

## **Hakluyt and the East India Company: A Documentary and Bibliographical Review**

Anthony Payne

### **Introduction**

This paper examines Richard Hakluyt's association with the East India Company and the contemporary manuscript and printed materials relating to this.<sup>1</sup> Besides detailing references to Hakluyt in the company's records, the coverage includes identification and a descriptive listing of Hakluyt's sources of information in advising the company, his acquisition of papers from its early voyages, the publication of accounts of these, and his translations of matter relevant to the company's operations. Attention is paid to international politics and diplomacy, not only for understanding the wider historical context of the discussion, but also to assist the evaluation of several documents.

Five particular manuscripts are considered in detail, especially in relation to their dating and attribution:

---

<sup>1</sup> Published documentary sources for the company's early years include Sir George Birdwood and William Foster, eds, *The Register of Letters &c. of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies 1600–1619* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1893) (an edition of British Library IOR/B/2); John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company, from Their Establishment by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1600, to the Union of the London and English East-India Companies, 1707–8*, vol. 1 (London: Black, Parry and Kingsbury for the East India Company, 1810), pp. 110–90; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and Elsewhere. Edited by W. Noël Sainsbury* (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1862), pp. 99–487; Frederick Charles Danvers and William Foster, eds, *Letters Received by the East India Company from Its Servants in the East Transcribed from the 'Official Correspondence' Series of the India Office Records*, 6 vols (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1896–1902); Henry Stevens, ed., *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599–1603 Containing an Account of the Formation of the Company the First Adventure and Waymouth's Voyage in Search of the North-West Passage Now First Printed from the Original Manuscript* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1886) (an edition of British Library IOR/B/1). The company's archive forms part of the India Office Records now held by the British Library. See William Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records, 1600–1858* (London: India Office, 1919); Martin Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records* (London: British Library, 1988). For printed matter, see Catherine Pickett, *Bibliography of the East India Company: Books, Pamphlets and Other Materials Printed between 1600 and 1785* (London: British Library, 2011).

- (a) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden B. 8, ff. 84–98. A series of notes by Hakluyt on commodities and trade in the East Indies.
- (b) The National Archives of the UK (TNA), CO 77/1, no. 17. ‘Certaiyne Reasons why the English Merchants may trade into the East Indies’.
- (c) San Marino, Huntington Library, MS EL 2360. ‘Noates of remembrance . . . presented by y<sup>e</sup> Merchants entending a voiage to y<sup>e</sup> Easte Indies’.
- (d) London, British Library, Sloane MS 25, f. 13. ‘The places in the East Indies where the subjects of the King of Spayne hath any ffortes and settled residences’.
- (e) London, Library of the Inner Temple, Petyt MS 529. ‘The Free Sea or a Disputatio[n] concerning the Right W[hi]ch y<sup>e</sup> Hollanders Ought to Have, to the Indian Merchandize for Trading’ by Hugo Grotius, translated by Hakluyt.

### **The Formation and Early Years of the East India Company**

The English East India Company received its royal charter on 31 December 1600.<sup>2</sup> A list of potential investors had been drawn up over a year beforehand, on 22 September 1599, and at a meeting on 24 September 1599 they elected a board of directors to organise a trading voyage to the East Indies.<sup>3</sup> The directors met several times and the Queen was

---

<sup>2</sup> Although it became known as the ‘East India Company’, it was not so-named in the charter, which was granted to the corporate body of ‘The Governour and Companie of Merchantes of London tradinge into the East Indies’. For the text of the oldest copy of the charter (the original is lost), annotated with variant readings from other early copies, see Birdwood & Foster, eds, *Register of Letters &c. of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies*, pp. 163–89. Among modern accounts of the company’s formation and early history are Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 256–79; K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600–1640* (London: Frank Cass, 1965); Sir William Foster, *England’s Quest of Eastern Trade* (London: A. & C. Black, 1933), pp. 144–53; Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, *A Century of Advance*, 4 bks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), bk 1, *Trade, Missions, Literature*, pp. 73–88; Rupali Mishra, *A Business of State: Commerce, Politics, and the Birth of the East India Company* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018); William Robert Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, vol. 2, *Companies for Foreign Trade, Colonization, Fishing and Mining* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1910), pp. 89–128. For an overview of the general historical background, see Anthony Payne, ‘Hakluyt’s London: Discovery and Overseas Trade’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 13–23.

<sup>3</sup> Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, pp. 1–7. For recent research into East India Company investment, see Edmond Smith, ‘The

known to be favourable in principle, but on 16 October 1599 they decided to suspend further planning until the following year, as it was apparent that the venture, an infringement of Iberian claims of exclusivity in the East Indies,<sup>4</sup> would not be permitted if it impeded possible peace negotiations with Spain and that the privy council considered the success of these to be of greater benefit to the country's commerce in general.<sup>5</sup> Preparations resumed with the full and enthusiastic support of the privy council in September 1600,<sup>6</sup> by which time the peace conference eventually convened at Boulogne in May 1600 had broken up and further talks were no longer a serious prospect.<sup>7</sup> Finally, in February 1601 the company's first trading expedition, commanded by James Lancaster, sailed for the East Indies, and the second, under Henry Middleton, departed in March 1604, employing the same ships as the first, which had returned in 1603.<sup>8</sup>

The treaty of London in August 1604, which ended the Anglo-Spanish war, effectively ignored the matter of English trade to the Indies (East and West) because no agreement could be reached on it, and it made little practical difference to the succession of voyages that followed since the Spanish lacked the resources to enforce any

---

Global Interests of London's Commercial Community, 1599–1625: Investment in the East India Company', *Economic History Review*, vol. 71, no. 4 (November 2018), pp. 1118–46; Edmond Smith, 'The Social Networks of Investment in Early Modern England', *Historical Journal* (online publication October 2020), pp. 1–28.

<sup>4</sup> The East Indies were part of Portugal's overseas empire, but after Philip II of Spain's forcible imposition of his claim to the Portuguese crown in 1580, there was no distinction to be made between the preserves of the two countries in either the eyes of the Spanish monarchy or of its enemies. English clashes with Iberian monopolistic claims overseas first arose in the 1550s with Portugal, initially over trade to Morocco and then, much more seriously, Guinea. Philip II of Spain, aware that his interests could equally be threatened by English incursions, supported Portuguese diplomatic protests and, in 1555, thanks to his marriage to the English Queen Mary I (d. 1558), obtained the privy council's prohibition of English voyages to Guinea. This was short-lived and largely ineffective. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 101–9.

<sup>5</sup> Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, pp. 10–11. For the international and diplomatic background, see Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598–1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 25–9; Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 114–17; Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics 1588–1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 223–5; R. B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain 1595–1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 319–22. Although a secret overture had been received by the Queen in January 1599, it was not until September 1599 that the international situation became conducive to peace negotiations being a realistic possibility. The crucial intermediary in bringing about the talks was the government of the Spanish Netherlands.

<sup>6</sup> Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, pp. 11–14.

<sup>7</sup> Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica*, pp. 42–8, MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics*, pp. 226–35; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, pp. 323–33.

<sup>8</sup> Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, pp. 154–60, 165.

meaningful exclusions.<sup>9</sup> By 1612 the company had sent out twelve expeditions, known as the ‘separate voyages’, because each one was separately invested in by individual members of the company as they saw fit and accounted for as a discrete stock.<sup>10</sup> In 1613 the company began planning its ‘joint-stock voyages’, in which a series of expeditions would be continuously financed and profits distributed out of a single capital investment or general stock over a four-year term. The first ships under this arrangement sailed for the East Indies in 1614, and in late 1616, at the time of Hakluyt’s death, a second joint-stock was being formed.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> An ambiguous clause allowed English subjects to trade freely throughout Spanish dominions in accordance with various treaties dating from before the war, which the English took to include the Indies, whereas the Spanish insisted that any such arrangements could not extend beyond European waters to the Indies. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 253–5; Pauline Croft, ‘*Rex Pacificus*, Robert Cecil, and the 1604 Peace with Spain’, in *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, ed. Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 150–1; Frances Gardiner Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), pp. 246–57; Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 189–93; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, pp. 413–14. English access to the Indies was a persistent and contentious issue throughout the negotiations, readily apparent, e.g., from the journal excerpted in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Report and Appendix. – (Part I.)* (London: HMSO, 1881), pp. 95–8. Agreement on the Indies had similarly been impossible to reach in the treaties between France and Spain at Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 and Vervins in 1598. Davenport, ed., *European Treaties*, pp. 219–20, 231.

<sup>10</sup> Scott, *Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, vol. 2, pp. 95–101. The twelve separate voyages are conveniently listed with names of their commanders and ships in Birdwood & Foster, eds, *Register of Letters &c. of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies*, p. xiv. For voyage bibliographies, see Judith Farrington, ‘The First Twelve Voyages of the English East India Company, 1601–13: A Guide to Sources’, *Indonesia and the Malay World*, vol. 29, no. 85 (2001), pp. 141–60. For documentary accounts of the early voyages, see Sir William Foster, ed., *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies 1591–1603: A New Edition with Introduction and Notes by Sir William Foster* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), pp. 75–161; Sir William Foster, ed., *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas 1604–1606: A New and Enlarged Edition with an Introduction and Notes by Sir William Foster* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1943); Richmond Barbour, *The Third Voyage Journals: Writing and Performance in the London East India Company, 1607–10* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Sir William Foster, ed., *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608–1617, Describing His Experiences in Arabia, India, and the Malay Archipelago* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1905); Sir William Foster, ed., *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies 1612–14* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1934). An edition by Richmond Barbour of John Saris’s journal of the eighth voyage is projected for publication by the Hakluyt Society.

<sup>11</sup> Scott, *Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, vol. 2, pp. 101, 103–4. The first major expedition under the first joint-stock was the fleet of four ships commanded by Nicholas Downton, which sailed in March 1614 (a single vessel had departed a little earlier). Sir William Foster, ed., *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies 1614–15: As Recorded in Contemporary Narratives and Letters* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1939).

## Hakluyt as Adviser to the East India Company

Among the major original investors in the East India Company and one of the fifteen directors elected on 24 September 1599 was Richard Staper, who subsequently sat on the special committee formed in October 1600 to meet daily to supervise arrangements for the first voyage.<sup>12</sup> Staper had known Hakluyt since at least the 1580s, when Hakluyt acknowledged him in the original edition of the *Principal Navigations* (1589) for supplying material on the Levant trade,<sup>13</sup> and, as a senior member of the Clothworkers' Company, Staper would have been aware of (and possibly also arranged) the financial awards the Clothworkers' made to Hakluyt from 1578 until 1586.<sup>14</sup> None of the other directors has such an obvious personal relationship with Hakluyt, and Staper may therefore have recommended Hakluyt to the fledgling East India Company. However, thanks especially to the *Principal Navigations*, which from 1598 was appearing in its much enlarged second edition,<sup>15</sup> Hakluyt's reputation and wider connections were perhaps sufficient to make such an introduction unnecessary,<sup>16</sup> certainly as regards geographical expertise and his command of information on the East Indies.<sup>17</sup> As a

---

<sup>12</sup> Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, pp. 1, 6, 40, 261. Staper pledged £500, later £800. The other directors elected on 24 September 1599 were Richard Godderd, John Moore, Thomas Cordell, William Garwey, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Cambell, Richard Wiseman, Thomas Symondes, Nicholas Style, Nicholas Lyng, Richard Wycke, Roger Howe, William Cockin and Nicholas Leatt.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, deputies to Christopher Barker, 1589), \*4<sup>v</sup> ('More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with divers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East'). Staper had been engaged in the Levant trade since the 1570s and, like many other founders of the East India Company, including its first governor, Sir Thomas Smythe (Smith), he was also a member of the Levant Company. See Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 18–23.

<sup>14</sup> D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 268–9, 292–3; G. D. Ramsay, 'Clothworkers, Merchants Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *English Historical Review*, vol. 92 (1977), pp. 517–20. For Staper (d. 1608), see also *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

<sup>15</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* 3 vols (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1598–99–1600). For ease of reference in subsequent footnotes the three volumes of this edition are designated respectively *PN1*, *PN2*, *PN3*.

<sup>16</sup> *PN1* was dedicated to the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, *PN2* and *PN3* to secretary of state Sir Robert Cecil. For Hakluyt's patronage, see Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), pp. 16–19.

<sup>17</sup> For material of potential interest to voyagers to the East Indies in the *Principal Navigations*, see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Century of Discovery*, 2 bks (Chicago: University of

contemporary remarked, ‘*All these Voyages, and sundrie other important discourses of the East Indies, Pegu, China, the Malucos, Philippinas and Iapan, are to be found in the second and third volumes of M. Hakluyts English Voyages*’.<sup>18</sup>

The first record of Hakluyt’s formal presence with the company’s directors, Staper included, is at their meeting on 16 October 1599.<sup>19</sup> No further details of Hakluyt’s attendance on this occasion survive, but there is more information on his later appearance before the directors (Staper again among them) on 29 January 1601, when it was minuted:

M<sup>r</sup> Hacklett the historiographer of the viages of the East Indies, beinge here before the Comitties<sup>20</sup> and having read unto them out of his notes and bookes divers instrucc[i]ons for provisions of Jewelles . was required to sett downe in wryting a note of the principall places in the East Indies wher Trade was is to be had to thend the same may be used for the better instrucc[i]on of o[u]r factors in the said voyage.<sup>21</sup>

Shortly afterwards, on 16 February 1601, the company’s agreement was duly recorded that a total of £11 10s (‘11<sup>li</sup>. 10<sup>s</sup>.’) was ‘to be geaven to M<sup>r</sup> Hacklett’ for this and earlier advice, as well as providing three maps:

---

Chicago Press, 1965), bk 1, pp. 213–15; Rogério Miguel Puga, ‘The Presence of the “Portugals” in Macao and Japan in Richard Hakluyt’s *Navigations*’, *Bulletin of Portuguese / Japanese Studies*, vol. 5 (December 2002), pp. 81–116; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 208–22, as well as the various references to the *Principal Navigations* below in the Appendix to this paper.

<sup>18</sup> William Walker, in the dedication to Thomas Smythe, governor of the East India Company, of his translation of *The Journall, or Dayly Register, Contayning a True Manifestation, and Historicall Declaration of the Voyage, Accomplished by Eight Shippes of Amsterdam, under the Conduct of Iacob Corneliszen Neck Admirall, & Wybrandt van Warwick Vice-Admirall, Which Sayled from Amsterdam the First Day of March, 1598* (London: [Simon Stafford and Felix Kingston] for Cuthbert Burby and John Flasket, 1601), ¶2<sup>v</sup> (side-note). Walker’s translation was ‘seconded by the perswasion’ of Hakluyt (¶2<sup>v</sup>). This account was of the Dutch expedition that departed for the East Indies under the overall command of Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck in 1598, the last of its eight ships returning with his deputy, Wybrand van Warwijck, in 1600. For its authorship, see n.166 below.

<sup>19</sup> Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> In the sense of committee-members or the individuals who were members of a body appointed or elected for a specific function (e.g., as in this instance, to direct or manage the East India Company). See *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<sup>21</sup> Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, pp. 123–4.

for his travelles [labours] taken in instrucc[i]ons and advyses touching the preparing of the voyage and for his former advyses in setting the voyage in hand the Last yere the somme of tenn poundes and xxx<sup>s</sup> for 3 mappes by him provided.<sup>22</sup>

The minutes do not record further details of the information provided by Hakluyt, but a series of manuscript notes, now Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden B. 8, ff. 84–98,<sup>23</sup> might well relate to the meeting on 29 January 1601 and certainly give an indication, along the lines of the minutes, of the information supplied by Hakluyt on commodities, their prices, and where they might be obtained, as well as goods suitable to take for trading in the East Indies.<sup>24</sup> Among the various headings found in these notes, three actually name Hakluyt: ‘The chiefe places where sondry sorte of spices do growe in the East Indies, gathered out of sondry the best and latest authours, by R. Hakluyt’ with a marginal comment that ‘This noat was made in February’ 1601;<sup>25</sup> ‘Notes of certayne

---

<sup>22</sup> Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, p. 143. See also nn.122, 126 below. Stephen Alford, *London’s Triumph: Merchant Adventurers and the Tudor City* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), p. 232, perhaps rather overstates the centrality of Hakluyt’s services in saying ‘he helped to lobby the queen’s Privy Council’.

<sup>23</sup> Printed for the first time in John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Bristol, in the Year 1582* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. 151–71 (from which quotations are taken in the present discussion). Although not stated, and presumably by mistake, the reprint of Jones’s transcription in E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts with an Introduction and Notes*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), vol. 2, pp. ix, 476–82 (doc. 81, ‘Notes drawn up by Richard Hakluyt, 1601’), is incomplete, omitting all the text printed by Jones after ‘yf you shall have occasion to use the same’ on p. 158 until ‘Certayne notes gathered’ on p. 170. Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 316, identifies ff. 93–6 as ‘being in Hakluyt’s hand’. For the volume of manuscripts in which this is bound with 19 other pieces, see Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford Which Have Not Hitherto Been Catalogued in the Quarto Series*, vol. 2, pt 1, *Collections Received before 1660 and Miscellaneous MSS. Acquired during the First Half of the 17th Century Nos. 1–3490 with References to the Oriental and Other Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), pp. 607–9 (no. 3338, the Hakluyt notes listed as item F, p. 608). This manuscript passed with Selden’s collection to the Bodleian in 1659. It was noticed among Hakluyt’s works by [Anthony à Wood], *Athenæ Oxonienses. An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the Most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford*, vol. 1 (London: Thomas Bennet, 1691), col. 350.

<sup>24</sup> George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, second edition (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961), p. 156, considered them ‘without doubt the original memoranda for the East India Company’.

<sup>25</sup> Dated old style ‘February, 1600’ in the manuscript, but that it is indeed 1601 when the year is reckoned as beginning on 1 January is confirmed by a reference later in the document to PN3, which did not appear until late 1600 (its dedication is dated 1 September 1600). Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, pp. 151, 153. See also Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 475–7.

comodities in good request in the East Indies, the Malucoes, and China, gathered out of the last and best authours which have lived and trafficked in those parts, by Richard Hakluyt',<sup>26</sup> and 'Certayne notes gathered of such as have had much familiaritie with the Portugales that trade in the East Indies, by Richard Hakluyt'.<sup>27</sup> The following extract, from the 'Notes of certayne comodities in good request in the East Indies, the Malucoes, and China', gives an indication of the contents and Hakluyt's presentation of his source material:<sup>28</sup>

Out of *Cæsar Fredericke*, a Venetian, who lived 18 yeres in many parts of the East Indies.<sup>29</sup>

Velvets, damasks, satins, armesine of Portugal, which is a kind of silke taffata, safron & skarlets. – *fol. 10, pag. 2.*

The ships that come from the streight of the Red Sea or Mecca, bring to Pegu and Sivion wollen cloth (made at Venice, of these coullours, to witte, murrey, violet, redmosine, skarlet, light or grasse greene), skarlets, velvets, opinno or affron, and chekines of gold. – *fol. 32, pag. 1, and fol. 36, p. 1.*

Bracelets of elephants teeth of diverse colours, much esteemed. – *fol. 6, pag. 2.*

The money of Pegu called Gansa, is made of copper and lead, which two mettals may therefore prove good marchandize. – *fol. 32, pag. 2.*

Notes of Commodities fit for the East Indies. Out of *John Huygen Van Linschoten*.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, p. 166 (this is in the portion omitted by Taylor).

<sup>27</sup> Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, p. 170. See also Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 482.

<sup>28</sup> Taken from Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, pp. 166–7 (f. 93<sup>r-v</sup> in the manuscript; f. 93<sup>r</sup> is illustrated by Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 315, fig. 16) (this is in the portion omitted by Taylor).

<sup>29</sup> Cesare Federici, *The Voyage and Travaile: of M. Cæsar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. Wherein Are Contained Very Pleasant and Rare Matters, with the Customes and Rites of Those Countries. Also, Heerein Are Discovered the Merchandises and Commodities of Those Countreyes, aswell the Aboundaunce of Goulde and Silver, as Spices, Drugges, Pearles, and Other Iewelles. Written at Sea in the Hercules of London: Comming from Turkie, the 25. of March 1588. For the Profitable Instruction of Merchants and All Other Travellers, for Their Better Direction and Knowledge of Those Countreyes. Out of Italian, by T. H[ickock]* (London: Richard Jones and Edward White, 1588). Further details on this and other cited sources are given below in the Appendix to this paper.



Wyne, as sacks, canarie wyne, and malmesies. – *pag.* 4.

Oyle of olives. – *pagina* 4.

Holland cloth and cambricke good marchandize in Java. – *p.* 54.

Wollen cloth good marchandize in China. – *pag.* 40.

Reals of 8, wyne, both Portugale and Indian, oyles of olive greatly desired, velvet, cloth of skarlet (whereof they have none, nor yet can make any, although they have both sheepe and woll inough), looking glasse, ivorie, al kind of cristal, and glasse, are wel sold in China. – *pagina* 44.

Emraulds, wrought and unwrought, very gayneful marchandize to bee carried to India, Pegu, and other places, brought thither from Cairo, and the Spanish Indies, which in these oriental parts are much worne and esteemed: So that many Venetians that have travayled thither with emraulds, and bartered them for rubies, are become very rich, because amonge them men had rather have them then rubies. – *pag.* 134.

Costly ware carried from Turkie into India by the Streight of Mecca. – *pag.* 214.

Notes out of *The Historie of China*, in English.<sup>31</sup>

Noe wollen cloth is made in China. – *pag.* 20.

Spanish wollen cloth much esteemed in China. – *pag.* 163.

Helmets of tynne gilded over, worne in China. – *pag.* 188.

Notes out of Mr. Lancaster's Voyage, printed in *the second volume of Richard Hakluyt*.<sup>32</sup>

There were found in the galeon of Malacca, which Mr. Lancaster tooke in the entrance of the Streight of Sincapura, 300 butts of canarie wyne, al kind

---

<sup>30</sup> Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into y<sup>e</sup> Easte & West Indies*, trans. William Phillip (London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, [1598]). (The reference in line 3 should be to p. 34 not '54'.)

<sup>31</sup> [Juan González de Mendoza], *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China, and the Situation Thereof: Together with the Great Riches, Huge Citties, Politike Governement, and Rare Inventions in the Same. Translated Out of Spanish by R. Parke* (London: John Wolfe for Edward White, 1588). See n.120 below.

<sup>32</sup> PN2, pp. 102–10 (second pagination) (Iii3<sup>v</sup>–Kkk1<sup>v</sup>). For this voyage, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, p. 500.

of haberdash ware, as hats, redde caps knit of Spanish wol, worsted stockings knit, which are worne of the mastizoes, shooes, velvets, taffataes, chamlets, and silks. Aboundance of suckets, Venice glasses of al sorts, certayne papers of counterfeiete stones, which an Italian brought from Venice to deceve the rude Indians withal, abundance of playing cards, 2 or 3 packs of French paper. – pag. 107.

Notes of Commodities carried by the Hollanders in their first voyage,  
printed in folio in Latine and French.<sup>33</sup>

Hatchets good marchandise aboute the Cape of Bona Sperane. Barres of yron. – fol. 4, pag. 2.

### **The East India Company in Print and Hakluyt's Manuscript Records of its Early Voyages**

Few printed accounts of the voyages of the East India Company appeared before the 1620s, perhaps because publishers felt there was insufficient demand to make them a viable proposition.<sup>34</sup> Nor, unlike the Virginia Company, did the East India Company at this time conduct a promotional campaign in print,<sup>35</sup> although in 1615, when attacked in a

---

<sup>33</sup> [Willem Lodewijcksz], *Prima pars descriptionis itineris navalis in Indiam Orientalem, earumque rerum quae navibus Battavis occurrerunt: una cum particulari enarratione conditionum, morum, æconomice populorum, quos adnavigarunt. Præterea de numismatis, aromatibus, speciebus & mercibus ibidem venalibus, eorumque pretio. Insuper de insularum apparentijs, tractibus, orisque regionum maritimis, una cum incolarum ad vivum delineatione; cuncta diversis tabulis illustrata: omnibus mare navigantibus & rerum exterarum studiosis, lectu periucunda. Authore G. M. A. W. L.* (Amsterdam: C. Nicolas [Claesz], 1598), and *Premier livre de l'histoire de la navigation aux Indes orientales, par les Hollandois . . . Par G. M. A. W. L.* (Amsterdam: C. Nicolas [Claesz], 1598).

<sup>34</sup> John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), pp. 179, 181–2.

<sup>35</sup> For the Virginia Company and its publicity, see Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 58–87. Although East India Company members did invest in the Virginia Company, the two enterprises differed in their objectives, not least in the latter's engagement in plantation settlement, which, with its attendant costs and problems, soon made it a far less attractive financial proposition than the strictly trading ventures of the East India Company. See Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 92–4, 97–8, 108–10; Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise & Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 38–40.

pamphlet, *The Trades Increase*, it did resort to print in allowing a company member, Sir Dudley Digges, to issue a *Defence* of its monopoly, as well as seeking the pamphlet's official suppression.<sup>36</sup>

There is little to link Hakluyt to the handful of narratives of the East India Company's voyages that were printed during his lifetime, and, if he was involved, there is no mention of his role in the works themselves, as is typically the case with publications he did assist.<sup>37</sup> The *Hakluyt Handbook*, while acknowledging there is no direct evidence, nonetheless thought it 'highly plausible', given Hakluyt's known association with the company in its earliest years, that he was consulted about the publication in 1603 of the first two accounts, *A Letter Written to the Right Worshipfull the Governours and Assistants of the East Indian Marchants in London: Containing the Estate of the East Indian Fleete* and *A True and Large Discourse of the Voyage of the Whole Fleete of Ships Set Forth the 20. of Aprill 1601*, but his influence was less by 1606, when the third, *The Last East-Indian Voyage*, was published.<sup>38</sup> Also printed in 1606 was Edmund Scott's *Exact Discourse* recounting his experiences as a company factor at Bantam in Java.<sup>39</sup> It is not suggested that Hakluyt was connected with this,

---

<sup>36</sup> [Robert Kayll], *The Trades Increase* (London: Nicholas Okes, sold by William Burre, 1615); [Sir Dudley Digges], *The Defence of Trade. In a Letter to Sir Thomas Smith Knight, Governour of the East-India Companie, &c. from One of that Societie* (London: William Stansby for John Barnes, 1615). See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616*, pp. 381, 385 (items 902, 912); Mishra, *Business of State*, pp. 117–34; Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 107–10, 113–19.

<sup>37</sup> For summary notices of these, see Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to Those Associated with Him 1580–1625* (London: Quaritch, 2008), pp. 86, 91–3, 95–6, 99–103, 105–9, 111–15.

<sup>38</sup> Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 2, p. 574. *A Letter Written to the Right Worshipfull the Governours and Assistants of the East Indian Marchants in London: Containing the Estate of the East Indian Fleete, with the Names of the Chiefe Men of Note Dead in the Voyage* (London: [R. Read] for Thomas Thorpe, sold by William Aspley, 1603); *A True and Large Discourse of the Voyage of the Whole Fleete of Ships Set Forth the 20. of Aprill 1601. by the Governours and Assistants of the East Indian Marchants in London, to the East Indies. Wherein Is Set Downe the Order and Manner of Their Trafficke, the Discription of the Countries, the Nature of the People and Their Language, with the Names of All the Men Dead in the Voyage* (London: [R. Read] for Thomas Thorpe, sold by William Aspley, 1603); *The Last East-Indian Voyage. Containing Much Varietie of the State of the Severall Kingdomes Where They Have Traded: With the Letters of Three Severall Kings to the Kings Maiestie of England, Begun by One of the Voyage: Since Continued Out of the Faithfull Observations of Them That Are Come Home* (London: T. P[urfoot] for Walter Burre, 1606). For these three publications, see Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, bk 1, pp. 549–51; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 175–8.

<sup>39</sup> Edmund Scott, *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilties, Fashions [sic], Pollicies, Religion, and Ceremonies of the East Indians as Well Chyneses as Iavans, There Abyding and Dweling. Together with the Manner of Trading with Those People, as Well by Us English, as by the Hollanders: as Also What Hath Happened to the English Nation at Bantan in the East Indies, since the 2. of February 1602. until the 6. of October 1605. Whereunto Is Added a Briefe Discription of Iava Maior. Written by Edmund Scott, Resident*

although at some point he seems to have worked on a text of Scott's discourse, because Samuel Purchas signalled he had drawn on Hakluyt's work when he published an abbreviated version in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* in 1625.<sup>40</sup> No further first-hand account of an English East India voyage appeared in print until Robert Coverte's *True and Almost Incredible Report* of 1612,<sup>41</sup> again without any apparent input from Hakluyt.

Not an account of a voyage, but definitely associated with Hakluyt and published as an aid to those trading in the East Indies, is the *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane Languages: Or, Certaine Common Formes of Speech, First Written in Latin, Malaian, and Madagascar Tongues, by the Diligence and Painfull Endeavour of Master Gotardus Arthusius*.<sup>42</sup> In what appears to be the last reference to Hakluyt in the records of the East India Company, Hakluyt's contribution to this work was recorded in the company's Court minutes for 22 January 1614, when it was ordered to be printed:

A book of dialogues, heretofore translated into Latin by the Hollanders, and printed with the Malacca tongue, Mr. Hakluyt having now turned the Latin into English, and supposed very fit for the factors to learn, ordered to be printed before the departure of the ships.<sup>43</sup>

---

*There, and in Other Places Neere Adioyng [sic], the Space of Three Yeeres and a Halfe* (London: W. W[hite] for Walter Burre, 1606).

<sup>40</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 4 vols (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), vol. 1, a2<sup>v</sup> (contents list), p. 164 (second pagination) (Oo4<sup>v</sup>). In the contents list it is marked 'H. P.', denoting Purchas's printing was partly indebted to Hakluyt's work (see further n.48 below).

<sup>41</sup> Robert Coverte, *A True and Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman, that (Being Cast Away in the Good Ship Called the Assention in Cambaya the Farthest Part of the East Indies) Travelled by Land Through Many Unknowne Kingdomes, and Great Cities. With a Particular Description of All Those Kingdomes, Cities, and People. As Also a Relation of Their Commodities and Manner of Traffique, and at What Seasons of the Yeere They Are Most in Use. Faithfully Related. With a Discovery of a Great Emperour Called the Great Mogoll, a Prince Not till Now Knowne to Our English Nation* (London: William Hall for Thomas Archer and Richard Redmer, 1612). For this and Scott's *Exact Discourse*, see Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, bk 1, pp. 551–3; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 178, 183–4.

<sup>42</sup> Gothard Arthus, *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane Languages: Or, Certaine Common Formes of Speech, First Written in Latin, Malaian, and Madagascar Tongues, by the Diligence and Painfull Endeavour of Master Gotardus Arthusius, a Dantisker, and Now Faithfully Translated into the English Tongue by Augustine Spalding Merchant, for Their Sakes, Who Happily Shall Hereafter Undertake a Voyage to the East-Indies* (London: Felix Kingston for William Welby, 1614). Typical phrases are 'I heard that a shippe was come from Guiserat', 'what Marchandizes doth she bring?', 'She is laden with rice, almonds, and raysons, she bringeth also many cloathes of all sortes, and very much bombace' (pp. 1–2) (A3<sup>r-v</sup>).

<sup>43</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616*, p. 272 (in item 682). This record does not indicate whether Hakluyt was commissioned or paid to do this work by the company.

The English provided by Hakluyt was from a Latin translation by a German schoolmaster, Gothard Arthus,<sup>44</sup> of a work by Frederick de Houtman originally published in Dutch.<sup>45</sup> Before Hakluyt's version was finally published it is unsurprising to find that revision by someone personally familiar with Malay-speaking regions was thought necessary, and this task was entrusted to Augustine Spalding, an East India Company factor, by Sir Thomas Smythe (Smith), governor of the East India Company. As Spalding explained in his dedication to Smythe:

Lastly, you have caused these Dialogues of the languages of the Isle of *Madagascar* and of the *Malaian* tongues, presented unto you by Master *Richard Hackluyt*, a singular furtherer of all new discoveries and honest trades, to be set forth in our English tongue: because of the speciall use and benefit which your Factors and servants, residing in all the Southeast Islands of the world, may reape thereby. And that nothing might be omitted on your behalfe, it hath pleased you further to aske mine opinion, and to enioyne me to take speciall care for the correction of such errors as were committed in the first edition, because of my eleven or twelve yeeres employment in those Countries, as servant and Factor for your Worship and the Companie: which your commandement I have performed in the best sort I can.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Arthus's Latin version is found in Johan Theodore de Bry, ed., *Supplementum nonae partis Indiae Orientalis . . . Accesserunt colloquia Latino-Malaica, seu vulgares quaedam loquendi formulæ, Latina, Malaica & Madagascarica linguis, in gratiam eorum, qui navigationem fortè in Orientalem Indiam ipsimet suscepturi sunt, conscriptæ. Auctore M. Gotardo Arthusio Dantiscano* (Frankfurt: Johan Theodore de Bry, 1613), pp. 31–88 (E1<sup>r</sup>–L5<sup>v</sup>). Arthus was a regular translator for De Bry and seems also to have selected texts suitable for the firm's publishing programme. Michiel van Groesen, 'Entrepreneurs of Translation: Latin and the Vernacular in the Editorial Strategy of the De Bry Publishing House', in *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (Zurich: LIT Verlag, 2012), pp. 117–18.

<sup>45</sup> Frederick de Houtman, *Spraeck ende woord-boeck, inde Maleysche ende Madagaskarsche talen* (Amsterdam: Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh, 1603). De Houtman had learnt Malay, the principal commercial language of the Indonesian region, while a prisoner of the sultan of Aceh. Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, bk 3, *Southeast Asia*, p. 1114. See also Romain Bertrand, *L'histoire à parts égales: Récits d'une rencontre Orient-Occident (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Points edition (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2014), pp. 110–15, 300–1. There is no apparent acknowledgement of the Dutch in Arthus's Latin and the English edition gives no indication of being aware of it.

<sup>46</sup> In Arthus, *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane Languages*, ¶2<sup>r-v</sup>. It is unclear whether Spalding's reference to 'the first edition' is to Arthus's Latin or to a previous English edition. That another English edition might have been attempted (and abandoned perhaps as unsatisfactory) is suggested by the unique survival at Westminster School of a title-leaf only, *Dailogues in the English and Malaian Languages. Or,*

If during its early years neither the East India Company nor general publishers felt much need to record its activities in print, the company did recognise the value of gathering, preserving and organising information from its various ships' journals, and by 1609 the directors were taking measures to ensure that such material was not lost at the end of a voyage.<sup>47</sup> While there is no record of Hakluyt acting as a consultant at directors' meetings after 1601, much documentation of the company's early ventures ended up in his hands, indicating perhaps that he was considered, if only informally, as its historiographer. In any event, this material passed after Hakluyt's death to Samuel Purchas and was published by him in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625),<sup>48</sup> including the company's charter and accounts of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth voyages.<sup>49</sup> The *Pilgrimes* contained the first substantial collection of printed material concerning the East India Company, its expeditions, and the travels of those in its service, or otherwise associated with it.<sup>50</sup> Purchas was on good terms with the East India Company's senior directors, and the *Pilgrimes* appeared with the implicit blessing

---

*Certaine Common Formes of Speech, First Written in Latin, Malaian, and Madagascar Languages by the Diligence and Painfull Indevour of Master Gotardus Arthusius, a Dantisker, and, Now Faithfully Translated into the Englis Tongue by Michael Lok, Gentleman, for Their Sakes, Who Happily Shall, Hereafter, Undertake a Voyage to the East Indies* (London: Felix Kingston for William Welby, 1614) (title as transcribed by the online British Library English Short Title Catalogue [ESTC], citation no. S90330).

<sup>47</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616*, pp. 180, 306, 354, 425–6 (in items 430, 744, 831, 1016); Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, p. 49. For the East India Company and print, see also Matthew Day, '“Mysteries of Commerce”: Influence, Licensing, Censorship, and the Literature of Long-Distance Travel', in *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, ed. Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 227–31.

<sup>48</sup> Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, remarks in his prefatory address to the reader that he laboured 'not without hard conditions' (¶4<sup>v</sup>) to get Hakluyt's papers and that his use of them is credited in the contents list: accounts 'such as have no letter annexed are Mine; such as have *H.* added, I borrowed from Master *Hakluyts* papers, and such as have *H.* and *P.* pertaine to both, beeing otherwise printed or in my possession written, wherein yet I made use of some labour of his' (¶6<sup>r</sup>). It is not known exactly when or how Purchas acquired this material. Hakluyt's will (printed in Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 506–9), made in 1612, does not include a specific provision for the disposal of his papers, nor any mention of Purchas, whom Hakluyt did not apparently meet until 1613/14. It is conceivable that Hakluyt made a verbal promise but put nothing in writing, so Purchas had to buy the papers from Edmond Hakluyt, Hakluyt's son, heir, and sole executor. See L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 316, 343, 347, 353–4; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 326–9.

<sup>49</sup> Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, ¶6<sup>r</sup>, a2<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>, a4<sup>v</sup>, with the charter and first twelve voyages at pp. 139–500 (second pagination) (Mm4<sup>r</sup>–Sss5<sup>v</sup>); C. R. Steele, 'From Hakluyt to Purchas', in Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 79–81, 85–6.

<sup>50</sup> For an indication, see Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, bk 1, pp. 557–67.

of the company, which had allowed Purchas access to its records and rewarded him with £100 when he presented it with a set of the *Pilgrimes* soon after publication.<sup>51</sup>

Finally, if the directors sought Hakluyt's advice in person for only a short while, his *Principal Navigations* continued to be valued by the company for both informational and general reading. William Keeling, commander of the company's third voyage (1607), had a copy with him when his outward-bound ships, struck by 'divers disasters' in the Atlantic and 'certaine of nothing but uncertainties', feared they might 'bee driven to returne for *England*'. In discussions about the best course to take, Sierra Leone was spoken of, and Keeling, 'having formerly read well of the place' in the *Principal Navigations*, 'sent for the Booke, and shewed it my Master, who as my Selfe, tooke good liking to the place'. Concluding it was indeed the 'fittest' coast 'to seeke for', they reached it safely, finding plentiful supplies of fresh water and food, and were then able to continue their voyage to the East Indies. In printing Keeling's journal, Samuel Purchas aptly commented in a side-note: 'M. *Hackluits* books of Voyages are of great profit' and said that Sir Thomas Smythe, the company's governor, 'affirmed to me' that this saved the company £20,000, 'which they had bin endamaged if they had returned home, which necessitie had constrayned, if that Booke had not given light'.<sup>52</sup> The *Principal Navigations* also found its way to the East India Company's establishments overseas. In 1611, for instance, the company's commission to John Saris and his companions on the eighth voyage advised that Hakluyt's *Voyages* was among other books it was sending 'for the better comferte and recreation' of its factors residing in the East Indies,<sup>53</sup> while as late as 1729 Hakluyt's work was found in the library at the company's Fort St George in India.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Pennington, ed., *Purchas Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 242–4, 348, 355–6, 361, 366–7, vol. 2, pp. 519–31.

<sup>52</sup> Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, p. 188 (second pagination) (Qq4<sup>v</sup>). The West African material, including Sierra Leone, is concentrated in *PN2*, but there are scattered references also in *PN3*.

<sup>53</sup> Birdwood & Foster, eds, *Register of Letters &c. of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies*, p. 419. Other books were Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and the theological works of William Perkins.

<sup>54</sup> Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808) and the Expansion of British Trade* (London: Frank Cass, 1970), p. 102.

## Hakluyt and the Saris and Selden Maps of China

John Saris accompanied the East India Company's second voyage in 1604, remaining as a factor at Bantam from 1605 until 1609. Back home in 1610, Saris next, in 1611, sailed eastward in command of the company's eighth voyage, reaching Bantam in 1612. He went on to establish the English factory at Hirado in Japan in 1613, finally returning to England, via Bantam, in 1614.<sup>55</sup>

Saris composed an account of the eighth voyage which survives in a scribal manuscript produced in 1617 as 'The First Voiage of the English to the Islands of Iapan. Being the Eighth Voyage to the East Indies, under the Commaund of Captaine John Saris'.<sup>56</sup> The manuscript's dedication to Sir Francis Bacon by Saris states that Hakluyt (recently deceased) had urged publication having read his journal, and it has been said that the account represented in this manuscript was instigated by Hakluyt and edited by him for an edition that failed to materialise.<sup>57</sup> At this stage of his life Hakluyt's close editorial involvement in actively preparing such a text for the press seems less likely than him either seeing a draft, or simply perusing Saris's records of the expedition and encouraging their development into a book.<sup>58</sup> If Hakluyt had collaborated with Saris in

---

<sup>55</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Sir Ernest M. Satow, ed., *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1900), pp. vii–xxv, xxlii–xliv, li–lxxiv.

<sup>56</sup> Tokyo, Toyo Bunko (call number PB-30), purchased in 1925 from the London booksellers Maggs Bros. Published in facsimile as *The First Voyage of the English to Japan by John Saris, 1617* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1940), followed by a companion scholarly edition, *The First Voyage of the English to Japan by John Saris Transcribed and Collated by Takanobu Otsuka* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1941). The informative introduction (in Japanese) by Hirano Kenichiro to the recent reprint of the facsimile has been translated by him as 'On the Toyo Bunko Version of *The First Voyage of the English to the Islands of Japan by John Saris, 1617: An Annotation Attached to the Photocopy of the Book, Published for Toyo Bunko by Bensei Shuppan Publishers, Tokyo, 2016*', available at <http://www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/library3/s19-hirano.pdf> (accessed December 2020).

<sup>57</sup> Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere: Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 389 (n.23).

<sup>58</sup> Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Silver Telescope: God, Art, and Money in the English Quest for Japan, 1600–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 228, indicates that Saris, prompted by Samuel Purchas's interest in his voyage, prepared this account himself, but did not go on to publish it, perhaps, by now a rich man, just out of indolence. Purchas was certainly keen to have access to Saris's narrative, saying in 1617: 'I have seene, but was not permitted the free and full use thereof, because the publishing thereof was intended . . . . But leaving the full and exact reports to that book, some things are here, and shalbe mentioned, which I partly received from His owne mouth by conference, and partly by hearing the same booke read'. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in Al Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto This Present*, third edition (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1617), p. 670 (LII5<sup>v</sup>).



the writing of this account, it would have been a private project, not on behalf of the East India Company as Saris did not remain in the company's service after this voyage.

At an earlier date Saris had brought back from Bantam a Chinese map of China that came into Hakluyt's possession prior to any consultations they may have had about publication of Saris's journal of the eighth voyage. Now lost, this map is known from the description and engraved version published by Samuel Purchas in 1625: the original, measuring about four by five feet, Purchas said, had passed to him from Hakluyt and had been procured by Hakluyt directly from Saris, who had taken it from a Chinese merchant in Bantam as payment of a debt; Purchas gives no dates for when either Saris or Hakluyt acquired the map, but remarked that Hakluyt had intended to give it to Prince Henry 'of glorious memory'.<sup>59</sup> The prince died in 1612, so this reference indicates that the map was in Hakluyt's hands sometime after May 1610, when Saris reached England having left Bantam in October 1609, and before Saris's return to the East Indies with the eighth voyage in April 1611.<sup>60</sup>

The Saris map has recently been discussed in the context of reappraisals of the Selden Map of China (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Selden supra 105). Timothy Brook has suggested that the Selden Map, a manuscript made he believes in about 1608, was acquired at Bantam by Saris on the same occasion as the Saris map, and the two were brought back to England by Saris in 1609, at the end of his stint as a factor in Bantam. Brook also speculates that, like the Codex Mendoza (Bodleian MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1), the Selden Map was in Hakluyt's and then Purchas's hands before reaching Selden's collection, which went to the Bodleian 1659. Hakluyt's death in 1616 would, however,

---

<sup>59</sup> Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 401–2 (Mm3<sup>r-v</sup>) (the engraving is inserted between pp. 400–1). Purchas does not say if Saris's map was manuscript or printed. If printed (which would be from woodblocks), then an apparently unique example is believed by Edward Kajdański to survive in the Czartoryski Library, Kraków. Edward Kajdański, 'Michael Boym's *Medicus Sinicus*: New Facts, Reflections, Conclusions', *T'oung Pao*, second series, vol. 103, no. 4–5 (2017), pp. 453–4; Edward Kajdański, 'The Ming Dynasty Map of China (1605) from the Czartoryski Library in Poland', in *Echanges culturels et religieux entre la Chine et l'Occident*, ed. Edward J. Malatesta et al. (Paris: Institut Ricci, 1995), pp. 183–90. See also Pennington, ed., *Purchas Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 154.

<sup>60</sup> It is unclear why Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 328–9, insists that Saris obtained the map at Bantam late in 1612 and therefore dismisses Purchas's reference to Prince Henry as fanciful. (Pennington, ed., *Purchas Handbook*, vol. 2, p. 429, accepts this late dating.) Timothy Brook, *Mr Selden's Map of China: The Spice Trade, a Lost Chart and the South China Sea* (London: Profile Books, 2013), pp. 172–3, does not cite Purchas's reference to Prince Henry, but argues circumstantially that Saris's activities as a factor when resident in Bantam until 1609 put him in a much likelier position to acquire such an item than during either of his two short visits to Bantam after 1611.

preclude his ownership of the Selden Map if Robert Batchelor's later dating of c.1619 for the Selden Map is accepted.<sup>61</sup>

### **Manuscript Documents concerning the East Indies attributed to Hakluyt**

There are three undated anonymous manuscript documents concerning the East Indies that have been attributed to Hakluyt. Unlike Hakluyt's notes on the commodities and trade of the East Indies in the Bodleian (MS. Arch. Selden B. 8) described above, these documents are essentially political, identifying the limits of Spanish authority in the East Indies in the context of the ending of the Anglo-Spanish war and places where English merchants might freely trade. All three relate to peace negotiations with Spain, the first two to the overtures that began in 1599 and ended in the unsuccessful conference at Boulogne in 1600, the third to the 1604 treaty of London. These will now be discussed and their attribution to Hakluyt and dating considered in detail.

(1) 'Certaiyne Reasons why the English Merchants may trade into the East Indies'.

In the State Papers, TNA CO 77/1, no. 17, there is an undated anonymous manuscript note or memorandum giving 'Certaiyne Reasons why the English Merchants may trade into the East Indies'.<sup>62</sup> This focuses on the dispositions of the Spanish and Portuguese in the East Indies and is designed to inform the government of places not subject to the Spanish monarchy where English traders might freely trade should a peace treaty be

---

<sup>61</sup> Robert K. Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549–1689* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), pp. 104–5, 135–9; Brook, *Mr Selden's Map of China*, pp. 129–34, 169–73. See also Robert K. Batchelor, 'The Selden Map Rediscovered: A Chinese Map of East Asian Shipping Routes, c.1619', *Imago Mundi*, vol. 65, pt 1 (2013), pp. 37–63; Hongping Annie Nie, *The Selden Map of China: A New Understanding of the Ming Dynasty* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019), pp. 25–9. For the Codex Mendoza, see the exhibition notes in *Hakluyt & Oxford*, ed. Payne, pp. 76–8, 94–5.

<sup>62</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616*, p. 103 (item 265): ' "Certain reasons why the English merchants may trade into the East Indies, especially to such rich kingdoms and dominions as are not subject to the King of Spain and Portugal; together with the true limits of the Portugals' conquest and jurisdiction in those Oriental parts." Also the names of the chief known islands and kingdoms beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança, wholly out of the dominion of the Portuguese and Spaniards in the East, South-east, and North-east parts of the world; in proof of which, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian authors are cited, as well as the names of living Englishmen and Hollanders who had personally visited those and many other parts of the East Indies. *Three pages. East Indies, Vol. I., No. 17*'.

concluded that barred them from Iberian possessions overseas; there is no consideration of the availability of commodities or the nature of trade in particular places. Addressed to an unnamed member of the privy council, the paper was submitted by the investors in the intended voyage:

Certaiyne Reasons why the English Merchants may trade into the East Indies, especially to such rich kingdomes and dominions as are not subject to the kinge of Spayne & Portugal: together with the true limits of the Portugals conquest & Jurisdiction in those oriental parts.

Whereas, Right Honourable, upon a treatie of peace between the crownes of England & Spayne like to ensue, y<sup>t</sup> is not to be doubted but that grete exception wil bee taken agaynst the intended voyage to Her Majesties subjects into the East Indies, by the Cape of Buena Sperança: therefore the Adventurers in the sayd intended voyage most humbly crave at yo<sup>r</sup> Honors hands, to take perfecte knowledge of these fewe considerations underwritten.<sup>63</sup>

The merchants went on to request that the Spanish peace commissioners be urged to supply full details of their possessions in the East Indies, which if clearly established and where the Spanish were in actual command, would not be disturbed; but, if the Spanish failed to provide such material, then this paper would do it for them, naming the places considered to be under effective Spanish authority and then describing, with citations of the printed and other sources of information, all those places thought to be beyond Spanish power and jurisdiction; lastly it asked what, if any, lawful reasons the Spanish had to deny access to such places.

‘Certaiyne Reasons’ was first printed in 1810 by John Bruce in his *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company*, from which it was reprinted by E. G. R. Taylor in

---

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 465. Taylor (n.1) gives the recipient as ‘Sir Robert Cecil and the Privy Council’.

1935.<sup>64</sup> In reprinting it Taylor added the attribution to Hakluyt that had been suggested in 1928 by George Bruner Parks on the basis of the paper's 'style' and the manner in which the information is 'fully buttressed by a list of authorities, as in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* and his various notes of advice'.<sup>65</sup> That Hakluyt might have provided the information contained in this document does not, of course, necessarily mean that it was composed by him and we should perhaps consider talking of a 'note-taker' rather than an author.<sup>66</sup> The reference to a possible peace treaty between England and Spain dates the 'Certayne Reasons' to after the autumn of 1599, when, as discussed above, preparations for a voyage to East Indies were suspended because of possible diplomatic negotiations with Spain. When these eventually materialised in spring 1600, the English commissioners were instructed to be insistent on the freedom to trade freely throughout the dominions of Spain, but it was recognised that while any exclusion from places unoccupied by the Spanish and beyond their power to deny access was non-negotiable, the right of the Spanish to prohibit English access to places actually settled by them in the Indies (East or West) might have to be conceded.<sup>67</sup> This is exactly the diplomatic and geopolitical situation addressed by the 'Certayne Reasons', which can, furthermore, be connected to the time of the peace talks from two internal references: one of these, to 'Petrus Maffeus,

---

<sup>64</sup> Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company*, vol. 1, pp. 115–21; Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. ix, 465–8 (doc. 78, 'Notes Attributed to Richard Hakluyt, 1600'). Taylor's printing has some minor variations from Bruce's.

<sup>65</sup> George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), pp. 153–5, 254, 261 (quotation from p. 154, where Parks also remarked he was uncertain but believed the manuscript might be in Hakluyt's hand). Parks left this passage unchanged in the second edition (1961) cited elsewhere in this paper.

<sup>66</sup> Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 59, seems to hint at this possibility when she says that while the document is neither 'in Hakluyt's handwriting, nor in all probability finally worded by him, there seem to be conclusive proofs of his authorship' in the wealth and type of source material drawn upon. Another undated anonymous manuscript of related interest, 'The true Limites of all the Countries and Provinces at this present actually possessed by ye Spaniards and Portugales in the West Indies' (TNA CO 1/1, no. 32), has also been associated with Hakluyt on the basis of its style and content, and is printed with this attribution in Alexander Brown, ed., *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1890), pp. 669–75, and Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 420–5 (doc. 72, 'Notes ascribed to Richard Hakluyt, 1598'). For this, see further David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 107–8; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574–1660, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by W. Noël Sainsbury* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), p. 16 (item 32, '1613?'); MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World*, p. 78 ('between 1598 and 1600'); Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, pp. 258, 261–2; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 309 ('c.1595–8').

<sup>67</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, &c. &c. &c. Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Part X* (London: HMSO, 1904), pp. 145–6; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, p. 324.

printed within these 7 yeres',<sup>68</sup> meaning the 1593 edition of Giovanni Pietro Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*,<sup>69</sup> places the document in the year 1600; while the other, to 'The third returne of the Hollanders from the Est Indies this yere',<sup>70</sup> meaning the return of two Dutch ships from the East Indies in May 1600, puts it as not earlier than May of that year. As the next Dutch ships to return, under Wybrand van Warwijck, did not arrive home until the end of August,<sup>71</sup> 'Certaiyne Reasons' can therefore be dated to the late spring or early summer of 1600, that is the period of the peace conference at Boulogne, which finally began towards the end of May and was effectively over by the beginning of August 1600.<sup>72</sup>

(2) 'Noates of remembrance . . . presented by y<sup>e</sup> Merchannts entendinge a voiage to y<sup>e</sup> Easte Indies'.

Allied to the 'Certaiyne Reasons', again undated and the informant unidentified, is 'Noates of remembrance for y<sup>e</sup> Righte Honorable y<sup>e</sup> Lordes of her Majesties moste honorable Privie Councill presented by y<sup>e</sup> Merchannts entendinge a voiage to y<sup>e</sup> Easte Indies'. From the papers of the privy councillor, Sir Thomas Egerton (1540–1617), Lord

---

<sup>68</sup> Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 467.

<sup>69</sup> Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI. Selectarum, item, ex India epistolarum, eodem interprete, libri IV. Accessit Ignatii Loiolae vita. Omnia ab auctore recognita, & nunc primum in Germania excusa. Item, in singula opera copiosus index. His nunc recèns adiecta est charta geographica, aere nitidissimè expressa, qua lectori utriusq[ue] Indiae situs, & longinqua ad eas navigatio, accuratè ob oculos spectanda proponitur, non minus adspectu, quàm historia ipsa lectu iucunda* (Cologne: Birckmann, Arnold Mylius, 1593). First published at Florence in 1588, with an Italian translation in 1589. After 1593 no editions in any language appeared until 1600, when one in Latin was published at Brescia. This reference to the 1593 edition of Maffei rules out the possibility that the paper was prepared in connection with the negotiations leading up to the treaty of London in 1604 (for which see n.9 above).

<sup>70</sup> Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 468. 'Return', besides the usual sense of coming back, can also have the meaning of 'A consignment or cargo, an aggregate or class of commodities, which comes back in exchange for merchandise sent out as a trading venture' (*Oxford English Dictionary*). In the present context each of the several Dutch trading voyages to the East Indies came back with a substantial, and valuable, cargo of spices.

<sup>71</sup> The first return would be that of Cornelis de Houtman's fleet in 1597, the first major Dutch trading expedition to the East Indies, which had departed in 1595. The second return is that of Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck in July 1599 with four of the eight ships that had sailed with him and Wybrand van Warwijck to the East Indies in 1598. The other four of these ships remained in the East Indies to continue trading, two arriving home in May 1600 (the third return), and two, with Van Warwijck, at the end of August 1600. For these voyages, see Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, bk 1, pp. 42–3, 437–40; George Masselman, *The Cradle of Colonialism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 86–97, 109–16.

<sup>72</sup> Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, pp. 324–5, 330. See also n.7 above.

Keeper from 1596 until 1603,<sup>73</sup> this manuscript, now Huntington Library MS EL 2360, was published for the first time in 2004 by Heidi Brayman Hackel and Peter C. Mancall with an unqualified attribution to Hakluyt.<sup>74</sup> Hackel and Mancall believe that ‘Certaiyne Reesons’ seems to have been prepared after Hakluyt’s meeting with the East India Company directors in January 1601,<sup>75</sup> but, as argued above, ‘Certaiyne Reesons’ can more accurately be dated to the spring or summer of 1600. Hackel and Mancall assume that the ‘Noates of remembrance’ also dates from 1601, yet as it too refers to the prospect of a peace treaty with Spain,<sup>76</sup> it is likely to date from between the autumn of 1599 and the summer of 1600, the period when such talks were either being considered or in progress. However, if Hackel and Mancall are mistaken in the year, their remark that the ‘Noates’ is a ‘seemingly earlier version’ of the ‘Certaiyne Reesons’ is warranted,<sup>77</sup> because the ‘Noates’ refers to the 1593 edition of Maffei as ‘printed within these sixe yeares’,<sup>78</sup> instead of the ‘within these 7 yeres’ stated in ‘Certaiyne Reesons’, while, rather than the three returns of Dutch ships from the East Indies up to May 1600 referred to in ‘Certaiyne Reesons’, mention is made only of the ‘first voiage of the *Holandars* printed in, Duch, Latine, English, and French’,<sup>79</sup> and the ‘seconde voiage of the *Holandars*, in

---

<sup>73</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Egerton was appointed Lord Chancellor and created Baron Ellesmere after the accession of James I in 1603. For the composition of the privy council under Elizabeth I, see G. R. Elton, ed., *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 93–4, 101–2.

<sup>74</sup> Heidi Brayman Hackel and Peter C. Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes for the East India Company in 1601: A Transcription of Huntington Library Manuscript EL 2360’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 67, no. 3 (September 2004), pp. 423–36. Besides a general discussion, Hackel and Mancall provide a physical description (p. 430), an illustration of the first page of the manuscript (fig. 3, p. 431) and a full transcription (pp. 432–5). The manuscript is described as a fair copy, in a clear secretary hand with most place names and authorities in italic. Previously noted (when still unpublished) by Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 316.

<sup>75</sup> Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes for the East India Company’, pp. 428–9.

<sup>76</sup> ‘Whereas (righte Honourable) upon a treatie of peace, betwene the Crownes of England and Spaigne like to ensue . . .’. Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes for the East India Company’, p. 432.

<sup>77</sup> Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes for the East India Company’, p. 429.

<sup>78</sup> Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes for the East India Company’, p. 434.

<sup>79</sup> Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes for the East India Company’, p. 434. The reference is to Cornelis de Houtman’s expedition of 1595–97 as narrated in Barent Langenes, ed., *Verhael vande reyse by de Hollandtsche schepen gedaen naer Oost Indien, haer avontuer ende succes, met de beschryvinghe der landen daer zy gheweest zijn, der steden ende inwoonderen met caerten ende figueren verlicht seer ghenoechlijck om lesen* (Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1597), *Journael vande reyse der Hollandtsche schepen ghedaen in Oost Indien* (Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598), *Diarium nauticum itineris Batavorum in Indiam Orientalem* (Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598), *The Description of a Voyage Made by Certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies. With Their Adventures and Successes: Together with the Description of the Countries, Townes, and Inhabitanes of the Same: Who Set Forth on*

Duch and English’,<sup>80</sup> the latter meaning the account of the voyage of the four ships of Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck’s expedition that arrived home in July 1599.<sup>81</sup> These references indicate that the ‘Noates of remembrance’ dates from about or soon after mid-October 1599 when, as described at the beginning of this paper, the East India merchants became aware of the possibility of peace talks and was lobbying the privy council. If Hakluyt is in fact the origin of the ‘Noates of remembrance’, then it is reasonable to link this document to his presence at the directors’ meeting on 16 October 1599 (not, therefore, at the January 1601 meeting as claimed by Hackel and Mancall), when the imminence of peace talks was recognised and when, it may be assumed (if not documented), the directors needed to do their utmost to keep the company’s interests before the government even if preparations for the voyage itself had been suspended.<sup>82</sup>

In the commentary in his *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company*, John Bruce speculated that the Queen referred ‘Certayne Reasons’ to Fulke Greville, the treasurer of the navy, for his opinion on a matter of such national importance. Bruce then printed a paper that he took to be Greville’s response, ‘S<sup>r</sup>. – You demaunde of me the names of such kings as are absolute in the East, and either have warr, or traffique, w<sup>th</sup> the Kinge of Spaigne’, which is signed and dated 10 March 1600 by Greville and was submitted presumably to Sir Robert Cecil, the secretary of state.<sup>83</sup> This interpretation was followed by the *Calendar of State Papers*, and is repeated by Parks and Taylor.<sup>84</sup> It

---

*the Second of Aprill 1595. and Returned on the 14. of August. 1597. Translated out of Dutch into English by W. P[hillip]* (London: [John Windet? for] John Wolfe, 1598), *Journal du voyage de l’Inde Orientale, fait per les navires hollandoises* (Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598). See n.159 below for the authorship of this account.

<sup>80</sup> Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes for the East India Company’, p. 434.

<sup>81</sup> *A True Report of the Gainefull, Prosperous and Speedy Voiage to Iava in the East Indies, Performed by a Fleete of Eight Ships of Amsterdam: Which Set Forth from Texell in Holland, the First of Maie 1598. Stilo Novo. Whereof Foure Returned Againe the 19. of Iuly Anno 1599. in Lesse Then 15. Moneths, the Other Foure Went Forward from Iava for the Moluccas* (London: P. S[horth] for W. Aspley, [1599]). The Dutch original of *A True Report* is lost (see n.129 below). See n.71 above for the various voyages.

<sup>82</sup> See n.5 above. ‘Certayne Reasons’ refers to information on Ralph Fitch and James Lancaster as in print, which it was (in *PN2*), but not until after October 1599. ‘Noates of remembrance’ does not specify this material as printed, further suggesting an earlier composition date and quite possibly October 1599. See n.155 below.

<sup>83</sup> Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company*, vol. 1, pp. 121–6 (the manuscript is dated 10 March ‘1599’ old style). Bruce erroneously names the recipient as Sir Francis Walsingham (d. 1590). The manuscript is TNA CO 77/1, no. 18.

<sup>84</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616*, pp. 104–5 (item 266) (‘Foulke Grevil to [Sec. Sir Robert Cecil]’, ‘Four pages. East Indies, Vol. I, No. 18’); Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 154; Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 468 (n.2) (and, more recently,

is untenable if the spring-summer 1600 dating of ‘Certaiyne Reasons’ is accepted, although it could be suggested instead that Greville was responding to the earlier version, the ‘Noates of remembrance’ (unknown to scholars until recently), which could well have been compiled before March 1600. Yet Greville’s paper, which presents a detailed survey of polities in the East Indies, their commodities and relations with the Spanish monarchy, makes no obvious reference to the ‘Noates’ and he concludes by citing his own sources, ‘Theis collections I have made out of Osorius, Eden’s Decads, and spetially owt of the voyages of John Huighen, having neyther meanes nor tyme to seak other helpes’,<sup>85</sup> without any consideration of those found in the ‘Noates’, as might perhaps be expected if he had been asked to comment on the latter. It seems, therefore, more likely that Greville’s paper was independently composed, even if sharing a similar political and diplomatic context to that of the ‘Noates of remembrance’ and ‘Certaiyne Reasons’, all three being in accord with England’s long-held diplomatic position that claims by other powers to possessions overseas were only considered valid when substantiated by effective occupation, and any general claims to places or wider regions beyond this limit were not recognised.<sup>86</sup> This was explicit in the charter of the East India Company, which

---

Mishra, *Business of State*, p. 27). The passing reference to Greville’s paper in Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 313, places it in the context of preparations for the planned diplomatic talks with Spain in mid-1600.

<sup>85</sup> Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company*, vol. 1, 126. The works Greville refers to are Jerónimo Osório, *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis libri duodecim* (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1571), widely available in several editions, notably those with a preface by Jean Matal discussing the Iberian overseas empires, the most recent, *De rebus; Emmanuelis, Lusitaniae regis invictissimi virtute et auspicio, annis sex ac viginti, domi foris[ue] gestis, libri duodecim. Ad Henricum principem, regis eius. f. cardinalem. Item: Io. Matalii Metelli Sequani i.c. in eosdem libros præfatio, & commentarium: de reperta ab Hispanis & Lusitanis, in occidentis & orientis Indiam, navigatione, deq[ue] populorum eius vita, moribus, ac ritibus. Ad Ant. Augustinum, archiepiscopum Tarraconensem* (Cologne: Birckmann, Arnold Mylius, 1597); Richard Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (London: William Powell, 1555) or Richard Willes, *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies . . . Gathered in Parte, and Done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. Newly Set in Order, Augmented, and Finished by Richarde Willes* (London: Richard Jugge, 1577); and Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into y<sup>e</sup> Easte & West Indies*.

<sup>86</sup> R. B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485–1588* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), p. 286; James A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins: The Time and the Man* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), pp. 59–61, 162. For the Queen’s response in diplomatic exchanges with Portugal about this matter early in her reign, see, e.g., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1561–1562. Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty’s Public Record Office. Edited by Joseph Stevenson* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866), pp. 72–3 (April 1561); *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1562 . . . Edited by Joseph Stevenson* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867), pp. 76–7, 84, 94–5, 106 (June 1562). This was not a uniquely English (or Protestant) view and a similar position against Iberian pretensions had earlier been



stated that its trade could not be undertaken to places ‘already in the lawfull and actual possession of any such Christian Prince or State’ on friendly terms with England should the ruler for any reason choose to prevent it.<sup>87</sup> If the diplomatic assumptions of ‘Certayne Reasons’ and ‘Noates of remembrance’ would have been familiar to any official engaged in formulating foreign policy at this time, Greville’s paper also demonstrates that knowledge and access to the sources of information concerning Iberian power in the East Indies was by means confined to Hakluyt. It cannot, then, be confidently said that either ‘Certayne Reasons’ or ‘Noates of remembrance’ emanated from Hakluyt just on the basis of its political standpoint or content.<sup>88</sup>

(3) ‘The places in the East Indies where the subjects of the King of Spayne hath any ffortes and settled residences’.

There is a third set of manuscript advisory notes on Iberian dispositions in the East Indies, now in British Library Sloane MS 25 (f. 13), which has also been attributed to Hakluyt.<sup>89</sup> This itemises ‘The places in the East Indies where the subjects of the King of Spayne hath any ffortes and settled residences’ and the ‘places in the Indies where the portugalls have neither ffortification or residence’, and considered, if a peace be concluded ‘betweene his majestie and the king of Spayne’, that countries where the Spanish had ‘no absolute sovraintrye, and dominacion’, should be equally ‘open in trade to the subjects’ of England and Spain, and recorded that, besides lawful and free access to the Indies, ‘the merchants humbly’ prayed that ‘havens now possessed by the king of Spaynes subjectes’ would be open to the English ‘for succor and reliefe’ if not for trade.

---

taken by Francis I of France. R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 375, 381–2.

<sup>87</sup> Birdwood & Foster, eds, *Register of Letters &c. of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies*, p. 174: ‘soe alwaies the same trade be not undertaken nor addressed to any Country, Iland, porte, Haven Cittie Creeke Towne or place already in the lawfull and actuall possession of any such Christian Prince or state as att this present is or at any tyme hereafter shalbe in league or amity w[i]th us o[u]r heires or successo[u]rs and who doth not or will not accept of such trade but doth ov[e]r[t]lie declare and publish the same to be utterlie against his or their good will and likeinge’.

<sup>88</sup> The ‘English arrived in Asia better informed than is often assumed, so that as early as 1600 Fulke Greville could draw up sensible proposals as to where it was best to trade’. G. V. Scammell, ‘England, Portugal and the Estado da India c. 1500–1635’, *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2 (1982), p. 192.

<sup>89</sup> Printed in Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. ix, 487–8 (doc. 84, ‘Notes attributed to Richard Hakluyt, 1603’), from which quotations here are taken.

The reference to ‘his majestie’ dates the document to after the accession of King James I on the death Queen Elizabeth I in March 1603,<sup>90</sup> and the reference to the possibility of peace with Spain means it was drawn up shortly before or during the negotiations that ended the war with the treaty of London in August 1604.<sup>91</sup> Although this paper does not include the documentary references characteristic of ‘Certayne Reasons’ and ‘Noates of remembrance’, its political position is the same and in accord with longstanding assumptions in English diplomacy – the Spanish had no right to impose any form of general exclusion in the East Indies, but conceding that they might regulate access to their existing occupied possessions as they saw fit (in this respect there was no break in policy under the new monarch).<sup>92</sup> Given there is nothing in particular in this document’s contents to link it with Hakluyt nor any external evidence, the attribution to him must remain dubious.

### **Hakluyt’s Translation of *Mare liberum* by Hugo Grotius**

One further manuscript to consider in exploring Hakluyt’s links with the East India Company is ‘The Free Sea or a Disputatio[n] concerning the Right W[hi]ch y<sup>e</sup> Hollanders Ought to Have, to the Indian Merchandize for Trading’, an undated translation of *Mare liberum* by Hugo Grotius (1609).<sup>93</sup> This survives in the Library of the Inner Temple, London, as Petyt MS 529, part of the collection of manuscripts named after William Petyt (Petit) (1640/41–1707), most but not all of which came to the Inner Temple from Petyt’s collection.<sup>94</sup> The earlier provenance of ‘The Free Sea’ (MS 529) has not been

---

<sup>90</sup> Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 313, is therefore mistaken in dating the composition of the text as ‘c. March 1600’.

<sup>91</sup> See n.9 above for the treaty of London.

<sup>92</sup> Garrett Mattingly, ‘No Peace beyond What Line?’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, vol. 13 (1963), pp. 153, 159.

<sup>93</sup> [Hugo Grotius], *Mare liberum sive de iure quod Batavis competit ad Indicana commercia dissertatio* (Leiden: Louis Elzevier, 1609) is the first edition. For this and two other 1609 editions, see Mark Somos and Dániel Margócsy, ‘Pirating *Mare liberum* (1609)’, *Grotiana*, vol. 38 (2017), pp. 176–210, which importantly revises and supplements the standard bibliography, Jacob ter Meulen and P. J. J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950), pp. 211–13.

<sup>94</sup> J. Conway Davies, ed., *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple*, vol. 1, *The Petyt Collection: MSS. 502–533* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple, 1972), pp. 11–51, 327. Petyt was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1664 and

established, but Petyt MS 526–8 and 529A are transcripts of works composed or first printed in the first half of the seventeenth century,<sup>95</sup> and this group has perhaps a single previous owner in common.<sup>96</sup> Although certainly not unknown – it was, for example, recorded in the library’s first printed catalogue (1806) as ‘Hakluyt’s Translation of Grotius *Mare Liberum*, 4to’<sup>97</sup> – the manuscript remained unpublished until David Armitage’s edition of 2004.<sup>98</sup>

Hakluyt’s translation of *Mare liberum* might have been undertaken at the request of the East India Company, although this must remain speculative in the absence of any positive evidence for such a connection.<sup>99</sup> Several commentators, while accepting this possibility, have also noted that the central tenet of *Mare liberum*, ‘that it is lawful for any nation to go to any other and to trade with it’,<sup>100</sup> was not confined to the East Indies and had global implications, including for English colonisation in America, an abiding concern of Hakluyt’s for over two decades before the advent of the East India Company. Hakluyt’s interest in translating *Mare liberum* need not necessarily, then, have been prompted by the East India Company and may have reflected his private interests, as well as his connections with the Virginia Company.<sup>101</sup>

---

served as treasurer in 1701–02. An ‘assiduous student of English historical records’, his will provided for the building of a library in the Inner Temple to house his extensive collection of manuscripts and tracts. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>95</sup> See Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part VII. The Manuscripts of the Duke of Leeds, the Bridgewater Trust, Reading Corporation, the Inner Temple, &c.* (London: HMSO, 1888), p. 234. They include Vere’s *Commentaries*, the dedication of Bacon’s *Maxims*, Raleigh’s *Apologie*, copies of Oldenbarnevelt’s letters to his family, the articles of the treaty of Munster, and Cornwallis’s life of Prince Henry.

<sup>96</sup> Davies, ed., *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple*, vol. 1, *The Petyt Collection*, pp. 50–1.

<sup>97</sup> *A Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the Inner Temple, Alphabetically Arranged* (London: C. & W. Galabin, 1806), p. 113 (4.6.529).

<sup>98</sup> *The Free Sea: Hugo Grotius. Translated by Richard Hakluyt with William Welwod’s Critique and Grotius’s Reply Edited and with an Introduction by David Armitage* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004). For an appraisal of Armitage’s edition, see *Hugo Grotius: Mare Liberum 1609–2009. Original Latin Text (Facsimile of the First Edition, 1609) and Modern English Translation Edited and Annotated by Robert Feenstra* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. xlix–l.

<sup>99</sup> *Free Sea*, ed. Armitage, p. xxii. See also Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 212; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 324.

<sup>100</sup> *Free Sea*, ed. Armitage, p. 10.

<sup>101</sup> See, e.g., Marco Barducci, *Hugo Grotius and the Century of Revolution, 1613–1718: Transnational Reception in English Political Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 173; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Sovereignty, Property and Empire, 1500–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 71; Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise: An Elizabethan’s Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 275–9. Mancall considers that Hakluyt kept his translation ‘private’ because English claims in North America based on discovery could be undermined by reference to

Grotius was fully aware of the wider application of his reasoning,<sup>102</sup> but *Mare liberum* had been commissioned by the Zeeland directors of the VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, the Dutch East India Company) as part of their publicity campaign to safeguard the company's interests in prospective peace negotiations with Spain and this was the tract's primary practical focus. Moreover, it is evident that when revising the drafts of *Mare liberum* in late 1608, Grotius chose not to contest Spanish claims to the New World and also to downplay the bellicose implications of his identification of freedom of trade and navigation as a right grounded in natural law, the transgression of which was sufficient cause for a just war. This restraint avoided broadening the debate in a manner that would needlessly antagonise the Spanish, and might have been self-imposed on Grotius's part or possibly influenced by his patron, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the foremost Dutch politician seeking peace with Spain (in March 1609 Oldenbarnevelt did in fact request postponement of the pamphlet's publication, lest it upset the final negotiations towards the truce eventually reached in April). In its published form *Mare liberum* concentrated, therefore, on the matter of immediate political concern, that the Dutch presence in Asia was justified by the law of nations and could not be legitimately denied.<sup>103</sup>

Whatever Hakluyt's wider personal interests, it was the specific East Indian applicability of *Mare liberum* that was of direct use to the English East India Company.

---

*Mare liberum*: 'Though Grotius admitted that distant lands could be claimed, such claims were legitimate only if the lands remained settled – a condition that still did not apply for the English in North America – and if the newcomers had the permission of the local population' (p. 279). Conversely, there was much to recommend it positively to Hakluyt, notably Grotius's repudiation of the temporal authority of the pope and Iberian claims based on Pope Alexander VI's bull of donation of 1493, a matter which Hakluyt had considered at length in relation to North America in his (manuscript) *Discourse of Western Planting*. See *Free Sea*, ed. Armitage, pp. 15–17, 38–9, 52; *A Particular Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities That Are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted, Written in the Yere 1584. By Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde. Known as Discourse of Western Planting*, ed. D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993), pp. 96–112. For the bulls and the Spanish response to Grotius, see James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 29–30, 96–109, 127–34, 161–4.

<sup>102</sup> Martine Julia van Ittersum, 'Mare Liberum in the West Indies? Hugo Grotius and the Case of the Swimming Lion, a Dutch Pirate in the Caribbean at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century', *Itinerario*, vol. 31, no. 3 (November 2007), pp. 59–94.

<sup>103</sup> Martine Julia van Ittersum, 'Preparing *Mare liberum* for the Press: Hugo Grotius' Rewriting of Chapter 12 of *De iure praedae* in November–December 1608', in *Property, Piracy and Punishment: Hugo Grotius on War and Booty in De iure praedae – Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Hans W. Blom (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 246–80. For Grotius's political position at this time, see also Henk Nellen, *Hugo Grotius: A Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State, 1583–1645*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 102–9.

It was soon recognised that Grotius's arguments from universal jurisprudential principles in favour of the VOC's right to trade in Asian waters despite the monopoly claimed by the Iberian monarchy applied equally to the English company in the face of growing Dutch attempts to deny its access to the region. An English text of Grotius's treatise would, then, have assisted the East India Company's directors in challenging the Dutch and this, circumstantially, can be suggested as the probable occasion for Hakluyt's translation if it was prepared for the company. *Mare liberum* was certainly invoked against the Dutch in the colonial conferences convened in 1613 and 1615 to resolve disputes between the rival East India companies, although, Grotius, a participant in these talks, countered that Dutch commercial restrictions in the East Indies stemmed from consensual treaties agreed with local rulers; consequently, he maintained, in this instance the natural liberty to trade (as propounded in *Mare liberum*) was circumscribed by contract, a shift in legal reasoning that understandably exasperated the English negotiators.<sup>104</sup>

Hakluyt's translation was not in the event published.<sup>105</sup> This was possibly because, even if it suited the East India Company's interests in Asia, the relevance of *Mare liberum* diminished in the broader context of the foreign policy of James I and Charles I, when more important claims against the Dutch in European waters came to rest on the principle of the closed sea, pre-eminently articulated by John Selden in *Mare clausum* (published in 1635 but begun by 1618), the contrary doctrine to that advocated by Grotius in *Mare liberum* and a reversal of the generally open stance of Elizabethan policy.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 109–12; G. N. Clark and W. J. M. van Eysinga, *Colonial Conferences between England and the Netherlands in 1613 and 1615*, vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), pp. 69–73; Martine Julia van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle: Hugo Grotius, Natural Rights Theories and the Rise of Dutch Power in the East Indies 1595–1615* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. lix–lxi, 360–94, 427–31. For Grotius and the Dutch use of treaties, see also Arthur Weststeijn, ‘“Love Alone Is Not Enough”: Treaties in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Colonial Expansion’, in *Empire by Treaty: Negotiating European Expansion, 1600–1900*, ed. Saliha Belmessous (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 25–35.

<sup>105</sup> No English translation appeared in print until *The Freedom of the Seas or The Right Which Belongs to the Dutch to Take Part in the East Indian Trade: A Dissertation by Hugo Grotius Translated with a Revision of the Latin Text of 1633 by Ralph Van Deman Magoffin*, ed. James Brown Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1916). This makes no reference to Hakluyt's translation.

<sup>106</sup> John Selden, *Mare clausum* (London: William Stansby for Richard Meighen, 1635). See Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 104–9, 113–21; Thomas Wemyss Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea: An Historical Account of the Claims of England to the Dominion of the British Seas, and of the Evolution of the Territorial Waters* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1911), pp. 105–119, 351–77.

Turning to the manuscript itself, the translation is unabridged and includes the original's address 'To the Princes & free States of the Christian World'. Like the original, it leaves Grotius unnamed as the author.<sup>107</sup> No new material, such as a dedication or preface, is added, nor is Hakluyt identified in the work itself as the translator: his responsibility is recorded in an early inscription, 'Translated in English by M<sup>r</sup> Rich: Hackluyt &c.', added to the initial blank page (f. 1<sup>r</sup>).<sup>108</sup> Although it has been said to be in Hakluyt's hand,<sup>109</sup> this manuscript is written in a hand quite unlike any others associated with Hakluyt, including the few that can be confidently identified as his autograph.<sup>110</sup> It is much more likely to be a scribal copy, but exactly when and for whom it was produced cannot be said.<sup>111</sup>

## Conclusion

The East India Company's records show that Hakluyt provided professional advice to its directors on commodities, trading places and other geographical matters relating to the East Indies from 1599 to 1601, when the company was being formed and planning its first voyage. He undoubtedly had a good command of such knowledge, but not all his

---

<sup>107</sup> The decision to issue *Mare liberum* anonymously in 1609 was taken by the publisher, Louis Elzevier. Van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle*, p. 342. Grotius's authorship was first given in the Dutch translation, *Huygh de Groots vrye zeevaert, ofte bewijs van't recht dat de inghesetenen deser geunieerde landen toecomt over de Indische coop-handel. Ten tweede mael oversien ende verbeterd door den autheur selfs. Wten Latijne vertaelt door P. B. tot vorderinghe des vaderlandts* (Leiden: Jan Huybertsz, and Amsterdam: Willem Jansz Blaeu, 1614).

<sup>108</sup> The volume was rebound in dark red morocco in the nineteenth century, the spine lettered 'GROTIUS | MARE LIBERUM. | TRANSLATED | BY | HAKLUYT. MS. N<sup>o</sup> 529'. Preserved on one of the front flyleaves is a vellum panel, cut evidently from the manuscript's previous (presumably seventeenth-century) binding, lettered in ink 'Mare liberum | The free Sea.'

<sup>109</sup> *Free Sea*, ed. Armitage, p. xxi; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 324, and caption to fig. 17 (p. 325), an illustration of the first page of the manuscript.

<sup>110</sup> Anthony Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography 1580–88', vol. 1 (PhD thesis, NUI Galway, 2019), p. 121 (n.20, with further references). This thesis is being revised for planned publication by the Hakluyt Society as *A Bibliography of Richard Hakluyt*.

<sup>111</sup> Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting* is similarly known only from a scribal copy. *Particular Discourse*, ed. Quinn & Quinn, p. 204; Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography', vol. 1, pp. 145–52 (and see pp. 120–1 for the suggestion that British Library Royal MS 12 G. XIII, Hakluyt's 'Analysis' of Aristotle's *Politics*, 1583, is scribal, not Hakluyt's autograph). For manuscript production and circulation generally, see Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

sources were exclusive to him, and some were familiar to those in official circles and were, for example, deployed in formulating foreign policy towards Spain in 1599–1600. After 1601 Hakluyt does not appear to have been formally engaged or remunerated by the East India Company, but his interest in its activities continued, marking perhaps an unofficial association, and he gathered records of its various voyages, which, after his death, were published by Samuel Purchas with the company's goodwill. Hakluyt may be said to have been respected by the company for his geographical expertise, yet he was essentially an occasional consultant and interested outsider. Caution should, therefore, be exercised when making attributions of East Indies-related documents to Hakluyt on circumstantial grounds to avoid unwittingly overstating his role in the East India Company's affairs or implying that he was the company's lobbyist or publicist. This is not to denigrate Hakluyt as somehow 'unimportant', but allows us to consider his relationship with the company in the context of his other preoccupations, his scholarly pursuit of geographical learning, his career in the church, and his ambition for the 'certayne and full discoverie of the world',<sup>112</sup> that God's providential design for the salvation of mankind would see the reunion of the scattered nations of the earth in one faith and the revelation of the truths of His Creation concealed since the Fall. In this the East India Company's quest for trade with distant peoples was but one element in a far vaster scheme.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589), \*3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> See Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 18–19; Payne, 'Hakluyt's London', pp. 22–3; David Harris Sacks, 'Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), pp. 410–53; 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. Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 17–55.

## Appendix

Listed here are the sources cited in (A) the notes on commodities and trade in the East Indies by Hakluyt, and (B) ‘Certaiyne Reasons why English Merchants may trade into the East Indies’ and ‘Noates of remembrance’. Identification of the printed sources is of original editions and others which can be positively verified from references given in these three documents. Many accounts of voyages to the East Indies were available in reprinted, translated or excerpted form in the collections published in Germany from 1598 by De Bry (in Latin and German) and Hulsius (in German), but none of these appears to have been drawn upon in the documents under discussion in the present paper and they are not detailed here.<sup>114</sup>

### (A) Sources cited in Hakluyt’s notes on commodities and trade in the East Indies<sup>115</sup>

A1. Cesare Federici. *The Voyage and Travaile: of M. Cæsar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. Wherein Are Contained Very Pleasant and Rare Matters, with the Customes and Rites of Those Countries. Also, Heerein Are Discovered the Merchandises and Commodities of Those Countreyes, aswell the Aboundaunce of Goulde and Silver, as Spices, Drugges, Pearles, and Other Iewelless. Written at Sea in the Hercules of London: Comming from Turkie, the 25. of March 1588. For the Profitable Instruction of Merchants and All Other Travellers, for Their Better*

---

<sup>114</sup> For these collections, see, briefly, Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, bk 1, pp. 515–20, and for extensive bibliographical descriptions, George Watson Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America, Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church*, vol. 2, 1590–1625 (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1907), pp. 478–580, 601–745; P. A. Tiele, *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs néerlandais réimprimés dans les collections de De Bry et de Hulsius, et dans les collections hollandaises du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et sur les anciennes éditions hollandaises des journaux de navigateurs étrangers; la plupart en la possession de Frederik Muller à Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1867). For the relationship between the two firms, see Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 346–52.

<sup>115</sup> Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden B. 8, ff. 84–98, as printed in Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, pp. 151–71. References in the following footnotes are made to the page-number in Jones’s printing and are to the first citation of the source in the manuscript; subsequent mentions are only referred to when they assist identification of the particular edition used.



*Direction and Knowledge of Those Countreyes. Out of Italian, by T. H[ickock].* London: Richard Jones and Edward White, 1588.<sup>116</sup>

A2. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into y<sup>e</sup> Easte & West Indies.* Translated by William Phillip. London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, [1598].<sup>117</sup>

A3. [Willem Lodewijcksz.] *Prima pars descriptionis itineris navalis in Indiam Orientalem, earumque rerum quae navibus Battavis occurrerunt: una cum particulari enarratione conditionum, morum, æconomicæ populorum, quos adnavigarunt. Præterea de numismatis, aromatibus, speciebus & mercibus ibidem venalibus, eorumque pretio. Insuper de insularum apparentijs, tractibus, orisque regionum maritimis, una cum incolarum ad vivum delineatione; cuncta diversis tabulis illustrata: omnibus mare navigantibus & rerum exterarum studiosis, lectu periucunda. Authore G. M. A. W. L.* Amsterdam: C. Nicolas [Claesz], 1598.

and:

A3a. [Willem Lodewijcksz.] *Premier livre de l'histoire de la navigation aux Indes orientales, par les Hollandois, et des choses a eux advenses: ensemble les conditions, les*

---

<sup>116</sup> p. 151 'Cæsar Fredrick', p. 158 'Cæs. Fred., in English'; p. 157 reference to sanders is 'fo. 19', as in this edition, as are the various folio references at p. 166 (the p. 155 reference to 'Muske' wrongly gives 'pag. 38', instead of f. 38). Translated from *Viaggio di m. Cesare de i Fedrici, nell'India Orientale, et oltra l'India: nelquale si contengono cose dilettevoli de i riti, & de i costumi di quei paesi, et insieme si descriveno le spetiarie, droghe, gioie, & perle, che d'essi si cavano. Con alcuni avvertimenti utilissimi a quelli, che tal viaggio volessero fare* (Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1587). Hakluyt reprinted the English edition in 1599 in the *Principal Navigations* as 'The voyage and travell of M. Cæsar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice, into the East India, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are contained the customes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, aswell of golde and silver, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other iewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickocke'. PN2, pp. 213–44 (first pagination) (S5<sup>r</sup>–X2<sup>v</sup>). The translator, apparently a merchant engaged in the Levant trade, might be the Thomas Hickock (Hiccocke) listed in September 1599 among the potential investors (at £100) in the future East India Company. See Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, pp. 1, 4. For Federici, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 214, 469–73; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 133–4.

<sup>117</sup> p. 151 'John Huighen van Linschoten'; p. 153 reference to the price of pepper 'in Linsch., pag. 161', is as in this edition, as are the various page references at pp. 166–7. Originally published in Dutch, *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert, van Ian Huygen van Linschoten, naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596). The English edition was published with Hakluyt's encouragement (see the publisher's dedication, A1<sup>v</sup>, and the translator's preface, A3<sup>v</sup>). For Linschoten and his book, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 198–204; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 160–1 (note that Parker, p. 161, misconstrues a reference to Hakluyt's payments from the East India Company in Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, p. 145, as being made to him for seeing the Linschoten translation into print).

*meurs, et manieres de vivre des nations, par eux abordees. Plus les monnoyes, espices, drogues, & marchandises, & le pris d'icelles. Davantage les decouvremens & apparences, situations, & costes maritimes des contrees; avec levray pourtraict au vif des habitans: le tout par plusieurs figures illustré: tresrecreatif a lire a tous navigans & amateurs des navigations lointaines, es terres estrangeres. Par G. M. A. W. L. Amsterdam: C. Nicolas [Claesz], 1598.<sup>118</sup>*

A4. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés. *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias. Escripita por el capitan Gonçalo Fernandez de Oviedo, y Valdes. Alcayde de la fortaleza y puerto de Sa[n]cto Domingo, d'la isla Española. Cronista d'su magestad. Que trata del estrecho de Magallans.* Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 1557.<sup>119</sup>

A5. [Juan González de Mendoza.] *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China, and the Situation Thereof: Together with the Great Riches, Huge Citties, Politike Governement, and Rare Inventions in the Same. Translated Out of Spanish by R. Parke.* London: John Wolfe for Edward White, 1588.<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> p. 152 'Out of the first voiage of the Holanders, in Latin and French, cap. 15. & 20' (side-note) (the later reference to pepper in Queda, '1 *Voy. of the Hol.*, cap. 17', should in fact be to cap. 15), p. 154 'the 1 *Voy of the Hol.*, pag. 14' and 'pag. 20' should be to f. 14 and f. 20 respectively, but later references at pp. 167–9 are correctly by folio number (the recto or verso identified respectively as 'pag. 1' or 'pag. 2'). The passages referred to do not always occur at the same place in both editions and a sampling indicates that the folio numbers cited by Hakluyt are to the Latin edition. This is a narrative of the first Dutch expedition to the East Indies, commanded by Cornelis de Houtman, in 1595–97, which Willem Lodewijcksz, the author, accompanied as a factor. Another account, compiled by Barent Langenes, was also published in several languages (see n.79 above), but the references given by Hakluyt show that he meant Lodewijcksz's, issued in the original Dutch as *D'eerste boeck. Historie van Indien, waer inne verhaelt is de avontueren die de Hollandtsche schepen bejeghent zijn . . . Door G. M. A. W. L.* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1598). For an annotated text of the latter, see G. P. Rouffaer and W. J. Ijzerman, eds, *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595–1597: Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden*, vol. 1, *D'eerste boeck van Willem Lodewycksz* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915). For Lodewijcksz's account, see also Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, bk 1, pp. 438–9.

<sup>119</sup> p. 152 '*Gons. de Ovied*'. This portion of Oviedo's *Historia* describes the early Spanish voyages across the Pacific towards the East Indies. Hakluyt refers to it in his notes on the availability of pepper in Java: he does not give a specific folio or chapter number, but the relevant passage is found at ff. lxi<sup>v</sup>–lxii<sup>r</sup> (H5<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>r</sup>). For *Libro. xx.* see further, Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 184–5. An English edition by Glen F. Dille is scheduled for publication by the Hakluyt Society.

<sup>120</sup> p. 152 '*Hist. of China*', p. 167 '*The Historie of China, in English*'. The English edition had been translated with Hakluyt's encouragement (see the translator's dedication, ¶3<sup>v</sup>). Besides China, Mendoza's book included much material on the Spanish-occupied Philippines and Spanish approaches to Asia from across the Pacific. See Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 644–6, 742–94; Parker, *Books*

A6. Richard Hakluyt. *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1600.<sup>121</sup>

A7. A copy commissioned by Hakluyt of a large Italian map captured in the *Madre de Dios*, with its wording translated into English by him.<sup>122</sup>

A8. [Giovanni Battista Ramusio.] *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*. Venice: Giunti, 1559; or Venice: Giunti, 1574; or Venice: Giunti, 1583.<sup>123</sup>

A9. [Giovanni Battista Ramusio.] *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*. Venice: Giunti, 1550; or Venice: Giunti, 1554; or Venice: Giunti, 1563; or Venice: Giunti, 1588.

*and:*

A9a. ‘Of the prices of precious stones and Spices, with theyr weightes and measures as they are accustomed to bee soulede bothe of the Moores and gentyles: And of the places where they growe’. In Richard Eden. *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India*. London: William Powell, 1555. Or in Richard Willes. *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies . . . Gathered in Parte, and Done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden*.

---

*to Build an Empire*, pp. 129–31. For an extensive bibliographical account of Mendoza’s work, including details of the early Spanish editions (Rome, 1585; Madrid, 1586), see Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest 1542–1794: An Annotated Bibliography*, second edition, pt 1 (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1937), pp. 116–63.

<sup>121</sup> p. 153 ‘the 3rd volume of my English Voiages [PN3]’.

<sup>122</sup> p. 154 ‘In the isles of Tidore and Ambonio the Portugales have two small fortes, as appeareth by the greate Italian map, taken in the Madre di Dios, which I have translated and caused to be drawne for the Company’. The ‘translated’ map was perhaps one of the three maps Hakluyt provided to the East India Company and paid for on 16 February 1601 (see n.22 above, and n.126 below). The Portuguese carrack, the *Madre de Dios*, was captured with an immensely valuable cargo in 1592. E. W. Bovill, ‘The *Madre de Dios*’, *Mariner’s Mirror*, vol. 54, no. 2 (1968), pp. 129–52; C. R. Boxer, ‘The Taking of the *Madre de Deus*, 1592’, *Mariners’ Mirror*, vol. 67, no. 1 (1981), pp. 82–4; C. Lethbridge Kingsford, ed., ‘The Taking of the *Madre de Dios* Anno 1592’, in *The Naval Miscellany*, ed. Sir John Knox Laughton ([London:] Navy Records Society, 1912), pp. 85–121; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 305–6.

<sup>123</sup> p. 156 ‘Read *Ramusius*, in the preface of his 2 volume’, referring to the discussion of rhubarb which occurs in the preliminary matter of the three editions of this volume available by 1601. See George Bruner Parks, ‘The Contents and Sources of Ramusio’s *Navigazioni*’, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 59, no. 6 (June 1955), p. 296. (The next reference, ‘*Ramus.*, vol. ii, cap. 323’, cannot be located as there is no chapter so-numbered in this volume.) For Ramusio, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 204–8. For the context of Ramusio’s discussion of rhubarb, see Clifford M. Foust, *Rhubarb: The Wondrous Drug* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 3–11.

*Newly Set in Order, Augmented, and Finished by Richarde Willes.* London: Richard Jugge, 1577.<sup>124</sup>

A10. Richard Hakluyt. *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation . . . This First Volume.* London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1598.<sup>125</sup>

A11. Two copies of a captured Italian map of the Moluccas with the wording translated into English.<sup>126</sup>

A12. Hakluyt's notes on the north-west passage, not supplied but available from him on request.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> p. 158 'Of the severall prices of precious stones and spices, with their weights and measures, as they were accustomed to be sold by the Moores and Gentiles, as also of the places where they growe, I have 3 several treatises: one of Ramusius, in Italian and English . . .'. This refers to the listing (headed 'Havendo fatto nella presente scrittura molte volte mentione di diverse sorti di gioie, e ben convenevole aggiugner nel fine di essa alcune relationi havute da diversi mercatanti cosi mori, come gentili pratici, & intelligenti di simul cose, & pero comincierò dalli rubini') of precious stones, spices and their prices printed by Ramusio at the end of his text of Duarte Barbosa's travels in *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*, at ff. 345<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup> (X1<sup>v</sup>–X4<sup>v</sup>) in the 1550 edition and found in all the subsequent editions of this volume (see Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigazioni*', pp. 289–90). There was no English edition of Ramusio, but this listing was extracted and translated (without giving the source) as 'Of the prices of precious stones and Spices, with they weightes and measures as they are accustomed to bee sould bothe of the Moores and gentyles: And of the places where they growe' in Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, ff. 233<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>r</sup> (NNn1<sup>r</sup>–OOo3<sup>r</sup>), repeated in Willes, *History of Travayle*, ff. 423<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>r</sup> (Hhh7<sup>r</sup>–Iii5<sup>r</sup>). For Duarte Barbosa, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 206, 347–8. For Eden and Willes, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 210–12; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 45–6, 77–81.

<sup>125</sup> p. 158 'Of the severall prices of precious stones and spices . . . I have 3 several treatises . . . the second, of Cæs. Fred., in English [Cesare Federici, see n.116 above]; and the third, in my first volume of English Voyages [*PNI*]'. It is not clear where exactly in the first volume of the *Principal Navigations* such detailed information might be obtained. It was perhaps intended as a more general reference to 'A Declaration of the Indies and lands discovered, and subdued unto the Emperour, and the king of Portingal: And of other partes of the Indies and rich countries to be discovered' and 'The booke' giving information on Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the Spice Islands, 'and also of the way to the Moluccas by the North', by Robert Thorne the younger (d. 1532), which Hakluyt printed in *PNI*, pp. 212–20 (S4<sup>v</sup>–T2<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>126</sup> p. 158 'I have also provided for you two copies of that large Italian intercepted map of the Malucos, the notes whereof, for the better understandinge, are translated into English'. These were perhaps the two other maps Hakluyt was paid for by the East India Company on 16 February 1601. See above nn.22, 122.

<sup>127</sup> p. 158 'I have also large notes, of 20 yeares observation, concerninge the north-west passage, which your worships shall command, yf you shall have occasion to use the same'. Hakluyt had first published material on the north-west passage almost twenty years earlier, in his *Divers Voyages* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1582), π2<sup>v</sup>, ¶1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>. Although there is no record of Hakluyt's involvement, the East India Company did finance a voyage in 1602 under George Waymouth (Weymouth) to find a north-west passage as a potential shorter alternative to the established sea route to the East Indies via the Cape of Good Hope. This was an expensive debacle and the company decided against a proposed second

A13. Richard Hakluyt. *The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1599.<sup>128</sup>

A14. *A True Report of the Gainefull, Prosperous and Speedy Voiage to Iava in the East Indies, Performed by a Fleete of Eight Ships of Amsterdam: Which Set Forth from Texell in Holland, the First of Maie 1598. Stilo Novo. Whereof Foure Returned Againe the 19. of Iuly Anno 1599. in Lesse Then 15. Moneths, the Other Foure Went Forward from Iava for the Moluccas*. London: P. S[hort] for W. Aspley, [1599].<sup>129</sup>

A15. A reference from ‘*The last Voyage of the Hollanders to the Malucoes*’.<sup>130</sup>

A16. Information obtained from those experienced in the Portuguese East Indian trade.<sup>131</sup>

---

attempt by Waymouth. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, pp. 163–5; Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, pp. vi, xvi–xxii, 182–5, 232–41. The East India Company continued to be reluctant to back such ventures on its sole account, but it contributed with other parties towards John Knight's in 1606 and Henry Hudson's in 1610, and in 1612 many of its members subscribed to the North-West Passage Company (in which Hakluyt was a charter-member). See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 343–9; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616*, pp. 238–41 (item 616); Miller Christy, ed., *The Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull, and Captain Thomas James of Bristol, in Search of a North-West Passage, in 1631–32; with Narratives of the Earlier North-West Voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Weymouth, Hall, Knight, Hudson, Button, Gibbons, Bylot, Baffin, Hawkridge, and Others*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1894), vol. 1, pp. xxxviii–xlii, ccxxv–ccxxvi, 106, vol. 2, pp. 642–64; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 189–90.

<sup>128</sup> p. 167 ‘Mr. Lancaster's Voyage, printed in the *second volume of Richard Hakluyt [PN2]*’, ‘– pag. 107’. See n.32 above.

<sup>129</sup> p. 169 ‘Notes out of *The Hollanders Second Voyage to Java and the isles of the Malucoes begon, 1598 and ended 1600*’, ‘– pag. 6’, ‘– pag. 7’, ‘– pag. 8’. The Dutch original of *A True Report* is no longer extant. See J. Keuning, ed., *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598–1600: Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden*, vol. 2, *De overige journalen omtrent de reis van J. C. van Neck. De heenreis van W. Warwijck tot Bantam* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1940), pp. 1–9, 27–41 (printing the English text with annotations).

<sup>130</sup> p. 170 ‘*Notes out of The last Voyage of the Hollanders to the Malucoes*. Yron nayles and spikes good marchandise. – fol. 29, pag. 2’. This particular reference cannot be traced.

<sup>131</sup> p. 170 ‘Certayn notes gathered of such as have had much familiaritie with the Portugales that trade in the East Indies, by Richard Hakluyt’. This could mean gathered from printed sources or personal informants.

(B) Sources listed in ‘Certaiyne Reesons’<sup>132</sup> and ‘Noates of remembrance’<sup>133</sup>

Portuguese authors, printed and manuscript:<sup>134</sup>

B1. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda. *Ho livro primeiro dos dez da historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos portugueses. Agora emme[n]dado & acrecentado. E nestes dez livros se conte[m] todas as milagrosas façanhas que os portugueses fizeram em Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, e nas Indias, dentro do Ganges & fora dele, & na China & nas Ilhas de Maluco, do tempo q[ue] dom Vasco da Gama conde da Vidigueira & almirante do Mar Indico descobrio as Indias, ate a morte de dom Ioão de Castro que la foy governador & visorey. Em que se contem espaço de cinquenta annos.* Coimbra: João de Barreira, 1554.

— *Historia do livro segundo do descobrime[n]to & conquista da India pelos portugueses.* Coimbra: João de Barreira & João Álvares, 1552.

— *Ho terceiro livro da historia do descobrimento & conquista da India, polos portugueses.* Coimbra: João de Barreira & João Álvares, 1552.

— *Os livros quarto & qui[n]to da historia do descobrimento & co[n]quista da India pelos portugueses.* Coimbra: João de Barreira & João Álvares, 1553.

— *Ho sexto livro da historia do descobrimento & conquista da India. polos portugueses.* Coimbra: João de Barreira, 1554.

— *Ho seitemo livro da historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos portugueses.* [Coimbra: João de Barreira], 1554.

— *Ho octavo livro da historia do descobrime[n]to & co[n]quista da India pelos portugueses.* Coimbra: João de Barreira, 1561.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> ‘In all these & infinite places more, abounding with greate welthe & riches, the Portugals & Spaniards have not any castle, forte, blockhouse or commaundement, as wee are able to prove by these authors or witnesses following:’, in TNA CO 77/1, no. 17, as printed in Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 467–8. The listing is written at the end of the document.

<sup>133</sup> ‘The proofes which wee aleage for verrifieing of that aforesaid concerninge the *Easte Indie* is followeinge. Viz.’, in Huntington Library MS EL 2360, as printed in Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes for the East India Company’, p. 434. The listing is written at the end of the document.

<sup>134</sup> ‘*Portugalle Authors, printed & written*’; ‘*Portingale* writeurs bouth oulde and newe printed’. The quotations in this and the following footnotes are from ‘Certaiyne Reesons’ first, and ‘Noates of remembrance’ second.

B2. João de Barros. *Asia de Joam de Barros, dos fectos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente*. Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1552.

— *Segunda decada da Asia*. Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1553.

— *Terceira decada da Asia*. Lisbon: João de Barreira, 1563.<sup>136</sup>

B3. António Galvão. *Tratado. Que compôs o nobre & notavel capitão Antonio Galvão, dos diversos & desuayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia veyo da India ás nossas partes, & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos, que são feitos ate a era de mil & quinhentos & cincoenta. Com os nomes particulares das pessoas que os fizeram: & em que tempos & as suas alturas*. [Lisbon], João de Barreira, 1563.<sup>137</sup>

B4. Jerónimo Osório. *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis libri duodecim*. Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1571.<sup>138</sup>

B5. Duarte de Sande. *De missione legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam curiam rebus[ue] in Europa, ac toto itinere animadversis dialogus ephmeride ipsorum*

---

<sup>135</sup> ‘Fernando Lopes de Castaneda, his larg volumes of ye East Indies’; ‘*Ferdinando Lopes de Castaneda*, his large vollumes of y<sup>e</sup> *Easte Indies*’. This series of eight books was in folio. The original version of the first book, *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos portugueses* (Coimbra: João de Barreira & João Álvares, 1551), was a small quarto. For Lopes de Castaneda, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 187–90.

<sup>136</sup> ‘John Barros, his 3 decads of Asia’; ‘*John Barros* his three Decades of *Azia*’. For Barros, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 190–2.

<sup>137</sup> ‘Antonio Galvano, of the Discoverers of the New World’; ‘*Antonio Galvano* of the discoveries of y<sup>e</sup> *newe worlde*’. Hakluyt possessed an English translation, later published by him as *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Originall unto the Yeere of Our Lord 1555. Briefly Written in the Portugall Tongue by Antonie Galvano, Governour of Ternate, the Chiefe Island of the Malucos* (London: [Eliots Court Press], George Bishop, 1601). Hakluyt said the translation was done ‘many yeeres ago’ by an unknown English merchant and that during the more than twelve years the manuscript had been in his possession, he had been unable to find an ‘originall copie’ of the Portuguese work, printed ‘it seemeth’ at Lisbon (A3<sup>v</sup>). For Galvão, see also Giuseppe Marcocci, *The Globe on Paper: Writing Histories of the World in Renaissance Europe and the Americas*, trans. Richard Bates (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 60–9, 78–9; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 195–6.

<sup>138</sup> ‘Hieronymus Osorius, de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis’; ‘*Hieronimus Osorius*’. This contained much of interest for the early years of Portuguese expansion overseas. See Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, *A Century of Wonder*, bk 2, *The Literary Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 139–41, 145–8; also n.85 above.

*legatorum collectus, & in sermonem Latinum versus ab Eduardo de Sande, sacerdote societatis Iesu.* Macau: The Society of Jesus, 1590.<sup>139</sup>

B6. A manuscript register of Portugal's government in the East captured in 1592.<sup>140</sup>

Spanish authors, printed in Spain:<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup> 'Duarte Sande, printed at Macheo, in China, 1590'; 'Duarte Sande printed in Macao 1590'. Of special interest in this book was the thirty-third dialogue (pp. 379–99; b4<sup>r</sup>–e2<sup>r</sup>), an account of China, held by Hakluyt to be 'the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light', and translated by him in the second volume of the *Principal Navigations* as 'An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and government thereof: Printed in Latine at Macao a citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590'. PN2, \*4<sup>r</sup>, pp. 88–98 (second pagination) (Hhh2<sup>v</sup>–Iii1<sup>v</sup>). See Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 809–15, giving a summary based on Hakluyt's translation. The complete work also includes information on the Portuguese empire in Asia and the voyage from Japan to Macau and on to Europe, via the Straits of Singapore, Malacca, India, and the Cape of Good Hope. Hakluyt was possibly in possession of the copy he records as 'intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios [see n.122 above] . . . inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable iewell' (PN2, \*4<sup>r</sup>). See Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 38, 305, vol. 2, p. 427. For a modern English edition, see Derek Massarella, ed., *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe: A Dialogue concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia (1590)*, trans. J. F. Moran (London: Ashgate for the Hakluyt Society, 2012).

<sup>140</sup> 'The noble intercepted Register, or Matricola, of the whole government of the East India, in the Madre de Deos, 1592 [see n.122 above]'; 'The notable intercepted register or *Matroclia*, of the whole govermente of the *Easte India* in the *Madre de Dios* 1592. with divers others bookes, and letters written from *Japan*, *China*, and *y<sup>e</sup> Indies*. which have bin intercepted'. In 1625 an abbreviated English translation of this or a similar document was printed as 'Don Duart De Meneses the Vice-roy, his tractate of the Portugall Indies, containing the Lawes, Customes, Revenues, Expenses, and other matters remarkable therein: heere abbreviated' by Purchas in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, pp. 1506–33 (7K3<sup>v</sup>–7M5<sup>r</sup>) (in vol. 1, A3<sup>v</sup>, Purchas signifies this translation as coming from Hakluyt's papers but not that it was by Hakluyt). The original Portuguese manuscript 'register' is probably that which survives as British Library Add. MS 28433, the fly-leaf of which is inscribed 'Richard Hakluyt'. See Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 295, 296–7 (fig. 13, illustrating the fly-leaf and the first page of text). The inscription seems to be in Hakluyt's hand, but British Library additional manuscripts numbered in the range 28334–28503 come from the portion of the collection of the counts of Altamira acquired by the library after 1870. This collection, made up from inheritances of the archives of several noble Spanish families, was once one of the richest private holdings of papers relating to the reign of Philip II of Spain, including those of three of his private secretaries. A government document such as Add. MS 28433 is not at all out of place in the Altamira collection, but if this manuscript was once in Hakluyt's possession, it cannot have been among the papers left by any official serving Philip II (d. 1598), having been captured from the *Madre de Dios* in 1592, or, if not that particular 'intercepted Register', certainly purloined by the English on some other occasion. One possible explanation is that it was acquired and brought back to Spain after Hakluyt's death by the Count-Duke of Olivares (d. 1645), chief minister of Philip IV and a serious collector of books and manuscripts. The papers of Philip II's private secretaries had been appropriated by Olivares and from him they eventually passed to the counts of Altamira, where they joined the archives of several of Philip II's ministers inherited from other families. It may tentatively be suggested, therefore, that Add. MS 28433 found its way, along with the secretaries' papers, into the Altamira collection through Olivares. For the Altamira collection, see Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 380–1. For Olivares's collecting, see also J. H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 24–6.

<sup>141</sup> 'Spanish Authors printed in Spayne'; 'Spanish authours printed in Spaigne'.



B7. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés. *Libro. xx. de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias. Escrip̄ta por el capitan Gonçalo Fernandez de Oviedo, y Valdes. Alcayde de la fortaleza y puerto de Sa[n]cto Domingo, d'la isla Española. Cronista d'su magestad. Que trata del estrecho de Magallans.* Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1557.<sup>142</sup>

B8. The narrative of the Spanish pilot Juan Gaytan.<sup>143</sup>

B9. [Francisco López de Gómara]. *La istoria general de las Indias. Y conquista de Mexico.* 2 pts. Zaragoza: Agustín Millán, 1552 (and many later editions and translations).<sup>144</sup>

Italian authors:<sup>145</sup>

B10. [Giovanni Battista Ramusio.] *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi.* Venice: Giunti, 1550; or Venice: Giunti, 1554; or Venice: Giunti, 1563; or Venice: Giunti, 1588.<sup>146</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> 'Gonsalvo de Oviedo, chronicler for the West Indies to Charles the V'; 'Don Gonsalo, de Oviedo Chronicler to Charles the Emperour'. See n.119 above.

<sup>143</sup> 'John Gaetan'; 'John Gaeton'. Juan Gaytan (Gaetano) sailed with the expedition commanded by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos across the Pacific from Mexico in 1542, reaching the East Indies and the Philippines. His account is not known to have been printed in Spain, so the information probably came from that published in Italian by Ramusio in *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550) at ff. 403<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>v</sup> (EE3<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>) and reprinted in subsequent editions of this volume. See Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 495, 593, 602, 624, 642–3; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 292; Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929), pp. 98–100, 340.

<sup>144</sup> 'Francis Lopez de Gomera'; 'Frauncis Lopes de Gomara'. For the numerous sixteenth-century editions, see Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 50–89. Although Gómara's work is principally concerned with the New World, it included material on the Moluccas or Spice Islands and the dispute between the Portuguese and Spanish over them in the early sixteenth century. This portion had been excerpted and translated by Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, ff. 240<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>r</sup> (OOo4<sup>r</sup>–PPp4<sup>r</sup>), as 'The debate and stryfe beetwene the Spanyardes and Portugales, for the division of the Indies and the trade of Spices: and also for the Ilands of Molucca, which sum caule Malucas. Wrytten in the Spanyshe toonge by Francisco Lopez de Gomara', repeated in Willes, *History of Travayle*, ff. 448<sup>r</sup>–52<sup>r</sup> (Ll18<sup>r</sup>–Mmm4<sup>r</sup>). See also Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, p. 185; Cristián A. Roa-de-la-Carrera, *Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), pp. 97–8, 207.

<sup>145</sup> 'Italiens'; 'Italion writers'.

B11. Cesare Federici. *Viaggio di m. Cesare de i Fedrici, nell'India Orientale, et oltra l'India: nelquale si contengono cose dilettevoli de i riti, & de i costumi di quei paesi, et insieme si descriveno le spetiarie, droghe, gioie, & perle, che d'essi si cavano. Con alcuni avvertimenti utilissimi a quelli, che tal viaggio volessero fare.* Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1587.<sup>147</sup>

B12. Maffei, Giovanni Pietro. *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI. Selectarum, item, ex India epistolarum, eodem interprete, libri IV. Accessit Ignatii Loiolae vita. Omnia ab auctore recognita, & nunc primùm in Germania excusa. Item, in singula opera copiosus index. His nunc recèns adiecta est charta geographica, ære nitidissimè expressa, qua lectori utriusq[ue] Indiæ situs, & longinqua ad eas navigatio, accuratè ob oculos spectanda proponitur, non minus adspectu, quàm historia ipsa lectu iucunda.* Cologne: Birckmann, Arnold Mylius, 1593.<sup>148</sup>

Information from English travellers to the East Indies.<sup>149</sup>

B13. Richard Hakluyt. *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation.* London: George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, deputies to Christopher Barker, 1589. For material, which could be complemented by personal information from crewmen 'yet living', on the circumnavigations of Sir Francis Drake (1577–80)<sup>150</sup> and

---

<sup>146</sup> 'The first volume of John Baptista Ramusius'; 'The first vollume of the excellente *Cosmographer Ramusius* in *Italion*'. For this volume, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 204–7; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigations*', pp. 281–94.

<sup>147</sup> 'Caesar Frederic, which lived 18 yeres in ye East Indies and returned 1581'; '*Cæsar Frederick* which lived 18 yeares in the *Easte Indies*, and returned to *Venice* in y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1581'. For Federici, see n.116 above.

<sup>148</sup> 'Petrus Maffeus, printed within these 7 yeres'; '*Petrius Maffeius* printed within these sixe yeares'. The 1593 edition was the first to include a world map. For the dates of other editions, see n.69 above. For Maffei, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 325–6.

<sup>149</sup> '*Englishmen personally in the Malucos, Java and many other parts of the East Indies*'; 'Englishmen that have bin personallie in the *Malucos, Java* and in manie places of y<sup>e</sup> *Portingale Indies*'.

<sup>150</sup> 'Sir Francis Drake's men, yet living, and his own writings printed'; '*Sir Frauncis Drakes* voiage aboute the world, and some of his Compagnie yet liveinge as *M<sup>r</sup> Eliot of Guilford M<sup>r</sup> Chester, M<sup>r</sup> Chambers*, and others'. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 12 unnumbered pages after p. 643 (Mmm3<sup>v</sup>). Drake (d. 1596) did not in fact write the narrative of his circumnavigation published by Hakluyt (and no other was printed in the sixteenth century), although at one stage he apparently intended to publish under his own name an account of all his various voyages. See D. B. Quinn, 'Early Accounts of the Famous Voyage', in *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577–1580: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of Drake's Circumnavigation of the Earth*, ed. Norman J. W. Thrower (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University

Thomas Cavendish (1586–88).<sup>151</sup> If ‘Certaiyne Reasons’ and ‘Noates of remembrance’ were compiled sometime between autumn 1599 and early summer 1600 (as argued above, pp. 20–3), then this, the original edition of the *Principal Navigations*, is where the printed information on Drake’s and Cavendish’s circumnavigations would have been available. If the documents are later, then such information could also have been found in the third volume of the second edition, which did not appear until after the summer of 1600 (the dedication is dated 1 September 1600): *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1600.<sup>152</sup>

B14. Richard Hakluyt. *The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1599. For information on the travels of Ralph Fitch to the East Indies<sup>153</sup> and James Lancaster’s voyage as far as Malacca.<sup>154</sup> If ‘Noates of remembrance’ dates from October 1599 (see above, p. 23), then the information on Fitch and Lancaster, while known to the compiler, was still unpublished, as *The Second*

---

of California Press, 1984), pp. 33–48. For Drake in the East Indies, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 499–500, 622–3.

<sup>151</sup> ‘Mr. Thomas Candishes Companye, yet living, and his own writings printed’; ‘*M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Candish* his owne writeinges and voiage of *M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Fuller*, the *M<sup>r</sup>* of his ship, and divers other of his men yet liveinge’. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, pp. 808–15 (Dddd2<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>), which includes Cavendish’s short report on the voyage to the Lord Chamberlain, a narrative ‘Written by N. H.’ and notes on the map of China brought back by Cavendish. For Cavendish, see Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City*, pp. 70–5, 95. Hakluyt’s first wife, Douglas Cavendish (d. 1597), was a cousin of Thomas Cavendish the circumnavigator. See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, under her father, Richard Cavendish (d. 1601), courtier and friend of John Dee; Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 50.

<sup>152</sup> PN3, (A)3<sup>v</sup> (dedication), pp. 730–42 (Ppp3<sup>v</sup>–Qqq3<sup>v</sup>) (for Drake), 803–39 (Xxx4<sup>r</sup>–Aaaa4<sup>r</sup>) (for Cavendish). The Drake account is reprinted here with only minor changes from the 1589 edition. For Cavendish, the report to the Lord Chamberlain (now named also as Lord Hunsdon) and the notes on the map of China are repeated from the 1589 edition, but the ‘N. H.’ narrative is replaced by another, ‘Written by Master Francis Pretty’, and new material by Thomas Fuller, master of Cavendish’s ship, is added. In 1600 Hakluyt also printed an account of Cavendish’s last voyage, which failed in its attempt to reach China and resulted in Cavendish’s death (1592). PN3, pp. 842–52 (Aaaa5<sup>v</sup>–Bbbb4<sup>v</sup>). See also Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 2, pp. 456–9.

<sup>153</sup> ‘Mr. Ralph Fitches travayles through most of the Portugal Indies, in print’; ‘*M<sup>r</sup> Ralph Fitch* his travailes, through moste of y<sup>e</sup> Countreies of y<sup>e</sup> Portingales’. PN2, pp. 250–68 (first pagination) (X5<sup>v</sup>–Z2<sup>v</sup>). For Fitch’s travels, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 477–82.

<sup>154</sup> ‘Mr. James Lancasters and his companyes voyages, as farre as Malaca, printed’; ‘*M<sup>r</sup> James Lancaster*, and divers of his Companie whoe sailed as far as ye gulph of *Malaca*’. PN2, pp. 102–10 (second pagination) (Iii3<sup>v</sup>–Kkk1<sup>v</sup>). See also n.32 above.

*Volume of the Principal Navigations* did not appear until later (its dedication is dated 24 October 1599).<sup>155</sup>

Dutch authors:<sup>156</sup>

B15. Jan Huygen van Linschoten. *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert, van Ian Huygen van Linschoten, naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien inhoudende een corte beschryvinghe der selver landen ende zee-custen, met aenwysinge van alle de voornaemde principale havens, revieren, hoecken ende plaetsen, tot noch toe vande Portugesen ontdeekt ende bekent: waer by ghevoecht zijn, niet alleen die conterfeysels vande habytten, drachten ende wesen, so vande Portugesen aldaer residerende, als vande ingeboornen Indianen, ende huere tempels, afgoden, huysinge, met die voornaemste boomen, vruchten, kruyden, speceryen, ende diergelijcke materialen, als ooc die manieren des selfden volckes, so in hunnen godts-diensten, als in politie en[de] huijs-houdinghe: maer ooc een corte verhalinge van de coophandelingen, hoe en[de] waer die ghedreven en[de] gevonden worden, met die ghedenckweerdichste geschiedenissen, voorghevallen den tijt zijnder residentie aldaer. Alles beschreven ende by een vergadert, door den selfden, seer nut, oorbaer, ende oock vermakelijcken voor alle curieuse ende liefhebbers van vreemdigheden.* Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596.

B15a. Jan Huygen van Linschoten. *Discours of Voyages into y<sup>e</sup> Easte & West Indies.* Translated by William Phillip. London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, [1598].<sup>157</sup>

Accounts of Cornelis de Houtman's voyage to the East Indies:<sup>158</sup>

B16. Barent Langenes, ed. *Verhael vande reyse by de Hollandtsche schepen gedaen naer Oost Indien, haer avontuer ende succes, met de beschryvinghe der landen daer zy*

---

<sup>155</sup> PN2, \*4<sup>v</sup>. As quoted above, nn.153, 154, 'Certayne Reasons' describes the information about Fitch as 'in print' and for Lancaster as 'printed', whereas 'Noates of remembrance' is silent on this.

<sup>156</sup> 'Hollanders' in both documents.

<sup>157</sup> 'John Huygen de Linschoten's worke, which lived about 7 yeres in India'; 'John Huighen his notable worke printed, who lived above vij yeares in the *Easte Indies*'. See n.117 above for Linschoten.

<sup>158</sup> 'The first voyage of the Hollanders to Java & Baly, in printe'; 'The first voiage of the *Holandars* printed in, Duch, Latine, English, and French'. See n.71 above for Cornelis de Houtman's voyage.

*gheweest zijn, der steden ende inwoonderen met caerten ende figueren verlicht seer ghenoechlijck om lesen.* Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1597.<sup>159</sup>

B16a. Barent Langenes, ed. *Journael vande reyse der Hollandtsche schepen ghedaen in Oost Indien, haer coersen, streckinghen ende vreemde avontueren die haer bejegenzt zijn, seer vlijtich van tijt tot tijt aengeteeckent. Oock de historische vertellinghen der volcken, landen en[de] steden by haer beseylt. Van haer coopmanschappen. Wat haer gelt is. Wat profijjt daer te doen is. Waer de speceryen vallen. Hoe de coop daer van is seer profijjtelijck en[de] genoechlijck om lesen, als oock sekere merckteecken en[de] opdoeningen, den zeevarenden nut. Oock een vocabulaer der principaelste Iavaensche woorden, met vele caerten ende figuren verciert.* Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598.

B16b. [Barent Langenes, ed.] *The Description of a Voyage Made by Certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies. With Their Adventures and Successe: Together with the Description of the Countries, Townes, and Inhabitanes of the Same: Who Set Forth on the Second of Aprill 1595. and Returned on the 14. of August. 1597. Translated out of Dutch into English by W. P.* Translated by William Phillip. London: [John Windet? for] John Wolfe, 1598.<sup>160</sup>

B16c. Barent Langenes, ed. *Journal du voyage de l'Inde Orientale, fait per les navires hollandoises: leur course & rhombes, certaines marques, & decouvremens de terres. Ensemble un discours historial des adventures estranges survenues; peuples, terres, & villes abordees; qualité des marchandises; les lieux ou les especes se trouvent; l'achat dicelles; le proffit qu'on y peut faire, & la sorte de monnoyes: le tout tres utile a tous*

---

<sup>159</sup> This account, produced by the bookseller Barent Langenes, is sometimes catalogued under Cornelis de Houtman, but there is no indication that De Houtman's journal was used in its compilation. The *Verhael* is the initial version. For discussion and annotated texts, see G. P. Rouffaer and W. J. Ijzerman, eds, *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595–1597: Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden*, vol. 2, *De oudste journalen der reis: Verhael (1597), Journael (1598), Van der Does (hs.)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1925), who suggest it was possibly based in part on the journal of midshipman Pieter Stockmans (see pp. xxi–xxx).

<sup>160</sup> The translator's dedication (to Sir James Scudamore) refers to the original edition of the *Principal Navigations* (1589) (see n.13 above) as the 'booke written bii M. Richard Haclute a Gentleman very studious therein, & entituled the English voyages' (A2<sup>r</sup>). See also Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 40, 310, vol. 2, p. 573 (suggesting the possibility of Hakluyt's involvement in the translation's appearance).

*marchans, & navigans, & tres-recreatif a lire. Plus l'explication des dictionnaires principales de Iava, le tout de plusieurs cartes, & autres figures enrichi & orné.* Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598.

B16d. Barent Langenes, ed. *Diarium nauticum itineris Batavorum in Indiam Orientalem, cursuum, tractuum, variorumque eventuum, qui ipsis contigerunt, diligenter descriptum. His accedunt, narratio historica nationum, regionum, & civitatum, quas adnavigarunt: negotiationes, monetae species, lucri accipiendi ratio, aromatum natale solum, eorumque pretium. Lectu periucunda & utilissima. Describuntur & certa signa littoralia, regionumque situs & apparentiae, nautis scitu commodissima: quibus adiungitur explicatio praecipuarum ditionum Iavanicarum. Omnia regionum tabulis, & figuris illustrata.* Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598.<sup>161</sup>

B17. [Willem Lodewijcksz.] *D'eerste boeck. Historie van Indien, waer inne verhaelt is de avontueren die de Hollandtsche schepen bejeghent zijn: oock een particulier verhael der conditien, religien, manieren, ende huijshoudege der volckeren die zy beseijlt hebben: wat gelt, specerye, drogues ende coopmanschappen by haer ghevonden wordt, met den prijs van dien; daer by ghevoecht de opdoeninghen ende streckinghen vande eylanden ende zee-custen, als oock de conterfeytsels der inwoonderen, met veel caertiens verciert; voor alle zee-varende ende curieuse lief-hebbers seer ghenuechlijck om lesen.* Door G. M. A. W. L. Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1598.

---

<sup>161</sup> An appendix to the Langenes account was also issued. Compiled by Cornelis Gerritszoon, it had its own title-page and appeared in the same four languages: *Appendix oft by-voechsel achter tjournael vande reyse der Hollandtsche schepen op Iava . . . in druck ghebracht door Corn. Gerritsz. van Zuydt lant* (Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598); *Appentis au journal du voyage des navires de Holland à Iava . . . par Cornille fils de Girard de Zuidlande* (Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598); *Appendix. Diari nautici itineris Batavorum in Iavam . . . per Cornelium Gerardi filium Zuidlandum, edita* (Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1598); *An Addition to the Sea Journal or Navigation of the Hollanders unto Iava, Contayning the Apparances, Shewes, or Resemblances of the Cape of Bona Speranza, of the Road of S. Bras, of the Promontorie of S. Iustus, and of the Cape of S. Augusta, with the True Shapes of the Coastes of Madagascar, Sumatra, and Iava: and Also a Mapped and Discription of the Kingdome and Island of Bally: Together with the Exposition of Certain Words of the People of Madagascar: and with a Dictionary of the Language of Malacca: Compiled by Cornelius Geraldson of Zuidland. Whereunto Are Annexed the True Portraictures of the Naturall Inhabitants of the Cape of Bona Speranza, of the King & People of Antongil, of the Governour and People of Sumatra, of the Inhabitants and Ships of Iava, of the People of China, and of the King of Bally and His Statelie Traine* (London: [J. Windet for] John Wolfe, 1598).

B17a. [Willem Lodewijcksz.] *Premier livre de l'histoire de la navigation aux Indes orientales, par les Hollandois, et des choses a eux advenses: ensemble les conditions, les meurs, et manieres de vivre des nations, par eux abordees. Plus les monnoyes, espices, drogues, & marchandises, & le pris d'icelles. Davantage les decouvremens & apparences, situations, & costes maritimes des contrees; avec levray pourtraict au vif des habitans: le tout par plusieurs figures illustré: tresrecreatif a lire a tous navigans & amateurs des navigations lointaines, es terres estrangeres. Par G. M. A. W. L. Amsterdam: C. Nicolas [Claesz], 1598.*

B17b. [Willem Lodewijcksz.] *Prima pars descriptionis itineris navalis in Indiam Orientalem, earumque rerum quae navibus Battavis occurrerunt: una cum particulari enarratione conditionum, morum, œconomicæ populorum, quos adnavigarunt. Præterea de numismatis, aromatibus, speciebus & mercibus ibidem venalibus, eorumque pretio. Insuper de insularum apparentijs, tractibus, orisque regionum maritimis, una cum incolarum ad vivum delineatione; cuncta diversis tabulis illustrata: omnibus mare navigantibus & rerum exterarum studiosis, lectu periucunda. Authore G. M. A. W. L. Amsterdam: C. Nicolas [Claesz], 1598.<sup>162</sup>*

B18. *A True Report of the Gainefull, Prosperous and Speedy Voiage to Iava in the East Indies, Performed by a Fleete of Eight Ships of Amsterdam: Which Set Forth from Texell in Holland, the First of Maie 1598. Stilo Novo. Whereof Foure Returned Again the 19. of Iuly Anno 1599. in Lesse Then 15. Moneths, the Other Foure Went Forward from Iava for the Moluccas* (London: P. S[hort] for W. Aspley, [1599]).<sup>163</sup>

---

<sup>162</sup> For Lodewijcksz's account, which did not appear in English, see n.118 above.

<sup>163</sup> 'The second voyage to Java, in Dutch & English. The testimonie of William Pers, Englishman, with them in ye sayd voyage'; 'The seconde voiage of the *Holandens*, in Duch and English, and the testimonie of one William Pierce, an Englishman, whoe was with them in their saide laste voiage'. Nothing further is known of William Pierce. The Dutch original of *A True Report* is no longer extant (see n.129 above).

B19. Reports of the third return of the Dutch (found in ‘Certaiyne Reasons’ only).<sup>164</sup>

This reference is to the return in May 1600 of two of the eight ships that had sailed to the East Indies with Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck’s expedition in 1598.<sup>165</sup> If ‘Certaiyne Reasons’ was composed during the late spring or early summer of 1600 (see above, p. 21), then details about this return might well have come from verbal or manuscript reports, since none were available in print at this time (unless, perhaps, in a now lost newsletter or similar ephemeral publication). The principal printed account of the expedition, compiled after the return of the last of the eight ships at the end of August, appeared later in 1600 as: *Journael ofte dagh-register, inhoudende een waerachtigh verhael ende historische vertellinghe vande reyse, ghedaen door de acht schepen van Amsterdamme, onder ’t beleydt van Iacob Cornelisz. Neck. als admirael, ende Wybrandt van Warwijck, als vice-admirael, van Amsterdam gheseylt in den jare 1598. den eersten dagh der maent martij*. Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, [1600].<sup>166</sup> This was translated by William Walker as: *The Journall, or Dayly Register, Contayning a True Manifestation, and Historicall Declaration of the Voyage, Accomplished by Eight Shippes of Amsterdam, under the Conduct of Iacob Corneliszen Neck Admirall, & Wybrandt van Warwick Vice-Admirall, Which Sayled from Amsterdam the First Day of March, 1598*. London: [Simon Stafford and Felix Kingston] for Cuthbert Burby and John Flasket, 1601.<sup>167</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> ‘The third returne of the Hollanders from the Est Indies this yere’. Since ‘Noates of remembrance’ does not mention this return, it was, as discussed above, probably written before ‘Certaiyne Reasons’.

<sup>165</sup> See n.71 above for the various Dutch returns.

<sup>166</sup> Although often catalogued under Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck, this account is based on two anonymous journals kept on two of the ships that remained in the East Indies (returning in 1600) after Van Neck himself had sailed home in 1599. An augmented edition appeared as *Het tweede boeck, journael oft dagh-register, inhoudende een warachtich verhael ende historische vertellinghe vande reyse, gedaen door de acht schepen van Amstelredamme, gheseylt inden maent martij 1598. onder ’t beleydt vanden admirael Iacob Cornelisz. Neck, ende Wybrant van Warwijck als vice-admirael* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1601). For the additional material, see Tiele, *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs néerlandais réimprimés dans les collections de De Bry et de Hulsius*, p. 140. For an annotated edition, see J. Keuning, ed., *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598–1600: Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden*, vol. 3, *Het tweede boeck, journael oft dagh-register Amsterdam 1601* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1942).

<sup>167</sup> For Walker’s translation (which was from the original *Journael* as it does not include material found in the augmented Dutch edition), see also n.18 above.