

The Manuscripts of Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliographical Survey with Some Comments on Attributions

Anthony Payne

Introduction

This survey aims to provide a bibliographical guide to the various extant manuscripts in the hand (or thought to be) of Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), manuscript items authored (or thought to be) by Hakluyt but not in his hand, and manuscript works by others at one time in his possession or in the composition of which he was associated. Readers are welcome to send corrections, revisions and additions to the compiler at payne.anthony@btinternet.com.

Each manuscript has a separate entry in the listing, giving its location, bibliographical references, editions, reproductions, and comment as appropriate. Each is allocated a serial number in **bold** and cross references in the survey are made simply to this number.

The survey does not attempt to catalogue the manuscripts in detail, and their contents are only briefly described unless directly relevant to the critical assessment or attribution of a manuscript. References are not exhaustive, but will provide a guide to the principal bibliographical notices of each manuscript. In all cases citations are made of the three foundational works in modern Hakluyt scholarship, Parks,¹ Quinn,² and Taylor,³ with the latter, the standard and most accessible collection of Hakluyt's writings, always being listed first as the main point of reference. Other references and editions are listed chronologically; citations in the notes are alphabetical by author. The listing itself is chronological, following Taylor's ordering when applicable, and is sometimes approximate; manuscripts in Hakluyt's possession appear at the time when he acquired them, not the date of their production. Dates are given as written in the manuscript, with clarifications made when necessary to avoid ambiguity.⁴

It will be noticed that a number of attributions of documents to Hakluyt as author are queried, and that the identification of the hands of several manuscripts often said to be Hakluyt's is also questioned.⁵ The authorship of an item and the hand of the particular manuscript in which it is written down are not, of course, necessarily the same, and in assessing Hakluyt's

Abbreviations are listed following this Introduction, p. 4 below. An index of the manuscripts is at pp. 42–5 below.

¹ George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, second edition (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961) (cited hereafter as 'Parks'). Originally published in 1928. Although the second edition is substantially unaltered, Parks made a number of revisions, corrections and others changes in the documentary appendices (pp. 233–76).

² D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974) (cited hereafter as 'Quinn').

³ 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) (cited hereafter as 'Taylor').

⁴ 'When Hakluyt was in France between 1583 and 1588 he was inclined to use New Style dating for the day and month, and may occasionally have done so later. He also adopted calendar dating for the year but he was not entirely consistent in this practice after he returned to England in 1588, so that it is sometimes difficult and occasionally impossible to know whether English style, with the year beginning on 25 March, or calendar dating, beginning with 1 January, is being employed' (Quinn, vol. 1, p. 264).

⁵ For the difficulties in attributing a piece of handwriting to a definite person, see Hilary Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwritings: A Preliminary Sketch', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1922), pp. 31–4. Among various points to consider are that an individual might write a document in secretary hand but sign it in italic, or employ both hands in a single piece of writing, and that secretaries might write and sign a document as if written by their master himself.

manuscripts, authorship of the work is of greater concern than the hand in which it is written. For example, the most important of his manuscripts, and his longest prose-work in his own words, the *Discourse of Western Planting* [8], survives in a manuscript that is indubitably a scribal production, but just as indubitably, Hakluyt is the author of the work itself.

Hakluyt began his study of ‘whatsoever printed or written [manuscript] discoveries and voyages’ he could find ‘in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages’ as a young man at Oxford,⁶ and over his lifetime must have gathered a considerable collection of printed books and manuscripts, not least in assembling the two editions of the *Principal Navigations*,⁷ but little of this material survives today. We know from the remarks of Samuel Purchas in his prefatory address to the reader in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625) that he laboured ‘not without hard conditions’ to get Hakluyt’s papers, and his use of them is acknowledged in the book’s 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’.⁸ It is not known exactly when or how Purchas acquired this material. Hakluyt’s will, made in 1612 [25], does not make any 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.⁹

No printed books with Hakluyt’s inscriptions are recorded,¹⁰ one known to have been lent to him contains no marks of his,¹¹ and the only known presentation copy of one of his works, the *Principall Navigations* (1589), is inscribed ‘Desportes’ ‘Dono auctoris’ by the recipient, the French poet, Philippe Desportes (1546–1606), not by Hakluyt himself.¹²

The survey excludes manuscripts that were consulted by Hakluyt but were not in his possession,¹³ those he prints that no longer exist in their original form,¹⁴ manuscripts that are lost

⁶ *PN*, *2^r.

⁷ For its sources, see Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 341–460.

⁸ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 1 (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), ¶4^v, ¶6^f.

⁹ See L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), pp. 316, 343, 347, 353–4; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 74–96, 326–9. See n.133 below for Edmond Hakluyt.

¹⁰ BL C.21.b.35, a copy of [Richard Hakluyt], *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America, and the Ilands Adiacent* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1582), has the name ‘Richard Hakluyt’ written at the end of the dedication. Although thought to be Hakluyt’s autograph signature by John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii, it is probably not. See the illustration of it and various Hakluyt signatures in D. B. Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967), fig. 3 (p. 25).

¹¹ The set of St Augustine’s works, *Primus [–decimus] tomus [etc.]* (Basel: Froben, 1556), one of several printings of the revised Erasmus edition, lent to Hakluyt by the Clothworkers’ Company in 1581 to assist his studies at Oxford. See Quinn, vol. 1, p. 273; D. E. Wickham, ‘The Library at Clothworkers’ Hall in the City of London’, *The Private Library*, fourth series, vol. 8, no. 3 (Autumn 1995), pp. 104–6.

¹² Princeton University Library, 16th-148 RHT. For Desportes’s library, dispersed after the death in 1629 of his brother and principal heir, Thibaut Desportes, see Isabelle de Conihout, ‘Du nouveau sur la bibliothèque de Philippe Desportes et sur sa dispersion’, in *Philippe Desportes (1546–1606): Un poète presque parfait entre Renaissance et classicisme*, ed. Jean Balsamo ([Paris:] Klincksieck, 2000), pp. 121–60 (not recording his *PN*).

¹³ e.g., London, Guildhall Library MS 3313, ‘an old Chronicle written by Robert Fabian . . . in the custodie of Iohn Stowe’, given as the source for ‘A note of Sebastian Gabotes voyage of discoverie’ by Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America*, A3^r. See Julia Boffey, *Manuscript and Print in London c.1475–1530* (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 199–200.

¹⁴ e.g., Walsingham’s letter to Hakluyt of 11 March 1583 printed by Hakluyt in *PN3*, p. 181 (P5^r) (for this letter see Comment, under [1] below; Parks, p. 247; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 277). More substantial is the account of Jacques Cartier’s third voyage to Canada (1541), the sole known version of which is the English translation printed in *PN3*, pp. 232–6 (T6^v–V2^r). Hakluyt apparently obtained (or at least consulted) a French manuscript of this account when in France in the 1580s. See Michel Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations. Édition critique* (Montreal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1986), pp. 41, 236–44, 409–18. Hakluyt refers to an original account of Cartier’s second voyage he saw

altogether but which he is known to have obtained for printing,¹⁵ and works that circulated in manuscript, but survive neither in the version used by Hakluyt,¹⁶ nor in a copy that can be specifically linked to him.¹⁷

This survey does not include the manuscripts of Hakluyt's cousin, Richard Hakluyt the elder (d. 1591), a lawyer at the Middle Temple, under whose care the orphaned younger Hakluyt grew up.¹⁸ The two can be confused, and it should be noted that the captions to figs 12 and 13 in Parks (plate facing p. 59) are incorrect, because the illustrations are transposed: the specimen captioned as the 'Holograph of Richard Hakluyt, lawyer' shown in the top illustration is in fact the younger Hakluyt's (from [14], BL Harley MS 288, f. 213^v), and the specimen captioned as the 'Holograph of Richard Hakluyt, preacher' in the lower illustration is in fact the elder Hakluyt's (from TNA SP 12/77/18 [f. 33^r]).¹⁹ A copy of Alciato's *Emblemes* (1549), inscribed 'Johannis Warnefordi ex dono R. Hacluit, 30 Oct. 1568',²⁰ is likely to have been the gift of the elder Hakluyt.

on a visit to the royal library at Paris and he may perhaps have seen manuscript records of the other voyages on the same occasion. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xviii, 82–3, 176.

¹⁵ e.g., the manuscript of the three voyages of René de Goulaine de Laudonnière procured by Hakluyt in Paris and printed with his support in *L'histoire notable de la Floride . . . par le capitaine Laudonniere . . . Mise en lumiere par M. Basanier* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586). See Frank Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555–1589)*, third edition (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 250–63; Parks, p. 263; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 288–9, 292, vol. 2, p. 532; Taylor, vol. 1, p. 40, vol. 2, pp. 350–2, 457.

¹⁶ e.g., 'The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye', about twenty manuscripts of which survive, printed by Hakluyt in *PNI*, pp. 187–208 (Q4^r–S2^v), from a copy that is now lost. See Anthony Bale and Sebastian Sobocki, eds, *Medieval English Travel: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 303–51; Quinn, vol. 2, p. 391; Sir George Warner, ed., *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power 1436* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926).

¹⁷ e.g., the 'Letter to the Earls of East Friesland', from which Hakluyt borrowed in his *Discourse of Western Planting* [8]. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 30–1, 36–9, 144–5, 147–8; G. D. Ramsay, ed., *The Politics of a Tudor Merchant Adventurer: A Letter to the Earls of East Friesland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979). Ramsay locates nine extant copies and attributes the work to the merchant George Nedham (d. 1584). Another instance is Roger Marbeck's account of the Cadiz raid in 1596, of which at least four manuscripts are known, but not the one Hakluyt edited for publication in *PNI*, pp. 607–19 (3E4^r–3F4^r). See Anthony Payne, 'The Suppression of the Voyage to Cadiz in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*', *Journal of the Hakluyt Society*, <https://www.hakluyt.com/journal-of-the-hakluyt-society/> (December 2021), pp. 15–18; Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 382–3.

¹⁸ For the elder Hakluyt, see S. T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol. 2 (London: Secker & Warburg for the History of Parliament Trust, 1982), p. 273; Parks, pp. 25–55, 233–241; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 1–10, 13–16, 19–21.

¹⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 1547–1580, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, 1856), p. 407 (item 18), reproduced in full in State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 12/77 f.32. A manuscript document from 1575 concerning repayment terms of a debt by John Savile of the Middle Temple to Richard Garth, signed as a witness by Richard Hakluyt the elder, was wrongly described as signed by the younger Hakluyt in the catalogue of Fine Printed Books and Manuscripts at Christie's New York, 14 December 2000, lot 260 (qualified in a subsequent sale-room notice as 'The signature on the document may be that of Richard Hakluyt, an elder cousin of the geographer, who was a lawyer in the Middle Temple'). The catalogue description and an illustration of the document can be found via Christie's website at: <https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-1965438>. Taylor, vol. 1, plate III (facing p. 93), illustrates an example of the elder Hakluyt's handwriting, captioned as from BL Harley MS 7369, which she refers to in vol. 2 (in Document 57, the elder Hakluyt's will of 1587), p. 371 (n.1): 'A terrier of the Manor or Township [of Eyton, Herefordshire] in Hakluyt's own handwriting, made between 1572 and 1583, is preserved among the Harleian MSS. (7369)'. *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, in the British Museum*, vol. 3 ([London: British Museum], 1808), p. 528, describes it as 'A Survey of the Township of Eyton, by R. Hackluit', but wrongly dates it to '1538'. For this manuscript, see further Parks, p. 237.

²⁰ Andrea Alciato, *Emblemes d'Alciat, de nouveau translatez en françois vers pour vers iouxte les latins* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1549), described in the bookseller G. Michelmores's catalogue of *Shakespeareana* (London, [1927]), item 9 (£85). With thanks to Henry Woudhuysen for this reference. Later auctioned by Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books . . . & Historical Documents*, 16 February 1931, lot 246, loosely described as a 'presentation copy from Richard Hakluyt, old calf' (£3 5s to Hood).

Lastly, when URLs are given, these were correct and all freely accessible to the public on 5 November 2022. Some of the manuscripts are noted as reproduced in State Papers Online.²¹ This provides digital images of the entire manuscript but is only accessible via subscribing institutions.

Abbreviations

BL: The British Library, London.

OED: *Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [September] 2022).

Parks: George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, second edition (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961).

PN: Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, deputies to Christopher Barker, 1589).

PN1: Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of these 1500. Yeeres: Devided into Three Severall Volumes, According to the Positions of the Regions, Whereunto They Were Directed. This First Volume Containing the Woorthy Discoveries, &c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by Sea* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1598).

PN2: Richard Hakluyt, *The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the South and South-East Parts of the World* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1599).

PN3: Richard Hakluyt, *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, and in Some Few Places, Where They Have Not Been, of Strangers, Performed within and before the Time of These Hundred Yeeres, to All Parts of the Newfound World of America, or the West Indies* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1600).

Quinn: D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974).

Quinn & Quinn, eds, PD: D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, eds, *A Particular Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifoldde Commodityes That Are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted, Written in the Yere 1584. By Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde. Known as Discourse of Western Planting* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993).

Taylor: 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).

TNA: The National Archives of the UK.

²¹ <https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/state-papers-online>.

The Manuscripts of Richard Hakluyt

[1] ‘A discourse of the Commoditie of the taking of the straight of Magellanus’.

TNA SP 12/229/97, ff. 212^r–15^v.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, pp. x, xii, 17 (n.1), 139 (‘1579–80’); Quinn, vol. 1, p. 272 (‘1580’). Not in Parks. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616, Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, and Elsewhere*, ed. W. Noël Sainsbury (London: Longman, 1862), p. 92 (item 233, ‘1583?’).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581–1590, Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, 1865), p. 640 (item 97, ‘1589?’).

Editions:

In Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 139–46, as Document 24. From the manuscript. Lightly annotated.

In Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 151–6 (as a note to lines 1071–73). Included because, the Quinns remark, the printing in Taylor was done ‘somewhat incorrectly’. With an introductory note.

Reproductions:

Taylor, vol. 1, plate IV (facing p. 139). Detail only.

State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 12/229 f.167.

Comment:

This document is undated, unsigned and unaddressed, but has a significant place in Hakluyt studies as supposedly being his earliest work. It was first attributed to Hakluyt and dated to 1579–80 by Taylor, who argued that the handwriting was his (illustrating a detail in plate IV as an example of Hakluyt’s handwriting), and that the contents also pointed to his authorship (vol. 1, p. 17 n.1). Not all will feel so confident that the hand of ‘A discourse’ is indeed Hakluyt’s,²² while deducing his authorship from the document’s contents is not entirely conclusive because the information and ideas propounded cannot be said to be unique to Hakluyt:²³ the discourse’s echo of Richard Grenville’s proposal of 1574 for seizing the Strait of Magellan may, for instance, be pointed to.²⁴ Taylor’s attribution has, however, been generally followed without reservations by subsequent scholars.²⁵

²² cf. the detail from Hakluyt’s letter to Raleigh of December 1586 [11], also illustrated by Taylor (vol. 1, plate IV) as an example of Hakluyt’s handwriting.

²³ Similar caution was expressed by James A. Williamson, ‘Richard Hakluyt’, in *Richard Hakluyt & His Successors: A Volume Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society*, ed. Edward Lynam (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946), p. 27.

²⁴ Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters 1570–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 36, who qualifies authorship as ‘probably the younger Hakluyt’. For Grenville’s proposal, see R. Pearse Chope, ‘New Light on Sir Richard Grenville: I. The Projected South Seas Voyage’, *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, vol. 49 (vol. 9, third series) (1917), pp. 210–46, which prints the primary documentation, including (pp. 233–41) BL Lansdowne MS 100/4, Lansdowne MS 100/18.

²⁵ e.g., Kenneth R. Andrews, *Drake’s Voyages: A Re-assessment of Their Place in Elizabethan Maritime Expansion* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1967), p. 87; John Cooper, *The Queen’s Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011), p. 270; Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 163–6; Jessica S. Hower, *Tudor*

The Quinns, who, like Taylor, believe the manuscript is in Hakluyt's hand and was composed by him in early 1580 or possibly late 1579, go on to say that in it Hakluyt 'makes suggestions for action by the crown and its ministers. It may well be that this was directed to Sir Francis Walsingham and that it succeeded in bringing himself to the attention of the secretary of state by its means' (Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 151; in their introduction, p. xvi, where they date its composition to 'late 1579 or early 1580', they feel the discourse was probably commissioned by Walsingham rather than being a 'personal initiative' on Hakluyt's part). Against this conjecture (itself resting on acceptance that the manuscript is Hakluyt's work) is that the earliest documented personal connection between the two is not until March 1583, when Walsingham enrolled Hakluyt's help in promoting Sir Humphrey Gilbert's imminent North American colonising expedition among the mercantile community in Bristol,²⁶ and in, a letter of 11 March 1583, urged Hakluyt to continue his commendable study of western discoveries.²⁷ This was not long after Hakluyt had published *Divers Voyages* (1582), with its dedication to Philip Sidney, who was close to Walsingham and soon to become his son-in-law.²⁸ As Hakluyt was certainly in contact with Walsingham from 1583 until shortly before the latter's death in April 1590, dedicating the original edition of the *Principall Navigations* to him in November 1589,²⁹ it seems more likely that the appearance of *Divers Voyages* and its pertinence to Gilbert's projects during 1582 were responsible for first drawing Hakluyt to Walsingham's serious attention.

[2] 'The commodity of taking the straightes of Magellanus'.

TNA SP 12/169/53.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, pp. x, 18 (n.1), 163 ('1580'). Not in Parks or Quinn.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581–1590, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, 1865), p. 169 (item 53, '1584', 'March?').

Edition:

In Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 163–4, as Document 28. From the manuscript.

Reproduction:

State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 12/169 f.120.

Empire: The Making of Early Modern Britain and the British Atlantic World, 1485–1603 (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 351; Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 80–1; David Harris Sacks, '“To Deduce a Colonie”: Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in Its Contexts, c.1580–1616', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 206; Helen Wallis, 'English Enterprise in the Region of the Strait of Magellan', in *Merchants & Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade*, ed. John Parker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), pp. 194–5.

²⁶ *PN3*, p. 182 (P5^v); D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), pp. 347, 350–1.

²⁷ *PN3*, p. 181 (P5^r) (the date is old style with the year printed as '1582'). See also Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 196–7 (nn.).

²⁸ Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America*; Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), pp. 72–4, 248–51, 266–7. Sidney married Walsingham's daughter, Frances, in September 1583.

²⁹ Cooper, *Queen's Agent*, pp. 269–75, 285–6; *PN*, *2^r–3^r; Parks, pp. 247–8, 250–1, 260; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 277, 281, 283, 287, 289, 298, 300, 303; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 196–7, 205–10, vol. 2, pp. 343–5.

Comment:

This document is undated, unsigned and unaddressed. It was first ascribed to Hakluyt and dated 1580 by Taylor, without any explicit reasoning, but presumably on the basis of its content as she makes no reference to its hand. The attribution to Hakluyt has generally been followed in mentions of the document,³⁰ but has been rejected by the Quinns, saying simply it was ‘not his, and is appreciably later in date’.³¹ If reservations may be expressed about Hakluyt’s association with ‘A discourse of the Commoditie of the taking of the straight of Magellanus’ [1], then his association with the present document seems even more tenuous.

[3a] ‘Analysis, seu resolutio perpetua in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis’, dedication dated 1 September 1583.

BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII.

[3b] ‘Analysis sive resolutio methodica in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis. Authore Richardo Hackluito Oxoniense. 1588’.

BL Sloane MS 1982.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. xi, 30, 203; Parks, p. 261; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 280, 300.

David Casley, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King’s Library* (London: printed for the author, 1734), p. 215.

Edward J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1904), p. 235.

Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King’s Collections*, vol. 2 (London: British Museum, 1921), p. 73.

Lawrence V. Ryan, ‘Richard Hakluyt’s Voyage into Aristotle’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 73–84.

Charles B. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1983), pp. 57–8 (n.164).

Index of Manuscripts in the British Library, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985), p. 73.

Charles H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries II: Renaissance Authors* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1988), p. 181.

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. 1–33.

Anthony Payne, ‘Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography 1580–88’ (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2019),³² Chapter Three (vol. 1, pp. 115–44).

³⁰ e.g., Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 161; Hower, *Tudor Empire*, p. 351; Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise*, pp. 81–2; Wallis, ‘English Enterprise in the Region of the Strait of Magellan’, p. 197. It is cited less frequently than ‘A discourse of the Commoditie of the taking of the straight of Magellanus’ [1].

³¹ Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 151.

³² Available at <https://aran.library.nuigalway.ie/handle/10379/15851>.

Editions:

There are no editions or translations of either manuscript of this work. Taylor, vol. 1, p. 203, as Document 41, prints, with some omissions, the dedication to Queen Elizabeth I found in BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII. The dedication is printed in full, with an annotated translation, in Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 25–31, which also prints, pp. 31–3, the summary contents of Aristotle's *Politics* found in this manuscript.

Reproductions:

There are no reproductions of either manuscript. Quinn, vol. 1, frontispiece, illustrates the dedication in Royal MS 12 G. XIII, and fig. 9 (p. 279), its title-page; and fig. 15 (p. 301) illustrates the title-page of Sloane MS 1982. The title-page and dedication of Royal MS 12 G. XIII are also illustrated in Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', figs. 1 and 2 (frontispiece and p. viii).

Comment:

Both manuscripts were noticed as 'scribal copies' in 1932,³³ although much subsequent discussion has uncritically attributed their hand to Hakluyt himself.

As Hakluyt states in the dedication of Royal MS 12 G. XIII to the Queen, his 'Analysis' of Aristotle's *Politics* was written in connection with his teaching duties at Christ Church, Oxford. As befits its recipient, this manuscript is an elegantly presented piece of work that is of calligraphic quality. The text is written in a large set italic script, with numerous flourishes. The dedication is also italic, but in a different style, sloped and relatively small.³⁴ The hand is unequivocally said by Quinn (vol. 1, pp. xvii, xviii, 279–80) and Ryan ('Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 74) to be Hakluyt's throughout, and this identification was followed by Payne ('Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', p. 4).³⁵ It is certainly the case that individuals were taught and mastered such scripts, producing manuscripts of a high standard,³⁶ while some authors, if sufficiently skilled, wrote out their work for presentation to the Queen or other patrons.³⁷ However, it was not at all unusual for an author to employ a scribe to copy his text, sometimes reserving the writing of the dedication to himself.³⁸ No other manuscript associated with Hakluyt comparable to Royal MS 12 G. XIII in style or penmanship is known. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Hakluyt commissioned a professional to produce this manuscript, but perhaps keeping the dedication for himself to write.

Sloane MS 1982 is written in a Humanistic cursive script. This too is thought to be Hakluyt's hand by Quinn (vol. 1, pp. xviii, 300–1) and Ryan ('Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 74), and also by David Armitage.³⁹ Although no similar examples of manuscripts associated with Hakluyt are recorded, such an attribution is plausible as italic forms were

³³ W. W. Greg, ed., *English Literary Autographs 1550–1650*, pt 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), LXXII.

³⁴ For introductory remarks on italic handwriting, see Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 214; Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwritings', pp. 22–4; Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 10, 18–20, 73.

³⁵ With thanks to Henry Woudhuysen for encouraging further consideration of this point.

³⁶ For examples see Alfred Fairbank and Berthold Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting: An Anthology of Italic Scripts* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), plates 25, 26, 28, 29, 46, 50 (all comparable in general style to Royal MS 12 G. XIII).

³⁷ H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 92.

³⁸ Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, pp. 96–7.

³⁹ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 73 (n.39).

especially favoured in university circles, Christ Church, Hakluyt's Oxford college, included.⁴⁰ Nonetheless the possibility that it was copied by another scholar (or a scribe) should be considered. This might explain why it is dated 1588, some years after Hakluyt had ceased teaching at Christ Church (he left in 1583 to join the Paris embassy, where he served until 1588),⁴¹ but when his text would still have been useful to his successors in teaching or studying this aspect of the Oxford curriculum (for this and Hakluyt's time at the university see Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 1–14). If it was copied by Hakluyt himself in 1588, it may have been because he was considering a resumption of his academic career having concluded his employment at the embassy in Paris that year (Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', p. 16 n.69).

While readily legible, Sloane MS 1982 is much more informal and less painstaking than Royal MS 12 G. XIII and has a number of corrected errors in transcribing. It does not include a dedication or summary contents, nor the invocation of Christ's name found at the beginning of the text, and the benediction at the end, of the Royal MS ('In nomine Domini Jesu', 'Deo Opt. Max. Honor Laus et Gloria', ff. 4^r, 47^v), but it has a greater number of side-notes, indicating that it was perhaps prepared for more practical use as a teaching aid. If this is so, it may, Ryan suggests, also explain the different phrasing of the Sloane MS's title: its words 'resolutio methodica' promise an exposition according to a particular method, which the student would be instructed to follow, whereas the words 'resolutio perpetua' used in the title of the Royal MS denote simply a general exposition, avoiding any implication that the Queen was being addressed as if she were an undergraduate ('Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 79).

Examination of the text of the two manuscripts supports Ryan's conclusion that they 'are much alike, displaying but few verbal differences, while occasionally one lacks a marginal or intratextual note found in its companion' ('Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 77).

The post-classical Latin 'analysis' is the 'act of resolving (something) into its elements', derived from 'the ancient Greek ἀνάλυσις the action of loosing or releasing, fact of dissolving, resolution of a problem'; the usual sense in early modern English was 'the resolution of an argument, discourse, etc., into the particular topics it deals with, arranged as an ordered, logical structure' (*OED*). In classical Latin 'resolutio' is the 'action of untying or unfastening, unravelling (of a puzzle)', hence, in English, 'resolution', in the senses of solving a problem and breaking up or 'reducing a non-material thing into a simpler form or forms, or of converting it into some other thing or form' (*OED*).

[4] Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, Paris, 7 January 1584.

TNA SP 12/167/7.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. xi, 32 (n.2), 205; Parks, pp. 248, 260; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 281.⁴²

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581–1590, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, 1865), p. 150 (item 7).

⁴⁰ Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 214. See also Fairbank & Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting*, pp. 28–34.

⁴¹ Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 278, 300.

⁴² Mistakenly noting it as listed in *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth July 1583–July 1584. Preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. Sophie Crawford Lomas (London: HMSO, 1914).

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1675–1676, also Addenda, 1574–1674, Preserved in the Public Record Office, ed. W. Noël Sainsbury (London: HMSO, 1893), p. 24 (item 31).

Editions:

In Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 205–7, as Document 44. From the manuscript. Some annotations.

In J. Payne Collier, ‘On Richard Hakluyt and American Discoveries. In a Letter from J. Payne Collier, V.P. to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Mahon, President. Read Feb. 7, 1850’, *Archaeologia*, vol. 33 (1849), article XXII, pp. 290–1.⁴³ Its first printing.

In John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. xi–xiii (n.). From Collier’s printing.

In D. B. Quinn ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, vol. 3, *English Plans for North America. The Roanoke Voyages. New England Ventures* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979), pp. 272–3, as Document 429. From the manuscript. Brief introductory note (p. 271).

In Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 197–8, as item 1 in the appendix of subsidiary documents. From the manuscript. Annotated.

Reproductions:

W. W. Greg, ed., *English Literary Autographs 1550–1650*, pt 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), plate LXXII (d), the final portion (beginning ‘Yt was told me by Perosse’) including the signature. A transcription of the illustrated portion is printed opposite.

State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 12/167 f.1.

Comment:

Autograph, signed, secretary hand.

This is the earliest known letter to Walsingham sent by Hakluyt from the embassy in Paris, which he had joined in October 1583.⁴⁴ At least one earlier letter had been sent, as this one begins, ‘I understand from your servant Curtis your good reception of my hastie letter, your special favour and good will towards me, as also your expectation of my diligent inquirie of such thinges as may yield any light into our western discoveries. For the two former I yield most humble thanks, and for the later I nether have nor wil omitte any possible diligence, expecting intelligenses thereof from Roan, Diepe and St. Malo very shortly’ (as printed in Taylor, vol. 1, p. 205). Besides providing Walsingham with intelligence and news obtained in Paris, the present letter is notable for Hakluyt’s expression of his willingness to join an expedition to America (see Taylor, vol. 1, p. 206).

⁴³ This article was issued separately as *Some Observations on Richard Hakluyt and American Discoveries. Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by J. Payne Collier, Esq. V.P. in a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Mahon, President* (London: J. B. Nichols & Son, 1850), with this letter at pp. 10–11.

⁴⁴ See Quinn, vol. 1, p. 278, 280.

[5] **A brief account of the islands lying on the north side of America, and the principal towns in the mainland, held by the King of Spain, endorsed ‘A note of the We[ste] Indian coste’.**

BL Cotton MS Otho E VIII, ff. 57^r–58^v.

References:

Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 252–4 (nn.), 256 (n.). Not in Parks or Quinn.

Thomas Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecæ Cottonianæ* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1696), p. 79 (item 4).

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum, ed. Joseph Planta (London: [British Museum], 1802), p. 370 (item 10).

Edition:

In Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 156–60 (as a note to lines 1107–1204).

Reproduction:

Digital images of Cotton MS Otho E VIII are available via the BL website at:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Otho_E_VIII.

Comment:

This manuscript (bound in a volume of papers relating to naval affairs 1553–1613) was apparently Hakluyt’s source in 1584 for chapters 9 and 10 of his *Discourse of Western Planting* [8], ‘The names of the riche Townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the north side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of America under the Kinge of Spaine’, and ‘A Brefe declaration of the chefe Ilandes in the Baye of Mexico beinge under the kinge of Spaine with their havens and fortes and what commodities they yeld’ (these chapters are printed in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 46–52; Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 252–7). This information revealed the ‘weakenes of the Spaniardes in America’ and was, Hakluyt states at the end of the preceding chapter, ‘gathered by an excellent frenche capitaine moste experte and privie to the state and force of . . . that parte of America which lieth upon our Ocean’ (as printed in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 47; Taylor, vol. 2, p. 252).

[6] **‘The Relation of M^r Stephen Bellanger dwelling in Roan . . . of his late voiadge of discoverie of two hundreth leagues of coast from Cape Bryton nere Newfound Land west southwest . . . this last yere 1583. Wth mention of some of the comodities fownde in those Cunntries and brought home into Fraunce by hym’, endorsed ‘A discourse of the newfound land. 1584’.**

BL Add. MS 14027, ff. 289^r–90^v.

References:

Quinn, vol. 1, p. 283. Not in Parks or Taylor.

T. N. Marsh, ‘An Unpublished Hakluyt Manuscript?’, *New England Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 2 (June 1962), pp. 247–52.

D. B. Quinn, 'The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A New Document', *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 43, no. 4 (December 1962), pp. 328–43.⁴⁵
Index of Manuscripts in the British Library, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1984), p. 381.

Editions:

In Quinn, 'Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A New Document', pp. 339–43.⁴⁶ Its first printing. Detailed annotations.
In D. B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, vol. 4, *Newfoundland from Fishery to Colony. Northwest Passage Searches* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979), pp. 306–8, as Document 682. Brief introductory note.
In Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 166–7 (as a note to lines 1488–94).

Reproduction:

In Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 10 (p. 282). The first page (f. 289^f) only.

Comment:

Authorship was attributed to Hakluyt by Marsh and Quinn (working independently) in 1962.⁴⁷ Hakluyt referred to the 1583 expedition of Étienne Bellenger ('my frend Stephen Bellinger') of Rouen in his *Discourse of Western Planting* [8], chapters 3 and 12.⁴⁸ Given his evident direct acquaintance with Bellenger, and that he was actively making use of personal contacts and seeking information on French ventures to North America at this time,⁴⁹ the attribution of this manuscript to Hakluyt seems plausible if circumstantial.

Quinn in publishing the manuscript in 1962, and in subsequent references, identified the hand as Hakluyt's autograph. This is queried in a curator's note in BL Add. MS 14027, saying the script 'resembles copyists' hands found frequently in 16th cent. papers and differs in several respects from Hakluyt's secretary hand in e.g. Harl. MS 288, ff. 212–213b' (Harley MS 288 is [14] below).

The manuscript itself is found in BL Add. MS 14027, a volume of papers of the civil lawyer, Sir Julius Caesar (1558–1636), who, among other legal appointments, was a judge in the High Court of Admiralty.⁵⁰ Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD* (p. 166) suggest that the manuscript came to Caesar from Christopher Carleill or Sir Francis Walsingham (Carleill's stepfather), to either of whom Hakluyt 'most probably' sent it in connection with Carleill's proposed voyage in 1584. However, as an alternative to the Quinns' conjecture that Caesar was handed the manuscript for clarification of certain legal aspects of Carleill's expedition, it may be that it was because of his potential interest in investing in overseas ventures.⁵¹ Marsh points to Hakluyt's probable acquaintance with Caesar (they were Oxford contemporaries) and that Caesar's stepfather was

⁴⁵ Reprinted in D. B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500–1625* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 285–300.

⁴⁶ Reprinted in Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies*, pp. 296–300.

⁴⁷ D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), p. 779 (n.6), briefly alluded to it as 'Hakluyt's recently discovered report'.

⁴⁸ Printed in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 20, 63; Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 227, 266.

⁴⁹ Hakluyt reported on this in his letter to Walsingham of 7 January 1584 [4]. Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 205–7.

⁵⁰ L. M. Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy: The Public Career of Sir Julius Caesar, 1580–1636* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988), pp. 15–16.

⁵¹ For which see Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy*, pp. 103–4; Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise & Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 152, 258.

Michael Lok, geographer and promoter of American exploration, who was certainly known to Hakluyt ('An Unpublished Hakluyt Manuscript?', pp. 251–2).

[7] Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, Paris, 1 April 1584.

TNA SP 12/170/1.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. xi, 32 (n.1), 208; Parks, pp. 248, 260; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 283.⁵²

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581–1590, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, 1865), p. 169 (item 1).

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1675–1676, also Addenda, 1574–1674, Preserved in the Public Record Office, ed. W. Noël Sainsbury (London: HMSO, 1893), pp. 26–7 (item 35).

Editions:

In Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 208–10, as Document 45. From the manuscript. With some annotations.

In J. Payne Collier, 'On Richard Hakluyt and American Discoveries. In a Letter from J. Payne Collier, V.P. to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Mahon, President. Read Feb. 7, 1850', *Archaeologia*, vol. 33 (1849), article XXII, pp. 287–9.⁵³ Its first printing.

In John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. viii–x (n.2). From Collier's printing: 'As Mr. Collier does not say where the original is to be found, we reprint it as it appears in the *Archaeologia*' (p. viii).

In Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, MacLehose edition, vol. 12 (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1905), pp. vii–x. Brief introductory note.

In David W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1958), Appendix 16, pp. 544–5. From the manuscript, and a closer transcription than Taylor's.

In extract in D. B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, vol. 3, *English Plans for North America. The Roanoke Voyages. New England Ventures* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979), pp. 273–4, as Document 430. From the manuscript. Brief introductory note.

In extract in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 199, as item 2 in the appendix of subsidiary documents. From the manuscript. Annotated.

Reproductions:

In Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, MacLehose edition, vol. 12, plate facing p. 80.

State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 12/170, f.2.

Comment:

Autograph, signed, secretary hand.

⁵² Mistakenly recording it as listed in *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth July 1583–July 1584*, ed. Lomas.

⁵³ In the separate issue of the article, *Some Observations on Richard Hakluyt and American Discoveries. Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by J. Payne Collier*, at pp. 7–9.

Aside from relaying to Walsingham news and intelligence from Paris, this letter is notable for Hakluyt's urging Walsingham's support for the establishment of a lectureship in navigation in England, for it 'is not unknowne unto your wisdome, how necessarie for the service of warres arithmeticke and geometrie are, and for our new discoveries and longer voyages by sea the arte of navigation is, which is compounded of many partes of the aforesayd sciences' (as printed in Taylor, vol. 1, p. 209). This was a recurrent concern of Hakluyt's, although his advocacy had no success in Walsingham's lifetime (see Waters, *Art of Navigation*, pp. 185, 542–6, 553–8).

[8] 'A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde co[m]modityes 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 at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull M^r Walter Raghly, nowe knight, before the comynge home of his Twoo Barkes: and is devided into xxj chapters, the Titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe'.

New York, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, MssCol 1282.

References:

- Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 33–9, vol. 2, pp. vii, 211; Parks, pp. 87–98, 261; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 284–6.
- R. H. Evans, *A Catalogue of the Library of Sir Peter Thompson . . . Sold by Auction . . . April 29, 1815* (London, 1815), lot 401*.
- Farebrother, Clark & Lye, *Arley Castle, Staffordshire. Catalogue of the Valuable Contents of the Castle . . . The Property of the Late Earl Mountnorris and Viscount Valentia . . . Sold by Auction . . . at the Castle . . . 6th of December, 1852* (London, 1852), lot 1080.
- Puttick & Simpson, *Catalogue of a Very Extensive . . . Library . . . Also . . . an Unpublished Manuscript of Hackluyt . . . Sold by Auction . . . May 24th, 1854* (London, 1854), lot 474.
- Sir Thomas Phillipps, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca d. Thomæ Phillipps, bart. A.D. 1837* ([Broadway, Worcestershire:] Middle Hill Press, 1837–[71]), [pt 2, 1861], MS 14097 (p. 262).
- Henry Stevens, *Recollections of Mr James Lenox of New York and the Formation of His Library* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1886), pp. 167–72.
- George Parker Winship, *Cabot Bibliography* (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1900), 126 (pp. 55–6).
- Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Bibliotheca Phillipica. Catalogue of a Further Portion of the . . . Manuscripts . . . of the Late Sir Thomas Phillipps . . . with an Unique Manuscript by Richard Hakluyt . . . Sold at Auction . . . May 19, 1913* (London, 1913), lot 43 (pp. 10–11).
- Victor Hugo Paltsits, 'A Notable Gift of Two American Manuscripts', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 27, no. 4 (April 1923), pp. 255–7.
- Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of His Library by Henry Stevens* (New York: New York Public Library, 1951), pp. 130–2, 134–6.
- New York Public Library Research Libraries, *Dictionary Catalog of the Manuscript Division*, vol. 1 (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1967), p. 361.
- Anthony Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography 1580–88' (PhD thesis, NUI Galway, 2019),⁵⁴ Chapter Four (vol. 1, pp. 145–92).

⁵⁴ <https://aran.library.nuigalway.ie/handle/10379/15851>.

Editions:

Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 211–326, as Document 46. From a photostat copy of the manuscript. Some annotations.

Leonard Woods and Charles Deane, eds, *A Discourse concerning Western Planting Written in the Year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt. Now First Printed from a Contemporary Manuscript. With a Preface and an Introduction by Leonard Woods, LL.D. Late President of Bowdoin College. Edited, with Notes in the Appendix by Charles Deane* (Cambridge, MA: Press of John Wilson & Son, 1877).⁵⁵ The first printing of the *Discourse*, from a manuscript copy made from the original scribal copy when it was in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps. Includes extensive introductory matter and notes.

In Edmund Goldsmid, ed., *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation Collected by Richard Hakluyt*, vol. 13, *America*, pt 2 (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1889), pp. 169–276, as ‘A Discourse of Western Planting, Written by M. Richard Hakluyt, 1584’.⁵⁶ From Woods & Deane’s edition, with shortened versions of Deane’s notes and some added by Goldsmid.

In D. B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, vol. 3, *English Plans for North America. The Roanoke Voyages. New England Ventures* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979), pp. 70–123, as Document 361. With a brief introduction stating the text for this edition was ‘prepared from the published versions with a very few amendments from the manuscript’.

D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, eds, *A Particuler Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodityes 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* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993). A line-by-line transcription of the manuscript facing each page of the facsimile, an extensive introduction and commentary, as well as subsidiary documents.⁵⁷

Reproduction:

In Quinn & Quinn, eds, *Particuler Discourse*. The complete manuscript, reduced to approximately three quarters the size of the original, from photographs made available by the New York Public Library.

Comment:

The original manuscript (1584) is lost and the sole extant example, described here, is a scribal copy, probably made in 1585.

⁵⁵ Also issued as *Documentary History of the State of Maine. Vol. II. Containing A Discourse of Western Planting, Written in the Year 1584, by Richard Hakluyt. With a Preface and an Introduction by Leonard Woods, LL.D., Late President of Bowdoin College. Edited, with Notes in the Appendix, by Charles Deane. Published by the Maine Historical Society* (Cambridge, MA: Press of John Wilson & Son, 1877). The two issues are the same in content.

⁵⁶ Goldsmid also issued the American volumes of his edition of Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* as a separate set, with the ‘Discourse’ appearing in *The Voyages of the English Nation to America Collected by Richard Hakluyt*, ed. Edmund Goldsmid, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1889), pp. 169–276.

⁵⁷ For the background to this edition, see D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, ‘The Editing of Richard Hakluyt’s “Discourse of Western Planting”’, in *Critical Issues in Editing Exploration Texts*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 53–66. A major edition had long been considered by the Hakluyt Society (which at one point seemingly also considered the manuscript’s purchase). At its council meeting on 23 November 1916, the minute-book records that ‘The Consideration of a proposal to issue Hakluyt’s “Discourse concerning Western Planting” was deferred’, and, on 25 June 1917, ‘The President reported his negotiations regarding the sale of the MS. of Hakluyt’s “Discourse on Western Planting” and the correspondence was committed to the archives’. This correspondence, if it survives, cannot be located in the existing archive of the society (BL Mss Eur F594, where the minute-book is extant).

Since its first printing in 1877, the work has normally been referred to as *A Discourse concerning Western Planting* or *Discourse of Western Planting*. Its editors then, Leonard Woods and Charles Deane, observed that it was ‘written in a contemporaneous hand, though it is believed not in that of its author’ (p. xxii). Similar reservations about it being in Hakluyt’s hand had been expressed earlier: preserved in the British Museum’s copy of the 1852 Arley Castle auction *Catalogue* is its agent’s report after viewing the manuscript that it was ‘Very doubtful if autograph’, and the museum annotated the catalogue description as ‘not autograph’,⁵⁸ but Sotheby’s cataloguer in 1913 was still uncertain and concluded, ‘It has never yet been decided whether the volume is actually in the autograph of the author’ (*Bibliotheca Phillippica*, p. 11). By 1923, on its acquisition by the New York Public Library, it was, however, stated confidently: ‘It is not in the handwriting of Hakluyt; but, it is an authentic contemporary scribe’s copy’ (Paltsits, ‘Notable Gift of Two American Manuscripts’, p. 257).

Written in a secretary hand, the extant manuscript is the only survivor of several copies produced for circulation at court, and might possibly, but not certainly, have been intended for Sir Francis Walsingham (see Payne, ‘Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography’, vol. 1, pp. 149–52; Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xxi, 203 n.4, 204). The title states the work was ‘written in the yere 1584’ at the request of Master Walter Raleigh, ‘nowe knight’, which indicates that this copy was made after 6 January 1585, the day when Raleigh was knighted.⁵⁹ The adjective ‘particuler’ in the title is used in the now obsolete sense of ‘Concerning or known to an individual person or group of people and no other; private, not public; personal; confidential’ (*OED*).

[9] Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, Paris, 7 April 1585.

TNA SP 15/29/9.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. 39 (n.3), vol. 2, pp. vii, 343; Parks, pp. 248, 260; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 287.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I., Addenda, 1580–1625; Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longman and Trübner, 1872), p. 141 (item 9).

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1675–1676, also Addenda, 1574–1674, Preserved in the Public Record Office, ed. W. Noël Sainsbury (London: HMSO, 1893), pp. 27–8 (item 37).

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol. XIX. August 1584–August 1585, ed. Sophie Crawford Lomas (London: HMSO, 1916), p. 713.

Editions:

Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 343–5, as Document 49. From the manuscript. A few annotations.

In Leonard Woods and Charles Deane, eds, *A Discourse concerning Western Planting Written in the Year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt* (Cambridge, MA: Press of John Wilson & Son, 1877), pp. xxxii–xxxiii. Its first printing.

In extract in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 200, as item 3 in the appendix of subsidiary documents. From the manuscript. With annotations.

⁵⁸ The annotated catalogue is now BL, Department of Manuscripts, PR.I.g.2.

⁵⁹ Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 18.

Reproductions:

In Woods & Deane, eds, *Discourse concerning Western Planting*, plate after p. [242]. First page only.

State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 15/29 f.11.

Comment:

Autograph, secretary hand.

Besides relaying news and intelligence of foreign affairs obtained in Paris, Hakluyt refers in this letter to his audience with the Queen (in October 1584),⁶⁰ at which he presented her with ‘a couple of bookes of myne’ in manuscript, one, in Latin, on Aristotle’s *Politics* [3a], the other ‘in English, concerning Mr Rawley’s voyage (the copie of whereof I purpose to send you honor immediately after Ester)’ (as printed in Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 343–4), i.e., the lost presentation manuscript of Hakluyt’s *Discourse of Western Planting*, of which the sole extant copy [8] might be the one Hakluyt promised to send Walsingham after Easter.

[10] Note beginning ‘These xx several Tytles are the heades of the chapters conteyned in the booke of Sir Wal: Reighleyes viage to the west Indes’.

TNA SP 12/195/127.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. 39 (n.4), vol. 2, pp. vii, 346 (‘1585’); Quinn, vol. 1, p. 287 (‘1585’). Not in Parks.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616, Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, and Elsewhere, ed. W. Noël Sainsbury (London: Longman, 1862), p. 94 (item 237, dated ‘1586?’, supposed to be in the hand of James Lancaster).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581–1590, Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, 1865), p. 377 (item 127, dated ‘1586?’, thought to be probably in the hand of James Lancaster).

Editions:

Taylor, vol. 2, p. 346, as Document 50. From the manuscript. This prints the note, but not the list of chapter titles.

In Leonard Woods and Charles Deane, eds, *A Discourse concerning Western Planting Written in the Year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt* (Cambridge, MA: Press of John Wilson & Son, 1877), p. xxxvii. Its first printing (spelling modernised). Does not include the list of chapter titles.

In Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 201–3, as item 4 in the appendix of subsidiary documents. From the manuscript (ascribed to an ‘Anonymous scrivener’ and dated to ‘May 1585’). This prints the note first, followed by the list of chapter titles (in the original the note is at the end of the document, after the chapter titles). With annotations.

Reproductions:

In Deane & Woods, eds, *Discourse concerning Western Planting*, plate (on three sheets) after p. 174. The note and list of the chapter titles.

In Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, plate III (p. 201). The note only.

⁶⁰ Quinn, vol. 1, p. 286.

State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 12/195 f.212.

Comment:

Writer and recipient unidentified. Undated.

This document relates to the production of manuscript copies of Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting*, which it says, aside from the Queen, few if any had seen. It reveals that Walsingham had several times requested a copy, as had Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. The list of twenty chapter headings indicates that the various copies might not have been identical in content, as the extant manuscript [8] contains twenty-one chapters and an addendum ('Things forgotten').⁶¹

As Taylor remarks the 'wording of this note is obscure', but she interprets it as written by Hakluyt (vol. 2, p. 346 n.). This is rejected by Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, who add that it 'is written roughly and hastily in a secretary hand' (pp. 202–3 n.1); their annotations critically examine the note's contents. The document was also considered at length by Deane & Woods, eds, *Discourse concerning Western Planting*, pp. xxxiv–xli, 174–5.

[11] Letter from Hakluyt to Sir Walter Raleigh, Paris, 30 December 1586.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Clarendon 36, ff. 2–3.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 47–8, vol. 2, pp. vii, 353; Parks, pp. 249, 260; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 290.

Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library Vol. I: To January, 1649, ed. O. Ogle and W. H. Bliss (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872), p. 500 (item 307).

Editions:

Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 353–6, as Document 55. From the manuscript. Some annotations.

In extract in [Richard Scrope, ed.], *State Papers Collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Printing-House, 1773), Appendix, pp. i–ii. Its first printing.

In extract in D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), pp. 493–4, as item 69. From the manuscript. Annotated.

In extract in D. B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, vol. 3, *English Plans for North America. The Roanoke Voyages. New England Ventures* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979), p. 313, as Document 449. The same extract as in Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*. Brief introductory note.

Reproductions:

In Taylor, vol. 1, plate IV (facing p. 139), detail from f. 3^r.

In Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 12 (p. 291), f. 3^r.

Comment:

Autograph, secretary hand, initialled 'R: H' in italic.

In the 1580s Hakluyt was closely associated with Raleigh and the promotion of his Virginia colony, which was centred on Roanoke Island on the coast of present-day North Carolina. This is

⁶¹ See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 4–7, 126–7; Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 211–13, 324.

the only known extant letter to Raleigh relating to his Virginia enterprise. After referring to work on his edition of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire d'Anghiera) and its dedication to Raleigh,⁶² Hakluyt gives geographical advice on the colony's best location. Hakluyt also reports on political developments in France and various comings and goings at the embassy in Paris.⁶³

[12] Codex Mendoza.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden A. 1.

References:

Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 294–5. Not in Parks or Taylor.

Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, pt 1, *Collections Received before 1660 and Miscellaneous MSS. Acquired during the First Half of the 17th Century Nos. 1–3490* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), no. 3134 (pp. 595–6).

Peter Walne, *A Guide to Manuscript Sources for the History of Latin America and the Caribbean in the British Isles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 323.

Editions:

James Cooper Clark, ed., *Codex Mendoza: The Mexican Manuscript Known as the Collection of Mendoza and Preserved in the Bodleian Library Oxford Edited and Translated by James Cooper Clark*, 3 vols (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938).

Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, eds, *The Codex Mendoza*, 4 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992). The standard scholarly edition. Includes introductory essays, translations and extensive historical and other commentary, notably in the present context, H. B. Nicholson, 'The History of the Codex Mendoza', and Wayne Ruwet, 'A Physical Description of the Codex Mendoza', in vol. 1, pp. 1–11, 13–20.⁶⁴

Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, eds, *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997). Combines vols 2 and 4 of the 4-volume edition of 1992, providing the basic pictorial and descriptive information found in the original codex, but without the introductory material and facsimile found in vols 1 and 3 respectively of the full edition.

Stefan Rinke, Federico Navarrete and Nino Vallen, eds, *Der Codex Mendoza: Das Meisterwerk aztekisch-spanischer Buchkultur* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2021). Incorporates scholarship published since Berdan & Anawalt's edition of 1992.

Reproductions:

Clark, ed., *Codex Mendoza*, vol. 3.

⁶² Published as *De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, protonotarij, & Caroli quinti senatoris decades octo, diligenti temporum observatione, & utilissimis annotationibus illustratæ, suboque nitiori restitutæ, labore & industria Richardi Hakluyti Oxoniensis Angli* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1587).

⁶³ Including news of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and Charles Chester, for which see Matthew Steggle, 'Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, vol. 43, no. 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 70–3.

⁶⁴ For current research, see Daniela Bleichmar, 'Painting the Aztec Past in Early Colonial Mexico: Translation and Knowledge Production in the Codex Mendoza', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 72, no. 4 (Winter 2019), pp. 1362–415; Jorge Gómez Tajada, ed., *The Codex Mendoza: New Insights* (Quito: USFQ Press, 2022); Maarten E. R. G. N. Jansen, Virginia M. Lladó-Buisán and Ludo Snijders, eds, *Mesoamerican Manuscripts: New Scientific Approaches and Interpretations* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

Berdan & Anawalt, eds, *Codex Mendoza*, vol. 3.

In Rinke, Navarrete & Vallen, eds, *Der Codex Mendoza*.

Digital images of the entire manuscript are available via the Bodleian's website at:

<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/2fea788e-2aa2-4f08-b6d9-648c00486220/>.

Comment:

The manuscript pictographic history of the Aztecs known as the 'Codex Mendoza' is named after Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain 1535–50.⁶⁵ The work of indigenous scribes, with commentaries and glosses added in Spanish, it is generally said to have been commissioned in the 1540s by Mendoza for presentation to the Emperor Charles V but was captured at sea by French ships and never reached Spain.⁶⁶ It then came into the possession of the French royal cosmographer, André Thevet, whose various ownership inscriptions, two of which are dated 1553, appear in several places (inside upper cover and ff. 1^r, 2^r, 70^v, 71^v; Berdan & Anawalt, eds, *Codex Mendoza*, vol. 3, pp. 4, 9, 11, 148, 150). It was acquired by Hakluyt from Thevet, probably in 1587, the date of an English inscription on one of the preliminary leaves: 'd. youre selfe in gold rydinge to londen y^e 7th of september 1587 / v^l [£5]' (f. ii^v; Berdan & Anawalt, eds, *Codex Mendoza*, vol. 3, p. 8). It has been suggested by H. B. Nicholson that this price, corresponding to that given by Samuel Purchas in recording 'Master Hakluyt (then Chaplaine to the *English* Embassadour in *France*) bought the same for 20. *French* crownes',⁶⁷ would have been too little for the codex itself and could be the fee for the messenger who brought it to London ('History of the Codex Mendoza', in Berdan & Anawalt, eds, *Codex Mendoza*, vol. 1, p. 10 n.2).⁶⁸ Given that prevailing retail prices for printed books in England at this time were generally well below £1, and very few were more than that amount,⁶⁹ £5 would still represent a significant outlay for a book, albeit a very unusual manuscript one; it would certainly be a generous amount to pay a messenger for a single job at a time when, for example, a senior schoolmaster might earn £20–25 p.a., and Hakluyt's prebend at Bristol Cathedral brought him £20 p.a.⁷⁰

There are no ownership marks of Hakluyt himself in the codex and there are no known references to it in Hakluyt's writings, although Purchas said that Hakluyt had planned an edition but the cost of producing the illustrations proved too high.⁷¹ Still in Hakluyt's ownership at his

⁶⁵ The codex's association with Mendoza was first made by Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico cavata da' migliori storici spagnuoli, e da' manoscritti, e dalle pitture antiche degl'Indiani*, vol. 1 (Cesena: Gregorio Biasini, 1780), pp. 22–3, who called it 'La Raccolta di Mendoza'.

⁶⁶ This story might be fanciful and it may have safely arrived in Spain before passing into French hands. If Mendoza did commission such a codex, it is not absolutely certain that this is the actual one. For its early history, see Jorge Gómez Tajada, 'The History of the Codex Mendoza', in *Codex Mendoza: New Insights*, ed. Gómez Tajada, pp. 14–16, 19–29. For its early interpretation, iconographic transmission and influences, see Adrien Delmas, 'Imperial and Philological Encounters in the Early Modern Era: European Readings of the Codex Mendoza', *Philological Encounters*, vol. 1 (2016), pp. 163–98; Peter Mason, *The Lives of Images* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), pp. 102–22.

⁶⁷ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 1065–6 (4T1^{r-v}). Purchas also said this was after Thevet's death, but he may have been confused on this point as Hakluyt left the embassy in France in 1588 and Thevet did not die until 1592.

⁶⁸ From the calculations given by Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 473 (n.2), 493 (n.3), 20 French crowns would be equivalent to about £7, rather than £5 as thought by Nicholson.

⁶⁹ Francis R. Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1550–1640', *The Library*, fifth series, vol. 5, no. 2 (September 1950), pp. 83–112. Prices of 9s (unbound) and 11s 11d (bound) are known for Hakluyt's 1589 *Principall Navigations*.

⁷⁰ 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. 16–17.

⁷¹ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 1065–6 (4T1^{r-v}).

death in November 1616, it passed to Purchas,⁷² who in 1625 published woodcut reproductions of many of the images, with an English translation of the companion Spanish texts, as ‘The History of the *Mexican Nation*, described in pictures’, in the third volume of *Purchas His Pilgrimes*.⁷³ After the death of Purchas in 1626 the Codex Mendoza was acquired by the lawyer and scholar, John Selden (1584–1654), who had contributed commendatory verses and other material to the various editions of Purchas’s earlier work, *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, and owned other Mexican codices as well as early books printed in Mexico.⁷⁴ In 1659 the codex finally went with the bulk of Selden’s library to the Bodleian.⁷⁵

[13] Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Lord Burghley (William Cecil), the Lord Treasurer, Paris, 11 April 1588.

TNA SP 15/30/96.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. 46, vol. 2, pp. viii, 379; Parks, pp. 103, 250, 260; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 298.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I., Addenda, 1580–1625; Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longman and Trübner, 1872), pp. 248–9 (item 96).

Calendar of State Papers Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol. XXI., Part I. June 1586–June 1588, ed. Sophie Crawford Lomas (London: HMSO, 1927), pp. 671–2.

Edition:

In Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 379–80, as Document 60. From the manuscript. Some annotations.

Reproduction:

State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 15/30 f.190.

Comment:

Autograph, signed, secretary hand.

The letter is misdated ‘vith’ of April in Taylor’s transcription (vol. 2, p. 380). It concerns the wish, communicated via Hakluyt, of the Catholic earl of Westmorland (Charles Neville), in exile in France, for a response to his petition to be rehabilitated,⁷⁶ also reports on foreign affairs, and asks that Hakluyt’s cousin Wigmore be favoured with a wardship in Herefordshire.⁷⁷

⁷² See the Introduction, p. 2, above for his acquisition of Hakluyt’s papers.

⁷³ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 1066–1117 (4T1^v–4Z3^f). See also Colin Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens: A Bibliographical Study. 1603–1726* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1975), pp. 43–4, 183.

⁷⁴ Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World*, pp. 24, 44, 148–9; G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), vol. 1, pp. 18–20, 50, vol. 2, p. 857.

⁷⁵ For Selden’s will and the dispersal of his library, see Toomer, *John Selden*, vol. 2, pp. 792–9.

⁷⁶ Westmorland accepted foreign pensions, notably via Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador in Paris, while still exploring options for a pardon at home (to no avail: he died in exile in 1601). Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, Royal Historical Society, 2011), pp. 62, 65.

⁷⁷ Burghley had been Master of the Court of Wards since 1561, giving him extensive powers of patronage. Norman Jones, *Governing by Virtue: Lord Burghley and the Management of Elizabethan England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 159–69.

[14] A copy of a despatch on political developments in France and the international situation, signed Richard Hakluyt, endorsed 'July 1588 From M^r Richard Hackluyt'.

BL Harley MS 288, ff. 212^r–13^v.

References:

Taylor, vol. 2, pp. viii, 381; Parks, pp. 103, 250, 260; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 300.

A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, in the British Museum, vol. 1 ([London: British Museum], 1808), p. 147 (item 111).

Index of Manuscripts in the British Library, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985), p. 73.

Edition:

In extract (from f. 212^r) in Taylor, vol. 2, p. 381, as Document 61. From the manuscript.

Reproductions:

In Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 14 (p. 299), f. 213^v.

Signature only in D. B. Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967), fig. 3c (p. 25, source identified at p. vi)

State Papers Online, document ref. no. Harley 288 f.212.

Comment:

Autograph, secretary hand, signature italic.

This is a copy made by Hakluyt of a despatch, written in the hand of the secretary of Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador in Paris, relaying 'advertisement' obtained by Stafford from a 'special friend', close to the king of France, which had been secretly brought to England by Hakluyt and endorsed to this effect by Lord Burghley on 29 May 1588.⁷⁸

The *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* describes it as an 'original paper of Mr. Richard Hakluyt, (written, as it seems to Francis Walsingham), July, 1588', while Parks and Quinn say without qualification that it was written for Walsingham. That Walsingham would have wanted, and that Hakluyt produced for him, a record of the information obtained by Stafford and relayed to Burghley is plausible.⁷⁹ Parks and Quinn both seem to be confused, however, in their apparent belief that it is the written record of a report that Hakluyt had been entrusted to give verbally, rather than to deliver personally.

⁷⁸ In TNA SP 78/18, reproduced in State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 78/18, f.201. See *Calendar of State Papers Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol. XXI., Part I. June 1586–June 1588*, ed. Sophie Crawford Lomas (London: HMSO, 1927), pp. 629–30 (as 'Advertisements from Paris', ref. 'France XVIII. 101'), noting it was in the hand of Stafford's secretary, and recording Burghley's endorsement, '29 May, 1588. Advertisement secretly brought from Sir Edward Stafford by Hackett' (p. 630). The extract from Hakluyt's copy printed by Taylor corresponds to the first three paragraphs of the 'Advertisements' as printed in the *Calendar* on p. 629.

⁷⁹ Throughout his ambassadorship Stafford strove to bypass Walsingham's orbit and maintain Burghley's goodwill. See Geoffrey Parker, *Empire, War and Faith in Early Modern Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), pp. 71–8, 90–5.

[15] A manuscript register in Portuguese of Portugal's government in the East.⁸⁰
BL Add. MS 28433.

References:

Parks, p. 262; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 295. Not in Taylor.

Henry Thomas, 'English Translations of Portuguese Books before 1640', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 7, no. 1 (June 1926), pp. 10–11.

M. D. Wainwright and Noel Matthews, *A Guide to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to South and South East Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 15.

Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 7–8 (item 2).

Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to the Far East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 4 (item 2).

Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to the Middle East and North Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 12 (item 2).

Index of Manuscripts in the British Library, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985), p. 73.

Editions:

None, but an 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 Samuel Purchas in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 2 (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), pp. 1506–33 (7K3^v–7M5^r). In vol. 1, A3^v, Purchas signifies this translation as coming from Hakluyt's papers but not that Hakluyt was the translator. He makes no mention of the whereabouts or source of the original document from which the translation was made.⁸¹

Reproductions:

In Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 13 (pp. 296–7), the fly-leaf and the first page of text (ff. 1, 2).

Hakluyt's signature only in D. B. Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967), fig. 3b (p. 25, source identified at p. vi).

Comment:

Among the Portuguese sources in 'Certaiyne Reasons why the English Merchants may trade into the East Indies' [20] there is listed the 'intercepted Register, or Matricula, of the whole government of the East India, in the Madre de Deos, 1592' (as printed in Taylor, vol. 2, p. 467),⁸² a reference to matter captured by English privateers in the Portuguese carrack, *Madre de Deos*.⁸³

⁸⁰ This description is taken from Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt and the East India Company: A Documentary and Bibliographical Review', *Journal of the Hakluyt Society*, <https://www.hakluyt.com/journal-of-the-hakluyt-society/> (February 2021), p. 40 (n.140).

⁸¹ Pennington, ed., *Purchas Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 246–7, vol. 2, p. 415, does not make this clear.

⁸² Taylor transcribes this as 'The noble intercepted Register', but it is 'The notable intercepted register' in the related 'Noates of remembrance' [21] as transcribed in 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), p. 434.

⁸³ For which see, 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; Elsje van

This ‘Register’ is probably that which survives as BL Add. MS 28433, the fly-leaf of which is inscribed ‘Richard Hakluyt’ (f. 1). The inscription seems to be in Hakluyt’s hand, but BL 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 (and ruler of Portugal from 1580), 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 by the English in 1592, or, if not that particular ‘intercepted Register’, another one purloined by the English on another occasion. One possible explanation is that after Hakluyt’s death in 1616 it found its way back to Spain and was acquired by Gaspar de Guzmán, 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 proposed, therefore, that Add. MS 28433 found its way, along with the private secretaries’ papers, into the Altamira collection through Olivares.⁸⁴ The manuscript’s possible route out of England may have been via Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, count of Gondamar, Spanish ambassador in London 1613–22.⁸⁵ James I was keen to maintain friendly relations with Spain and, as a goodwill gesture, the manuscript was perhaps handed back as a wrongfully obtained state paper.

[16] ‘The opinion of Don Alvaro Baçan . . . touching the army of Francis Drake . . . on the cost of Galizia, declaring what harme hee might doe in al the West Indies’, endorsed ‘translated out of Spanish by Richard Hakluyt’.

New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Rare Bks & Mss, Folio A 2018 4.

References:

Quinn, vol. 1, p. 288 (‘after 1585’). Not in Parks or Taylor.

John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. cx–cxi.

William H. Robinson Ltd, Catalogue 81, *A Selection of Precious Manuscripts Historic Documents and Rare Books the Majority from the Renowned Collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bt (1792–1872)* (London, 1950), item 55.

Kessel, ‘The Inventories of the *Madre de Deus*: Tracing Asian Material Culture in Early Modern England’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 32, no. 2 (2020), pp. 207–23; 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, vol. 1, pp. 305–6. Taylor, vol. 1, p. 59, claims ‘All the geographical materials (including maps) obtained from this prize were handed over to Hakluyt, and they included the Register of the East Indies’ (she does not, however, identify the latter with BL Add. MS 28433).

⁸⁴ 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.

⁸⁵ With thanks to Peter Barber for this suggestion. For Gondomar, see Charles H. Carter, ‘Gondomar: Ambassador to James I’, *Historical Journal*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1964), pp. 189–208.

Elisabeth Fairman, ‘ “Wherin all trauailers may vnderstand how to direct their voyages”: Maps and Atlases at the Yale Center for British Art from the Bequest of Paul Mellon’, *Yale University Library Gazette*, vol. 75, no. 3/4 (April 2001), pp. 139, 141.

Edition:

In Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, pp. cx–cxi. Its first printing.

Reproductions:

In Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, plate facing p. cx.

In Robinson, Catalogue 81, facing description of item 55.

Comment:

Autograph, secretary hand, signature italic.

This manuscript relates to Hakluyt’s translation of ‘The opinion of Don Alvaro Baçan [Álvaro de Bazan], Marques of Santa Cruz, and high Admirall of Spaine, touching the armie of sir Francis Drake lying at the Isles of Bayona in Galicia, written in Lisbon the 26 of October after the account of Spaine in the yere 1585’, published in 1600 in *PN3*, pp. 532–4 (2X6^v–2Y1^r).⁸⁶ The translation in the manuscript is not identical but corresponds to the final portion of the printed version (*PN3*, p. 534). It presumably dates from the 1590s when Hakluyt was gathering and preparing materials for publication in the enlarged edition of *Principal Navigations* (in the first edition, 1589, he was generally stricter in excluding voyages in European waters). It is not clear how Hakluyt obtained the Spanish original, but by early January 1585 the Venetian ambassador in Spain had obtained ‘the report of the Marquis of Santa Cruz upon the subject of Drake’,⁸⁷ so Santa Cruz’s communications about Drake’s operations had evidently soon escaped from Spanish official circles.

The manuscript was lot 97 among the ‘Autograph Letters, Original State Documents, and Other Papers’ of Sir Julius Caesar (1558–1636, see [6] above) auctioned in London by Benjamin Wheatley on 20 January 1836.⁸⁸ It is possible that it was in Caesar’s papers because of his position as a judge in the High Court of Admiralty, whose jurisdiction might extend to various aspects of Drake’s expedition. When printed by Jones in 1850 the manuscript was, as he notes (*Divers Voyages*, p. cx), in the possession of the bookseller Henry Stevens. It subsequently passed to Sir Thomas Phillipps, the residue of whose collection was acquired in 1946 by the booksellers William H. Robinson Ltd, who priced it at £500 in their Catalogue 81, and from whom it was bought by Paul Mellon (1907–99) and bequeathed by him to the Yale Center for British Art.

⁸⁶ See also Quinn, vol. 2, p. 450. For Drake’s operations on the Galician coast in 1585, see Julian S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, new edition, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, 1899), pp. 19–25; Mary Frear Keeler, *Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage 1585–86* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1981), pp. 24–7.

⁸⁷ *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. 8, 1581–1591, ed. Horatio F. Brown (London: HMSO, 1894), p. 128 (item 304).

⁸⁸ It sold for 19s to Thorpe. With thanks to Henry Woudhuysen for this reference.

[17] A copy of a letter from Richard Hakluyt to Emanuel van Meteren, 6 December 1594, translated into Dutch.

The Hague, Nationaal Archief (Algemeen Rijksarchief), Archief van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland.⁸⁹

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 52–3, vol. 2, pp. viii, 418; Parks, pp. 142–4, 253; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 307.

Editions:

In S. P. L'Honoré Naber, ed., *Reizen van Willem Barents, Jacob van Heemskerck, Jan Cornelisz. Rijk en anderen naar het noorden (1594–1597) verhaald door Gerrit de Veer*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917), pp. 201–3.⁹⁰ Translated (by Edward Lynam) in Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 418–20, as Document 71, and (by Parks) in Parks, pp. 143–4.

Reproductions:

None known.

Comment:

Hakluyt's English original is lost and his letter is known only from this manuscript copy in Dutch translation. Hakluyt's advice was sought for the projected second voyage of Willem Barents in search of a north-east passage, and in this letter, responding to Van Meteren's initial approach concerning this, Hakluyt made some preliminary geographical observations and asked that he be suitably rewarded for any further work he undertook. In December 1594 Van Meteren sent the translated copy to Jacob Valcke, the treasurer of Zeeland, with a covering letter commending Hakluyt, a scholar he had known for twenty years, as the foremost expert in such matters (printed in Naber, ed., *Reizen van Willem Barents*, vol. 2, p. 201, translated in Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 417–18, as Document 70). Hakluyt did go on to provide advice and received payment (see Naber, ed., *Reizen van Willem Barents*, vol. 2, pp. 204–10; Parks, pp. 144–7).

When Barents sailed on his third voyage in 1596 he took with him a manuscript translation in Dutch of the account of Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman's search for a north-east passage in 1580 which had been published in 1589 by Hakluyt in the *Principall Navigations*.⁹¹ Found in 1875 among the remains of Barents's camp on Novaya Zemlya, where his ship had been trapped by ice, this manuscript is now in the Maritiem Museum Rotterdam, Objectnummer H52 (a page from it is illustrated in Parks, fig. 23, facing p. 145). The Pet and Jackman account was perhaps drawn to the attention of the Dutch and supplied by Hakluyt himself, although its existing availability in print means that its translation into Dutch could have been undertaken for Barents independently of any approach to Hakluyt for direct advice (see Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 307–8).

⁸⁹ Quinn, vol. 1, p. 307, includes the detailed reference 'Inv. No. 2687, Recueil Commerciale 1455–1646', but it has not been possible to verify whether this is still current.

⁹⁰ Giving the archival citation 'Zie Recueil Commerciale Algemeen Rijks Archief, fol. 61'.

⁹¹ *PN*, pp. 466–82 (2T4^v–2U6^v).

[18] Notes relating to Raleigh's discovery of 'Dorado' taken from José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, endorsed 'translated out of the Spanish by Richard Hakluyt'. TNA SP 12/235/43.

References:

Parks, pp. 137–9, 261 ('1596?'); Quinn, vol. 1, p. 308 ('c.1596'), vol. 2, pp. 453–4. Not in Taylor.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581–1590, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, 1865), p. 710 (item 43, dated '1590?').

Editions:

None, but a version was printed by Hakluyt (without naming himself as translator) in 1600 in PN3, pp. 698–9 (3M5^v–6^r), as 'Certaine briefe testimonies concerning the mightie River of Amazones or Orellana . . . together with some mention of the rich and stately Empire of *Dorado*, called by Sir *Walter Raleigh* and the natural inhabitants *Guiana* . . . Taken out of *Iosephus de Acosta* his naturall and morall Historie of the *West Indies*' (giving the passages translated as from 'lib.2 cap.6', 'lib.3 cap.2', and 'lib.3 cap.25').

Reproduction:

State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 12/235 f.87.

Comment:

Secretary hand (probably Hakluyt's), signature (in endorsement) italic.⁹²

José de Acosta's work was first published as *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville: Juan de León, 1590). An English edition did not appear until 1604.⁹³

Sir Robert Cecil, appointed the Queen's principal secretary in July 1596, was a backer of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonial projects in Guiana, and sought Hakluyt's geographical advice on the region, as Hakluyt recalled in 1599 in his dedication of the second volume of the *Principal Navigations* to Cecil: 'when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to have some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of *Guiana*, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English' (PN2, *4^r). As Parks (p. 138) suggests, this 'conference' may have taken place in 1597 or 1598, when Cecil was having doubts about Raleigh's enterprise and was seeking alternative geographical opinions to those, for example, put forward in Raleigh's favour by Thomas Harriot, who wrote to Cecil in July 1596 referring to Acosta's book.⁹⁴ Although the present document is not necessarily linked directly to Cecil's conference with Hakluyt, it was most probably drawn up sometime after mid-1596.

Raleigh himself sailed to Guiana in 1595, and despatched a follow-up expedition under Lawrence Keymis in 1596, and another, under Leonard Berry in 1597; in 1616, the year of Hakluyt's death, he embarked on his disastrous second expedition to Guiana.⁹⁵

⁹² For an illustration of a similar example, see Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, fig. 3c (p. 25), from BL Harley MS 288 [14].

⁹³ José de Acosta, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*, trans. E. Grimeston (London: Valentine Sims for Edward Blount and William Aspley, 1604), which was from the French, first published as *Histoire naturelle et morale des Indes*, trans. Robert Regnault (Paris: Marc Orry, 1598).

⁹⁴ For Cecil's close interest in the project and Harriot's letter to him, see Joyce Lorimer, ed., *Sir Walter Raleigh's Discoverie of Guiana* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2006), pp. xxii–xxiii, xxxi–xxv, lxxxv–lxxxvii, 285–6.

⁹⁵ See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 287–99.

[19] ‘The true limites of all the Countries and Provinces at this present actually possessed by y^e Spaniards and Portugales in the West Indies [and] Whether an Englishman may trade with the West Indies, with certain answers to the Popes Bull’.

TNA CO 1/1, no. 32.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 53–4, vol. 2, pp. viii, 420 (‘1598’); Parks, pp. 258, 261–2 (‘1613?’); Quinn, vol. 1, p. 309 (‘c.1595–8’).

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574–1660, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, ed. W. Noël Sainsbury (London: Longman, 1860), p. 16 (item 32, ‘1613?’)

Editions:

In Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 420–5, as Document 72. From the manuscript. A few annotations.

In Alexander Brown, ed., *The Genesis of the United States: A Narrative of the Movement in England, 1605–1616, Which Resulted in the Plantation of North America by Englishmen, Disclosing the Contest between England and Spain for the Possession of the Soil Now Occupied by the United States of America; Set Forth through a Series of Historical Manuscripts Now First Printed Together with a Reissue of Rare Contemporaneous Tracts, Accompanied by Bibliographical Memoranda, Notes, and Brief Biographies*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1890), pp. 669–75, as items CCXCIV¹ and CCXCIV². The first printing and attribution to Hakluyt.

Reproductions:

None found.

Comment:

In 1890 Alexander Brown, who dated them to after December 1609 but before 1613, proposed that ‘these rough notes for a reply to the Spanish claims in the Americas’ were ‘evidently written either by the Rev. Richard Hakluyt, or with his assistance, or were compiled from his works. They contain many of his ideas, expressed almost in the same words as his publications’ (*Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, p. 669). Similarly, Taylor remarks that these notes ‘follow so closely on the lines of certain sections of the still unpublished *Discourse of Western Planting* [8], that they may fairly certainly be assigned to Hakluyt’ (vol. 1, pp. 53–4), and Quinn likewise states they were in ‘style and content attributable to Hakluyt’ (vol. 1, p. 309). This attribution is accepted in subsequent discussions by David Armitage,⁹⁶ and Ken Macmillan, who, referring back to the refutation of the papal bull *Inter caetera* in Hakluyt’s *Discourse of Western Planting*, writes: ‘Towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign, Hakluyt produced another manuscript for the crown’s use (possibly during the abortive peace talks of 1600), which listed the regions of the New World possessed by the Iberians, beyond which they “have no further actual possession,” and offered another challenge to *Inter caetera*, this time focusing his arguments on the laws of nature and nations’.⁹⁷

Both portions of the document includes mentions of ‘Her Majesty’, which dates their composition to before the death of Elizabeth I and the succession of James I in 1603. The most

⁹⁶ Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 107–8.

⁹⁷ Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 78.

likely occasion for this is their relevance in considering the possibility of ending the war with Spain during the first half of 1598 or in preparing for the peace talks that opened at Boulogne in May 1600.⁹⁸

[20] ‘Certayne 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’.⁹⁹

TNA CO 77/1, no. 17.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. 59, vol. 2, pp. ix, 465 (‘1600’); Parks, pp. 153–5, 254, 261 (‘1600’); Quinn, vol. 1, p. 316 (‘c. February 1601’).

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616, Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, and Elsewhere, ed. W. Noël Sainsbury (London: Longman, 1862), p. 103 (item 265, ‘1600’).

Editions:

In Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 465–8, as Document 78. From the first printing.¹⁰⁰ A few annotations.

In 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. 115–21. Its first printing.

Reproductions:

None found.

Comment:

This document 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 concluded that barred them from Iberian possessions overseas. Addressed to an unnamed member of the privy council (‘Whereas, Right Honourable’), the paper was submitted by the investors in the ‘intended voyage’ to the East Indies (as printed in Taylor, vol. 2, p. 465). The merchants requested 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

⁹⁸ For background, see 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. 239–40, 246–9; Roland Dennis Hussey, ‘America in European Diplomacy 1597–1604’, *Revista de historia de América*, no. 41 (June 1956), pp. 1–30; R. B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain 1595–1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 213–16, 233–42, 321–6, 413–14. The Boulogne conference was unsuccessful, but the instructions to the English commissioners concerning access to the Spanish monarchy’s overseas possessions, and where exactly Iberian territorial claims in the Indies were legitimate, were repeated in negotiating the treaty of London in 1604, without, however, satisfactorily resolving the matter.

⁹⁹ This entry is based on the description in Payne, ‘Hakluyt and the East India Company’, pp. 18–21, where further details and references can be found.

¹⁰⁰ Minor variations in Taylor’s transcription suggest that it might have been checked against the manuscript.

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.

The reference to a possible peace treaty between England and Spain dates the ‘Certaiyne Reesons’ to after the autumn of 1599, when 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.¹⁰¹ This is exactly the diplomatic and geopolitical situation addressed by the ‘Certaiyne Reesons’, which can, furthermore, be connected to the time of the peace talks from two internal references (as printed in Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 467–8): the first of these, to ‘Petrus Maffeus, printed within these 7 yeres’, meaning the 1593 edition of Maffei’s *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*, places the document in the year 1600; while the other, to ‘The third returne of the Hollanders from the Est Indies this yere’, 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,¹⁰² ‘Certaiyne Reesons’ can therefore be dated to the late spring or early summer of 1600, that is the period of the peace talks at Boulogne, which finally began in May and were effectively over by the beginning of August 1600.¹⁰³

Hakluyt’s authorship was first suggested by Parks in 1928 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’, and, without wanting to press the point, believing the it was ‘almost certainly’ written in Hakluyt’s hand.¹⁰⁴ 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. Taylor seems to hint at the latter 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 (vol. 1, p. 59).

¹⁰¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, &c. &c. Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Part X* (London: HMSO, 1904), pp. 145–6; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, p. 324.

¹⁰² 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 Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, *A Century of Advance*, bk 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 42–3, 437–40.

¹⁰³ See Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, pp. 324–5, 330.

¹⁰⁴ George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), p. 154. Parks left this passage unchanged in the second edition (1961, cited as ‘Parks’ in this survey).

[21] ‘Noates of remembrance for y^e Righte Honorable y^e Lordes of her Majesties moste honorable Privie Councill presented by y^e Merchannts entendinge a voiage to y^e Easte Indies’.¹⁰⁵

San Marino, Huntington Library, MS EL 2360.

References:

Quinn, vol. 1, p. 316 (‘c. February 1601’). Not in Parks or Taylor.

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.

Edition:

In Brayman Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes’, pp. 432–5.

Reproduction:

In Brayman Hackel & Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s Notes’, fig. 3 (p. 431), first leaf, recto.

Comment:

Allied to the ‘Certaiyne Reasons’ [20], again undated and authorship unidentified, this document comes from the papers of the privy councillor, Sir Thomas Egerton (1540–1617), Lord Keeper from 1596 until 1603.¹⁰⁶ It was published for the first time in Brayman Hackel & Mancall (from which it is quoted in the following discussion), who describe it as a fair copy, in a clear secretary hand with most place names and authorities in italic (p. 430). Giving an unqualified attribution to Hakluyt, they believe that ‘Certaiyne Reasons’ seems to have been prepared after his meeting with the East India Company directors in January 1601 (pp. 428–9), but, as argued above, ‘Certaiyne Reasons’ can more accurately be dated to the spring or summer of 1600. Brayman Hackel & 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 – ‘Whereas (righte Honourable) upon a treatie of peace, betwene the Crownes of England and Spaigne like to ensue’ (p. 432) – 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 Brayman Hackel & Mancall are mistaken in the year, their remark that the ‘Noates’ is a ‘seemingly earlier version’ (p. 429) of the ‘Certaiyne Reasons’ is warranted, because the ‘Noates’ refers to the 1593 edition of Maffei as ‘printed within these sixe yeares’ (p. 434), instead of the ‘within these 7 yeres’ stated in ‘Certaiyne Reasons’, while, rather than the three returns of Dutch ships from the East Indies up to May 1600 referred to in ‘Certaiyne Reasons’, mention is made only of the ‘first voiage of the *Holandars* printed in, Duch, Latine, English, and French’ (p. 434),¹⁰⁷ and the ‘seconde voiage of the *Holandars*, in Duch and English’ (p. 434), the latter meaning the account of the voyage of the four ships from Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck’s expedition that arrived home in July 1599.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ This entry is based on the description in Payne, ‘Hakluyt and the East India Company’, pp. 21–5, where further details and references can be found.

¹⁰⁶ Egerton was appointed Lord Chancellor and created Baron Ellesmere after the accession of James I in 1603.

¹⁰⁷ The reference is to Cornelis de Houtman’s expedition of 1595–97, narrated in an account edited by Barent Langenes, in English as *The Description of a Voyage Made by Certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies . . . Translated out of Dutch into English by W. P[hilip]* (London: John Wolfe, 1598).

¹⁰⁸ *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*

These references indicate that the ‘Noates of remembrance’ dates from about mid-October 1599 when the East India merchants were lobbying the privy council and became aware of the possibility of peace talks with Spain.¹⁰⁹ 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 Brayman Hackel & 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.¹¹⁰

In the commentary in his *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company* (vol. 1, p. 121) 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^r. – You demaunde of me the names of such kings as are absolute in the East, and either have warr, or traffique, wth the Kinge of Spaigne’ (vol. 1, pp. 121–6), which is signed and dated 10 March 1600 by Greville and was submitted presumably to Sir Robert Cecil, the secretary of state (Bruce mistakenly identifies the recipient as Sir Francis Walsingham, d. 1590).¹¹¹ This interpretation was followed by the *Calendar of State Papers*,¹¹² and is repeated by Parks (p. 154) and Taylor (vol. 2, p. 468 n.2).¹¹³ It is untenable if the spring-summer 1600 dating of ‘Certayne 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’ (as printed in Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company*, vol. 1, 126),¹¹⁴ 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 ‘Certayne Reasons’, all three

Four Returned Again the 19. of Iuly Anno 1599 . . . the Other Four Went Forward from Iava for the Moluccas (London: P. S[horth] for W. Aspley, [1599]). The Dutch original of *A True Report* is lost.

¹⁰⁹ See 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* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1886) (an edition of BL IOR/B/1), pp. 9–10.

¹¹⁰ See Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, p. 11. ‘Certayne Reasons’ refers to information on Ralph Fitch and James Lancaster as in print (see Taylor, vol. 2, p. 468), which it was (in *PN2*), but not until sometime after 24 October 1599 (the date of *PN2*’s dedication). ‘Noates of remembrance’ (p. 434) does not specify this material as printed, further suggesting an earlier composition date and quite possibly October 1599.

¹¹¹ The manuscript is TNA CO 77/1, no. 18, and is dated 10 March ‘1599’ old style.

¹¹² *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616, Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, and Elsewhere*, ed. W. Noël Sainsbury (London: Longman, 1862), pp. 104–5 (item 266, ‘Foulke Grevil to [Sec. Sir Robert Cecil]’).

¹¹³ The passing reference to Greville’s paper in Quinn, vol. 1, p. 313, places it in the context of preparations for the planned diplomatic talks with Spain in mid-1600.

¹¹⁴ 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 forisq[ue] gestis, libri duodecim* (Cologne: Birkmann, 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 Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into y^e Easte & West Indies* (London: John Wolfe, [1598]).

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.¹¹⁵ This was explicit in the charter of the East India Company, which 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.¹¹⁶ 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 no 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.¹¹⁷

[22] **A series of notes by Hakluyt on commodities and trade in the East Indies.**¹¹⁸

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden B. 8, ff. 84–96.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. 60, vol. 2, p. ix, 476 ('1601'); Parks, pp. 156, 254, 261 ('1601'); Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 314–16 ('February 1601').

Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses. An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford*, new edition, with additions, ed. Philip Bliss, vol. 2 (London: F. C. & J. Rivington [and others], 1815), cols 187–8.

Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, pt 1, *Collections Received before 1660 and Miscellaneous MSS* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 608 (item F in no. 3338).

Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *Sources for the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 147.

M. D. Wainwright and Noel Matthews, *A Guide to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to South and South East Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 319.

¹¹⁵ 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*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London: Longmans, 1866), pp. 72–3 (April 1561); *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1562*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London: Longmans, 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 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.

¹¹⁶ 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 BL IOR/B/2), p. 174.

¹¹⁷ 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.

¹¹⁸ This entry is based on the description in Payne, 'Hakluyt and the East India Company', pp. 7–10, where further details and references can be found.

Editions:

In Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 476–82, as Document 81. From the first printing. A few annotations.

In John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), in the Appendix, pp. 151–71. Its first printing. Some annotations.

Note that Taylor's printing is incomplete (possibly by mistake as there is no indication that abridgement was intended), 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. Quotations below are from Jones's printing, but note also that the conclusion of his transcription (p. 171) erroneously prints as a side-note a passage which is in fact in the main text of the original, and it omits the subsequent final five lines of the manuscript.

Reproduction:

In Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 16 (p. 315), f. 93^r.

Comment:

The foliation (ff. 84–96) is that supplied in pencil by the Bodleian in its continuous numbering sequence for all twenty items bound together in this volume of manuscripts (ff. 97–8 are blanks).¹¹⁹ The notes themselves have no original folio or page numerals and seem to have originally comprised three separate pieces (written in at least two hands), with ff. 84^r, 89^f and 92^r being numbered respectively in ink at the foot '6', '6*' and '7'. The final part of the manuscript, ff. 92–6, is endorsed 'Notes of sundry comodities requested in y^e Est Indies collected by m^r Hacklett' on f. 92^r (f. 92^v is blank), and must originally have been a document separate from the preceding notes, which are also in a different hand. Quinn identifies ff. 93–6 as 'being in Hakluyt's hand' (vol. 1, p. 316).

Of the five principal headings found in these notes, three 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 (Jones, ed., p. 151; f. 84^f in the manuscript);¹²⁰ 'Notes of certayne 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' (Jones, ed., p. 166; f. 93^r);¹²¹ and 'Certayne notes gathered of such as have had much familiaritie with the Portugales that trade in the East Indies, by Richard Hakluyt' (Jones, ed., p. 170; f. 96^v).¹²² The two other headings, 'A remembrance of what is good to bring from the Indyas into Spayne, being good marchandize, and bowght by him that is skillfull and trusty', and 'A remembrance of suche things as are good marchandize to bringe from the Est Indies into Spayne, being bought by a skylfull and trusty factor', give no attribution, but the text of the first ends 'Nicholas Sobras', presumably the

¹¹⁹ The manuscripts in this volume passed with John Selden's collection to the Bodleian in 1659. It is possible, but not certain, that Selden acquired the notes from the papers of Samuel Purchas. See Toomer, *John Selden*, vol. 1, pp. 18–20, 50 (n.124).

¹²⁰ Dated old style 'February, 1600' in the manuscript and in Jones's printing, 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 (p. 153; f. 84^f) to *PN3* ('the 3rd volume of my English Voiages'), which did not appear until late 1600 (its dedication is dated 1 September 1600). See also Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 476 (nn.2–3).

¹²¹ This is in the portion omitted by Taylor.

¹²² See also Taylor, vol. 2, p. 482.

compiler, who might also have been the source of the second as it is similar in content (Jones, ed., pp. 160, 163, 164; ff. 89^r, 89^v, 90^r).¹²³

Hakluyt's guidance was sought by the directors of the East India Company at a meeting on 29 January 1601, when he read out information from various sources and was then asked to submit a written note of the principal places for trading opportunities in the East Indies. Payment to Hakluyt for this and other advice was authorised on 16 February 1601.¹²⁴ The present series of manuscript notes might well relate to this meeting (Parks, p. 156, goes so far as to consider them 'without doubt the original memoranda for the East India Company'); they certainly give an indication of the details Hakluyt provided on various commodities, where these might be obtained, and their prices, as well as goods suitable to take for trading in the East Indies.

[23] 'The places in the East Indies where the subjects of the King of Spayne hath any ffortes and settled residences'.

BL Sloane MS 25, f. 13.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. 61, vol. 2, pp. ix, 487 ('1603'); Quinn, vol. 1, p. 313 ('c. March 1600'). Not in Parks.

Edward J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1904), p. 272 ('circa 1602').

M. D. Wainwright and Noel Matthews, *A Guide to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to South and South East Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 15 ('c.1602').

Edition:

In Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 487–8, as Document 84. From the manuscript.

Reproductions:

None known.

Comment:

This set of advisory notes on Iberian dispositions in the East Indies has been attributed to Hakluyt by Taylor and Quinn. The manuscript is noted by Quinn (vol. 1, p. 313) as a copy of c.1625. The references to 'his majestie' and the possibility of peace with Spain (see Taylor, vol. 2, p. 488) date the composition of the text to after the accession of James I on the death Elizabeth I in March 1603 and suggest it was drawn up shortly before or during the negotiations that ended the war with the treaty of London in August 1604. The paper's political position is in accord with longstanding assumptions in English diplomacy, that the Spanish had no right to impose any form of general exclusion in the Indies, but conceding that they might regulate access to their existing

¹²³ These are in the portion omitted by Taylor. Parks, p. 156, surmises that the information presented here was from documents 'captured doubtless at sea'.

¹²⁴ Stevens, ed., *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, pp. 123–4, 143 (note that these records are dated '1600' old style). Hakluyt's association with the company is examined by Payne, 'Hakluyt and the East India Company', pp. 1–31.

occupied possessions as they saw fit.¹²⁵ Given this, and that there is nothing to link it with Hakluyt in particular, the attribution of the document to him must remain dubious.¹²⁶

[24] ‘The Free Sea or a Disputation concerning the Right Which y^e Hollanders Ought to Have, to the Indian Merchandize for Trading’.¹²⁷

London, Library of the Inner Temple, Petyt MS 529.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. 62, vol. 2, p. ix,¹²⁸ 497 (‘1609’); Parks, pp. 212–13, 257, 261 (‘1609?’); Quinn, vol. 1, p. 324 (‘1609 or later’).

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).

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 (item 529).

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.

Editions:

Short extract (the title, list of chapter headings, address, and part of chapter 1) in Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 497–9, as Document 88.

David Armitage, ed., *The Free Sea [by] Hugo Grotius. Translated by Richard Hakluyt with William Welwod’s Critique and Grotius’s Reply* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004).¹²⁹ The first printing of the entire work. Spelling and punctuation modernised. With an introduction, annotations, bibliography and index.

Reproduction:

In Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 17 (p. 325), f. 3^r (the first page).

Comment:

Mare liberum by Hugo Grotius was first published, anonymously, in spring 1609.¹³⁰ The present, undated, manuscript translation is unabridged and includes the original work’s address ‘To the Princes & free States of the Christian World’. Like the original, it leaves Grotius unnamed as the

¹²⁵ Garrett Mattingly, ‘No Peace beyond What Line?’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, vol. 13 (1963), pp. 153–4, 159.

¹²⁶ For further references and discussion of this document, see Payne, ‘Hakluyt and the East India Company’, pp. 24–5.

¹²⁷ This entry is based on the more extensive description in Payne, ‘Hakluyt and the East India Company’, pp. 26–30, where further details and references can be found.

¹²⁸ Mistakenly giving the Middle Temple Library as its location.

¹²⁹ For an appraisal of Armitage’s edition, see Robert Feenstra, ed., *Hugo Grotius: Mare Liberum 1609–2009. Original Latin Text (Facsimile of the First Edition, 1609) and Modern English Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. xlix–l.

¹³⁰ [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 supplements Jacob ter Meulen and P. J. J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950), pp. 211–13. No further Latin editions appeared until that of 1618, which gave Grotius’s authorship on the title-page. He was first named as author in the Dutch translation of 1614.

author. No new material, such as a dedication or preface, is added, nor is the translator identified in the work itself. Hakluyt's responsibility is recorded in an early inscription, 'Translated in English by M^r Rich: Hackluyt &c.', added to the initial blank page (f. 1^r). Although it is said to be in Hakluyt's hand by Armitage, ed., *Free Sea* (p. xxi), and Quinn (vol. 1, p. 324), 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. It is more likely to be a scribal copy, but exactly when and for whom it was produced cannot be said.

The translation itself may have been undertaken at the request of the East India Company, and *Mare liberum* was certainly invoked against the Dutch in the colonial conferences convened in 1613 and 1615 to resolve disputes between the rival English and Dutch East India companies.¹³¹ A dating of about this time would sit comfortably within the timespan of the original work's publication in 1609 and Hakluyt's death in 1616. Several commentators, while accepting the possibility of the translation's association with the East India Company, 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' (as printed in Armitage, ed., *Free Sea*, p. 10), 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.¹³²

[25] Will of Richard Hakluyt (Hackluit) of Wetheringsett, Suffolk, 20 August 1612; probate granted 23 November 1616.

TNA PROB 11/128/590.

References:

Taylor, vol. 1, p. 64, vol. 2, pp. x, 506; Parks, pp. 258, 261; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 326–7, 331.

Editions:

In Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 506–9, as Document 91. From the first printing. A few annotations.

In John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), in the Appendix, pp. 145–50, 'printed from an official copy in the possession of Bolton Corney'. Its first printing. Includes (pp. 149–50) the record of the court's grant of probate omitted by Taylor.

Reproduction:

A digital image can be consulted at TNA, or, for a charge, downloaded via their website at:

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/D897542>.

¹³¹ For the work's relevance to the East India Company, see Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 109–12.

¹³² 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.

Comment:

This is Hakluyt's will as preserved in the copy in the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, now held at TNA. Probate was granted to Edmond Hakluyt, named in the will as 'my sonne my sole & only executor' (as printed in Taylor, vol. 2, p. 509).¹³³

[26] 'Roteiro de dom Joham de Castro da viagee que os Portugueses fizeram desa India ate Soez', (colophon) 'Gaspar Aloisius scribebat M. D. XLIII'.

BL Cotton MS Tiberius D IX.

References:

Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 51, 319. Not in Parks or Taylor.

Thomas Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1696), p. 28.

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum, ed. Joseph Planta (London: [British Museum], 1802), p. 40.

Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, and of the Topographical Drawings in the British Museum, vol. 3 (London: British Museum, 1861), pp. 386–7.

Henry Thomas, 'English Translations of Portuguese Books before 1640', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 7, no. 1 (June 1926), p. 10.

Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960), pp. 137–43.

M. D. Wainwright and Noel Matthews, *A Guide to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to South and South East Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 13.

Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 7.

Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts Volume I: 1450–1625*, pt 2 (London: Mansell, 1980), p. 370 (item 8).¹³⁴

Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to the Middle East and North Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 8.

Colin G. C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London: British Library, 2003), p. 111.

Rodney Shirley, *Maps in the Atlases of the British Library: A Descriptive Catalogue c. AD 850–1800*, vol. 2 (London: British Library, 2004), pp. 1793–4 (MS.CAS-la).

¹³³ Edmond Hakluyt's first name is sometimes spelt Edmund. Little is known of him, beyond that he was baptised at Wetheringsett (his father's Suffolk living) in 1593, attended Westminster School, proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1611/12 (BA, 1615/16, fellow 1618, MA 1619), and was ordained in 1625 or 1626. G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters*, vol. 1 (London: Chiswick Press, 1928), p. 411; Parks, pp. 245, 258; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 306; John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1, vol. 2 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1922), p. 279. He assigned his two shares in the Virginia Company, inherited from his father, to John Moore in June 1621. Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), p. 497, vol. 3 (1933), pp. 63, 84, 326. According to Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: J. G., W. L. and W. G., 1662), p. 40 (second pagination) (Ff4^v), Edmond was 'an unthrift son, who embezzill'd' Hakluyt's 'fair estate', a story which Parks thinks 'has not a great deal of value' (p. 245).

¹³⁴ Item RaW 1036 in the online version, CELM (Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700, <https://celm-ms.org.uk>).

Roger Lee de Jesus, 'As "Tábuas dos roteiros da Índia" de D. João de Castro da Biblioteca geral da universidade de Coimbra: novos dados', *Boletim da Biblioteca geral da universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 51 (2021), pp. 81–3.

Edition:

Luís de Albuquerque, ed., *Roteiro do Mar Roxo de Dom João de Castro MS. Cott. Tib. DIX da British Library* (Lisbon: Edições INAPA, 1991). A transcription of the text (pp. 7–91) and reproductions of the maps (pp. 93–127). With an editorial introduction.

Reproductions:

In Cortesão & Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, vol. 1, plates 66–8 (maps only).

Digital images of the entire manuscript are available online in the BL digital collections, at: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_D_IX.

Comment:

This calligraphic manuscript, illustrated with maps (including coastal views and plans), was probably produced for presentation to the Infante Luís of Portugal, duke of Beja (d. 1555), to whom its dedication by João de Castro is addressed. It came into Hakluyt's hands via Sir Walter Raleigh by 1614. There are no marks by either of them in it (it is, however, fire-damaged and rebound), but their possession is indicated by a reference by Raleigh in his *History of the World*, first published in 1614, to 'the report of Castro, a principall Commander under Gama (which Discourse I gave M^r. Hacluit to publish)',¹³⁵ and, also in 1614, in the second edition of *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, in the account of how 'Iohn di Castro (afterwards Viceroy of India) sayled to the bottom of the Streit, as far as Suez' and attempted to discover why the Red Sea was so-called, in which Samuel Purchas gave his source as 'the booke of this voyage, which my friend M^r. Hakluyt communicated to me'.¹³⁶ In 1625 Purchas, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, published an English translation as 'A Rutter of Don Iohn of Castro, of the Voyage which the Portugals made from India to Zoez . . . and here abbreviated The originall of which is reported to have beene bought by Sir Walter Raleigh, at sixtie pounds, and by him caused to be done into English, out of the Portugall'.¹³⁷

Unlike many of Hakluyt's papers, this manuscript did not find its way into Purchas's hands and it passed to Edmond Hakluyt, Hakluyt's heir and only son. Edmond seems to have intended to present it to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had been elected a fellow in 1618, but was persuaded by William Lisle in 1622 to give it instead to Sir Robert Cotton (Trinity in turn appears to have received a Robert Grosseteste manuscript from Cotton).¹³⁸ It remains with Cotton's collection in the British Library, and an exceptionally detailed bibliographical and historical

¹³⁵ [Sir Walter Raleigh], *The History of the World* (London: William Stansby for Walter Burre, 1614), bk 2, p. 261 (first pagination) (Z5^v).

¹³⁶ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, second edition (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1614), p. 705 (306^v). This is amongst the new material found in this edition.

¹³⁷ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 2, pp. 1122–48 (6A2^v–6C3^v). Purchas had not obtained the translation from Hakluyt's papers as it is not marked with an 'H.' in the contents list (vol. 1, A1^v–2^r). In the side-note on p. 1122 he says it 'in part was done, as I thinke, and many marginall notes added, by Sir Walter Raleigh himselfe'. In the side-note Purchas also said that it seemed that the same hand also translated 'Bermudez owne report', which he printed in the next chapter, and which is marked with an 'H.' in the contents list (vol. 1, A2^r).

¹³⁸ BL Harley MS 7000, f. 92, printed and discussed by Timothy Graham, 'William L'Isle's Letters to Sir Robert Cotton', in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 367–9.

description, including many further references, can be found in the online BL catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts.

[27] **‘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 of London, with three Shippes, The Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, manned with 262 men. Begun, Aprill. 18. 1611. And finished September. 27. 1614. Wherein are particulerly related divers matters worthy of observation, both for Course and Action during the said voiage . . . 1617’.**

Tokyo, Toyo Bunko, PB-30.

References:

Not in Parks, Quinn or Taylor.

Maggs Bros, Catalogue 452, *Bibliotheca Asiatica Part I* (London, 1924), item 115 (pp. 55–7).

A Classified Catalogue of Books on the Section XVII. Japan in the Toyo Bunko, Acquired during the Years 1917–1956 (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1957), p. 100.

Edition:

Takanobu Otsuka, ed., *The First Voyage of the English to Japan by John Saris Transcribed and Collated by Takanobu Otsuka* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1941). A documentary edition, with reference to other versions of Saris’s account, and a companion to the facsimile published in 1940.

Reproductions:

The First Voiage of the English to the Islands of Iapan (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1940). A facsimile of the entire manuscript. No editorial or other additional matter.

The First Voyage of the English to the Islands of Japan, 1617 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2016). A coloured facsimile of the entire manuscript. Includes an introduction (in Japanese) by Hirano Kenichiro.¹³⁹

Comment:

The manuscript was purchased by Toyo Bunko from the booksellers Maggs Bros, who had offered it for sale at £350 in their Catalogue 452, *Bibliotheca Asiatica*, in 1924. The catalogue describes it as ‘in its original vellum binding’ but gives no information on its provenance.

John Saris (d. 1643) commanded the East India’s Company’s eighth voyage and composed the account of it which survives in the present scribal manuscript, produced in 1617. In his dedication of the manuscript to Sir Francis Bacon, Saris stated that Hakluyt had inspected the account and, shortly before his death, had urged publication: ‘It hath hitherto lien in obscuritie, though under the Survey of Mr. Richard Hacluit, a man industrious and well deserving of such whose mindes are not whollie confined at home, his too indulgent approbation had pressed it for publique use, but Death prevented him: his last charge (which to neglect were irreligious) made it survive, and me soe hardie as to present it to your Lordshipps viewe . . . ’ (as printed in Otsuka,

¹³⁹ 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’, obtainable online as a pdf, via ERNEST (Toyo Bunko E-Resource Network Storage), at: <http://www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/library3/s19-hirano.pdf>.

ed., *First Voyage of the English*, p. 2). Hakluyt was not apparently involved in editing the text itself, and in any event no publication ensued.¹⁴⁰

Hakluyt's association with Saris seems to have begun in 1610 or early 1611, after Saris had returned from an earlier posting in the East Indies and not long before he embarked on the eighth voyage in April 1611.¹⁴¹ It is conceivable that the manuscript Selden Map of China (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Selden supra 105) was brought to England by Saris and acquired by Hakluyt at that time, subsequently (like the Codex Mendoza, [12] above) passing to Samuel Purchas, and then John Selden, before reaching the Bodleian in 1659. The date of the Selden Map of China is not, however, firmly established. Timothy Brook believes it was produced in c.1608, which would be compatible with Hakluyt's ownership, but Hakluyt's death in 1616 would preclude this if Robert Batchelor's later dating of c.1619 for the map is accepted.¹⁴²

Appendix

Some Reference Works for the Study of Early Modern English Manuscripts

- Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts Volume I: 1450–1625*, 2 pts (London: Mansell, 1980).
- Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- Muriel St Clare Byrne, 'Elizabethan Handwriting for Beginners', *Review of English Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1925), pp. 198–209.
- Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London: Faber & Faber, 1968).
- Alfred Fairbank and Berthold Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting: An Anthology of Italic Scripts* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960).
- W. W. Greg, ed., *English Literary Autographs 1550–1650*, 3 pts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925–32).
- Kathryn James, *English Paleography and Manuscript Culture, 1500–1800* (New Haven: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, 2020).
- Hilary Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwritings: A Preliminary Sketch', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1922), pp. 1–34 (and 12 plates).

¹⁴⁰ 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, simply out of indolence. Purchas was certainly keen to have access to Saris's narrative, saying in *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, third edition (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 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' (p. 670; 3L5^v).

¹⁴¹ For Hakluyt and Saris, see further Payne, 'Hakluyt and the East India Company', pp. 16–18.

¹⁴² See 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; Timothy Brook, *Mr Selden's Map of China: The Spice Trade, a Lost Chart and the South China Sea* (London: Profile Books, 2013), 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. The map can be viewed via the Bodleian's website at: <https://seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

- Hilary Jenkinson, *The Later Court Hands in England from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century Illustrated from the Common Paper of the Scriveners' Company of London, the English Writing Masters & the Public Records*, with a separate portfolio of plates (Cambridge: The University Press, 1927).
- Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- Ronald B. McKerrow, 'A Note on Elizabethan Handwriting', Appendix 8 in *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, second impression, with corrections and additions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), pp. 341–50, and reprinted as Appendix A in Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, corrected impression (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 361–7.
- Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).
- Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930).
- H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Index of Manuscripts

- [1] 'A discourse of the Commoditie of the taking of the straight of Magellanus'.
TNA SP 12/229/97, ff. 212^r–15^v.
page 5
- [2] 'The commodity of taking the straightes of Magellanus'.
TNA SP 12/169/53.
page 6
- [3a] 'Analysis, seu resolutio perpetua in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis', dedication dated 1 September 1583.
BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII.
page 7
- [3b] 'Analysis sive resolutio methodica in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis. Authore Richardo Hackluito Oxoniense. 1588'.
BL Sloane MS 1982.
page 7
- [4] Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, Paris, 7 January 1584.
TNA SP 12/167/7.
page 9
- [5] A brief account of the islands lying on the north side of America, and the principal towns in the mainland, held by the King of Spain, endorsed 'A note of the We[ste] Indian coste'.
BL Cotton MS Otho E VIII, ff. 57^r–58^v.
page 11

[6] ‘The Relation of M^r Stephen Bellanger dwelling in Roan . . . of his late voiadge of discoverie of two hundreth leagues of coast from Cape Bryton nere Newfound Land west southwest . . . this last yere 1583. Wth mention of some of the comodities fownde in those Cuntries and brought home into Fraunce by hym’, endorsed ‘A discourse of the newfound land. 1584’.
BL Add. MS 14027, ff. 289^r–90^v.

page 11

[7] Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, Paris, 1 April 1584.
TNA SP 12/170/1.

page 13

[8] ‘A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde co[m]modityes 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 at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull M^r Walter Raghly, nowe knight, before the comynge home of his Twoo Barkes: and is devided into xxj chapiters, the Titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe’.
New York, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, MssCol 1282.

page 14

[9] Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, Paris, 7 April 1585.
TNA SP 15/29/9.

page 16

[10] Note beginning ‘These xx several Tytles are the heades of the chapters conteyned in the booke of Sir Wal: Reighleyes viage to the west Indes’.
TNA SP 12/195/127.

page 17

[11] Letter from Hakluyt to Sir Walter Raleigh, Paris, 30 December 1586.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Clarendon 36, ff. 2–3.

page 18

[12] Codex Mendoza.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden A. 1.

page 19

[13] Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Lord Burghley (William Cecil), the Lord Treasurer, Paris, 11 April 1588.
TNA SP 15/30/96.

page 21

[14] A copy of a despatch on political developments in France and the international situation, signed Richard Hakluyt, endorsed ‘July 1588 From M^r Richard Hackluyt’.
BL Harley MS 288, ff. 212^r–13^v.

page 22

[15] A manuscript register in Portuguese of Portugal's government in the East.
BL Add. MS 28433.

page 23

[16] 'The opinion of Don Alvaro Baçan . . . touching the army of Francis Drake . . . on the coast of Galizia, declaring what harme hee might doe in al the West Indies', endorsed 'translated out of Spanish by Richard Hakluyt'.

New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Rare Bks & Mss, Folio A 2018 4.

page 24

[17] A copy of a letter from Richard Hakluyt to Emanuel van Meteren, 6 December 1594, translated into Dutch.

The Hague, Nationaal Archief (Algemeen Rijksarchief), Archief van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland.

page 26

[18] Notes relating to Raleigh's discovery of 'Dorado' taken from José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, endorsed 'translated out of the Spanish by Richard Hackluyt'.

TNA SP 12/235/43.

page 27

[19] 'The true limites of all the Countries and Provinces at this present actually possessed by y^e Spaniards and Portugales in the West Indies [and] Whether an Englishman may trade with the West Indies, with certain answers to the Popes Bull'.

TNA CO 1/1, no. 32.

page 28

[20] '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'.

TNA CO 77/1, no. 17.

page 29

[21] 'Noates of remembrance for y^e Righte Honorable y^e Lordes of her Majesties moste honorable Privie Councell presented by y^e Merchannts entendinge a voiage to y^e Easte Indies'.

San Marino, Huntington Library, MS EL 2360.

page 31

[22] A series of notes by Hakluyt on commodities and trade in the East Indies.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden B. 8, ff. 84–96.

page 33

[23] 'The places in the East Indies where the subjects of the King of Spayne hath any ffortes and settled residences'.

BL Sloane MS 25, f. 13.

page 35

[24] ‘The Free Sea or a Disputation concerning the Right Which y^e Hollanders Ought to Have, to the Indian Merchandize for Trading’.

London, Library of the Inner Temple, Petyt MS 529.

page 36

[25] Will of Richard Hakluyt (Hackluit) of Wetheringsett, Suffolk, 20 August 1612; probate granted 23 November 1616.

TNA PROB 11/128/590.

page 37

[26] ‘Roteiro de dom Joham de Castro da viagee que os Portugueses fizeram desa India ate Soez’, (colophon) ‘Gaspar Aloisius scribebat M. D. XLIII’.

BL Cotton MS Tiberius D IX.

page 38

[27] ‘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 of London, with three Shipps, The Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, manned with 262 men. Begun, Aprill. 18. 1611. And finished September. 27. 1614. Wherein are particulerly related divers matters worthy of observation, both for Course and Action during the said voiage . . . 1617’.

Tokyo, Toyo Bunko, PB-30.

page 40