control on the Levant and north Africa into the alternate twentieth century. All of these topographical names serve as reflections of the geo-political spaces described in *Principal Navigations,* making Hakluyt's impact on Milton's work visible in the works which it inspired in turn: a ripple effect of influence.[13] That *Principal Navigations* provoked an effect in its readers is thus clear from the life of the work after Richard Hakluyt's death in 1616, its literary potential recognised by generations of later writers who have used it as inspiration for their own works.

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[11] Virginia Woolf, 'The Elizabethan Lumber Room' in *The Common Reader: Volume 1*, ed. by Andrew McNeillie (London: Vintage, 2003), pp. 39-47 (p. 43)

[12] For more discussion of these alternate worlds in *His Dark Materials* and their textual debts to Milton, see 'Virtual or Immediate Touch: Queer Adaptations of Paradise Lost in Science Fiction and Fantasy', in *Queer Milton*, ed. by David L. Orvis and Lara Dodds (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 153–77, especially pp. 161-6, and William A. Oram, 'Pullman's Matter: Lucretius and Milton in "His Dark Materials"', *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts*, 23.3 (2012), 418–36.

[13] The use of 'Muscovy' in *Principal Navigations* has been considered in the fifth chapter of this thesis, and the term 'Ottoman' in the fourth. 'New France' and 'Nova Hispania' call to mind the various translated texts Hakluyt was involved in producing, such as Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia* (London, 1609) and Antonio de Espejo, *New Mexico* (London, 1587) — see the second chapter for more detail.

Considering this storied afterlife, a reassessment of *Principal Navigations* which examines the contexts of the work and their literary effects is work valuable to scholarship beyond the fields of Hakluyt studies or the early modern. This thesis offered a reading of *Principal Navigations* which treated it as a literary — and therefore subjective — work, examining cultural contexts of trade, politics and intellectual exchange and their influence on the creation of *Principal Navigations*. Simultaneously the thesis has addressed, through this analysis, three of the current issues within Hakluyt scholarship: the problem of the work's perceived objectivity, a tendency towards a fragmentation of analysis, and the practical problem of 'cherry picking' extracts from the work. *Principal Navigations* is a kaleidoscopic text: it is possible to examine it at both a deeply granular level and as a compendium of nearly two million words. By examining both the wider intellectual contexts which affected the creation of *Principal Navigations*, and the function of its individual geo-political narratives, this thesis worked on both levels.

Each chapter of this thesis has examined a different aspect of the work's engagement with these contexts. The first chapter studied the shifts during Hakluyt's life in the English and Elizabethan articulation of empire, and through this, the intensely multinational nature of the intellectual communities involved with this articulation. The second chapter furthered this enquiry by highlighting the textual mechanisms by which such articulations were made possible, through study of the influence continental European texts had on the development of this English mode of expression. This analysis demonstrated the importance of these continental networks and models to the creation, form and purpose of Hakluyt's 'English' work, complicating critical views of the compendium's expression of an unambiguously English nationalism. The third chapter combined both these focuses of analysis in its consideration of Hakluyt's religious identity, throwing light on a different form of intellectual engagement through discussion

of a manuscript previously unexamined within Hakluyt scholarship. The argument of this chapter built on those of the first two, situating this religious identity within a multinational context and examining its textual influences and articulations. Ultimately, this first section — as well as establishing a firm basis of contextual knowledge for *Principal Navigations* — demonstrated the ways in which Hakluyt's editorial work created and asserted an essentially English identity for *Principal Navigations* which is not borne out by study of its contexts. The work, both in creation and form, was reliant on an essential and productive but essentially unresolved tension, summarised best in the image of the 'corpus' from which this thesis takes its title.

The second half of the thesis built on the context established by the first to examine the representation of three geographic areas in *Principal Navigations* and further interrogate this tension. These case studies were chosen for each representing a different aspect of Hakluyt's editorial aims, owing to their different histories of English interaction. The fourth chapter, and the first of these geographic case studies, focused on the representation of the Levant in *Principal Navigations*. Through its analysis, the chapter demonstrated how Hakluyt's geo-historical narrative, rather than being an objective record of the area's history, actually represented the interests of a specific group of people. Through this study, the chapter shed further light on the editorial processes by which Hakluyt created this narrative, and demonstrated the need to expand critical understandings of the Anglo-Levant relationship. The fifth chapter took a similar analytical approach to the Russian material in *Principal Navigations*, placing it within the contexts of both contemporary attitudes to Russia in England and the wider social networks associated with the Anglo-Russian relationship. This process of re-contextualising demonstrated that the representation of Russia in *Principal Navigations* is, again, not a historically accurate picture — but in contrast to the Levant material, the bias

of this narrative was not due to personal connections, but rather in deference to wider mercantile and diplomatic aims. The final chapter focused on the representation of Newfoundland, and while the previous two showed Hakluyt grappling with the representation of historical mercantile communities, this chapter revealed the textual results of contemporary imperial rhetoric within *Principal Navigations*. Its analysis addressed the ways in which Hakluyt used his editorial position to promote the perspectives of people involved in this mode of rhetoric, rather than depicting an accurate history of Newfoundland. Each of these geographic case studies interrogated how Hakluyt deliberately limited the perspectives presented in *Principal Navigations* — in each case, for different purposes — and why those specific perspectives were preserved. These three chapters thus demonstrated the practical effects which the processes of engagement analysed in the first half had on the geographic narratives of Hakluyt's work.

The two sections of the thesis worked together to examine both the effects of these contexts and answer the question of their extent, influence, and form within *Principal Navigations*. Ultimately, the analysis of the thesis showed Hakluyt's work to be an intensely unstable text, with every process of its creation affected by its editor's personal history and interests. Its claims of objectivity were essentially stylistic: in each of the case studies examined in this thesis, the geographic histories created by Hakluyt were shown to have given only limited views of the region's history. *Principal Navigations* was intended to act as a memorialisation of English history which would spur future readers to action. In this it succeeded, as seen in the reception of the work within imperial historiography, but this thesis has demonstrated that such memorialising should not be confused for objective record; neither should it undermine its value as a literary artefact, where editorial intervention helped to create a hugely influential, resonant image of both the English nation and English agency.

Beyond that overarching argument, there are two aspects that the research undertaken for this thesis has particularly helped to illuminate. The combination of textual, network and literary analysis undertaken here offers a template that could illustrate Hakluyt's representation of regions beyond those on which I have focused, such as South America and India. On a different level, the network analysis of the geographic case studies has also revealed largely unexamined and ignored presences — such as that of women within English mercantile networks, acting as essential actors to connect disparate communities through marriage or investment. The work undertaken in this thesis will hopefully act as incentives to and harbingers of future research.

The place *Principal Navigations* holds in the English literary imagination is a substantial one, but Hakluyt's work does not have an uncomplicated legacy. The beauty of its language, and the sheer amount of detail it provides has made *Principal Navigations* hugely significant as an inspiration for future writers. On an archival note, Hakluyt's work in transcribing and printing such a wide array of material — no matter how detailed or esoteric — has preserved a vast number of documents which would otherwise have been lost, and in so doing has helped generations of scholars examine the lives of people who would otherwise be entirely anonymous in the archives. *Principal Navigations* has also, almost since its creation, played into a nationalist narrative of exceptionalism, becoming an integral part of British imperial historiography. In this framework Hakluyt's work functioned as a representation of a specific historical moment of proto-colonialism and growing mercantile strength which future generations would anachronistically recognise as the beginning of their 'modern' era, rather than a literary and curated work. The text's overarching narrative is one of progress, with knowledge of the world being brought into the vernacular for its readers through the travail of its author collecting records of English travel. In reasserting its essential nature as a literary construct, while simultaneously

offering fresh historical and contextual analysis, this thesis provides an essential basis for re-considerations of the work. This is especially valuable in a world where texts are increasingly read digitally, often making such contexts invisible. *Principal Navigations* is a uniquely valuable text, a treasure trove of material which documents the lives and travels of people from a different world: 'crammed with […] odds and ends of priceless value and complete worthlessness'.[14] In offering a new methodological approach for the analysis of *Principal Navigations* and a fresh consideration of its creation and history, it is hoped that this thesis will support further study of this multifaceted work and its far-reaching impact.

[14] Woolf, *Common Reader: Volume 1*, p. 47.

# Appendix A: Technical Appendix

This technical appendix is divided into three sections: a discussion of the background of network analysis within the humanities with examples of comparative projects used as models for my own methodological approach, a description of the workflow process followed in the creation of each network map, and finally a glossary of key terms within network analysis.

## 1. Network Analysis in the humanities

Francis Bacon wrote in 1605 that:

> the Partition of Sciences are not like severall lines that meet in one angle; but rather like branches of trees that meet in one stemme, which stemme for some dimension and space is entire and continued, before it break, and part it selfe into armes and boughs.[1]

In this, he was continuing a line of metaphorical thought which had existed for centuries. Nothing is naturally a network: they are rather 'an abstraction into which we squeeze the world'.[2] The essential flexibility of this abstractive form gives it huge interdisciplinary resonance, applicable to different forms of knowledge and methodologies.[3] The abstract concept of 'networks' is familiar to humanities scholars as a way of studying complex relationships, but the specific area of visual network analysis has its basis in various fields

[1] Francis Bacon, *Of the advancement and proficience of learning; or, The partitions of sciences* (London, 1640), p. 132, quoted in Ruth Ahnert and others, *The Network Turn: Changing Perspectives in the Humanities*, ed. by Leah Tether and Samantha Rayner, Cambridge Elements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 30

[2] Ahnert et al., p. 43

[3] See, for recent examples within the field of early modern studies, *Reassembling the Republic of Letters in the Digital Age: Standards, Systems, Scholarship*, ed. by Howard Hotson and Thomas Wallnig (Gottingen: Gottingen University Pres, 2019); Joad Raymond, 'News Networks: Putting the "News" and "Networks" Back In', in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 102–29; Raymond G. Siemens, 'Drawing Networks in the Devonshire Manuscript (BL Add MS 17492): Toward Visualizing a Writing Community's Shared Apprenticeship, Social Valuation, and Self-Validation', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts.*, ed. by Michael Roy Denbo (Tempe: ACMRS, 2014), pp. 113–52.

of sociological, anthropological and mathematical studies. All of these fields have developed their own existing corpus of theories, methods and software, which humanities scholars looking to apply the methodology to their own work must recognise.[4] The possibility of applying such visual network analysis within humanities scholarship was first sparked by group of scholars including Albert-László Barabási, Duncan J Watts, and Mark Newman, who between 1990s and early 2000s demonstrated that a large number of real-world networks share an underlying order and follow simple rules, and as such can be analysed using mathematical tools and models.[5] This work popularised the application of network analysis beyond its original fields of mathematics and sociology, and the last decade in particular has seen a marked increase in the number of humanities scholars using such techniques in their own work, as well as a growing concern about the application of digital research methods to humanities projects.[6] In order to examine the potential pitfalls of this approach, and to provide background for my own methodological choices, here follow two recent examples of such projects where network analysis was successfully applied to early modern communities.

A major exemplar for this thesis was Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert's analysis of Marian Protestant letter networks, which used network mapping to indicate previously unrecognised hubs in the community and thus explore how the network was created and

[4] Clare Lemercier, 'Formal Network Methods in History: Why and How?', in *Social Networks, Political Institutions, and Rural Societies*, ed. by Georg Fertig (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 218–310 (p. 220); Micki Kaufman and others, 'Visualizing Futures of Networks in Digital Humanities Research' (presented at the 12th Annual International Conference of the Alliance of Digital Humanities, Montreal, Canada: Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations, 2017).

[5] See, for examples, Albert-László Barabási, *Linked: The New Science of Networks* (Cambridge, Mass: Perseus Pub, 2002); Duncan J. Watts, *Six Degrees: The Science of a Connected Age* (New York: WW Norton, 2004); Watts, 'The "New" Science of Networks', *Annual Reviews*, 30 (2004), 243–70; Barabási, Watts, and Mark Newman, *The Structure and Dynamics of Networks* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

[6] See Lauren F. Klein and Matthew K. Gold, *Digital Humanities: The Expanded Field* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016) for in-depth analysis of these concerns.

sustained while under threat.[7] To build the dataset of this network, the Ahnerts used contemporary early modern texts – primarily *Actes and Monuments* — alongside extant manuscript material. This approach is highly labour intensive, but feasible since there was a limited amount of material available. The resulting network in the study contained 377 individuals (nodes) and 795 relationships (edges), making it an unusually large study within the field of quantitative sociology, where studies generally analyse networks with fewer than 100 nodes.[8] The Ahnerts discovered, through their analysis, a number of figures with high betweenness centrality whose importance within the network had previously not been recognised, thus indicating one useful application of such techniques to historical networks.

A second case study of network mapping being applied to early modern research projects is the *Six Degrees of Francis Bacon* project, which aims to examine the social networks of early modern England through mapping the connections of Francis Bacon. The map is hosted online and open to crowd sourced contributions, and so has expanded considerably since its original creation to encompass a much wider social network.[9] Unlike the Ahnerts' study, this dataset was created by harvesting data from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, a process which did not require manual data entry. The *ODNB* was chosen as a source because it is a comprehensive, well-established, highly standardised and actively maintained collection of biographical material. The initial harvested data set contained 13,309 nodes: significantly larger than that created by the Ahnerts.[10] While the relationships were integral to the Ahnerts' process of data collection, this data harvesting

[7] Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, 'Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach', *ELH*, 82.1 (2015), 1–33. See also Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E Ahnert, 'Metadata, Surveillance and the Tudor State', *History Workshop Journal*, 87 (2019), 27–51.
[8] Ahnert and Ahnert, 'Protestant Letter Networks', p. 6.
[9] Michael Finegold and others, 'Six Degrees of Francis Bacon: A Statistical Method for Reconstructing Large Historical Social Networks', *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 10.3 (2016), 1–13.
[10] Ibid., p. 1.

technique meant that the nodes were collected independently from their relationships. The team working on the *Six Degrees* project wrote code which conducted linguistic analysis on the *ODNB* pages in order to establish a set of probabilistic edges between their set of nodes. This data harvesting approach thus established a large base network of people and relationships, explicitly designed to encourage scholars to expand and refine it. *Six Degrees* thus provides a useful framework for potential analysis, but it is not without significant drawbacks.

While data harvesting collects a vast amount of data — far more than could be collected by manual input — it risks replicating the biases inherent in its source material. The *ODNB*, while an exceptionally useful resource, is ultimately 'the national record of men and women who have shaped British history and culture, worldwide, from the Romans to the 21st century'.[11] It has an inherently nationalistic focus, with '[people] who shaped history and culture' interpreted differently by different generations of editors and by definition, a reflection of contemporary prejudices and principles. While the current editorial team are actively working to expand the number of entries on women, LGBT+, Black, Arabian, and Asian people, when the *ODNB* was begun in 1882 members of these groups were not routinely included.[12] The original *Dictionary of National Biography* heavily emphasised the political, scientific and literary accomplishments of men, dedicating only 5% of its entries to women and only 2% within the date range 1500-1700.[13] As of September 2020, the *ODNB* contains 73,319 entries: of these, only 9,173 are on women.[14] This issue of representation remains particularly pressing for earlier entries:

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[11] 'About', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2020 <https://www.oxforddnb.com/page/about> [accessed 17 September 2020].
[12] See Alison Booth, 'Fighting for Lives in the ODNB, or Taking Prosopography Personally', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10.2 (2005), 267–79 for detail on the creation of the *ODNB*. It is worth noting that it is particularly difficult to trace historical LGBT lives owing to the prosecution of homosexuality, making the exact number of these entries already present almost impossible to assess.
[13] Finegold and others, p. 3.
[14] The *ODNB* also currently does not code for a way to search for figures who do not define themselves within this gender binary, adding another potential inaccuracy.

there are 12,394 entries focusing on figures active between 1500 and 1650, and of these 782 are on women. These 12,394 entries also overwhelmingly represent white people — as of September 2019, there were 6 entries describing the lives of Black people in the United Kingdom and Ireland between 1500 and 1650.[15]

Basing a network on the data provided by the *ODNB* thus risks replicating its overwhelming focus on the lives of white British men, and in so doing missing valuable information. For example, as of February 2018 there was no existing edge on the *Six Degrees* map between Walter Raleigh and Humphrey Gilbert, despite their being half-brothers. This was because they were maternal half-brothers, and their mother (Catherine Champernowne) was recorded under her married surname in their entries: different in both cases owing to her multiple marriages. The code which harvested relationships from the *ODNB* entries had therefore failed to recognise any connection between the two men, while Catherine Champernowne herself failed to appear on the map at all.[16] These limitations do not undermine the potential of the *Six Degrees* project, which has served to increase interest in the practise of network mapping within early modern studies as well as providing a useful basis for further study, but they do indicate that such an approach is largely inefficient for studying networks of less well-documented figures. They also act as a reminder that the biases of the source material will be inherent, to some degree, in any data set created by using them. Though it would be quicker to harvest the data from digitised sources, the approach taken to data collection for this thesis is closer to that of the Ahnerts in order to avoid these limitations. Like the network in that example, the material collected for analysis in the networks described in this thesis has been done manually and

[15] 11 entries describing black lives in the UK and Ireland before 1700 were added in October 2019, bringing the total to 17.

[16] The code was designed to only represent nodes if they appeared in more than five instances to avoid cluttering the map: Catherine Champernowne, along with many women, did not and so does not appear [Finegold and others, p. 4]. A relationship between Gilbert and Raleigh has since been entered into the open-source map.

comes from one major primary source — *Actes and Monuments* there and *Principal Navigations* here, as well as a number of archival and secondary sources. These secondary sources primarily consist of the *ODNB*, with an awareness of its limitations as detailed above, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* by E. G. R. Taylor, which collates material mainly found in manuscript, and *The Hakluyt Handbook*.[17] These materials form the core of printed source material. The archival material is sourced from three major archives: the British Library, the Bodleian, and the *State Papers Online*. A more detailed list of sources, including a list of manuscript material, is available in the bibliography.

## 2. Thesis Workflow

For each geographic chapter, I went through primary and secondary sources in order to extract data on the relationships which comprised the community associated with that geographic region. This meant limiting the relationships only to those associated with the workings of that specific community — for example, a merchant in England writing to a factor in the Levant, or a letter from Elizabeth I to Tsar Ivan of Russia. Secondary sources were particularly useful here for gathering data on relationships which were not recorded in archival material, or for which the archival material had since been lost. This part of the data collecting process also reaffirmed the importance, in each geographic case study, of taking into account the processes behind the creation of the 'official' textual archive associated with the region (particularly of note in the Newfoundland chapter). Whose voices and experiences were preserved in the archives was, in each case, a point of interest

[17] *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935); David B. Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook*, Second Series, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974).

in itself, and the process of data cleaning made it clear that the archives were not neutral sources of material.

| | A | B | C | D | E |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Source | Target | relationship_type | misc info | reference |
| 798 | Walter.Raleigh | Charles.Champernowne | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 799 | Walter.Raleigh | John.Flere | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 800 | Walter.Raleigh | Thomas.Gholborne | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 801 | Walter.Raleigh | John.Antoll | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 802 | Walter.Raleigh | William.Hugford | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 803 | Ferdinando.Portingale | Edward.Eltope | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 804 | Ferdinando.Portingale | Charles.Champernowne | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 805 | Ferdinando.Portingale | John.Roberts | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 806 | Ferdinando.Portingale | John.Flere | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 807 | Ferdinando.Portingale | Thomas.Gholborne | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 808 | Ferdinando.Portingale | John.Antoll | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 809 | Ferdinando.Portingale | William.Hugford | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 810 | Richard.Udall | Cowrte.Heykenborow | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 811 | Richard.Udall | Richard.Nichols | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 812 | Richard.Udall | Thomas.Fowler | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 813 | Richard.Udall | Benjamin.Butler | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 814 | Richard.Udall | Frances.Rogers | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 815 | Richard.Udall | George.Worsley | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 816 | Richard.Udall | Arthur.Messinger | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 817 | Cowrte.Heykenborow | Richard.Nichols | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 818 | Cowrte.Heykenborow | Thomas.Fowler | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 819 | Cowrte.Heykenborow | Benjamin.Butler | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |
| 820 | Cowrte.Heykenborow | Frances.Rogers | worked_together | sailed together in the 1578 | Voyages, Vol 1, p.212 |

*Figure 46. Extract from the dataset used for analysis of the Newfoundland community.*

This data was collected in a spreadsheet, with data entered across a number of categories: ‘source’, ‘target’, ‘relationship_type’, ‘misc_info’ and ‘reference’. ‘Source’ and ‘Target’ both refer to the two people involved in the relationship; ‘relationship_type’ was a column of metadata used for reference; ‘misc_info’ similarly provided additional contextual metadata, and ‘reference’ contains a record of the data’s provenance. Where available, data was also included for the earliest record of the relationship and the last in order to analyse chronological changes, but this was not always possible.[18] The category

[18] Where this has been done, I have indicated it in the chapters: where it was not possible, I have expanded on why not and what this, in turn, informs us about the network.

'relationship_type', it should be noted here, was entirely subjective: I used a number of categories, including 'family', 'worked_with', 'correspondents' and 'friends', but limiting any relationship between two people to one 'type' is an essentially over reductive task. I collected this metadata rather for my own reference, to help differentiate between figures. I also included a separate column on the spreadsheet, not represented here, which highlighted duplicate relationships so I could delete them (though where this was the case, I recorded the information in the 'misc_info' metadata).

Collecting data on the relationships in this format gives a wide image of the surrounding network. At such a considerable temporal distance, there will certainly be significant relationships or figures who have not left significant preserved archival traces and so will not be recorded in the datasets. It is important to recognise this factor in analysis, but it is not a significant limitation: consideration of this 'lost' data is as useful as analysis of the preserved data. It raises the necessary question of how and why data was preserved, which is important to consider. This was particularly relevant, for example, in the chapter analysing the Newfoundland community, where the processes which formed the archive surrounding the history of English travel to the island were informed by issues of class, wealth and purpose: the archive is not a neutral body, and accordingly, neither is the data extracted from it.[19] It is also a key tenet of social network mapping not to consider any network map complete: there will always be relationships which are not known to the data compiler. These may be elided through active choice — in this case, reflected by processes at play in the creation of an archive — or through passivity, such as temporal distance. This essential fact of a network map being incomplete does not render it useless:

[19] See Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) for deeper consideration of this issue.

any additional data could be expected either to conform to the patterns largely established in the map, or to differ from it in a significant way.

With the dataset for each region established, the data was cleaned with OpenRefine. Within OpenRefine, it is possible to 'cluster' data, finding groups of different values that may be alternate representations of the same entity. Within my datasets, these groups were most often names which had been spelt differently in different records, and so recorded by me as two different people. Gephi requires 'source' nodes to be typographically identical, so I used the clustering function in OpenRefine to find these differently spelt nodes and cluster them, changing them all to one spelling variant. This was an area where the metadata recorded in my initial spreadsheet became particularly useful, as many early modern families in particular passed down names, creating duplicates. I also wrote a series of family trees to help differentiate between figures, though to date I have not found a software capable of usefully representing these. I also ran other cleaning operations on the data, such as removing excess whitespace and ensuring that all the names were represented in the format 'firstname.secondname'.

I then exported the data from OpenRefine as a CSV file, and used these to create network maps in Gephi. There are two main ways of creating a network map in Gephi: the first is to create a 'nodes table', with a list of figures, and a corresponding 'edge table', with a list of the relationships between those nodes. The scale of my datasets made this an unfeasible approach, so I opted for the second method: importing the data as an adjacency table, which contains only the list of relationships. The adjacency table format is very simple: it comprises only of a list of 'source' and 'target' nodes. Gephi then uses this table to extract a list of nodes.

Once the datasets had been imported into Gephi as adjacency tables, I used the ForceAtlas2 algorithm to visualise the network maps. This algorithm is designed to

simulate a physical system to spatialise a network, making it straightforward to analyse in uncomplicated terms.[20] Within these network maps, each person is represented by a node and each relationship by an edge. The edges are unweighted and undirected, as this would have been a largely subjective measure on my part and so liable to indicate inaccurate results. The size of each node is determined by its degree, meaning that the larger nodes are those with a greater number of connections.[21] The colour of the map is determined by the modularity algorithm, with the nodes and edges colour coded to the sub-networks (or communities) detected by the algorithm. These three factors: node weighting, spatial visualisation, and modularity, are used in combination to make the network's internal structure visible and highlight its most significant figures. Each network map was then saved as a vector image, and these can be found in Appendix B. The full datasets have not been included as appendices to this thesis as that would give an inaccurate impression of their completeness — they are intended to serve as methodological tools, rather than publishable outputs in their own right. A full list of the sources used for each network map is included in the Bibliography.

## 3. Glossary

- **Actor-Network Theory** (ANT): a range of methodological processes which aim to describe the connections that link humans and non-humans.[22] Network analysis, as used in the humanities, falls under this broad umbrella.
- **Betweenness Centrality**: this is a measure of centrality within a graph based on the question of shortest paths between nodes. A node with high betweenness centrality acts

[20] Mathieu Jacomy and others, 'ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software', ed. by Mark R. Muldoon, *PLoS ONE*, 9.6 (2014), e98679.
[21] The degree is a measurement of the sum of edges a node has, so a node connected to 50 other nodes will have a greater degree than one with a degree of 1.
[22] Ruth Ahnert et al, *The Network* Turn, p. 38.

as a bridge within multiple 'shortest paths' between other nodes, while a node with a low measure does not, and is likely to be fairly structurally isolated. This measure is particularly useful within humanities application of network analysis; see discussion of the Ahnerts' Marian Letter project for more.

- **CSV**: Comma Separated Value. CSV is a plan text format with its values separated by commas. It contains data in the same way as spreadsheets, broadly speaking, but the format is more stable than Excel and works between platforms.
- **Data Cleaning**: this refers broadly to the processes of curating data, detecting errors, and removing (or correcting) inaccurate elements. 'Cleaning' data is a vital part of the working process, and especially important to discuss within the context of humanities research.
- **Data**: a common problem in digital humanities — or at least, in the perception of the field — is a difficulty in squaring cultural knowledge with preconceptions of 'data'. Johanna Drucker has suggested that this issue lies in the word itself: 'data' comes from the Latin *datum*, meaning 'that which is given', and thus carries in its etymology a sense of an observer-independent fact. Drucker suggests a better alternative is *capta*, meaning 'that which has been captured or gathered': an etymology which draws attention to the fact that the act of capturing data itself is not objective, but performed with specific goals in mind.[23] While 'data' will be used in this thesis, Drucker's alternative is mentioned here as it effectively brings attention to both common assumptions about what 'data' is, and the need to apply a self-reflexive lens to its theorising and processing. Dan Rosenburg's formulation of this principle similarly

[23] Joanna Drucker, 'Humanities Approaches to Graphical Display', *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 5.1 (2011) <https://doi.org/www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/5/1/000091/000091.html> [17 December 2020].

speaks to the consideration of 'data' within the humanities: 'facts are ontological, evidence is epistemological, data is rhetorical'.[24]

- **Degree/Weighted Degree**: the **degree** of a node is the number of connections it has to other nodes in the network. The **weighted** degree is based on the number of edges a node is connected to but adjusted for the weight of each edge. For example, a node with 2 edges that each weigh 2 = a weight of 4; a node with 2 edges that weigh 1 and one edge that weighs 3 = a weight of 5.
- **Gephi**: software which generates network maps. It is the software most commonly used within digital humanities projects because it is freely available, open source, and does not require coding experience.
- **Metadata**: data that describes other data. Metadata may not be used within network analysis itself, but rather to add information about it for people who plan on using that data. For example, in this thesis, metadata typically consists of information about where the data was sourced, or subjective measures such as types of relationship.
- **Modularity**: a measure of the structure of networks, often used to detect community structures or sub-networks within wider networks. Networks with high measures of modularity have dense connections between nodes within these sub-networks, but sparse connections between nodes in different sub-networks.[25] Gephi can be used to calculate modularity, which, in the case of this thesis, is then visually represented in network maps through colour coding.
- **Node**/**Edge**: within graph theory, network graphs are made up of nodes (visually represented as circles) and edges (represented as lines). Within Actor-Network Theory, these nodes represent actors (people), and the edges represent relationships between

[24] Dan Rosenburg, 'Data before the Fact', in *'Raw Data' Is an Oxymoron*, ed. by L. Gitelman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013), pp. 15–40 (p. 18).
[25] The code for the algorithm can be found at Patrick McSweeney, *Modularity*, 2018 <https://github.com/gephi/gephi/wiki/Modularity> [accessed 6 December 2018].

them. These edges can either be **directed**, where the nodes are asymmetrically linked (a targeted relationship which may not be reciprocal), or **undirected**, where they are symmetrically linked (a reciprocal relationship). These edges can also be **weighted**, increasing their numerical value. For example, in a network which represents epistolary data, the weight of the edges connecting two nodes might be determined by the number of letters exchanged. In this example, such a relationship may also be represented as a pair of directed edges, indicating the direction the letters travel.

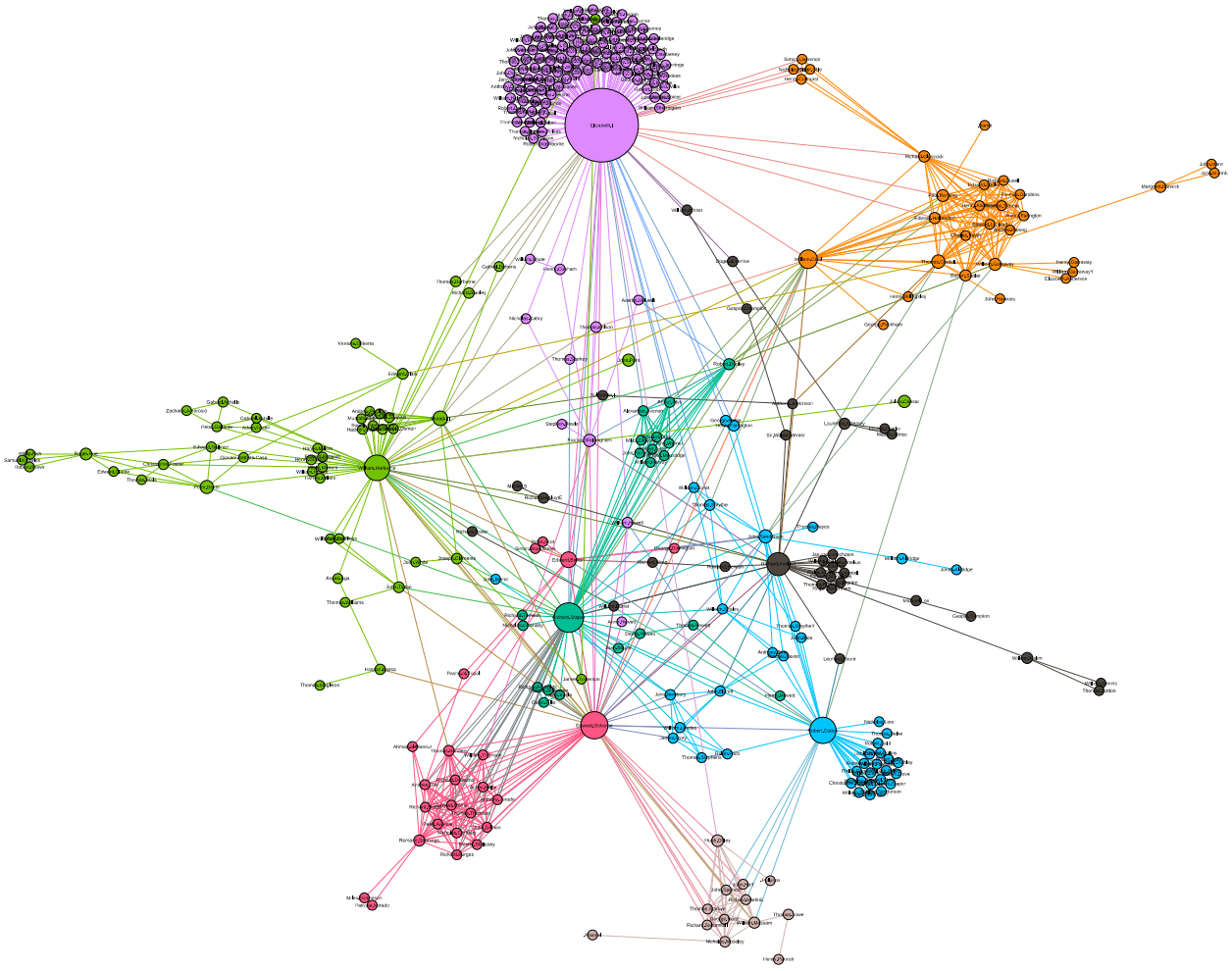
- **OpenRefine**: an open-source application used both to clean data and to wrangle it (transform it from one form to another, potentially more usable form). OpenRefine can also be used to add data to datasets by fetching it from webservices such as Wikidata: for example, fetching the geo co-ordinates for a list of cities to enable them to be mapped, or fetching death dates for a list of people if available.
- **Source/Target**: this commonly serves as alternative terminology for node/edge as Gephi only recognises source/target, although it implies a sense of a directed relationship which is not necessarily the case, and as such is not used as terminology in the chapters of this thesis.
- **Vector**: a vector graphic is an image made up of lines, points and curves which are based upon equations rather than pixels. In practise, this means that the image is scalable without losing resolution.

# Appendix B: Network Maps

Vector images of the network maps used in the second half of the thesis are presented below, both with and without labels.

## ‘East may be joined and knit to the West’: the Levant in *Principal Navigations*

*Figure 14. Network map of the Anglo-Levant community in 1590.*



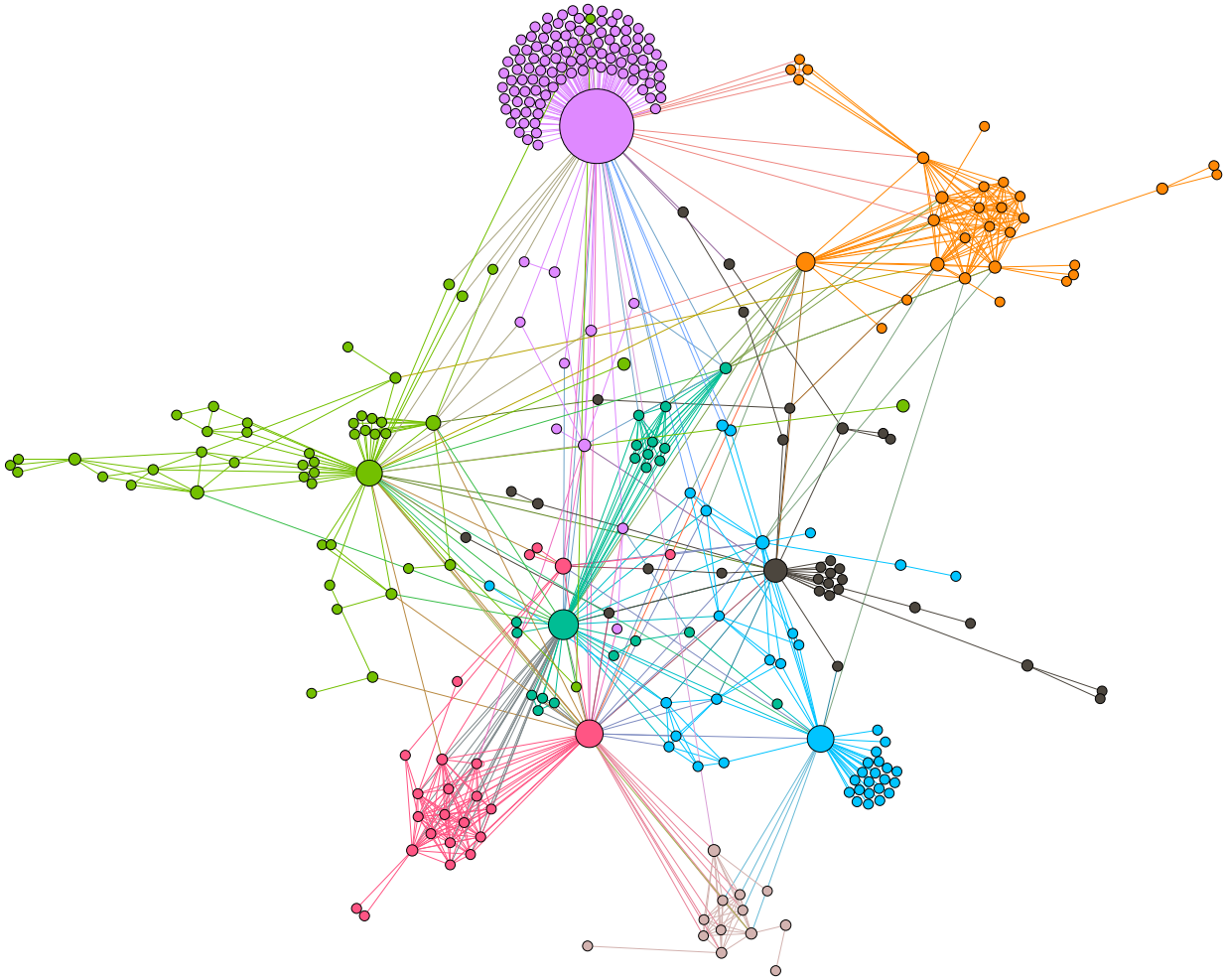
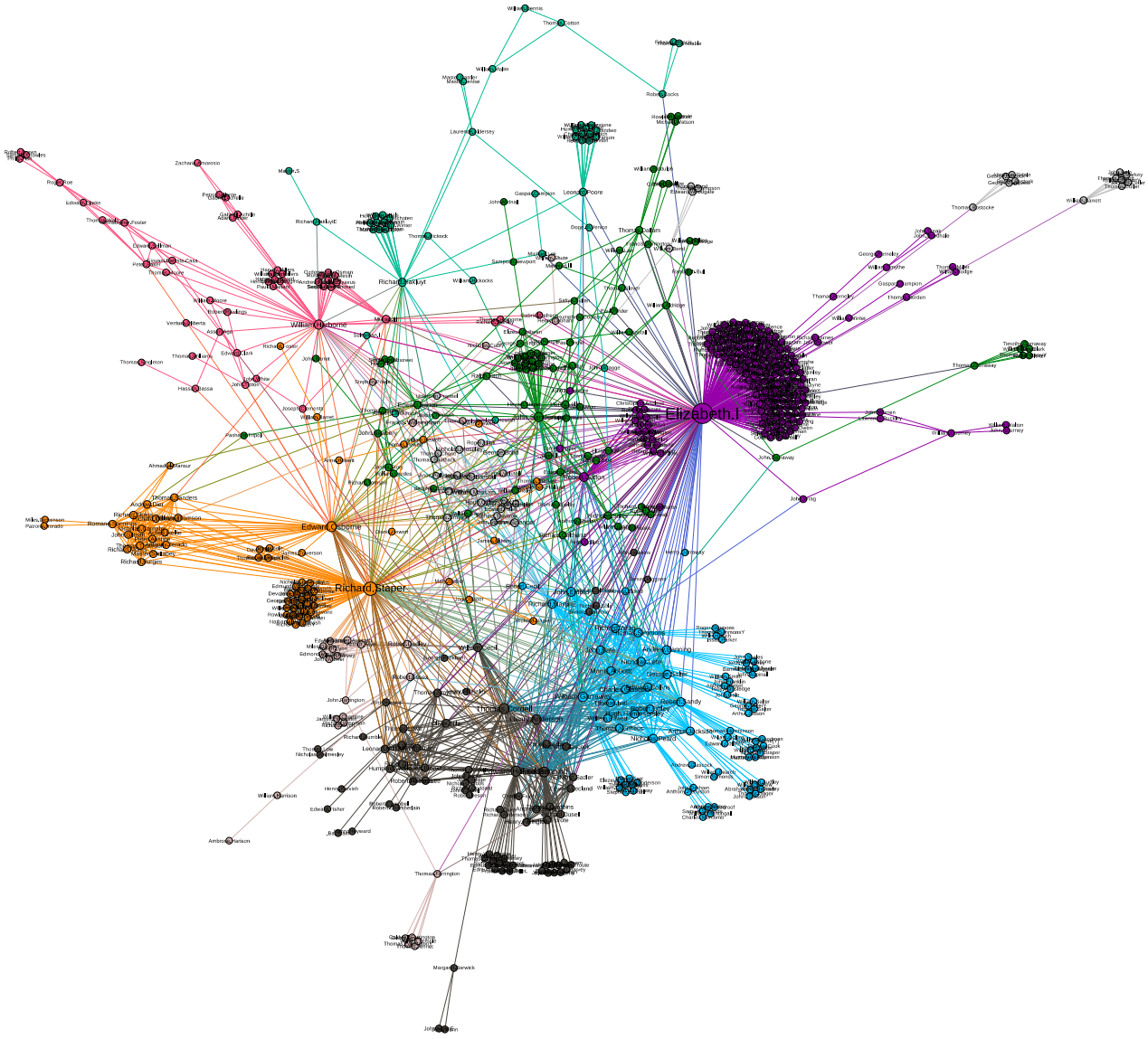
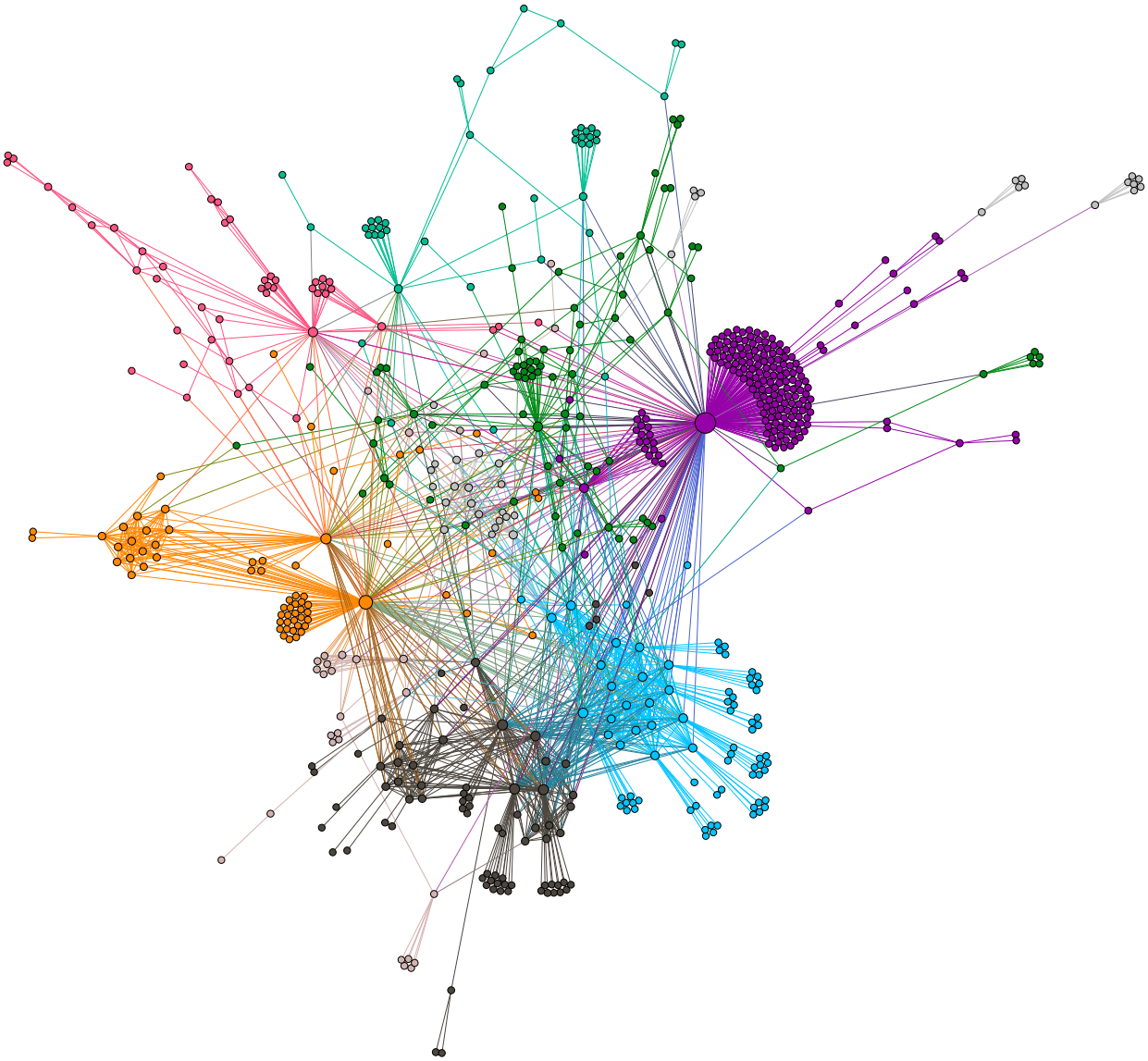


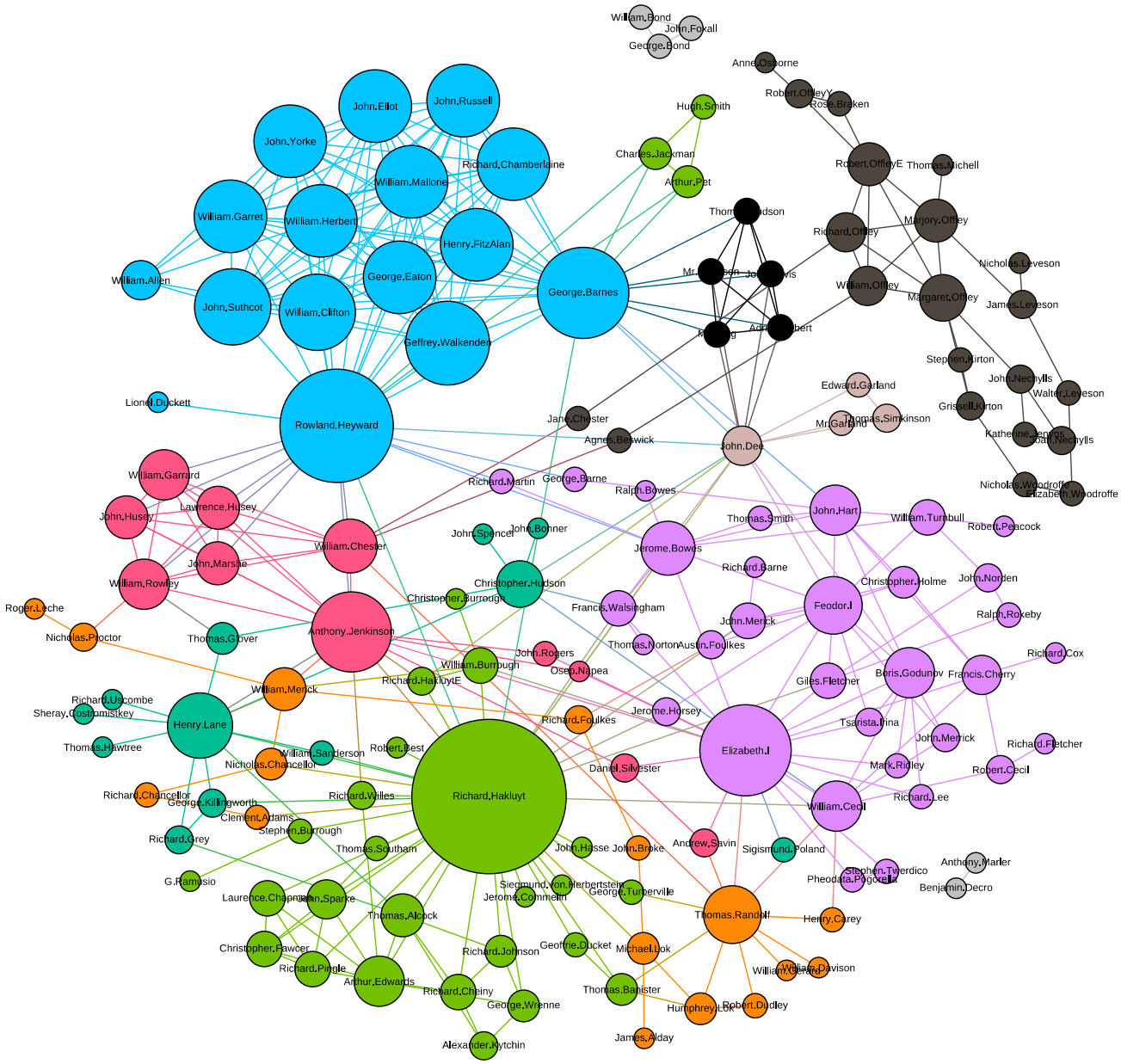
*Figure 20. Network map of the Anglo-Levant community in 1600 (including 1590 data) [with labels, without labels].*

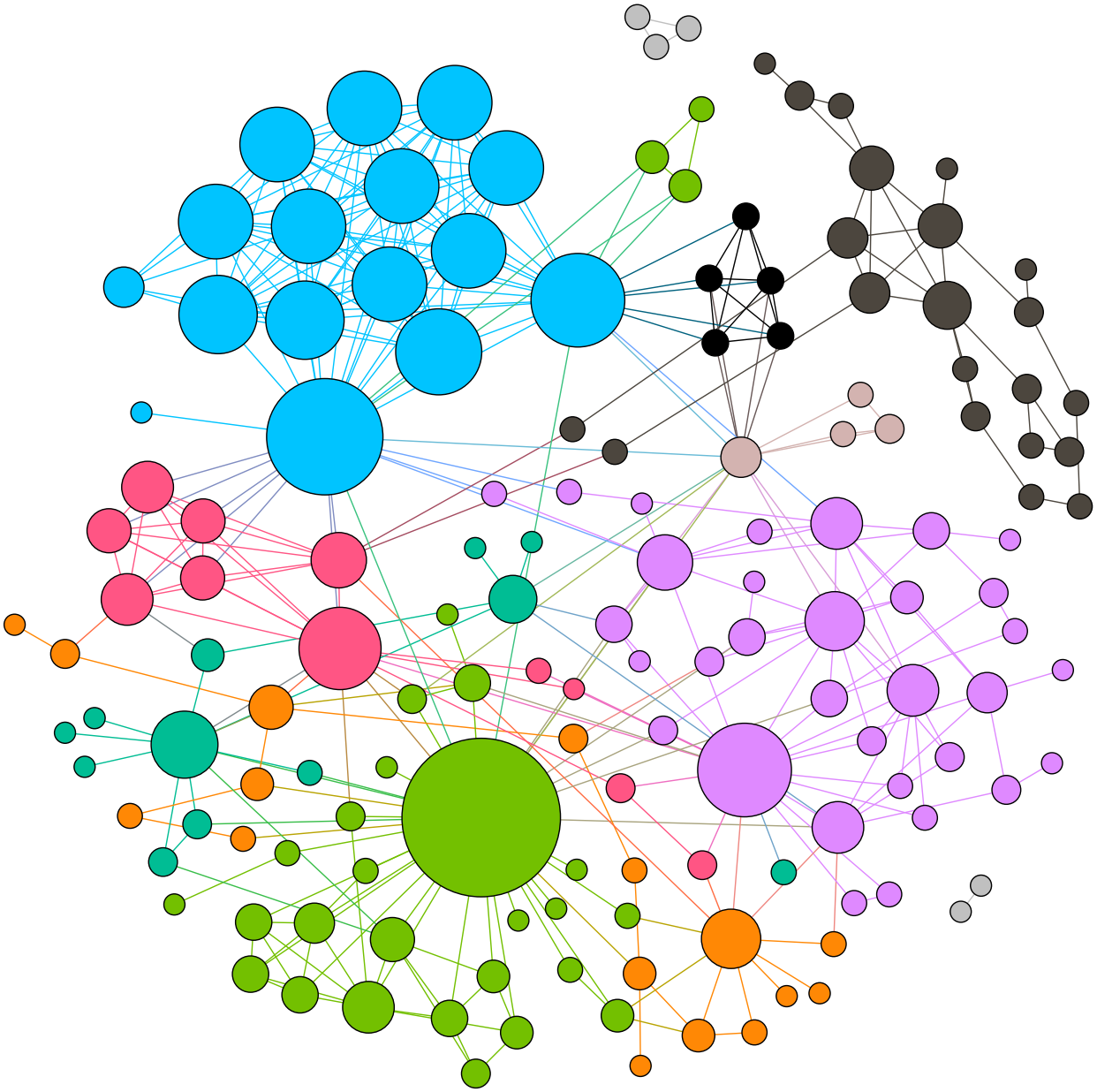




## ‘that unknown part of the worlde’: Russia in *Principal Navigations*

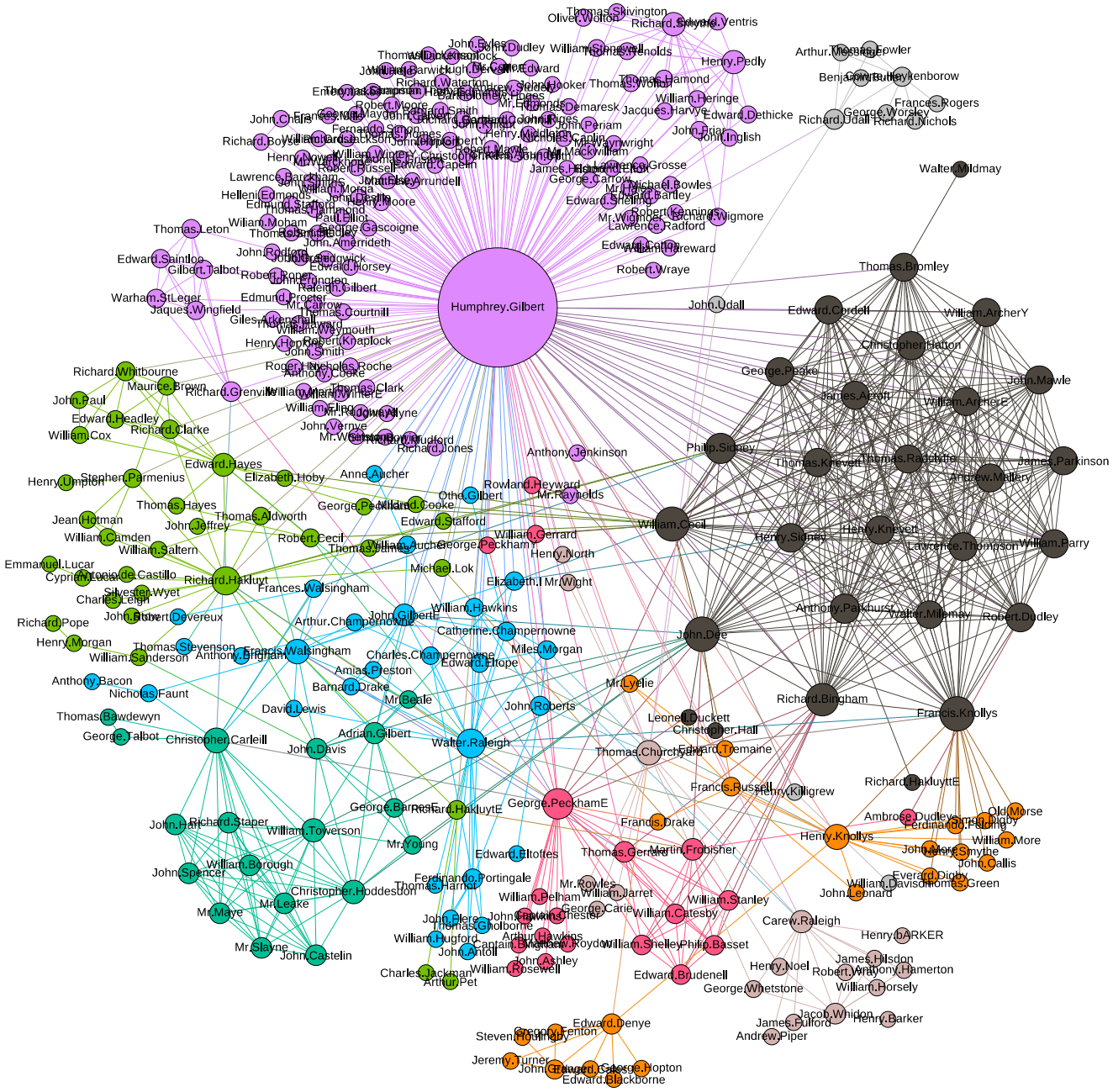
*Figure 30. Network map of the Anglo-Russian community with the signatories of the 1555 charter who died before 1589 removed.*

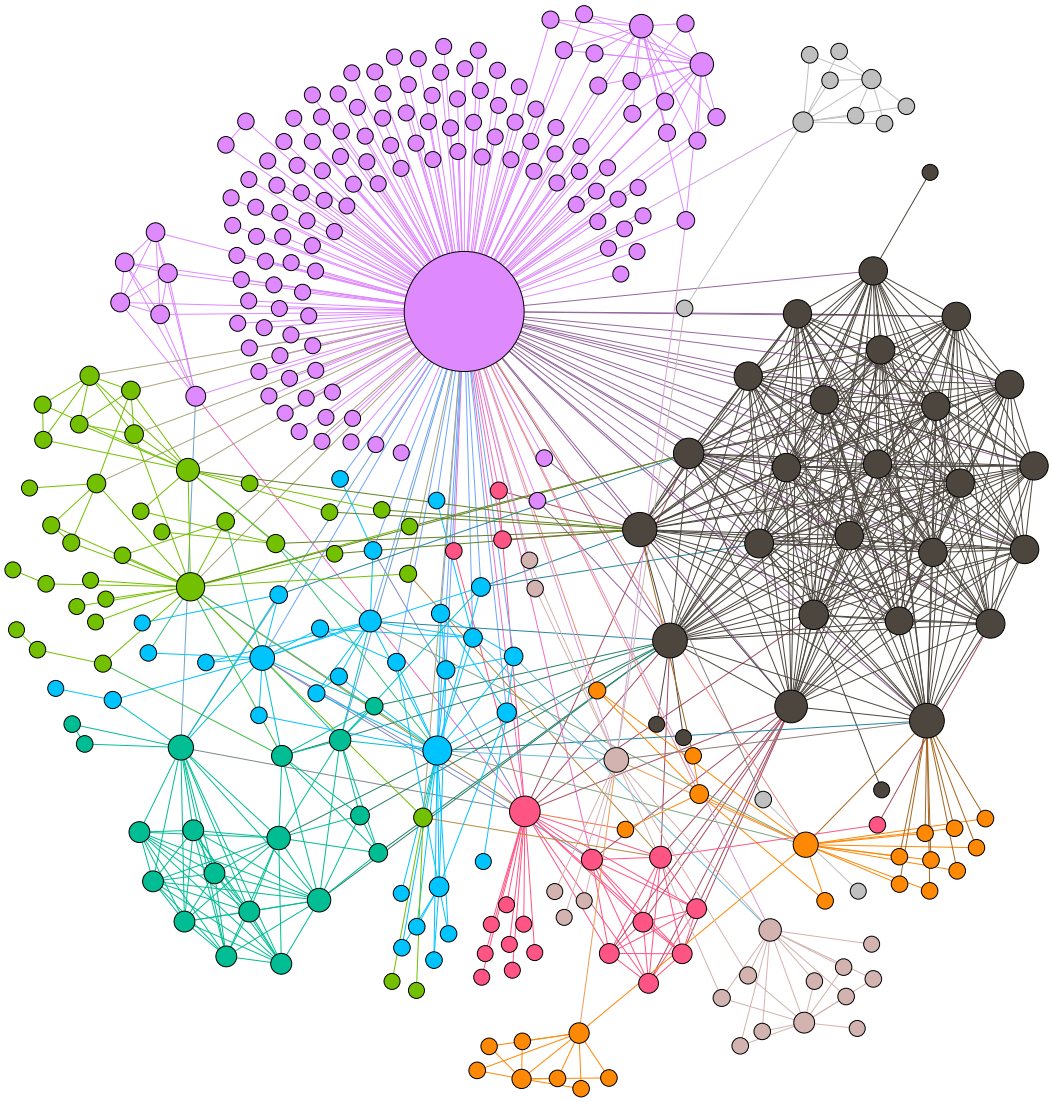




# ‘I see nothing but a very wildernesse’: Newfoundland in Principal Navigations

*Figure 38. Network map charting the Anglo-Newfoundland community, 1578-1600.*





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**Network Maps**

Common printed sources used for each of these network maps include Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* (1589 and 1598-1600 editions); Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook* and Griffiths, *A Licence to Trade* (full references given above). The other printed and manuscript sources used for each chapter are listed below.

*'East may be joined and knit to the West': the Levant in Principal Navigations*

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