

**Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations:*
TCP and the Development of a Critical Edition**

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The Text Creation Partnership is not only revolutionizing possibilities for research and teaching in early modern studies, but also shaping the methodology and potential of traditional bibliographical projects such as the production of critical editions. One of the most ambitious projects currently underway which draws on the resources made available by the TCP is the preparation of a critical edition of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (second edition, 1598–1600). The edition will appear with Oxford University Press in 14 volumes (see www.hakluyt.org). Under the general editorship of Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, the project involves an international team of editors working on individual volumes, an editorial board, editorial advisers, and postdoctoral research fellows (including Anders Ingram). The TCP transcription of the Huntington Library copy of the second edition (PN2 hereafter), and the PDF images of the EEBO digital reproduction of the same, have been crucial in providing the basis for the edition's copy text. This paper will explore the Hakluyt Project's use of TCP, our reasons for choosing this option over other possible sources for generating the copy text, and some of the problems and questions we have faced in the process.

The Principal Navigations is arguably the most important collection of English travel writing ever published, covering a vast expanse of activity and ambition from the New World to Muscovy, the Levant, Persia, the East Indies, and Africa. Originally printed in a single folio in 1589,¹ Hakluyt expanded the work in three volumes between 1598 and 1600, amounting to approximately 1.76 million words of text (in just over 2,000 folio pages). Hakluyt's editorial method (which led him to include a disparate array of materials, such as letters patent, depositions, diplomatic exchanges, trading privileges, instructions for voyages, lists of ships, among other items, alongside travel accounts) may have lost favour by the eighteenth century,² but his

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¹ Published under the title *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, Deputies to Christopher Barker, 1589).

² See Matthew Day, "'Honour to Our Nation': Nationalism, *The Principal Navigations* and Travel Collections in the Long Eighteenth Century", in *Richard*

compilation remained a monument of English prose with considerable historical and ideological influence. Various editions appeared over time, including H.R. Evans's five-volume *Hakluyt's Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1809–12); a 'rearranged' version by Edmund Goldsmid (published in Edinburgh in sixteen volumes);³ the twelve-volume edition prepared by James MacLehose and Sons in Glasgow (1903–05); and the Dent Everyman edition in eight volumes (1907) which excluded Hakluyt's Latin texts. Only Goldsmid provided any annotation (the limitations of which he apologised for in his preface);⁴ none of them indicate an attempt at collation or identify the source copy or copies. The obscurity of place names, peoples, historical references, trade routes, navigational terms, commodities, and the travellers themselves renders the text highly opaque and desperately in need of editorial assistance to make it available to modern readers, commensurate with the work's importance. To take the title pages alone as an example, they indicate the geographical scope of the different volumes, and mention a number of places that remain recognizable together with more difficult references to names like 'Scrikfinia', 'Boghar in Bactria', 'Jamahai in the kingdome of Siam', 'Chonderi' and 'Cicuic', no longer in use (and in some cases never in existence).

If the incentive for embarking on a critical edition was never in doubt, the practicalities of developing it certainly remain a challenge. The central issues are the massive scale of PN2 and the vast range of territories and periods it describes. Division of labour is one way to address this, inviting specialists to join the project as volume editors (there are twenty-three in total working on the 14 scheduled volumes). However, two key problems remain: generating a copy text for these editors to annotate, and providing the team of editors with access to an identical copy of PN2 to correct their work to. In order to imagine the first of these issues, consider the difficulty, time, and inevitably the expense involved in transcribing 1.76 million words of text, in English, Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and a little Welsh (50 words), with the majority of the text printed in black letter type. It is

Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 77-86.

³ Goldsmid remarked in his 'Editor's Preface': 'I have taken upon myself to alter the order of the different voyages. I have grouped together those voyages which relate to the same parts of the globe, instead of adopting the somewhat haphazard arrangement of the original edition.' *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation. Collected by Richard Hakluyt, Preacher*, ed. Edmund Goldsmid, 16 vols (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1885–90), 1:viii. Elsewhere, Goldsmid put it differently: 'I have, in my complete Edition of Hakluyt's Voyages, arranged the Contents of the first two volumes in the order he [Hakluyt] would have desired, had he not "lacked sufficient store".' *The Voyages of the English Nation to America before the Year 1600 from Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages (1598–1600)*, ed. Edmund Goldsmid, 4 vols (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1889–90), 1:7.

⁴ He commented: 'I can assure any who may be disposed to cavil at their brevity that many a *line* has cost me hours of research' (*The Principal Navigations*, ed. Goldsmid, 1:vii).

frankly not feasible to fund a bespoke transcription of a specific copy of PN2 to function as a base text to be corrected, especially as grant opportunities have contracted in the current economic climate. In any case, one would also have to produce a digital reproduction of the selected physical copy of PN2 for editors to use in correcting the transcription. These challenges go some way to explaining why there has never been a critical edition of PN2 despite its acknowledged significance.

The availability of the TCP full text of PN2 resolves the issue of generating a starting point for volume editors to work from in producing an authoritative copy text which they can then annotate. There are of course other versions of PN2 which might have been exploited for this purpose. The University of Adelaide produced an electronic edition of the Goldsmid text in 2006, licensed under Creative Commons (<http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hakluyt/voyages/>). Determining whether we could in fact make use of this edition freely did not become an issue because Goldsmid reorganised Hakluyt's text, making it entirely unsuitable for our purposes. In this respect, a much better alternative exists in the MacLehose edition which was carefully printed to reproduce the original (in conventional Roman type rather than black letter). With the Kirtas 1200 book scanner owned by the Hardiman Library at the National University of Ireland, Galway (the same equipment employed by Google Books) we could have created text files from the library's copy of MacLehose using OCR software. However, these files would then have required correction against the physical copy, a labour-intensive process, and one that would have left us with material, however accurate, without textual authority since it transcribes a twentieth-century reprinting of Hakluyt. Thus we would still have needed a candidate physical copy of PN2 accessible to all the editors to establish a text with authority.

The great advantage of the TCP transcription is that it provides a starting point or 'raw text' for editors to work on. In itself this material does not constitute a copy text. Nonetheless, the TCP transcription has two salient attractions not shared by any of the other options. Firstly, for all of its limitations, it is based on an existing copy. Secondly, this copy (i.e. the Huntington Library's) is available as a digital reproduction through EEBO.

The digital reproduction of the Huntington Library copy of PN2 and the TCP full text version which derives from it make editing this mammoth work a feasible proposition. The basic methodology of the Hakluyt Project is for the general editors to produce text files relating to the hundreds of constituent items in the three volumes of PN2 – using the TCP transcription of the Huntington Library copy – and for volume editors to correct their respective files of text against PDFs of EEBO digital page images (STC 12626a, UMI reel 245:04). The resulting document then serves as a base text for volume editors to annotate.

Beyond providing a 'raw text' for editors to work from, the TCP transcription also represents a valuable resource for the Hakluyt Project. In the first instance, the TCP text gives us a reasonable estimate of the word count of PN2, which is extremely

helpful in dividing and managing the project, given the size of Hakluyt's huge compilation. For volume editors annotating obscure and difficult place names ('*Tirwill in Polonia*', '*Madrabumba*', '*Quitangone neere Mozambique*'), the TCP text is also one of the first points of call, supplying historical, biographical, and geographical context and alternate spellings from which to continue research. Full text searches across the whole of the TCP texts available in EEBO are also a powerful tool for identifying obscure places, and contemporary usages of terminology (e.g. 'loadstarre', 'Murses'). Tracking Hakluyt's reputation through mentions of his name in contemporary works and seventeenth-century texts becomes a realistic possibility as the scope of TCP expands.

In the case of *The Principal Navigations*, the TCP decision to transcribe PN2 rather than the shorter first edition has been to our benefit (following the TCP protocol of selecting a single edition of a work for transcription when more than one was printed). Nonetheless, having both at our disposal would have been even better, allowing us to search easily for variants between the two editions, changes in place names, obscure usages, etc. At the same time, we will have the advantage, particularly as TCP develops, of searching conveniently through numerous texts published by Hakluyt that had already appeared in print, such as the captivity narrative of Thomas Saunders or Sir George Peckham's promotional work on New World settlement,⁵ in order to compare the editions, and equally to trace the state of existing knowledge about places, peoples, and commodities in Hakluyt's text that were described in surviving contemporary sources.

For a project on this scale, the usefulness of the TCP transcription and the related EEBO images is abundantly clear. To evaluate this joint resource three issues need to be considered: the character of the TCP text, the nature of the PDF/digital images and their provenance, and finally our choice of the Huntington Library copy as the initial basis for the copy text. The central concerns associated with using the TCP text arise due to its general lack of accuracy, and the fact that it alters the text of the EEBO images in subtle ways (such as the location of marginal notes by Hakluyt).⁶ The issue of accuracy is particularly noticeable in relation to the extensive Latin passages in PN2 where the transcription and word division in TCP is unreliable; TCP text makes no attempt to transcribe Greek, including the prefatory verses by Hugh Broughton in PN2 which feature amongst its paratexts. The solution to these two problems is essentially the same. The Hakluyt Project has developed a detailed Style Guide for volume editors to follow in correcting the TCP text to the PDF reproduction of the

⁵ Thomas Saunders, *A True Discription and Breefe Discourse, of a Most Lamentable Voiage, Made Latelie to Tripolie in Barbarie, in a Ship Named the Jesus* (London: Richard Iones, for Edward White, 1587); Sir George Peckham, *A True Reporte, of the Late Discoveries...of the Newfound Landes: by that Valiant and Worthy Gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight* (London: I[ohn] C[harlewood] for Iohn Hinde, 1583).

⁶ The Hakluyt Project edition for OUP does not intend to create a facsimile of typographic effects; thus the substitution of roman type for black letter in the TCP transcription is consistent with the edition's requirements.

Huntington copy (i.e. the EEBO images), together with protocols for limited modernisation (e.g. *v* to *u*, *i* to *j*). Close attention on the part of volume editors will provide the basis for a copy text accurate to the EEBO reproduction of the Huntington Library copy of PN2, in conjunction with subsequent collation of surviving physical copies.

The use of PDFs from EEBO raises the important question of the relationship between these digitized images and the physical copy of PN2 from which they derive, located in the Huntington Library. We remain at two removes, effectively: the PDFs are digital copies of microfilms of the Huntington Library copy produced by UMI. This process of copying and recopying introduces a number of quality issues. The original microfilm created a variety of problems, including occasional blurriness and fading; mild to severe cropping of pages; the introduction of duplicate pages and the problem of missing pages. The subsequent digitization of these microfilmed images added its own range of issues, including further duplicated or missing pages. Especially notable here is the poor quality in general of the resulting images due to the low resolution and bi-tonal (rather than greyscale or colour) character of EEBO's duplications of the earlier microfilm. To illustrate the limitations of the EEBO images compare a sample passage of the EEBO Huntington library copy (figure 1), to a newly digitized version of PN2 contained in the 'Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake' (figure 2), produced by the Library of Congress, with the images downloadable in TIFF.

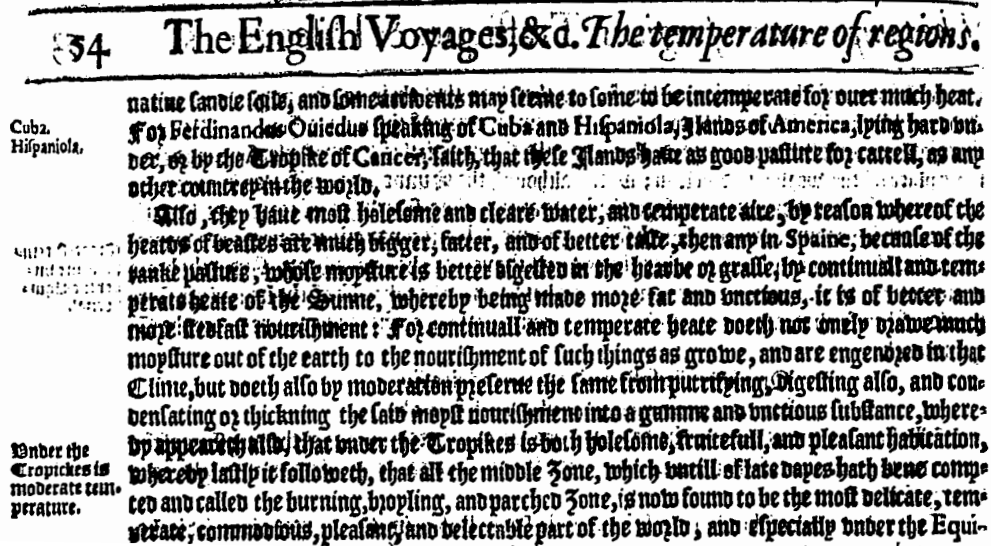


Figure 1: EEBO reproduction of the Huntington Library Copy of PN2.

Original copy from the Huntington Library, published with permission. Digital image produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*, published with permission. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

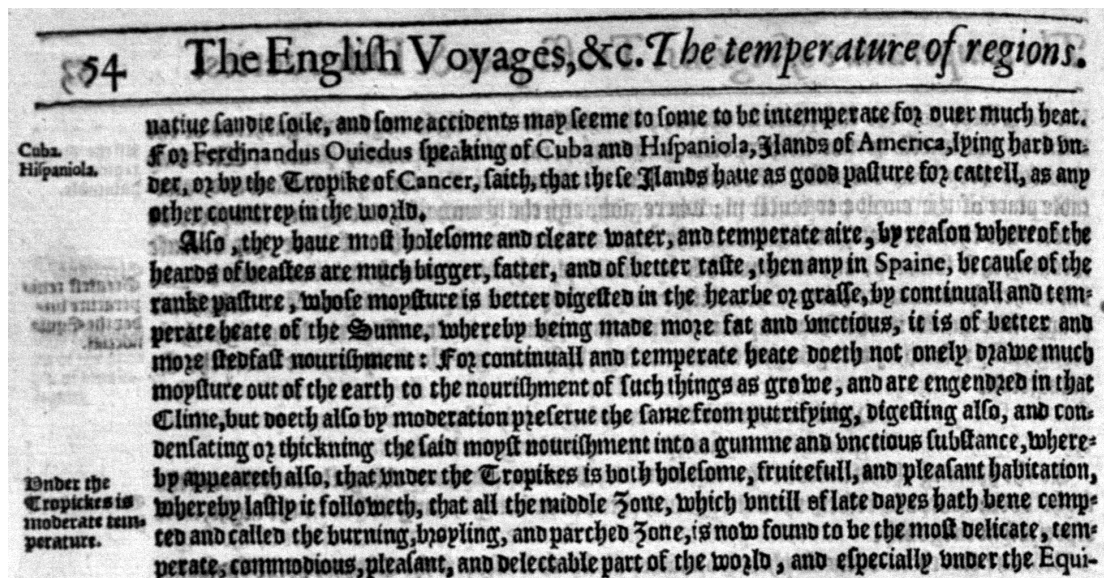


Figure 2: Library of Congress reproduction of the Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake copy of PN2
Published with permission.

The solution to these challenges has relied upon a further resource provided by EEBO, the reproduction of the Eton College Library copy of PN2 (STC 12626a, UMI reel 1575:01), together with the Library of Congress-Kraus copy. In cases where words, passages or even pages are illegible or missing entirely (e.g. pp. 23–4) in the Huntington Library copy, the Eton College copy has been referred to in the first instance, and its use indicated in the footnotes. This process has not removed every ambiguity and we plan later in the project to resolve outstanding issues by consulting the physical copy of PN2 in the Huntington Library, as well as others, including digital and physical copies, in forming the definitive copy text.⁷

We now arrive at the actual physical copy itself held by the Huntington Library, which presents its own specific challenges. Had the source of the original microfilm made by UMI been a different copy (from the British Museum as it then was, the Bodleian, or another source) we would be confronted, potentially, by different issues, but as it stands there are notable features that need to be taken on board. First of all, surviving copies of Volume 1 of PN2 contain a range of variants – the title page exists in four different versions, including one that is dated 1600, which may be an eighteenth-century printing. A world map appears in some copies but not in the Huntington's.⁸ The major difference is that the title page with the 1598 imprint makes reference to the inclusion, '*lastly*', of an account of 'the famous victorie atchieved at

⁷ The census of prepared by Anthony Payne lists 233 surviving copies with variant printings of PN2 (some incomplete), see www.hakluyt.com/hakluyt_census.htm.

⁸ D.B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols (London, 1974), 2:498–504.

the citie of Cadiz, 1596' (an expedition led by the Earl of Essex and the Lord High Admiral, Charles Howard). In 1599, the Cadiz leaves, as they are called, were removed and a new title page was printed for the first volume (dated 1599) which no longer referred to the Cadiz material; however, Hakluyt's dedication to Lord Howard remained unchanged and continued to mention the (now missing) account of the capture of Cadiz; and the table of contents also included it despite the elision of the leaves. The Huntington Library Copy of PN2 is a 1599 imprint without the Cadiz material. Thus it lacks an important document which the critical edition will need to restore.

For different reasons, neither the Eton College copy nor the Library of Congress-Kraus copy provide a solution here, even though they both possess the Cadiz leaves. Like the Huntington Library copy, the Eton College copy is a 1599 imprint. The Cadiz leaves included in it are from the original 1598 printing but we cannot assume they are original to this copy. The story of how owners restored the missing leaves is a matter of a certain amount of conjecture, but the number of surviving copies which contain them despite the effort to eliminate them suggests that there was no great difficulty in obtaining the deleted material and making the volume 'complete'.⁹ Hence the Eton College copy does not have the authority of a 1598 imprint with undisturbed Cadiz leaves, examples of which can be located. Indeed, our solution in providing the relevant volume editor, Michael Brennan, with an authoritative source to work with has been to reproduce the Cadiz leaves from the copy owned by Sir Henry Savile (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Savile X 12). The advantage of this copy is that it exists in a contemporary binding with no evidence that the leaves were ever tampered with.

The Library of Congress-Kraus copy is in some ways a more interesting example and it constitutes a cautionary tale. With a 1598 imprint and the Cadiz leaves present, it would seem to represent a 'complete' copy. Moving through the images online on 'The Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake'¹⁰ site it is difficult to detect the problem with the Cadiz leaves, despite their reproduction in high resolution. However, in the eighteenth century the Cadiz leaves were reprinted twice (c.1720 and c.1795), using black letter and therefore resembling the original, though the signatures, ornaments, lineation, and pagination are different. This copy's Cadiz leaves derive from the c.1720 printing, according to Anthony Payne's analysis.¹¹ Thus they have no textual authority.

This brings us to a rather separate question connected with EEBO – the metadata. The EEBO metadata for PN2 is a verbatim reproduction of the information contained in the STC entry. The variants in the world map are clearly explained, together with a note of the variant spelling of 'yeres' vs. 'yeares' on different printings of the 1599

⁹ Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to Those Associated with Him 1580-1625* (London, 2008), 16.

¹⁰ <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/rbdk.d0301>. See images 635–48 of volumes 1–2.

¹¹ See www.hakluyt.com/hakluyt_census.htm.

title page (although it would be hard for readers to recognize that a 1598 imprint exists if they looked at this entry alone). The discussion of the Cadiz leaves is extensive and accurate in its inclusion of the c.1720 and c.1795 reprints. But the strong assertion that ‘The section on the conquest of Cadiz by Essex (vol. 1, p. 607-619, [1]) was ordered suppressed by Queen Elizabeth in 1599’ is open to debate. This version of events has long been accepted, based on the declining influence at court of Essex following his hasty return from Ireland in late September 1599 and the appearance of the reissued first volume (with 1599 imprint) towards the end of the year.¹² But the story is more complex and the deletion of the Cadiz leaves may have been prompted by pressure from other sources or by self-censorship on Hakluyt’s part. Sir Robert Cecil, cultivated by Hakluyt as the dedicatee of volumes 2 and 3 of PN2 and an opponent of Essex at this time, is likely to have figured in this scenario, not least due to his advocacy of concluding peace with Spain.¹³

One of the defining features of the electronic world of course is the rapidity of change and the emergence of often unanticipated (and sometimes unannounced) resources that can enhance or transform a project. The Hakluyt edition will undoubtedly benefit from EEBO’s unexpected but very welcome decision to release a higher-resolution reproduction of the Folger Shakespeare Library’s copy of the 1598 imprint of PN2 in December 2011.¹⁴ In tandem with the Library of Congress-Kraus copy it means that we now have two excellent editions to employ for the purposes of collation and correction of working copy text. Not only that, but the Folger Library copy contains the Cadiz leaves intact in a contemporary binding. Had we known it would become available, the convenience and quality of the images would have made it a feasible alternative to Bodleian’s Savile copy for which relatively expensive reproductions had to be made.

To conclude, the TCP transcription, and the EEBO PDF reproduction of the Huntington Library copy of PN2 upon which it is based, provide substantial resources which make it possible to undertake a critical edition of a work on the scale of Hakluyt’s PN2. While these materials have limitations, they can be worked around, and the constraints that they help overcome in developing a collaborative edition are considerable. However, the ambitions of this critical edition go substantially beyond the valuable but more limited objectives of the TCP text available to subscribers to EEBO. The Hakluyt Project will ultimately provide readers with a stable and authoritative text for PN2, annotating and explaining its difficult and obscure points of reference, and resolving its complex bibliographical history of variants, missing sections, and censorship. The edition will be published not only in hard back, mainly for libraries (and hard core bibliophiles), but also electronically as part of OUP’s collection of Oxford Scholarly Editions Online,¹⁵ thus ensuring an electronic future

¹² See, e.g. *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2:491.

¹³ Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, 16–19.

¹⁴ EEBO lists the UMI reel number as 2360:02.

¹⁵ See www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com.

for Hakluyt's text in various forms. These outlets will serve different constituencies (and operate under different commercial parameters, with attendant issues of access). The TCP version, for example, will become publicly available on 1 January 2015 (along with the corpus of texts produced under Phase I of the project). Ultimately they will complement rather than replace the point of origin – the physical copies of PN2 and the images made of them in microfilm and digitally – which will continue to inspire ongoing research in paratexts, provenance, circulation and annotation.¹⁶

¹⁶ See, e.g., Colm MacCrossan, 'Framing "the English nation": Reading between Text and Paratext in *The Principal Navigations (1598–1600)*', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, 139–51.