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Eastern Kentucky University

Richard Hakluyt: Elizabethan Propaganda, English Identity, and the 'Black Legend'

Honors Thesis
Submitted
in Partial Fulfillment
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Requirements of HON 420
Fall 2023

By
James Nash

Faculty Mentor
Dr. David Coleman

Richard Hakluyt: Elizabethan Propaganda, English Identity, and the 'Black Legend'

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Abstract

During the early modern period (late 16th, early 17th century), England embroiled itself in conflict with Spain, contesting against each other through direct competition and expanding their territories elsewhere. The topic of this thesis is an analysis of Richard Hakluyt, a writer and geographer during Queen Elizabeth I's reign, and his role as a proponent of English expansionism in addition to the themes present within his works. This analysis focuses on how the themes present connected Hakluyt to a broader movement for English mercantile expansion and colonization towards the New World and Old. As Hakluyt wrote and collected the works of other explorers, he sought out the likes of Sir Walter Raleigh, supporting Raleigh's endeavors in the New World and advocating for colonization. Not only did this advocacy help Raleigh, but it also helped other future settlers become motivated to settle in the New World because of the themes presented throughout Hakluyt's works. The findings of this research done by James Nash mentored by Dr. David Coleman highlight Hakluyt's pivotal role in the advocacy for colonization and disseminating the negative portrayals of the Spanish. As a spreader of this rhetoric, Hakluyt actively contributed to the broader English rhetoric against Spain called the Black Legend. By contextualizing Hakluyt's works to the rhetoric about English colonization and the Black Legend, this research gives a deeper insight into

understanding Hakluyt's motivations and contributions to the broader narrative in early modern England.

Keywords and Phrases: Discourse Concerning Western Planting, Black Legend, Armada, England, Queen Elizabeth, Propaganda, Early Modern, Native American, Martin Frobisher, Humphrey Gilbert.

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Introduction

Richard Hakluyt's influence in early modern England was profound. Solidifying himself among prominent members of English society at the time, Hakluyt used his relationships with other elites to contribute to the political and economic discourse surrounding exploration and expansion into the New World and Old. His writings came at a critical moment following Spanish colonization in the New World as well as a perceived Spanish aggression against England, only heightened further with rhetoric from the "Black Legend" surrounding English perceptions of Spain. As he began to write, Hakluyt infiltrated all levels of English life, reaching commoners and elites with his collections as well as writing to Queen Elizabeth I directly in 1584 to secure funding for Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to the New World. In his works *A Discours Concerning Western Planting* (1584), *The Principal Navigations* (1589), and *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582), Hakluyt influenced English thought through the rhetoric about Spain, contributing to the Black Legend in the process heightened by the threat of the Spanish Armada's presence in 1588. He also included themes of patriotism, challenging citizens of England to participate in English expansion. Richard Hakluyt's writings illustrate how overseas ambitions and nascent imperial rivalries with

other emerging European nation-states—above all Spain—proved fundamental as a forge of English national identity in the early modern period (Late 16th, early 17th century).

They also expose specific ways in which propaganda used in Elizabethan culture distorted and twisted public perceptions of England’s cultural ‘others’/enemies in the Old World and the New.

Overseas Ambitions

When reading his collections, readers can see the diverse accounts that Hakluyt included. Although the focus of this essay focuses towards Hakluyt and his goals in English exploration and colonization into the New World, Hakluyt’s intentions also focus on highlighting England’s ambitions in Europe and Asia. Hakluyt was a highly educated man who yearned to learn more about the world he lived in. Inspired by his cousin, now commonly referred to as Richard Hakluyt the Elder, Hakluyt switched from a sponsored theological education to learning further about the world as a geographer while also creating contacts with prominent explorers and Elizabethan elites.¹ Hakluyt’s interest in the exploration of the world abroad was well-timed, as interests abroad were overlooked for more domestic issues or entering in conflict against France intermittently from 1522-1563.² While enamored by learning further about the New World, Hakluyt also kept interested in passages eastward. During the mid to late 16th-century, England sought to

¹ Crone, G. Roe. "Richard Hakluyt." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, November 19, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Richard-Hakluyt>.

Walter Herbert Stowe, “The Reverend Richard Hakluyt (c. 1553-1616) and the First Charter of Virginia (1606),” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 26, no. 1 (1957): 11.

² W. Nelson Francis, “Hakluyt’s Voyages: An Epic of Discovery,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 12, no. 3 (1955): 449-450.

find passages that led to the spice trade in the Orient, hoping to give England access to these exotic goods.

The desire to learn further about the world and strengthen English merchants became prominent because of themes included in a letter written to an English wool maker. In this letter, the Hakluyt directly corresponds to the wool maker about traveling to Persia. He describes to the maker the extraordinary potential of going into Persia because the region is well known for their rug and dye craft, something that English wool makers, while Hakluyt admits are decent, remained inferior to the quality of the dye processes of Persian practices. Hakluyt opens his letter with:

For that England hath the best wool and cloth of the world, and for that the cloths of the realm have no good vent, if good dyeing of foreign countries were seen, for thereof will follow honor to the realm, and great and ample vent of our cloths...and therefore for the satisfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behoves you to have care to return home with more knowledge than you carried out.³

Although Hakluyt admits that England has the best wool, he chose to include his letter as an admission of English inferiority applied to other practices besides making and selling wool. Hakluyt showed readers that although England was a great nation and the products it created were just as great, they could still be inferior because they could learn from other people in the world, in this case, the Persians. The goal Hakluyt posed to the wool maker was not to just make a better product but to also carry that knowledge back

³ Richard Hakluyt. *Voyages and Discoveries* (New York, Penguin Books. 1972), 206.

as a betterment to himself and other English merchants. This line of thinking easily broadened in Hakluyt's mind. The inclusion of this document was not simply to develop his thoughts about how good the Persians were with dying wool and that England could learn better dye-making processes but rather showed the English that there could be others in the world better than them. The point of the document demonstrated to English readers an element of humility and resolve, admitting that, although they were strong in some areas and weak in others, England could learn from various sources to better themselves overall. This line of thinking was promotional to English readers, encouraging them to be ambitious and learn from others in the world – a core message of Hakluyt's.⁴ To Hakluyt, this knowledge, whether brought back as a physical good or knowledge of processes, would be for the betterment of English citizens.

Rivalries

Hakluyt sought to broaden England's expansionary goals beyond the perceived threat of Spain. In his argument to the Queen, Hakluyt explains the nature of Spanish control over its territory in the New World, describing the situation with these words: "The Spaniard [King Philip II] pierced the Indies and planted here and there very thinly and slenderly without having the Indian multitude in subjection, or their towns and forts any number to hold any of them against the meanest force of a prince: so as in truth the Spaniard is very weak there..."⁵ Hakluyt's message expounded the possibility of a

⁴ William H. Sherman, "Bringing the World to England: The Politics of Translation in the Age of Hakluyt," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (2004): 203-204.

⁵ Richard Hakluyt. *History of the State of Maine Containing A Discourse of Western Plantation*. Vol. 2, edited by Charles Dean. Cambridge: Maine Historical Society (1877): 159.

growing English presence within the New World, capable of rivaling the presence of Spain. He also believed that, as Spain held the territory very loosely, England could claim to large portions of the New World, especially in North America. Since many parts of the New World remained relatively uninhabited by Christians and instead by Native Americans, Hakluyt claimed England could take ownership of these lands, leading to an establishment of colonies in the New World.⁶ With the rising potential of competing against Spain for territory in the New World, Hakluyt saw the potential for England to make gains in the New World where Spain had faltered.

Expanding upon this, Hakluyt also described the potential of competing with Spanish naval power because England could have increased maritime security. In 1584, he wrote: “That this action will be for the great increase maintenance and safety of our navy, and especially of great shipping which is the strength of our Realm, and for the support of all those occupations that depend upon the same.”⁷ The message Hakluyt posits is in two parts. The first meaning describes the possibility of increased safety in maritime travel in the future, especially between the New World and the English Channel. Increased security in this manner meant the English navy could perceive the Spanish navy as less of a threat. As a result, the perception of a decreased Spanish threat after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 meant that England could securely exist without worrying about increased Spanish threats to the nation. However, the message’s latter

⁶ Ken MacMillan, “Benign and Benevolent Conquest? The Ideology of Elizabethan Atlantic Expansion Revisited,” *Early American Studies* 9, no. 1, (2011): 34.

⁷ Richard Hakluyt and Leonard Woods, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (Cambridge: Press of J. Wilson, 1877), Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/adiscourseconce00deangoog/page/n8/mode/2up>.

half is even more enticing to Hakluyt's readers. While naval safety would have been enticing in itself, the support of all other maritime activity meant that England could participate in exploration and soon colonization in the New World. With England encouraged to participate in maritime activity in the New World, trade could also have growth potential, providing a monetary reason for Elizabeth to engage in the New World.

The New World's lands and the resources accompanying them were not unlimited. While Hakluyt described Spanish forces as having spread thinly in the New World, the presence of Spain in the New World still presented a challenge for England because it was not a guarantee that they could gain more territory. However, an early concept of territory guided Hakluyt's thinking about acquiring new lands. The early 16th century notion of mercantilism held that the world had limited wealth obtainable. Mercantilism as a guiding belief of Hakluyt is best witnessed when he described England's goals in the New World, commenting, "For by this means, or by a platforme well to be sett downe, England may enjoye the benefite of the Indian mynes, or at the least keep Phillippe from possessinge the same."⁸ Hakluyt directly argued that English competition with Spain in the New World should occur because of the limited amount of land possible. Specifically, he hinted that the true objective while taking land would be to prevent Spain from owning the land and its resources instead. Even if England stood to gain very little from taking the territory, Hakluyt believed it was still better to own the land because the Spanish would not have it.

⁸ Hakluyt, *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, 58, <https://archive.org/details/adiscourseconce00deangoog/page/n8/mode/2up>.

Hakluyt also paid attention to the critical issue of unemployment in England because of the perceived rivalry with Spain. Unemployment in England during the 16th-century, while not enormous, grew significantly enough to draw attention from Hakluyt to the issue of the welfare of unemployed citizens. He compared the unemployment and crime rates between England and France to the Iberian Peninsula, concluding that Spain and Portugal's rates were significantly lower because of work found in their created colonies.⁹ Hakluyt wanted to solve the unemployment problem as well as the symptoms of poverty, such as crime, that unemployment created. England was already treating crime with harsh punishment through execution, but executions were not a productive solution. If England were to be superior in their rivalry with Spain, England had to first figure out a solution. Similar to the implemented Spanish methods, Hakluyt's proposed solution was sending unemployed people to the New World to work. In a section of *Discourse* listing why the Queen should sponsor planting in the New World, Hakluyt provided a solution to the growing issue of unemployment. He argued sending these unemployed citizens to the New World because they might be better off, describing that "The frye of the wandringe beggars of England, that growe upp ydly, and hurtefull and burdenous to this realme, may there be unladen, better bredd upp, and may people waste contries to the home and forreine benefite, and to their owne more happy state."¹⁰

Even for those already employed but at risk of losing their jobs, Hakluyt believed in the same solution for English citizens who faced volatile numbers of trades. In the

⁹ Peter Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), Chapter 7.

¹⁰ Hakluyt, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, 160-61, <https://archive.org/details/adiscourseconce00deangoog/page/n8/mode/2up>.

following reason after mentioning the English children, Hakluyt states that if there are so many people in one trade that they get to the position where they are unable to live well, “...this Norumbega (if it be thoughte so good) offreth the remedie.”¹¹ Hakluyt’s inclusion of Norumbega as the ultimate solution to any potential unemployment created the perception of a good method to equal Spain’s colonial enterprise. Norumbega’s mythos as a great, mystical land in the New World served Hakluyt’s reasoning well. If the English could not thrive well in their homeland, an English-supported Norumbega filled with produce and peaceful relations with the natives would be a good alternative home. With this reasoning put into place, Hakluyt showed Queen Elizabeth not only was there a solution to solve the unemployment (and consequently the crime rates) in England, but that it was possible to prevent England from slipping backward again or even further.

National Identity

Hakluyt's works fostered and contributed to increasing national pride and national identity in late 16th and early 17th century England. During a crucial period of English development and expansionism, Hakluyt’s sources often included themes of pride for the English nation. This patriotism manifested itself most when English citizens traveled abroad, carrying the values of what it meant to be English and taking pride in where they came from. This was apparent in Hakluyt’s *Divers Collection* where he wrote:

Take with you the mappe of Englande set out in faire colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shewe of your Countrie from whence you come. And also the large mappe of London, to make shewe of your Citie, and let the riuer be drawne full of

¹¹ Ibid, 161.

shippes of all sortes, to make the more shewe of your greate trade and trafficke in trade of merchandise.¹²

This message is a direct message to his readers as to what to do as English citizens. Hakluyt openly instructed his readers to take pride in where they were from, telling them to show exactly where England was on a map and how glorious and busy the mercantile trade was. These instructions meant for English merchants and settlers to represent themselves well when showing their country off to others, in Hakluyt's direct inclusion referring to Cambalu or Quinsay in modern-day China, who may not be familiar enough with the nation. By instructing his readers to participate in these actions, Hakluyt encouraged readers to not only see themselves as members of the English nation but feel pride in being English.

Hakluyt also calls for English citizens to feel pride because of a rousing message he included in another collection of his. Going beyond instructing his readers to take pride in being English, Hakluyt also saw value in inspiring English citizens to explore or travel abroad. In a message to his readers, Hakluyt expressed the belief that all citizens of England, regardless of status or wealth, should be willing to take up the challenge and contribute to the participation of English colonialization of the New World. He explains:

And this once plainely founde and noted in England, what noble man, what gentleman, what marchante, what citezen or contryman, will not offer of himselfe to contribute and joyne in the action, forseeinge that the same tendeth to the ample vent

¹² Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America*, The Hakluyt Society, (1850): 126. https://archive.org/details/cihm_37538/page/n265/mode/2up.

of our clothes, to the purchasing of riche comodities, to the plantinge of younger brethren, to the employment of our idle people, and to so many noble endes?¹³

This call to action that Hakluyt poses to English readers is a broad message that was previously unseen in the era of English exploration. Typically, only those who were well-educated, wealthy, or well-reputed could take these voyages because of the amount of financial backing needed. Even then there were no guarantees that the English elites could receive permission to sail. The transition to colonization changed who could go, shifting from English elites to incorporating the potential for all citizens to participate as well. Consequently, Hakluyt's rhetoric supports this. With his supplication to his English readers, Hakluyt's language inspired his readers to want to contribute regardless of whether they were elites, merchants, or just citizens. The themes that the message contains spurred readers to not only participate in colonization but also participate as citizens of England.

In addition to encouraging English citizens to take pride in being English, Hakluyt also emphasized religion as an identifier of English identity. Before Queen Elizabeth, England flipped between Catholicism and Protestantism. These shifts were because English Kings and Queens, tracing from King Henry VIII to Queen Elizabeth I, wanted their religious ideals imposed, shifting between each leader and their choice of Protestant or Catholic values. When Queen Elizabeth I came to rule as a Protestant, England was still a mixed bag of both Protestants and Catholics. As there had been constant flipping between the two religions across the 16th-century, followers of both existed in England. With its blend of Protestant and Catholic values and practices, most people in England

¹³ Hakluyt, *Principal and Navigations*, 272.

preferred the Anglican religion, and contrasted often against the perception of a harsh Spanish-style Catholicism.¹⁴ There was also the increased threat from King Philip II of Spain as English perception of King Philip depicted him as a Catholic perpetrator attempting to eliminate Protestantism from England.¹⁵ As a result, the English began to view Spanish Catholicism negatively because they showed Spain having lost God's Providence compared to England, who had purportedly gained it. In John Smith's account as an early colonial settler and explorer, he followed the belief that England was the Elect nation under God's Providence.¹⁶ By creating rhetoric that England's religion was superior to Spain's, English colonists' beliefs fueled the notion they were the chosen people receiving support from God. As a result, many English colonists in the early 17th century felt blessed and acted out to carry God's will.

In his petition to Queen Elizabeth I, Hakluyt himself writes about the potential of spreading an English religion when planting colonies in the New World. Keeping potential non-Christian converts in the New World in mind, Hakluyt wrote to Queen Elizabeth "We shall by planting there inlarge the glory of the gospel, and from England plant sincere religion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receive people from all parts

¹⁴ David Boruchoff, "Piety, Patriotism, and Empire: Lessons for England, Spain, and the New World in the Works of Richard Hakluyt," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no.3 (2009): 825-26

¹⁵ Malcolm R. Thorp, "Catholic Conspiracy in Early Elizabethan Foreign Policy." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15, no. 4 (1984): 431. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2540360>.

¹⁶ Russell M. Lawson, "Anglicans on the Frontier: The Great Commission and the Exploration and Colonization of North America," *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 87, no. 2 (2018): 184-85.

of the world that are forced to flee for the truth of God's word."¹⁷ In this passage, Hakluyt did not directly engage in the religious discourse between Catholics and Protestants present in the 16th-century. Instead, he took a separate attitude and appealed for an increased English role in the spread of God's word. The linkage Hakluyt created between identity and religion is important to understand, as religion helped create a unique English identity. When contextualized with Spain's identity and religion, the further development of English Anglicanism and Spanish Catholicism in the late 16th-century Spain and England developed so that religion acted as a distinct barrier between the two. This reinforced the concept of national identities and religion becoming associated with one another. When Hakluyt wrote "...and from England plant sincere religion..." he intended to not only advocate for the spread of England's religion but to ensure England was the nation, not Spain, winning converts in the New World.

Elizabethan Propaganda

Hakluyt's role in influencing Englishmen through his propaganda included in his works influenced English citizens to support the English planting of colonies of the New World. With the introduction of his collections, English readers could read content about the New World, enveloped in the rhetoric each explorer described in their accounts of the New World. In Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage, Gilbert wrote of land, at the time called Norumbega, richly filled with a medley of resources..¹⁸ He represented the prevalence of

¹⁷ Hakluyt, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, Page 158, <https://archive.org/details/adiscourseconce00deangoog/page/n8/mode/2up>.

¹⁸ Nate Probasco, "Cartography as a Tool of Colonization: Sir Humphrey Gilbert's 1583 Voyage to North America," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 67, no. 2, (2014): 454.

different metals found in this land by expressing “Iron was very common, lead, and somewhat copper, I will not aver of richer metals.”¹⁹ Although Gilbert did not confirm the presence of rarer metals like gold or silver, including iron, lead, and copper, Hakluyt's inclusion of his account suggested the potential for English explorers and merchants to bring these resources back to their country to sell. However, Gilbert does not limit the resources available to just minerals. He elaborates on other material goods, commenting “Concerning the island commodities, as well to be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoining: there is resin, pitch, tar, soapashes, deal board, masts for ships, hides, furs, flax, hemp, corn, cables, cordage, linen-cloth, metals, and many more.”²⁰ Looking to the actions of Gilbert himself, the amount of information that he collected during his voyage was valuable to English colonists and explorers. Through Gilbert's writings, Hakluyt was able to convey a sense of patriotism amongst his readers, portraying Gilbert's actions as benefiting the commonwealth and nation of England.²¹ With the rhetoric included within Gilbert's accounts, Hakluyt urged his readers to participate like Gilbert, contributing to the nation's wealth of knowledge.

Although Queen Elizabeth initially rejected Hakluyt's proposal for direct sponsorship by the state, she still gave her support by granting permission for explorers, like Walter Raleigh, to explore and plant colonies in the New World. Her lack of direct support was primarily because she saw that, while England could gain resources and territory, explorations were still at a higher risk than what she would have wanted

¹⁹ Richard Hakluyt. *Voyages and Discoveries* (New York, Penguin Books. 1972), 231-37.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 231-37.

²¹ Matthew Day, “Hakluyt, Harvey, Nashe: The Material Text and Early Modern Nationalism,” *Studies in Philology*, 104, no. 3 (2007): 286.

because of financial and political liabilities.²² Although Queen Elizabeth did not provide direct financial assistance to Raleigh because of her policy, Raleigh was still able to introduce a bill into the government to garner support for his expedition. As he already had permission for his expedition given to him by the Queen, this move would not have been for legitimate permission. Instead, it would have been a move to gain publicity, hoping to receive funds from private donors in the process.

While writing and compiling his works, Hakluyt thought English citizens and explorers could benefit from reading his compilations because of the content he included within them. Creating his pieces as works of propaganda against Spain, Hakluyt also worked to include themes of English patriotism as well. When creating these collections, Hakluyt often incorporated an extensive pool of information. This information included many different narratives from other travelers like Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, several maps, recommendations for traders and explorers seeking resources, and so on.²³ These resources all acted as chronicles for English exploration during the early modern era. Consequently, Hakluyt's inclusion of these elements impressed upon the reader that he was not only reputable as a collector, but that he provided a panorama of knowledge for his English readers.²⁴ Because of his work in collecting these resources, he set up his

²² Susan Schmidt Horning, "The Power of Image: Promotional Literature and Its Changing Role in the Settlement of Early Carolina." *The North Carolina Historical Review* 70, no. 4 (1993): 368. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23521076>.

²³ T. C. Elliott, "Oregon Inlet, Roanoke Island." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (1931): 281–82. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20610660>.

²⁴ James P. Helfers, "The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas." *Studies In Philology* 94, no. 2 (1997), 165.

English readers well to participate in English expansion. One such example was when Hakluyt chose to include a long list about what/who would be needed when settling in the Americas, as well as what the English could gain from settlement. This list included a variety of careers that already existed in England, like “builders”, “livestock holders”, “carpenters”, and so on.²⁵ The list Hakluyt provided is sensible, covering what contemporary scholars deemed necessary for the creation of a new settlement. However, particular roles, like olive or sugarcane planters or even wigmakers, seem out of place. The goal of survival does not necessarily mean they would not fill these roles, but it is highly improbable that they preferred these roles compared to other vital roles in a new community. As a result, the inclusion of this list acted as a form of propaganda meant to inspire the English citizens to read his works. They would have thought that, if new settlements needed these careers focused on amenity-like goods, they would have easily achieved survival in the New World.

Hakluyt’s writing also went beyond the resources in the New World, detailing the sheer number of animals present as well. In *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt chose to include an account from Sir George Peckham’s “Report of the late discoveries. Continued,” in which Peckham described the nature of the New World and everything that it contained during his expedition in 1536. Ranging from information about “infidels” to descriptions of plants and landscapes encountered, Peckham provided vast amounts of information that provided colorful scenery of a world ripe for colonization. In his report, Peckham also profoundly described the variety of different animals present in the New World, describing:

²⁵ Hakluyt, *Discourse*, 162-65.

There is great store of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other such sorts of beasts, as Connies, Hares, Marterns, Foxes, Otters, Beares, Weasels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great and diuers other sortes of wilde beasts. They cloth themselues with the skinnies of those beasts, because they haue nothing else to make them apparell withall. There are also many sorts of birdes, as Birds. Cranes, Swannes, Bustards, wild Geese white and grey, Duckes, Thrushes, Blackbirdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Red-breasts, Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes, euen as in France.²⁶

Peckham richly portrayed the New World's environment, ranging from the landscapes, animals, and the Native Americans. In his collections, Hakluyt used Peckham's accounts to provide further knowledge for his English readers about the New World, providing full lists that rarely missed items from original texts like Peckham's.²⁷ He also built his version of the New World into his collections using Peckham's work, portraying the New World as richly filled. Hakluyt's use of Peckham was vital to create the perception of a bountiful land. The effects of Peckham's accounts allowed Hakluyt to encourage his English readers to colonize the New World. The amount of resources reassured readers as they showed English citizens could live off the land and make financial gains, especially with the wide range of animals that could provide meat or furs.

In preparation for their voyages to the New World, Sir Walter Raleigh and Captain John Smith sought out support for exploration. As explorers for England, Raleigh and

²⁶ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 149.

²⁷ David Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook* (Burlington: Hakluyt Society, 1974), 2:336.

Smith referenced Hakluyt for more information about the conditions of the new world, taking in critical information collected by Hakluyt as preparation. Using his works, they would soon discover his interpretation of the Americas was highly idealized, leaving the earliest settlers critically underprepared.²⁸ Hakluyt often painted this mysterious new world as a land of riches, filled with a variety of animals, gold, silver, fertile lands, plants, and so on.²⁹ Despite promising a land full of riches, Hakluyt exaggerated what truly existed within the land. Smith described that there was very little to none of the resources Hakluyt mentioned present. He explicitly refers to the land (in what became Virginia) as "...idle... ignorant of the knowledge of gold, silver, or any commodities..."³⁰. With this entry, Smith refuted Hakluyt's fantastical version of the New World with a harsher, bare version. Despite new accounts replacing the initial version, Hakluyt's interpretation displayed the level of influence he had in inspiring English explorers to explore and settle in foreign lands. This description of the New World influenced not just Raleigh and Smith, but other English readers as well – especially would-be colonists in early expeditions. The voyages' records represented this through the variety of different occupations present. When expeditions went to Jamestown, there was a total of 67 people with known professions out of the 104 settlers. Of these 67, Smith's records listed just 12

²⁸ Robert Detweiler, "Was Richard Hakluyt a Negative Influence in the Colonization of Virginia?" *The North Carolina Historical Review* 48, no. 4 (1971): 366.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23518177>.

Connolly, Annaliese, and Lisa Hopkins. *Goddesses and Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, (2017): 107.

²⁹ Richard Hakluyt and Leonard Woods, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (Cambridge: Press of J. Wilson, 1877), Page 234, Internet Archive,
<https://archive.org/details/adiscourseconce00deangoog/page/n8/mode/2up>.

³⁰ John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624), (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1966), pg. 82.

as laborers.³¹ This low number represents the lack of emphasis placed on the construction of structures, farming, and the foundation of Jamestown. Instead, Smith described those in cushiony roles, like aristocrats and nobles, as consisting of a greater chunk of the population brought along. The conditions of the New World caused the nobility to wake up to the reality of exploration and the foundation of a new community. Expedition leaders and aristocrats relied on Hakluyt's description of the New World, expecting to live easily and find fame and fortune while founding a new settlement. As we know, that was not the case. Because there was a high number of nobility and aristocrats, untrained in any work like cutting trees or planting corn and stuck in poor conditions. As a result, the new land was miserable for them.³² In his records, John Smith described the nobility living in early Jamestown as nuisances, unaccustomed to the lack of amenities they missed in England (taverns, feather beds). As a result, Smith's portrayal of the nobility that voyaged alongside himself represented the success and failures of Hakluyt, showing how influential Hakluyt's works were while also proving detrimental to early settlers.

Notably, Hakluyt's works often excluded the voyages to the New World themselves. While these works included some passing mention of the voyage if there was any mention of it at all, whether present in Gilbert, Raleigh, or most other explorers' provided accounts, Hakluyt focused the reader's attention away from the voyages. Instead, he aimed the readers towards the enticing New World and the resources it contained. Even though Hakluyt had a larger amount of information available to him as

³¹ Smith, *Generall Historie*, pg. 43-44.

Richard G. Cole, "Sixteenth-Century Travel Books as a Source of European Attitudes toward Non-White and Non-Western Culture." *American Philosophical Society* 116, no. 1 (1972): 67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/985706>.

³² Cole, "Sixteenth-Century Travel Books," page 367.

well as the ability to incorporate detailed information beyond the lands each explorer and colonizer was going to, he instead emphasized the New World itself.³³ Subsequently, Hakluyt's literature was propaganda given to his readers, showing the New World through explorer's accounts to readers while simultaneously blinding them to the voyages required to get there.

Twisted Perceptions: Spain

Before England grew into a large naval power by the end of the 16th-century, most English believed they did not have the strongest naval force in Europe. The possibility of entering combat with Spanish ships plagued English expeditions involving exploration and trade. Because of this possibility, there was great hesitation in English exploration into the New World, as Spain's presence was already established there decades before England. Under the impression that Spain would repel any of England's attempts to land and plant colonies in the New World, England largely held off until Hakluyt attempted to portray the Spanish presence in the region as weaker than previously believed. In *Discours*, Hakluyt wrote to the Queen petitioning for England to colonize the New World. When he encountered the potential rejection based on the already existing Spanish presence in the New World, Hakluyt brushed off the notion, describing:

I may therefore conclude this matter with comparing the Spaniards unto a drone, or an emptie vessell, which when it is smitten upon yeldeth a greate and terrible sounde, and that afarr of; but come nere and looke into them, there is nothinge in

³³ Quinn, David, *The English New England Voyages: 1602-1608* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1983), 55.

them; or rather like unto the asse which wrapte himself in a Lyons skynne, and marched farr of to strike terror into the hartes of other beastes, but when the foxe drewe nere he perceived his longe eares, and made him a jeste unto all the beastes of the forrest In like manner wee (upon perill of my life) shal make the Spaniarde ridiculous to all Europe, if with percinge eyes wee see into his contemptible weakenes in the West Indies, and with true stile painte hym out *ad vivum* unto the worlde in his fainte colours.³⁴

Hakluyt's portrayal of a weak Spain made colonizing in the New World more enticing, especially with a depiction of a Spain spread thinly in addition to recognizing Spain as a farce by the English. With his critical views shared with readers of Spain's holding in the New World, Hakluyt's portrayal of Spain allowed for English ambitions in the New World to burn brighter without worrying about becoming snuffed out because of Spain.

However, Hakluyt changed the narrative regarding the strength of Spanish naval forces. In *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt detailed an account from Sir Francis Drake regarding a naval battle in 1587 between the English and Spanish navies near the Road of Cadiz, the coast of Cape Sacre, and the River of Lisbon. Travelling to these locations, Queen Elizabeth gave Drake the mission to gather information and preemptively striking the Spanish, raiding the Port of Cadiz by surprise where the Spanish Navy was strengthening itself.³⁵ After the successful raid of Cadiz, destroying 37 ships. Drake

³⁴ Hakluyt, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, 69.

³⁵ Edward Tenace, "A Strategy of Reaction: The Armadas of 1596 and 1597 and the Spanish Struggle for European Hegemony," *The English Historical Review* 118, no. 478 (2003): 859-60.

proceeded down the Iberian Peninsula, tanking Spanish forces and destroying over 25,000 tons of water as well as 1,600 tons of staves.³⁶ He also included the capture of the first Carrack seen called the *Saint Philip* near the Isle of Saint Michael. The result of the string of battles was an English victory, coming as a surprise because of the Spanish notoriety around their naval forces as well as the genuine strength of Spain's ships. Hakluyt chose to include an account from the battle:

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carack wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and sinking of others)...³⁷

As Spain had an entire mythos created out of their naval might, this battle's result came as a shock. With the inclusion of this text, Hakluyt began to dismantle the concept of Spanish naval power for his readers. He included information about the state of the Spanish carrack called the Saint Philip, portraying the vessel as deceptively weak compared to English ships. With this portrayal, it was reassuring to the English reader that England and its navy had a greater strength than previously thought, capable of competing against Spain. With this inclusion within his collections, Hakluyt also contributed to the propaganda against Spain. Hakluyt portrayed England's strength as

³⁶ Hans P Kraus, "The Cadiz Raid," in *Sir Francis Drake: A Pictorial Biography* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1970). Library of Congress.

³⁷ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, Vol. 7, "A briefe relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz," Project Gutenberg.

being stronger than Spain's, capable of not only contesting Spain in conflict but also even winning against them.

Going beyond just a victory against one single Spanish carrack, Hakluyt set about to portray victory against Spain as a great triumph by including the account of the English victory against the Spanish Armada in 1588. In the account by L. Charles Howard, the Lord High Admiral of England who commanded the English fleet alongside Captains Martin Frobisher, Sir Francis Drake, and John Hawkins, Howard painted the picture of a mighty Spanish fleet, filled with thousands of men acting as mariners and soldiers well-equipped for war (with items such as armor, and spread among over 150 carracks and 64 galleons sent to conquer England. He included further translations of published documents created by "the Spaniards," detailing the number of cannons (2600), 120,000 bullets, 5,600 barrels of gunpowder, and a sizeable cache of weaponry to match their force size for both naval and, alarmingly for the English, land combat. Not only did the Spanish have a seemingly insurmountable armed force, but Howard also detailed Spain's rations for items like food, water, lamps, and "147,000 pipes [of wine], sufficient also for half a year's expedition."³⁸ Scarily for English readers, the provisions given here showed that Spain could not only continuously threaten England by sea, but that Spain could invade England, sailing up the English Channel comfortably landing in England and move inland. Although invasion the invasion failed, the portrayal of a Spanish "invincibility" created a perception of Spanish strength that England faced at a pivotal

³⁸ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, "The Miraculous Victory," Perseus Digital Library.

moment in the nation's history.³⁹ Despite the long odds, English forces held off Spain's navy and claimed victory because they overcame such a daunting conflict. Spain had a greater force, outnumbering English ships with well-supplied galleons filled with men as well as a strategic formation of their fleet in the crescent shape. As this formation was useful in defending their supplies as well as repelling close attacks, Drake and the other captains fought with strategies focused on fleet maneuverability as well as sending fireships to break the Spanish Armada.⁴⁰ England succeeded and victoriously repelled the Spanish Armada from traveling up the channel to invade England. As a result of this victory and its publication in Hakluyt's work, English readers took away two lessons: not only was Spain a terrifyingly strong enemy to face, but England was able to beat them, creating an English mythos surrounding the battle remembered by citizens as a patriotic moment of English strength in the face of danger.

Hakluyt's contributions to propaganda against Spain also included portrayals of violence, especially against Native Americans. Spain's conquest of much of the Caribbean in the 1490s and then the Aztec Empire in the 1520s and Inca Empire in the 1530s came with significant losses of Native American lives. Although many Native Americans fought hard to resist Spanish conquistadores, as seen with the Battle of Tenochtitlan between the Aztecs and the Spanish in 1521 or the Battle of Cajamarca between the Incas and Francisco Pizarro in 1532, Native Americans lost their wars and were consequently subjected to Spanish occupation. As their occupation grew, Spain

³⁹ "The Spanish Armada: History, Causes and Timeline," *Royal Museums Greenwich*, <https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/spanish-armada-history-causes-timeline>.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

developed the encomienda system in most conquered areas of the New World, enacting a policy of forced labor that applied to conquered Native Americans. The encomienda system was considerably harsh, brutally oppressing Native Americans and giving extreme punishments, such as death or torture, for failing to comply with the Spanish system.⁴¹ Writing *Discours* to Queen Elizabeth I, Hakluyt criticized Spain's conduct towards Native Americans, describing:

The Spaniards govern in the Indies with all pride and tyranny, and like as when people of contrary nature at the sea enter into galleys, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and cry with once voice liberta, liberta, as desirous of liberty or freedom, so no doubt whensoever the Queen of England, a prince of such clemency, shall sit upon that firm of America, and shall be reported throughout all that tract to use the natural people there with all humanity, courtesy, and freedom, they will yield themselves to her government and revolt clean from the Spaniard.⁴²

In this passage, Hakluyt emphasized that Spain was holding Native Americans captive under the Spanish system, making them slaves. This portrayal allowed Hakluyt to paint Spain in a negative light when compared to England. He claimed that England would treat them better with freedom and humanity, both absent under Spain's encomienda system. As a result, Hakluyt claimed Native Americans would overwhelmingly prefer to align themselves with England to the point of revolting against

⁴¹ William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, Duke University Press, (1971): 14-15.

⁴² Hakluyt, *Discours*, 159.

Spain. This rhetoric presents itself as strongly in favor of England. Hakluyt's rhetoric portrayed England as the morally superior nation because it acted with humanity, courtesy, and freedom, all considered void under Spanish bondage.

Twisted Perceptions: Native Americans

Beyond influencing English thought about Spanish expansion, Hakluyt also contributed to English narratives about the natives living in the New World. Englishmen who encountered the Native Americans in the New World contradicted one another by portraying them both positively and negatively.⁴³ The portrayal of Native Americans in English accounts splits two ways: defining Native Americans as gentle, or as savages. While these categorizations may overlap at points, these classifications summarize English interpretations and understandings of how the natives existed, especially when compared to the English themselves.

The attribution of the gentleness of the Native Americans can relate to negative portrayals of the Spanish. As Spain entered the New World and began to conquer native populations, both English and Spanish discourse surrounding expansionism focused on the oppressive treatment of the different native populations by the Spanish. Bartolome de las Casas was a notable contributor to this discourse, writing in the early 16th-century about the mistreatment of the natives by the Spanish.⁴⁴

⁴³ Jan Olesen, "'Mercyfull Warres Agaynst These Naked People': The Discourse of Violence in the Early Americas." *Canadian Review of American Studies* 39, no. 3 (October 2009): 263.

⁴⁴ Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 12.

Spanish sources like ones from Las Casas emphasized rhetoric about the plight of the natives, influencing Hakluyt. Hakluyt never traveled to the Americas and, as a result, never directly saw the results of Spain's expansion into the New World. Despite this, these accounts from Las Casas still held rhetorical value for Hakluyt. When explaining to Queen Elizabeth why England should involve itself in the New World, he pointed towards Spain's mistreatment of the natives. He specifically pointed towards Bartolome de las Casas' writing as a justification, quoting Las Casas directly to the Queen. In this justification, Hakluyt described that Las Casas had seen the violence brought upon the natives firsthand and that it caused him grief. Elaborating further, Hakluyt included the following account from Las Casas:

Upon these lambes (meaninge the Indians), so meke, so qualified and endewed of their Maker and Creator, as hath bene said, entered the Spanishe, incontinent, as they knew them, as wolves, as lyons, and as tigres moste cruell, of longe tyme famished; and have not don in those quarters these forty yeres be paste, neither yet doe at this presente, pughte els then teare them in peces, kill them, martir them, afflicte them, tormente them, and destroye them by straunge sortes of cruelties, never either seene or reade or hearde of the like (of the which some shal be sett down hereafter)... They tooke the little soules by the heeles, rampinge from them their mothers brestes, and crushed their heads against the cliftes. Others they caste into the rivers, laughing and mocking; and when they tumbled into the water, they saied: Nowe shifte for thy selfe suche a one's corps.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Hakluyt, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, Page 72-73, 76, <https://archive.org/details/adiscourseconce00deangoog/page/n8/mode/2up>.

Hakluyt's choice to discuss Bartolome de las Casas' work with Queen Elizabeth highlights the victimization of the natives by the Spanish. Las Casas' description of the cruelties done by the Spanish, specifically describing Spain's role to "martir them," helped portray the natives' deaths as helpless in the hands of the Spanish. Consequently, Las Casas' description of the plight of the natives remained present in Hakluyt's petition to Queen Elizabeth, showcasing that the natives were innocent and victims of Spanish brutality.

While Hakluyt at times portrayed the natives in the New World as gentle and victims of the conquistadors, he sometimes also depicted Native Americans as subhuman savages. The portrayal of the natives as gentle created a complex problem among the British. If considered victims of Spain, martyred, and brutally suppressed as Bartolome de las Casas described, how would the English justify taking Native American lands and conquering the New World for themselves? The answer resided in the rhetoric used, shown in some accounts of Hakluyt's compilations. Although Hakluyt does not consistently include explorers who wrote narratives about the natives (instead mainly about resources and the landscape), he still introduced crucial portrayals of the natives. These accounts did not portray them as gentle and innocent like the victimizing sources Hakluyt used in coordination with the Black Legend, but instead portrayed them as savages. These accounts also did not showcase the familiar treatment of Native Americans by the Spanish, even though Spain's treatment of natives in the New World was hardly unique.⁴⁶ Instead, Hakluyt included sources that focused on sources that

⁴⁶ Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 70.

separated natives from humanization. While showcasing them as victims of Spain, he simultaneously showed Native Americans as almost beast-like.

In Frobisher's account of his second voyage taken in 1577, he described the natives living in modern-day Baffin Island and Greenland as almost akin to animals. He studied the different practices and elements of culture present in native society. Frobisher's skewed his account, of course, showing bias against the natives and portraying them as lesser people compared to the English. When Frobisher's account describes their eating habits, the simple comparison of eating ice like the English would eat sugar or eating "like brute beasts, devouring the same."⁴⁷ This rhetoric left a negative impression of the natives to both Frobisher's readers and Hakluyt's. Given the little knowledge that English citizens had of natives in the New World, the knowledge written by Frobisher (and later published in a wider spread media format by Hakluyt) helped shape perceptions of natives as savages. Savagery attributed to the nature of the natives meant that Hakluyt and Frobisher helped spread, if not found, negative portrayals of the natives. These portrayals were also generalized to mean all natives, not just specific groups of native tribes. This was apparent with encounters of the Caribs, a native tribe that Frobisher reported to be cannibals and extremely war-like.⁴⁸ Although this native group was just one group, literature generalized the rhetoric surrounding the "savagery" of the Caribs, applying to all native groups in the process without much consideration.

⁴⁷ Hakluyt, *Voyages and Discoveries*, 193.

⁴⁸ Alfred A. Cave, "Richard Hakluyt's Savages: The Influence of 16th Century Travel Narratives on English Indian Policy in North America," *International Social Science Review*, 60, no. 1 (1985): 8.

Frobisher's account also introduced religion as another element of culture used against the natives. Although Frobisher does not go into detail about the native religion, he does emphasize that he does not know how much Christianity the natives know or what idol they worship. In this one sentence, Frobisher encapsulated what the English knew about the natives; the natives did not know much about God or Christianity and instead practiced pagan idolatry.⁴⁹ This line of thinking furthered Hakluyt's justification to go to the New World. He does not suggest going to the New World to learn more about their religion but instead offers to proselytize English Christianity to the natives. This was in Hakluyt's hopes of transforming them into Anglican allies, used to compete against rising conversions of Catholicism, making agreeable traders for English merchants, and eventually take the lands of the Natives.⁵⁰ In grants given to Gilbert and Raleigh to colonize Virginia, there was no mention of protection of Native American land, instead allowing the English explorers to assume control of the land and disregarding the Native Americans and the lands they already occupied.⁵¹ This line of thinking portrayed natives as inferior to the English who sought to convert them, portraying them only as reshaped savages for later exploitation.⁵² Hakluyt's intended goal of England converting natives into Christians dehumanized the natives who already practiced their religions, reflecting

⁴⁹ Ibid, 193.

⁵⁰ David Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 211.

⁵¹ Ibid, 211; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 12:306.
<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/letters-patents-graunted-by-her-maiestie-to-sir-humfrey-gilbert-june-11-1578-the/>.

⁵² David Harris Sacks, "The True Temper of Empire: Dominion, Friendship and Exchange in the English Atlantic, c. 1575-1625," *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 4, (2012): 541.

trends of Eurocentric values thrust upon Native Americans in place of their own.

Hakluyt's works not only continued to dehumanize the native Americans present within the region but also propelled English readers to subscribe to these beliefs.

Conclusion

Hakluyt was among the most influential advocates of English colonial expansion in the early modern era, moving towards an increasing presence in the New World with the establishment of colonies. With the actions of Hakluyt, contemporary scholars agree that his efforts helped not only aid the creation and support of an English presence in the New World but also set the foundations for a later global empire. Hakluyt motivated English navigators, elites, and citizens to support English expeditions, fueling their desires by appealing to patriotic sentiments in addition to portraying the New World in a positive light. Hakluyt's other role as a primary contributor to the Black Legend is not to be understated as well. As a compiler of a wealth of knowledge available to him at the time, Hakluyt easily contributed to the mythos of the Black Legend against King Phillip II's Spain. His compilations pooled together resources, not only creating propaganda to support England's objectives in the New World but also portraying Spain negatively, criticizing their behaviors in their colonies as well as their actions against the English. Accordingly, Hakluyt and his works were vital to creating an English identity during a pivotal period of history for his nation. His writings and inclusions in his works translated to the creation of a communal England, beginning to portray England as a nation and inspiring its citizens to see itself as one. Through his works, England started to become defined, shaping the nation's future in the process.

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