

THE ORIGINAL
WRITINGS &
CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE TWO
RICHARD HAKLUYTS
VOLUME I

E. G. R. Taylor



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

ASHGATE EBOOK

The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts

Volume I

Edited by
E.G.R. TAYLOR

ASHGATE

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THE ORIGINAL WRITINGS &
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

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THE ORIGINAL WRITINGS &
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

WITH
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY

E. G. R. TAYLOR, D.Sc.

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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

THE idea of collecting into one book the original writings of the two Richard Hakluyts was suggested to the editor of the present volumes on first reading the excellent biographical study of the two men written by Dr Bruner Parks in 1928.¹ In the appendices to his work, Dr Parks gave careful references to all the printed and manuscript materials relating to the Hakluyts that were known to him, and these proved to be so scattered, or so rare or otherwise difficult of access, that it appeared likely that to assemble and print them in full would result in a volume of great interest and value. Moreover, the *Discourse of Western Planting*, the most important of the younger Hakluyt's own writings, although twice printed, is in both versions very corrupt. It has been re-transcribed from a photostat copy of the sole original manuscript. In addition to all material actually written by, or ascribable to, the two Hakluyts, all the extant letters addressed to them have been printed, since these throw considerable light on their geographical work.

Both men were earnest and consistent propagandists for English colonial expansion, which they believed would promote the industrialisation of England, and hence put an end to the unemployment which unreflecting publicists ascribed to over-population. Their combined writings cover a period of nearly fifty years from the critical date 1568, and coming as they do from a lawyer and a parson, may fairly be claimed as giving the views of the Elizabethan 'intellectuals' as opposed to those of the soldiers and statesmen whose voices are more generally heard.

The Editor wishes to emphasise her great debt to Dr Parks, whose preliminary labours alone made this book possible, and to acknowledge the kindly help and criticism of Sir William Foster, Mr Edward Lynam, and Dr Fulmer Mood.

E. G. R. TAYLOR

CHELSEA 1935

¹ *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, Amer. Geog. Soc. Special Publication No. 10.

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CONTENTS & SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

page 1

DOCUMENTS

1. Will of Richard Hakluyt, skinner, 1557 (From the original at Somerset House)	69
2. Extracts from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1560-63 (English Edition of 1630)	71
3. Letter from Roger Bodenham, 1566 (Lansdowne MSS. 9, no. 52)	72
4. Letter from Leonard Chilton, 1567 (From G. R. G. Conway, <i>An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition</i>)	74
5. Extracts from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1567	76
6. Extract from the <i>Calendar of State Papers</i> , 1568 (<i>Simancas Archives</i> , Ed. M. A. S. Hume)	77
7. Letter from Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, 1567/8 (<i>Correspondence of Ortelius</i> , no. 167. Ed. Hessels. Translated by F. C. Francis, Esq.)	77
8. Extracts from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1568	83
9. Extract from the <i>Calendar of State Papers</i> , 1569 (<i>Simancas Archives</i>)	84
10. Extract from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1569	86
11. Extracts from the <i>Calendar of State Papers</i> , 1570 (<i>Simancas Archives</i>)	87
12. Extracts from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1571	88
13. Letter from Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, 1571 (S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 77, no. 18)	90
14. Extracts from the <i>Calendar of State Papers</i> , 1571 (<i>Simancas Archives</i>)	91

15. Letter from Richard Hakluyt, lawyer (S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 83, no. 7)	page 93
16. Report from Henry Hawks, 1572 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1589 edn.)	96
17. Extracts from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1576	115
18. Notes on Colonisation by Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, 1578 (Reprinted from <i>Divers Voyages to America</i>)	116
19. Italian Newsletter from Rome, 1578 (Reprinted from the <i>Calendar of State Papers, Simancas Archives</i>)	122
20. Letter from Anthony Parkhurst, 1577-8 (Lansdowne MSS. 100, no. 10)	123
21. Letter from Anthony Parkhurst to Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, 1578 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1598-1600 edn.)	127
22. Letter from Sir Humfrey Gilbert to Walsingham, 1578 (S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 126, no. 44)	135
23. Notes on Dyestuffs by Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, 1579 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1589 edn.)	137
24. Pamphlet by Richard Hakluyt, the younger, 1580 (S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 229, no. 97)	139
25. Instructions for the North-east Passage by Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, 1580 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1589 edn.)	147
26. Letter from Mercator to Richard Hakluyt, the younger, 1580 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1589 edn.)	159
27. Extract from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1580	162
28. Note by Richard Hakluyt, the younger, 1580 (S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 169, no. 53)	163
29. Dedication of Florio's <i>Cartier</i> , 1580 (Reprinted from the original)	164
30. Extracts from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1581	168
31. Letters from Francis Drake, 1581 (Cotton MSS. Otho E viii)	169

32. List of Geographical Authorities compiled by Richard Hakluyt, 1582 (Reprinted from <i>Divers Voyages</i>)	page 171
33. Notes by Richard Hakluyt, 1582 (Reprinted from <i>Divers Voyages</i>)	173
34. Note by Richard Hakluyt, 1582 (Reprinted from <i>Divers Voyages</i>)	174
35. Richard Hakluyt's Preface to <i>Divers Voyages</i> , 1582 (Reprinted from the original)	175
36. Notes on the Levant Trade by Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, 1582 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1598-1600 edn.)	182
37. Notes for a Factor by Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, 1582 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1598-1600 edn.)	184
38. Letters from Sir F. Walsingham, 1583 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1598-1600 edn.)	196
39. Letter from John Newbery, 1583 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1598-1600 edn.)	197
40. Letter from Stephen Parmenius, 1583 (Reprinted from the <i>Principal Navigations</i> , 1589 edn.)	199
41. Dedication of Aristotle's <i>Politics</i> , 1583 (Royal MSS. 12 G 13, fol. 2)	203
42. Extract from Camden's <i>Annals</i> , 1583	204
43. Verses in praise of Carlisle's proposed Voyage, 1583 (Reprinted from Peckham's <i>True Report</i>)	204
44. Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Walsingham, 1584 (S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 167, no. 7)	205
45. Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Walsingham, 1584 (S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 170, no. 1)	208

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Plate I. The Middle Temple and its precincts *Frontispiece*
(From a reproduction of Ralph Agas' Plan of London,
circa 1592)
- Plate II. Christ Church, Oxford, and Brodegates Hall p. 69
(From Robert Whittlesey's engraving of Agas' Plan of
Oxford, 1578)
- Plate III. The handwriting of the elder Hakluyt p. 93
(From Harleian MS. no. 7369)
- Plate IV. The handwriting of the younger Hakluyt p. 139
(From Documents 24 and 55)
- Plate V. Map of Norumbega, 1556 p. 174
(From Ramusio's *Viaggi*, Vol. III, fol. 424)
- Plate VI. Map of the New World, 1587 p. 210
(From a World Map by Rumold Mercator after Gerard
Mercator)

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INTRODUCTION

THE TWO RICHARD HAKLUYTS

I. THE HAKLUYTS OF HEREFORDSHIRE

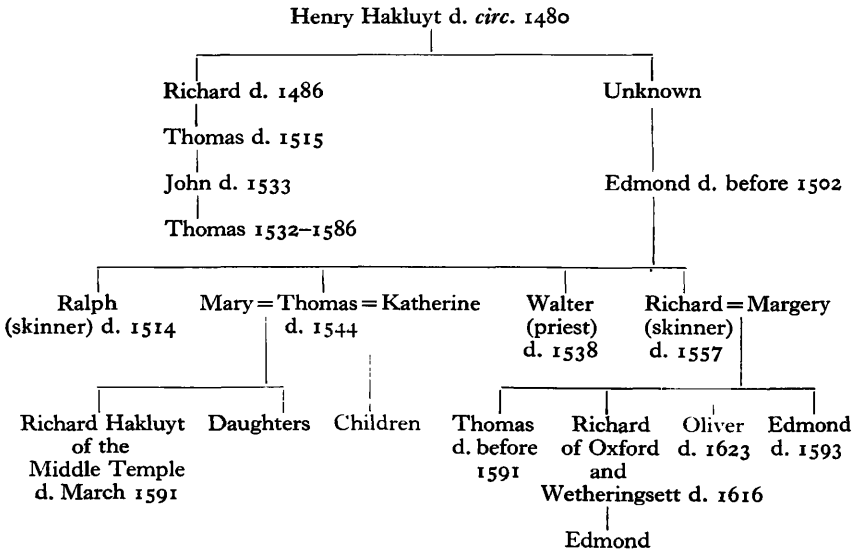
THE lesser landed gentry of Tudor England had no history. They lived quietly and obscurely in the shires, busied with their tenantry and estates or fulfilling their duties as Justices of the Peace. Not so their landless younger brothers and nephews: these had their way to make in the world, and while many of them secured petty Government appointments or entered the learned professions, it became increasingly common for at least one member of the family to adventure into trade. Consequently it often happened during the period of rapid economic and social change characteristic of the sixteenth century that while the head of the house remained obscure, the cadet became a man of note. Such was the good fortune of two cousins, alike named Richard Hakluyt, who sprang from a younger branch of an old-established Herefordshire county family. Their common grandfather was a certain Edmond Hakluyt who at the close of the fifteenth century had a family of four sons. Thomas, the eldest survivor, became Clerk for the Council of Wales and the Marches. Walter went to Oxford, took Holy Orders and obtained a country living in Norfolk: a celibate priest, he died without issue. The two other sons, Ralph and Richard, were sent up to London in turn and bound apprentice to members of the Skinners' Company.¹ These four young men

¹ The circumstances may be reconstructed as follows. The father, Edmond, died when his four sons were mere children, and their care devolved upon their maternal uncle, William Martin. A Herefordshire landowner, he was also a member of Gray's Inn, and the nephew and right hand of old Sir William Martin, sometime Master of the Skinners' Company and Lord Mayor of London. Hence he made two of the boys skinners. Ralph, who was apprenticed in 1502 and admitted in 1509/10, died in 1514, when his younger brother was still an apprentice: the latter became the father of Richard Hakluyt the geographer. The *Records of the Skinners' Company* contain the following entries: "1502. Rauff Haklett, son of Edmond Haklett, late of Eton in the County of Hereford, Gent. apprenticed to Robert Froude, skinner. Admitted Feb. 22 1509/10." "Md. that Richard Haklett the son of Edmond Haklett of Eyton of Hereford Gentleman, hath got himself apprentice unto Peter Middlyton from the ffest of seynt Michel Thercangell in the second yere of the reigne of Kyng Henrie the 8th (1510) unto the ende of sevvyn yeres." (Communicated by J. J. Lambert, Esq.)

were the contemporaries of the Thornes, the Barlows and the Rastalls, who played their part in those pioneer adventures overseas which rendered memorable the opening decades of the sixteenth century. But there is no record at this time of any Hakluyt abroad. The head of their house, one John Hakluyt, owner of several manors in the parish of Eyton (lying not far from Leominster), was doomed to die young, and to leave behind him a tiny infant as his heir. Not long before his death he parted with a portion of his estates to his kinsman Thomas (the Clerk) who thus became a landed gentleman,¹ and henceforth styled himself

¹ This Thomas was the Hakluyt whom Leland visited about 1538. From Leland's remarks it may be inferred that Thomas and John Hakluyt had a common great-grandfather in Henry Hakluyt of Eyton who died about 1480. Leland speaks of 'Eaton' as lying a mile W.N.W. of Leominster, on the road to Ludlow. Another Eaton lay near Leominster but to the east. "One William Hackluit that was with K.H. 5 at the Battaile of Agin-court sett up a House at this Village, and purchased lande to it. He had one St George, a Noble-man of France, to his prisoner. Hckluit (*sic*) now living is the third in Descent of the House of Eaton. The cheife and ancientest of the Hackluits have bene Gentlemen in tymes out of Memory, and they took their Names of the Forrest of Cluid in Radnor-shire, and they had a Castle and Habitation not farre from Radnor. There were 3 Kts. of these Hackluits about the time of K.E. 3, whereof one was named Edmond. . . ." Leland's *Itin.*, fol. 178b, iv. pt 1. Elsewhere (p. 178a) Leland says: "Mr Hckluit (*sic*) tould me that the Body of King Merewald was found in a Wall in the ould Church of Wenlok."

The Hakluyt pedigree may be reconstructed as follows:



Thomas Hakluyt of Eyton. His baby cousin, John's heir, who was also named Thomas, was made one of the King's wards, and during his long minority this child's care and revenues were assigned to a certain Richard Watkyn. Meanwhile the elder Thomas married and founded a family. His first wife Mary died young, leaving him with four little daughters and one son, the latter being the elder of the two Richard Hakluyts to whom this volume is devoted. By a second marriage Thomas Hakluyt had several more sons and daughters, but he himself died in 1544 when they were all still mere children. The widow, Mistress Katherine, took as her second husband another Herefordshire landowner, Nicholas Depdene, a local Justice of the Peace. Her stepson Richard, heir to his father's landed property, remained under the guardianship of her new husband and herself, and in accordance with the custom of the time his income accrued to his guardians. Reluctant to surrender this source of wealth, the Depdenes entered into a conspiracy with Thomas of Eyton, now of age, and head of the family, to conceal the deeds which constituted Richard's title to the estates. Consequently the young man on attaining his majority had to bring a suit in Chancery against his stepmother, her husband, and his kinsman Thomas.¹

Having by these means obtained possession of his property, he was entered at the Inns of Court as a student of the Middle Temple and became a professional lawyer. This was in June 1555 when Queen Mary was on the throne, and when, following on the Willoughby-Chancellor voyage, the Muscovy Company was just being successfully launched.

Now at a time when the descendants of Owen Glendower reigned over England it was a decided asset for a young careerist to come, as Hakluyt did, from Wales or from the Marches. Not far from Eyton stood Wigmore Castle, a famous mediaeval stronghold, which John Dee (himself a Welshman) was seeking Queen Mary's leave to search for ancient historical records. The Wigmore family no longer lived there, but they were Herefordshire folk with whom the Hakluyts could claim cousinship, and a widowed Mistress Wigmore was the wife of Sir James Crofts

¹ Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 82, No. 12.

of Croft Castle,¹ Herefordshire, the influential Comptroller of the Royal Household. Of those about Elizabeth's Court, the Scudamores were of Herefordshire, as was Mistress Blanche Parry whom John Dee called Cousin. According to Camden, Sir William Cecil's forbears belonged to the same county, as did Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose second title was Viscount Hereford. It was in Herefordshire that Robert Dudley was given a castle when he was a young man and the Queen loved him. Lord Hunsdon, Elizabeth's cousin, was steward of the Manor of Leominster in Herefordshire, and this association led to an incident from which something may be learned of the character of Thomas Hakluyt, head of the family and holder of the near-by Manor of Eyton. A certain John Adams had been named by Lord Hunsdon as his deputy for the Leominster stewardship in perpetuity (as he claimed), and it was therefore his business to hold the manorial courts. For some reason unexplained, perhaps because of John Adams' residence at Lincoln's Inn in London, Lord Hunsdon made a fresh assignment of his rights, naming Thomas Hakluyt to represent him, and the two deputies quarrelled fiercely as to whose claim was valid. Thomas collected an armed band and, marching into Leominster, held the Court in his rival's despite; whereupon the latter went post-haste to summon the Justices of the Peace. These proved to be Sir James Crofts and Nicholas Depdene, to both of whom Master Hakluyt was well known, and they diplomatically declared that the matter was one for the Council for Wales and the Border Counties to decide. This body in its turn declined to interfere, and the truculent Thomas was left in possession. To this Thomas, who died in 1586, Richard Hakluyt the lawyer was contingent heir, and there is no doubt that, in spite of his residence in London chambers during term, he found time to go down into Herefordshire not only to care for his estates but to maintain his county connexions and acquaintances.

¹ "From Eaton", says Leland, "I rode a mile and a halfe towards Ludlow... I sawe on the left hand Croft, the Manour of the Crofts, sette on the Browe of an Hill, somewhat declininge, ditched and walled Castle like." Leland, *loc. cit.* Both Eyton and Croft Castle lay just off the main highway from Leominster to Ludlow, the lane to Croft running between Hakluyt's fields. (*Ordnance Survey, 6" map. Herefordshire XII.*)

2. 'THE HAKLUYTS IN LONDON

It is safe to conclude that the Richard Hakluyt who sat for Leominster in Queen Mary's last Parliament was the young landowner of Eyton, the lawyer of the Middle Temple.¹ In the same year, 1557, his family circumstances changed, for his uncle Richard died. On his deathbed the sometime apprentice, now a member of the Skinners' Company, placed upon the shoulders of his young kinsman (for the lawyer was no more than twenty-five) the burden of 'comforting' the widow, and helping her to bring up her family of boys and girls, the youngest mere infants.² Among them was Richard Hakluyt, the future geographer. Many affectionate references made at a later date to their lawyer cousin bear witness to the self-devotion with which he carried out this task, a task rendered doubly difficult by the fact that the widowed mother quickly followed her husband to the grave. All the sons grew up and did well, but it was with his namesake Richard, orphaned at five years old, that their guardian seems to have been in closest intellectual sympathy.

As is well known³ it was through the elder man's interest in the mercantile aspects of cosmography, and through his friendships with merchants, geographers and travellers, that his young cousin was inducted into his life's work, and it is relevant therefore to examine the lawyer's London circle. His room-mate in the Temple was Fabian Phillips,⁴ a Herefordshire neighbour, who in his turn became M.P. for Leominster. It is of greater significance, however, that a chamber close at hand was occupied between 1562 and 1566 by Adrian Gilbert, for this provides an

¹ It is significant that the most important piece of legislation carried out by this Parliament was the passing of an Act regulating the manufacture of woollens. An Act of 5, 6 Ed. VI had proved unworkable, and fresh regulations were made as to the minimum length and weight of, and the colours to be used in dyeing, the various types of cloth manufactured in different parts of England and Wales. Defective cloth was to be clearly marked as such by the aulnagers. The Act embodies a wealth of technical detail of the type that Hakluyt the lawyer shows himself familiar with in his later writings. While there is no warrant for suggesting that he assisted to frame the Bill, it may be recalled that Leominster gave its name to the finest quality wool, and that a ring of famous cloth and drapery towns, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, lay within easy distance of Hakluyt's home.

² Document 1, p. 69.

³ Doc. 65, p. 396.

⁴ *Middle Temple Records*, i. p. 144.

obvious link with Sir Humfrey. The latter was at this very time repeatedly in conference with Anthony Jenkinson over the rival merits of the north-east and the north-west passages to Cathay, and there is every reason to believe that Gilbert sought the assistance of experts like Dee and the elder Hakluyt when he was asked to uphold his own view in a formal debate before the Queen and her Privy Council.

It is to this period of keen discussion and controversy that we may most probably assign Hakluyt's undated letter to Ortelius¹ asking him to make a world-map on vertical rollers for convenient use in a confined space. The lay-out of the map and the details which the lawyer wished to see inserted (including the *Strait of the Three Brethren*, emphasised on the then popular globe of Gemma Frisius)² make it clear that he had the north-west passage as Gilbert envisaged it in his mind. The letter was written in the joint names of Hakluyt and one John Acheley or Ashley, who can almost certainly be identified with the London citizen and Merchant Taylor of that name who later became one of the undertakers of Gilbert's venture of 1583.³ In the 1560's he was part owner of the ship *Castle of Comfort*, one of the large well-armed merchantmen used in the Guinea trade. Ortelius' reply has not been preserved, but he must already have been at work on his *Theatrum*, the bound folio volume of maps which solved Hakluyt's problem of space, and immediately superseded (so far as the study table was concerned) the cumbersome sheet maps hitherto in use.

The bearer of Hakluyt's letter to Ortelius was the half-Flemish Daniel Rogers, kinsman of the great cosmographer on his mother's side, and son of John Rogers, the first Marian Protestant martyr. Daniel and his brother John were scholars and diplomats, and through their constant cross-Channel journeys forged close links between a Flemish and an English circle having intellectual interests in common. On the English side were the Hakluyts, John Dee and William Camden, besides such prominent members of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars as

¹ Doc. 7, p. 77.

² E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, pp. 81, 82.

³ He contributed laudatory verse to Peckham's *True Report*, cf. Doc. 43, p. 204.

Emanuel van Meteren and the Coles, who were all also kinsfolk of Ortelius. On the Flemish side Mercator (although now living in Duisburg) was able, equally with Ortelius, to keep in touch with the English geographers, and it was natural that the younger Hakluyt when he grew to manhood should become the intimate of Mercator's son Rumold (often in London on business for Birckmann the bookseller) and of Ortelius' nephew Ortelianus (*i.e.* the younger Cole).

It is of interest to find that among the elder Hakluyt's London friends and clients was that Oliver Dawbeney who in his youth had adventured to Newfoundland under the leadership of the none too scrupulous Captain Richard Hore.¹ The lawyer was placed in 1571 upon a commission appointed to enquire into long-standing abuses relative to the farm of the Customs, and in his letter to Cecil² on this subject he touches on difficulties experienced by Dawbeney who had lately become a Customs officer.³ The letter is of value in its testimony to Hakluyt's professional competence and standing, for in it he appears as a man who had the ear of the highest Ministers of State, and one who did not fear to speak out about corruption.

3. LINKS WITH SPAIN AND THE INDIES

About nine months before he wrote to the Lord Treasurer on this matter of the Customs, Hakluyt had forwarded to him a docket containing secret news from Spain. In the covering letter⁴ that accompanied it he explained that late in 1570 a young kinsman of his had returned from Grand Malaga, bringing news that a friend and fellow countryman with something of importance to reveal would shortly follow him. Hakluyt examined the spy (for such he was) on his arrival in London and subsequently communicated with Burghley. The importance of this incident in the story of the Hakluyts lies in its revelation of their direct and close contact with the English merchant community

¹ G.J., vol. 77, p. 469.

² Doc. 15, p. 93. 'Customer Smith' was then the principal London Customs official and was involved in the irregularities.

³ He obtained the farm of strong beer in 1568.

⁴ Doc. 13, p. 90.

in Spain,¹ at that time the most numerous and influential group of Englishmen abroad. These merchants came principally from Bristol and London, and their chief places of residence were Seville, Grand Malaga and St Lucar. Hugh Tipton's house at Seville was their common meeting ground, and they had an influential friend at Court in the Duchess of Feria, once the English Jane Dormer, and a kinswoman of the Dudleys and Sidneys.

The changes of religion in England involved the overseas merchants in great difficulties, and many of them took Spanish names and Spanish wives, conforming outwardly at least to the Catholic worship. Not infrequently they obtained positions of trust in the country of their adoption, and they had the privilege of engaging in the West India trade, greatly envied by their countrymen at home. One of the most remarkable of these Hispaniolised Englishmen was Roger Bodenham, whose career may be taken as typical. Sprung from a younger branch of the Bodenhams of Rotherwas near Hereford, and a distant kinsman of Sir James Crofts, he is first heard of in 1550 as captain of the *Bark Aucher* on which Richard Chancellor was trained to sea-service. The dangers encountered on that voyage at the hands of the Turks brought the English Levant trade to an end, and it was not revived for thirty years. Captain Bodenham settled therefore in Spain and engaged in the Barbary trade, thus becoming familiar with the people, rulers and cities of Morocco. This business also proving too dangerous and uncertain to be profitable (although in other hands it continued to flourish) he next turned his attention to the West Indies and took a cargo out from Spain in the summer of 1563. On his return to St Lucar in the spring of 1564 he learned that John Hawkins was to make his second slaving voyage the occasion of a reconnaissance of Florida, which certain Englishmen² had planned to colonise in co-operation with the French. Hawkins

¹ The name of Richard Wigmore appears in a list of these merchants in 1539, and the young man may have been his son, and the 'cousin Wigmore' later referred to by Hakluyt of Oxford.

² "5 July 1563. This daye Stukely and his Company to the number of 500 gentlemen...doth hoysse up saylles...out of the temes towards that land called Terra Florida." Harleian MSS. No. 253, fol. 99.

had consulted Sir Thomas Challoner, the English Ambassador at Madrid, as to whom he should take with him out of Spain to act as interpreter in the Indies, and hence Bodenham solicited Challoner's recommendation. It was given, however, to Anthony Parkhurst, a Kentish gentleman, who immediately left Cadiz for England, and who subsequently proved a valuable informant on American matters to the elder Hakluyt. Bodenham was given a recommendation to the Duchess of Feria, who in turn gave him a letter of introduction to the Earl of Leicester which he presented in London. In 1565 he again freighted a ship from Spain to the Indies, sailing in company with the great fleet of Pero Menendes de Aviles, but in the spring of 1566 he was back again in London, where his knowledge of cosmography and navigation made him the centre of an eager circle of Englishmen.¹ A small syndicate gave him the command of a ship laden with goods for Spain, but almost in sight of port she was seized by Turkish pirates and her crew either drowned or held for ransom. Bodenham's letter to a bereaved father (as it seems) of one of the young gentlemen who had sailed with him has survived and is printed in this volume² as typical of the man and of the times.

The Ambassador de Silva had marked him down in London as a man of ability, and he is next heard of in service of the King of Spain, who chose him as one of five (according to the evidence of his friend Leonard Chilton) to make the new voyage to the Philippines in 1567.³ That Bodenham actually went is probable, for such a voyage would take rather more than two years and he is not heard of again until August 1571, when he prepared for Burghley a very practical little pamphlet on English foreign trade and the means for enlarging it. While retaining the confidence of the Spaniards, he subsequently acted as an English spy, as did his son William: of this his letters to Burghley and Walsingham afford ample proof.⁴ His English friends included Michael Lok and Edward Dyer, and no doubt he was directly approached by one of the Hakluyts for the two contributions

¹ Details of Bodenham's career can be gathered from the Calendars of State Papers (Foreign) and from his contributions to the *Principal Navigations*.

² Doc. 3, p. 72.

³ Doc. 4, p. 74.

⁴ Both Bodenham's served from time to time with the Prince of Parma in the Low Countries.