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Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe

Edited by

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Note:

Throughout this volume, references specifically to the first edition of Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principall Navigations* (1589) are indicated by preserving the double ‘l’ spelling of ‘Principall’ in the original. References to the second edition (1598–1600) use the single ‘l’ spelling of ‘Principal’ in this edition. Where reference to both editions is intended, the spelling of the second edition’s title has been preferred (*The Principal Navigations*).
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with pleasure and gratitude that we acknowledge the support of the many individuals, institutions, learned societies, and grant-making bodies that have shaped this book intellectually and helped make it possible practically. *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* arises from a conference on ‘Richard Hakluyt 1552–1616: Life, Times, Legacy’ held at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Our first acknowledgement is to Nigel Rigby, Director of Research at the NMM, and to Sally Archer and Janet Norton, who enthusiastically and skilfully hosted the event, as well as assisting in its planning at every stage. We also gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the NMM, the British Academy, the antiquarian bookseller Bernard Quaritch Ltd, the Society for Renaissance Studies, Nottingham Trent University, the National University of Ireland, Galway, and the journal *Renaissance Studies*. Their generosity enabled us to bring together an international and interdisciplinary group of participants to Greenwich to discuss and debate the current state of Hakluyt studies, and plan for its future. One outcome of the conference, not reflected directly in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, but very much emerging out of the conference, was the proposal to produce the first scholarly edition of Hakluyt’s magnum opus, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598–1600). The edition is now under contract to Oxford University Press, and will appear in both print and online versions.

We deeply appreciate the input and advice of the Hakluyt Society in the development of *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*. In particular Roy Bridges and Will Ryan, both past Presidents of the Society, have been instrumental in encouraging and supporting this volume. We are delighted that *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* will be published in the Hakluyt Society Extra Series, and especially wish to thank John Smedley of Ashgate, publisher for the Hakluyt Society, both for the faith he has had in the project, and his efficiency and patience in dealing with a myriad of queries and questions. Ann Allen, Editorial Manager at Ashgate, has helped us enormously in completing the production of the book. We also wish to take this opportunity to thank the press reader for providing incisive and expert comments on all the materials in the book, and for meticulous attention to detail. Colm MacCrosman, Modern Humanities Research Association and British Academy Research Fellow on the Hakluyt Editorial Project 2009–11, provided invaluable editorial assistance in the completion of *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*. Anders Ingram and Felicity Stout have also provided skilful proof-reading and editorial support in the concluding stages of the production of this volume.
Daniel Carey gratefully acknowledges the award of a Senior Research Fellowship from the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences. Claire Jowitt would like to thank the British Academy for the award of a British Academy Research Development Award.

This publication has been made possible by a grant from the Scouloudi Foundation in association with the Institute of Historical Research, and with the financial support of the National Maritime Museum, Nottingham Trent University, and a grant from the Research Support Fund of the National University of Ireland, Galway. Finally we wish to thank the contributors to this book for their diligence, good humour, and promptness in responding to editorial suggestions and queries. We have greatly enjoyed working with them and we would like to express our appreciation for their intellectual generosity and patience in seeing this project through to completion.
INTRODUCTION

Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt

No known contemporary portrait survives of Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), whose assiduous role as editor, translator, and purveyor of travel accounts made him the leading promoter of English commercial and colonial expansion in the late Tudor and early Stuart period. While Samuel Purchas, inheritor of his manuscripts and mission, had his image engraved on the title page of *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), Hakluyt was content with a more modest profile. In the prefatory materials included in his major work, *The Principal Navigations* (1589; expanded 1598–1600), he presented himself as a tireless worker in the archives, assembling texts amid the dust of libraries and expending vast labours and personal sums to ensure the completion of his project.1 If Hakluyt himself has in a sense ‘vanished’, as his most recent biographer, Peter Mancall, has observed,2 then what remains are monuments to others whose work he preserved and promoted. These include the hundreds of participants in his travel compilations, some of them among the most eminent and influential individuals of the period associated with English exploration, travel, and colonial settlement (such as Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Martin Frobisher), together with many more who would otherwise have disappeared. This volume attempts to recover the context of Hakluyt’s editorial practice, and the world of economic, political, and colonial competition that shaped it, in order to begin to fill in that missing portrait.

Hakluyt’s reputation as perhaps the most significant figure in the history of English travel writing rests on *The Principal Navigations*,3 which spanned every area of English

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1 See, for example, PN(M), 1:xviii, xxxi–xxxii.
3 The first edition (1589) was published under the title *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or over Land, to the most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any Time within the Compausse of these 1500 Yeeres*; the first volume of the expanded second edition was entitled *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or Over-land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at any Time within the Compausse of these 1500 Yeeres* (London, 1598); the second volume of the second edition was titled *The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or Overland, to the South and South-east parts of the World, at any Time within the Compausse of these 1600 Yeeres* (London, 1599); the third volume of the second edition was titled *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English*
activity and aspiration, from Muscovy to America, from Africa to the Near East, and India to China and Japan. While providing the most up-to-date information available, designed to benefit and stimulate ambitious plans for trade and settlement, the work represents a complex ideological and editorial contribution, not least by establishing a purported tradition of ‘English’ enterprise that stretched as far back as Hakluyt could go in his recovery of antiquarian records. Both editions of *The Principal Navigations* inevitably loom large in the discussion in this volume, but the composite view of his career covers a wider terrain. His first publication, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582), was a more limited but still important compilation of records and documents, gathered in order to consolidate the legitimacy and viability of English plans to expand in North America (as the full title states, the voyages in question were ‘made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons [Bretons]). His ‘American’ interests are also reflected in the most extensive and ideologically revealing statement in his own words of the rationale for developing the potential of New World settlement, the so-called ‘Discourse of Western Planting’ (1584). The fact that Hakluyt remained persuaded – in this work (and elsewhere) – that efforts to locate a Northwest or Northeast Passage would meet with success indicates that his orientation was always global in scope. His exceptional range of geographic and economic interests, reflected in a variety of translations (and solicitation of others to produce translations), continued to the end of his life with his unpublished version of the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius’s *Mare liberum* (completed sometime between 1609 and 1616).

*Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* is an interdisciplinary collection of essays which brings together leading scholarship to deepen our understanding of Hakluyt’s intellectual and historical position, and the ‘genre’ of the early modern travel collection more generally. The volume aims to place Hakluyt’s work in context, to trace the humanist culture out of which his project emerged, to advance the study of his literary and historical resources, and to assess his wide and lasting impact. This collection of essays emerges in dialogue with a long tradition of scholarship concerning Hakluyt’s work and its significance. The founding of the Hakluyt Society in 1846 (as Roy Bridges details in the coda to this volume) led to renewed public attention to Hakluyt’s contribution and legacy, and a review of the Society’s first productions in 1852 by J.A. Froude included what remains the most famous description of *The Principal Navigations* as constituting ‘the Prose Epic of the modern English nation.’ Commentary on this remark features in a number of the essays gathered here. The first full-length biographical study of Hakluyt, G.B. Parks’s *Richard Hakluyt and the English Nation*, and in some few Places, where they have not been, of Strangers, Performed within and before the Time of these Hundred Yerres, to all Parts of the Newfound World of America* (London, 1600). For ease of reference, in this volume the 1589 edition is referred to as *The Principall Navigations* (preserving the double ‘l’ of the original) and the second edition as *The Principal Navigations* (consistent with the changed spelling in 1598). Where reference to both editions is intended, *The Principal Navigations* has been preferred.

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4 DV, title page.

5 Throughout this volume we have referenced the edition published under the manuscript’s actual title: *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifolde Commodities that are Like to Growe to this Realme of Engelande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted ... Known as Discourse of Western Planting*, ed. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (London, 1993), abbreviated as PD.

Voyages, appeared in 1928; it sought not only to record the events of Hakluyt’s life in the context of the history of England’s expansion in overseas enterprise, but also to provide an account of Hakluyt’s literary history and the importance of his work. Parks’s efforts to recognize Hakluyt’s significance were complemented by those of E.G.R. Taylor, whose Tudor Geography (1930), Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography (1934), and her two-volume edition for the Hakluyt Society, The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys (1935), remain essential reading, clarifying both the family connections and the relationships between the Hakluys, London merchants, City companies, and officials. Since the publication of work by Parks and Taylor, scholarship on Hakluyt has undergone a series of notable developments. In particular, The Hakluyt Handbook of 1974, edited by D.B. Quinn, made a valuable contribution by documenting extensively the historical record of his activities and situating his work in its geographical, economic, political, cartographic, and other contexts. The ‘Hakluyt Chronology’ prepared by D.B. and A.M. Quinn continues to provide an especially helpful guide. Yet C.F. Beckingham’s Preface to the work struck a tentative note, commenting ‘[w]e are still far from having had the last word on Hakluyt’s biography’, and, with regard to Hakluyt’s sources, that the Handbook ‘is exploratory, rather than definitive: it represents most of what is known, but by no means all that can be discovered’.

There is little doubt that the direction of critical engagement with Hakluyt took a decisive turn in the 1990s with the publication of Richard Helgerson’s Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England (1992), which argued that The Principal Navigations in particular played an important role in the emergence of ideas about an English ‘nation’ by articulating a sense of overseas national achievement proleptically, and by stressing the significance of mercantile, as well as aristocratic actors in the theatre of empire. This important contribution was joined by Mary C. Fuller’s nuanced study, Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624 (1995), which considered the rhetorical features of Hakluyt’s work and the ways that travel writing functioned discursively in this period. More recently, in The Ideological Origins of the British Empire (2000), David Armitage has argued for the importance of The Principal Navigations in shaping the development of Britain’s imperial identity, conceptualized as a polity at once ‘Protestant, commercial, maritime and free’. David Harris Sacks has responded by emphasizing the relevance of religious faith in Hakluyt’s work, suggesting that Hakluyt was neither a conventional Calvinist nor a conventional millenarian, but rather adopted an ‘avant garde conformity’ in matters of religion. In Peter C. Mancall’s biography Hakluyt’s Promise, published almost eighty years after Parks’s account,

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9 HH, 1:263–331.
10 HH, 1:xx.
12 Mary C. Fuller, Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624 (Cambridge, 1995).
Hakluyt’s intricate networks of political contact were explored, while immersing his literary production in the print culture of the period.\textsuperscript{15}

Not only has Hakluyt’s role and influence been the subject of scholarly inquiry but, at the same time, as studies such as Helgerson’s \textit{Forms of Nationhood} and Fuller’s \textit{Voyages in Print} demonstrate, the field of early modern travel writing studies more broadly has developed in a number of related directions. Under the banner of New Historicism, a series of publications has transformed our understanding of early modern texts associated with trade, cultural encounter, and colonialism, by attending to these documents with a literary sensitivity to rhetoric, figurative language, and modes of representation, while situating them in a broader social and historical context inflected by a Foucauldian understanding of power and sexuality.\textsuperscript{16} The ways in which accounts of elsewhere figure as comments on domestic issues, and how English travel writing contributed to the formation of the concept of the English nation, have been particularly productive fields of study.\textsuperscript{17} At the same time, discussion of early modern travel writing has been invigorated by French critical sources from Michel de Certeau to Tzvetan Todorov, and separate theoretical strands arising from post-colonialism, gender studies, and cultural studies.\textsuperscript{18} Another body of criticism has also emerged that concerns itself with European experience in the Near East and Asia, especially European pre-colonial encounters with, for example, the powerful political and cultural entities of the Mughal and Ottoman empires.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe} takes these discussions forward in a variety of ways, while revising our picture of Hakluyt’s position and influence with specific studies of his work, life, and context. One of the leading questions explored

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} See also Mancall’s bibliographical essay, ‘A Note on Methods and Sources’, in \textit{Hakluyt’s Promise}, 313–18.
\end{itemize}
here is how Hakluyt should be situated in relation to the practice and genre of travel collecting generally. In an English context, Hakluyt’s immediate forebears were Richard Eden and Richard Willes whose engagement with the possibilities of European travel in the New World occurred only a few decades before Hakluyt, but in markedly different circumstances. In particular, it was possible for Eden, in his preface to The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India (1555), to praise the achievement of Spain,20 while it was one of Hakluyt’s emphatic purposes (as Francisco Borge shows21) to challenge and emulate that rival’s status through strategic proposals and, on occasion, a belittling rhetoric. Yet the effect on Hakluyt of these English antecedents is overshadowed by the far greater significance of Continental humanist sources which inspired him in different ways, whether Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire d’Anghiera), the Italian chronicler at the court of Charles V, whose work he edited,22 or, above all, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, the great Venetian travel editor. For Joan-Pau Rubiés, Ramusio’s humanist methods of manuscript collation and reproduction, and his methodological approach to the ordering and contextualization of his materials, offered an example to Hakluyt of a system to be applied when editing a collection of English travel writing. In her contribution, Margaret Small demonstrates that despite this conjunction of method, subtle but important differences between the two editors often appear, evident for example in Hakluyt’s willingness in certain contexts to suppress textual detail that did not advance his cause. In assessing the shape and organization of The Principal Navigations, Nandini Das raises the key issue of whether it represents a totality, as Hakluyt hoped, or a collection of ‘scattered limmes’.23 She shows the rhetorical tradition behind this argument by focusing on accounts of India from the two editions of The Principal Navigations, and in so doing addresses Hakluyt’s negotiation of a tension characteristic of the genre in which he was working between individual and collective voices. Peter Mancall’s essay discusses the almost complete absence of illustrated material in The Principal Navigations. For Mancall, Hakluyt was a creature of print, even though alternative models existed in the work of humanist contemporaries (like André Thevet) who lavishly appropriated visual material, or indeed his successor, Purchas, who devoted much more space to including illustrations.24 The exception, of course, is Hakluyt’s collaboration with Theodor de Bry in preparing an edition of Thomas Harriot’s A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (1590), which is in some ways unrepresentative of Hakluyt’s corpus more generally, though it reveals the promotional value he recognized in engravings for specific publications.

20 ‘Rycharde Eden to the reader’, in The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India (London, 1555), esp. A1v–C1r. See also the Latin dedication to Philip and Mary (following their marriage a year earlier).
21 In addition to his contribution to this volume (Chapter 13, “We (upon peril of my life) shall make the Spaniard ridiculous to all Europe”: Richard Hakluyt’s “Discourse” of Spain, pp. 167–76), see Francisco J. Borge, A New World for a New Nation: The Promotion of America in Early Modern England (Oxford, 2007).
22 De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii annotationibus illustratae labore & industria Richardi Hakluyti Oxoniensis Angli (Paris, 1587).
23 PN(M), 1:xxxix.
24 See André Thevet, La Cosmographie universelle, 2 vols (Paris, 1575) and Les Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres (Paris, 1584). As L.E. Pennington points out, Purchas his Pilgrimes includes 63 maps and 30 illustrations, as well as the engraved title page (which itself includes illustrations and a map of the world). ‘Samuel Purchas: His Reputation and the Uses of His Works’, in PH, 1:87.
The influence that Hakluyt himself enjoyed was vast, if not immediate. The project to establish an English presence in the New World, which figured so prominently in his ambitions, notably failed in the 1580s, but Hakluyt’s impact as an editor was widely felt. In Continental Europe, as Sven Trakulhun shows, the editions of de Bry and Levinus Hulsius represent a continuation of Hakluyt’s tradition in some respects, although the visual component of their texts is a significant departure. In France, Grégoire Holtz makes clear, attempts to develop a collection comparable in scope to Hakluyt’s proved unsuccessful, despite the efforts of Pierre Bergeron and others, who drew inspiration from Hakluyt. In England, Purchas self-consciously took on the mantle of Hakluyt while in fact pursuing a rather different conception of the travel collection. Rubié stresses the centrality of religion to his editorial perspective and the ways in which his work represents the development of a distinctively Protestant cosmography, in answer to Giovanni Botero. In the eighteenth century, Matthew Day’s essay points out, the expansion of English territorial holdings and power consolidated the status of the travel collection as a means of projecting national prestige. To some extent this realized Hakluyt’s hopes, to the degree that the ‘nation’ was celebrated as the source and beneficiary of achievement, but it also represented a waning of Hakluyt’s method as an editor, which no longer commanded the same veneration it had once enjoyed.

Our understanding of the approach taken by Hakluyt is sharpened by studies of his methods of editorial adaptation. Felicity Stout’s essay examines Hakluyt’s redaction of Giles Fletcher’s account of an embassy to Russia entitled Of the Russe Common Wealth (1591). The work was suppressed after publication, in response, it would appear, to complaints from the Muscovy Company. Hakluyt’s version is highly truncated, suggesting that he responded to sensitivities associated with the original publication. But he did not excise it altogether, indicating that he was intent on retrieving useful information irrespective of the controversy surrounding the source. Attention to changes of paratext – the framing of publications in a variety of ways to shape their meaning and reception25 – forms the focal point of Colm MacCrossan’s contribution. He considers Hakluyt’s incorporation of materials, in particular from medieval chronicles, to create the illusion of a continuous narrative. In this setting, the objective of defining an ‘English nation’ emerges as an effect imposed on often very disparate materials, achieved through carefully constructed paratextual intervention. Julia Schleck discusses the sub-genre of the captivity narrative, represented by Thomas Saunders’s account of his time in Tripoli. Here, Hakluyt’s paratextual reframing of the text (which had been published separately in 1587) addressed the complicated demands of telling a story of English experience at the same time as accommodating diplomatic arrangements with the Ottoman Empire that secured English trade.

The generic forms included by Hakluyt in The Principal Navigations run from travel accounts to diplomatic reports, and depositions to letters patent. Bernhard Klein concentrates on a little-known work in an unusual generic form – a 1,400-line poem concerning travel to Guinea in the early 1560s. Composed by Robert Baker in undistinguished verse, the work attempts to classicize a journey to obtain gold in mini-epic form. Hakluyt reprinted it in the first edition of The Principall Navigations in 1589 but withdrew it from the second edition of 1598–1600. His rationale for

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replacing it may be the availability of other accounts offering a more ‘solid’ source of information, but this document nonetheless reveals important assumptions about race and literary modes of narrating adventure in the period.

Claire Jowitt’s essay historicizes the reading practice of travel by showing Hakluyt’s impact on contemporary drama. The predicament of the armchair traveller proved especially fruitful in a variety of dramatic pieces which used this figure in order to characterize and satirize the positions of the experienced and inexperienced traveller. If this contribution investigates methods of reading from an historical perspective, Mary Fuller’s essay draws attention to a related problem for present-day encounters with Hakluyt’s monumental text – how to negotiate its ‘dullness’ or impermeability. She examines the difficulty of ‘irrelevant’ texts (such as those describing Iceland – ostensibly falling outside Hakluyt’s design), the repetitiveness of the collection, and finally the incompleteness of narratives, which frustrates the reading process.

However practical his ambitions remained in producing it, Hakluyt’s text constituted a representation and imagining of the world, constructed rhetorically. Elizabeth Heale’s essay explores the structure of language in Hakluyt which identifies the globe as constituted by ‘straits’ and passages – means of access that make the world available and identify it as space opening itself up. The premise of free circulation (consistent with Hakluyt’s legal views, which were derived from Alberico Gentili and later Hugo Grotius) was joined by the confident assumption of the existence of a Northeast or Northwest Passage for conducting trade. At the same time, other narratives included by Hakluyt contain sites of blockage, offering tests of human endurance. This discussion indicates the importance of the sea, a theme explored in Steve Mentz’s contribution. Mentz argues that Hakluyt’s commitment is to the sea as a site of transportation, and that he largely ignored an available perspective on it as symbolic of divine power and retribution. Yet this religious sensibility is not entirely absent from some of the texts Hakluyt printed, complicating our understanding of the voices and inheritances represented in his major work.

Hakluyt’s rhetorical design in *The Principal Navigations*, as well as in his other publications, continually negotiated the competing claims of religious and secular interests. What might be called the ‘spiritual’ dimension of *The Principal Navigations* manifested itself, David Boruchoff argues, in Hakluyt’s access to classical and scriptural discourses of piety that reinforced (and occasionally challenged) national ambitions. The utility of these tropes in competition between Protestant and Catholic powers is well known, but a careful reading suggests a more complicated view of Hakluyt’s understanding of the grounds of divine favour and the didactic potential of history. Daniel Carey’s essay on accounts of Virginia examines a secular rhetoric in Hakluyt that would be developed and substantially extended by Purchas: the mode of romance. Both Hakluyt and Purchas rescued the scenario from mere connotations of sexual adventuring in the New World by making the story one of allegorized marriage – between a virgin land and a worthy suitor (by turns either Ralegh himself or the English or British nation). In Hakluyt the notion remained a hint, conveyed in decorous Latin, but Purchas would exploit its potential in the vernacular long after the period of actual settlement, when hostile relations with indigenous people complicated the situation.

Analysis of Hakluyt’s editorial protocols and ‘rhetorical’ practice is complemented throughout this volume by attention to the networks of economic and political influence
behind his projects. His earliest connections were with commercial organizations, in particular the Clothworkers’ Company. This association began during his period as an undergraduate and ‘Student’ (i.e. Fellow) at Christ Church, Oxford, and continued through the shaping of *The Principal Navigations* in line with the interests of long-distance trade and the export of finished cloth in particular, as Anthony Payne shows. Hakluyt’s patron Richard Staper, for example, not only helped him at an early stage but later supplied him with documents relating to trade in the Levant, based on Staper’s participation in the Turkey Company, founded by himself and others in 1581. The economic interests of cloth were underscored by Hakluyt’s elder cousin, also called Richard Hakluyt (a lawyer at the Middle Temple). He conferred his extensive contacts on his younger protégé, while providing tuition in an essentially ‘mercantilist’ understanding of trade, expansion, and state power.

Hakluyt’s geographical knowledge and ambitious schemes led to his involvement with figures at the apex of English political life. The composition of the ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, presented to Elizabeth I, came about through the influence of Sir Francis Walsingham and Ralegh (after the latter had received the Virginia patent following the death of his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, at sea in 1583). When his plans to colonize Virginia went into abeyance, Ralegh turned to Guiana, and Hakluyt again provided an important source of information for the venture. He was consulted on whether the region was fit for settlement, as Joyce Lorimer discusses, in a scheme devised to emulate Spanish achievements while avoiding their areas of immediate strength. When Ralegh’s interest lapsed, Sir Robert Cecil and Lord Charles Howard remained engaged by the potential of the region, leading to the publication of a series of documents on the enterprise in *The Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt’s capacity to work closely in advancing the cause of his patrons emerges clearly in this context.

The shadow of Spain is apparent here and in many other areas of Hakluyt’s activity. The suppression of the Cadiz leaves from *The Principal Navigations* speaks of the shifting diplomatic relationship with Spain (and to Essex’s controversial position), while Hakluyt’s ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, as Borge discusses, is fuelled by aspirations to overcome Spain and satirize its pride and greatness in the New World. Hakluyt even fashioned himself as a would-be martyr, risking his life in the valiant effort to ‘make the Spaniarde ridiculous to all Europe’. In Diègo Pirillo’s account of the relationship between Hakluyt and his friend Gentili, the exiled Italian Protestant who took up a position as Professor of Civil Law in Oxford, Spain also features. Gentili’s commitment to the concept of the balance of power was pitched against the attribution to Spain of

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26 PD, xv.

27 In his census of surviving copies of Hakluyt’s publications, Anthony Payne notes that ‘[t]he title-page of the first volume [of *The Principal Navigations*] (1598) promises an account of Essex’s “famous victorie” at Cadiz in 1596, which duly appears at the end of that volume (pp. 607–19). It is usually referred to as the “Cadiz leaves”. Within a year of the first volume’s publication, the Cadiz leaves were withdrawn, the title-page was reprinted without mention of Essex or Cadiz, and its publication date changed to 1599. This alteration might have been made at the government’s behest, owing to Essex’s declining influence at Court and the political controversy surrounding him and the Cadiz venture, or by Hakluyt himself, when he decided to dedicate the second and third volumes to the Queen’s chief minister, Sir Robert Cecil, Essex’s rival and an advocate of negotiating peace with Spain’; http://www.hakluyt.com/hakluyt_census.htm.

28 PD, 52.
plans to impose a universal monarchy. The expansion of Spain in the New World meant that struggles for colonial territory formed an essential part of the equation, and it was in this context that Gentili proposed arguments in favour of a free sea (which came to influence Grotius and Hakluyt).²⁹

The intensity of conflict with Spain was underpinned, of course, by religious difference. Hakluyt’s defence of Protestant interests more generally is well-known but the proper characterization of the role of religion in his imperial vision has remained a matter of controversy. In order to address this question, David Harris Sacks looks at Virginia once again, where Hakluyt promoted material gain in tandem with a ‘godly mission’ to convert savage peoples and realize a providential role. Matthew Dimmock’s essay offers a perspective on the array of religious differences depicted in The Principal Navigations, particularly the Abrahamic religions of Islam and Judaism, before turning to the representations of pagan idolatry in Hakluyt’s collection. What emerges in the two editions of The Principal Navigations is a sometimes confused account of Jewish rites and an oblique understanding of sectarian conflict among Muslims. The need to conduct trade and form useful partnerships in the face of competition confirms that, however potent, Hakluyt’s religious concerns did not make him ideologically rigid. In the works he printed, authors commonly deplored the inclination to idolatry evident among ‘Old World’ peoples (e.g. the Lapps), while in the New World the key question was whether converts to Christianity could be obtained. The mixed and complementary motives, at once worldly and other-worldly in reward, is apparent in Edward Hayes’s remark about American settlement plans (in a text published by Hakluyt), anticipating ‘an effectuall and complet discovery and possession by christians both of those ample countries and the riches within them’.³⁰

As the above discussion makes clear, the essays in Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe overlap in terms of topics and scope as they engage with Hakluyt’s life and work, his cultural milieux, and his intellectual and ideological legacies. In order to enable readers to navigate the material we have divided the essays into thematic sections, but these are not intended to imply rigid or exclusive categories of analysis. Rather, they are indicative, and suggest an interplay of possible orientations. Section I, ‘Hakluyt in Context’, considers where Hakluyt’s work is situated in relation to two key areas for understanding the emergence of collected travel as an important literary and cultural form at this time: the expansionist climate of early modern mercantile London and the rising prominence of the genre of collected travel in a variety of European countries. These twin contexts provide the intellectual framework for the collection’s later essays. Section II, ‘Early Modern Travel Collections’, continues to situate Hakluyt’s work in relation to the work of his Continental contemporaries and successors, exploring how Hakluyt was influenced by, and in turn shaped, the genre of the travel writing collection. Three essays, on Ramusio, on Hulsius and de Bry, and on Bergeron, deal respectively with collections of Italian, German, and French travel writing, and their relationship to Hakluyt’s work. The use of visual material in representing exotic spaces in travel literature and Hakluyt’s reputation among anthologizers of travel in the eighteenth

³⁰ PN1, 680.
century are also considered by essays in this section, to allow the reader to appreciate the distinctiveness of Hakluyt’s collection as well as its relevance and reassessment over a long period.

Section III, ‘Editorial Practices’, further considers Hakluyt’s editorial method, in order to appreciate the significance of the ways in which he developed the form as well as the content of the travel writing collection. It provides exemplary discussions of Hakluyt’s editorial practice in and beyond *The Principal Navigations*, in relation to the ‘writing of Guiana’, the representation of India, and the transformation of letters, records, or separately published pamphlets into a few pages of text in a large collection. Other essays in this section consider the relationship between the text and its paratextual frames in *The Principal Navigations*, and, in relation to material on Russia, the possible reasons behind the censorship of certain passages as well as the political conditions of Hakluyt’s editorial work. Building on these ideas, Section IV, ‘Allegiances and Ideologies: Politics, Religion, Nation’, focuses in detail on the content of *The Principal Navigations*, examining in particular the social, political, religious, and economic motivations behind Hakluyt’s project to gather together a complete record of English voyages overseas. It features five essays exploring the cultural work undertaken by *The Principal Navigations* from a variety of overlapping perspectives, including Hakluyt’s rhetorical construction of ‘Spain’ as a spur to English national endeavour; the contribution of Italian Protestant exiles in England to Hakluyt’s work; the use in *The Principal Navigations* of *pietas patriae* – the tradition of draping political pretensions in the discourse of piety; Hakluyt’s understanding of his project as a ‘Godly mission’; and finally the ideological significance of Hakluyt’s representation of other faiths. Finally, Section V, ‘Hakluyt: Rhetoric and Writing’, explores the rhetorical and literary dimensions of Hakluyt’s work and of early modern travel writing collections more generally. The section’s opening essay critically examines the reading experience offered by Hakluyt’s text; the next focuses on the use and significance of a rare literary form, the mini-epic poem, in Hakluyt’s prose collection; a third essay discusses the contrasting representation of Virginia by Hakluyt and Purchas in relation to the trope of romance; the fourth essay investigates the rhetorical possibilities of the language used to describe voyages to straits and passages in the extreme south and north; the section’s penultimate chapter focuses on Hakluyt’s use of, and the symbolic meanings associated with, the ocean; the section’s concluding essay explores Hakluyt’s literary reach through the satiric treatment of armchair travellers who, like Hakluyt, advocate travel while staying at home in a series of early-to-mid seventeenth-century plays. The volume closes with a coda assessing Hakluyt’s place and influence on the history and publications of the Hakluyt Society, established in 1846 and named in his honour.

The essays in this volume advance our understanding of Hakluyt and his work in a variety of directions, tracing not only the routes his travellers took but also the historical, contextual, and rhetorical byways his work offers. Hakluyt’s personality and portrait may remain elusive, but the body of work he left constitutes powerful testimony of his far-reaching scheme to document and collect English and European activity. When Hakluyt published *Divers Voyages* and *The Principal Navigations*, or translated *Mare liberum*, the concept of a world economy was new and tentative, but discernable. His work is emblematic of the global ambitions of the age, the lasting effects of which remain with us today.
Section I
HAKLUYT IN CONTEXT
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Richard Hakluyt was a Londoner. He was well connected at court, enjoying the patronage of two secretaries of state, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Robert Cecil, and with London’s mercantile community, especially those concerned with the discovery of new, distant markets. This essay explores the nature of England’s overseas trade in Hakluyt’s era and the extent to which he reflected or influenced London’s various commercial interests, developing patterns of trade, and government policy.

London and Overseas Trade

A metropolis that comprised two distinct cities – Westminster and the City of London proper – London was the greatest urban centre in England. Its population in 1600 was about 150,000, maybe even 200,000 including its suburbs, dwarfing the next largest city, Norwich, which had a population of 15,000. London was the seat of government and the court, the economic centre of the country, and home to its chief port, through which more than three-quarters of England’s foreign trade passed. Despite its dominance, London was not disconnected from the rural majority of the country’s total population of roughly four million. If nearly all cloth exports were through London, it was also the conduit through which the profits filtered back to the provinces. Gentry families that had moved to London often continued to hold lands in their native counties. The

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Hakluyts, originally from Herefordshire and still owning land there, were therefore not untypical in maintaining rural links and being long established in London, where Richard went to Westminster School and his father belonged to the Company of Skinners. The landed status of Hakluyt’s guardian and elder cousin, also called Richard, was acknowledged when he was styled ‘M. Richard Hakluyt, of Eiton in the countie of Hereford, Esquire’. A Middle Temple lawyer, it was he who inspired the young Hakluyt’s interest in geography, and he was close to those Londoners keen to find new overseas markets. His recognition and promotion of London’s pre-eminence is demonstrated by his advice in 1580 to the Russia (or Muscovy) Company’s representatives to take with them a map of England to show the Russians the ‘countrie from whence you come’ and ‘also the large mappe of London, to make shew of your citie. And let the river be drawne full of shippes of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.’

The dominant English export in the Tudor period was cloth, and the great majority of cloth, and indeed other exports, passed through London. Between the 1470s and 1550 cloth exports doubled. Unfinished broadcloth went mainly to Antwerp to be dressed and dyed for sale in northern and central Europe. Lighter cloths (kerseys) passed via Antwerp to Italy and on to the Balkans, Turkey, and Persia. More cloths went to the Baltic and the Iberian Peninsula. This pattern began to change after 1550–51 when a glut of English cloth and severe monetary instability rocked the traditional market. The trade suffered still more from its overdependence on Antwerp – also a major source for imported goods – a city in decline, exacerbated later by the Netherlands revolt. Although cloth exports recovered, and are notably constant when averaged over the Elizabethan period, they did not regain the highs of the late 1540s. While the economy’s old mainstay languished, a boom in land prices provided a substantial stimulus, even if only a minority profited directly, and increased demand for luxury products. These developments had a deep impact on the orientation of England’s overseas trade, prompting a search for fresh outlets for exports and direct sources for imports, especially luxuries. The role of imports is now seen as more decisive than exports in this process, especially as none of the distant trading regions developed after 1550 turned out to provide significant outlets for cloth. Certainly by 1600, when the East India Company

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5 E.g. PN(Q&S), 1:460.
6 PN(M), 1:xvii. For Hakluyt the lawyer (d.1591) and the Hakluyt family, see George Bruner Parks, Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961), 25–55, 233–45.
10 G.D. Ramsay, The City of London in International Politics at the Accession of Elizabeth Tudor (Manchester, 1975); Ramsay, The Queen’s Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands (Manchester, 1986); Ramsey, Tudor Economic Problems, 56–7, 66–8.
12 Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, 7–9.
13 Brenner, Merchants and Revolution, 5, 11, 39–45.
was established, English merchants recognized the limited prospects for exporting cloth to Asian markets.\textsuperscript{14}

Those engaged in overseas trade did not necessarily have uniform objectives. Many confined themselves to established Continental cloth markets, and only a minority of London's merchants was inclined to develop new, extra-European markets as their primary interest.\textsuperscript{15} Preponderant in the formation of the East India Company were Levant Company merchants, but Merchant Adventurers, whose company still included by far the largest number of the City's wealthiest merchants, provided relatively little capital – indeed as time went on they seem to have become even less interested in the southern and eastern trades.\textsuperscript{16} Yet, traditional or innovative, the great merchants who dominated England's foreign trade were based in London and numbered but a few hundred individuals.\textsuperscript{17} While differences existed over foreign policy (essentially regarding rapprochement with Spain) as well as conflicting business interests, there was in the Elizabethan period usually sufficient common ground for compromises to be reached and the group maintained a high degree of social cohesion.\textsuperscript{18}

**Traditional Trading Structures, Joint-Stock Companies, and Privateering**

The cloth trade had long been the preserve of the Merchant Adventurers, a privileged consortium of merchants, predominantly Londoners, exporting unfinished cloths to Europe.\textsuperscript{19} They were a 'regulated' company in that they traded individually under an agreed set of rules but unlike joint-stock companies they did not pool their resources to trade as a single entity. Joint-stock companies are closely connected with attempts to develop distant alternatives to established export markets. These ventures required a far greater capital outlay, including larger ships than necessary for trade closer to home, but the companies' joint-stock structure allowed the spreading of risk as well as the participation of those who wished to invest but not to be actively involved in everyday operations. The Russia Company, for example, at its foundation included peers, office-holders and others who would not be found in the traditional organization of the Merchant Adventurers. Companies' interests were protected by a charter granting them monopoly rights to trade in a particular region for a certain number of years.\textsuperscript{20}