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"TO KYNGDOMS STRANGE..."
AN EXAMINATION OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ETHNOGRAPHIC
EVIDENCE IN RICHARD HAKLUYT'S
PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION [1589]

by
Ari David Berk

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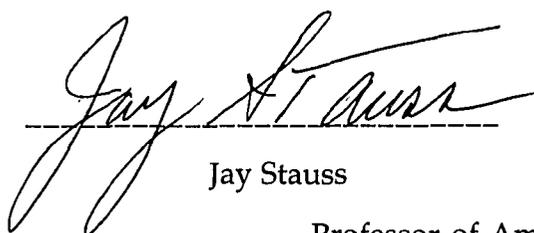
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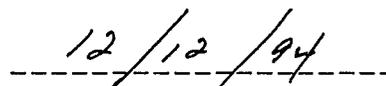
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This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

 _____
Jay Stauss

 _____
Date

Professor of American Indian Studies

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ABSTRACT

The publication of texts describing the first brief Anglo-Indian encounters in Richard Hakluyt's book, Principall Navigations of the English Nation in 1589 was driven by the desire to make complex and descriptive writings both comprehensible and usable to a sixteenth century audience. These texts, while containing valuable ethnographic material, are nonetheless shaped and constrained by the comparative metaphors of their authors. To achieve a high degree of understandability, the English authors of these texts drew extensively upon pre-existing classical and comparative authority.

By centering exclusively upon the first contacts between the English and the Indians in the Arctic and Virginia, we may better understand the complexity and problems of description and intelligibility that affected these encounters. This thesis examines the development of ethnographic sensitivity and textual sophistication that give a glimpse into the sixteenth century English mentalities evident in the writings about North American Indians.

Introduction

*"Pazzo sarrebbe l'istorico, che, trattando la sua materia, volesse ordinar vocaboli stimati novi e riformar i vecchi, e far di modo che il lettore sii più trattenuto a osservarlo e interpretarlo come gramatico, che intenderlo come istorico."*¹

-Giordano Bruno, from *La cena de la Ceneri* (1580's)

From 1497 to the late 1580's, English travel accounts describing Indians developed from simple observations of the first, brief and isolated encounters into complex and descriptive writings which--while resembling (in content) modern ethnographies by providing valuable information on Indians of various regions--are nonetheless shaped and constrained by the mentalities and imposed comparative metaphors of their authors. The publication of these texts was driven by the English desire to make these observations both comprehensible and useable to their readers. This process of developing sensitivity and practicality unwittingly laid the initial foundations of English ethnographic inquiry in the sixteenth century.

Despite the constraints of the English world view, we may still use these texts as excellent sources of information about Indian societies for

¹" A historian would be an imbecile if, in expounding his subject, he should decide to invent a brand new set of terms and the abolish the old ones; whence his reader would have more ado to keep track of him as a grammarian, than to understand him as a historian."

which little or nothing was published during this period. Like modern ethnographic writings, these sixteenth accounts come replete with-- and are shaped by --the world view's of their authors. Where as modern ethnographies try to make foreign cultures understandable on their own terms without imposing foreign models upon them, the English authors of these periods drew upon pre-existing authority.

The evolution of these travel writings towards comparative ethnographies eventually led the English to see the Indians in a more real, human (though less developed) context despite the continuing traditional discursive style which used terms such as *heathen* or *savage*-. As the English writers coupled their knowledge of classical authorities with the more recent veracity of observable phenomena, the Indians were seen less as brute beasts and more as early versions of civilized man. The desire for textual intelligibility coupled with the new ethnographic sensitivity evident in the writings of Hariot and others afforded opportunities for comparison that opened up avenues into the cultural past of England's own ancestors and would finally lead the English to compare the pre-Roman Britons with the Indians of the New World. To the English mind, this rendered the Indians not *new* people, but as Bacon observed, "*a young people: Younger a thousand years, at the least, than the rest of the world.*"

This thesis will examine the development of ethnographic sensitivity and textual sophistication that give a glimpse into the sixteenth century English mentalities evident in the writings about North American Indians.

In addition, this thesis will consider the fundamental differences between sixteenth century ethnographic writing and the science of ethnology

as it is understood today. This is not then, a study of Indians in the sixteenth century, but instead an analysis of the developing English mentalities as seen in the observations and texts written about Indians.

A critical reading of the original manuscripts, as contained in Hakluyt's Principall Navigations (1589) is central to this study and will act as the primary reference for all the cultures examined. The reasons for choosing Hakluyt's Navigations are simple. During the sixteenth century, there was no better compiler of voyage texts than Richard Hakluyt. His attention to detail and the inclusion of background material as well as his fidelity to the veracity of the accounts of his informants make his work the first and last stop of any thorough study of English exploration. Though it must be remembered that in Hakluyt's work, we are reading the writings of other authors with Hakluyt acting as executive editor only as he made no voyages himself. Therefore, we see not one view of American Indians, but many; all bound together by Hakluyt's vision as chronicler. The multivocality of the texts in Hakluyt's work--like numerous rooftops along an avenue--allow us to analyze the pageant of narrative and developing English mentalities from a variety of vantage points.

Additionally, Hakluyt often includes supplementary material such as crown and state documents, letters, and a variety of contemporary footnotes alongside the accounts that serve to elucidate not only the voyage texts, but the very minds of the explorers and their historical and societal contexts and associations.

Hakluyt simply states the purpose of his Principall Navigations in 1587 in a dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh:

We shall endeavor moreover, with heaven's help, to collect in orderly fashion the maritime records of our own countrymen, now lying scattered and neglected, and brushing aside the dust bring them to the light of day in a worthy guise, to the end that posterity, carefully considering the records of their ancestors which they have lacked so long, may know that the benefits they enjoy they owe to their fathers, and may at last be inspired to seize the opportunity offered to them of playing a worthy part. (Taylor 1935:369).

A vital aspect in achieving these goals was the inclusion of writings that would allow the reader to better understand the people inhabiting those lands the English sailed to and would one day endeavor to occupy.

Hakluyt's Principall Navigations contains chiefly 5 types of documents which touch upon and/or mention (directly or indirectly) North American Indians:

- 1.) Accounts of voyages describing English/Indian encounters and Indian particulars
- 2.) Letters Patent granting rights of exploration and ownership to territory occupied by Indians
- 3.) Quoted material (from contemporary and antiquarian sources) with references to Indians from old chronicles and other antiquarian sources---English and non-English---used to substantiate and elucidate more recent material. This is often included in voyage accounts.
- 4.) "Reflective" commentary often authored by someone who has also written journal accounts and now is using that material to prove a philosophical point or arguing for a particular course of action. (i.e. Gilbert)

While English texts concerning Indians deal with both observations and philosophical tracts (largely based upon classical texts of antiquity) as diverse as origin theories, this study will concern itself with records of observable phenomena and accounts chronicling intercultural contacts (texts, which by today's standards contain much ethnographic material). It is in the examination of these texts that our search for the evolution of the English mentality in respect to its description of Indians shall bear the greatest fruit.

This thesis will restrict itself to the examination of only the first 1 or 2 accounts in each region. By looking at the initial voyages for each phase of English exploration in the given region (NW and Virginia), we may better understand the changes that took place over time in the English perception of the American Indians they encountered. Essential to the understanding of the voyages are the accounts themselves. For this reason, in the early (shorter) voyages, the whole text is included and in the Virginia accounts, the entire Barlow text and most of the Hariot account are transcribed. Besides allowing the reader to better understand these writings as they were originally meant to be read by their authors, their inclusion also allows for a better appreciation of "voice" for the periods examined.

- Historiography

Despite anachronistic fascination with modern interpretations of historical intercultural contacts, it is not my intention to treat with English engagement with the philosophical "Other." As J.H. Elliott so accurately observes, "*...the 'Other' has marked limitations as a conceptual tool, and its*

use tends to create a set of assumptions and expectations far removed from those of sixteenth century Europeans themselves." To discuss these texts in such a modern light is to fall into the trap of the Presentist approach to history which attempts to judge the actions and events of the past by our own contemporary standards. Instead, I will treat with these contacts and the documents associated with them, on their own terms and within their historical contexts.

However, the difficulty faced by writers to describe people and historical events unknown to them (or misunderstood) is hardly new. Indeed, the early writers of the Tudor periods were often at odds to make the people they met in the New World easily understandable to their audiences. They tried to accomplish this feat by resorting to classical authority and references and parallels from their own recent experience in Ireland and elsewhere to make their subjects more familiar to their readers. This appeal to authority and allegory, coupled with the veracity of their own accounts of American Indians not only made the English accounts understandable to an educated readership, but assisted these writers in classifying and better appreciating the cultures and people they were presently studying.

Thus, when a Tudor writer calls a person from a subsistence society living in a state of nature, and in that regard called a *savage*, it is because that is the only word with which he can accurately (in sixteenth century terms) describe that person and it is not necessarily always meant in the pejorative.

The chief problem with anachronistic tendencies when applied to the writers of these sixteenth century texts is that they effectively cut off the author and his readers from any chance of understanding these encounters in

a historically accurate way. By approaching the material in this manner, the the valuable source material from these texts about Indians cultures for which we have precious little written sources prior to the eighteen hundreds is effectively ignored.

Some scholars entirely dismiss any sincere attempts the English made to understand the Indians of the Americas, preferring instead to carelessly group all European countries and writers together and treat with their individual approaches collectively. J.H. Elliott paints Euro-Indian encounters with a broad brush when he states, "*It is as if, at a certain point, the mental shutters come down; as if, with so much to see and absorb and understand, the effort suddenly becomes too much for them, and the Europeans retreat to the half-light of their traditional mental world.*" (Elliott:14) This use of classical authority was not so much a mental retreat as it was a hurried call for reinforcements.

Instead of the "*mental shutters*" coming down because, as Elliott implies, Europeans could not cope with what Grafton specifically calls the "*shock of discovery*," surrounding the existence of Indians (and all the theological problems that went along with it), what if the existence of another race of heathen, pre-christian savages--much like the Irish and Welsh--was simply unremarkable to the English though imminently describable?

This seems to be just the case with these English accounts since they appear to decline to concern themselves with theological issues surrounding Indian status and existence. While the English of course considered themselves superior to the Indians, and therefore different in many ways, there was little if any "shock" involved in their description.

Whether Frobisher was describing the inhabitants of one of the islands off the Scottish coast or the Inuit, there is no shock nor surprise in his descriptions--savages abounded in the world of English experience. The awareness and discovery of such people had been accomplished far in the English past. Likewise, the encountering of other savages in the Americas presented few problems that the use of comparative allegory could not solve. Only the related acts of describing specific traits and events and trying to understand them in respect of English experience and civilization remained.

It is not surprising then, that we find English policies, theologies and often (initially) ethnographies failing to raise questions regarding Indian existence that one might expect such a variety of Indian cultures would pose to the European mind. Despite English avoidance of the theological problems (and perhaps because of it), they turned instead to a simple ethnographic reporting style when it came to describing the Indians they encountered--merely presenting their observations without providing a great deal of interpretation at first--using instead comparison to make the unknown known. It is chiefly for this reason that the English ethnographic material is so useful in reconstructing (in small ways) the condition of Indian culture during these periods in a personal and first hand way. Of course, other European countries compiled excellent ethnographies. It was the initial English approach to the Indians and America and the subsequent affect that these writings had upon the developing English mentalities which I hold to be different from continental models.

The ethnographies in early English voyage accounts from the sixteenth century have long been overlooked by scholars in favor of the more

voluminous writings compiled by Spain. Certainly, the writings of Acosta and Oviedo offer unrivaled catalogues of ethnographic data pertaining largely to Indians of the South and Middle Americas. But what of the Indians of parts of North America largely abandoned by the Spanish? It is in these regions (due in part to the differences in the cultures that occupied them) that the accounts of the English provide the scholar of History and American Indians studies unprecedented avenues into the minds of the English writers, explorers and chroniclers

All ethnographies, ancient or modern, are affected by the world in which they are written. But, was it the intent of the sixteenth century writers of these texts that they should serve as ethnographies and can they be used as such to elucidate the minds of the English authors and their opinions of American Indians with whom they came in contact in the sixteenth century?

To answer this we must consider, as we move through these texts, what the points of reference were for the first English explorers encountering Indians cultures in North America? What was it about these reference points that allowed and enabled the English (initially) to maintain a sober and almost relaxed approach in their descriptions of a technically "new" people?

In fact, this thesis will show that to the English, there was very little new or startling about the Indians they encountered in North America. Because of reliance and reflection upon classical authority, previous and extensive experiences with other, more local "savages" (such as the wild Irish, Welsh and Scots) and observations regarding the similarities between their own ancient ancestors (pre-Roman Britons) and the Indians, the English were

able to maintain a decidedly modest and moderate approach in their initial meetings with and observations of North American Indians.

The initial approach developed by the English in their dealings with American Indians resembles what Barbara Tedlock refers to as: "*participant observation*." During which, "*ethnographers move back and forth between being emotionally engaged participants and coolly dispassionate observers of the lives of others*." This is hardly surprising since throughout the period from 1497 to 1584, the chief purpose of the writings dealing with Indians was to report back to England on the phenomena of the American continent. Later however, as we examine the Hariot material, we shall see that this line of objectivity becomes somewhat blurred, largely as a result of Hariot's familiarity of the Algonquin language. This familiarity with the language allowed Hariot a rare avenue of understanding into the lives and society of the people (who we come to know by name, hence, more as people and less as subjects) that he wrote about. In doing so, his writings come more to resemble what Tedlock refers to as, "*the observation of participation*," wherein, "*ethnographers use their everyday social skills in simultaneously experiencing and observing their own and other's interactions within various settings*." (Tedlock:xii). In both current (20th century) trends in ethnographic writing and in the later stages of sixteenth century writings, the author remains an integral part of the text.

To make these texts understandable, the English relied heavily upon the use of allegorical comparison. This also served to make the later accounts less descriptive and more narrative. As Clifford observes, "*Allegory draws special attention to the narrative character of cultural representations...*"

(Clifford:100) The effective use of allegory and appeals to classical authority resulted in what Clifford calls, "*a coherent ethnographic account,*" wherein, "*the imaged construct of the other is connected in a continuous double structure with what one understands.*"(Clifford:101). We must keep in mind that even the simplest of the early English accounts are intentionally created texts that were to serve purposes outside of mere description.

This difference between sixteenth century ethnographic writing and modern ethnologies lies in the immediate usefulness of the information presented to the reader. These sixteenth century texts were not merely colorful descriptions of foreigners devoid of intent. They were implicitly instructive. They told the reader where things were (rivers, towns) and what things were called in the language of the local inhabitants of the region. This explains why (as we shall see) the Cabot text was inscribed upon a map and why Hariot avails himself so completely of the Algonquin language when describing American phenomena. The attention to detail makes these texts (and by direct and intentional association, Hakluyt's work) more than travel logs. These writings were necessary for anyone who would consider journeying to the lands described and essential reading in order to know what to expect from the natural inhabitants.

The interaction between the English and the Indians was minimal until the 1580's. The Cabot voyages of the 1490's were little more than sightings with the Indians often described as part of the landscape. With the voyages of the 1570's, we see a development of interest in Indian phenomena as evidenced through the English recording of brief word lists of Indians

language and the collection of artifacts. By examining the first Anlgo/Indian word lists, we may perceive some of the motivations of the English who recorded them, both by what they translate and, often more revealingly, what they leave out.

In the progression from brief encounters to the year long studies of Hariot, the evolution of comparative models used by the English writers to make their subjects more understandable to their readership will be analyzed. This readership was largely made up of men from 2 groups:

- 1.) educated and university trained men and antiquarians (both would have backgrounds in classical and regional history), and
- 2.) potential financial backers (these may also have had the same background as group one).

It will be shown that these models evolved over time and were adapted by the authors to simultaneously reflect their own experiences and the events and scholarship of the period and then, (in some cases) reshaped by Hakluyt to reflect his more comprehensive understanding of inter-cultural contacts and American interests in general as understood by 1589.

For example, earlier English voyages and writings about Indians (as in Frobisher's accounts) seem prefer to use Tartars as the comparative model, while later voyages to Virginia--reflecting the current renewed interest in Ireland--use the savage Irish and Welsh Celts to form the basis for many of their comparisons. Clearly, the early models reflect classical precedents and the pervasiveness of the texts and authorities of antiquity, as it is doubtful that the average merchant seaman ever saw a Tartar. This development away from antiquarian precedents (though they are never completely

abandoned) to the use of comparisons based upon contemporary national and personal experience (most of the explorers, writers and financial backers of the 1580's had some personal experience in Ireland and with the Irish people) would form the basis not only of more accurate ethnographic writing, but simultaneously make the later travel accounts more interesting and understandable to an ever-broadening English audience.

CHAPTER ONE

Hakluyt and the English Composite Savage-- Popular English Views of America and its Inhabitants.

*"O, brave New World,
that has such creatures in it..."*

*"Me poor man, my library
was Dukedom large enough..."*

-William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*

In Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, Prospero, the duke of Milan and his daughter Miranda are exiled to a small island on which they must come to terms with the natural world and its savage inhabitant, Caliban. To Miranda, the island is a "*brave new world*," but to her father whose "*library was dukedom large enough*," the books of antiquity served to make the mysteries of the New World understandable and thereby subordinate to the classically trained European mind. The authority of ancient texts made the strangeness of the island familiar.

Prospero transforms the island into a landscape based and built upon (and thus made understandable by) his previous (i.e. comparative and classical) knowledge. All new experiences are filtered through the lens of ancient authority and classical precedent. In this regard, Prospero behaves like an Englishman, comparing Caliban to something out of the classical (slave) and the contemporary (savage). The English make these dual comparisons but, when classical precedents fall short, they take the further

step of associating the Indians with their own savage ancestry. Something which Prospero (and the Spanish) never did.

In the character of Caliban, Shakespeare presents his audience with an icon of natural and savage man. This icon was constructed from Shakespeare's knowledge of the various types of known savages--some whom, no doubt, were culled from the images of Indians that became increasingly more present in printed books in England² as well as notions of savagery from the people dwelling on England's borders. Caliban is therefore a composite figure, embodying all known and contemporary idea of savagery and barbarism. In this regard, Shakespeare and Hakluyt share an important approach. That is, the ability to present simultaneously to their audiences multiple views of savage men. Shakespeare through his construction of a character embodying traits from a variety of historical savages. And Hakluyt through his presenting voyage accounts from various regions which described Indians existing in different stages of cultural complexity and simultaneously chronicling the writings of the Englishmen from a period of nearly a hundred years who wrote about them. Thus showing both the Indians and the mentalities of the people who described them within a developmental context.

Like Prospero, the English chroniclers of New World phenomena and experiences were in the habit of basing assumptions of the existence and form of American people and societies upon classical (and even Ancient Celtic) precedents. As the English ethnographic writings became more sophisticated, the classical models were complemented by personal observation, and the use

²Like Camden's Chronicles and English editions of Peter Maytr's Decades

of comparative reference points drawn from experience (Ireland) and antiquarianism (pre-Roman Britons).

The English Renaissance thinkers explained the present unknown (i.e. Indians) by looking to antiquity and their own recent experience for precedents. Consequently, the English knew (to a limited degree) what they were going to find before they found it (which led to certain and often quick disillusionment by the 1600's.). Hence their lack of astonishment in New World people, was in part due to:

- 1.) The expectation of finding people in the New World thanks to earlier Spanish encounters. And,
- 2.) The expectation to find savage or primitive people, thanks not only to Spanish precedent but also to their own historical knowledge and experiences.

When the Indians encountered by the English did not resemble the complex cultures found by Spain, the English turned to classical authority, antiquarianism and their own observations to make sense of the people they did find. This is the compensatory reality that the most careful and exacting sixteenth century ethnography---even when based upon personal experience and extensive observation (as in Hariot)---would have to either overcome or incorporate. However, the ability to use these comparative ethnographies to explain and fit the Indian cultures they are used to describe into the English world view makes some of the particular observations remarkable for their ability to transcend the tendency toward traditional thought (or skillfully incorporate it) and depict with remarkable accuracy the Indians which were observed and encountered.

This developmental and comparative approach was very different from the one that caused the Spanish to grapple for years with philosophical issues that never seemed to touch upon the English mind in the early stages of Indian contacts. Though this is in part because the Spanish encountered the complex societies of Mesoamerica---societies so impressive even to the Europeans that the Spanish had to construct intricate arguments to justify their treatment of them--- as opposed to the much less (relatively) complex tribes encountered by the English in the Arctic, and the Southeast.

Even though Hakluyt had written an analysis of Aristotle's *Politics* and was certainly aware of the various theories of Natural Slaves that were the cornerstone of the Valladolid debates by Sepulveda and Las Casas, the issue of Indian slavery does not appear in his writings. Quite the contrary in fact. In the index of Hakluyt's book, the entry for Indians admonishes the reader that they are not to be harmed nor are they to be in any way misused. Regardless of Hakluyt's knowledge of the effective use of classical precedents by Spain to make cases for Indians slavery, he (and some of the sixteenth c. English authors) nevertheless came to rely upon classical authority and a combination of ancient British antiquarianism, recent experiences with more primitive Celtic people and the first hand reports of his countrymen to make his observations about North American Indians more understandable to his readership and to press the case for Elizabethan expansion.

In his book, New Worlds, Ancient Texts, Anthony Grafton describes the "shock of discovery" that New World people and phenomena had upon

the minds (and classical precedents) of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is revealing to note that Grafton all but ignores England and its numerous intercultural contacts during this period. Certainly though, Grafton cannot be faulted for this because, as this thesis will show, the English voyage accounts--while still making use of classical models in comparison of Old and New World phenomena (especially by university trained writers)--employed a slightly different approach in their descriptions of Indians than the rest of Europe at the time. These English writers relied (increasingly as time moved on) upon their own experiences with more local "savages" in addition to the more canonical classical writings of antiquity. This reliance upon a combination of classical authority and observable phenomena, both descriptive and comparative, made the English writings about Indians more understandable to a contemporary audience. It was perhaps this desire for understandability that led Hakluyt to assemble and publish these accounts in 1589. These texts were written by practical and learned men: they would have a practical purpose coupled with a philosophical understandability .

Our ability to understand these writings within their historical contexts may only be possible through a familiarity of the classical and experiential precedents of these encounters. By analyzing the mentalities of these early English writers, we may better appreciate what these encounters meant to the people that recorded them as well as those who read them.

While not an Englishman, Jean Bodin wrote extensively on the use of classical authority in making recent history understandable. The classical authors he cites, are the same one's referred to by the English. Bodin's Methodus , was issued in thirteen latin editions between 1566 and 1650, the

time when English authors made the most use of classical precedents, both to understand American Indian phenomena as well as to gain more insight into their past for which there was also little documentary evidence (the kind most preferred by sixteenth century scholars).

Bodin's chief concern was the knowledge of human affairs. This required the use of a highly comparative and developmental approach wherein the phenomena of one culture could be compared to that of another so that a general level of understanding might be attained. While it is not known whether Hakluyt had read Bodin (though it seems likely) he and certain of his writers (especially Hariot) employed similar comparative methods in coming to terms with the American Indians, a people for which no other documentary material existed. Classical authority became for the English writers the mirror in which a glimpse of understanding of the Indians might be reflected.

One thing upon which most Europeans agreed upon--and indeed became a convenient form into which the new knowledge could be poured and then distilled--was the notion that geographical factors (as studied by classical authors) determined human societies, their development and their rate of evolution. The use of knowledge regarding geographical phenomena was the chief method used by classical authors to understand the variety of human types and natures. This same method was adopted by Renaissance authors for essentially the same purpose.

These beliefs told of the disposition of those people living in southern regions to contain in them an abundance of black bile. It was thought the black bile was the chief cause of numerous melancholic ailments that slowed

the blood and therefore made people slow, lazy and prone to leprosy. The societies of these people would be advanced due to the heightened sense of contemplation bestowed, but at the same time, prone to numerous vices.³

In contrast, the people of the north were hardy, large of stature and extremely warlike--precisely the kind of people the English encountered in their search for a northwest passage. Of course, the ideal cultures, possessing all the best aspects in balance of both climes, would lie in the middle, or temperate zones where spring abounds. To the English mind, Virginia would have been the embodiment of this classical ideal and it not surprising that English make a note in their accounts of the especially temperate weather that abounds in the region.

Study of classical authority along with careful and sober comparisons to contemporary phenomena led to what Bodin and Hakluyt thought to be a better understanding of the general history of mankind. For Bodin, the point was largely academic. For Hakluyt, it was also practical.

Though Elizabethan explorers may have been unwitting ethnographers, their accounts are nonetheless ethnographic in nature and were used differently than similar texts compiled by other European nations. To be sure, Englishmen looked to classical traditions to seek precedents for the people they met on the American continent. But in doing so, they transformed the arguments from a theological one into a evolutionary and

³This is comparable to the accounts by Spanish authors about the cultures in Mesoamerica. In fact, some of the same classical texts (Herodotus, Aelian) would be used by the Spanish to justify their conquest of these people. It was thought that only through temperance could these negative traits be brought to heel (Bodin:107). This, the Spanish thought, might be accomplished through hard work and the adoption of christianity.

developmental one. Thus placing themselves far above the Indians in an evolutionary sense, who, in the English historical world view, were nothing but people living as the ancient and barbarous Britons had lived prior to the advent of Christianity and without the corruption of "modern" society: superior in a natural sense. It is this last sobering approach to Indian categorization (which even recognizes some of the downfalls of English society) which compares themselves in their early, savage stages of development and the Indians, that sets English writers apart from the scholars of the Continent.

In this way, the English often contrived Indians to be nothing more than primitive versions of themselves. The English logically held that as higher, more advanced and superior creatures, they were entitled by God to bring the Indians out of the darkness of savagery. This belief made the English responsible for the "improvement" of the Indians natural though less evolved condition through the usual vehicles of trade, civilization and religion in order to bring the Indians to the same level of development that the English themselves had reached. Even with this religiously ordained license, their early treatment of the Indians was largely devoid of prothelytizing so common in the encounters Catholics and Indians.

Hence it is language + antiquarianism + historical and biblical precedent + continuous experience and contact which eventually alters previously held traditional notions. Although, this does not preclude the use of classical authority to make American phenomena understandable, nor does it prevent the English from being impressed with the Indians in numerous ways and stating so frequently, especially at first, when this mutual

respect and admiration would best pave the way to trading and hence, a better business relationship. Though it must be understood that this was a slow process. It is as if the more critical of English minds were working from two assumptions simultaneously,

- 1.) The Indians are lesser creatures and therefore may be treated as such, and,
- 2.) They are living in a primitive state so similar to England's own ancestors

The holding to these beliefs make the English accounts so full of variety and it is the operation of these views side by side that leaves the field of vision clear for the veracity of observable phenomena and the credibility of personal experience (as with Harriot). In spite of both of these opinions, England considered its primary intentions (initially) to revolve around furthering its mercantile interests, not its philosophical or religious ones.

Only a deep understanding of Indians cultures would allow England to attain these goals. This understanding was facilitated through comparisons of differences and similarities between the Indians (the unknown) and people with whom English writers and their readers had more experience.

Though it may be noted that in matters of appearance, the English were generally more impressed with the Indians' similarity in appearance to them than their differences, it is likely that this similarity in appearance caused even greater confusion regarding the placing of the American Indian into the Great Chain of Being by Continental authors. For if these people looked like Europeans (and were, therefore, somehow related to them or descended from them), how had they arrived at (or remained in) their current savage state of

existence? In the regard that the Indians encountered by the English in North America were tremendously different from the Indians met by the Spanish (their societies were less complex), they might then truly be considered a different people from the English perspective, not necessarily "new."

America might have been "brave" and "new," but not necessarily the people inhabiting it. The English of the sixteenth century were well aware of their experiences with similarly savage people on their borders for centuries and that they had in fact, descended from people like them. The Spaniards, in all their arguments about the origins and status of the Indians, never once postulated that they were in any way descended from people very similar to them.

From Hakluyt's perspective, English goals of American colonization could only be accomplished through understanding the people of this "brave new world." The desire for this understanding was Hakluyt's chief reason for including ethnographic writings in his work.

CHAPTER 2

1497

The First Voyage of John Cabot to Prima Vista

Having examined the ways in which the English classified and understood people from subsistence societies in the late sixteenth centuries, we turn to the first text to present the issue of English engagement (at least mentally) with American Indians in which an encounter is not specifically described, but rather a tentative sense of awareness of one group of the other is first attained.

This account--as it is recorded in Hakluyt's Principall Navigations--is problematic due to a number of factors. Primarily, there exists (in a general sense) a certain vagueness and ambiguity surrounding initial descriptions of one culture by another. This ambiguity is compounded by Hakluyt's confusion of the voyages of John Cabot with those of his son, Sebastian. We are presented therefore with an amalgamated text that represents events from several voyages and viewpoints simultaneously. While posing a knotty point to the modern chronicler of the voyages of these periods, we need not concern ourselves with these chronological problems here. Even to consider Hakluyt's methodology problematic is to misunderstand the nature of sixteenth century writing. As Williamson explains,

"The chronicle was a literary form into which these writers cast their material, a form which read as a succession of entries compiled year by year. But it was merely a form, and editors [like Hakluyt] did not hesitate to incorporate later knowledge when working up contemporary material." (Williamson:160)

These accounts, though presented in a slightly amalgamated style, nonetheless present an intriguing composite view of Indians at the outset of a period of developing Anglo-Indian relationships as seen from the perspective of their compiler in 1589.

Hakluyt's confusion about the voyager's (and often original author's) identities does not hinder us from seeing these first developing mentalities of the English writers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as they are shaped and presented for the first time in print. Indeed, by presenting the material this way, Hakluyt demonstrates the confusion that lay over Indians and Americana in general and the complexities that plagued these early writers, while simultaneously adding his own more learned voice to their small, erratic chorus.

These brief descriptions of the inhabitants of America would soon give way not only to more detailed accounts of Indians, but also catalogues of natural phenomena (trees, plants, ores etc..) and animals that could be used by English merchants to argue to patrons and backers the need for further voyages. Thus we begin to discern in these texts the developing importance of sea ventures and America upon the minds of the merchant class. English voyages were often founded, paid for or accompanied by merchant men.

By 1497, the English merchant mind was galvanized towards the possibilities of the Orient replete with its complex and advanced civilizations and the man who spearheaded the first English (more specifically, Bristol's) merchant interest was John Cabot. Little is known of his life, but what we hear of him from contemporaries leaves little doubt that he was a merchant

as well as a capable navigator though indications do not suggest that he was a seaman by profession (Williamson:145).

The letters patent presented to John Cabot express multiple expectations of specific types of civilization and geography when they instruct him to:

...seek out, discover, and finde whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknowne to all Christians.... . And that the afroesaid John and his sonnes, or their heirs and assigns may subdue, occupy, and possess all such townes, cities, castles and isles of them found, which they can subdue, occupy and posses, as our vassals, and lieutenants, getting unto us the rule, title and jurisdiction of the same villages, townes, castles, and firm land so found.

Though published precedents of the accounts of Marco Polo and Sir John Madeville may have promised otherwise, Cabot was not to encounter any such sights. Instead, he arrived at a place later described by Parmenius, (one of Hakluyt's numerous corespondents) as, "*...nothing but a very wilderness.*" (HAKLUYT:698-9). He was however sure that his landfall was on the Asian mainland. Though his hopes were high before setting out, Cabot soon realized that because of the extreme northerly course he charted, he was not likely to find the advanced peoples and settlements described in his charter. Indeed, he believed that he landed upon the outlying northeast part of Asia, far removed from the, "*rich and populous country, but nonetheless continuos with it.*" (Williamson:168). He had no reason to believe that the people and civilizations of the southerly Asian regions would extend so far north. After all, in England too the far North was inhabited by wild Scots, just as savage and bestial to the English mind as were the Natives they would

encounter in Newfoundland. The text of Cabot's discovery, written by his son Sebastian, is recorded thus:

An extract taken out of the mappe of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his⁴ discoverie of the West Indias, which is to be seene in her Maiesties privie gallerie and Westminister, and in many other ancient merchant houses."

In the year of our lord 1494, John Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out of Bristoll) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of June, about five of the clock early in the morning. This land he called Prima Vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. John, upon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered upon the day of John the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island use to wear beastes skinned, and have them in great estimation, as we have our finest garments. In their wars they use bowes, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs and slings.(HAKLUYT:512)

The introduction emphasizes the importance of these voyages to the merchant families when it states that the map upon which this account was inscribed might be found in many "*ancient merchant houses*." Since this account was supposedly written by Sebastian Cabot, it is not surprising that he (or Hakluyt either for that matter) should use information from his own later voyages and contacts with Indians to flesh out the rather sparse narrative of his father's voyage.

The description of the Indians clothes and the statement that they, "*have them in great estimation, as we have our finest garments*," exhibits the first tentative use of comparative means to make the subjects (in this case, the Inuit's clothing) appreciably more understandable to the author's readership.

⁴Actually his father's discovery. Also, the date which follows of 1494 is a mistake. The year of the voyage was 1497.

Though mention of Indians in this account is ironic and slightly problematic. We know from other contemporary accounts that Cabot did not encounter any Indians (though there may have been a sighting) on his first voyage. So then, how do they know what the Natives use in war? Sebastian Cabot may have had some kind of run in with the Indians on one of his voyages. Or, (perhaps in addition to this) this knowledge may have come from Frobisher's time and experiences from which we have documented evidence of skirmishes. Either way, the important point is that Hakluyt felt it necessary to include that information in 1589. Such information regarding Indian warfare and weapons would have been much appreciated and indeed essential to any future voyagers to that region. Forewarned is forearmed.

Perhaps more revealing of the English attitudes towards Indians at the time is an account taken by Hakluyt out of Fabian's Chronicle (though it is also in Stow's). Here we deal with an intriguing scenario. The Indians being described are not in America, but in England, having been (likely) kidnapped and brought back in what was during these periods--and would continue to be in England--a long standing (since Columbus) tradition in Europe of displaying American Indians as cultural artifacts and thus living icons of Americana:

Of three sauages which Cabot brought home and presented unto the king in the fourteenth year of his raigne, mentioned by the forsaied Robert Fabian.

This also were brought unto the king three men taken in the New Found Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beastes skins and did eat rawe flesh, and spake such speach, that no man could understand them, and in their demeanor like unto brute beastes whom the king kept a time after. Of the which upon two yeares after, I sawe two apparelled after the manner of Englishmen in

Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discern from Englishmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for speach, I heard none of them utter one word.(HAKLUYT:515).

Hakluyt assumes that these "savages" were brought back by John Cabot (though it was most likely his son). By presenting this information here, Hakluyt assumes and presents to his readers a convenient and composite synthesis of the known information about the Inuit.

Hakluyt may have included this account to show the natural bestiality, but more importantly, the adaptability of the Indians from the North and in this way set a precedent for the future hopes of Anglo-Indian relations. In addition, he includes these accounts to provide his readers with a description of the Indians physical characteristics--and by describing their adapted demeanor--thus making them less intimidating (or at least more intriguing) to the sensibilities of the reader.

By including the Fabian chronicle and assuming that the "savages" were brought by John Cabot, Hakluyt expresses his own desire for the belief that the Indians can (and will) be easily civilized. We must remember that Hakluyt is assembling (and in some cases adding to or altering) these accounts in 1589, with the full knowledge of how these contacts would progress from the 1490's to the 1580's with the understanding that other savages (i.e. the Irish) can, with certain pressures, be brought to civilization. This was a theme to occupy a position of some fascination among the English in later years.

It is especially worthy to note that it took only two years for the Indians to become (except in language) indiscernible from the Englishmen at court. It was often commented upon by other Europeans that the greatest compliment

an Englishman could bestow was to suggest that someone, in fact, looked like an Englishman. This fact--the idea that the Indians could be easily changed--would come to support a more developmental and evolutionary approach to the study American societies.

This account serves as an accurate description and revealing metaphor of the nature of intercultural contacts at this time: observations of artifacts and brief meetings containing no mutual intelligibility, lacking in real desire for understanding: mere chronicle. While the Indians are dressed in the English fashion when they are again encountered by the author of the Fabian chronicle, we are given no sense of the Indian's identity nor their humanity. They are still beasts to the English mind and a part of the American landscape. We can almost see them: ghostly (though well dressed) figures, silently stalking abroad through the English court--removed from their original surroundings which defined their nature--now reduced to shadows appareled as Englishmen, none of them uttering *one word*.

In these accounts, the Indians are seen and described as part of the landscape. Even in the Fabian chronicle, when they have been at court for two years and are seen dressed as Englishmen, the Indians have faded into the background and are perceived as a silent expression of their new surroundings: unheard and blending perfectly into the mosaic of the English court. Between 1497 and 1576 there was no appreciable change in English thought regarding the American Indians as exhibited in the textual record.

Simplistic descriptions of the Indians will, as we shall see, grow in detail and complexity along with English interest in the American continent. But this change would not begin to occur for some years, during which time

the English powers of expansion would be focused upon Ireland and its peoples. Thus occupied with interests closer to home, the English (accepting a few isolated Bristol merchants in later decades) would not engage seriously with the Northwest region for 70 years, after which time the comparative aspects of their intellectual approaches towards the "natural" and "savage" people of America would be better developed and more able to cope with and accurately describe the more complex cultures they were to encounter farther south. In the meantime, English visions of the *"cloud capped towers, gorgeous palaces, solemn temples,"* of the Orient and the complex people thought to occupy them, would eventually, like Prospero's vision, *"...dissolve, And like this insubstantial pageant faded, leave not a rack behind."*(Shakespeare:181)

CHAPTER 3

1576-8

Frobisher's Northwestern Voyages and the Re-discovery of the Inuit

*"When thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purpose
With words that made them known."*

-Prospero, from Shakspeare's, The Tempest

From the outset of the 1570's, the English mind was still fixed upon the riches of the east. When first Frobisher set out in 1576, there was only one purpose in mind: find a northwest passage to Asia. In this regard, the English objectives had not really changed since Cabot's time. The major change since the 1490's was the increased sense of competition with other European nations spurred on by Spain's substantial foothold in the America's.

The first account from this period was written by Christopher Hall (who accompanied Frobisher) and is largely comprised of sailing directions (which I have omitted) with careful notes as to the conditions of winds and seas. This indicates that the ability to retrace his steps, should a Northwest passage be found, was foremost in Frobisher's mind. Though it must be admitted that there appears to have been some confusion as to where precisely Frobisher actually was (by Hakluyt also). Some contemporary chroniclers state that he was searching for the strait to China, while others--

perhaps basing their opinions upon the types of people encountered (as well the Cabot precedent)--assume the land Frobisher arrived at, was in fact the northern part of Asia itself.

Though the voyage did not even come close to Asia, nor does the account provide any especially exceptional ethnographic material (why should it? After all, the region of Newfoundland was only thought of at this time as a stopping ground) it did set a small but crucial precedent in the encounters between the English and the American Indians, the recording of an Anglo-Indian word list:

The first voyage M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest for the search of the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall and made in the year of our lord 1576."

The nineteen. day in the morning, being calm, and no wind, the Captain and I, took our boat, with eight men in her, to row us a shore, to see if there were any people, or no, and going to the top of the Island, we had sight of seven boats, which came rowing from the East side, toward that Island: where upon we returned aboard again: at length we sent our boat with five men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boats with their men along the shore, rowing after our boat, till such time as they saw our ship, and then they rowed ashore: then I went on shore myself, and gave every of them a thredden point, and brought one of them aboard of me, where he did eat and drink, and then carried him on shore again. Whereupon all the rest came aboard with their boats, being nineteen persons, and they spake, but we understood them not. They be like to Tartars, with long black hair, broad faces, and flat noses, and tawny in color, wearing Seal skins, and so do the women, not differing in the fashion, but the women are marked in the face with blue streaks down the cheeks, and round about the eyes.⁵

⁵He appears to be describing members of the Nugumuit tribe of the Central Eskimo group (Piggot:74). In addition, this observation of the blue body paint was the first similarity noted by antiquarians between the Indians and the pre-Roman Britons who were in the habit of painting themselves blue.

Hall first compares the Inuit to Tartars, then describes their physical characteristics in some detail. This technique, by referencing something already presumed to be familiar to the reader, renders the unknown mentally accessible. The use of Tartars as a comparison was not random choice. There was still considerable debate on the possible (or at least close proximity) connection of the Asian mainland with the region upon which the English landed. Therefore, the description of the Inuit as being "*like unto Tartars...*," is not merely comparative but likely speculative as well.

Probably, Hall does not think the Inuit are Tartars themselves, but the mentality of the period would have allowed for some speculation by way of comparison of physical characteristics. Perhaps he thought (hoped) they were related to Tartars. Indeed, later in the text, Hall asserts that the Inuit traffick with other people, "*adjoining, or not far distant from their country.*" Hall may be implying the speculative belief that the Inuit were in contact with more recognizably Asian people.

The description continues,

"Their boats are made all of Seal skins with a kelle of wood within the skin: the proportion of them is like a Spanish Shallop, save only they be flat in the bottom, and sharp at both ends."

"The twentieth day, we wayed, and went to the East side of this Island, and I and the Captain, with four men more went on shore, and there we saw their houses, and the people espying us, came rowing towards our boat: whereupon we plied to our boat: and we being in our boat, and they ashore, they called to us, and we rode to them, and one of their company came into our boat, and we carried him aboard and we gave him a Bell, and a knife: so the Captain and I willed five of our men to set him a shore at a rock, and not among the company, which they came from,. but their willfulness was such, that they would go to them, and so were taken themselves, and our boat lost."

"The two and twentieth day in the morning, we wayed, and went again to the place where we lost our men and our boat. We had sight of fourteen boats, and some came near to us, but we could learn nothing of our men: among the rest, we enticed one in a boat to our ship's side, with a Bell, and in giving him the Bell, we took him, and his Boat, and so kept him, and so rowed down to Thomas William's Island, and there anchored all night."

"The language of the people of Meta incognita."

"ARGOTTEYT, a hand."

"CANGNAWE, a nose."

"ARERED, an eye."

"KEIOTOT, a tooth."

"MUTCHATET, the head."

"CHEWAT, a an ear."

"COMAGAYE, a leg."

"ATONIAGA, a foot."

"CALLAGY, a pair of breeches."

"ATTEGAY, a coat."

"POLLEUETAGAY, a knife."

"ACCASKAY, a ship."

"COBLONE, a thumb."

"TECKKERE, the foremost finger."

"KETTECKLE, the middle finger."

"MEKELLACANE, the fourth finger."

"YACKETRONE, the little finger."(HAKLUYT: 615-

622)

While this word list is extremely limited, it is nonetheless ethnographic in nature and reveals important aspects of the developing English mentality regarding Indians in general. The mere fact that it was compiled shows the genuine curiosity of the author. Though it is void of any real practical information that would have been useful to the English--such as geographical references that could be useful to future explorers or even Frobisher--it nonetheless shows the end result of an important meeting between two people. The English and the Inuit are checking each other out. Each trying to determine the makeup of the other. Clothes and body parts.

Each side is trying to determine the humanity of the other in a simple but efficient. The words compiled in the list seem to be recorded for the purpose of answering a single question: are they like us?

In addition, by the omission of geographical material, we may assume that the process of compiling this list was also a social one, meant to further the communication process in general rather than provide any helpful regional information. Clearly, to the English, this process had merits of its own as evident by Hakluyt's inclusion of the list as part of the voyage account in his book. This vocabulary would not be particularly useful in and of itself, but the process necessary to construct it might have led to a greater understanding (at least interaction) between two otherwise mutually unintelligible people. Here, it is the process of communication that matters, not the immediate practicality nor usefulness of its fruits. The recording of this list sets a precedent in English ethnographic writing that would be utilized to remarkable results in the voyages that followed.

Frobisher's voyage of the following year had completely different goals in mind. Ores had been found on the previous voyage which looked suspiciously like gold.⁶ They were in fact only pyrite, but the finding of these minerals had greatly increased interest in the Northwest, not merely as a passage to Asia, but now as a valuable commodity for its own sake:

The second voyage of Martin Frobisher, made to the West, and Northwest Regions, in the year, 1577. with a description of the Country and people: Written by Dionise Settle. (Hakluyt 1965:622-33)

⁶This find was directly responsible for the founding of the short lived Cathay Company.

The voyage arrived on June 7th at the Orkney Islands adjacent to Scotland where they made provision of fresh water. There follows a description of the people of the Orkneys (omitted) who are called "*very beastly and rudely, in respect of civility.*" The language of this description is ethnographic and comparable to the description of Indians which have preceded in other accounts and which here follow it:

Whilst he was searching the Country near the shore, some of the people of the Country showed themselves, leaping and dancing, with strange shrieks, and cries, which gave no little admiration to our men. Our General desirous to allure them unto him by fair means, caused knives, and other things to be proffered unto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and took up, leaving something of theirs to countervail the same. At the length, two of them leaving their weapons, came down to our General and Master, who did the like to them⁷, commanding the company to stay, and went unto them: who, after certain dumb signs, and mute congratulations, began to lay hands upon them, but they delivery escaped, and ran to their bows and arrows, and came fiercely upon them, (not respecting the rest of our company, which were ready for their defense) but with their arrows hurt diverse of them: we took the one, and the other escaped.

These encounters seem to imply that the Indians had not forgotten the previous encounter whereas for whereas before the Indians showed little fear in dealing with the English, now they shriek and yell at their approach. If this is so, then it may be that Frobisher has returned to the same place as before, and is in fact, encountering some of the same Indians:

Our General, certain days searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answer his expectation, after he had made trial thereof, he departed thence with two little barks, and men sufficient, to the

⁷This is a deliberate act of parlay that both sides participate in.

East shore, being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors until such time as he, either thought good to send, or come for them.

With the new priority of gold and mining, the English would require more knowledge of the inhabitants of this region that they would no doubt be contending with. Thus we see that when the English engage upon a course of action leading to increased visitation (if not habitation) of a region, ethnography becomes a vital and necessary part of its textual discourse. Inclusion of more ethnographic material would be essential to the readers of these accounts, many of whom were preparing for future voyages themselves or were responsible for the making of policy that affected exploration in general:

The stones of this supposed continent with America, be altogether sparkled, and glitter in the Sun like gold: so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verify the old Proverb: all is not gold that glittereth.⁸

. . . they perceived a fair harbor, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of Seal skins, unto which the Captain, our said master, and other company resorted. At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountains: nevertheless they went to their tents, where leaving certain trifles of ours, as glasses, bells, knives, and such like things they departed, not taking anything of theirs, except one dog. They did in like manner leave behind them, a letter, pen, ink, and paper, whereby our men, whom the Captain lost the year before, and in that people's custody, might (if any of them were alive) be advertised of our pretense, and being there.

⁸Hakluyt is projecting his knowledge of the eventual outcome of the "gold" fiasco upon this narrative.

The English were eager to hear news of the men lost from the previous year, and were eager to allure and capture some of the Indians, likely, with which to use for hostages to exchange for their men:

When they were landed, they fiercely assaulted our men with their bows and arrows, who wounded three of them with our arrows: and perceiving them selves thus hurt, they desperately leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned them selves: Which if they had not done, but had submitted themselves, or if by any means we could have taken alive (being their enemies as they judged) we would both have saved them, and also have sought remedy to cure their wounds received at our hands. But they, altogether void of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities look for no other then death: and perceiving they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death, than otherwise to be saved by us: the rest, perceiving their fellows in this distress, fled into the high mountains. Two women, not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being encumbered with a young child, we took. The old wretch, whom diverse of our Sailors supposed to be either a devil. or a witch, had her buckskins plucked off, if she were cloven footed, and for her ugly hewe and deformity, we let her go: the young woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slain, Bloody Point . . .⁹

Though the precedent here is more inspired by popular folklore than classical authority, the men of the voyage expected that the woman as a witch due to her appearance and set about checking for particular physical traits that would confirm their suspicions. This episode tells us that traits attributed to certain types of people (in this case witches) were thought to exist universally

⁹There is a painting of this skirmish by John White (who would later accompany the Virginia voyages along with Thomas Hariot). While many scholars use this painting as evidence of White's presence on this voyage as an eyewitness, all that needs concern us is that he was aware--either personally or through second-hand account--with the details of the voyage. White's knowledge of various Indians as well as his experience in Ireland would allow him to construct accurate depictions and comparisons about the Indians he was later to encounter in Virginia.

and could therefore appear in any society. Apparently, a witch was a witch wherever you went.

Having this knowledge both of their fierceness and their cruelty, and perceiving that fair means, as yet, is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed our selves, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents, and made a spoil of the same: where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shoes of our men, whom we lost the year before, on nothing else unto them belonging could we set our eyes."

They also made signs and tokens of their King, whom they called CACOUGH, and how he was carried on men's shoulders, and a man far surmounting any of our company, in bigness and stature.¹⁰

With these tokens and signs of writing, pen, ink, and paper was delivered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid upon the shore, and the party going away, they took up: which likewise they do, when they desire anything for change of theirs, laying for that which is left, so much as they think will countervail the same, and not coming near together. It seemeth they have been used to this trade or traffic, with some other people adjoining, or not far distant from their Country. (HAKLUYT: 626)

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their color is not much unlike Sun burnt Country man, who laboreth daily in the Sun for his living.

"They wear their hair something long, and cut before, either with stone or knife very disorderly, their women wear their hair long, and knit up with two loops, showing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltrid upon a knot. Also, some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chin, cheeks, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, whereupon they lay a color, which continuith dark azurine.

They eat their meat all raw, both flesh fish, and fowl, or something perboiled with blood and a little water, which they drink. For lack of water they will eat ice, that is hard frozen, as pleasantly as we will do sugar, candy, or other sugar.

¹⁰This man would perfectly embodied the classical ideals of people from northern zones.

The Indians appearance is compared to sunburnt country people. The ice they eat is compared to the candy eaten in Europe. Though often farfetched, these accounts show how desirous the writers were to make these observations understandable in a comparative way to their English readers.

They frank or keep certain dogs, not much unlike wolves, which they yoke together, as we do oxen and horses, to a sled or trail: and so carry their necessaries over the ice and snow, from place to place: as the captive, whom we have, made perfect signs. And when those dogs are not apt for the same use: or when with hunger they are constrained for lack of other victuals, they eat them: so that they are as needful for them, in respect of their bigness, as our oxen are for us.

The men and women wear their hose close to their legs, from the waste to the knee, without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legs they wear hose of leather, with the first side inward, two or three pair on at once, and especially the women [this the English may have learned when they removed the old woman's buckskins]. In those hose, they put their knives, needles, and other things to bear about. they put a bone within their hose which reacheth Richter from the foot to the knee, whereupon they draw their said hose and so in place of garters they are holden from falling down about their feet.

They dress their skins very soft and supple with the hair on. In cold weather or Winter, they wear the fur side inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparel they have none, but the said skins.

Those beasts, fishes, and fowls, which they kill, are their meat, drink, apparel, houses, bedding, hose, shoes, thread, and sails for their boats, with many other necessaries, whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

"Their houses are tents, made of Seal skins, pitched up with number 4. Fir quarters, four square, meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinews, and laid thereupon: they are so pitched up that the entrance into them, is always South, or against the Sun.

They have other sorts of houses, which we found, not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and whale bones, and a skin laid over them, to withstand the rain, or other weather: the entrance of them being not much unlike an Oven's mouth,

whereof I think they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and fowl, and so leave them until the next time they come thither again.

Their weapons are bows, arrows, darts, and slings. Their bows are of wood and a yard long, sinewed on the back with string sinews, not glued too, but fast girded and tied on. Their bow strings are likewise sinews. Their arrows are three pieces knocked with bone and ended with bone, with those two ends, and the wood in the midst, they pass not in length half a yard or little more. They are feathered with two feathers, the pen end being cut away, and the feathers laid upon the arrow with the broad side to the wood: in somuch that they seem, when they are tied on, to have four feathers. They have likewise three sorts of heads to those arrows: one sort of stone or iron, proportioned like to a heart: the second sort of bone, much like unto a stoppe [?] head, with a hook on the same: the third sort of bone likewise made sharp at both ends and sharp pointed. They are not made very fast, but lightly tied to, or else set in a nock, that upon final occasion, the arrow leaveth these heads behind them: and they are of small force, except they be very near, when they shoot.

The darts are made of two sorts: the one with many forks of bones in the fore end, and likewise in the midst: their proportions are not much unlike our toasting irons, but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood very readily. The other sort is greater than the first aforesaid, with a long bone made sharp on both sides, not much unlike a rapier, which I take to be their most hurtful weapon.

There is considerable attention devoted to describing the Inuit's weapons and fighting techniques. After the numerous skirmishes the English engaged in with the Inuit, the reason for including this information should be obvious. These descriptions would be vital to anyone else planning to venture to the northwest regions. Its inclusion also shows how seriously the English were taking the Inuit, as well as indicating their resolve in considering the region as a place for possible future habitation--not merely as a stopping ground on the way to Asia.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparel, are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold, that the country seemeth to be infected with all: neither do I see any sign likely to perform the same. Those houses, or rather dens, which stand there, have no sign of footway, or anything else trodden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tents, which they bring with them, when they have sufficiently hunted and fished, they remove to other places: and when they have sufficiently stored them of such victuals, that the country yieldeth, or bringeth forth, they return to their Winter stations or habitations. This conjecture do I make, for the infertility, which I perceive to be in that country.

Here the author ponders possible settlement patterns as evidenced by the dispersal and travel of the Indians about the landscape. This type of information would be extremely useful to later voyagers and became the type of intelligence valued by Hakluyt for inclusion in his works. In this regard, the Indians and their lifestyles begin to take on an importance other than mere description of observable phenomena.

They have some iron, whereof they make arrow heads, knives, and other little instruments, to work their boats, bows, arrow heads, and darts withall, which are very unapt to do any thing withall, but with great labor.

It seemeth that they have conversation with some other people, of whom for exchange, they should receive the same. They are greatly delighted with anything that is bright ,or giveth a sound.

What knowledge they have of God, or what Idol they adore, we have no perfect intelligence. I think them rather Anthropophagi, or devourers of man's flesh, than otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fish, which they find dead (smell it never so filthily) but they will eat it, as they find it, without any other dressing. A loathsome thing either to the beholders or hearers.

Though Hall never mentions seeing cannibalistic behavior, he makes the associations of the eating of raw flesh with *anthropohagi*. Why? We may

assume that he is relying upon classical (or at least Spanish) precedent to direct his suppositions about the Inuit. Also, the eating of raw flesh would have been so loathsome to the English sensibilities that the small leap necessary to suppose that the Inuit were also cannibals may have, then, been easily made by Hall. It is valuable to note that after the Frobisher voyages with their generally unpleasant images of and experiences with the Inuit, the interest in the northwest region dropped of appreciably. This fact indicates the importance of favorable (i.e. descriptions of generally non-aggressive Indians societies) ethnographies in the continuation of voyages to and national interest in a particular region.¹¹ While this account sets precedents in specific ethnographic reporting, these precedents would be better developed and utilized among the Indians of the southeast.

As the Country is barren and unfertile, so are they rude and of no capacity to culture the same, to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fowling, with raw flesh and warm blood, to satisfy their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

"I could declare unto the readers, the Latitude and Longitude of such places and regions, as we have been at, but not altogether so perfectly as our masters and others, with many circumstances of tempests and other accidents incident to seafaring men, which seem not altogether strange, but I let them pass to their reports as men most apt to set forth and declare the same. I have also left the names of the Countries on both the shores untouched, for lack of understanding the peoples language: as also for sundry respects, not needful as yet to be declared.

¹¹Though the fact that the ore sample was found to be pyrite and not gold should not be underestimated in this decision.

While the introduction to the first voyage mentions the directive of the discovery of a northwest passage, the introduction of the second account specifically states that it contains information about the country and people of the northwest region. This makes the second account, by its own admission (and indeed its content) far more directed towards the purpose of recording and making available important ethnographic details, thereby preparing future explorers for the phenomena--human and natural--that they would encounter there.

In his descriptions, Hall often compares Indian artifacts or cultural curiosities to objects or customs that were used or practiced in England. In this way, we may understand the importance to Hall (and Hakluyt) the necessity of making the people and places they were describing accessible to their contemporary readership. And while the gold and mining aspects of the second voyage ended in disaster and the eventual ruin of the Cathay Company, the precedents set in the nature and form of ethnographic inquiry in the northwest would serve, instruct and inspire the next wave of English explorers whose goals lay farther to the south.

From the Frobisher accounts, we see the first attempts of the English to come to terms with the humanity of the Indians through the use of word lists and the less effective chronicling of skirmishes and tense encounters. In many ways, the English mind at work in these encounters was still a medieval one which based its assumptions only upon classical precedents and seemed (while still capable of effective description) little able to understand what they were seeing. In the 1580's, with the new interest in Virginia in its complex Indian societies, the English compacity for sensitive

ethnographic description was to undergo a sharp shift that would bring it fully into the Renaissance.

Chapter Four

Section One

The Virginia Voyages The Raleigh Circle and the Virginia Indians-- Learned and Antiquarian Mentalities

*"I hold those worthy of the highest praise, illustrious and noble
Knight, who by their labours and by the hazard of their lives
have made known to our people such an infinite number of the
Antipodes¹²hitherto lying hid."*

-Richard Hakluyt, Epistle dedicatory
to Sir Walter Raleigh, 1587

So begins the dedication written to Walter Raleigh which compliments all those who have made known to the English nations those people of the farthest parts of the world. But why was this something to be thankful for in Hakluyt's eyes? The answer to this question lies in the way Hakluyt used information about American Indians to further his expansionistic goals. To Hakluyt, ethnography played an essential role in inspiring the English to consider to importance of the American continent both commercially and personally. The man who embodied and funded the spirit of the Virginia enterprise was Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh (?1552-1618) was a seamen, explorer, courtier, poet and historian. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford and was schooled in all the classical authors as was the practice at the time (Palmer:201). He

¹²The people of the opposite ends of the earth (Taylor:1935)

assembled about him a circle of men who shared not only his passion for overseas enterprise, but who were also comparable of making those passions into comprehensible realities.

One man associated with Raleigh's household, more than any other, was directly responsible for the high level of development that ethnographic writing eventually reached in England. Hakluyt mentions him in his dedicatory to Raleigh:

Ever since you perceived that skill in the navigator's art, the chief ornament of an island kingdom, might attain its splendor amongst us if the aid of the mathematical sciences were enlisted, you have maintained in your household Thomas Hariot,¹³ a man pre-eminent in those studies, at a most liberal salary in order that by his aid you might acquire those noble sciences in your leisure hours, and that your own sea-captains, of whom there are not a few, might link theory with practice, not without almost incredible results."(Taylor 1935:366-7)

In ethnography as well as the sciences, Hariot was to *link theory with practice* and thereby make the once uncharted sea of ideas about American Indians of Virginia at once understandable and imminently navigable. Unlike Newfoundland, Virginia (from the outset) was no stopping ground on the way to someplace better. The fact the England was now ready to deal with America and inhabitants on their own terms required a deeper and more sophisticated understanding on the land and its people. This understanding was to be funded and inspired by Raleigh, supplied by Thomas Hariot and printed by Hakluyt.

¹³Thomas Hariot (1560-1621) like Raleigh, was educated at Oriel college, Oxford. He served as mathematician, cartographer, and scientific advisor to the Raleigh circle. (Palmer:104)

Before Hariot was sent to America, Raleigh sent a scouting party. It is from one of its captains, Master Arthur Barlow, that we have the first English descriptions of the Carolina Algonquin Indians.

The First Voyage made to the coastes of America, with two barkes, wherein were Captaine Master Philip Amadas, and Master Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey, now called Virginia, Anno 1584: Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Raleigh, knight, at whose charge, and direction, the said voyage was set forth.(HAKLUYT: 728-33)

We remained by the side of this Island two whole days, before we saw any people of the Country: the third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons: this boat came to the lands side, four harquebushot from our ships, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore side, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next to us: then the Master and the a Pilot of the Admiral, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captain Philip Amadas, my self, and others, rode to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any show of fear, or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his own liking¹⁴, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very well: and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little Cove, or Creek adjoining: as soon as he was two bow shot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour, he had laden his boat as deep, as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pines: which after he had (as much as he might,) requited the former benefits received, he departed out of sight."

"The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome, and goodly people, and in the behavior as mannerly, and civil, as any of Europe.

¹⁴This is a markedly different approach from the kidnapping during the Frobisher voyage.

Here we see how the English accounts are often reflective and not necessarily chronological. Certainly Barlow could not yet have known who the King's brother was. More important though is that by his stature and retinue, this man was understood by Barlow to be someone of "nobility," as least by English and classical standards. And the people in general, by their appearance and disposition were though be as "civil as any of Europe." The people of the southern zone were, in this regard, closer to England's hopes of what savage people should be like: crude in respect of the English, but civil and capable of civilization.

His name was GRANGANIMEO, and the King is called WINGINA, the Country WINGANDACOA, (and now by her Majesty, VIRGINIA¹⁵;) the manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats all together, as the first man did a little from the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat, four others of his company did the like: the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a far off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come, and sit by him, which we performed: and being set, he makes all signs of joy, and welcome, striking on his head, and his breast, and afterwards on ours, to show we were all one, smiling, and making show the best he could, of all love, and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us, we presented him with diverse things, which he received very joyfully, and thankfully. None of his company durst to speak one word all the time: only the four which were at the other end, spake one in the others ear very softly."

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers, and children revered: the King himself in person was at our being there sore wounded, in a fight which he had with the King of the next

¹⁵This appears to be combination of two names, the Indian King's name and that of the title "virgin" for Queen Elizabeth.

Country, called WINGINA, and was shot in two places through the body, and once clean through the thigh, but yet he recovered: by reason whereof: and for that he lay at the chief Town of the Country, being five days journey off, we saw him not at all.

When Barlow refers to the Indian chief as "*King*," he is imposing European standards and nomenclature on an Indian official, which may be inappropriate in relation to the actual status of the Indian ruler, but nonetheless accurately represents what he actually saw. Though "*King*" may be the only word he could think of to describe someone in the chief's position, it implies English--not Algonquin--notions of governance sovereignty, power and political institutions. The chief's position--according to English standards--may in fact be something similar to a king in a relative sense, but it is still an imposed term. The use of comparisons to English words to describe Indian phenomena was an integral part of making these foreign people understandable to an English audience in a relative sense. As the English spent more time in Virginia, their understanding of Indian phenomena became more extensive and therefore their comparisons became more sophisticated and appropriate.

...A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had for Chammoys, buffe, and Deer skins: when we showed him all our packet of merchandise, of all the things that he saw, a bright tin dish most pleased him, which he presently took up, and clapped it before his breast, and after made a hole in the rim thereof, and hung it about his neck, making signs, that it would defend him against his enemies arrows: for those people maintain a deadly and terrible war with the people and King adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth twenty Crowns, or twenty Nobles: and a copper kettle for fifty skins, worth 40 Crowns. They offered us very good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for swords: but we would not depart with any.

Trading was an important part of any encounter. The English--Hakluyt especially--would come to consider the act of trading as a pre-cursor to planting. Through trade, the expensive and time consuming acts of conquest and conversion might not be necessary, or, at the very least, might be put off as long as possible. Indeed, there is precedent for the importance of trade in a philosophical sense. Bodin postulates there "*no region is so fecund that it does not urgently need the resources of others...*" Bodin uses this idea to argue for amenity between nations and mutual interdependence, which, at this stage in Anlgo-Indian encounters, appears also to be the goal.

After two or there days, the Kings brother came aboard the ships, and drank wine, and ate of our meat, and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof¹⁶: and after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter, and two or three little children: his wife was very well favored, and mean of stature, an very bashful: she had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: an about her forehead, she had a broad band of white Coral, and so had her husband many times: in her ears she had bracelets of pearls, hanging down to her middle (whereof we delivered your Worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort, had pendants of copper, hanging in every ear, and some of the children of the Kings brother and other Noble men, have five or six in every ear: he himself had upon his head, a board plate of gold, or copper, for being unpolished, we knew not what metal it should be, neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head, by feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparel was as his wives, only the women wear their hair on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of color yellowish, and their hair black for the most, and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn, and chestnut color hair.

¹⁶This is another small but important difference between this and previous encounters. During the Frobisher voyages, the Indians could not (would not?) eat of English foods or meat, these Indians would. This simple fact may have helped galvanize in the English mind the superiority of the Indians in the southern region over the "*brute beastes*" which inhabited the north.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing in with them leather, coral, diverse kinds of dyes very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when GRANGANIMEO, the kings brother was present, none durst to trade of himself, except such as where red pieces of copper on their heads, like himself [evidence of a noble class] for that is the difference between the Noble men, and Governors of Countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted her, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to the King, Nobility, and Governors, than these do.

The wearing of certain jewelry implies the existence of class distinction and social stratification to the English mind. Certainly, to a culture that made so much of sumptuary laws, the concept of "wearable" status would have been easily understandable.

The Kings brothers wife, when she came to us, as she did many times, she was followed with forty or fifty women always: and when she came into the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more. The Kings brother always kept this order, as many boats as he would come withall to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore far off, to the end we might understand with what strength, and company he approached.

No doubt the military men of the company would have been impressed with this practice. It implies that the Indians considered the English a friendly force and also imparts a degree of respect by wanting an obviously powerful military force (which the English were by virtue of their weapons) to be aware that there were to be no surprises in any of their dealings. This forthrightness can be appreciated more when Hariot later notes that the Indian's method of war often includes ambush. Clearly, the King's brother wanted there to be no misunderstandings and took pre-cautions to insure that there weren't.

Their boats are made of one tree, either of Pine or Pitch trees¹⁷: a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge tools to make them withall: if they have nay, they are very few, and those it seems they had twenty years since, which as those two men declared, was out of a wracke which happened upon their coast Some Christian ship being beaten that way by some storm, in outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her, being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails, and spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. Their manner of making their boats, is this: they burn down some great tree, or take such as are windfallen, and putting myrrh, and rosen upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their shells, and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider, they lay on their gummess, which burneth away the timber, and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport twenty men. Their oars are like scoops any many times they set with long poles, as the depth serveth.

We were entertained with all love, and kindness, and with as much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile, and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age.

The use of the comparative term "*the golden age*" would have been easily appreciated by the (classically) trained men reading the narrative. Also, we must understand that the English did not simply invoke classical references because they had no choice. They did so primarily because the phenomena they were writing about so resembled the things written about by classical authors. While poets of the period used allusions to the Golden Age of man to infer an idyllic state, historians knew better. Bodin describes the golden and silver ages as times when, "*men were scattered like beastes in the fields and the woods and had as much as they could keep by means of force*

¹⁷Commodities of interest are always capitalized, perhaps so that the casual reader of Hakluyt's work could more easily discern the valuable aspects of a given region.

and crime, until gradually they were reclaimed from that ferocity and barbarity to the refinement of customs and the law abiding society we see about us." Barlow invokes this allusion not to describe a perceived idyllic state of the Indians, but instead, to imply (perhaps assure) his readers that they may be, like all other ancient barbarous people, brought back into the folds of civilization

Also, the mentioning by author of the great kindness of the Indians is not an idle comment. The English experiences in the north were difficult and the skirmishes with the Inuit would have greatly discouraged future explorers and their financial backers. Whether this description is driven by accuracy or whether it is propaganda cannot be known, likely it contains elements of both. Whichever, it is nonetheless remarkable that these encounters seem to go so well. Certainly, Raleigh and Hakluyt would wish to present the events in only the most complimentary light. No one in England wanted another Ireland, nor for that matter another Newfoundland. There was in fact evidence of a less friendly encounter at Chesapeake Bay, Raleigh suppressed it (Quinn 1962:50). This may be why these accounts stress the pleasantness and tractability of the Indians encountered. Even the native food is described in glowing terms.

The people only care to defend themselves from the cold, in their short winter¹⁸, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth: their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet, and savory: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet: their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their Idol, which they worship, of which they speak incredible things.

¹⁸Evidence of the classical ideal of the middle temperate zone.

Beyond this Island, there is the mainland, and over against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called OCCAM, by the Inhabitants, on which standeth a town called PEMEOKE, and six days journey upon the same is situate their greatest city SCHYCOAKE, which this people affirm to be very great: but the Savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their Fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirm it, to be above one days journey about.¹⁹

Into this river falleth another great river, called CIPO, in which there is found great store of the Muscles, in which there are pearls: likewise their descendeth in to the OCCAM, another River called, NOMOPANA, on the one side whereof standeth a great Town called CHOWANOAKE, and the Lord of that Town and Country is called POONENO: this POONENO is not subject to the King of WINGANDACOA, but is a free Lord. Beyond this Country, there is another King, whom they call MENATOAN, and these three Kings are in league with each other. Towards the Sun set, four days journey, is situate a Town called SEQUOTAN, which is the western most town of WINGANDICOA, near unto which six and twenty years passed, there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the Country people preserved.

This information would be vital to the English when the time came to decide how to deal with the inhabitants of Virginia. Details like this--who were the rulers and who are the "free Lords", who is league with who, and where the major towns were--allowed for sound and informed choices to made in matters of policy, military decisions and the understanding of the region as a whole.

¹⁹The definition of a state, offered by Bodin may include: "*villages, towns, cities and principalities, however scattered their lands may be, provided that they are controlled by the same authority.*" (Bodin:158). Initially, the English mind would have found ample comparisons within Indian settlements of the region to this classical and Renaissance model. This may be another reason that Barlow call the chief a "king." With time and more experience, later writers (Hariot) would come to better understand the complex structure of governance in this region and the nomenclature would be adapted to reflect that understanding.

When they go to wars, they carry with them their Idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the Romans were want of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towards the battle, instead of drums and trumpets: their wars are very cruel, and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civil dissentions, which have happened of late years amongst them, the people are marvelously wasted, and in some places, the Country left desolate.²⁰

Here, a clear comparison is made between Indian practices and classical and European precedents. The use of a Roman example to explain the Algonquin idolatrous practices would have been understandable to Raleigh and other educated readers. The observation of the musical accompaniment to war marches likewise, made the Indians practices comprehensible to the English reader.

The inclusion of the remarks of the "wasted and desolate" state of the countryside may have been included to inspire (and perhaps justify) further English activity in the region. Whichever the case, the next year, Raleigh sent Thomas Hariot to Virginia to compile information that would be used to fuel England's push towards America.

A brief and true²¹ report of the new found land of Virginia: Of the commodities there found and to be raised, as well merchantable as others: written by Thomas Hariot, servant

²⁰In the subsequent edition of Haklyt's work the names of the men of the company are followed by the following statement: "*We brought also two of the savages, being lusty men, whose names were WANCHESE and MANTEO.*" It was likely from these two that Hariot learned the Alogonquin language and so much of the region. This act would have afforded the english the opportunity to learn about Virginia first hand from its inhabitants at their leisure once returning to England---which Hariot most certainly did.

²¹One reason for arguing for the fariness and veracity of the Hariot's reporting style is that he was sent to gather the information from which Raleigh and others would then be able to decide upon matters of policy and further action. Lying or altering the observable evidence would be detrimental to his purpose.

to Sir Walter Raleigh, a member of the Colony, and the employed in discovering a full twelvemonth. (Hakluyt 1589: 748-764)

Until Hariot's Brief and True Report, all English accounts of the American Indians are based upon brief encounters. This, more than any other factor caused the ethnographic writings before 1584 to seem static, more like travelogues and less like ethnographies. Though Hariot was in Virginia for 12 months "*imployed in discovering*," his accounts still differ from the formal ethnographic writings of modern anthropologists. Primarily because he did not leave behind (or try to) his own world view and assumptions upon his arrival in Virginia. Indeed they were an integral part of his comparative writing style. Compared to the previous authors we have examined however, in terms of his thoroughness and accurate reporting style, Hariot comes remarkably close to modern standards set for ethnographic reporting (and even closer to recent trends in ethnographic writing, i.e. Tedlock) and we learn more from his writing than from any previous author. This may be due to the duration of time spent among the Indians in combination with the fact that he, in all likelihood, learned Algonquin from Manteo or Wanchese while he was in England at Syon (Quinn:375)

Before his formal discussion on the nature of the Indians he encountered, Hariot gives an annotated list of the commodities of the region. Even in this area of discussion, comparative ethnography is used to make his descriptions understandable. In writing about the ways in which the Indians fished, Hariot writes:

The inhabitants used to take them two manner of ways, the one is by a kind of wear made of reedes which in that country are

very strong. The other way, which is more strange²², is with poles made sharp at one ende, by shooting them into the fish after the manner of the Irishmen cast dartes...(Hakluyt 1589:757)

The throwing dart were the useful weapons of the Irish kern who largely made up the native light infantry of Ireland. Hariot may have seen them in Ireland sometime before he wrote this. Quinn conjectures that Hariot must have spent time in Ireland or else heard descriptions from some of his Irish followers²³ Either way, Hariot begins his treatise on the Carolina Algonquin Indians by setting a precedent for the use of comparisons between the well known Irish and the less known American Indians. By the 1580's, the average gentleman and/or military man of the English would doubtless have personally had, or heard first hand accounts of, the savage inhabitants of Ireland. By using these comparisons and setting them firmly in the minds of his readers, Hariot begins to make specific and complex aspects of Carolina Algonquin society understandable to people who had previously neither seen nor heard of them. The description of the Indians begins:

Of the nature and manners of the people.

It resteth I speaketh a word or two of the natural inhabitants, their nature and manners, leaving large discourse thereof until time more convenient hereafter: now only so far forth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause to fear and love us, that shall inhabit with them.

Hariot's purpose is clearly set out: to inform the reader so that he or she should not fear the inhabitants of Virginia. To do this, Hariot had to make the Indians understandable to the minds of the English people. The

²²thus necessitating the use of comparison to a known and comparably savage people.

²³(Quinn 1991:360-1)

only way to accomplish this would be to make the Indians as civil sounding as possible. One is left with the impression throughout this account that Hariot is genuinely impressed with the Algonquin Indians and that the act of translating this to his readers was not a daunting task. As a learned man living among the Indians, he had the best of both worlds: experience to describe and philosophy (coupled with the knowledge of classical authority to help make those experiences understandable.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deer skins, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all else naked, of such a difference in statures only as we in England²⁴, having no edge tools or weapons of iron or steel to offend us with all neither know they how to make any: those weapons that they have are only bows made of Witchhazel, and arrows of reeds, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither have they anything to defend themselves but targets made of barks, and also armors made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their towns are but small, and near the sea coast but few, some containing but ten or twelve houses: some 20. the greatest that we have seen, have been but of 30. houses: If they be walled, it is only done with barks of trees made fast to stakes, or else with poles only foxed upright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round form after the manner as is used in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most towns covered with barks, and in some with artificial mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses down to the grounds the length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in some other we have seen of four and twenty.

In some places of the Country, one only town belongeth to the government of a WIROANS or chief Lord, in other some two or three, in some six, eight, and more, the greatest WIROANS that yet we had dealing with, had but eighteen towns in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight

²⁴This is one of the first comments comparing Indian phenomena with that of the English. It was not to be the last.

hundred fighting men at the most. The language of every government is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Now that Hariot has the Algonquin name for their rulers--"*Wiroans*", he abandons the comparative title of "King" used by Barlow and instead adopts the more specific translation "'*chief Lord*." This indicates that the English are paying very close attention to the political structure of the region which is comprised by chieflets under the governance of a head chief.

Hariot also notices that languages of the towns and their governments throughout the region vary greatly. This would have allowed Hariot's readers to make some very specific comparisons between Indian governance and European models.

Their manner of wars amongst themselves, is either by sudden surprising one another most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moon light, or else by ambushes, or some subtle devices. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may have some hope of defense, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaving behind some or other.

If there fall out any wars between us and them, what their fight is likely to be, we having advantages against them so many manner of ways, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and devices else, especially ordinance great and small, it may be easily imagined, by the experience we have had in some places, the turning up of their heels against us in running away was their best defense.

In the following tract, Hariot makes brief comparisons of the English and the Indians, and we see a fundamental difference between sixteenth century ethnographic writing and modern ethnologies. The sixteenth century author will use comparisons to his and other cultures known to him by experience or learning (in order to make his subject understandable to his reader/countrymen), while the modern ethnologist attempts to describe the

culture they are dealing with only within that cultures own terms and within their own contexts. Hariot, not bound by modern methodologies, does both. Hariot sees the Indians as eventually able to develop English ideals of civilization, therefore, considering them to be less evolved people, not necessarily lesser creatures.

In respect of us they are a people poor, and for want of skill and judgment in the knowledge and use of our things, do esteem our trifles to be things of greater value: Notwithstanding, in their proper manner (considering the want of such means as we have,) they seem very ingenious. For although they have no such tools, nor any such crafts, Sciences and arts and we, yet in those things they do, they show excellency of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall find our manner of knowledges and crafts, to exceed theirs in perfection, and speed for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendships and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may be hoped, if means of good government be used, that they may in short time be brought to civility, and the embracing of true religion.²⁵

Some religion they have already, which although it be far from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.²⁶

They believe that there are many Gods, which they call MANTOAC, but of different sorts and degrees, one only chief and great God, which hath been from all eternity. Who, as they affirm, when he purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principle order, to be as means and instrument to be used in the creation and government to follow, and after the Sun, Moon, and stars, as petty gods, and the instruments of the other order more principle. First, (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diversity of creatures that are visible or invisible.

²⁵First a comparison is used, then the Indian word is substituted for the rest of the text. In this, Hariot's text become not only descriptive, but also instructive and functional

²⁶Precisely (though he doesn't state it specifically) because Hariot sees parallels between the Algoquin beliefs and certain christian concepts.

For mankind they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning.

But how many years or ages have passed since, they say they can, make no relation, having no letters nor other such, means as we to keep records of the particularities of times past, but only tradition from father to son.²⁷

They think that all the gods are of human shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the forms of men, which they call KEWASOWOK, one alone is called KEWAS: them they place in houses appropriate to temples, which they call MACHICOMUCKE, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many time offering unto them. In some MACHICOMUCK we have seen but one KEWAS, in some two, in other some three. The common sort think them to be also gods.

Hariot makes an important differentiation---men of knowledge or priests know the difference between the idols and the gods they represent while the "common sort" think the idols are the deities themselves and not merely their representations. This clear division between the learned and the "uneducated" would have been easily understandable Hariot.

They believe also the immortality of the soul, that after this life as soon as the soul is departed from the body, according to the works it hath done, it is either carried to Heaven the habitacle of gods, there to enjoy perpetual joy and happiness, or else to a great pit or hole, which they think to be in the furthest part of their part of their world toward the sun set, there to burn continually: the place they call POPOGUSSO.

The similarities between Algonquin and European cosmology are remarkable, though we cannot know to what extent Hariot is reshaping the information received from informants. The fact that Hariot has obtained his information from informants to add to the model he has constructed certifies

²⁷Hariot identifies the chief problem of comparative history when a literate culture examines the past of a non-literate society.

himself as an (though unwitting) Ethnographer. Also, following this point, the text shifts from description to a decidedly narrative style:

For the confirmation of this opinion, they told me two stories of two men that had been lately dead and revived again, the one happened but few years before our coming into the Country of a wicked man, which having been dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave being seen to move, was taken up again, who made declaration where his soul had been, that is to say, very near entering into POPOGUSSO, had not one of the gods saved him, and gave him leave to return again, and teach his friends what they should do to avoid that terrible place of torment.

The other happened in the same year we were there, but in a town that was threescore miles from us, and it was told to me for strange news, that one being dead, buried, and taken up again as the first, showed that although his body had lien dead in the grave, yet his soul was alive, and had traveled far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, than ever he had seen before, or was able to express, and at length came to most grave and fair houses, near which he met his father, that had been dead before, who gave him great charge to go back again, and show his friends what good they were to do to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come again [land of the ancestors].

What subtlety soever be in the WIROANCES and priests, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them have great respect to the Governors, and also great care what they do, to avoid torment after death, and to enjoy bliss although notwithstanding there is punishment ordained for malefactors, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatness of the facts.

And this is the sum of their Religion, which I learned by having special familiarity with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credit to their traditions and stories, but through conversing with us they were brought into great doubts of their own, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learn more than we had means for want of perfect utterance in their language to express.

Hariot directly implies knowledge of the Algonquin language. The fact that Hariot had even an imperfect knowledge of the Algonquin language partially explains the great detail contained in his account and his ability to converse with the Indians (with perhaps some mutual intelligibility) and derive from them details of their society, as *they* see it. We also begin to see in the English, largely due to the Indian's reaction to the Christian faith, the evolving belief that the Indians were desirous of Christianity and the English were entitled by god to give it to them.

Most things they saw with us, Mathematical instruments, sea Compasses, the virtue of the lodestone in drawing iron, a perspective glass whereby was showed strange many strange sights, burning glasses, wild fireworks, guns, books, writing and reading, spring clocks that seem to go of themselves, and many other things that we had, were so strange unto them, and so far exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and means how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the work of gods, than of men, or at the leastwise they had been given and taught us of the gods. Which made many of them to have such opinion of us, as that if they knew not the truth of God and religion already, it was rather to be had from use, whom God so specially loved then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us.²⁸ Whereupon greater credit as given unto that we spake of concerning such matters.

Here follows one of the major difference between Hariot's ethnographies and modern anthropologist's writings: Hariot attempts to supplant his own beliefs in the minds his subject--though he does so without compromising the accuracy or sensitivity of his account.

Many times and in every town where I came, according as a I was able, I mad declaration of the contents Bible, that therein

²⁸Hariot presumes by the effect the seeing of these wonders that Indians *consider themselves* simple by comparison. This is rather subtle concept and may attest to Hariot's fluency in Algonquin.

was set forth the true and only God, and his mighty works, that therein was contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chief points of Religion, as I was able then to utter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the book materially and of itself was not of any such virtue [animism versus Christianity], as I thought they did concede, but only the doctrine therein contained: yet would many be glad to touch it to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge that was spoken of. [the Indians mistake Hariot's words and believed the actual Bible itself to contain some sort of power. Therefore, they wish to touch, kiss, etc. in the hopes that it may in some ways bless or cure them as they saw fit.

The WIROANS with whom we dwelt called WINGINA, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with us at our prayers, and many times call upon us both in his town, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied us, to pray and sing Psalms, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that means also expected.²⁹

Twice this WIROANS was so grievously sick that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any help by his own priests, and thinking he was in such danger for offending us, and thereby our God, sent for some of us to pray and be a means to our God that it would please him either that he might live or after death dwell with him in bliss, so likewise were the requests of many other in the like case.

On a time also when their corn began to wither by reason of a draught which happened extraordinarily, fearing it had come to pass by reason that in some thing they had displeased us, many would come to us and desire us to pray to our God of England, that he would preserve their corn, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could be at no time happen any strange sickness, losses, hurts, or any other cross unto them, but that they would impute to us the cause or means thereof, for offending or not pleasing us.

²⁹Part of the reason the English so quickly adopted an outward show of religious superiority is because that Indians rapidly became impressed in what they believed to be the superior supernatural power of "*the god of England.*"

One other rare and strange accident, leaving others, will I now mention before I end, which moved the whole country that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderful admiration.

There was no town where we had any subtle device practiced against us, we leaving it unpunished or not revenged (because we sought by all means possible to win them by gentleness) but that within a few days after our departure from every such town, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some towns about twenty, in some forty, and in one six score, which in truth was very many in respect of the numbers. This happened in no place that we could learn, but where we had been, where they used some practice against us, and after such time. The disease also so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Country never happened before, time out of mind. A thing especially observed by us as also by the natural inhabitants themselves.³⁰

This marvelous accident in all the Country wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to think us gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sickness, there was no man of ours known to die, or that was especially sick: they noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not born of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many years past, then risen again to immortality.

Some would likewise seem to prophecy, that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill them and to take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done.

This statement suggests--in addition to the English belief that the Indians wished to adopt Christian ways--there was a belief simultaneously held by the Indians that the English, and the illness they bestowed, were expressions of Alogonquin cosmology and beliefs. This example reminds us that every

³⁰This is curious--did the English never observe an indian struck with the illness first hand? If they had, would they have possibly been able to identify the illness, i.e. pox., plague, etc. It appears Hariot, like the Indians, considers this to be an event outside of the realm of normal/natural experience.

event occurring in these encounters had, even in the sixteenth century, a dual aspect.

Those that were immediately to come after us they imagined to be in the air, yet invisible and without bodies, and that they by our entreaty and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

Some also thought that we shot them ourselves out of our pieces, from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people in any such town that had offended us as we listed, how far distant from us soever it were.

And other some said, that it was the special work of God for our sakes, as we ourselves have cause in some sort to think no less...

Hariot here shows his completeness in obtaining this ethnographic information, for indeed, he records all the possible explanations for the illness that his informants had devised. In addition, this account reveals to us the developing idea of evolutionary superiority that was inspired by the Indians' reverence with the English religious practices. This sense of superiority, while not standing in the way of scholarship, would nonetheless be taken another step by English antiquarians.

Hakluyt admonished Raleigh and Hariot to continue in this gathering of information as well as the civilizing of the American Indians when he said:

Up then, go on as you have begun, leave to posterity an imperishable monument of your name and fame, such as age will never obliterate. For to posterity no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason, and to fill with reverence for divinity the godless and the ungodly. (Taylor 1935:368)

The phrase, "to call the savage and the pagan to civility..." stands out as a curious statement. It implies an idea of evolutionary development founded upon English experience and partially upon cyclical models of classical ideals. The notion that history repeated itself was expressed by classical authorities in the belief that empires, cities, kings and ideas all rose and fell. To the English mind, the notion that the "savage and the pagan" could be brought to civility was to take on a remarkable and personal association.

Section 2

The Drawings of John White Algonquin Indians, Ancient Celts and the Making of English Comparative Ethnology

"Not the least debt which we owe unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our own dead Ancestors; and out of the depth and darkness of the earth delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of History a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other men's forepassed miseries, with our own like errors and ill deservings."
-Sir Walter Raleigh

"What seest thou else in the dark backward and abyss of time?"

"What's past is prologue"

-William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*

Once the material from Hariot and the Virginia voyages got back to England and Europe, a slow process of assimilation of New World phenomena began. One of the most successful vehicles for this process was the art of John White which was reproduced as engravings and published in 1588 in Frankfurt by Theodore DeBry. The paintings and subsequent engravings depicted the inhabitants of Virginia in very realistic detail. While it must be admitted that the original paintings are much more life-like than the engravings, what the DeBry edition contained that the original paintings did not was descriptions of the Indians supplied by Thomas Hariot, copied nearly verbatim from his Briefe and True Report.

Ironically, the area in which these paintings are most helpful in elucidating the evolution of English thought regarding the Virginia Indians

comes not from the paintings of the Indians, but instead by the curious inclusion by White (in both paintings and engravings) of five extra images.

These extra paintings were not of Indians nor of any kind of Americana. Directly following the 30 some pictures of Indians are included the portraits of ancient Picts and Celts who once inhabited the British isles. Why? What do these portraits of England's ancient people have to do with the depictions of the Virginian Indians that directly precede them in both paintings and engravings?

The depictions pre-Roman Britons alongside the portraits of the Virginia Indians presented English scholarship with an interesting parallel that served to further scholarly thought in both areas. These ancient Britons were of course the ancestors of the English people. As Ferguson observes,

"Nothing more clearly illustrated the potentialities existing in humanist antiquarian studies for the reconstruction of a primitive society than the process by which a few of the more perceptive minds came to the conclusion that...the ancient Britons were undoubtedly half-naked and painted savages.(Ferguson:109)

The notion of the primitive and savage nature of their own ancestors, as observed by White (perhaps first by Camden), was promoted by the new information about the Indians of the Americas and was in turn used to further understand, in a relative sense, the American Indians. This process was facilitated through the works of Harriot and Hakluyt and was then used in a rather circular fashion to reflect and support evidence gathered about the Algonquin Indians of Virginia. The English ability to associate their own ancestors with the Algonquin Indians implies that whatever patriotic bias or evolutionary superiority the English may have brought to bear upon their

writings of Indians, it had little negative effect upon their ability to produce sensitive scholarship.

This new information about primitive societies from the Americas and knowledge about the wild Irish, when coupled with antiquarian sources about the pre-Roman Britons, allowed the English to come to terms with societies existing at different levels of development than their own. Indeed, the knowledge and observations being assembled by Hariot allowed the English antiquarians to better understand the conditions of their own ancient ancestors, who (like the Indians) lacked writing, and left no textual record of their existence and of whom very little was known. Whereas in early accounts, comparisons of classical and/or Irish people were used to better the English reader's understanding of primitive cultures generally, now information about the ancient Britons could be used to better English understanding of the Algonquin Indians. The Indian ethnographies written by Hariot and others--in addition to providing much needed details of people who would shortly be living alongside the English-- acted as a small but steady candle, casting its light over the dark past of ancient England and banishing the darkness of outdated medieval thinking.

The importance of these intellectual and ethnographic endeavors were useful in understanding all human beings. Since the mentality of the time embraced the idea of a post-deluvian, monogenetic theory of origins, information compiled on one primitive culture could be applied to the understanding of a totally foreign society existing at relatively the same level of development. This concept would have made sense to the well educated

and classically trained members of Raleigh's circle, and was in fact embraced by contemporary scholars. Bodin concludes,

"Since for acquiring prudence nothing is more important or more essential than history, because episodes in human life sometimes recur as in a circle, repeating themselves, we judge that attention must be given to this subject, especially by those who are in touch with assemblies and societies of human beings." (Bodin:17)

Raleigh supports this notion of the personal view of history when he admits,

...the affection of any one man stirred up alike with examples of like nature: but everyone is touched most, with that which most nearly seemeth to his own private; or otherwise suit his apprehension.(Hammond:128)

Geographically separated from the rest of Europe, nationally isolated from the other less civilized cultures around them while at the same time detached from their own ancient past, the English were now in a position to use the ethnographic material from the Americas to attempt to speculate regarding the kind of evolutionary and developmental nature of mankind in general. While doing so, fostering this kind of speculative, antiquarian thinking, Hakluyt's Navigations also provided the hope that the Indians, like the ancient Britons, would soon be brought to civilization.

The most conclusive evidence of this new thinking comes from DeBry³¹ who explains where the idea for the inclusion of the engravings of

³¹The irony of the English identification in the late sixteenth century of the pre-Roman Britons with the Indians of Virginia lay in the fact that the connection had previously been made but largely ignored. As early as the 1530's, John Tynne had made specific connections between the English and their stone-age ancestors. It was not until the appearance of the pictures of the Indians however, that the ancient Britons were seen (like the Indians,) as embodying human beings existing at a certain stage of development from which they had--and in the case of the Indians, would--eventually emerge. (Ferguson:380)

the pre-Roman Britons came from and their relation to the rest of the pictures (of Indians and Americana). This statement was printed on the third title page, preceding the 5 pictures of the pre-Roman Britons:

Som Pictores of the Pictes which in the olde tyme dyd habite one part of the great Britainne. ... The Painter of whom I have had the first of the Inhabitans of Virginia, giue my allso thees 5. Figures fallowinge, fownd as hy did assured my in a ooldd English chronicle, the which I wold well sett to the ende of thees first Figures, for to showe how that the Inhabitants of the great Bretannie have bin in times past as savage as those of Virginia..(Hulton:130)

CONCLUSION

The ethnographic material in Hakluyt's Principall Navigations came to be used for two distinct though interrelated purposes:

- 1.) As a source of information for New World phenomena and societies that would be encountered in the Americas. These writings would allow later explorers and colonists to better understand how to treat with the Indians and was made understandable to them through the use of comparative allegory.
- 2.) In their discussions of Indians, these texts utilized examples of other primitive, less evolved cultures that, when studied comparatively might be used to better comprehend England's own pre-Roman ancestors for whom little was known³².

The clarity and rationality of these writings caused the English to consider the idea that Indians were in fact savage versions of themselves (so like their own ancestors), prior to the consequent developments of civilization. Only the sensitivity of some of these ethnographic accounts could bring sixteenth English minds to consider such a personal association.

While these accounts appear ethnographic in content and in some cases, intent also, we cannot know if the English came to distinguish between various American Indian tribes in an anthropological sense (though Hariot realized that differences in language occurred even among neighboring

³²This last category shows the degree to which sixteenth century ethnographies truly differed from modern ones. Modern ethnography attempts to understand and record phenomena of the observed culture. It generally does not take the further step of reapplying that information to understanding the past of one's own society.

tribes). We may be certain however, that the English understood the differences between Indian cultures in a developmental sense.

To Cabot and Frobisher, the Indians were extension of the landscape: primitive, savage, little better than brute beasts who exemplified classical notions of people inhabiting the northern zones. To Barlow, Hariot and Hakluyt, the Indians were seen as complex people--primitive by comparison to the sixteenth century English but essentially no different from England's pre-Roman ancestors--who needed only the nudge of civilization and Christianity to bring them into the folds of the modern world.

As the Irish and other Celts were also thought of in similar primitive terms--and since aspects of their cultures were used comparatively to make the societies and behaviors of the American Indians more understandable--we may presume that the ethnographic knowledge compiled by the English would allow them to make assumptions regarding the developmental stages of mankind in general. Hence all cultures, savage or civilized could be fit into this comparative and evolutionary system. As useful as this was to the advancement of a more evolutionary approach to English history and the study of human phenomena, this was however, secondary to the more practical concerns; concerns which were in fact the reasons that the voyages were generally funded and endowed.

In each chapter of the thesis, we have considered the views of the individual authors while at the same time examining the related mentalities of the period that shaped--and were then reflected in--these increasingly sensitive ethnographic writings and their development over time. From the

Cabot accounts which saw the Indians as near animal-like expressions of the landscape, we saw a movement towards realism in Frobisher's descriptions. These voyages in the 1570's presented important ethnographic details of Inuit culture, yet the English were only just beginning to accept (through the use of brief word lists) that the Indians were, in fact, people. With the Virginia voyages of the 1580's, we observed a sharp shift in the way the English viewed the Indians, who were now seen less as savage, bestial men and more as complex, though developmentally primitive people capable of English ideals of civilization. This change largely due to the sensitivity of Hariot and the increasing English desire for understandable texts describing Indians.

In conclusion, we must consider what Hakluyt himself thought of the people of the New World. While this consideration is speculative, Hakluyt's elder cousin (also named Richard Hakluyt) has left a record of the considerations that faced the two Richard Hakluyt's as England moved closer to the idea of permanent settlement upon the American continent.

This text comes from the "*Pamphlet for the Virginia Enterprise*," (Taylor 1935: 327-35) and was written in 1585, just after the news of the first Virginia voyages had begun to circulate in England. After a list of 31 points meant to induce enthusiasm for continued English interests in America, Hakluyt pauses in the text and considers the course of action to be taken regarding the natural inhabitants of Virginia:

The ends of this voyage are these:

1. To plant Christian religion
2. To trafficke
3. To conquer

Or to do all three.

To plant Christian religion without conquest, will bee hard.
Trafficke easily followeth conquest: conquest is not easie.

Trafficke without conquest seemeth possible, and not uneasie.
 What is to be done is the question... . What is then to be done?
 (Taylor 1935: 332-3)

In this text, we are presented with the rare opportunity to see the Elizabethan mind at work on a specific problem. While the elder Hakluyt does not provide the answers to these considerations (though he implies that trafficking would be the best option), it appears that his nephew's book was compiled to enable the makers of policy to do just that. The decision of how to best treat with the American Indians would require as much information from knowledgeable authors as could be had in 1589.

Hakluyt's publication of the ethnographic writings from Hariot and others effectively allowed the sixteenth century reader to judge for himself the questions of how best to treat with the Indians of the New World.

Clearly, Hakluyt had patriotic interests foremost in mind when writing the Principall Navigations, but as Quinn observes, he nonetheless was desirous to make the book academically,

...as complete and accurate as he could, so that it could take its place, ...as a great work of reference. He was providing a manual as well as inspiration, for he expected his book to be taken on voyages, along with maps and instructions. (Hakluyt 1965:xiii).

The inclusion of sensitive American Indian ethnographic material in his work would help accomplish this goal. In Hakluyt's Navigations, England had both its first comprehensive travel guide to the New World, as well as its first authoritative ethnographies of Americas inhabitants. This allowed for a better appreciation of Americana in general, while stimulating a deeper interest in the comparative development of cultures both at home and abroad.

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