SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
AS SEEN BY
HIS CONTEMPORARIES

An Essay by
DAVID BEERS QUINN

With a Bibliographical Supplement
by Burton Van Name Edwards

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SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
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HIS CONTEMPORARIES
[Jodocus Hondius.] Franciscus Driack Noblissimus Eues Angiae Ane Act. Sue 43 (London, [ca. 1583]). This engraving represents Drake at the age of 43 and was probably copied from a painting done from life (now lost).
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
AS SEEN BY
HIS CONTEMPORARIES

An Essay by
DAVID BEERS QUINN
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With a Bibliographical Supplement of Works Relating to
Drake at the John Carter Brown Library
Compiled by
Burton Van Name Edwards

THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND
1996
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“Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries” was initially presented as a lecture at the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, in 1979. It has been substantially revised for its first appearance in print here.

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Professor Quinn was awarded research fellowships by the John Carter Brown Library in 1963, 1970, and 1982, and has received numerous other such research grants, including a semester at the National Humanities
Center in North Carolina in 1983. He has been awarded honorary degrees by six universities, including the University of North Carolina and the College of William and Mary. He was appointed an Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society in 1983 and elected an Honorary Fellow of the British Academy in 1984. He is also an Honorary Member of the American Historical Association. Three collections of essays have been published in Professor Quinn’s honor, including most recently, *The European Outthrust and Encounter: The First Phase, ca. 1400 to ca. 1700: Essays in Tribute to David Beers Quinn on his 85th Birthday*, edited by Cecil H. Clough and P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool, 1994).

David Beers Quinn is currently Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Liverpool, his home institution since 1957. He is the first recipient of the John Carter Brown Library medal, established by the Board of Governors in recognition of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Library. The medal will be awarded from time to time at the discretion of the Board (but in no instance more frequently than once a year) for distinguished service to the Library or to one of the fields represented in the collection.
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Preface

Sir Francis Drake has always been a central figure at the John Carter Brown Library because his career reflects so many of the Library’s basic interests: maritime history, the early circumnavigators, English-Spanish rivalry in America, the exploration of the west coast of this country, and piracy, among others. His extraordinary fame—or in Catholic countries, notoriety—led to writings about him in at least seven European languages, and he merits nearly 150 entries in our European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1750 (1980–1996). Thus, at almost any moment in the past century or more the John Carter Brown Library could have understandably published a book about Drake. Why now in particular?

The explanation is a happy convergence of circumstances. To begin with, this year is the 150th anniversary of the founding of the John Carter Brown Library, and for some time we had been weighing ideas for appropriate publications. In connection with plans for an entirely different Sesquicentennial publication, appearing simultaneously with this book, we wrote to all 250 former JCB research fellows asking them each for a short (400 word) essay on a particular work in the Library’s collection that was helpful to their research. David Quinn, who has been a JCB fellow on three different occasions between 1960 and 1990, replied with a 6,000 word essay on Francis Drake, thinking maybe we could put it to use—1996 is, after all, the 400th anniversary of the death of Drake.

When he mailed us the manuscript of “Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries,” Professor Quinn did not know that the Board of Governors of the Library had already decided to award him the first John Carter Brown Library Medal, created on the occasion of the Library’s
Sesquicentennial for recognition of distinguished service to the Library or to one of the fields represented in the collection. How nice it would be, we thought, in conjunction with the award of the medal, also to publish an essay by the recipient!

But there is more. This year is also the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Hakluyt Society of London, of which Professor Quinn has been President and to the publication series of which he has made numerous valuable contributions. It had been decided several years ago that the center of the American part of the celebration of the Hakluyt Society’s own Sesquicentennial would be at the John Carter Brown Library, for the historic connections between the Library and the Society run deep. John Carter Brown was a member from the very beginning of the Society, at a time when American members numbered no more than about ten or twelve. Moreover, since 1983 the Director of the Library has been an Honorary Secretary of the Society.

If Drake has always been a key figure in the work of the John Carter Brown Library, for the Hakluyt Society this is doubly true. In the magnificent series of Hakluyt Society voyage narratives, dating back to the first that appeared in 1847, at least five have related closely to Drake. The first of these, *Sir Francis Drake his Voyage, 1595, by Thomas Maynarde, together with the Spanish Account of Drake’s Attack on Puerto Rico*, edited by W. D. Cooley (1849), contains in the Preface the statement that the Society could not be “better employed than in publishing documents illustrating the life and achievements of that distinguished seaman”—although without doubt the Society has been extraordinarily global in its interests, never noticeably giving favor to English achievements at sea.

Nonetheless, the publication by the John Carter Brown Library of an essay about Sir Francis Drake on the 400th anniversary of the distinguished seaman’s death, written by Professor David Quinn, is uniquely fitting for the joint celebration of the Library’s and the Society’s 150th anniversaries.
If the links between the Hakluyt Society and the John Carter Brown Library over the past century and a half have been many, in 1996 the relationship has been consolidated in a new way. The enthusiastic American interest in the Society’s mission would ordinarily have long ago led to regular financial support in this country for the work of the Society, above and beyond the payment of modest dues, but for one problem—the absence of any agency to which members might make contributions that were tax deductible in accordance with the U.S. tax code. With the creation this year of the American Friends of the Hakluyt Society, the headquarters of which will be at the John Carter Brown Library, that impediment to American philanthropy will at last be removed.

It is the John Carter Brown Library’s mission, first of all, to collect primary sources pertaining to the history of the Americas, from the time of Columbus to the end of European domination of American affairs in ca. 1825. It is part of the Library’s mission also to make these sources—books, maps, manuscripts, engravings—readily available to scholars. But the question is, of course, how does the Library make known to scholars what its holdings are?

One way is by the publication of specialized bibliographies, such as the bibliography herein compiled by a Rare Book Cataloguer at the JCB, Dr. Burton Van Name Edwards. Dr. Edwards was able to draw on many earlier Library productions relating to Drake, particularly Maritime History: A Preliminary Hand-List of the Collection in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, With a Special Section on Sir Francis Drake (1979), compiled by C. Danial Elliott. But Dr. Edwards’s list is truly a culmination of these other efforts, because it is more complete and the works more fully described.

It is our hope at the JCB that this publication will stimulate research in all matters relating to the amazing career of Drake, that it will call at-
tention to the superb achievement of the Hakluyt Society in the past 150 years, and that those who are attentive to the work of the John Carter Brown Library, also in its 150th year, will find this little book worthy of their regard.

Norman Fiering

*Director and Librarian*
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
AS SEEN BY
HIS CONTEMPORARIES
Sir Francis Drake

Reuiued:
Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age
to folowe his Noble Steps for Golde & Siluer,

By this Memorable Relation, of the Rare Occurrances
(neuer yet declared to the World) in a Third Voyage
made by him into the West-Indies, in the Yeares 72. & 73.
when Nombre de Dios was by him, and 5. others
only in his Company, surprized.

Faithfully taken out of the Reporte of Mr. Christopher Cecil, Ellis
Hewes, and others, who were in the same Voyage with him.
By Philip Nichols, Preacher.

Reviewed alfo by Sr. Francis Drake himfelfe before his Death,
& Much helped and enlarged, by divers Notes, with his owne
hand here and there interred.

Set forth by Sr. Francis Drake Baronet
(his Nephew) now living.

LONDON
Printed by E. A. for Nicholas Bourne dwelling at the
South Entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1626.
In this essay I try to convey some of the reactions of Drake’s contemporaries to the actions and exploits of one of the most prominent maritime leaders in western Europe in the later sixteenth century. I will stick to Drake’s personality, and to reactions for and against it, rather than try to give any thorough assessment of his achievements. It must be realized that the published material during his lifetime and during the adulation that followed his death were almost wholly, in England, complimentary, and that these compliments were echoed throughout Protestant and anti-Spanish Europe, even if by no means all of these echoes have so far been traced. Publicly, Drake was denounced in Spain as a sea-robber, though the very emphasis on his robberies at sea, long after he had become a distinguished naval commander in the service of his country, read somewhat forced. Yet to Spain, officially, he remained the corsair, the pirate, though in due course the “Dragon-pirate,” elevated to a status which no other Englishman held or was to hold, not even his much-hated mistress Queen Elizabeth. We shall see that in private many Spaniards held him in a somewhat reluctant admiration; while on the other side a certain number of Englishmen criticized, attacked, or detested him. Whether we can, by a series of illustrations of these reactions, form an accurate historical judgment on him, without going into his activities at sea, remains to be seen.

We think of Elizabethan England as a society in which status and birth counted for much. It did. Society was organized on hierarchical lines and, in the localities, the old, great families wielded great power.
But new gentry and nobility had emerged from the Tudor state’s need for the services of men of ability rather than rank. Many of the lesser gentry who became great powers in the Tudor and early Stuart period had made their way from very little. Once they were well on their way, however, they put on the airs and the authority of the older nobility, and by sheer persistence and ability won themselves places near the top of the hierarchy. Among those who made their way from almost nowhere on the social scale, were the Hawkeses, who came from being local merchants, the Boroughs from being Thames pilots, and the Drakes, who sprang from yeomen stock but had to climb, in Francis’s case, from nothing to the height of contemporary fame, and wealth.

Drake’s father had nothing to give him: a yeoman father, a life at sea, a humble position as shearmen on a great estate, an evangelical Protestant preacher in the navy of Edward VI, a seaman again, we suspect, under the Marian reaction, and finally a minor clergyman in the church of England. Francis made his way as an apprentice seaman from the age of ten to being the owner of a small bark at age nineteen; and thence into the service of the Hawkins firm at Plymouth. One thing his family had bequeathed him, a grandmother belonging to the Hawkins clan, though the precise relationship of Margaret Hawkins to William Hawkins and his famous son, who was to end as Sir John, is not clear. In any case, the “cousinry” gave Francis Drake his start. When he had time to learn to read and write we do not know. But he had a natural eloquence which he cultivated, together with the manners of the gentry, as he fought his way up the professional and social ladder. Throughout, however, he remained the master of practical nautical lore and language; he never forgot his own experiences as a young seaman, and he was genuinely solicitous of his men’s welfare once he was in command; he knew their weaknesses, too; their complaints, sometimes justified, sometimes frivolous; their obedience sometimes absolute; their spirit sometimes mutinous. Drake ruled with an understanding but ruthless power. From the time that he had his first independent command in 1568, he was never,
when at sea, willing to allow the slightest challenge to his authority, and he carried this characteristic with him to the very end of his career.

His rise to influence and power in the councils of successive lord high admirals, the Earl of Lincoln first and Lord Howard of Effingham later, and his contacts in court with Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, and others were not gained without arousing the envy of others. If John Hawkins could rise to the position of reorganizing the queen’s fleet, Drake at times could act as commander of major naval forces under her authority. He could rise to almost the highest but not the highest levels of command. His natural talents could bring him so far and no further, and throughout his career his unwillingness to take orders from others and his tendency to go far beyond the authority committed to him, caused him difficulties, and some disgrace, but from which he emerged to take on further responsibilities because of his unique capacity to command men at sea and to take risks that others were unwilling to shoulder. That most of his activities were frankly piratical between 1568 and 1580 did not tell against him, though they brought him trouble at times. Elizabethan England, before the great clash with Spain began in earnest in 1585, was frankly two-faced about piracy. If it succeeded, it could be glossed over, especially if the investors in it were courtiers and officials, and even at times the Queen herself; if it failed, the pirate might meet his end on a rope, a place where many Channel pirates died. Drake was always careful to involve powerful people in his piracies; above all he succeeded in bringing home loot, which bought him favor and even renown.

Throughout his life this pirate’s greed remained with him. He might claim to be intent on robbing the King of Spain, but if he found a subject of the king with cash or jewels which attracted his greedy eye they had to be his; he made sure even in the Armada campaign that the injured galleon detached from the Spanish fleet should become his prize, even if it meant endangering his squadron’s effectiveness; he waited for a prize at Cape St. Vincent in 1587 when he was perhaps supposed to be launch-
ing an attack on the shipping in Lisbon harbor, and so on. These evi-
dences of avarice were stored up and remembered by those who thought
he got away with too much. But it was necessary in his eyes to raise him-
self socially by his wealth; to join the ruling gentry by acquiring
Buckland Abbey; to keep his Parliamentary constituency in Plymouth by
providing services and amenities to the town. It is, therefore, hard to sum
him up neatly. He was a complex personality who showed remarkable
resilience in many circumstances on sea and on land: his expertise at sea
was accompanied by a sensitivity which sometimes sat uneasily with his
role as pirate. His rough upbringing was covered by what became more
than a veneer of courtliness and literacy. Though primarily a man of ac-
tion, he was also capable of planning world-embracing strategies. And
he had a personal charm which covered much of his ruthlessness and
which contributed to his popularity and fame.

The trial and execution of Thomas Doughty at San Julián was the
episode in Drake’s circumnavigation that most frequently recurs in the
gossip about him after the voyage. John Cooke, after his return with John
Winter in 1578, made allegations to John Doughty that Drake was in fact
the “murderer” of his brother Thomas. Cooke proceeded to set out the
facts of the trial as he saw them. He admits that so far as indiscipline was
concerned Thomas Doughty “did not greatly deny” the charges made
against him. What he did deny was that they amounted to treason.
Moreover, Doughty specifically denied having said before the voyage
that he believed the queen and her council could be corrupted by money,
which Drake regarded as treasonable. He further denied having broken
his word and that he had disclosed plans for the voyage to Lord Burghley,
who would have been a powerful influence against its implementation.
Drake’s jury found the charges against Thomas Doughty proved, except
for that of treason. Yet Drake insisted on reinstating the charge of trea-
son, and, in putting it to his jury, got them to say Doughty deserved death. Both Cooke’s and Francis Fletcher’s accounts certainly indicate that Doughty maintained to the last his innocence of major faults worthy of death, though the pro-Drake accounts stress his acceptance of the charges as true. That he prepared himself for a dramatic and gentlemanly end seems undoubted, taking Communion with Drake, making a speech from the scaffold (the terms of which are disputed), and submitting to execution bravely.

Still there continued to be rumors, some scandalous, some amusing. The Reverend John Walker picked up in Plymouth, from persons close to Drake and Hawkins, a story which he told to Richard Madox while both were at sea with Fenton some time later. Madox said that Walker “disclosed to me that he was told by [Henry] Whitaker [who had married into the Hawkins family] that Thomas Doughty lived intimately with the wife of Francis Drake, and being drunk, he blabbed out this matter to the husband himself. When later he realized his error and feared vengeance, he contrived in every way the ruin of the other, but he himself fell into the pit: he is accused of lese-majesté because he said that councillors could be corrupted by gifts” (though it may be noticed that it was Drake’s charge that Doughty had said the queen could be corrupted by gifts, which was the dangerous one, if true).

In Bristol, citizens had a practice of compiling annals of their times which were copied and recopied (and modified as time went on) by their descendants. In one of these, in a late copy, there is an unpublished story of an amusing sort. I give it without authority (though it will be realized that Drake’s wife had heard from John Winter, a year before her husband’s surprising return, that Drake was almost certainly dead). The extract reads:

In the beginning of this mayor’s year [1580—1] one Frances Drake, late servant to Master Hawkins of Plymouth whoe had beene lacking at sea three yeares and none Accompit of him, but God bee praised hee is now arrived safe att Plymouth & haue brought whome marvelous rich ladeing both of massy
gold and Silver, tried and untried, with three Crowns of three Sundry Strange regions where he had beene, whereof one of the said Crowns was made of rich and Strange Sorts very Artificially and wrought with stone & perle and report was that he received these Crowns with full possession of these lands to our Queenes use. He parraled [appareled] a fisherman all in white silk that first brought him news of the State of our Queene and realm. His wife was Certified he was Ded longe since, whereupon shee kept the Company of a Gentleman that proposed to marry with her and death who is the desolver of all tooke his life from him, notwithstanding in the extremity of Death [made] her a large legacie which accordingly was performed, but at her husbands coming, whome at the first was moved with great impatience, nevertheless being persuaded by his Master, Hawkins, and others he forgave her the offence & did receive her to his fauore & did newly attire and array [her]. This being ended he rode toward London, as report went, with not soe little as 20 horse Load of gold and silver. You may assure your selfe that he was greatly welcome to the Court both of the Queens Majesty and her counsel.

If nothing else this gives a worm's eye view of the reactions to his return.

Even the historian William Camden, who knew Drake and had talked with him about his voyages, took a somewhat detached view of the Thomas Doughty affair on his circumnavigation. Doughty, "an industrious and stout man, and the next to himself [i.e. second in command], was called to his Trial for raising a Mutiny in the fleet, found guilty by Twelve men, after the English manner, and condemned to death, which he suffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having first received the Holy Communion with Drake. And indeed the most indifferent persons in the Fleet were of opinion that he had acted seditiously, and that Drake cut him off as an Emulator of his Glory, and one that regarded not so much who he himself excelled in commendations for Sea-matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not some who, pretending to understand things better than others, gave out that Drake
had in charge from Leicester, to take off Doughty upon any Pretence whatever, because he had reported abroad, that the Earl of Essex was made away by the cunning practices of Leicester.” The last reference was to the death in Ireland of the first Devereux earl of Essex in 1576, it was strongly suspected, by poisoning. Doughty had served (as had Drake) with Essex in Ireland. The fact that such stories could circulate and outlive both Drake and Leicester, indicates how much savage rivalry there was between opposing factions at the Elizabethan court. Indeed the allegation that Doughty had told Lord Burghley (who after all as Lord Treasurer was still the Queen’s chief minister but hostile to Drake’s project) of the secret plans of the expedition, also reveals this internal struggle. These episodes are included here only because they bring to light the conflicting contemporary attitudes to Drake. They are no less or more true than many journalistic reports on prominent men and women of our own day: yet gossip and rumor are not entirely to be ignored if only because they convey atmosphere, if not always precise truth.

At sea, off the west coast of South America, Drake was careful, where he met no resistance or personal hostility from the Spanish prisoners he took, to show them personal courtesy and consideration. If a ship resisted or if his prisoners refused him information he felt he needed, he could be tough, though he avoided killing. With aristocratic prisoners he observed the strictest courtesies. To Don Francisco de Zárate, a cousin no less of the duke of Medina Sidonia, who was to command the Armada to defeat a decade later, he was all attention, and in return Zárate has left us a word-picture of Drake at the height of his venture, which is a memorable one; he says (in part)

*The general... is a nephew of John Hawkins, and is the same, who, about five years ago, took the port of Nombre de Dios. He is called Francisco Drac, and is a man of about 35 years of age, low of stature, with a fair beard, and is one of the greatest mariners that sails the seas, both as a navigator and as a commander. His vessel is a galleon of nearly four hundred tons [150 by English reckoning, 200 by Spanish]. She is manned with a hundred men, all*
of service, and of an age for warfare, and all are as practiced therein as old soldiers from Italy could be. . . . He treats them with affection, and they treat him with respect. He carries with him nine or ten cavaliers, cadets of English noblemen. These form a part of his council which he calls together for even the most trivial matter, although he takes advice from no one. But he enjoys hearing what they say and afterwards issues his orders. He has no favorite.

The aforesaid gentlemen sit at his table. . . . He is served on silver dishes with gold borders and gilded garlands, in which are his arms. He carries all possible dainties and perfumed waters. He says that many of these had been given to him by the Queen. None of these gentlemen took a seat or covered his head before him, until he repeatedly urged him to do so. . . . He dines and sups to the music of viols.

He continued:

This galleon of his carries about thirty heavy pieces of artillery [19 to be precise] and a great quantity of firearms with the requisite ammunition and lead. . . . He carries trained carpenters and artisans, so as to be able to ca¬reen the ship at any time. Besides being new, the ship has a double lining [of wood, not lead or copper]. I understand that all the men he carries receive wages, because, when our ship was sacked, no man dared take anything without his orders. He shows them great favor but punishes the last fault. He also carries painters who paint pictures for him [in Spanish, debujar was to make maps as well as to paint pictures] of the coast in its exact colors. This I was most grieved to see, for each thing is so naturally depicted that no one who guides himself according to these paintings can possibly go astray. . . . I managed to ascertain whether the General was well liked, and all said that they adored him.

Few Englishmen were to speak so well of him.

After his return from his world-encompassing voyage, he was a hero about whom things get written. The Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, might inveigh against him as a pirate, and John Doughty, Thomas’s brother, might call him a murderer, but his exploit had pro-
vided a wonderful stimulus for the seamen, the courtiers, and the urban populace at large. We are told that ballads and prints soon celebrated his achievements, although none of these early ones have survived. Early in 1581 Nicholas Breton, a poet-journalist, had set out to write a news pamphlet about him, but the word had already gone round that no details must be published about the voyage. After all, specific information might well bring on a war with Spain before the secret negotiations which were going on behind the scenes were concluded. The negotiations were concluded by the beginning of April 1581. Breton’s tract\(^5\) came out in February or March and was acceptable presumably because it was so free of details. Entitled *A discourse in commendation of the valiant gentleman, maister Frauncis Drake*, with a reioyising of his happy adventures, it was dedicated “To the righte Noble minded the happy Gentleman, Maister Frauncis Drake,” but the dedication contained nothing of consequence except vague generalized praise. Breton was least restrained in the poem which followed:

*Braue is the minde, that loues to looke broade,*
*and Wit employes, to woorke of greatest woorth:*
*Vnlo whose hart no labour seemes a loade.*
*Nor farthest farre, when Fancy setteth foorth.*
*To forwarde mindes, in Fortune still a freend:*
*Happy the hart, brings all things to good end.*

*Of gallant minde that hath gon out so farre,*
*as none before, and follow they that can:*
*Whose wooorthy woorke, may be a shining starre,*
*vnto the eye of every perfect man,*
*Let Captaines crouche, and Cowards leaue to crake,*
*And giue the fame to little Captaine Drake.*
Little I say in limme, but not in minde,
for greater hart did neuer Caesar beare:
By hard attempts, such happy Fame to finde,
as well deserves the Lawrell braunche to weare.
What need more words? let Housebirds keepe their hold
Our Captaine Drake, hath wun the Gole of Golde.

Breton was to write better verse, but both his verse and prose were here constrained by what was permissible at the time. Empty Classical analogies and rhetoric fill out the remainder of his sixteen pages, and the best he can do is offer apologies for not saying more. “I will say but what I thinke and thinke that I cannot say, in commendation of your happy deserts that may well be had in greatest admiration of your happy deserts”. When I first read these words I was deeply disappointed that the first tract on Drake, which had at last emerged at Sotheby’s in 1965, was empty, virtually, of all special historical content. At the same time it was clearly significant. Drake was worthy of commendation in print, even if only in general terms, as a hero who had done the impossible.

Breton was not alone in getting something on the voyage into print. The Latin poem De navigatione . . . Humfredi Gilberti, . . . carmen, by the Hungarian, Stephen Parmenius, then in London, published as early as June 1582, contained the first reference, as Hakluyt believed, to Drake’s claiming of New Albion (i.e., California) for England at the request of the native inhabitants of his landing place. Parmenius interpreted this event as a plea from them for a continuing English presence.

You surely see that sad
America, who proffered recently
(with downcast crown) her rights and loyalty
To independent England, now holds out
Her ample hand (unkempt, and with her hair
long since dishevelled)
“Please do not ignore
My tears, fair sister,” she implores, “feel
For me in my misfortune. Are you not aware
What times and what disasters I have seen
After the Spaniards’ endless appetite
For gold had spurred them on to infiltrate my lands?

This instance fits closely with Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s plan to colonize North America, thus following up Drake’s initial claim to what is now western North America as English land.

In a subsequent passage, after celebrating Cabot and Frobisher, he turns briefly to the circumnavigation (as translated by Neil Chesire):

Nor can it be in vain that Francis Drake
Your noble hero, recently sailed round
The vast circumference of Earth (a feat
Denied to man for many centuries),
To show how father Neptune circumscribes
The continents, and wanders in between
To keep two worlds apart.

These references placed Drake, less than two years after his return, inside the pantheon of English explorers which Hakluyt was to elaborate in his famous later collections.

It was the mapmakers who were the first to spread specific knowledge of his achievement. As early as 1584, maps showing his track were circulating in manuscript in both England and France, though they were not to get into print until later. However, relations with Spain were changing sharply. Once the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, had been expelled early in 1584 it was possible to print more freely about Drake (though it still remains strange that no narrative of the circumnavigation appeared). When, in 1585, he was about to set out on a major raid on Spain and her western possessions, it was possible to publish a tract that extolled his personality and his purposes. This was written by Henry Roberts, himself a seaman, pirate, privateer, and a vigorous journalist poet, if never a sophisticated one. A most friendly farewell...
Frauncis Drake lamented the fact that no one in verse or prose had done justice to his earlier achievements:

> When true report had biased abroid the iii. yeres taken toile,  
> Of that rare knight Syr Francis Drake through many a foreigne soile,  
> Who by his travaile on the Seas vnto his endlesse fame,  
> Did purchase for his country wealth, and credit to his name.  
> I did expect some Ouids pen to paint his worthy praise,  
> Who when he dies shal still remaine with fame on earth alwaies.  
> But none hath writ that earst I sawe. . . .

Even Roberts himself had hesitated, he says, “to strike my simply sayle,” and when he did set out to write he did not achieve any very striking or memorable phrases:

> Yea all the world almoste Sir Francis Drake hath scene.  
> And welcomes great hath euer had where he on shore hath been  
> The Heathen Princes honoured him, & favores did him giue,  
> And victuals store of such as did their bodyes all relieue.

Roberts admits that Drake had his enemies even before he left in 1577 and that when Winter returned in June 1579, it was to report he had lost contact with Drake and that he was probably dead, “Which newes to some right ioyfull was that wished him no good.” When he returned, all these contrary hopes were swept away:

> All this our Poets might haue wrote if they his fame did tender,  
> Besides the wealth that he home brought a good cause to remember.

But he himself will come out with unstinted praise:

> But long may good sir Francis liue which hath enricht our land,  
> The like was neuer scene nor heard since England first did stand.

And he concludes his eulogy by saying

> What should I say but this of him his deedes deserue so well,  
> That of all others which I know Syr Frances beares the bell.
These lumbering sixteeners, however heavy-handed they may seem to us, were similar to Drake’s own meter. When, after Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s loss at sea in 1583, Sir George Peckham wished to carry on his colonizing project in America, his pamphlet *A true reporte, of the late discoueries*, published late in 1583, contained prefatory complimentary poems by, amongst others, Sir Francis Drake: his seven couplets are scarcely worth giving in full but compare well enough with those of Roberts less than two years later. He begins:

> Who seekes by worthie deedes to gaine renowne [renown] for hire:  
> Whose hart, whose hed whose purse is prest: to purchase his desire  
> If anie suche there bee, that thirsteth after Fame:  
> Lo, heer a meane, to winne himselfe an everlasting name.

His concluding couplet is

> So that, for each degree, this Treatise dooth vnofolde:  
> The path to Fame, the prove of Zeale, and way to purchase golde.

His words show that he here expressed his own outlook: engage in some striking action (such as the circumnavigation) and return with gold, and your personal fame is assured.

Drake’s first major expedition after the circumnavigation was that to the West Indies in 1585–6. Apart from Greepe’s dull narrative, it was admirably recounted in Walter Bigges (and others), *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian voyage* (published at Leiden in French and Latin in 1588; in German at Cologne in 1589; in English twice, 1589 and 1596, to list only the principal separate editions), and there, in the attacks on Santiago, Santo Domingo, and Cartagena, as well as San Agustín, Drake’s seamanship, skill in combining force and diplomacy, and realization of what he could and could not do are well illustrated.

In the Spanish archives also is an intercepted letter in Latin from a foreign visitor to the English court who met Drake and heard much about him after his return. His impression is worth giving as a presumably unbiased reaction:
The whole Court, however, is resounding with praise for Drake; and although mine is rather more modest, I of course believe in the truth of what I have reported about him. I have met him, and if I am any judge of a man’s character, he seems destined by the Good Lord to achieve great things: perceptive and intelligent by nature, his practical ability astonishing, his memory acute, his skill in managing a fleet virtually unique, his general manner moderate and restrained, so that individuals are won over and gripped by affection for him. He easily evokes obedience from soldiers and sailors, and consequently if he is compelled to be severe, such is the fairness with which he acts that all resentment or even hatred soon dies away. I say nothing about his magnanimity; and about his learning, experience and technique in navigation, which events themselves have made abundantly clear.

This is the reaction of an intelligent and detached observer. Nonetheless in the report as a whole Drake’s actions are described in an exaggerated way; the forces which the Spaniards had and those which Drake himself commanded are depicted as much larger than they were in fact; the general atmosphere he conveyed of a major victory exaggerated the circumstances. Indeed, Drake’s own claims were quite out of proportion, as is indicated in this summing up.

He conveys a lively but exaggerated impression of Drake’s reception at Court, though he is clearly excited by Drake’s personality and by the reports he has heard of his relations with his men during the voyage, as well as his technical skills as a navigator. What is clear is that Drake’s own estimates of the effect which his expedition had on the Spanish empire are not realistic, but it remains true that the success Drake had in capturing several main Spanish settlements in the Caribbean had activated Spanish fears about the security of her Caribbean possessions and set on foot a program for strengthening them against any comparable attack in the future.

*Hence his boast that the King of Spain could not repair and reconstruct, in twenty years of continuous peace and with the expense of tens of thousands*
or millions of gold pieces, what he personally had destroyed, burned and ravaged in such a very little time, quite apart from the treasure which he plundered and brought home with him from the captured places — for that was by no means insignificant.

Had this been so, future English raids would have destroyed much of the Caribbean strongholds of Spain. As it was, within a few years the Spaniards were stronger than ever, so that when, finally, Drake went on his last voyage in 1595 he found an almost unbelievable increase in Spanish strength and capacity to resist.

On the voyage of 1585–6, as in that of 1577–80, Drake showed astonishing openness in speaking with Spaniards who were his prisoners or who were negotiating with him. He made no secret of his plans: this the Spaniards could often scarcely credit, and thought he was deliberately lying when the chances were he was telling the truth. One of the citizens of Cartagena, when he was negotiating a ransom for the city, reported

Captain Francis says openly that he intends to take that city of Panama. . . . Of his audacity and good luck it may well be expected that he will try it although I think it will be difficult for him to reach Panama with his forces. This month and next, I think the Chagres river is low and if he waits longer the galleons [the galeones which guarded the treasure fleet] will catch him. . . . Although Captain Francis affects to despise them, I fancy that should he meet them he would lay aside his arrogance, for his fleet is small. Of the ships and troops I have mentioned above, except the captains and officers and as many as a hundred gentlemen he has with him, all the rest are very common people; but their general has them thoroughly in hand and well-disciplined. When he set the thousand men ashore at Cartagena he told them that if they failed to take the city or any returned to the ship he would not be received but hanged. That they might the better accomplish their purpose he would, if necessary, provide 300 men as a rearguard. These had not time to come up to take any active part in the fight because the thousand sufficed for the purpose.
We can see in this example, Drake's confidence (for at the time he really did intend to make an overland attack on Panama) and his arrogance in regard to the crack units of the Spanish fleet which he had faced with Hawkins, under such heavy odds, in 1568. We also get a glimpse of his ruthlessness: his men must carry out their orders and succeed or he would have no mercy on them.

In his 1587 expedition Drake did a brilliant cutting-out operation at Cadiz, destroying much shipping and stores collected for the invasion of England. A number of his associates, notably his second-in-command, Sir John Borough, another professional seaman who had risen from the ranks, accused him of ending the action too soon and allowing some important ships to survive. After the event he was to accuse Borough of mutiny. In fact, Drake had his own plans for his fleet. He stationed himself off the south-west of Portugal to await Spanish treasure ships coming from the West Indies. When they did not appear he sallied out into the Atlantic and was fortunate enough to intercept and capture a rich Portuguese galleon coming from the East Indies, the São Julian, the first to be taken by the English, which enabled him to rebut Borough's counter-claim that it was he, Drake, who was guilty of mutiny. The controversy in England between them was very bitter, in the course of which Borough raked up old attacks on Drake (for his conduct in 1568 in leaving John Hawkins to fight alone against the Spanish at San Juan de Ulúa), saying:18

Sir Francis Drake is urging this matter so vehemently against me, being able sufficiently to clear myself from being privy or abetting to the coming away of the Lion [a ship which had left the fleet], doth altogether forget how he demeaned himself towards his Master and Admiral, Master John Hawkins, at the port of San Juan de Ulua in the West Indies, when contrary to his said Admiral's command he came away and left his said Master in great extremity, whereupon he was forced to set at shore in that country to seek their adventure 100 of his men; which matter if it had been so followed against him (for that he could no way excuse it) might justly have procured that to him-
self which now is most unjustly bloodily, and maliciously by all devices whatsoever he hath sought and still seeketh against me.

He certainly did pursue his case against Borough but with little success, and it may be that Borough is too hard on Drake for what had happened nearly twenty years before. At the same time, the resuscitation of old charges showed that Drake’s reputation had its shady sides even amongst his fellow-professionals.

It is perhaps ironic that it was just then, 1587, that a learned Dane published a broadside eulogy of him in Latin. We know little of Joannes Hercusanus, who wrote a poem to Magnifico ac strenuo viro Domino Francisco Draco Anglo equiti aurato. Here (in a translation by Neil Cheshire) are a few of the things he said:

How very appropriate for action is the name that you have, [Sir] Francis, the glory of the English race; for a Dragon is accustomed to going out spiritedly against wild beasts and to being fearless of the strength of others.

The poet went on:

Thus you venture boldly against fierce enemies, [Sir] Francis, and subdue their curving horns. Not by [noble] ancestry, but by virtue itself do you keenly demonstrate the loyalty, love and zeal that you have for your country; for that same virtue, which is its own most welcome reward, truly ennobles men by itself. Only virtue goes from strength to strength, and only glory that is hard won by actions endures and does not fear the melancholy tomb.

He is praised for his traversing of distant seas and bearding the swarthy Spaniard, and on his latest episode in 1587 he concludes:

From here the goddess Victory secured well-deserved praise for you when she led your warships through the broad Ocean. Neither the wind nor the vastness of the sea prevented you: winds and waves provide a path for virtue. Therefore, (Sir) Francis, your honour and name will flourish as long as the Great Bear twinkles with his seven-fold torch.

Drake in these terms was in the process of becoming myth, not man.
Nicola van Sype. "La Herdike [Heroicke] Enterprinse fait par le Seigneur Draek." In: Francis Pretty. Voyage Curieux (Paris, 1641). When Drake returned from the circumnavigation he presented a map of his voyage to Queen Elizabeth, which was probably destroyed in the Whitehall fire of 1698. This map by van Sype is the earliest of two engraved maps derived from the Queen’s lost manuscript.
Franciscus Drake. *Nobilissimus Eques Angliae* ([Germany? ca. 1588]). Drake's circumnavigation and his exploits against Spain and the West Indies captured the imagination of all Protestant Europe. This piece of continental Protestant propaganda was probably issued about the time the Armada was threatening England in 1588.
His part in the Armada campaign was significant. Placed in command of the western fleet, his lighter ships pounded in vain the heavily built Spanish galleons. He was criticized after the event for diverting his flagship to make sure his one prize was brought safely to Weymouth, but he rejoined the fleet soon enough to initiate the vital sending of the fireships into Calais harbour, which enabled the English ships to attack the scattered Spanish vessels before they could reform their fleet, though with only comparatively slight success. Still, Drake can be, and was, regarded as a prime factor in forcing the damaged Spanish vessels to take the dangerous northern route homewards, which was to account for most of their losses. This action won him much fame, although little of it was recorded in print at the time.

Drake’s biographers have felt that Drake showed a certain loss of nerve after 1588, but none have been able to explain it. Some have thought that perhaps he was physically less resilient than he had been, even obscurely ill; others have felt that operating on large scale ventures such as those of 1588, 1589, and 1595 was outside his scope. He had to fit in with other men’s plans and had not the same opportunity for initiative that he had shown earlier. Certainly in the Portugal voyage of 1589 he did not come off too well. The promise that he made to Sir Henry Norris, who was leading a land force from Peniche towards Lisbon, had been that he would sail into Lisbon harbor and so enable a dual land and sea effort to be made so as to take the Portuguese capital. This he did not attempt. Instead, he waited at Cascaes and missed his chance. The entire venture was disastrous, since thousands of men were lost by disease and malnutrition as well as by enemy action, but Drake had also faltered on the way out at Corunna and found it hard, virtually impossible, to resist the charges of negligence made against him after his return. It is too complex an issue to discuss here, but it might appear that he deserved at least some of the opprobrium that was poured on him, so that for more than three years he was exiled from London and had to devote himself to affairs in Devonshire while the sea-war went on without him.
The last voyage of 1595–6 was in many ways a strange end for so brilliant a career. A major fleet at last was put under his command, jointly with his older relative and long time friend, John Hawkins. Hawkins was over 60; Drake was anything between 50 and 55 (so little do we know about the date of his birth). Certainly, Hawkins was too set in his ways for an expedition intended to capture not only treasure but bases in the Caribbean. Much of the responsibility fell on Drake, who showed only traces of his old fire and initiative. Moreover, the Spaniards were stronger and much more resilient and skilful than they had been in the old days of his early raids. There is undoubted evidence that Hawkins throughout held the fleet back through over-caution, and that Drake was unable to respond to the opportunities for getting to Puerto Rico in time to capture the treasure stored there before extensive defensive preparations had been made. Hawkins died off Puerto Rico before the outcome of the English attacks was certain. Yet it is true that Drake, though some of his shore manoeuvres were very skillful, failed both to push home the attack from the sea and shirked using soldiers for an attack by land. The Spaniards could scarcely believe he had sailed away from Puerto Rico when he did. Their official report quoted the statements made by prisoners he released:

These men confirmed the death of John Hawkins and the sorrow felt on his account, as well as the great damage that the enemy had received. ... So much were they harmed that when, on the day after the fighting Francis Drake held a council to determine whether they should renew the attack, he found no one to agree with him, especially because these men had told him that our forces were very strong—stronger than formerly. Drake was amazed when he learned how few men were aboard the frigates on the night of the fire [an episode when the English attacked and then withdrew], and plucked his beard for not having taken the treasure and the island.

The report went on to say that he claimed it was Hawkins who delayed him at Guadeloupe so that the garrison could obtain reinforcements, and
that he sulked for several days. This was scarcely the old Drake. He would have cut down opposition in the council and used his own judgment in renewing the attack, but he was still an optimist. He told his men, when had recovered and had decided to sail on, there were better prospects ahead: "The general presently saide I will bringe thee to 20 places farre more wealthy and easier to bee gotten."

Even when he had sole charge of the fleet he squandered time in raiding small settlements on the Venezuela coast instead of going directly to Nombre de Dios for the proposed attack on Panama. This again allowed the Spaniards time to mount skillful if not very formidable defences through which Sir Thomas Baskerville, with 750 men, was unable to batter his way. The Spaniards concluded that Drake had set his mind on this venture, even though they considered "he was risking himself and his fleet in such an attempt. For there seemed to him no other way of saving his reputation or justifying himself to the Queen, since he was much grieved that all he had done with so powerful a royal fleet he could have achieved with a single ship and two launches, the anguish of which thought caused him to fall sick, of which sickness seven days later he died as he entered the harbor of Porto Belo with his fleet." The acute depression that surrounded Drake could easily lead to this interpretation of his death. He was surrounded by men who were suffering hardships and disease and who were complaining, not unnaturally, that he "had deceived them and the Queen by making them great promise of much wealth to get support for the enterprise." But we know now that it was a severe and fatal dysentery that carried him off. Baskerville's creditable return with most of the ships and men, did a little to mitigate the defeat, even though to Spain the news was a powerful tonic to the aging Philip II.

One of his captains on the voyage, Thomas Maynarde, set out a few years later to place an impression of the voyage on record. He did so critically, though without rancor, and his estimate of Drake is not to be ignored.
A man of great spirit and fitt to undertake matters. . . . and discreetly to
governe in conducting them, to places where service was to be done, than to
commande them in the execution therof. But assuredly his very name was a
great terror to the enemie in all those partes havinge hearetofore done many
things in those countries to his honorable fame and profit. But entringe into
them as the childe of fortune it may be his selfe-willed and peremptorie com-
mand was doubted. And that caused her majestie (as should seeme) to joyne
Sir John Hawkins in equal commission. A man oulde and warie in entringe
into matters with so laden a foote, that the others meate would be eaten be-
fore his spit could come to the fire, men of so different natures and disposi-
tions that what one desireth the other would commonly oppose against. And
though theyr warye carriages sequestred it from meaner wittes yet it was ap-
parently scene to better judgments before our goenge from Plymouth that
whom the one loved the other smaly esteemed. Agreeing best (for what I could
conjecture) in giving out a glorious title to their intended journey.

The historian William Camden, who knew him, commented on the
irony of the place of his death:

In the meantime, viz. on the 28th of January, died Sir Francis Drake of the
Bloudy-flux, together with Grief for his ill Fortune, and after the manner of
Funerals at Sea, was cast over-board with a Peal of Ordnance, almost in the
same place where he first began to grow famous to the World by his fortunate
Successes.

Drake’s death, when news of it reached Europe, caused a major sen-
sation, not only in England but on the Continent. A memorial broadside
in Latin is probably only one of a number published in England. A single
copy of this one alone survives: In memoriam celeberrimi viri domini Fran-
cisci Drake militis (1596): A free translation of the first stanza reads:

He who in wars at sea such hazards underwent,
Through love of his own Country ever led;
Drake now at length the eternal shores hath reached
Of Peace, and for his reward eternal Peace.
It went on to extol some of his exploits and the terror he was to Spain. Ironically it praised Essex as, in a sense, his replacement, though Essex was to die on the block within five years from then.

One of the better engraved portraits of Drake was that by Crispin van de Passe and it is probable that it circulated separately as a print. It appeared in C. van de Passe and M. Quad, *Effigies regum ac principium*, with a Latin verse, of which Neil Cheshire has made this neat translation:

Had Ovid known my life as well  
True tales there would have been to tell:  
How Neptune’s son had spread his wing  
And round the Oceans drawn a ring;  
Then into Drake, this Dragon-Knight,  
Transformed was he (amazing sight!)  
Thus was I always armed for wars  
With tail and talons, wings and jaws.

The most elaborate English epitaph for Drake was written by Charles Fitz-Geffrey, *Sir Francis Drake, his honorable lifes commendation, and his tragicall deathes lamentation*. The poem is a long one and covers in one way or another many of Drake’s achievements and those of other leading Elizabethan seamen. In its earlier stanzas it all but deifies him:

What ere it be where worthy Drake doth lie,  
That sacred shrine entombes Deitie.

While his readers are told:

Make Drake your Saint, and make the shrine his hearse,  
You yourselves Priests, the sacrifice your verse.

And also:

Be thou religious to renowned Drake,  
And place him in thy catalogue of saints.  
In steade of Neptune, God of sea him make,
Either to loose, or bind the windes restraint;  
Let sea-men offer him their vowes and plaintes. . . .

He took up the dragon motif:

Not to a fearefill ramme, or feeble cow;  
But to a dragone Drake himself should turne;  
From whose fierce nostrils flakes of fire should burne  
And sets him to burn Spaniards with his flame.

Perhaps the poem was most eloquent on the circumnavigation:

A Golden Hind, led by his art and might,  
Bare him about the earth's sea-walled round  
With the unresisted Roe out-running flight,  
While Fame (the harbinger) a trumpe did sound.  
That heaven and earth with echo's did abound;  
Echo of Drake a high praise of his name,  
Name royalis'd by worth, worth raised by fame.  
Tell how he bare the round world in a ship,  
A ship, which round the world he bare.  
Whose saile did winged Eurus flight outstrip,  
Scorning tempestuous Boreas stormy dare,  
Discrying uncouth coasts, and countries rare:  
And people which no eie had ever seene,  
Save Daies faire golden eie, Nights bright Queene.

He goes into the main phases of the voyages, mainly with a catalogue of names, and interestingly enough he places New Albion last:

He that the rich Moluccas fles had seene.  
He that a new founde Albion descricede  
And safely home againe his barke did guide.

Much of the poem was naturally about his last voyage and his companions there, concluding with a grandiloquent peroration:
And that the heav'ns still on Drakes praise may look.
The Gods shall read, and Saints peruse the booke.

After Fitz-Geffrey's overblown eloquence (was it at least in some degree worthy of its subject?) there was not much more to say, but others, not all in England said it.

From Sir William Monson we have a considered comment on his personality from one who knew him but may not have put down his opinion until some years after Drake's death. He paid special tribute to his eloquence and to his power of command, but considered him arrogant and boastful. This is what one might expect from a generous-minded member of the gentry class who could praise Drake but nevertheless considered that he behaved as if he belonged by birth to a higher status than he did: he remained in their eyes, to the end, something of an upstart. Monson says:

He would speak much and arrogantly, but eloquently, which was a wonder to many that his education could yield him those helps of nature. Indeed he had four properties to further his gift of speaking, viz. his boldness of speech, his understanding of what he spoke, his inclination to speak, and his use in speaking; and though vain-glory is a vice not to be excused, yet he obtained that fame by his actions, that facility in speaking and that wisdom by his experience, that I can say no more, but that we are all the children of Adam. His friends further say, that his haughty and high carriage is somewhat excusable, when it appears, but not in his command, for a general ought to be stern to his soldiers, courageous in his person, valiant in fight, generous in giving, patient in suffering, and merciful in pardoning: and if Sir Francis Drake was to be praised for most of these virtues, let him not be blamed for one vice only.

We can see in this considered verdict by a member of the naval establishment how strikingly Drake impressed himself on his ranking associates at sea, a fine leader, the finest perhaps on occasion, but, as the English say, "not out of the top drawer." It may be that the very qualities
of overstatement and eloquent self-assertion which startled and somewhat shocked the reticent Englishmen, were the ones which, even though he was their enemy, attracted many of the high-born Spaniards with whom he came into contact.

The reactions of Spanish writers to Drake we might expect to be uniformly hostile. This was not necessarily so. Juan de Castellanos wrote in his *Elegías* (1589) verse biographies of most of the famous *conquistadores* as well as a history of New Grenada in the same medium. He was one of the very few colonists to attempt to, and to achieve, some literary fame in Spain. It is interesting that one whole canto of the *Elegías* was devoted to Sir Francis Drake. In it he recounted, without rancor, the circumnavigation and gave a clear picture how in 1586 he saw Drake in person at Cartagena. When, somewhat later he put his poems before the Spanish censor, the part relating to Drake was cut out, and the *Elegías* published without it. The manuscript was not, however, confiscated but survived to become part of the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps in the nineteenth century and was sold back to the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid at an early Phillipps sale. It was published, for the first time, by A. González Palencia at Madrid in 1921, and is of some value for the documentation of the West Indies voyage, if less for the circumnavigation. His pen-portrait of Drake is interesting, the smallish, well-proportioned man, who is diplomat and soldier in one:

*Hes hombre rojo de gracioso gesto,*  
*menos en estatura que mediano;*  
*mas en sus proporciones bien compuesto*  
*y en plática, medido cortesano,*  
*respuestas vivas, un ingenio presto*  
*en todas quantas cosas pone mano,*  
*en negocios mayormente de guerra*  
*muy pocas o ningunas veces yerra.*
Two years after his death, Drake had the somewhat ironic distinction of being the subject of an epic poem of 782 stanzas by Félix Lope de Vega Carpio, Spain’s greatest dramatist and poet of the period, who had, himself, served at sea with the Armada of 1588. He followed religiously—if with hostility—Drake’s attacks on Spain and her overseas territories from the time of his early association with John Hawkins in the 1560s down to his death in 1596. Drake’s death marked the final victory of Spain over the “El Dragón” who had infested her as the “Dragon” of the Cruel Medea—Elizabeth—for a generation. Inevitably Lope de Vega’s view of Drake is colored by his Spanish nationalist outlook, but he credits Drake with qualities which made him a worthy enemy, however much he had tried, and more often than not failed, to inflict a major blow to Spain’s national and imperial interests. Any attempt to reflect the richness of this fine poem by selective quotation would fail to give a full impression of its quality.

Spain through the centuries has seen Drake as the most characteristic and detested English figure of the period. The “Dragon” image has survived. In 1955, in the Museo Naval in Madrid, when I asked for some manuscripts relating to Drake, the naval lieutenant who was acting as curator, gave me such a steely glare that my wife said afterwards that if he had had his sword in place he would have had difficulty in restraining himself from drawing it on me.

After the war, though, Juan de Miramontes Zuazola in “Armas Antárticas” expressed his admiration:

_Era Francisco Draque audaz, valiente,_  
_Considerado, pródigo, ingenioso,_  
_Sagaz, astuto, plático, prudente,_  
_Diestro, arriscado, fuerte, venturoso,_  
_Grato, discreto, afable, continente,_  
_Sufrido, vigilante, receloso,_  
_De ánimo y pensamiento levantado,_  
_Gran marinero y singular soldado._
There is no single English tribute which assigns to Drake so many virtues, but it may be as well to remember that Miramontes was writing not in the reign of Felipe el Prudente but in that of Felipe Tercero and his favourite the Duque de Lerma, very different creatures. Looking back, Drake must have appeared rather like one of the old conquistadores come back in a new romantic light.

Within a generation, recollections of Drake were often colored by sentiment: one deservedly famous pen-picture was given by Robert Hayman,32 a pioneer in the settlement of Newfoundland and that island’s first poet. In his Quodlibets, a series of racy verses, he gave this backward-looking view of the seaman: Of the Great and Famous, ever to be honoured Knight, Sir Francis Drake and of my little-little self:

The Dragon that our seas did raise his Crest,  
and brought back heaps of gold unto his nest,  
Unto his Foes more terrible than Thunder;  
Glory of his age, After-ages wonder,  
Excelling all those that excell’d before;  
It’s feared we shall have none such any more.  
Effecting all he sole did undertake,  
Valiant, just, wise, milde, honest, godly Drake.

This man when I was little [Hayman was born in 1575], I did meet,  
As he was walking up Totnes long street.  
He asked me whose I was. I answered him.  
A fair red orange in his hand he had.  
He gave it to me, whereof I was right glad,  
Takes and kissed me, and prays “God blesse my boy”,  
Which I record with comfort to this day.  
Could he on me have breathed with his breath,  
His gifts Elias-like, after his death,  
Then had I been enabled for to do  
Many brave things, I have a heart unto.
I have as great desire as e’re had hee
  to joy, annoy, friends, foes; but ’twill not be.

Not all those who knew him well would be so complimentary (or in such bad verse) but it is clear that Drake became in the next century a type-figure of the great age of English seamanship.
Notes

I have omitted Richard Hakluyt’s part in publicizing Drake’s circumnavigation in his works of 1589 and 1598–1600, since I have dealt in detail with this in “Early Accounts of the Famous Voyage,” in Norman, J. W. Thrower, ed., Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 33–48. I am much indebted to Neil Cheshire for his fine translations and for his willingness to allow me to reprint them.

2. Bristol calendar, 1220–1774. Bristol Public Library, MS 4502, f.68.
5. Nicholas Breton, A discourse in commendation of the valiant gentleman, maister Frauncis Drake, with a rejoysing of his happy adventures (London: John Charlewood, 1581), sig.2 r & v. S.T.C. 3646.5 Library of Congress: Kraus Collection.
7. Richard Hakluyt, Principal navigations 3 (1600), 142.

Nonne vides, quae submissio diademate nuper
Obtulit invictis fascesque fidesque Britannis,
Nonne vides passis ut crinibus horrida dudum
Porrigit ingentem lugubris America dextram?
Et "Numquid lacrymas," ibquit soror Anglia nostras
Respicis et dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis?
An vero nescisse potes quae temporae quantis
Cladibus egerimus, postquam insatiabilis auri

31
(Non certe non ullus amor virtutis) Iberos
In nostrum migrare solum (pietasve) coegit?

Ni Frustra, quod mortali tot secla negaran
Hac tuus immensus nuper Dracus ambit orbem
Qui patri Oceane clausas circumdare terras
Concessit natura viam, mediaque meare
Tellure et duplici secludere littore mundos.


11. Elizabeth was always secretive about real or potential additions to her financial re-
resources. She kept details of the supposed gold-bearing ore from Baffin Island in
1577 and 1578 secret in such a way as to frustrate attempts to analyze it properly,
and also concealed the amount of treasure brought by Cavendish in 1588. In
Drake’s case, as the treasure was the result of piracy, and as relations with Spain
were becoming critical, she was especially anxious that detailed information on
the nature and proceeds of his voyage should not be published.

12. The verse form can perhaps be more accurately described as akin to “Poulter’s mea-
sure,” which had a wide currency at the time and which Drake himself adopted
when he came to contribute some prefatory rhyming couplets to a publication
by Sir George Peckham.

13. Sir George Peckham, A true reporte of the late discoueries, and possession, taken in the
right of the Crowne of Engladene of the Newfound Landes (London: J. Charlewood for
John Hinde, 1583) S.T.C. 19523; D. B. Quinn, The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises

14. Thomas Greepe, The true and perfecte newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes, per-
formed and done by that valiaunt knight, Syr Francis Drake (London: J.
Charlewood for T. Hackett, [1587], S.T.C. 12343; facsimile edition with an intro-
duction by David W. Waters [Hartford, Conn., 1955]), is a long prosaic narrative
in verse of the West Indian voyage, from which it seemed not worthwhile to
quote.

15. Walter Bigges [and others], A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West
Indian voyage (London: R. Field, 1589) S.T.C. 3056. For details of editions see M.
F. Keeler, Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage (London: Hakluyt Society, 1981),
301–309.

1979) 3:310.
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE


21. Ibid., 93.

22. Ibid., 229, 230, 231.

23. Ibid., 86; British Library, Additional Manuscript 5229, ff.2v–3v.

24. The History of Queen Elizabeth (1688), 502.


26. C. van de Passe and M. Quad, Effigies regum ac principium (Cologne, 1598).


29. Joan de Castellanos, Discurso de el Capitan Francisco Draque (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de D. Juan, 1921), 55. Translated by Prof. José Amor y Vázquez of Brown University. For a recent study of Castellanos and this poem, see Manuel Alvar, Juan de Castellanos: Tradición española y realidad americana (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1972).

He is ruddy, gracious in his gestures,
Of less than average height,
But well-proportioned,
A polite courtier in his conversation,
Of lively answers and quick wit;
In anything he deals with,
Particularly in matters of war,
He seldom, if ever makes mistakes.

30. Félix Lope de Vega Carpio, La Dragontea (Valencia: P.P. May, 1598); modern edition Burgos: Museo Naval, 2 vols. [1935], Canto 1, stanza 31, gives a taste only of its style:
Aquel Dragón de la cruel Medea
Francisco Draque de correr, cansado
Los Mismos paralelos que pasea
Del Aries de oro al pez el sol dorado.
O cuando cierta fama y verdad fea
En odio de la Reina retirado,
Tenía en ocio su mayor fortuna.
Manguando envidias su creciente luna.

This can be rendered:

That Dragon of the cruel Medea,
Francis Drake, [either] because he tired of running the same paths
The golden sun traverses, from Aries to the fish [Pisces];
Or when—banished from the Queen in hatred
Caused by certain fame and ugly truth—
In leisure had he found his greatest fortune,
Envy was making wane his crescent moon.

(Translation by Prof. José Amor y Vázquez of Brown University).

31. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 1250 (M.151), in translation by Prof. José Amor y Vázquez of Brown University:

Francis Drake was audacious, brave,
Considerate, farsighted, ingenious,
Sagacious, daring, practical, prudent,
Skillful, bold, strong, successful,
Pleasant, discreet, affable, restrained,
Enduring, vigilant, suspicious,
Of elevated soul and thought,
A great sailor and singular soldier.

Some Books about Sir Francis Drake
owned by
The John Carter Brown Library

by Burton Van Name Edwards

In Maritime History: a preliminary hand-list of the collection in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University (Providence, 1979), Danial Elliott included a special section devoted to Sir Francis Drake. This list consisted of 65 items (with 4 more items added between 1979 and 1984) relevant to the activities of Sir Francis Drake owned by the John Carter Brown Library. This new bibliographical supplement not only goes beyond the short-title format of Elliott’s work, but it is also almost twice as large as the earlier work. By consulting Alden and Landis, European Americana, as well as recent bibliographical works on Drake, particularly H. P. Kraus’s description of his fine Drake collection and the volume of essays on Drake edited by Norman J. Thrower, it has been possible to expand greatly the number of relevant titles owned by the John Carter Brown Library. Based on her work on the recent exhibition at the JCB, “Sir Francis Drake and his Times,” Susan Danforth was also able to suggest a number of titles for this bibliographical supplement.

Moreover, while particular attention has been paid to early modern imprints, a large number of more recent publications, which contain either modern critical editions of important sources for Drake’s life or present relevant manuscript material in print, have also been included in this bibliographical supplement. The inclusion of these items documents the crucial role the Hakluyt Society has played in disseminating original source material about Sir Francis Drake.
In addition, this bibliographical supplement incorporates an increased number of contemporary notices of Drake's activities. It should be noted that in some of these works, the references to Drake are extremely brief and that the process of ferreting out such references is far from complete. Nevertheless, the search for contemporary or near contemporary references to Drake is important because such texts will tell us much about the dissemination of knowledge about his discoveries, the evolving image of Drake in European public opinion, and the transformation of historical fact into myth and legend.

It cannot be claimed that this supplement provides a complete bibliography of Sir Francis Drake. More than a few works about Drake are simply too rare, existing in only one or two copies, making it virtually impossible for any one institution to own more than a few of these rare imprints. For example, Nicholas Breton's work on Drake, discussed by David Quinn above, exists in only 1 copy, which was acquired by H. P. Kraus and given to the Library of Congress. On the other hand, the 1596 work, printed in Cologne, *Franciscus Dracus redivivus*, exists only at the British Library and the JCB, while the work printed in the same year in Neuhofen [Strassburg], *Nova novorum*, is preserved only at the JCB and the Preussisches Kulturbesitz in Berlin. Despite these shortcomings, the following bibliographical supplement not only documents the richness of the collections of the John Carter Brown Library, but it should also provide a working bibliography, concentrating on primary source materials, for further research and study on the life of Sir Francis Drake.

Abbreviations

Alden-Landis. European Americana


Church, E. D. Discovery


Brown, J. C. Cat., 1493–1800


JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675


JCB Lib. cat., 1675–1700


JCB Lib. cat., additions 1471–1700


Palau y Dulcet (2nd ed.)

Sabin


STC (2nd ed.)


Wing (2nd ed.)

Books About Sir Francis Drake

1582

CLUSIUS, CAROLUS, 1526-1609.
[Aliquot notae in Garciae aromatum historiam.]
Antuerpiae : Ex officina Christophori Plantini, M.D.LXXXII [1582].
notes: References to various American plants, e.g., Mexican jasmine, p. 15–16 and cocoa, p. 28–30.

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, 1552?-1616.
Diuers voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the ilands adiacent vnto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the French-men and Britons: and certaine notes of aduertisements for obseruations, necessarie for such as shall heereafter make the like attempt, with two mappes annexed heereunto for the plainer understanding of the whole matter.
Imprinted at London: For Thomas VVoodcocke, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the blackebeare. 1582.
[60] leaves, [2] folded leaves of plates: 2 folded maps; 18 cm. (4to)
notes: “The Epistle Dedicatorie” signed: R.H. A propaganda publication intended to arouse English interest in overseas enterprise, including accounts of the products of America and the trade goods that would be suitable to the American Indians. Colophon: Imprinted at London at the three cranes in the Vine-tree, by Thomas Davvson, 1582.
LA POPELINIÈRE, LANCELOT VOISIN, SIEUR DE, 1541–1608.
Les trois mondes. Par le Seigneur de la Popelinière.

NOTES: Leaf 36 (5th count): reference to Queen Elizabeth’s possession of the log of Drake’s circumnavigation. Part 2 describes voyages of Columbus, Pizarro, Ribaut, etc. Part 3 describes voyages of Villegagnon, Vespucci, and Magellan.

REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, I:293; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 582/49.

1583
HONDIUS, JODOCUS, 1563–1612.
Franciscus Draeck Nobilissimus Eques Angliae An°. Aet Sue 43.
[London, ca. 1583].
Engraved portrait: 40 x 30.5 cm. (plate mark)
NOTES: Attributed to Jodocus Hondius and supposedly engraved during Drake’s lifetime. Thought to have been completed and published by George Vertue in the mid-eighteenth century. Original cooperplate now at Yale. Authorities now think that the plate was completed by the original engraver, not by Vertue.

REFERENCES: Kraus, H. P. Drake, 55.

1585
RABEL, JEAN, ca. 1545–1603.
Franciscus Draeck Nobilissimus Eques Angliae An°. Aet: Sue. 43.
A Paris, [ca. 1585].

NOTES: Engraved portrait, line. Half-length to left, with shield on which is represented a naval engagement. 5 1/2" x 4 1/2".

1586
DE REBUS GALLICIS, Belgicis, Anglicis, Italicis, Hispanicis, Constantinopolitanis &c. recens allata.
[Cologne?: s.n.], Anno M.D.LXXXVI. [1586].
[8] p.; 19 cm. (4to)

1587

ANGHIERA, PIETRO MARTIRE D’, 1457–1526.


NOTES: First published with all eight decades, Alcalá de Henares, 1530. Map documents Drake’s discoveries in the South Atlantic and Pacific.


1588

BIGGES, WALTER, d. 1586.
[Summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drake’s West Indian voyage. French]
Le voyage de Messire François Drake chevalier, aux Indes Occidentales l’an MDLXXXV auquel les villes de S. Iago, S. Domingo, S. Augustino & Cartagene ont esté prises . . . A Leyde, Chez Fr. de Raphelengien, MDLXXXVIII. [1588].

NOTES: Condensation and translation, by François de Louvencourt, from an English manuscript, first published in London as: “Summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drake’s West Indian voyage.” Begun by Walter Bigges and continued after his death, probably by his lieutenant, Master Croftes. This translation may have been made from the Latin edition of Leiden, 1588.


BIGGES, WALTER, d. 1586.
[Summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drake’s West Indian voyage. Latin]
Expeditio Francisci Draki equitis Angli in Indias Occidentales A.M.D.LXXXV. Quà vrbes, Fanum D. Iacobi, D. Dominici, D. Augustini & Carthagena captæ
fuère. Additis passim regionum locorumque omnium tabulis geographicis quàm accuratissimis.

Leydae, Apud Fr. Raphelengium., M.D.LXXXVIII. [1588].


NOTES: Condensation and translation from an English manuscript first published in London as: "Summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drake’s West Indian voyage." Begun by Walter Bigges and continued after his death, probably by his lieutenant, Master Croftes.


BOAZIO, BAPTISTA.

Civitas Carthagena in Indiae occidentalis continente sita, portu commodissimo ad mercaturam inter Hispaniam et Peru exercendam.

[Leiden, 1588].

Engraved plan, colored; 41 x 55 cm.

NOTES: Shows Drake’s raid on Cartagena in 1585. From W. Bigges, Expeditio Francisci Draki, Leiden, 1588. One of a series of four engravings which illustrate Drake’s activities and which usually appear in editions of Bigges. The other engravings depict St. Augustine, Santiago (Canary Islands) and Santo Domino. Cf. Kraus, H. P. Drake, 49.

FRANCISCUS DRAECK. Nobilissimus Eques Angliae. Is Est Qui Toto Terrarum Orbe Circumdacto id circumdacto pernosco in longitudine, in latitudine est impossible, etc.

[Germany? ca. 1588].

NOTES: Line engraving. 11½" x 22¼".

1589

BIGGES, WALTER, d. 1586.

A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian voyage. Wherein were taken, the townes of Saint Yago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena & Saint Augustine. With geographical mappes exactly describing each of the townes with their scituations, and the manner of the armies approching to the winning of them.

BIGGES, WALTER, d. 1586.

[Summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drake’s West Indian voyage. German]
Relation oder Beschreibu[n]g der Rheiss vnd Schifffahrt auss Engellandt, in die (gegen dem Vndergang der Sonne gelegnen) Indien gethan, durch einen englischen Ritter, Franciscum Drack genant, vnd was derselbig vnderwegen mit seinem vnderhabenden Kriegsvolck allenthalben . . . gesehen vnd aussgericht hat. . . .

[Cologne?: s.n.], Gedruckt im Jahr nach Christi Geburt, M.D.LXXXIX. [1589].
[2], 15 [i.e. 17], 17-19 [i.e. 21], 21–23, [1] p., [8] p. of plates, [1] folded leaf of plates: 1 map, 4 plans; 27 cm. (fol.)

notes: Translation of: Summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drake’s West Indian voyage, 1st published London, 1689. This translation was probably made from the Latin edition of Leiden, 1588. Begun by Walter Bigges and continued after his death, probably by his lieutenant, Master Croftes. Place of publication, suggested by Church Catalogue, probably based on the fact that the map, Americae et proximarum regionum orde descriptio, is signed “per Franc. Hogenberg. Ao.D. 1589”.
references: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, I:315; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 589/7; Church, E. D. Discovery, 138.

BOAZIO, BAPTISTA.

The Famouse West Indian voyadge made by the Englishe fleet of 23 shippes and Barkes wherin weare gotten the Townes of St Iago: Sto: Domingo, Cartagena and St: Augustines the same being begon from Plimmouth in the Moneth of September 1585 and ended at Portesmouth in Iulie 1586 the whole course of the saide Viadge being plainlie described by the pricked line Newlie come forth by Baptista: B.
[London, 1589].
Engraved map; 41.3 x 54 cm.
NOTES: Pasted below is printed itinerary of Drake’s voyage of Sept., 1585–July, 1586. Text in 6 columns on 2 sheets pasted together, the whole pasted to the lower border of map. Title of text: Sir Francis Drake Knight Generall of the whole Fleece of the West Indian voyag in 1585. Itinerary is lacking in some copies of the map.

REFERENCES: Alden-Landis. European-Americana, 589/11

BRIEF DISCOURS touchant le succes des entreprinses nagueres attemptez par les Anglois en Espaigne, & Portugal, au moys de may l’an, M.D.LXXXIX. A Anvers, Chez Ioachim Trognaeustus., Anno, M. D. LXXXIX. [1589]. [16] p.; 15 cm. (8vo)

NOTES: Imprimatur dated (p. [16]): 9 October, 1589.


EPHEMERIS EXPEDITIONIS NORREYSIJ & DRAKI IN LUSITANIAM. Londini, Impensis Thomae Woodcocke, apud signum Ursi nigri. 1589.


HAKLUYT, RICHARD, 1552–1616.

The principall nauigations, voyages and discoueries of the English nation, made by sea or ouer land, to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres deuided into three severall parts, according to the positions of the regions wherunto they were directed. . . . Whereunto is added the last most renowned English nauigation, round about the globe of the earth. By Richard Hakluyt. . . . Imprinted at London: By George Bishop and Ralph Newberrie, deputies to Christopher Barker, printer to the Queens Most Excellent Maiestie. 1589. [16], 242, [2], 243–501, [1], 506–643, [12], 644–825, [10] p., [1] folded leaf of plates: map; 29 cm. (fol.)

NOTES: Two issues are known, in the earlier of which “The ambassage of Sir Hierome Bowes” etc., comprises p. 491–505; in the later it is condensed to p. 491–501. In addition, in
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

some copies, 6 unpaged leaves, with caption title "The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea," are inserted between p. 643 & 644.


1590

BIGGES, WALTER, d. 1586.

[Summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drake’s West Indian voyage. Latin.]
Noribergae, Typis Christophori Lochneri, & Iohannis Hofmanni. Anno MDXC. [1590].


EPHEMERIS EXPEDITIONIS NORREYSII & DRAKI IN LUSITANIAM.

German.
Warhaftige und gründtliche Historia dess Zugs, welchen die edle und gestrenge Herrn, Norwitz und Drak (nach ihrer glücklichen Widerkunftt auss den Occidentalen Insulen) auss Vergünstigung der Durchleuchtigsten vn[nd] Vndernwindlichsten, Elisabeth, Königinn auss Engelland, [et]c. in Portugal fürgenommen haben: in welcher aussführlich angezeigt wirdt, was gemeldte Obersten von Tag zu Tag gehandelt, vnd wider den Feindt erhalten haben. Gedruckt zu Franckfort am Müyn, In Verlegung Pauli Brachfeldt. MDXC[1590].
30, [2] p.: port.; 23 cm. (4to)

NOTES: Half-title: Gründliche relation oder beschreibung alles dessjenigen, welch vom herrn Norrwitz vnd Draken in dem Zug in Portugal. The preface, signed O.H., is ad-
dressed to Michael Isselt (von Amorsfort), a clergyman and historian of Hamburg, who died in 1597. This is a translation of "Ephemeris expeditionis Norreysij et Draki in Lusitaniam," ed. by O.H., which was published at London by Thomas Woodcocke in 1589, and which also formed the second part of "Narrationes duae admodum memorabilia quarum prima continet diarium expeditionis Francisci Draki equitis Angli in Indias Occidentales susceptae anno 1585. Altera omnium rerum ab eodem Drako et Norreysio in Lusitanica irruptione gestarum fidelem continuationem subjicit." published at Nuremberg in 1590. Another edition, also ed. by O.H., appeared in 1590, published at Frankfurt, under title: "Brevis et hda narratio, et continuatio rerum omnium a Drako et Norreysio (post felicem ex occidentibus insulis reditum) in sua expeditione portugalensi singulis diebus gestarum," from which this seems to have been taken.


GOULART, SIMON, 1543–1628.
Le second recueil, contenant l’histoire des choses plus memorables advenues sous la Ligue.
[Geneva?: s.n.], Imprimir l’an de grace M. D. LXXXX. [1590].
[36], 304, 307–865, [1] p.: port.; 15 cm. (i2mo)


RELATION WAS DER CAPITAN DRACKH VNND COLONEL NORIZ welche anno 1589. an stat der Künigin in Engelland, den don Antonio in das Königreich Portugal einsetzen, vnd die Spannier darauss vertreiben sollen, mit jrer mechtigen Armada von der zeit an, als sie abgefahren biss sie wider haim kommen, aussgericht. Auss dem Spannischen in Fiochteutsche Spraach transferirt.
Gedruckt zu Miinchen: Bey Adam Berg. [1590?].
[32] p.; 19 cm. (4to.)


1591

BOTERO, GIOVANNI, 1540–1617.

[Relationi universali. Parte 1-2]
Delle relationi vniuersali di Giovanni Botero benese. Prima parte[-parte se-
cunda].
In Roma, Appresso Georgio Ferrari. MDLXXXXI [-M.D.XCII]. [1591–1592].
2 v. ([8], 259, [5]; [4], 282, [14] p.); 24 cm. (4to)

notes: Colophon of pt. 2: In Roma, Appresso Guglielmo Faciotto. M.D.XCII. Reference
to Drake, vol. 2, p. 257-258. Botero’s work was reprinted many times: e.g., Ferrara, 1592-3;
Bergamo, 1594–5; Brescia, 1595, and translated into Latin, 1595, German, 1596, English,
1601 and Spanish, 1603.


1593

PARSONS, ROBERT, 1546–1610.

Elizabethae reginae Angliae edictum promulgatum Londini 29. Nouemb. anni
M. D. XCI. Andreae Philopatri ad idem edictum responsio.
[Rome?: s.n.], Excusum. M. D. XCIII. [1593].

notes: First published: Lyons, 1592, with title: Elizabethae, Angliae reginae, haeresim
Calvinianam propugnantis, saevissimum in Catholicos sui regni edictum. Place of im-
print suggested by Backer-Sommervogel. A reply to Elizabeth’s decree of 1591, banning
the saying and attending of the Catholic Mass.

references: Alden-Landis, 593/52; Backer-Sommervogel, T.VI, col. 301.

1595

ROSACCIO, GIUSEPPE, ca. 1530–ca. 1620.

Il mondo e sue parti cioe Europa, Africca, Asia, et America. Nel quale, oltre alle
tauole in disegno, si discorre delle sue prouincie, regni, regioni, città, castelli,
ville, monti, fiumi, laghi, mari, porti, golfi, isole, populatione, leggi, riti e cos-
tumi. Da Gioseppe Rosaccio con breuita descritto.
In Fiorenza, Appresso Francesco Tosi. 1595.
[8], 175, [1] p.: ill., maps; 17 cm. (8vo)

notes: Reference to Drake, p. 163–164.

1596

BECCARI, BERNARDINO, fl. 1575–1600.
[8] p. (p. [2, 8] blank); 15 cm. (8vo)
NOTES: Covers the second stage of Sir Francis Drake’s final expedition to the West Indies.

BECCARI, BERNARDINO, fl. 1575–1600.
[8] p.; 15 cm. (8vo)

BECCARI, BERNARDINO, fl. 1575–1600.
[8] p.; 15 cm. (8vo)
NOTES: Covers the first stage of Sir Francis Drake’s final expedition to the West Indies.

BIGGES, WALTER, d. 1586.
A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage. Wherein were taken, the townes of Saint lago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena and Saint Augustine. With geographicall mappes exactly describing each of the townes with their scituations, and the manner of the armies approaching to the winning of them.
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Imprinted at London: For William Ponsonby. 1596.
[4], 52 p.; 18 cm. (4to)


FRANCISCVS DRACVS Nobiliss Eqves Angliae Aetatis Svae XXXVI.
[Amsterdam: Johann Clausen, 1596].

NOTES: Line & stipple engraved portrait, oval. 6 1/2" x 4 29/32". This portrait appears in Franciscus Dracus Redivivus . . . Amsterdam: Johann Clausen, 1596.

Erstlich getruckt zu Amstertamb in Holland, durch Johann Clausen.
[Cologne: s.n.], 1596.


NOTES: The catchword "Sie" on p. [8] does not tie in with the text on any of the other pages. Page [9] begins with the last part of a sentence, the first part of which is not present anywhere in the text. On p. [9]–[12] the text is printed in the wrong sequence: the text on p. [9] is continued on p. [11], followed by the text on p. [10], and finally by text on p. [12].

REFERENCES: Alden-Landis. European Americana, 596/47.

IN MEMORIAM CELEBERRIMI VIRI DOMINI FRANCISCI DRAKE MILITIS, qui nuper in nauali expeditione contra hostes patriae suae, ex dysenteria laborans obijt. viz. 28. die Ianuarij. Anno Dominij. 1595.
[London: J. Windet, 1596].
1 sheet ([1] p.); 40 x 23 cm.

NOTES: Imprint information supplied by STC (2nd ed.). Photostat reproduction of original in the Society of Antiquaries. In verse.
REFERENCES: Cf. STC (2nd ed.) 7160.8; Cf. Alden-Landis. European Americana, 596/59; Cf. Lemon, R., Broadsides in the Soc. of Antiquaries, 93.


ROSACCIO, GIUSEPPE, ca. 1530–ca. 1620.


SAVILE, HENRY, Captain.
A libell of Spanish lies: found at the sacke of Cales, discoursing the fight in the West Indies, twixt the English nauie being fourteene ships and pinasses, and a fleete of twentie saile of the king of Spaines, and of the death of Sir Francis Drake. With an answere briefely confuting the Spanish lies, and a short relation of the fight according to truth, written by Henrie Sauile Esquire, employed captaine in one of Her Maiesties shippes, in the same servise against the Spaniard. And also an approbation of this discourse, by Sir Thomas Baskeruile, then Generall of the English fleete in that servise: auowing the maintenance thereof, personally in armes against Don Bernaldino . . .
London: Printed by Iohn Windet, dwelling by Pauls Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keys, and are there to be solde. 1596. [8], 7, [1], 8–47 p.: ill.; 19 cm. (4to)
M. Blundeuile his exercises, containing eight treatises, the titles whereof are set downe in the next printed page: which treatises are verie necessarie to be read and learned of all yoong gentlemen that have not bene exercised in such disciplines, and yet are desirous to haue knowledge as well in cosmographie, astronomie, and geographie, as also in the arte of nauigation, in which arte it is impossible to profite without the helpe of these, or such like instructions. To the furtherance of which arte of nauigation, the said M. Blundeuile specially wrote the said treatises, and of meere goodwill doth dedicate the same to all young gentlemen of the realme.

The second edition, corrected and augmented by the author.

Imprinted at London: By Iohn Windet, dwelling at the signe of the Crosse Keys, neeres Paules Wharffe, and are there to be solde. 1597.

[7], 392 leaves, [5] folded leaves of plates: charts, maps; 20 cm. (4to)

**Notes:** First published: London, 1594. Two states noted: Gathering 3D is in two settings: leaf 392r line 2 ends (1) "of" or (2) "Bishoppes," with further text on the map of William Postellus. Numerous errors in foliation. With volvelles on leaves 147r, 349t, 360v, 378t. "A briefe description of the tables of the three speciall right lines belonging to a circle, called signes, lines tangent, and lines secant", "A plaine treatise of the first principles of cosmographie", and "A briefe description of vniversall maps and cards" each have separate dated title page; "A plaine description of Mercator his two globes", "A plaine and full description of Petrus Plancius his vniuersall map", "A very brief and most plaine description of Master Blaugrave his astrolabe", "A newe and necessarie treatise of nauigation", and "The true order of making of Ptolomie his tables" each have separate title page; foliation and register are continuous. "A briefe description of universall maps and cards" was first published separately in 1589.

**References:** JCB Lib. Cat., pre-1675, I:351; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 597/3; STC (2nd ed.) 3147.
CAMPANA, CESARE, d. 1606.
Delle historie del mondo, descritte dal sig. Cesare Campana, gentil’huomo Aquilano. . . .
In Venetia, Appresso Giorgio Angelieri, & Compagni. M.D.XCVII [-M.D.XCIX].
[1597–1599].
2 v.; 25 cm. (4to)

notes: From title page of v. 1: Volume primo, che contiene libri dieci: ne’ quali diffusamente si narrano le cose auuenuti a ciascun libro. Con vna taouola de’ nomi propri, & delle materie.; v. 2: Volume secondo, che contiene libri sedici. Ne’ quali diffusamente si narrando le cose auuenute dall’ anno 1580. fino al 1596. Con vn discorso intorno allo scriuere historic. In questa seconda impressione diligentemente corrette, & in piu luoghi accresciute dall’ autore. Con gli argumenti à ciascum libro; et con due taouole, vna de’ nomi proprij, l’altera delle materie. Vol. 2 was first published (but without a vol. designation) in Venice, 1596.

references: Alden-Landis, 597/11.

1598

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, 1552?–1616.
The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation, made by sea or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres: deuided into three seuerall volumes, according to the positions of the regions, whereunto they were directed. . . . And lastly, the memorable defeate of the Spanish huge Armada, Anno 1588. and the famous victorie atchieued at the cities of Cadiz, 1596. are described. By Richard Hakluyt. . . .
Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker. 1598–1600.
3 v.: map; 31 cm. (fol.)

notes: Vol. 2 has title: The second volume of the principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques . . . v. 3 has title: The third and last volume of the voyages, nauigations, traffiques . . . Publication dates: v. 1: 1598; v. 2: 1599; v. 3: 1600. Enlarged from the original edition, published in one volume under title: Principall navigations, voyages, and discoueries of the English nation. London, 1589. The folded engraved map has legend in cartouche at lower right "Thou has here (gentle reader) a true hydrological description of so much of the world as hath beene hitherto discoveredy. . . ." It comes in two states: (1) without and (2) with a cartouche in lower left referring to the discovery of Sir Francis Drake. The map is often lacking from the book and may quite possibly not have been issued with
it. The section on the conquest of Cadiz by Essex (vol. 1, p. 607–619) was ordered suppressed by Queen Elizabeth in 1599. It comes in the following states: (1) numbered as above, chain lines spaced (a) 20–25 mm. apart or (b) 27–30 mm. apart. (2) As in (1) but in a photographic facsimile with muddy and flat appearance and chain lines spaced 25–27 mm. apart. (3) A reprint of ca. 1720, pages numbered 607–620. (4) A reprint of ca. 1795, pages numbered 607–417 [sic]. (5) Lacking entirely (cancelled). Another issue (STC 12626a) has a cancel title page omitting mention of the Cadiz victory. Pagination: v. 1: [24], 619, [1]; v. 2: [16], 312, 204; v. 3: [16], 868 p.


PRETTY, FRANCIS.

[Admirable and prosperous voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish. Dutch]


't' Amstelredam: By Cornelis Claesz. op't water, int schrijf-boeck, Ao. 1598.

[2], 42 leaves; 18 x 25 cm. (4to)

NOTES: Translation, by Emanuel van Meteren, from an English manuscript, and an enlarged version of: Descriptio vande heerlicke voyage . . . Amsterdam, 1598.


VERHEIDEN, WILLEM, 1568–1596.

Guillelmi Verheden in classem Xerxis Hispani oratio. Ad serenissimam Elisabetham Angliae reginam.

Hagae-Comitis, ex officina Alberto Henrici. M.D.XCVIII. [1598].

[72] p.; 24 cm. (4to)

NOTES: There is an undated edition, which is under the date of 1589 in Knuttel (no. 859); however, Alden suggests that it was probably published ca. 1600.

REFERENCES: Alden-Landis. European Americana, 598/118.
1599

BRY, THEODOR DE, 1528–1598.

[America, pt.8. German]

Americae achter Theil, in welchem erstlich beschrieben wirt das mächtige vnd
goldtreich Königreich Guiana, zu Norden dess grossen Flusses Oronoke, . . .
gelegen. . . . Item, eine kurzte Beschreibung der vmbliegenden Landschaften
Emereia, Arromaia . . . in welchen . . . von den Alten Amazones genannt,
wohnen . . . Alles mit Fleiss beschrieben durch den gestrengen . . . Walthern
Ralegh . . . welcher neben dem auch dem Herrn auch wolgeübten Hauptmann,
Lorenze Keymis alles selber erfahren vnd gesehen hat im Jar 1595. vnd 1596. Zum
ander, die Reyse dess edlen . . . Thomas Candisch, welcher im Jar 1586. mit 3.
Schiffen in Engelländt aussgefahren . . . ist. . . . Durch Frantzen Prettie einen
Engelländer . . . auffgezeichnet. Vnd zum dritten die letzte Reyss der gestrengen
. . . Frantzen Draeck vnd Johan Haucken, Rittern, welche Anno 1595 . . . abge-
segelt in die Occidentalische Indien . . . Alles erstlich in engelländischer Sprach
aussgangen, jetzt aber aus der holländischen Translation in die hochdeutsche
Sprache gebracht, durch Augustinum Cassiodorum Reinium. . . . An Tag
gegeben, durch Dieterichen von Bry seligen, hinderlassene Erben.
Gedruckt zu Frankfurz am Mayn, Durch Matthaeum Becker. 1599.
ble leaves of plates: ill., map; 37 cm. (fol.)

Notes: There is a special title page for each of the following parts: Reyse dess edlen . . .
Thomas Candisch . . . durch Frantzen Prettie . . . auffgezeichnet [dated 1599]. -
Warhafftige vnd eygentliche Förbildung . . . in dieser guianaischen Beschreibung . . . Alles
zierlich in Kupffer gestochen . . . . [dated 1599]. - Additamentum; das ist, Zuthuung zwey
fürnemmer Reysen . . . . Francisci Draken . . . in die West Indien vnd Americam gethan
. . . . [dated 1600]. - Folgen nun die Figuren vnd Kupfferstück, deren ethische ins siebende
Theil, zur Beschreibung der Reysen Vlrich Schmids . . . gehören . . . . [dated 1600]. This vol-
ume contains relations of six different voyages: three by Drake, one by Cavendish, and
two by Sir Walter Raleigh. Drake’s voyage around the world took place in 1577–1580. No
description of it had previously been published. This account, from which De Bry, and
later Hakluyt, published it in Latin and English respectively, was written by Nuño da
Silva, a Portuguese. Drake’s second voyage was finished in 1585. De Bry’s account is based
upon that of Thomas Gates. Drake’s third voyage, directed against the Spanish at
Panama, took place in 1595–1596. This account is taken from his log-book of the expedi-
tion, which was continued by his men. Thomas Cavendish circumnavigated the globe in
1586–1588. An account of the voyage was written in English by Francis Pretty who ac-
companied him. De Bry’s narrative appears to have been based on Pretty’s account. The
first voyage of Sir Walter Raleigh was undertaken in 1595. He himself published an account of it in London in 1596 (Church no. 254). The second voyage attributed to Raleigh does not appear to have been made by him, but rather by Laurence Kemys, who accompanied Raleigh on the 1595 voyage. On his return, Kemys wrote and published in London an account of his trip (Church no. 250).

REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat, pre-1675, L403–405; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 599/20; Church, E. D. Discovery, 194. Kraus, H. P. Drake, 32.

BRY, THEODOR DE, 1528–1598.

[America, pt.8, Latin]


NOTES: Plates have special title page: Tabulae & imagines ad septimam et octavam Americae partem. . . . First edition, first issue: leaf 2A2 wrongly marked A2 and maps lacking on pl. 78 (2nd count) and p. 3 (3rd count). For more information, see the description of the edition above.

REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat, pre-1675, l.400–401; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 599/21; Church, E. D. Discovery, 163. Kraus, H. P. Drake, 31.
BRY, THEODOR DE, 1528–1598.

[America, pt.8. Latin]


[Impressae Francofurti ad Moenum: Per Matthaeum Becker, sumptibus dictorum Theodorici de Bry viduae & filiorum.]. Anno M. D. XCIX. [1599].


(fol.)

notes: Plates have special title page: Tabulae & imagines ad septimam et octavam Americae partem.... First edition, unknown issue: p. [2], 1–6 of 1st issue reset onto p. [1]–4 (1st count). Map on title page is the map that appears on p. 3 (3rd count) of the second issue. Maps lacking on p. 78 (2nd count) and p. 3 (3rd count). Plates VI, VII, VIII and IX have numbers. Plates XIII and XIV are printed on the correct leaves as in the 2nd issue, and not reversed, or cut out and pasted, as in the first issue. For additional information, see description of edition above.

references: JCB Lib. cat, pre-1675, 1:401-402; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 599/21; cf. Church, E.D. Discovery, 163–164.

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, 1552–1616.

The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation, made by sea or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres: diuided into three seuerall volumes, according to the positions of the regions, whereunto they were directed. The first volume containeth the worthy discoveries, &c. of the English toward the north and northeast by sea. . . . The second volume comprehendeth the principall navigations, voyages, traffiques, and discoveries of the English nation made by sea or ouer-land, to the south and south-east parts of the world, as well within as without the Streight of Gibralter, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres: diuided into two seuerall parts, &c. . . . By Richard Hakluyt. . . .


3 v.: map; 31 cm. (fol.)

Notes: Vol. 2 has title: The second volume of the principal navigations, voyages, traffiques . . . ; v. 3 has title: The third and last volume of the voyages, navigations, traffiques . . . Publication dates: v. 1-2: 1599; v. 3: 1600. Enlarged from the original edition, published in one volume under title: Principall navigations, voyages, and discoveries of the English nation. London, 1589. The folded engraved map has a legend in the cartouche at lower right "Thou has here (gentle reader) a true hydrological description of so much of the world as hath beene hitherto discovered. . . . " It comes in two states: (1) without and (2) with a cartouche in lower left referring to the discovery of Sir Francis Drake. The map is often lacking from the book and may quite possibly not have been issued with it. Two states of title page noted: in one, line 7 reads: these 1600 yeres; in another, the title page reads: these 1600 yeares. The section on the conquest of Cadiz by Essex (vol. 1, p. 607–619, [1]) was ordered suppressed by Queen Elizabeth in 1599. It comes in the following states: (1) numbered as above, chain lines spaced (a) 20–25mm. apart or (b) 27–30mm. apart. (2) As in (1) but in a photographic facsimile with muddy and flat appearance and chain lines spaced 25–27mm. apart. (3) A reprint of ca. 1720, pages numbered 607–620. (4) A reprint of ca. 1795, pages numbered 607–417 [sic], [1]. (5) Lacking entirely (cancelled). Cancel title page omits mention of the Cadiz victory.


1602

BARCO CENTENERA, MARTÍN DEL, b. 1535.

Argentina y conquista del Rio de la Plata, con otros acaecimientos de los reynos del Peru, Tucuman, y estado del Brasil, por el arcediano don Martin del Barco Centenera.
En Lisboa, por Pedro Crasbeeck. 1602.

[4], 230 leaves; 19 cm. (4to)

Notes: In verse, with several references to Drake.

References: JCB Lib. cat, pre-1675, II:14; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 602/11.

1603

HULSIUS, LEVINUS, d. 1606.


Noribergae, Impensis collectoris, M. DCIII [1603].


References: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, I:457; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 603/62; Church, E. D. Discovery, 282.

1604

ROSACCIO, GIUSEPPE, ca. 1530-ca. 1620.

Mondo elementare, et celeste di Gioseppe Rosaccio . . . Nel quale si tratta de' moti, & ordini delle sfere; della grandezza della terra; dell’Europa, Africa, Asia, & America; con la descrizione de’regni provincie, città, castelli, ville, monti, fiumi, laghi, mari, isole, leggi e costumi; co’nomi antichi, & moderni de’ luoghi; discorrendo si delle generationi, che si fanno nell’aria; della salsedine del mare, & del suo flusso, & rifulso; adornata con le tauole in disegni di geografia, e con altre cose dilettevoli, e curiose.


[8], 243 leaves, [2] leaves of plates: ill., maps; 16 cm. (8vo)
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE


1605

SAYDAN, SULTAN OF THE MOLUCCAS.

Esta es copia de vna carte que el rey de Terrenate escruiuo al Rey Iacobo de Inglaterreia, en respuestas de otra q[ue] el dicho Rey Iacobo le auia escrito, su tenor es la que se sigue, traduzida de portugues en castellano a la letra . . .

[Madrid?: s.n., not before 18 July 1605].
2 leaves; 28 cm. (fol.)

NOTES: Caption title. Signed (at end): Fecha en Terrenate a diez y ocho de Julio de seyecientos y cinco. Sultan Saydan.

REFERENCES: Palau y Dulcet (2nd ed.), 303370.

1609

LEONARDO DE ARGENSOLA, BARTOLOME, 1562–1631.

[12], 135, 158–176 [i.e. 178], 179–407 [i.e. 413], [1] p.; 30 cm. (fol.)


METEREN, EMANUEL VAN, 1535–1612.

[Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie van onsen tijden]
Commentarien ofte memorien van-den Nederlandtschen staet, handel, oorloghen ende gheschiedenissen van onsen tyden, etc. Mede vervattende eenige haerder ghelbueren handelinghen. Beschreven door Emanuel van Meteren. Ende by hem voor de tweede ende leste reyse over-sien, verbetert ende vermeerdert. Oock soo verre ghebrocht totten af-standt van wapenen ende vrede, in’t jaar 1608.
Ghedruckt op Schotlandt buyten Danswijck [i.e. The Hague?]: By Hermes van Loven. voor den autheur. [1609].
[10], 244, xxvii [i.e. xxviii], xxx–cxcix, 167, [23], 27, [1] leaves, [1] folded leaf of plates: ill., maps, ports.; 31 cm. (fol.)

NOTES: Dutch work, originally published in German translation Hamburg, 1596. First published in Dutch as: Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie van onsen tijden. Delft, 1599. Place of publication from Alden. Amsterdam, Utrecht, or Dordrecht have been suggested as the place of publication. Colophon: Tot Londen. Voor Emanuel van Meteren, 1609. References to Drake: leaf 191 verso (circumnavigation); leaf lxv verso (Lisbon raid); leaf cxxxv verso (Drake’s death). Subsequent editions: In s’Graven-Haghe, 1614; t’Amsterdam, 1647.


1613

FAMOUS VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE INTO THE SOUTH SEA.

FRENCH.

[8], 90, [2] p.; 17 cm. (8vo)


SUÁREZ DE FIGUEROA, CHRISTÓVAL.

Hechos de don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, quarto marques de Cañete. Por el doctor Christoual Suarez de Figueroa. En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real. Año M.DC.XIII. [1613].
[16], 248, 245–324 p.; 21 cm. (4to)


REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II:100; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 613/125.
1617

PRETTY, FRANCIS.

[Admirable and prosperous voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish. Dutch]

Beschryvinge vande ovvertreffelijcke ende wydtvermaerde zee-vaerdt vanden edelen heer ende meester Thomas Candisch, met drie schepen uytghevaren den 21. juli, 1586. ende met een schip wederom ghekeert in Plymouthe, den 9. september 1588. hebbende (door’t cruycen vander zee) gheseylt 13000. mylen. . . . Beschreven door M. Francois Prettie van Eye in Suffolck, die mede inde voyagie was. Hier noch by ghevoecht de voyagie van Siere Francoys Draeck, en Siere Ian Haukens, ridderen, naer West-Indien. . . . Beschreven door eenen die daer mede inde vole gheweest is.

Van nieus gecorrigeert ende verbeetert.

Tot Amstredam: By Michiel Colijn, boeckvercooper opt water aende Oude Brugh, int huysboeck. Anno 1617.

[i], 39 leaves; 19 X 25 cm. (4to)

notes: Translation, by Emanuel van Meteren, from an English manuscript, and an enlarged version of: Descriptio vande heerlicke voyage . . . , Amsterdam, 1598.

references: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II:121; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 617/118.

1618

HULSIUS, LEVINUS, d. 1606.


Francofurti, Impensis Hulsianis. M. DCXVIII [1618].


notes: Number 6 in “Sammlung von sechs und zwanzig Schiffahrten” a collection (with a title invented by bibliographers) of 26 numbered pamphlets, compiled by Levinus Hulsius.
REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, I:457; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 618/60; Church, E. D. Discovery, 283.

1619

CABRERA DE CÓRDOBA, LUIS, 1559?–1623.
Filipe Segundo Rey de España Luis Cabrera de Cordova . . . .
En Madrid: Por Luis Sanchez impresor [sic] del Rey NS. Año M. DC. XIX. [1619].
[8], 328 p. 329*-331* leaves, 329–1176, [60] p.; 35 cm. (fol.)

MARIANA, JUAN DE, 1536–1624.
P. Joan. Marianae Societatis Iesu Summarium ad historiam Hispaniae eorum quae acciderunt annis sequentibus.
Moguntiae, impensis Danielis ac Dauidis Aubriorum & Clementis Schleichii. M.DC.XIX. [1619].
NOTES: Francis Drake’s attack on Panama mentioned under year 1619.

1620

CARO DE TORRES, FRANCISCO, fl. 1583–1642.
Relacion de los servicios que hizo a su magestad del Rey don Felipe Segundo y Tercero, don Alonso de Sotomayor del abito de Santiago, y comendador de Villamayor, del Consejo de Guerra de Castilla: en los estados de Flandes, y en las provincias de Chile, y Tierrafirme, donde fue capitan general, &c. Por el licenciado Francisco Caro de Torres.
Impresso en Madrid: Por la viuda de Cosme Delgado. Año 1620.
[10], 88 leaves: coat of arms; 21 cm. (4to)
NOTES: One of 2 different editions with same imprint and date. In the present edition, leaf [2] (1st count) recto, line 7 reads: . . . contra la armada Inglesa . . . .
1623

AN EXPERIMENTALL DISCOVERIE OF SPANISH PRACTISES OR
The counsell of a well-wishing souldier, for the good of his prince and state. Wherein is manifested from known experience, both the cruelty and policy of the Spaniard, to effect his own ends. Chiefly swelling with multiplicity of glorious titles, as one of the greatest monarchs of the earth, that being admired of all, his greatnesse might amaze all, and so by degrees seeking covertly to tyrannize overall. When as indeed and truth, the greatest part of his pretended greatnesse is but a windy crack of an ambitious minde.

[London: s.n.], Printed, Anno. 1623.

[2], 54 p.; 19 cm. (4to)


HEXHAM, HENRY, 1585?–1650?

A tongue-combat, lately happening betvveene tvvo English souldiers in the tilt-boat of Grauesend, the one going to serue the king of Spaine, the other to serue the States Generall of the Vnited Provinces. Wherein the cause, course, and continuance of those warres, is debated, and declared.

Printed at London. [i.e. Holland: s.n.], 1623.

[8], 104 p.; 19 cm. (4to)

NOTES: Dedication signed: Henry Hexam. Also attributed to Thomas Scott. A reply to: Verstegan, Richard. A toung-combat, lately happening, between two English soldiers; in the tilt-boat of Gravesend. Quire O is in two settings: Orr line 9 from the bottom begins (1) "quarrel" or (2) "quarrell". Also issued as part of STC 22064 and STC 22102.

1624

BRY, THEODOR DE, 1528–1598.

[America. pt.8. German]


Notes: See description of the 1599 edition.

References: JCB Lib. cat, pre-1675, 1:405; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 624/107; Church, E. D. Discovery, 194n.

1625

BRY, THEODOR DE, 1528–1598.

[America. pt.8. Latin]

Americae pars VIII. Continens primo, descriptionem trium itinerum nobilissimi et fortissimi equitis Francisci Draken, qui circumnavigato vniuerso terrarum orbe, postea nauticus, ad expugnandum ciuitatem Panamam, in Indian nauigauit. Secundo, iter nobilissimi equitis Thomae Candisch, qui duorum fere annorum spacio, 13000. Anglicana miliaria in mari confecit, vbi describuntur quoque omnia quae in hoc itinere ipsi acciderunt & visa sunt. Tertio, duo itinera, nobilissimi & fortissimi equitis Gualtheri Ralech quibus descriptur auriferum et potentissimum regnum Guiana, ad septentriionem fluminis Orenoque, alias Oregliana dicti, situm, cum metropoli eius Manoa & Macuieguarai, aliisque finitimis regionibus & fluuiis, mercibus item praestantissimis, & mer-
catura, quae in regno hoc exercetur, cuius luculenta tabula geographicam fronte operis occurrit. Primo quidem Anglicana lingua partim ab equitis ipsis, partim ab alijs, qui hisce itineribus interfuerunt sparsim consignata: iam vero in vnum corpus redacta, & in Latinum sermonem conuersa, figuris & imaginibus artificiose illustrata & in lucem emissa, opera & sumptibus Ioh. Theodori de Bry P.M. haeredum. Francofurti, Typis Erasmi Kempfferi, Anno M.DC.XXXV [1625].


REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat, pre-1675, 1.402-403; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 625/34; Church, E. D. Discovery, 166.

PURCHAS, SAMUEL, 1577–1626.

Purchas his pilgrimes. In five books. The first, containing the voyages and peregrinations made by ancient kings, patriarches, apostles, philosophers, and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne world: enquiries also of languages and religions, especially of the moderne diversified professions of Christianitie. The second, a description of all the circum-navigations of the globes. The third, navigations and voyages of English-men, amongst the coasts of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from hence to the Red Sea, the Abassine, Arabian, Persian, Indian, shoares, continents, and ilands. The fourth, English voyages beyond the East Indies, to the ilands of Iapan, China, Cauchinchina, the Philippinae with others, and the Indian navigations further prosecuted: their iust commerce, nobly vindicated against Turkish treacherie; victoriously defended against Portugall hostilitie; gloriously aduanced against Moorish and ethnike perfidie; hopefully recouering from Dutch malignitie; iustly maintayned against ignorant and malicious calumnie. The fifth, navigations, voyages, traffiques, discoueries, of the English nation in the easterne parts of the world: continuing the English-Indian occurrences, and containing the English affaires with the Great Samorine, in the Persian and Arabian Gulfes, and in other places of the continent, and ilands of and beyond the Indies: the Portugall attempts, and Dutch disasters, divers sea-fights with both; and many other remarkable relations.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose. 1625.

4 v.: ill., maps; 35 cm. (fol.)

NOTES: Engraved title page added to vol. 1: Hakluytus posthumus or Purchas his pilgrimes. Contayning a history of the world, in sea voyages. & lande-trauells, by Englishmen & others . . . Imprinted at London, 1625. Variant issue has engraved title page dated 1624. Vols. 1–2 and 3–4 paged and signed continously, except book 1 of v. 1, which is paged separately. Many errors in paging. There are cancelled and uncancelled states of v. 1 G3 and 4M4.5.

REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat, pre-1675, 1:196; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 625/173; STC (2nd. ed), 20509; Cf. Church, E. D. Discovery, 401A; Kraus, H. P. Drake, 40.

1626

HULSIUS, LEVINUS, d. 1606.


Gedruckt zu Franckfurt, Bey Hartmanno Palthenio, in Verlegung der Hulsi- schen, Im Jahr, 1626.


NOTES: Number 6 in “Sammlung von sechs und zwanzig Schiffahrten” a collection (with a title invented by bibliographers) of 26 numbered pamphlets, compiled by Levinus Hulsius.

REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, 1:457; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 626/67; Church, E. D. Discovery, 284; Kraus, H. P. Drake, 41.

NICHOLS, PHILIP.

Sir Francis Drake reuied: calling vpon this dull or effeminate age to folowe his noble steps for golde & siluer, by this memorable relation, of the rare occur- rances (neuer yet declared to the world) in a third voyage made by him into the West-Indies, in the yeares 72. & 73. when Nombre de Dios was by him and 52.
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

others only in his company, surprised. Faithfully taken out of the reporte of Mr. Christofer Ceely, Ellis Hixon, and others, who were in the same voyage with him. By Philip Nichols, preacher. Reviewed also by Sir Francis Drake himselfe before his death, & much holpen and enlarged, by diuers notes, with his owne hand here and there inserted. Set forth by Sr. Francis Drake baronet (his nephew) now liuing.

London: Printed by E.A. for Nicholas Bourne dwelling at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1626.

[8], 94, [2] p.; 19 cm. (4to)


references: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II:199; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 626/91; STC 18544; Church, E. D. Discovery, 407A.

1627

FAMOUS VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE INTO THE SOUTH SEA.

FRENCH.

Le voyage de Fillustre seigneur et cheualier Francois Drach, admiral d’Angleterre, à l’entour du monde.

Augmentée de la seconde partie.


[6], 230, [2] p.; 18 cm. (8vo)


1628

DRAKE, FRANCIS, SIR, d. 1637.

The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios formerly imprinted; carefully collected out of the notes of master Francis Fletcher preacher in this imployment, and diuers others his fol-
lowers in the same: offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of
the actor, but especially for the stirring vp of heroick spirits, to benefit their
countrie, and eternize their names by like noble attempts.
London, Printed for Nicholas Bourne and are to be sold at his shop at the Royall
Exchange. 1628.
[4], 108 p., [2] leaves of plates (1 folded): map, port.; 19 cm. (4to)

notes: Compiled by Francis Drake, nephew of the Admiral. The portrait comes in two
versions: (1) signed by Robert Vaughan, with English verses beginning "The worlds su-
rualed ..."; (2) an anonymous copy in reverse, with Latin verse beginning "Drake per-
orati novit ..." For discussion of the probable sources of this "most untrustworthy"
account, cf. Wagner, H. R. Sir Francis Drake’s voyage around the world. San Francisco,
1926, 286–302.

REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II:214; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 628/37;
STC 7161 Church, E. D. Discovery, 413; Kraus, H. P. Drake, 42.

HAYMAN, ROBERT, d. 1631?
Quodlibets, lately come ouer from New Britaniola, old Newfound-land.
Epigrams and other small parcels, both morall and diviune. The first foure bookes
being the authors owne: the rest translated out of that excellent epigrammatist,
Mr. Iohn Owen, and other rare authors: with two epistles of that excellently wit-
tie doctor, Francis Rablais: translated out of his French at large. All of them
composed and done at Harbor-Grace in Britaniola, anciently called Newfound-
Land. By R.H. sometimes Gouernour of the plantation there.
London, Printed by Elizabeth Allde, for Roger Michell, dwelling in Pauls
Church-yard, at the signe of the bulls-head. 1628.
[8], 64, [6], 58 [i.e. 54] p.: ill.; 19 cm. (4to)

notes: Dedication signed: Robert Hayman. Certaine epigrams out of the first foure
bookes of ... Iohn Owen. ... At London : Imprinted for Roger Michell ... , 1628, p. [1]–40
(4th count), has separate title page. Severall sententious epigrams, and witty sayings out
of sundry authors both ancient and moderne: translated into English at Harbor-grace, in
Bristols-Hope, in Britaniola, anciently called, New-found-land; by R. H. London. Printed
by Felix Kyngston for Roger Michell, 1628, p. [41]–58, has separate title page.

references: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II: 215; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 1628/55;
STC 12974.
NICHOLS, PHILIP.

Sir Francis Drake reuied: calling vpon this dull or effeminate age, to follow his noble steps for gold and siluer. By this memorable relation, of the rare occurrences (neuer yet declared to the world) in a third voyage, made by him into the West-Indies, in the yeeres 72. & 73. when Nombre de Dios was by him and fiftie two others onely in his companie surprised. Faithfully taken out of the report of Mr. Christopher Ceely, Ellis. Hixom, and others, who were in the same voyage with him. By Philip Nichols, preacher. Reuiewed by Sir Francis Drake himselfe before his death, and much holpen and enlarged by diuers notes, with his owne hand here and there inserted. Set forth by Sr. Francis Drake baronet (his nephew) now liuing.

London, Printed for Nicholas Bourne, dwelling at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1628.

[8], 80 p.; 21 cm. (4to)


1635

DRAKE, FRANCIS, SIR, d. 1637.

The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake. Being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios, formerly imprinted; carefully collected out of the notes of master Francis Fletcher, preacher in this imployment, and divers others his followers in the same. Offered now at last to publike view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of heroick spirits, to benefit their country, and eternize their names by like noble attempts.

London, Printed by E.P. for Nicholas Bourne, and are to be sold at his shop at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1635.


1641

FAMOUS VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE INTO THE SOUTH SEA.
FRENCH.

Le voyage curieux, fait autour du monde, par François Drach, admiral d’Angleterre.

Augmenté de la seconde partie.

A Paris: Chez Antoine Robinot, en la place Dauphine au dauphin, & en sa boutique sur le Pont-Neuf. M.DC.XXXXI. [1641].

[8], 230 p.: map; 18 cm. (8vo)


REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II:256; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 635/44; STC 7162; Church, E. D. Discovery, 428.

1642

FULLER, THOMAS, 1608–1661.

The holy state. By Thomas Fuller. . . .

Cambridge [Eng.]: Printed by Roger Daniel for John Williams, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crown in St. Pauls Churchyard. 1642.

[10], 441 [i.e. 446] p., [4] leaves of plates: ill., ports.; 32 cm. (fol.)


REFERENCES: Alden-Landis. European Americana, 642/55; Wing (2nd ed.) F2443.
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

1643


t'Amstelredam, By Iacob Pietersz Wachter, boeck-verkooper op den dam, inde wacht'er, anno 1643.

[4], 100, [8], 94, [2], 99–122 p., [10] folded leaves of plates: ill., maps; 19 cm. (4to)

1652

BIGGES, WALTER, d. 1586.

A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West-Indian voyage. Accompanied with Christopher Carleill, Martin Frobuscher, Francis Knollis, with many other captains and gentlemen. Wherein were taken, the townes ol Saint Jago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena and Saint Augustine.
Printed at London: For Nicholas Bourne, dwelling at the South entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1652.

60 p.; 19 cm. (4to)
DRAKE, FRANCIS, SIR, d. 1637.
The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake. Offered now at last to publique view. . . . Collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher preacher in this imployment, and compared with divers others [sic] notes that went in the same voyage.
Printed at London: For Nicholas Bourne, dwelling at the South entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1652.
[4], 108 p.; 20 cm. (4to)

NOTES: Author’s name taken from dedication in 1628 edition. Originally published: London, 1628. Apparently a separate issue. This work also issued as part of: Sir Francis Drake revived. London: Nicholas Bourne, 1653.

REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II:416; Wing (2nd ed.) D84; Alden-Landis. European Americana 652/75.
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Printed at London: For Nicholas Bourne, dwelling at the South entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1653.

[8], 87, [5], 108, 60 p.: port.; 19 cm. (4to)


References: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II: 431.6; Wing (2nd ed.) D84; Alden-Landis. European Americana 653/116; Church, E. D. Discovery, 526.

1656

[AN EXPERIMENTALL DISCOVERIE OF SPANISH PRACTISES]
The Spaniards cruelty and treachery to the English in the time of peace and war, discovered, being the council of a person of honour to King James, then upon treaty of peace with them, for to insist upon a free trade in the West-Indies with some expedients for the subjecting of the Spaniard in America, to the obedience of England. Now tendred to the consideration of his highness the Lord Protector, and his council.

London. Printed by J.M. for Lodowick Lloyd and are to be sold at his shop, at the sign of the castle in Cornhil, 1656.

[4], 56 [i.e. 54], [2] p.; 19 cm. (4to)

Notes: "Possibly by Henry Hexham; generally but probably erroneously attributed to Thomas Scott, B.D. . . ."—NUC pre-1956 imprints. Also cf. STC (2nd ed.). Originally published London, 1623 as: An experimentall discoverie of Spanish practises. Page numbers 41–42 omitted in numbering.

References: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, II: 465; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 656/104; Wing (2nd ed.) S4802; Palau y Dulcet (2nd ed.) 321189.

1659

D’AVENANT, WILLIAM, SIR, 1606–1668.
The history of Sr Francis Drake. Exprest by instrumentall and vocall musick, and by art of perspective in scenes, &c. The first part. Represented daily at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane at three afternoon punctually.

London, Printed for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his shop at the anchor in the lower walk in the New Exchange. 1659.

[2], 37, [1] p.; 20 cm. (4to)
REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, Ill.:7; Alden-Landis. European Americana 659/570; Wing (2nd ed.) D327.

1667

WAGEN DISCOURS, op dese tegenwoordigen tijd taeckende de subjecten ende het verhandelen van een neutrale plaats.
Tot Middelburg, Gedruckt by Pieter Nederwaert, by den Burgh, Anno 1667.
14, [2] p.; 19 cm. (4to)
NOTES: Reference to Drake, p. 10.

1671

CLARKE, SAMUEL, 1599–1682.
The life & death of the valiant and renowned Sir Francis Drake, his voyages and discoveries in the West-Indies, and about the world; with his noble and heroick acts. By Samuel Clark. . . .
London, Printed for Simon Miller, at the Star, at the west end of S. Pauls. 1671.
REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., pre-1675, Ill.:212; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 671/73; Wing (2nd ed.) C4533

1676

BOS, LAMBERT VAN DEN, 1610–1698.
Leeven en daden der doorluchtighste zee-helden en ontdekkers van landen, deser eeuwen. Beginnende met Christoffel Colombus, vinder van de nieuwe wereldt. En eyndigende met den roemruchtigen Admirael M.A. de Ruyter, Ridd. &c. vertoonende veel vreemde voorvallen, dappere verrichtingen, stoutmoedige bestieringen, en swaere zee-slagen, &c. naekeurigh, uyt veele gelooofwaerdige schriften, en authentijcke sticken, by een gebracht, en beschreven, door VD.B.
t’Amsterdam: By Jan Claesz. ten Hoorn, en Jan Bouman, Boeckverkoopers. Anno 1676.
2 v. in 1: ill., ports.; 21 cm. (4to)

1683

THE VOYAGES OF THE EVER RENOWNED SR. FRANCIS DRAKE INTO THE WEST INDIES. Viz. his great adventures for gold, and silver, with the gaining thereof, and an account of his surprising of Nombre de Dios. A large account of that voyage wherein he encompassed the world. His voyage made with Francis Knollis, and others; their taking the towns of St. Jago, Sancto Domingo, Carthagena, and Saint Augustin. His last voyage (in which he died) being accompanied with several valiant commanders, and the manner of his burial. Collected out of the notes of the most aproved [sic] authors. To which is added, an Account of his valorous exploits in the Spanish Invasion.
London, Printed for Thomas Malthus, at the sign of the Sun, in the Poultry, 1683.
6, 168 p.; 16 cm. (8vo)

1687

R. B., 1632–1725?
The English heroe: or, Sir Francis Drake revived. Being a full account of the dangerous voyages, admirable adventures, notable discoveries, and magnanimous atchievements of that valiant and renowned commander. . . . Revised, corrected, very much inlarged, reduced into chapters with contents, and beautified with pictures. By R.B.
REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., 1675–1700, p. 175; Alden-Landis. European Americana, 687/42; Wing (2nd ed.) C7321A.
1688

VERITABLE TEST DES JESUITES. ENGLISH.

The true test of the Jesuits: or, The spirit of that Society, disloyal to God, their
king, and neighbor.
Amsterdam: [s.n.], printed in the year 1688.
[4], 60 p.; 21 cm. (4to)

NOTES: Translation of: Le veritable test des Jesuites ou L'esprit de la Societe.
REFERENCES: Alden-Landis. European Americana, 688/224; Wing (2nd ed.) T3122.

1695

R.B., 1632–1725?

The English hero: or, Sir Francis Drake reviv’d. Being a full account of the dan¬
gerous voyages, admirable adventures, notable discoveries, and magnanimous
achievements of that valiant and renowned commander. . . . Revised, corrected,
inqlarged, reduced into chapters with contents, and beautified with pictures. By
R.B.
The fourth edition inqlarged.
London, Printed for Nath. Crouch at the Bell in the Poultrey near Cheapside,
1695.

NOTES: “R.B.” stands for Nathaniel Crouch’s pseudonym, Robert Burton. First pub¬
lished in 1687. “The work is based upon the Sir Francis Drake revived of 1653, with addi¬
REFERENCES: JCB Lib. cat., 1675–1700, p. 297; Alden-Landis. European Americana,
695/56; Wing (2nd ed.) C7322; Kraus, H. P. Drake, 45.

THE VOYAGES & TRAVELS of that renowned captain, Sir Francis Drake,
to the West-Indies, and round the world: giving a perfect relation of his
strange adventures, and many wonderful discoveries, his fight with the Spaniard,
and many barbarous nations; his taking St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, St.
Augusta, and many other places in the golden country of America, and other
parts of the world. His description of monsters, and monstrous people. With
many other remarkable passages not before extant: contained in the history of
his life and death; both pleasant and profitable to the reader.
[London]: Printed by C.B. for J.F. and sold by E. Tracy, at the Three Bibles on
London-Bridge. [between 1695 and 1707].
24 p.; 22 cm. (8vo)
FAMOUS VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE INTO THE SOUTH SEA.

Te Leyden, By Pieter Vander Aa, boekverkoper, 1706.


1708

THE LIFE AND DANGEROUS VOYAGES OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,
with the surprising of Nombre de Dios, and the manner of his gaining large quantities of gold and silver. And a large account of that voyage, wherein he encompassed the whole world. And the voyage which he made with Francis Knolls and others, with their taking St. Jago, Sancto Domingo, Carthagena and St. Augustin. With the last voyagae in which he died.

London: Printed by John Willis and Jos. Boddington, at the Angel and Bible in Tower-Street. [1708?].
[4], 162 p.: port.; 15 cm. (12mo)

NOTES: The “e” in “Drake” on the title page has failed to print. Date of publication taken from Sabin, but Plomer, Henry Robert. A dictionary of the printers and booksellers, 1726-1775 . . . Oxford, 1968 suggests that Boddington was active from approximately 1750 to 1760.

1718

ALVARADO, FELIX ANTHONY DE, fl. 1707–1719.

Spanish and English dialogues. With many proverbs, and the explications of several manners of speaking, proper to the Spanish tongue: the construction of the universe, and the principal terms of the arts and sciences by Felix Anthony de Alvarado.


xxix [i.e. xxxix], [5], 615, [1] p.; 16 cm. (12mo)

Notes: Added Spanish t.p.: Dialogos ingleses, y espanoles . . . One dialogue is between Christopher Columbus and Francis Drake.

1719

CAMDEN, WILLIAM, 1551–1623.

The history or annals of England, during the whole life and reign of Elizabeth late Queen thereof, written by William Camden Clarenceux King at Arms.

[London, 1719].

v.2, p. 361–676: ports.; 40 cm.


1725

R. B., 1632?–1725?

The English hero: or, Sir Francis Drake reviv’d being a full account of the dangerous voyages, admirable adventures, notable discoveries, and magnanimous achievements of that valiant and renowned commander . . . Inlarged, and reduced into chapters with contents by R.B.

The eleventh edition.


Notes: “R.B.” stands for Nathaniel Crouch’s pseudonym, Robert Burton.

1726

R.B., 1632?–1725?

[The English hero: or, Sir Francis Drake reviv'd. German.]

Der englische Held und Ritter Franciscus Dracke, in einer ausführlichen Beschreibung von dessen Leben, Thaten und See-Reisen, darunter besonders die Reise um die Welt sehr merckwürdig, vormahls von Roberto Brown in englischer Sprache entworffen; anitzo aber ins Teutsche übersetzt, welcher ein Anhang beygefüget von dem erstaunens-würdigen Schiffbruch des ost-indischen Jagdt-Schiffies, der Schelling genannt.


472 p.: port.; 18 cm. (8vo)


references: Brown, J. C. Cat., 1493–1800, III:373; Sabin 8547; Sabin 20827.

1727

FAMOUS VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE INTO THE SOUTH SEA.


Te Leyden, By Pieter Vander Aa, boekverkoper, [1727].


R. B., 1632?–1725?

[The English hero: or, Sir Francis Drake reviv'd. German.]

Der englische Held und Ritter Franciscus Dracke, in einer ausführlichen Beschreibung von dessen Leben, Thaten und See-Reisen, darunter besonders die Reise um die Welt sehr merckwürdig, vormahls von Roberto Brown in en-
glischer Sprache entworffen; anitzo aber ins Teutsche übersetzt, welcher ein Anhang beygefügten von dem erstaunens-würdigen Schiffbruch des ost-indischen Jagdt-Schiffes, der Schelling genannt.

Leipzig, Verlegts Wolfgang Deer, unter Schwabens Haus in der Grimmischen Gasse. [not before 1727].

472 p.: port.; 18 cm. (8vo)

NOTES: Translation of: The English heroe: or, Sir Francis Drake revived. London, 1687. The present work differs only by its missing date from the version published Leipzig, 1726. It represents a different state and was probably published in 1727, or soon thereafter. Earlier dates mentioned in the literature, such as 1690 (by Sabin), 1706 (by Brown, J. C. Cat.) or ca. 1710 (by Jantz) are certainly incorrect. Some sources report 1726? as date, but because of the existence of the state dated 1726, 1727 seems to be the more likely date of publication.

REFERENCES: Brown, J. C. Cat., 1493–1800, III:79; Sabin 9501.


1742

FAMOUS VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE INTO THE SOUTH SEA.
The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake, with a particular account of his expedition in the West Indies against the Spaniards, being the first commander that ever sail’d round the whole globe. To which is added, the prosperous voyage of Mr. Thomas Candish round the world; with an account of the vast riches he took from the Spaniards, &c.

London: Printed for H. Slater, Clement’s-Inn, F. Noble, at Otway’s Head, St. Martin’s Court, T. Wright, at the Bible in Exeter Exchange in the Strand, and J. Duncan, St. Martin’s Court, St. Martin’s Lane. MDCCXLII. [1742].


NOTES: Dedication signed: Thomas Wright. The added work, written by F. Pretty, was
first published in v. 3 of R. Hakluyt’s The principal navigations, voiages, traffiques, and
discoueries of the English nation . . . 1598–1600.
REFERENCES: Alden-Landis. European Americana, 742/76.

1750
R.B., 1632?–1725?
The English hero: or, Sir Francis Drake reviv’d. Being a full account of the dan¬
gerous voyages, admirable adventures, notable discoveries, and magnanimous
achievements of that valiant and renowned commander. . . . Inlarged and re¬
duced into chapters and contents, by R.B.
The fourteenth edition.
London, Printed for C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon in Pater-noster Row; J. Hodges,
at the Looking-glass, at London-Bridge. 1750.
[6], 186 [i.e. 162] p.: port.; 13 cm. (12mo)
NOTES: “R.B.” stands for Nathaniel Crouch’s pseudonym, Robert Burton. Pagination of
signature D [pages [67]–114] is confused, with the omission of 24 pages in the count.
REFERENCES: Cf. Sabin 9500.

1770
DRAKE, EDWARD CAVENDISH.
A new universal collection of authentic and entertaining voyages and travels,
from the earliest accounts to the present time. Judiciously selected from the best
writers in the English, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, German, Danish, and other lan¬
guages. Comprehending an account of whatever is curious in the government,
commerce, natural history, customs, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies
of most nations in the known world. Including an account of the most remark¬
able discoveries, conquests, settlements, battles, sea fights, hurricanes, ship¬
wrecks, sieges, tortures, wonderful escapes, massacres, and strange deliverances,
both by sea and land. Also a description of the buildings, mountains, rivers, har¬
bours, lakes, islands, peninsulas, creeks, &c. of various countries. The whole
forming a history of whatever is most worthy of notice in Europe, Asia, Africa,
and America. Illustrated with maps from the latest improvements, and beautiful
plates, by Grignion, and other celebrated masters. By Edward Cavendish Drake,
esq.
MDCCLXX. [1770].
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT


REFERENCES: Sabin 20826.

1786

The VOYAGES AND TRAVELS of Columbus, Magellan, Drake, Cavendish, Dampier, Cowley, Cook, Clipperton, and Shelvock. With an account of the discovery of Easter Island and Davis’s Land.

Edinburgh: Printed for W. Martin. M,DCC,LXXXVI. [1786]

vi [i.e. iv], [71–390, [2] p.; 21 cm. (8vo)

NOTES: Half title: Collection of voyages and travels. All notations of signatures accompanied by statement "Vol. I". No more published?

1803

BURNEY, JAMES, 1750–1821.

A chronological history of the discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. . . .

By James Burney, captain in the Royal Navy.

London: Printed by Luke Hansard, near Lincoln’s-Inn Fields, and sold by G. and W. Nicol, booksellers to His Majesty Pall-Mall; G. and J. Robinson, Paternoster Row; J. Robson, New Bond-Street; T. Payne, Mew’s-Gate; and Cadell and Davies, in the Strand. 1803-1817.

5 v.: ill., maps.; 32 cm. (4to)

NOTES: Contents: (From t.p.) Part I. Commencing with an account of the earliest discovery of that sea by Europeans, and terminating with the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, in 1579. Illustrated with charts.—Part II. From the year 1579, to the year 1620. Illustrated with charts and other plates.—Part. III. From the year 1620, to the year 1688. Illustrated with charts and other plates.—Volume IV, to the year 1723, including a history of the buccaneers of America.—Volume V. To the year 1764.

REFERENCES: Sabin 9387.

1809

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, 1552?–1616.

Hakluyt’s collection of the early voyages, travels, and discoveries, of the English nation.

A new edition, with additions.
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

London; Printed for R.H. Evans, 26, Pall Mall; J. Mackinley, Strand; and R. Priestley, Holborn. 1809-1812.
5 v.; 39 cm.

NOTES: "Of this edition there are 250 copies printed on royal paper, and 75 on imperial paper." Vols. 1-3 have added t.p., reprinted from those of the 2nd edition, that of v. i being reprinted from the later issue, dated 1599. "An accurate reprint of the best folio [1588-1600] with the addition of those voyages which were published in the first edition, and omitted in the second. It likewise has a supplement containing all the voyages and travels printed by Hakluyt, or at his suggestion, which forms the later part of the fourth, and the whole of the fifth volume, and was sold separately to complete old editions. It was ed. by R. H. Evans."—Lowndes, Man. of Eng. lit.

REFERENCES: Sabin 29599.

1819
FITZ-GEFFRY, CHARLES, 1575?-1638.
The life and death of Sir Francis Drake. By Charles Fitz-Geffrey.
Kent: Printed at the private press of Lee Priory; by John Warwick. 1819.
[2], xxiii, [1], 101, [1] p.; 15 cm. (12mo)
REFERENCES: Sabin 24608.

1828
CAMPBELL, JOHN, 1708-1775.
London: Printed by J. Moyes, Took's Court, Chancery Lane. 1828.
NOTES: Thomas T. Drake was the compiler of this collection of works on Sir Francis Drake; cf. British Museum catalogue.
REFERENCES: Sabin 20832.
1849

MAYNARDE, THOMAS, fl. 1595.
Sir Francis Drake his voyage, 1595, by Thomas Maynarde, together with the Spanish account of Drake’s attack on Puerto Rico. Edited from the original manuscripts, by W. D. Cooley.
Notes: Works issued by the Hakluyt Society no. 4. "Relacion de lo sucedido en San Juan de Puerto Rico de las Yndias, con la armada ynglesa del cargo de Francis Draque y Juan Aquines, a los 23rd [!] de noviembre de 1595" followed by translation: p. [27]–65.

1854

DRAKE, FRANCIS, SIR, d. 1637.
The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios. Collated with an unpublished manuscript of Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the expedition. With appendices illustrative of the same voyage, and introduction, by W. S. W. Vaux . . .
London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. M.DCCC.LIV [1854].
Notes: Works issued by the Hakluyt Society [no. 16]. Compiled by Francis Drake, nephew of the admiral. Reprint of the original edition, London, 1628. Appendix: I. Documents relating to Mr. Thomas Doughty.—II. Memoranda, apparently, relating to this voyage.—III. Short abstract of the present voyage, in handwriting of the time.—IV. Narrative of John Cooke, entituled “For Francis Drake”—V. Extracts from Hakluyt’s voyages: 1. The course of Sir Francis Drake to California and Nova Albion. II. The famous voyage of Mr. Francis Drake into the North Sea and about the whole globe in 1588. III. Relation of a voyage made by a pilot called Nuno da Silva . . . wherein is set downe the course and actions of Sir Francis Drake, etc., etc. IV. Voyage of M. John Winter into the South Sea, by the Streight of Magellan, in concert with M. Francis Drake, begun in the yeere 1577 . . . written by Edward Cliffe, mariner. V. Extracts from “A discourse on the West Indies and South Sea, written by Lopez Vaz, a Portugal,” etc., etc.

1878

The Hawkins’ voyages during the reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I. Edited, with an introduction by Clements R. Markham.
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

85


1885

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, 1552?–1616.
The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques, and discoveries of the English nation. Collected by Richard Hakluyt, preacher, and edited by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.
16 v.: ill., facsims., maps, ports.; 30 cm. (4to)

Every volume has added title page on parchment paper, dated 1890; vol. 1 has facsimile title page of vol. 1 of the 1599 edition; vol. 6 has facsimile title page of vol. 2 of the 1599 edition. Volume 13 issued in 2 parts.

1903

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, 1552?–1616.
The principal navigations voyages traffiques & discoveries of the English nation: made by sea or over-land to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth
at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeares by Richard Hakluyt, preacher, and sometime student of Christ-Church in Oxford. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons publishers to the University; New York: The Macmillan Company, MCMIII–MCMV [1903–1905].
12 v.: ill, facsims., maps, plans, ports.; 23 cm.


1905

PURCHAS, SAMUEL, 1577?–1626.

[Purchas his pilgrimes]
Hakluytus posthumus, or, Purchas his pilgrimes: contayning a history of the world in sea voyages and lande travells by Englishmen and others by Samuel Purchas, B.D.
Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons publishers to the university, MCMV [1905–1907].
20 v.: ill., maps, ports; 23 cm.


1914

NUTTALL, ZELIA, 1858–1933.

London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, MDCCCXIV [1914].

Silva after his release from the Inquisition.—pt. XI. First official reports concerning Drake's voyage received by King Philip II.—pt. XII. Charges against Drake formulated in Spain but written in English.—pt. XIII. False charges against Drake and their refutation.

1921

HAWKINS, JOHN, SIR, 1532–1595.


1922

DRAKE, FRANCIS, SIR, 1540?–1596.

Sir Francis Drake Knight Generall of the whole fleete of the West Indian voyaige in 1585.


[5] leaves of plates; 33 cm.

NOTES: Americana series; photostat reproductions by the Massachusetts Historical Society, no. 76. The original comprises the six columns of the "log letterpress," with title as above, of Drake's 1585/86 voyage, cut apart and mounted in two columns on a folio leaf; and the six column English letterpress descriptions of the maps of Saint Domingo, Saint Iago, Saint Augustine and Cartagena found in Bigges' Summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West-Indian voyage, each cut apart and mounted in two columns on a folio leaf. One of 10 photostat copies reproduced from the original in the Society of Antiquaries of London, October, 1922.

PARMENIUS, STEPHANUS, BUDAeus, d. 1583.

De navigatione illvstris et magnanimi Equitis Aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad de­ducendam in novum orbem coloniam suscepá, carmen [ἐπιβιβασμοί] Stephani Parmenii Bvdeii.
[16] p.; facsim.; 16 cm.

Notes: Americana series; photostat reproductions by the Massachusetts Historical Society, no. 78-78a. Collation of original: Signatures A2 B4 C2. One of 10 photostat copies reproduced from the badly trimmed copy in the British Library and reduced to 3/5 of original size, November, 1922. A full size facsimile made from the large copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library, was issued in November 1922, as number 78[a] in the same series.

1924

GREEPE, THOMAS.
The true and perfecte newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes, performed and doone by that valiant knight Syr Frauncis Drake, not onely at Sancto Domingo, and Carthagena, but also nowe at Cales, and uppon the coast of Spayne. 1587.
Printed at London by I. Charlewood, for Thomas Hackett. [Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1924].

Notes: Americana series; photostat reproductions by the Massachusetts Historical Society, no. 114. In verse. Collation of original: 12 leaves (verso of first and last blank). There is no printed pagination, but the leaves have been paged in manuscript: 1-12. One of 10 photostat copies reproduced from the original in the British Library, May, 1924. Letter to John Fox, signed Frauncis Drake: leaves [23] verso-[24] verso.


1925

HORTOP, JOB.
The rare trauailes of lob Hortop, an Englishman, who was not heard of in three and twentie yeeres space. Wherein is declared the dangers he escaped in his voylage to Gynnie, whereafter hee was set on shoare in a wildernes neere to Panico, hee endured much slauerie and bondage in the Spanish galley. Wherein also he discouereth many strange and wonderfull things scene in the tyme of his trauile, as well concerning wilde and sauage people, as also of sundrie monstrovs beasts, fishes and foules, and also trees of wonderfull forme and qualitie.
London Printed for William Wright. 1591. [Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1925].
1926

DRAKE, FRANCIS, SIR, d. 1637.
The world encompassed and analogous contemporary documents concerning Sir Francis Drake’s circumnavigation of the world, with an appreciation of the achievement by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, bt. . . .
notes: Edited by N. M. Penzer. Edition limited to 975 copies on Japon vellum. Contains: Francis Fletcher’s notes, John Cooke’s narrative; Thomas Doughty’s oration; Nuño da Silva’s relation; Drake in California; Edward Cliffe’s story; Sarmiento de Gamboa’s report; Don Francisco de Zarate’s letter; San Juan de Anton’s testimony; Drake’s letter of safe-conduct; The charge against Drake of hanging captives.

HAWKINS, JOHN, SIR, 1532–1595.
A true declaration of the troublesome voyadge of M. John Haukins to the parties of Guynea and the West Indies, in the yeares of our Lord 1567. and 1568.

1927

PECKHAM, GEORGE, SIR, d. 1608.
A true reporte, of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Engelande, of the New-found Landes: by that valiaunt and worthye gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight. Wherein is also brefely sette downe, her highnesse lawfull tytle therevnto, and the great and manifolde commodities,
that is likely to grow thereby, to the whole realme in generall, and to the aduentures in particular. Together with the easines and shortnes of the voyage. Seene and allowed.


[74] p. of plates: facsim.; 25 cm.

NOTES: Americana series; photostat reproductions by the Massachusetts Historical Society, no. 183. Poem by Drake: p. [10]. One of 10 photostat copies reproduced from the original in the Huntington Library, April, 1927.


1928

HORTOP, JOB.


[Mexico City] 3a Calle de Marsella 47 Mexico: s.n., 1928.


1929

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS.

Spanish documents concerning English voyages to the Caribbean, 1527–1568 selected from the Archives of the Indies at Seville by I. A. Wright. London: Published for the Hakluyt Society, 1929.


1932

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS.

Documents concerning English voyages to the Spanish main 1569–1580 ... by I.A. Wright.


1951

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS.

Further English voyages to Spanish America 1583–1594: documents from the Archives of the Indies at Seville illustrating English voyages to the Caribbean, the Spanish Main, Florida, and Virginia translated and edited by Irene A. Wright.


1955

GREEPE, THOMAS.

The true and perfecte newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes, performed and doone by that valiant knight Syr Frauncis Drake, not onely at Sancto Domingo, and Carthagena, but also nowe at Cales, and uppon the coast of Spayne, 1587 by Thomas Greepe; now reproduced in facsimile from the original edition in the private library of Henry C. Taylor, Esq. With an introduction, notes, and a bibliography of English military books by David W. Waters.

1965

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, 1552–1616.
The principall navigations, voyages and discoueries of the English nation by Richard Hakluyt.
Imprinted at London, 1589; a photo-lithographic facsimile with an introduction by David Beers Quinn and Raleigh Ashlin Skelton; and with a new index by Alison Quinn.
2 v.: map; 30 cm.
NOTES: Extra series (Hakluyt Society). Reproduction of the copy from the Signet Library, owned by Frank Maggs, with the Bowes leaves, in the second state, supplied from a copy in the University Library, Cambridge, and with a map photographed from the Greenville copy in the British Library.

1972

ANDREWS, KENNETH R.
The last voyage of Drake & Hawkins edited by Kenneth R. Andrews.
Cambridge [Eng.]: Published for the Hakluyt Society, at the University Press, 1972.
NOTES: Works issued by the Hakluyt Society 2nd ser., no. 142.

PARMENIUS, STEPHANUS, BUDAeus, d. 1583.
The new found land of Stephan Parmenius; the life and writings of a Hungarian poet, drowned on a voyage from Newfoundland, 1573. Edited and translated with commentaries by David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire.
[Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, [1972].
xii, 250 p.; 25 cm.
NOTES: A new edition of the De navigatione, which refers to Drake’s circumnavigation.
1976

MADOX, RICHARD, 1546–1583.
NOTES: Works issued by the Hakluyt Society; 2d ser., no. 147.

1981

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE’S WEST INDIAN VOYAGE, 1585–86, edited by Mary Frear Keeler.
NOTES: Works issued by the Hakluyt Society; 2nd ser., no. 148. A collection of 11 documents, chiefly official, including Bigges’s A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian voyage.
Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries
was produced in an edition of 750 copies.
The text is Monadnock Caress mellow white and
the cover is Simpson Gainsborough blueweave.
The book was designed by Dean Bornstein and printed
at The Stinehour Press, Lunenburg, Vermont.
Bound by Mueller Trade Bindery,
Middletown, Connecticut.