

THE EMPORIA STATE

RESEARCH



STUDIES

THE GRADUATE PUBLICATION OF THE KANSAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, EMPORIA

Hakluytus Posthumus:

**Samuel Purchas and the Promotion
of English Overseas Expansion**

By

Loren E. Pennington

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VOLUME XIV

MARCH, 1966

NUMBER 3

THE EMPORIA STATE RESEARCH STUDIES is published in September, December, March, and June of each year by the Graduate Division of the Kansas State Teachers College, 1200 Commercial St., Emporia, Kansas. Entered as second-class matter September 16, 1952, at the post office at Emporia, Kansas, under the act of August 24, 1912. Postage paid at Emporia, Kansas.

"Statement required by the Act of October 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code, showing Ownership, Management and Circulation." **The Emporia State Research Studies** is published in September, December, March and June of each year. Editorial Office and Publication Office at 1200 Commercial Street, Emporia, Kansas. (66802). The **Research Studies** is edited and published by the Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas.

A complete list of all publications of *The Emporia State Research Studies* is published in the fourth number of each volume.

910.0942
P3841

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This publication is a continuation of *Studies in Education* published by the Graduate Division from 1930 to 1945.

Papers published in this periodical are written by faculty members of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia and by either undergraduate or graduate students whose studies are conducted in residence under the supervision of a faculty member of the college.

431997

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by Loren E. Pennington*

I

Historians are generally agreed that the greatest name in English promotional literature for overseas expansion in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was that of Richard Hakluyt. His famous "Discourse of Western Planting," his numerous translations undertaken in behalf of colonization, and his monumental *Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* have given him a reputation as a propagandist which has been further enhanced by his accuracy as an historian.¹ Hakluyt's self-appointed successor, Samuel Purchas, has suffered the usual fate of those who follow in the footsteps of greatness in that his work has been regarded as, at best, quite second-rate. Yet Purchas was as much the propagandist as Hakluyt, and he did have a decided contribution to make to the colonial movement. For if Richard Hakluyt was the historian of the early English colonial effort, Samuel Purchas was its philosopher.

Purchas was born in Essex of humble yeoman stock sometime between 1575 and 1577. He matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his M.A. in 1600. He proceeded to a divinity degree the next year. After three years as curate of Purleigh in Essex, he became vicar of Eastwood, near the shipping center of Leigh on the Thames, a position he held until 1614, when he was made chaplain to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate. His proximity to one of the great seafaring centers of England fused with his religious commitment and combined with an interest in anthropology quickly involved him in the study of the many native peoples of the new worlds which the age of the discovery was bringing to the astounded attention of Europe. In 1613 he published the first of his works, *Purchas His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto This Present.*² Its aim was to trace religion from Paradise to the Ark and thence around the world.³ Purchas's method was the one which had already been popularized in the geographical literature of the Italian author Giambattista Ramusio and by Hakluyt: an edited collection of the works

* Dr. Loren E. Pennington is a Professor of History in the Division of Social Sciences at Kansas State Teachers College.

¹For the best account of Hakluyt as propagandist and historian, see George B. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (2nd ed., New York, 1961).

²(London, William Stansby for Henric Fetherstone, 1613.)

³Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, sig. [q¹].

of a host of travelers and other writers. The first edition of the *Pilgrimage* drew on some seven hundred authors, and by the time of the final edition it included more than thirteen hundred. The book, one of the first in comparative religions, proved highly popular, even with King James himself, and successive and expanded editions appeared in 1614, 1617, and 1626.⁴

In all of his writings Purchas showed an inability to stick to the subject, and it was perhaps natural that in the course of its religious discussions the *Pilgrimage* should spill over into the realms of history and, more particularly, geography. In fact, though Purchas made no pretense of exactness, it is apparent that he intended the work to be a sort of popular gazetteer.⁵ From history and geography, particularly in speaking of the East Indies and America, it was only a step to the promotion of English overseas expansion, and whether consciously or unconsciously, Purchas took the step. The result was to bring him to the attention of Richard Hakluyt, who was so impressed with the *Pilgrimage* and its author that he threw open his archives for Purchas to draw upon in expanding subsequent editions of the work. For some unknown reason the friendship between the two cooled in the last year or so before Hakluyt's death in 1616, but in spite of this, Hakluyt's model became the polestar of Purchas's writing. Through successive editions he expanded the scope of the *Pilgrimage* to the point where, though it retained its basic religious theme, it began to have a vague resemblance to the *Principal Navigations*, and, though rather incidentally, to become more and more promotional of English overseas trade and colonization. This change is particularly evident in regard to the East Indies. Between 1613 and 1626, Purchas doubled the size of this section of the *Pilgrimage*,⁶ and a fair amount of the increase dealt with expanded English trade in that area.⁷ Further, he more and more assumed the anti-Dutch attitude of the East India Company,⁸ and included a defense of the East Indian trade, which at the time was under attack as being a graveyard of English ships and seamen, as well as for drawing large quantities of specie out of the realm.⁹

To a lesser extent the same change is noticeable in regard to America. As early as the first edition of the *Pilgrimage*, Purchas gave prominent mention to a number of areas of the New World which might be of interest to Englishmen—Guiana, New Mexico, New Albion (California), and especially Florida,¹⁰ which he hoped the English would eventually conquer:

⁴All editions were printed at London by William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone. Most of the revisions had been made by 1617, so the 1626 edition, which was printed at the request of King Charles, is essentially the same as the 1617 edition. See Sir William Foster, "Purchas and his 'Pilgrimes'," *Geographical Journal*, LXVIII (July-December, 1926), 199.

⁵Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, sig. [q¹].

⁶Cf. 1613 edition, pp. 381-461, and 1626 edition, pp. 477-618.

⁷Cf. 1613 edition, pp. 405-407, and 1626 edition, pp. 515-536, especially pp. 524-528.

⁸Cf. 1613 edition, p. 391, and 1626 edition, pp. 477-498.

⁹1626 edition, pp. 483-487.

¹⁰1613 edition, pp. 642-643, 648-653, 699-704.

Thus hath Florida been first courted by the English, wooed by the Spaniards, almost wonne by the French, and yet remains a riche and beautifull Virgin, waiting till the neighbour Virginia bestows on her an English bridegroom, who as making the first love, may lay the justest challenge unto her.¹¹

By 1626, his chapters on these regions had grown considerably, and Purchas was adding material on the settlements in New England.¹²

The major English interests in America in late Elizabethan and early Stuart times were the northwest passage and Virginia, and to these Purchas gave extended attention in all editions of the *Pilgrimage*. He was particularly interested in them because the success of either would indicate God's approval of English efforts and give the lie to the Catholic claim that the Lord had elected the Spanish to carry out the discovery of the New World:

This I beseech . . . thou wilt give all things; even this among other blessings that the Virgin Truth by Virginian Plantation, or Northerly Discovery, may triumph in her conquests of Indian infidelity and maugre the brags of the Adulteresse, that vaunteth her selfe to be the only Darling of God and Nature.¹³

In regard to the northwest passage, Purchas offered summaries of the voyages of Frobisher and Davis which were taken from the *Principal Navigations*, and added short accounts of the later northwest voyages of Weymouth, Hall, Hudson, Butter, and Baffin.¹⁴ Yet in spite of his prayers he regretfully concluded,

Thus we see Fretum Davis is no passage, but a Bay, and uncertaine, what that of Hudson is, the most of which is discovered impassible. Yet, Hopes are not yet quite extinct.¹⁵

His Virginia accounts were more optimistic.¹⁶ Though he included nothing much past 1617, even in the 1626 edition, his description of the country, drawn chiefly from the writings of Thomas Hariot and Captain John Smith, was entirely favorable.¹⁷ Moreover, Purchas, no doubt under the influence of the extensive promotional publications of the Virginia Company, was quite adept at explaining the failures of the colony. He was careful not to make the mistake of blaming them on the difficulties of the country -- this might explain failure, but it also precluded future hope. Instead he laid the lack of success to the improper handling of the Indians and to the poor character of the settlers sent over, and as of 1617, he assured the reader of the certain success of the colony now that the autocratic government of the Company had undergone a change.¹⁸

Clearly Purchas was thinking of himself as a propagandist for English overseas enterprise. Yet he was by no means ready to assume the

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 643.

¹²1626 edition, pp. 829-831, 845-846, 853-858, 899-905.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 821. See also 1613 edition, p. 625.

¹⁴1626 edition, pp. 811-821. See also 1613 edition, pp. 621-629.

¹⁵1626 edition, p. 820.

¹⁶1613 edition, pp. 631-641; 1626 edition, pp. 828-845.

¹⁷1613 edition, pp. 634-636; 1626 edition, pp. 834-836. Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* had originally been published at London in 1588; Smith of course published a number of works on Virginia in the early seventeenth century.

¹⁸1613 edition, pp. 631-632; 1626 edition, pp. 828-829, 836-838. Purchas did little to update any of his materials between his 1617 and his 1626 editions. See note 4.

role completely. He was, for example, in a position to perform a considerable service for American propaganda by using the *Pilgrimage* for a favorable depiction of the American Indian, who, after all, would be a near neighbor of any potential settler. The Virginia Company promotional writers had realized the necessity for such a propaganda line almost from the beginning and had bent every effort toward creating a favorable impression of the red man.¹⁹ But with the notable exception of the Guiana narratives,²⁰ the Indian emerged from the *Pilgrimage* as a complete blackguard. This was chiefly the result of Purchas's dependence on early Spanish sources for his information on the natives. He particularly drew on them for extensive accounts of the Indians of Peru and Mexico. While the Peruvians appeared to have some slight merits, Purchas concluded that the Mexican Indians exceeded all other peoples of the world in their horrible butcheries.²¹

It is quite surprising to see the anti-Spanish and even more anti-Catholic Purchas accepting this Spanish point of view in his early writings—he later modified his ideas considerably—but it must be noted that most English promotional writers of the sixteenth century, not to mention such later ones as Purchas's friend, Captain John Smith, tended to adopt the same attitude.²² It is true that at the very end of the *Pilgrimage* Purchas included a condemnation of the Spanish cruelties toward the Indians,²³ but this was neither to condemn the Spanish nation nor to defend the natives, but to attack the Spaniards' "Pseudo catholicke Religion, under shew whereof, they there did, and heere [had they conquered England] would have executed those butcheries."²⁴ Even had Purchas meant these last pages as a defense of the Indian, they scarcely could have offset the nearly two hundred pages of unmitigated savagery which had preceded them.

The impression the reader gains of America from reading the *Pilgrimage* is not an entirely happy one. As Purchas himself put it,

I . . . beginne to grow weary of the travell in an other World, willing to looke homewards; and therefore am now embarqued on the Peruvian coast, where the Peaceable Sea may free me of those former dangers whereto my Pilgrimage was subject, in passing along snowie and fierie hills, deceitfull and unwholesome bogges, scorching sandie plaines, wildernesses, inhabited with wild beastes, habitations peopled with wilder and more beastly men; and now by this commoditie of my Paper-barke, I may . . . direct my course homewards.²⁵

¹⁹Loren E. Pennington, "The Origins of English Promotional Literature for America, 1553-1625" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1962), pp. 346-433.

²⁰1613 edition, pp. 699-704; 1626 edition, pp. 899-905.

²¹1613 edition, pp. 653-684, 717-719; 1626 edition, pp. 858-884, 927-931. See also Purchas's description of the Brazilian Indians, 1613 edition, pp. 704-710; 1626 edition, pp. 906-920.

²²Smith always advocated a harsh policy toward the Indians, a fact which may partly explain the refusal of the Virginia Company to use his writings as their official propaganda. The only one of his books which may have been published at the instigation of the Company was his first, *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Note, as Hath Hapned at Virginia, Since the First Planting of that Collony* (London, William Welby for John Tappe, 1608).

²³1613 edition, pp. 746-752; 1626 edition, pp. 962-967.

²⁴1613 edition, p. 752.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 737.

Though none of the editions of the *Pilgrimage* are really very impressive as propaganda, it is nonetheless apparent that each one carried Purchas a little farther along the road toward serving the cause of English overseas trade and colonization.

II

In their days of close association Hakluyt had intended to make Purchas his literary executor, but in the estrangement between the two toward the end of Hakluyt's life, the offer was withdrawn. In spite of this, when Hakluyt died in 1616, Purchas determined to secure the former's collection of source materials. He accomplished this apparently only with some difficulty, and by means which are not completely known today.²⁶ To these voluminous materials, many of them gathered since Hakluyt had published the last edition of the *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600), Purchas added his own large collection, on which he had been at work since 1612, and set out to write what he hoped would be not just a supplement to Hakluyt, but a new and more complete edition of the *Principal Navigations*.²⁷ By 1621 he was ready to see it through the press, but the difficulties of such a stupendous task delayed the actual publication until 1625, when it appeared in four enormous volumes under the title *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages & Lande Travells, by Englishmen and Others*.²⁸

The work was divided into two main parts, with two volumes devoted to each. The first part included those portions of the world known to the ancients, while the second covered areas more recently discovered. Each part contained ten books, with each book devoted to a particular subject or area and subdivided chronologically. This system made for an overly-formal presentation, and occasionally Purchas had difficulty deciding just where an account would best fit in. It was nonetheless a considerable improvement on the shapeless form found in many of the sections of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.²⁹

Another important difference between the *Principal Navigations* and the *Pilgrimes* was in method of procedure. Both used chiefly the travel account, usually of Englishmen, sometimes of foreigners. But Hakluyt had let the sources speak for themselves, and except for occasional marginal notes, without aid from him in the form of introductions, connecting passages, or extensive editing. Purchas, on the other hand, was not content to leave such a heavy burden upon the reader. Instead, he was given to introductions, some of them tortuously long, in which he set forth the main points of the accounts to follow. He also edited materials severely,

²⁶While engaged in collecting these materials, Purchas had published his second work, *Purchas His Pilgrim. Microcosmus or the Historie of Man* (London, W. S.[tansby] for Henry Fetherstene, 1619). It is purely religious, and bears no relation to the colonial movement.

²⁷Parks estimates that Hakluyt was responsible for only about two-fifths of the material in the *Pilgrimes*; the rest Purchas had collected himself (*Richard Hakluyt*, p. 227).

²⁸(London, for Henry Fetherston, 1625). There was a second issue of the work the same year. All citations are from the reprint published in twenty volumes for the Hakluyt Society by James MacLehose and Sons at Glasgow, 1905-07.

²⁹For Purchas's plan, see *Pilgrimes*, I, xliv-xlviii.

and sometimes resorted to summary, especially where he felt direct sources would have little interest for the layman or where the whole account would be readily available to the reader in its original. The result was a simplification that one suspects gave the *Pilgrimes* a popular appeal considerably beyond that of the *Principal Navigations*. Still, while Purchas tried to avoid the uninteresting and dull, and the longer his work became the more he eliminated, he never put popular appeal ahead of value to his country. He ordinarily edited out such things as rutters and sailing directions that occupied so much of Hakluyt, "for I thinke, these meere marine relations, are (though to some profitable) to the most tedious."³⁰ Yet whenever a sailing account seemed particularly up-to-date or valuable, in it went, whether tedious or not.³¹

Purchas's editing methods have caused him to be severely criticized by present-day historians, who see him as greatly inferior to Hakluyt in this respect.³² One suspects that a main reason for complaint is that unlike Hakluyt, he left out so much material that might have been of value to the historians. But as E. G. R. Taylor has pointed out, Purchas was not writing for posterity, but for his own times.³³ For that matter, the same might be said of Hakluyt, and it may be wondered if from the point of view of contemporaries, Hakluyt was as much the superior of the two as later historians have made him. There is no question that the *Principal Navigations* is of more value today than the *Pilgrimes*, but this is more the result of accident than intent. It is not that Hakluyt planned it that way.

Still another significant difference between the *Principal Navigations* and the *Pilgrimes* is in their purpose. A case can be made for arguing that Richard Hakluyt published the *Principal Navigations* chiefly to glorify English overseas activity, while the promotion of further ventures in trade and colonization was a secondary, though still important, object.³⁴ Though Purchas had no intention of avoiding Hakluyt's main theme, and frequently stressed it as often as Hakluyt himself,³⁵ he was principally

³⁰III, 318.

³¹E. g., *ibid.*, pp. 364-370; V., 33-63.

³²For more severe criticisms, see Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, pp. 223-229; Edward Lynam, *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors*, Hakluyt Society Publications, Second Series, XCIII (1946), 55; Richard S. Dunn, "Seventeenth-Century Historians of America," *Seventeenth Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, ed. James M. Smith (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), pp. 206-207.

³³E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London, 1934), p. 62. See also Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), pp. 535-536; and Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1943), pp. 115-133, especially p. 116.

³⁴That the glory of England was the chief object of Hakluyt is evident from the introduction to the first edition of the *Principall Navigations*: "I passed at length the narrow seas into France . . . where . . . I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continual neglect of the like attempts . . . either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned. . . . Thus both hearing and reading of the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie herein: and further, not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull travels, of our cuntry men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, myself . . . determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to undertake the burden of that worke." (*Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* [London, George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 1589], sig. +2-+3.) For further elaboration of this point, see Pennington, "Origins of English Promotional Literature for America," pp. 137-139.

³⁵See "The Epistle Dedicatorie" and "To The Reader," I, xxxvii-xxxviii.

interested in creating a geography and a natural history of all the non-European regions of the earth.³⁶ As in the case of Hakluyt, there seems little basis in the contention that the promotion of the colonization movement was the *Pilgrimes'* all-prevading purpose.³⁷ In the first place, the material content of the *Pilgrimes* is so broad as to deny such a thesis. Moreover, on occasion Purchas even disclaimed the role of promoter. After a long excerpt on Newfoundland from the writings of Richard Whitbourne, one of the leading propagandists for that area, Purchas noted, "after this the author useth reasons to perswade to a Plantation there; which I have omitted as busy in history."³⁸ But though "busy in history," Purchas could not avoid the role of propagandist. The type of material he used would not permit this, and even if it had, he was still too much the student of Richard Hakluyt and too much an Englishman. Hakluyt had consciously linked the glories of England to propaganda for overseas trade and colonization. Purchas did the same, sometimes less consciously, but he did it nonetheless, and in some ways he did it better.

III

One of the chief contributions of Purchas to the English colonial movement was to provide it with a philosophical statement of purpose. This Hakluyt, in all his myriad writings, had never really done. To understand the philosophy of trade and colonization which Purchas advocated in the *Pilgrimes*, it is necessary to look to the first chapters. Purchas began his history of overseas trade with the voyages of Solomon to Ophir in the tenth century B. C.³⁹ There were several definite reasons for beginning so early. In the first place, Purchas considered Solomon the father of navigation; it was his voyages which had influenced the establishment of world trade routes, routes which had later been changed by barbarian incursions and, since the fifteenth century, by the voyages of discovery. Secondly, Purchas was attempting to prove that Ophir and its legendary riches were not in America, and therefore had not fallen to the control of Spain. They were yet to be rediscovered, and he thought their most probable location lay in the kingdom of Pegu in present-day Burma.⁴⁰ Just why Purchas was so concerned with the exact location of Ophir he never made completely clear, but it may well be that he intended his pinpointing activities as a spur to the East India Company. Finally and most important for our purposes, Purchas made use of the voyages of Solomon, and the later ones of Christ and the Apostles, to prove that trade and navigation could be squared with the law of God, and indeed were approved and commanded by Him. This of course was the only philosophical basis that mattered in the seventeenth century.

Was Solomon wrong in going to Ophir? Are people obligated to engage in trade? Are sea voyages agreeable to the law of God? These

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. xxxix-xli, xliii-xliv.

³⁷As suggested by Louis B. Wright in *Religion and Empire*, pp. 119-120.

³⁸XIX, 438, marginal note.

³⁹I, 1-135.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 49, 66-108, 116-122.

are among the questions Purchas sought to answer. He maintained that since the Golden Age, though goods had become private, trade was still public; it was merchandising that relieved want, "that one should not be hungry and another drunken." Because they were so necessary, it stood to reason that trade and navigation were subject only to the laws of God and nature, and not to the laws of nations. Therefore no person or nation had the right to refuse another trade. Besides, it was evident that God had intended man to navigate. He had given him dominion over the earth, and for man to remain on land would be to give up half his patrimony. Moreover, it was only the important sea powers of the earth which had attained a high degree of civilization. The great land powers of history, all of them heathen, had lacked the learning for navigation, and to Purchas this was evidence of God's will in preserving its secrets for Christians.⁴¹

It was clear to Purchas that God had some higher purpose in confining the knowledge of the art of navigation to Christians, and through a discussion of the travels of the Apostles, he made inquiry into what this purpose might be. Here Purchas labored to prove that America had not been inhabited at the time of the Apostles. This was no idle academic speculation, but a *sine qua non* of protestant doctrine. If it was once admitted that America had been inhabited, and that the Gospel had not been preached there by the Apostles (and everyone agreed that it had not), this would mean surrender to the Catholic claim that as all the inhabited world had not been preached to, these were still Gospel times, and apostolic succession was therefore valid. Moreover, if these were still gospel times, the predicted anti-Christ had not yet come, and the favorite charge of the protestants that the Pope was anti-Christ went by the boards. By insisting that America had not been inhabited at the time of the Apostles, Purchas could argue that they had preached to all the then-inhabited world and that anti-Christ had come. Thus mankind was now nearing the Last Judgement, and it was God's purpose that the final scenes of the Redemption be carried out in the newly-discovered areas of the world through His gift to Christians of trade and navigation, along with the great communicative art of printing:⁴²

And thus hath God given opportunitie by Navigation into all parts, that in the Sun-set and Evening of the World, the Sunne of righteousness might arise out of our West to illuminate the East, and fill both Hemispheres with his brightnes: that what the Apostles, by extraordinary dispensation sent, by extraordinary providence protected & conducted into all parts, by extraordinary gift of Tongues were able to preach to all sorts of men; this latter Age following those glorious Fathers and Founders . . . might attempt and in some sort attaine by helpes of these two Arts, Printing and Navigation, that Christ may bee salvation to the ends of the Earth, and all Nations may serve him; that according to the Scripture innumerable numbers of all Nations and Kindreds and peoples, and Tongues may be clothed with the white robes of the Lambe.⁴³

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 9-14, 45-48, 52-54.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 135-178.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 173.

This was Purchas's philosophy of navigation, trade, and colonization. Indeed, it was the basic philosophy of the whole English expansionist movement. The ideas expressed were not original with Purchas,⁴⁴ but no promotional writer stated them better than he, or with so much of what passed in those days for empirical evidence.⁴⁵

IV

Purchas had his moments as a promoter of America, but to see him at his best as a propaganda editor, it is necessary to give some attention to the chapters in the *Pilgrimes* on the East India Company. It has been claimed that Purchas served the Company for a number of years as a sort of official historian, but it would appear from the treatment he received when he asked for the Company's records in 1622 that he was a complete stranger to them. The Company granted his request only with great reluctance and made him promise not to include anything unfavorable to their interests. They need not have worried, for in the *Pilgrimes* "their just commerce [was] nobly vindicated against Turkish Treachery, victoriously defended against Portugall Hostility, gloriously advanced against Moorish and Ethnicke Perfidie; hopefully recovered from Dutch Malignitie; and justly maintained against ignorant and malicious Calumnies."⁴⁶

Justification of the East India Company's activities was no mean task, for the Company had not only met with numerous and disastrous failures, but was being charged with ruining the nation economically as well as bringing on a severe international crisis with the Dutch over rival claims in the East Indies. Purchas's defense required more than six hundred pages in the original edition as he brought to bear every conceivable piece of information that would serve to place the Company's actions in a favorable light. His principal materials were the accounts of the individual voyages to the East Indies, which he traced with infinite care in order to show the tremendous difficulties under which the Company had labored.⁴⁷

Professor Richard Dunn thinks that one of the reasons the *Pilgrimes* is inferior to the *Principal Navigations* is that Purchas lacked the heroic

⁴⁴Many of Purchas's ideas and materials in these earlier chapters were taken from John Dee's *Famous and Rich Discoveries*, Volume IV of his *British Complement of the Perfect Art of Navigation*. Only the first volume of this is extant in printed form (London, John Daye, 1577), but a partial manuscript of Vol. IV is located in the British Museum. The idea that all nations were obligated to trade with one another was expressed in the writings of Jean Bodin as early as 1568, and the idea no doubt goes back many years before that. See Sir James A. Williamson (ed.), *The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under America under Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London, 1929), pp. 278-279; and E. G. R. Taylor, "Master John Dee, Drake and the Straits of Anian," *Mariners Mirror*, XV (1929), 127-28.

⁴⁵For the best discussion of the religious philosophy of colonization expressed by Purchas, see Perry Miller, "The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, V (1948), 509-513. It is Miller's contention, and I fully concur, that the promotional literature of English expansion must be considered against the background of this philosophy.

⁴⁶III, 355.

⁴⁷The material on the English voyages to the East Indies, the vast majority of them by the East India Company, covers more than 1500 pages in the MacLehose reprint (II, 285-V, 302).

figures available to Hakluyt.⁴⁸ I do not believe this to be true even in regard to America, but it is certainly a misstatement in regard to the Far East. From the first voyage sent out by the Company in 1600 under Sir James Lancaster, the theme of the *Pilgrimes* is the persistence of the Company and its expeditionary leaders against overwhelming odds of violent storms, scurvy, starvation, shipwreck, murderous fevers, mutinies, and treacherous attacks by Turks, Portuguese, Dutch, and natives. The expedition sent out in 1608 saw one of the two ships wrecked on Ascension Island, a bloody fight with the natives of Mozambique, escape from Portuguese captivity, mutiny, a terrible homeward voyage, and when success was at last in sight, shipwreck on the coast of France with the entire cargo lost. The survivors numbered ten of the original seventy-five members of the crew.⁴⁹

Even worse was the voyage of 1610 under Sir Henry Middleton. It included the largest and most famous ship of its day, the "Trades Increase." The "Trades Increase" ran aground off the coast of Arabia, and some of the crew were captured by the Turks. The ship was eventually freed, and after regrouping, the expedition took vengeance on the Turks at Mocha, and then sailed for Surat on the coast of India, where there was more trouble, this time with the Portuguese. Eventually the fleet reached Sumatra, where the "Trades Increase" again ran aground and had to be careened and resheathed, a task which led to the death, through fever, of Middleton, every member of her hundred-man crew, and more than five hundred natives who had been hired to work on her. The ship was finally abandoned and sunk.⁵⁰

So dreary are many of Purchas's East Indian relations that it may be wondered how they could serve as propaganda. But one must remember that Purchas was not seeking to attract settlers, or even investors. He was trying to explain the Company's failure to the English public; and in this the accounts succeeded admirably. Moreover, Purchas was careful to note that the voyages became progressively more hopeful each year, so that by the time he reached 1614, he was able to report that he had finally brought the Company to a state of "vigour and courage."⁵¹

As Professor Dunn has claimed that Purchas was short on heroes, Edward Lynam has suggested that he was short on villains as well; that Hakluyt wrote in a time when the Spanish were a ready scapegoat, whereas Purchas wrote in a calmer day and expressed an interest only literary.⁵² There may be some slight basis for this statement in regard to America, but again it has no validity at all in regard to the East Indies. As Hakluyt had found his villains in the Spanish, Purchas found his in the Dutch. Of course he could not be quite so bold as Hakluyt had been, for England and Holland were not at war, and he protested that he did not wish to see a worsening of relations between the two countries, and that

⁴⁸Dunn, "Seventeenth-Century Historians of America," p. 207.

⁴⁹III, 61-89.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 115-304, 330-331; IV, 143, 283.

⁵¹III, 355-357.

⁵²Lynam, *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors*, pp. 54-55.

he had in fact left out a good many of the more inflammatory pieces.⁵³ But in spite of this, the vehemently anti-Dutch accounts of writers like William Keeling, Thomas Spurway, or Nathaniel Courthop compare with the most violent railings against Spain to be found in the *Principal Navigations*.⁵⁴ The whole trend of most of Purchas's East Indian accounts, particularly the later ones, was to picture the Dutch as cowardly and treacherous interlopers, who after following the English lead and accepting English courtesy had used the first opportunity to drive them from their justly-held possessions.⁵⁵

Purchas's East Indian chapters are among the best testimony that the *Pilgrimes* was both intended to be and was just as promotional as the *Principal Navigations*. The whole object of these chapters was public approval and support for the efforts of the East India Company. It is not surprising that upon publication of the *Pilgrimes*, the Company paid Purchas £100 and bought three sets of the work. It was meager pay indeed for the great service he had rendered them.

V

Though some of Purchas's best propaganda was in behalf of the East India Company, his American promotional efforts were only a short step behind. Like Hakluyt, Purchas's main American themes were trade and colonization and hatred of Spain. As propaganda against the Spanish, Hakluyt had depended to a considerable extent on the accounts of battles between the two nations. Here Hakluyt had the advantage, for not only did he write when those voyages were of special interest to Englishmen, but most of them took place before the final edition of the *Principal Navigations* so that he was able to include almost all the important ones. Had Purchas followed his original intent of superseding the *Principal Navigations*, his writings would have been as anti-Spanish as those of Hakluyt. But by the time he had prepared his first volume for the press, it was plain that the sheer bulk of the work would force him to lower his sights. Consequently, he decided to resort to short summaries and abridgements of most of the material that had already been printed in Hakluyt.⁵⁶ But extensive accounts of the Drake and Cavendish circumnavigations had already been incorporated in his first volume,⁵⁷ and as a patriotic

⁵³In his preface Purchas denied any intention of fostering hatred of the Dutch and promised to refrain from such things as propagandistic marginal notes, but at the same time he felt that he should in fairness to the Company present its point of view (I, xlix-1). He also occasionally inserted pieces giving the Dutch point of view, though chiefly so they could be refuted. (E.g., V, 147-154, 193-226, 238-241.)

⁵⁴Keeling was commander of the English expedition of 1607. For his account see II, 502-549. Courthop commanded the voyage of 1616 (V, 86-125). Spurway was involved in the outbreak of trouble with the Dutch in 1617 over the island of Polaroon (IV, 508-535).

⁵⁵In addition to the accounts of voyages, Purchas also included a number of anti-Dutch pamphlets of the East India Company as well as a discourse of his own (V, 137-174, 232-238, 262-301). He also intended, with the advice and approval of the Company, to insert at least one other anti-Dutch tract. It was apparently quite violent in tone, for the printer, fearing trouble with the censoring authorities, balked, and it had to be omitted (Wright, *Religion and Empire*, pp. 121-122). Wright claims the piece in question was on the Amboyna massacre; this may be true, though Purchas did include an abridgement of the Company's account of that event (X, 507-521).

⁵⁶E. g., XVI, 5-29, 106-135; XIX, 449-459.

⁵⁷II, 119-187. Volume II of the MacLehose reprint contains a special section on the circumnavigations of all nations, and these voyages are included in it.

Englishman he could not omit those most famous English sea victories over the Armada and in the 1596 raid on Cadiz.⁵⁸ In naval battles that had not been included in the *Principal Navigations*, Purchas was as diligent as Hakluyt. The Lisbon expedition of Drake and Sir John Norryes of 1589, the voyage of Richard Hawkins to the Peruvian coast in 1593, the Earl of Cumberland's voyage of 1596, and the Islands expedition of 1597 were all extensively reported, as were several of the more incidental raids after the turn of the century, and a fight or two between the Spaniards and English ships on their way to America.⁵⁹ If Purchas fell short of Hakluyt in his portrayal of the glories of England's naval victories, it was not by choice but through want of material that had not already been included in the *Principal Navigations*.

Hakluyt had also inspired hatred against Spain through his accounts of the tribulations of Englishmen in Spanish hands. Again Purchas was at a disadvantage because of the time in which he wrote. He did not have available any new relations of suffering under the Spanish yoke, but he did have at hand a pair of accounts that related the captivity of Englishmen by the Portuguese in Brazil that exceeded anything in Hakluyt, both in English heroism and Iberian oppression. One was the tale of Peter Cardier, who had been with the Drake circumnavigation expedition but had become lost with some of his shipmates while scouting the Straits of Magellan in a shallop. The group eventually made its way to Brazil, where after all his companions had died or had deserted to the Portuguese, Cardier himself was forced to surrender. A brutal imprisonment followed, but he finally escaped captivity when the ship in which he was being sent to Portugal was captured by British privateers.⁶⁰

The other account is one of the most harrowing tales in the annals of early English travel to America. The author was one Anthony Knivet, who was with the unsuccessful Cavendish voyage of 1591. After barely escaping death at sea on half a dozen occasions, he was left for dead following a battle on the east coast of South America. He lived for the next ten years alternately with the cannibals of Brazil and as a slave of the Portuguese, fleeing from one to the other as each was on the point of putting him to death.⁶¹ As Purchas himself put it,

I have given Master Knivets Relation . . . unmatched by any English for the rare adventures, disadvantages, and manifold successions of miseries in those wilde Countries, and with those wilder Countrimen of Brasilia; . . . Master Knivet . . . betwixt the Brasilian and Portugall, as betwixt two Mill stones, was almost ground to poulder: whom Colds, Sicknes, Famine, Wandrings, Calumnies, Desertions, Solitarines, Deserts, Woods, Mountains, Fennes, Rivers, Seas, Flights, Fights, wild Beasts, wilder Serpents, wildest men, and straight passages beyond all names of wildnesse (those Magellan Straits succeeded by drowning, fainting, freesing, betraying, beating, starving, hanging Straits) have in various successions made the subject their working: whom God yet delivered, that out of his manifold

⁵⁸XIX, 459-515; XX, 1-23.

⁵⁹XVI, 29-106, 292-301; XVII, 57-199; XIX, 135-143, 516-549; XX, 24-129.

⁶⁰XVI, 136-146.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, pp. 177-289.

paines, thou maist gather this posie of pleasures, and learne to bee thankfull for thy native sweets at home, even delights in the multitude of peace.⁶²

Purchas may have had a tin ear, but so probably did most of his readers; and if foreign oppression and English heroism made for good propaganda for America, as so many historians have claimed, one could hardly improve on Knivet. There was the decided possibility, however, that a prospective immigrant after reading or hearing of Knivet's misadventures might follow Purchas's suggestion and "be thankfull for . . . native sweets at home."

In addition to using sea battles and captivities as an emotional appeal to anti-Spanish and anti-Portuguese feeling, Purchas introduced two new approaches which accomplished the same end, and which had been largely ignored by Hakluyt. In spite of all that has been written to the contrary, Hakluyt's motives were more patriotic than religious; he was never particularly anti-Catholic. But in the *Pilgrimes*, the prejudice against Spain was shifted from nationality to religion, from the evils which the Spaniards committed as Spaniards to the evils which they committed as Catholics. Purchas insisted that he did not dispute the just claims of the Spanish in America. In fact, he, like Hakluyt, often saw the Spanish accomplishments there as the hand of God, the first step in the great conversion of the gentiles.⁶³ But as long as they were "of all nations . . . most enamoured of that Roman . . . Harlot,"⁶⁴ they could not help but be England's greatest enemy.

Purchas was also one of the few writers of the promotional movement to make an extensive attempt to condemn the Spanish and Portuguese for their treatment of the Indians. Most of the English propagandists of the sixteenth century, including Hakluyt, had favored a firm policy toward the natives and had considered the Spanish and Portuguese model more to be emulated than deplored.⁶⁵

While Purchas's attitude toward the Indian was somewhat ambivalent in that he wrote under the shadow of the Virginia Massacre of 1622, he did not hesitate to condemn the Spaniards' harsh policies through the use of some of their own accounts. Three of these were especially damning. The first was in the form of an appeal from an unknown Portuguese friar in Brazil to the Spanish King relating the cruelties wreaked on the Indians by the slave traders of the region.⁶⁶ Much more detailed were the extracts Purchas took from the writings of Girolamo Benzoni.⁶⁷ A native of Milan, Benzoni had spent fourteen years in America, many of them as a member of Spanish slaving expeditions,

⁶²*Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

⁶³"I question not the right of the Spanish Crowne in those parts. . . . The Catalan Industry I honour (as appeares in the former Relations)." (II, 47.) See also VII, 392.

⁶⁴I, 177. For Purchas's most bitter attack on Catholicism, see his "Animadversions on the said Bull of Pope Alexander" (II, 42-64).

⁶⁵Hakluyt, as well as some of the other promotional writers of the sixteenth century, did recognize that the Indian was too often a propaganda liability, and that the necessary requirement was to turn him into an asset. This they attempted to do not so much by the "noble savage" approach as by stressing the ready expedient of conversion.

⁶⁶XVI, 503-517.

⁶⁷XVII, 292-310.

which he made a point of describing in detail:

Peter Chalice came while we were there to Amaracan with above 4000. slaves, and had brought many more, but with labour, wearinesse, hunger, and grieffe, for losse of their Countrie and friends, many had perished in the way. Many also not able to follow in the Spaniards swift march, were by them killed to prevent their taking arms. A miserable spectacle to see those troopes of slaves naked, with their bodies rent, maimed, starved: the mothers dragging or carrying on their shoulders their children howling, the neckes of all, arms and hands chained; not any grown Maide amongst them which the spoilers had not ravished, with so profuse lust that thence grew contagion and pernicious diseases.⁶⁸

Benzoni summed up the Indian attitude toward Spanish conquest in a conversation which he had one day with an Indian chief in Nicaragua:

Hee one morning, I sitting neere him, fixed his eye on my face, said Christian, what are Christians? they require Maiz, Honie, Silke, a Garment, and an Indian Woman to lie with; . . . they are Gamesters, Dicers, lewd and blasphemous. When they goe to Church to heare Masse, they backbite the absent and they strike and wound each other. Hee concluded, that Christians were not good. I said, they were the bad, and not the good, which did such things: hee replied, Where are those good? for I never yet saw any but bad. I asked, why they suffered Christians to enter their borders. Hee answered, Honest friend thus it is: When the fame of the cruelty of the Christians, which wheresoever they came, filled all with fire, sword and robbery, dispersed in these Provinces, had comne unto us, and wee had heard that they would invade us, wee called a Councell, of all our friends, and generally decreed rather to die, then to yeeld our selves subjects to the Christians. . . . Thus wee take Armes. But our Wives come weeping to us, and beseech us rather to serve the Christians, then to die shamefully: otherwise, to kill them first, with their children, that they may not after losse of their husbands, come into the power of those bearded and cruell men. These prayers and tears brake our hearts, and wee voluntarily submitted our persons and goods to the greedy Christians. Some yet, provoked by wrongs, rebell; but were punished grievously by the Christians, not sparing the very infants. Others also which were innocent, were made slaves; and wee were then possessors neither of our wives, nor children, nor any thing else. Many impatient hereof, killed their children, others hanged, and others famished themselves: till the King of Castiles Proclamation, by which wee were made free, made an end of those miseries.⁶⁹

All this was anti-climactic compared to the final Spanish relation to find its place in the *Pilgrimes*. This was a lengthy abridgement of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Actes and Gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies*, which had been printed in England in 1583.⁷⁰ Much has been written of the influence of Las Casas in stirring up anti-Spanish feeling in England in the days of Elizabeth. The surprising thing is how little influence it apparently had. In spite of the fact that Las Casas appeared in numerous editions in several languages on the Continent, where it must have been among the

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 297-299. See also Benzoni's bitter attack on the Spanish priests and friars, whom he accuses of seeking only their own wealth, and his condemnation of Pizarro's handling of the conquest of Peru (pp. 299-309).

⁷⁰(London, Thomas Dawson for William Broome, 1583). Abridged in *Pilgrimes*, XVIII, 83-180.

most popular books of the day, and in spite of the fact that sixteenth-century English propagandists for overseas expansion were translating Spanish works on America by the score, not one of those propagandists, not even Hakluyt, saw fit to use *Las Casas*. The 1583 edition, the only edition to appear in England before the *Pilgrimes*, was published to urge English support of the revolt in the Netherlands, and had no relationship whatsoever to the colonial movement. It was not until the writings of Samuel Purchas that *Las Casas* was made to serve the cause of English expansionist propaganda.

Despite Purchas's claim that he intended no offense to the Spanish nation nor any denial of their glories in publishing *Las Casas*'s account, and that he had actually edited out some of the worst parts of the work,⁷¹ it remained what its English translator of 1583 had intended it to be: one of the most extreme pieces of anti-Spanish propaganda ever published. *Las Casas*'s theme was the destruction of a worthy, noble, and peaceful civilization through the bestiality of the conquistadores. Like all such polemics, it increased in violence as it went on, so that twelve million Indians slain by the Spanish at the beginning of the book had grown to twenty million at the end. *Las Casas*'s tales of cruelty were revolting in the extreme: natives roasted on grills, while the Spaniards basted them in sport; children slain before their mothers' eyes and chopped up for dog food; Indian hunting with vicious hounds the popular Spanish pastime, and so on endlessly.⁷² One cannot imagine anything more certain to arouse English hatred of Spain. Richard Hakluyt has the reputation as the great anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic figure of English promotional literature for America, but it may well be that the accolade should go instead to Samuel Purchas.

VI

Purchas, like Hakluyt, made no more than an indirect attempt to turn his anti-Spanish materials into propaganda for colonization, but he did try to adapt certain of the Spanish and other foreign works more directly to the cause of the English overseas movement. He was somewhat more successful in this than the many promoting translators who preceded him, chiefly because his orientation was different. While they were interested mainly in history, he was more interested in geography. He did not follow "the folly of the Spanish Authors which are more curious to set downe the names, &c. of those which have there done any thing through but rebellions, then the description of the beastes, fishes, fowles, plants, Earth, Heavens, &c. in the Indies."⁷³ Instead, he chose many of his foreign materials with an eye to their geographical value, for he hoped

⁷¹*Ibid.*, pp. 80-82.

⁷²*Ibid.*, pp. 118, 122, 152. See also pp. 116, 134-135, 150-152. Only in Mexico did *Las Casas* see the Indian as receiving any real justice (p. 158).

⁷³XIV, 429, marginal note. Purchas was here defending Ramusio's criticism of the Spanish authors.

they might "be of use one day, when our Virginian Plantation . . . shall lift up her head with more . . . alacritie."⁷⁴

Among the works Purchas selected for this purpose were three that had already been printed in England. They were José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, which had been translated by Edward Grimestone some twenty years before; Lopez Vaz's narrative of Spanish America, one of the gems of the *Principal Navigations*; and the Frenchman Marc Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, which had been published in England at the instigation of Richard Hakluyt in 1609. All were optimistic toward the prospects of America and were excellent propaganda.⁷⁵ To them Purchas added parts of the most recent and, from the promotional viewpoint, the best of the Spanish works, Antonio de Herrera's *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos*⁷⁶. In spite of its title, Purchas was able to edit it into a superb account of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions which not only bulged with information but left an extremely favorable impression of the New World and the orderly civilization that was possible there.⁷⁷

Unfortunately, some of Purchas's other choices were not quite so happy. Because of its partial geographic orientation, Purchas included in the *Pilgrimes* lengthy passages from Gonzalo Hernández de Oviedo y Valdés's *Sumario de la natural y general istoria de las Indias* and his more extensive *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. Oviedo was one of the writers who had helped to give such a depressing picture of America in the early promotional translations of Richard Eden.⁷⁸ Eden had stressed the historical portions of Oviedo. Purchas pointed out that the best parts were not the accounts of conquests, but the descriptions of the country, and these both Eden and Richard Willes, who completed Eden's last work, had largely omitted.⁷⁹ But as promotional literature, Oviedo read little better when edited by Samuel Purchas than by Richard Eden. In fact, the Oviedo material best reveals Purchas's main weakness as a promotional editor: he could not conceal his fascination for the terrifying aspects of American nature, for what Howard Mumford Jones has recently called the "anti-image" of America.⁸⁰ His selections from Oviedo abounded with loathsome and harmful beasts and plants, hurricanes, water spouts, and a host of other natural phenomena which would have frightened a potential adventurer out of his wits.⁸¹

⁷⁴XVIII, 67-68. See also p. 297, where Purchas leaves off further consideration of the French voyages to turn to the English plantations, "for whose sake these [the French voyages] are published." He also intended the Gentleman of Elvas narrative of the Florida expedition of de Soto as an encouragement for Virginia (XVII, 522).

⁷⁵XV, 1-148, 233-412; XVII, 247-292; XVIII, 228-297. De Acosta and Lescarbot are noteworthy for their favorable portrayal of many of the natives and of the possibilities of America, while Vaz stresses the military weaknesses of the Spanish colonies as well as the excellent prospects of the New World. For a more extended discussion of the propaganda merits of these works, see Pennington, "Origins of English Promotional Literature for America," pp. 99-102, 104-111, 188-189.

⁷⁶(Madrid, 1601-05). Abridged in *Pilgrimes*, XIV, 427-592. The translation of Herrera was by Hakluyt (Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 217).

⁷⁷E. g., XIV, 439-493, 546-549.

⁷⁸XV, 148-232.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 147-148. In spite of this criticism of Eden, Purchas took most of his Oviedo material from him. The portion which Purchas himself translated is only pp. 216-232.

⁸⁰Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strange New World* (New York, 1964), pp. 35-70.

⁸¹E. g., XV, 162-180, 206-208, 216-232.

As propaganda for America, Oviedo was the nadir in the *Pilgrimes*, but there were others nearly as bad. Among the South American travel relations which Purchas chose to use was that of Hulderike Schnirdel, a German who had spent twenty years (1534-1554) with various Spanish expeditions working their way inland from Buenos Aires toward Peru. Schnirdel's account was a continuous tale of shipwreck (even in the rivers), Indian treachery and wars, disease, and famine. To cap it all, not one of the expeditions was a success, and every one resulted in the death of a majority of its participants.⁸²

No better were the accounts of Brazil, the most important of which was by the unknown Portuguese friar.⁸³ One of the worst problems there was snakes:

The great vehemencie that those venomous Snakes above said have, the great paines they cause, and the many persons that every day doe die of their stinging cannot be exprest: and they are so many in number, that not onely the fields and woods, but even the houses are full of them, and they are found in the beds, and within the bootes, when they put them on. The Brethren going to their rest doe finde them there wound about the benches feet, and if they be not holpen when they sting, cutting the wound, letting them blood, drinking Unicorns horne, or Carima, or the water of Snakes-wood, or some other effectuall remedie, in foure and twentie houres and lesse he dieth with great crying and paines, and they are so excessive, that when any person is bitten presently he demandeth confession, and maketh account to die, and so disposeth of his goods.⁸⁴

To a lesser extent the same impression was gained of two other areas which Purchas described from Spanish accounts: New Mexico and Florida. Unlike the Plate region and Brazil, these were places of considerable interest to Englishmen. For New Mexico, Purchas employed largely the same sources as Hakluyt, and with the same only slightly hopeful result. In reference to Florida, he depended on the famous relation of Alvar Nunez de Cabeza de Vaca and Hakluyt's translation of the Portuguese Gentleman of Elvas account of the de Soto expedition.⁸⁵ Though both abounded with rumors of riches and prospects of reaching the South Sea, none of these stories was ever confirmed, and the narratives, filled as they were with disaster and death, could scarcely have been effective propaganda. Purchas's conclusion to his Florida relations was typical of his whole chapter on that subject:

This author [Elvas] accounteth . . . 300. lost [in the de Soto expedition] but . . . [Vega] recounteth 700. saying, that he carried with him from Cuba 1000. He [Vega] addeth that Juan Ponce de Leon, the first discoverer of Florida, lost himself and 80. men. Lucas

⁸²XVII, 1-56.

⁸³XVI, 418-503. This was a manuscript captured from a Spanish ship.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.

⁸⁵XVII, 437-521, 525-550; XVIII, 1-80. The Gentleman of Elvas account is regarded as one of the finest original sources describing Spanish exploration in America, but this is from the point of view of history, not of propaganda. Hakluyt had made a translation of it as publicity for the Virginia Company of London (*Virginia Richly Valued, by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida* [London, Felix Kingston for Matthew Lownes, 1609]). For a discussion of this work as propaganda, see Pennington, "Origins of English Promotional Literature for America," pp. 111-116.

Vasquez was also slain there with above 220. Pamphila de Narvaez went with 400. Spaniards, of which not above four escaped.⁸⁶

Purchas piously suggested that "So fatall hath Florida been to Spain, that (I hope) Virginia may have the greater dowry for her English husband,"⁸⁷ but in light of the preceding narratives, this seemed rather a forlorn hope than a real expectation.

In Oviedo, Schnirdel, Nunez, and the Gentleman of Elvas, among others, Purchas had not chosen works which were very well suited to the encouragement of English activity in America. But in de Acosta, Vaz, Les-carbot, and Herrera, he had presented the most optimistic of the foreign writings, and the total picture of the New World is better than usually emerged from English promotional translations.

VII

Another area in which the *Pilgrimes* enjoyed some success as propaganda for America was in the matter of the Indian. Purchas had been quite anti-Indian in his *Pilgrimage*, and one can find scattered throughout the *Pilgrimes* references to the natives as dark as those to be found in many of the early English works on America.⁸⁸ But Purchas may have realized that a pro-Indian attitude was the opposite side of his anti-Spanish coin, and that a rehabilitation of the Indian's reputation was necessary if Englishmen were to gain a sufficiently optimistic image of the prospects of America. So, when Purchas directly considered the Indian, he usually made a genuine attempt to portray him in a favorable light. No better example of this can be found than in his selections from the already-mentioned writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas, the theme of which was to show the natives as possessing a high degree of civilization and humanity, as well as a meekness combined with a desire to grasp the Christian religion which would make European conquest of America a simple matter, provided it was carried out in a proper and charitable fashion. This opinion Purchas also pursued in lengthy passages from José de Acosta, who tended to view the Indians of Mexico as a highly civilized and worthy people whose only vice before the coming of the Spaniards was the brutality of their religion, a brutality that was actually all for the best, as it made them the more willing to accept Christianity.⁸⁹ Purchas also incorporated into his work two extended accounts of the Indian civilizations of Mexico and Peru as they existed before the conquest. The first was a Mexican history taken from an Aztec picture chronicle which was combined with a description of Aztec customs and their political and economic system, all intended to show the very high civilization that prevailed in Mexico before Cortez. The Peruvian account

⁸⁶XVIII, 49, marginal note. Garcellaso de la Vega was a descendant of both the Incas and the conquistadores. He wrote a great deal on Spanish America, including an account of the de Soto expedition. Purchas had this account, but did not include it because he considered the Elvas relation a better one. (XVII, 311.)

⁸⁷XVIII, 49, marginal note.

⁸⁸E. g., X, 37-38; XIII, 365-366, 371-372; XV, 157-162, 505-518; XVI, 324-337, 541-561.

⁸⁹XV, 233-412; XVIII, 83-180.

was from the writings of Garcellaso de la Vega, whose mother was a member of the Inca line and whose father was one of the conquistadores. Again the thesis was the high civilization of the Indians and their willingness to accept Christianity.⁹⁰

Unfortunately, these very favorable accounts of the American native life dealt with the Indians of Spanish America, not those of the English areas of settlement. But they were probably all Indians to the average Englishman, and if merit could be found in some, the natural conclusion was that it could be found in most of the rest. Purchas himself apparently made this connection, for he said that he included de Acosta's account of the Aztecs and Incas in order that the English should better understand the Indians and thus be prepared to deal with them in their own colonies.⁹¹

Still, while Purchas spoke well of the Indian, he never became entirely sympathetic; such an attitude would have been folly in the light of the Virginia massacre of 1622. Instead Purchas saw the Indian situation as demanding a policy of firmness, if not harshness. He summed it up this way:

I have read more stories of them [the Indians] then perhaps any man, and find that a cruel mercy in awing savages to feare us is better then the mercifull cruelty, which by too much kindenes hath made us feare them or else by too much confidence to loose our selves. [Captain John] Smith & [Captain Christopher] Newport may by their examples teach the just course to be taken with such: the one breeding awe and dread, without Spanish or Panicke terror, the other disgraced in seeking to grace with offices of humanity, those which are graceless. Neither doth it become us to use Savages with savageness, nor yet with too much humane usage, but in the middle path . . . to goe and doe so that they may admire and feare us, as those whom God, Religion, Civility, and Art, have made so farre superior; yet [not] to abuse them (unprovoked) as hostile slaves, or as meere beasts, with cruell and beastly severity, whom nature hath made equally men. This breedes desperate depopulations, as in the Spanish Indies hath beene seene; that gentlenesse and unequall equity makes them proud and treacherous, as woeful experience hath taught in the late massacre. Our temperance and justice should be qualified with prudence and fortitude. Neither must wee make them beasts, nor yet value them as Christians, till we have made them such; and the way to make them Christian men, is first to make them civil men, to file off the rust of their humanity, which as children (the like in taming wilde beasts) must be done with severe gentlenesse and gentle severity, which may breede in them loving awe, or awfull love, at least a just dread toward us, that feare may make them know us, and then the fault is ours if they see no cause to love us.⁹²

Purchas's treatment of the problem of the Indian, except for the dreadful rhetoric, is reminiscent of Richard Hakluyt's famous statement, "If gentle polishing will not serve [to civilize the Indians], then we shall not want

⁹⁰XV, 414-504; XVII, 311-412.

⁹¹XV, 233-234.

⁹²XVIII, 497-498, footnote. Newport was being condemned in this passage for dignifying Powhatan by crowning him King of Virginia, much against the better judgement of Smith. For similar expressions of Purchas's attitude toward the Indians, see *ibid.*, pp. 268, marginal note; 494, marginal note; 514, marginal note.

hammerours and rough masons enow, I mean our old soldiers trained up in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands."⁶³ Those Virginia Company promotional writers who for twenty years had been using the "noble savage" approach as a means of turning the Indian into a propaganda asset received little support from Purchas.⁶⁴

VIII

Renewed attempts to find a passage through or around America to the Orient was a subject of considerable current interest at the time Purchas was editing his *Pilgrimes*. The sixteenth century efforts in this direction had sparked a flood of literature and propaganda,⁶⁵ but these of the early seventeenth century were carried on in secret and without benefit of publications, and except for certain manuscripts, the *Pilgrimes* provides the only real notice we have of them. Considering the nature of most of the accounts which appear in the *Pilgrimes*, it is probably just as well that they were not published, for most of them would have made poor propaganda. The various voyages of the Muscovy Company to the northwest were usually for whale and walrus, with the search for a passage only incidental, and, judging from the narratives, not very hopeful. The reports of voyages sent out by various groups for the actual purpose of discovery were equally pessimistic. The John Knight voyage of 1606 ended in shipwreck, and Knight was slain by the natives. None of the three voyages (1605-1612) of James Hall, the first two made for the king of Denmark, found anything, either in the way of a passage or of trade commodities. The last voyage ran into impossible weather, saw both the hopes of the passage and of silver mining in ruins, and Hall, like Knight, lost his life in a skirmish with the Eskimos, who proved totally unfriendly. An even more notable failure was that of Henry Hudson, whose last voyage (the only one of his originally intended for the northwest) resulted in the mutiny that sent him to his death.⁶⁶

The disappointing climax in Purchas's northwest discovery relations was in the narratives of the two voyages of William Baffin in 1615 and 1616.⁶⁷ Baffin had been with the last Hall expedition of 1612 and had written the account used in the *Pilgrimes*. At the time Baffin sailed in 1615, his sponsors, the North West Passage Company, had already sent out four unsuccessful voyages, including the ill-fated Hudson voyage. Upon his return from the expedition of 1615, Baffin expressed complete discouragement with the prospects of a northwest passage, and advocated abandoning further efforts in favor of development of the whale fisheries

⁶³Hakluyt (tr.), *Virginia Richly Valued*, p. 6.

⁶⁴It must be noted that by 1625 even the Virginia promotional writers, in the light of the massacre, were dropping their "soft" line toward the natives. See especially Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia. With a Relation of the Barbarous Massacre in Time of Peace and League* (London, G. Eld for Robert Mylbourne, 1622), pp. 12-33.

⁶⁵For a consideration of the extent and importance of this literature as propaganda, see Pennington, "Origins of English Promotional Literature for America," pp. 246-274.

⁶⁶XIII, 374-412; XIV, 1-108, 306-378. Hudson's third expedition, though it ended up in America, started out for the northeast.

⁶⁷XIV, 379-411.

of Davis Strait.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, Purchas still proposed further voyages to the northwest,⁹⁹ though it is unlikely, in view of the relations he had included, that many of his readers would have agreed with him.

In addition to the northwest, Purchas was the supporter of other routes through or around America to the Orient. He affirmed the English claim to the Straits of Magellan,¹⁰⁰ though his own accounts of the troublesome Portuguese, English, and Dutch voyages through the Straits seemed to preclude anything more than a limited use of them.¹⁰¹ He also spoke up for renewal of Robert Thorne's old scheme, a route directly over the pole, which was based on the belief that temperatures there would be no colder than those found in England.¹⁰² His best efforts, however, were reserved for the overland passage through America. He printed an abridgement of the highly promotional (and speculative) discourse of the mathematician Henry Briggs on the possibility of finding a way through Virginia to the Pacific. This piece was so convincing in its logic that the Virginia Company had issued it in 1622 as part of its propaganda.¹⁰³ Also lending support to the overland route were the reports of Thomas Dermer, who had several times been engaged by the Plymouth Company and later by the Council for New England to explore inland from their possessions in America.¹⁰⁴

Though Purchas did his best to speak encouragingly of possible routes through or around America to Asia, his chapters on the various passages are one of the places where the *Pilgrimes* is definitely inferior to the *Principal Navigations* as promotional literature—only in those few instances where his accounts descend from actual experience to mere speculation can Purchas pass muster as an effective propagandist. But perhaps we may excuse Purchas in this instance. Hakluyt had had to deal with only twenty-five years of total failures. For Purchas, the problem was half a century.

IX

By 1625, English colonial interest in America was concentrated in four areas: Guiana, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, New England, and Virginia, the last with its ancillary colony of Bermuda. Much of the propaganda for Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New England was still in the future, but they had already called forth some directly promotional

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 396-401. Baffin did go out the next year on a further search, and was later killed in the Pacific on what he hoped would be an attempt to seek a northwest passage from the western side.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 411-414.

¹⁰⁰XVI, 136, marginal note.

¹⁰¹II, 84-284; XVI, 151-176; XVII, 57-199.

¹⁰²XIII, 2. Thorne, who had served as English ambassador to Madrid, was the foremost proponent of the polar route during the reign of Henry VIII. In spite of Hudson's failure to find a passage this way, there was still a considerable interest in the route. See Purchas's account of the first voyage of Hudson, XIII, 294-313, and his narrative of the Poole voyage of 1610, XIV, 1-23.

¹⁰³XIV, 422-426. Briggs's essay had originally been appended to Waterhouses's *Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia*, which had been published in 1622 to offset the bad publicity of the Indian massacre of that year.

¹⁰⁴XIX, 129-134. For Dermer's activities with the Plymouth Company and the Council for New England, see *ibid.*, pp. 274, 277-280.

literature, and Guiana and Virginia had produced it in quantity. Purchas made considerable use of this propaganda; in fact, it was the principal source for his chapters on the English colonies in the New World. Thus his materials were naturally promotional, but because he had such a wide choice of sources and because he was not averse to editing them severely, he was still in a position materially to aid or discredit the English colonial movement. Unfortunately, he sometimes did more to discredit than to aid. This was partly the result of his mania for shocking details, but more important was an alteration in his frame of reference. In dealing with foreign works, Purchas had concentrated on geographical description. Now, in editing his English narratives, he changed his orientation from geographical to historical. The deeds of Englishmen became more important than the possibilities and prospects of America. In other words, Purchas did exactly the thing for which he had belabored the Spanish authors, and often with the same result, for to make the Englishmen the hero was often to make America the villain. The dramatic and heroic effects were heightened, but only at the expense of changing America from a Garden of Eden into a howling wilderness.

The best case in point is Purchas's handling of his material in regard to Guiana. There were some excellent promotional pieces available to him, including the two written by Sir Walter Raleigh and his lieutenant, Lawrence Keymis, in 1596, as well as Raleigh's pamphlet on his expedition of 1617. Despite his accent on mineral wealth, Raleigh was one of the truly great early English propagandists for America. He realized that everything possible must be done to portray America in a favorable light in order to counter that anti-image so prevalent in English minds. The work of his lieutenant is in the same mold.¹⁰⁵ But Purchas made no use of these materials. It is often claimed that he omitted them because he was so much the sycophant of James I—he was terrified of including anything that might give offense to the King who had ordered Raleigh's execution for treason a few years before. There seems little question that Purchas ignored Raleigh's 1618 pamphlet for this reason. After all, James had used Raleigh's actions in his last voyage as an excuse to have him beheaded under a death sentence that had been passed upon him in the first years of Stuart rule. In such controversial matters of state Purchas felt it prudent not to mix.¹⁰⁶ But it would be a mistake to assume that the same reason had much influence on his decision to omit the earlier two pamphlets by Raleigh and Keymis. Raleigh was a friend of Purchas, and had favored him with materials for his writings. In the *Pilgrimes* and in the final edition of the *Pilgrimage*, both published after Raleigh's death,

¹⁰⁵Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Riche, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (London, Robert Robinson, 1596); *News of Sr. Walter Raleigh. With a True Description of Guiana* (London, H. G. for J. Wright, 1618); Lawrence Keymis, *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (London, [Thomas] Dawson, 1596). For a fuller discussion of these works as propaganda, see Pennington, "Origins of English Propaganda for America," pp. 309-327.

¹⁰⁶Purchas had this to say of Raleigh's 1617 expedition: "A later [voyage] also with great noise, preparation and expectation hath happened, written alreadie in bloud; therefore, and for the latenesse needlesse and unworthie, that I say not too dismal and fatal for our Relations." (XVI, 413.)

Purchas spoke well of him on a number of occasions.¹⁰⁷ It seems clear Purchas left out these earlier pamphlets on Guiana, not as a sniveling gesture to James, but because he was following the usual rule of his later volumes, the omission of that which had already been included in the *Principal Navigations*.

Nevertheless, Purchas's failure to use the works of Raleigh and Keymis left him little in the way of good promotional material on which to draw for his account of the English ventures to Guiana. The only significant piece that remained was a pamphlet published in 1614 by Robert Harcourt, who played the most prominent role in the English attempts to colonize Guiana in the early part of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁸ Harcourt's piece was a description of a voyage he had made to Guiana in 1608, and it was promotional in the best sense, as he described the friendly natives, the excellent climate, and the great hope of valuable commodities. But, as usually happened, the expedition was overthrown, this time, according to Harcourt, because of failure to provide adequate victualling for the voyage.¹⁰⁹ Of course in using Harcourt's pamphlet, Purchas added nothing new in the way of propaganda, and in fact his abridgement represents a subtraction, for at the end, Harcourt had once again sketched the country in glowing terms and had detailed his plans for a colony.¹¹⁰ Yet Purchas did not deem these passages worthy of inclusion.

Any favorable impression given by the Harcourt piece was offset by the rest of Purchas's Guiana narratives, most of them now published for the first time. Two of them in particular may be taken as illustrative of this point. Both deal with the attempt of Charles Leigh to settle a colony on the Wiapoco River between 1604 and 1606. Leigh himself wrote the first piece.¹¹¹ He labored hard to be optimistic, especially about the possibilities of flax, cotton, and sugar cane, but to little avail. The natives, who at first seemed friendly enough, proved "not so kind unto us as they had promised," and eventually betrayed the colony. The settlers faced continual sickness induced by the extreme heat and dampness, and many of them were pestered with fleas and worms, the latter of which one man extracted from his skin seven or eight hundred at a time by the use of hot wax.¹¹²

Even more discouraging was the narrative of the expedition sent to reinforce Leigh in 1605.¹¹³ It was written by John Nicol, one of the few survivors, and had been published in 1607, the only notice of the Leigh

¹⁰⁷E. g., *Pilgrimes*, XX, 81, and marginal note; *Pilgrimage*, 1626 edition, pp. 829, 899.

¹⁰⁸Robert Harcourt, *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana. Describing the Climate, Scituation, Fertility, Provisions, and Commodities of that Country* (London, J.[ohn] Beale for W.[illiam] Welby, 1613). Abridged in *Pilgrimes*, XVI, 358-402.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 391-92.

¹¹⁰Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, reprinted Hakluyt Society *Publications*, Second Series, LX, ed. C. Alexander Smith (1928), 133-140.

¹¹¹XVI, 309-323.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 312-315, 320.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 324-337.

colony to appear in print before the *Pilgrimes*.¹¹⁴ Nicol and sixty-six companions had been left to fend for themselves on the island of Santa Lucia because the ship carrying them to the Wiapoco was running out of provisions. Of the sixty-seven, only eleven survived attack by the Indians, a desperate voyage to the mainland in an open boat, and capture first by the natives and then by the Spanish.

If this were not enough, Purchas traced the difficulties leading to the final abandonment of the settlement in 1606 through the account of one of the ten survivors of the colony, John Wilson. Wilson blamed the failure of the settlement on disease, and though he spoke hopefully of the commodities of the region, he failed to express any opinion as to probable future English success in the country.¹¹⁵ Purchas's Guiana chapters included four other pieces,¹¹⁶ but they did nothing to mitigate the impression left by the accounts of the Leigh colony that South America was no place for a sane person.

X

Purchas began his relations of English activities in North America where the *Principal Navigations* had left off: that is, with the early voyages of exploration just after the turn of the century, those of Bartholomew Gosnold, Bartholomew Gilbert, Martin Pring, and George Weymouth. Two of these voyages, those of Gosnold and Weymouth, had already been the subjects of promotional pamphlets, the first written by John Brereton, the second by James Rosier, each a member of the respective expeditions.¹¹⁷ Both tracts describe a particular section of America, New England, and they have been long accepted as the "very two eyes of New England history." But this was not the view that Purchas took, for he did not include them in his New England section. Instead he used them as part of a general introduction to the English colonies in North America. The two pamphlets as originally issued are excellent propaganda, but as abridged in the *Pilgrimes*, they are among the finest examples of the type of promotional editing Purchas could do when he really put his mind to it. From the Brereton pamphlet he culled out only the very best descriptive passages, of which the following will suffice as an example:

But not to cloy you with particular rehearsall of such things as God and Nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison whereof, the most fertile part of all England is . . . but barren; wee went in our

¹¹⁴John Nicol, *An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes. Or a True and Tragical Discourse, Shewing the Most Lamentable Miseries, and Distressed Calamities Indured by 67 Englishmen, Which Were Sent for a Supply to the Planting in Guiana in the Yeare 1605* (London, for Nathaniell Butter, 1607). This work of Nicol may well be the most anti-promotional single piece of original English literature on America to appear in print in the entire period before 1625.

¹¹⁵XVI, 338-351.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 301-309, 352-357, 403-416.

¹¹⁷John Brereton, *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia* (London, Geor. Bishop, 1602); James Rosier, *A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made this Present Yeere 1605, by Captaine George Weymouth, in the Discovery of the Land of Virginia* (London, Geor. Bishop, 1605). Both abridged in *Pilgrimes*, XVIII, 314-321, 335-360.

Lighthorsman from this Iland to the Maine, right against this Iland some two miles off, where comming ashoare, wee stood a while like men ravished at the beautie and delicacy of this sweet soyle; for besides divers cleere Lakes of fresh water (whereof we saw no end) [there were] Medowes very large, and full of greene grasse; even the most woodie places . . . doe grow . . . upon greene grassie ground, somewhat higher than the Plaines, as if Nature would show her selfe above her power, artificial.¹¹⁸

The Rosier account was similar in tone. It promised valuable commodities, friendly savages, provided one handled them with care, and as for the land,

As we passed with gentle winde up with our Ship in this River, any man may conceive with what admiration wee all consented in joy; many who had beene travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous Rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Voyage to Guiana, in the Discovery of the River Orienoque, which eccoed fame to the worlds eares; gave reasons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the dangers of many Shoalds and broken grounds, wherewith that was encombred. Others preferred it farre before that notable River in the West Indies, called Rio Grande: some before the Rivers of Burduna, Orleance, and Brest in France, Naunce, and the River of Rhoane: which although they be great and goodly Rivers, yet it is no detraction from them to be accounted inferiour to this, which not onely yeeldeth all the aforsaid pleasant profits, but also appeared infallibly to us free from all imagined inconveniences, I will not prefer it before our River of Thames, because it is . . . Englands richest treasure . . . which if it had other inseparable adherent Commodities here to be found; then I would boldly affirme it to be the most rich, beautifull, large, and secure harbouring River which the world affordeth; for if any should wish, or Art invent, a River subject to all conveniences, and free from all dangers, here they may take a view in a Plat-forme framed by Nature, who in her perfection farre exceedeth all Arts invention.¹¹⁹

The accounts of the Pring and Gilbert expeditions, as well as other accounts of the Gosnold voyages, all of which Purchas took from manuscript sources, while falling short of the promotional standard set in the two pamphlets, also contributed to the extremely favorable presentation of the prospects of the east coast of North America.¹²⁰ As a promoter of English colonization in that area, Purchas was off to an excellent start.

XI

Consistency was never one of Purchas's virtues, and after so promising a start, his specific chapters on the English colonies in the northern parts of America—New England, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia—found him almost completely reversing himself. The Council for New England, then trying to drum up support for its colonial ideas, must have been at least mildly disgusted with the notices their region received

¹¹⁸XVIII, 314-315. It should be noted, however, that Purchas, with a certain logical consistency he followed in other cases, did not include the promotional treatise on colonization by Edward Hayes nor a similar tract by the elder Richard Hakluyt, both of which had been a part of the second edition of the Brereton pamphlet.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 351.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 298-313, 322-335.

in its section of the *Pilgrimes*. The impression he gave of New England is the more surprising in that four of the five sources he used were originally published as promotional pamphlets. Purchas also had a good many manuscripts on hand, but he chose to omit all except one of them, for "our voluminousnesse makes me afraid of offending nicer and queasier stomackes."¹²¹

For the background of the English activities in New England, Purchas depended on a work published by the Council of New England in 1622.¹²² This pamphlet first traced the early New England attempts at settlement through disaster after disaster. These it contrasted with the later hopefulness of plantation, the commodities which were expected to enrich the investors, and the plans for making further settlement and organizing a government.¹²³ Purchas included practically all of the depressing first part, and then devoted only a few paragraphs to the highly promotional second part of the work.¹²⁴ He did the same sort of thing with Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New-England*, published the year before the *Pilgrimes*.¹²⁵ It must be admitted that Winslow's piece would win no prizes as propaganda even in the original, for, like most puritan literature, it emphasized the Christian virtue of the settlers in the midst of wilderness adversity. But in the hands of Purchas the tone became even worse as he concentrated on food shortages, troubles with the Indians, and dissensions in the colony.¹²⁶ If one reads Winslow in Purchas, the title *Good Newes from New-England* seems a complete misnomer.

In his other two New England pieces, one from Captain John Smith's *New Englands Trials*,¹²⁷ the other abridged from an earlier Winslow pamphlet written in conjunction with William Bradford,¹²⁸ Purchas was more optimistic. He could hardly have been otherwise, for it would be difficult to find anything pessimistic in these two works. Smith's was chiefly a chronicle of the rapid and highly successful development of the New England fisheries, while the Bradford-Winslow account, though it included a few minor difficulties, was a pleasant relation of the forward state achieved by the Plymouth Colony. In the case of Guiana, Purchas had proved a poor propagandist because of his choice of materials. Now, in the case of New England, he selected his narratives well enough, but often his editing was such as to give a poorer impression of the area's prospects than had been the case in the original publications. In both instances, the *Pilgrimes* may well have been more detrimental than helpful to the cause of colonization.

¹²¹XIX, 296. The only manuscript he published was the account of the voyage of Henry Challons for the Plymouth Company in 1606. The expedition ended up in Spanish hands, and is chiefly the account of the woes of the crew as captives in Spain (*ibid.*, pp. 284-297).

¹²²*A Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England* (London, John Haviland for William Bladen, 1622).

¹²³*Ibid.*, sig. B1-[C4], D1-[E3].

¹²⁴XIX, 269-283.

¹²⁵(London, J. D.[awson] for William Bladen and John Bellamie, 1624).

¹²⁶XIX, 344-394.

¹²⁷(London, William Jones, 1620). Purchas used a later edition, that of 1622, for his abridgment, XIX, 297-311.

¹²⁸*A Relation or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation Setled at Plimoth in New England* (London, for John Bellamie, 1622). Abridged in *Pilgrimes*, XIX, 312-343. This is the work commonly known as *Mourt's Relation*.

After concluding his chapters on New England, Purchas turned his attention to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia, so recently founded, received only a passing notice—the Latin charter issued to Sir William Alexander, a brief description of the country by him, and a short summary of various voyages to the area taken from Hakluyt's papers.¹²⁹ For Newfoundland, Purchas depended mostly upon the writings of John Guy, who had governed the settlements there for a number of years, and Richard Whitbourne, the foremost propagandist for the Island. The Whitbourne material had been published previously,¹³⁰ but Guy's writings had remained in manuscript. The writings of both authors were highly promotional. Guy concentrated on the comfort of the voyage over, which could be made at any time of year, and the fine climate. The winters were mild, and of the hundred men with him at his first settlement; only four had failed to survive; and three of these deaths could not be laid to the country. One man had died from a guilty conscience (he had murdered a man in England), one from disease contracted in England, and one from just plain laziness. Guy admitted there had been some illness among the settlers, but this, too, he ascribed to inactivity. The natives had been friendly, and the prospects of a flourishing trade with them had been bright.¹³¹

Whitbourne was equally hopeful. The voyage was easy, harbors numerous and good, climate excellent, and the beasts and birds, though plentiful for hunting, were not at all troublesome—there were no lions or tigers in Whitbourne's account. As for commodities, there were plentiful trees good for lumber, some hope of mines, and best of all was the fishing. Also included were some letters written by actual settlers who spoke encouragingly of conditions in the colony.¹³² As abridged by Purchas, Whitbourne's narrative is good propaganda, but not as good as it might have been, for once again Purchas omitted the most promotional part, a well-reasoned argument for further support of the Newfoundland plantation, because it did not fit in with his historical perspective.¹³³ Purchas's Newfoundland chapter is better as propaganda than either of those on Guiana or New England, though it is plain this was not because of any superior editing on his part, but only because he had no accounts that were derogatory.

XII

Purchas's editing of his Guiana, New England, and Newfoundland accounts, including his frequent omission of the most promotional parts of the materials he used, indicates that he was really not much interested in these areas. The real apple of his eye, so far as America was concerned,

¹²⁹XIX, 394-405.

¹³⁰A *Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land, with Many Reasons to Proove How Worthy and Beneficiall a Plantation May There Be Made* (London, Felix Kingston for William Barret, 1620). Expanded editions were published in 1622 and 1623, and Purchas used one of these for his abridgment.

¹³¹XIX, 406-418.

¹³²*Ibid.*, pp. 424-448.

¹³³*Ibid.*, p. 438, marginal note.

was Virginia, and it was here that he became the genuine all-out propagandist. In line with his policy of supplementing Hakluyt, he gave only a short notice of the Raleigh settlements of the 1580's, and began his recital with the organization of the Virginia Company of London. Using manuscript sources, the works of Captain John Smith, and the promotional literature of the Company, he traced the history of the colony from its beginnings to the loss of the Company's charter and the establishment of royal government.¹³⁴

It has been alleged, chiefly by Alexander Brown, that Purchas edited his Virginia materials as propaganda against the Virginia Company and for royal government, that he was playing the role of publicity agent not for Virginia, but for King James.¹³⁵ Such a contention is not at all borne out by an examination of the materials. Purchas was an ardent advocate of Virginia. He had been admitted as a freeman of the Company at the instigation of Sir Edwin Sandys, and on at least one occasion had been entrusted with the Company's business.¹³⁶ Yet he refused to be a partisan of any faction seeking control of the Company. In speaking of the assumption of control by the Earl of Southampton and the Ferrars in 1620, he noted that their stewardship had "given much content to many, but to diverse others matter of complaint." As for himself, he was unfit to judge the merits of the dispute.¹³⁷ Nor did the appointment of commissioners by the King looking toward the abrogation of the Company's charter bring forth any panegyric (of which Purchas was fully capable) on the merits of royal government, but only another disclaimer:

His Majestie not a little moved with the losse of so many of his good Subjects, and some complaints also being made of the Government, many of the Virginia Company here holding no such uniforme agreement as was meete: both shewed his gracious bountie in the gift of divers Armes out of the Towre, with further promises of his assistance; and appointed Commissioners to examine the Causes of Virginias not answering to the care and cost in so long time bestowed on her. I am no fit Relater of things ensuing, and farre unfitter Umpire in such differences. I will now speak to God rather than men.¹³⁸

And in his final conclusion to the *Pilgrimes*, written after the Company had been dissolved, Purchas gives only modest praise to the prospects of royal government.¹³⁹ If one examines both Purchas's words and his deeds as expressed in the editing of his Virginia materials, one is forced to agree with him when he says, "I side no where, but embrace Virginia with a right heart, my pen directed, my hands erected for her good."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴XVIII, 298-300, 399-540; XIX, 1-171, 207-267.

¹³⁵Alexander Brown, *English Politics in Virginia History* (Boston, 1901), pp. 252, 258-259.

¹³⁶*Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. Susan M. Kingsbury (4 vols., Washington, 1906-1935), I, 65; II, 519. For the suggestion that Purchas was admitted to the Company at the instigation of Sandys, see Wright, *Religion and Empire*, p. 117.

¹³⁷XIX, 134.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹³⁹XX, 132-134. This is in spite of the fact that the conclusion was a panegyric of Elizabeth and James (pp. 130-134).

¹⁴⁰XIX, 217.

The real theme of Purchas's Virginia chapters is to be found in his assessment of public opinion in regard to the colony. It must be remembered that Purchas wrote in the colony's most difficult time. It was obvious to all that Virginia had not lived up to expectations, and that, in fact, it was in a state of virtual collapse. Purchas made it his purpose to furnish an explanation. In appraising the Virginia situation he could have assumed one of three courses. First, he could have placed the blame on the difficult natural conditions to be found within the colony, but this would have argued the uselessness of further effort in the region, and Purchas was interested in precisely the opposite course of action. Secondly, he could have censured the directors of the Company in London, and this he certainly would have done had he been the extreme partisan of royal government Brown has claimed. But this he also refused to do, except in the most general terms. Finally, he could do as he did; he could place the responsibility for the failure of the colony on the laxness, foolish actions, and continual dissensions among the settlers. Here then was his purpose: defend the colony against the charge that settlement there was hopeless, maintain a strict neutrality in the admitted factional disputes in the Company, and lay past failure chiefly at the door of the settlers.

From all his materials Purchas made it a general rule to select only those geographical descriptions which viewed the country favorably. He leaned heavily upon the works of Captain John Smith, and in particular on his *Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey*, which had been published in 1612.¹⁴¹ Smith answered all the common arguments against the region. He insisted its climate really was suited to English constitutions once one became used to it; the thunder and lightning that so frightened everyone simply served to clear the air; and all that talk about wolves was ridiculous; why, they were not much bigger than English foxes.¹⁴² As for the countryside itself,

The cuntrye is not mountainous nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine Hills and fertile Vallies, one pretily crossing another, and watered so conveniently with their sweet Brookes and Cristall Springs as if Arte itself had devised them.¹⁴³

While Smith stressed that there were no quick riches to be gained in Virginia, there were numerous commodities which promised not only to bring the adventurers long-range profits, but to free England of her economic dependence on Muscovy, Poland, France, Spain, Italy, and Holland.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹(Oxford, Joseph Barnes, 1612). Abridged in *Pilgrimes*, XVIII, 420-540. The actual description of Virginia is pp. 420-459. The remainder is an account of the happenings in the colony, 1606-1610, most of which tended to bear out Purchas's contention that the colony had been brought to the brink of ruin by internal dissension. Smith and Purchas had been friends for many years, and there is little question that Purchas formed his opinion of Virginia as a result of the friendship. For details of the connection between the two men, see Philip L. Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 58-59, 98, 187, 297, 299-300, 305, 354-358, 364-365, 373-374.

¹⁴²XVIII, 420-421, 434.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 422.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 437-438.

Other accounts from the Virginia Company's promotional literature were selected to confirm Smith's contentions. The excerpts from the pamphlets of Lord De La Warr, governor of the colony, and Ralph Hamor and Alexander Whitaker, two of the prominent settlers, amply bore him out.¹⁴⁵ Even George Percy's account of the first settlement, so pessimistic otherwise, had this to say of the land:

The same day we entred into the Bay of Chesupioc directly, without any let or hinderance; there wee landed and discovered a little way, but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof.¹⁴⁶

Still, in 1625 the major threat from the environment was not nature but the Indian. Here, too, Purchas's selections were calculated to show that the trouble with the natives had been the result not of insurmountable difficulties but of the carelessness of the settlers. Captain John Smith's writings were ideally suited to this purpose. He continually accentuated the basic cowardice of the savages and ease with which they could be handled if one took the necessary precautions and put on a bold front, as he himself had done in many of his expeditions:

To express all our quarrels, treacheries, and incounters amongst those Savages, I should bee too tedious; but in briefe, at all times we so incountered them and curbed their insolencies, as they concluded with presents to purchase peace, yet wee lost not a man.¹⁴⁷

Occasionally Purchas slipped; he could not forego the shocking passage even though it might have a detrimental effect on the impression he was laboring so hard to create. Consider the effect on the prospective immigrant of William Strachey's description of the storm which had resulted in the shipwreck of the 1609 Gates-Somers expedition on one of the Bermudas:

On S. James his day, July 24. being Monday . . . the cloudes gathering thicke upon us, and the windes singing, and whistling most unusually, . . . a dreadful storme and hideous began to blow from out the Northeast, which swelling, and roaring as it were by fits, some houres with more violence then others, at length did beate all light from heaven; which like an hell of darknesse turned blacke upon us, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and feare use to overrunne the troubled. . . .

For four and twenty houres the storme in a restless tumult, had blowne so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did we finde it, not onely more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storme urging a second more outragious then the former; whether it so wrought upon our feares, or indeed met with new forces: Sometimes strikes in upon our Ship amongst women and passengers, not used to such hurly and discomforts, made us looke one upon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosomes: our clamours drowned in the windes and the windes in thunder. Prayers might well be in the

¹⁴⁵XIX, 85-90, 95-102, 110-116.

¹⁴⁶XVIII, 407. For other similar passages in Percy's account, see pp. 413, 414.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 485. See also pp. 438-453, 478-480, 491-492.

heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers: nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seene that might encourage hope. . . . It could not be said to raine, the waters like whole Rivers did flood in the ayre Here the glut of water . . . was no sooner a little emptied and qualified, but instantly the windes . . . spake more loud and grew more tumultuous, and malignant. What shall I say? Windes and Seas were as mad, as fury and rage could make them; for mine own part, I had bin in some stormes before. . . . Yet all that I had ever suffered gathered together, might not hold comparison with this.¹⁴⁸

Even after the expedition had survived the shipwreck, and building their own pinnaces, had made a safe voyage to Virginia, they found "the Pallisadoes torne downe, the Ports open, the Gates from off the hinges, and emptie houses . . . rent up and burnt. . . . The Indian killed as fast without . . . as Famine and Pestilence did within."¹⁴⁹

No better were the paragraphs near the end of George Percy's account:

The sixt of August there died John Asbie of the bloudie Fluxe. The ninth day died George Flowre of the swelling. The tenth day died William Bruster Gentleman, of a wound given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day.

The fourteenth day, Jerome Alikock Ancient, died of a wound, the same day Francis Midwinter, Edward Moris Corporall died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, there died Edward Browne and Stephen Galthrope. The sixteenth day, there died Thomas Gower Gentleman. The seventeenth day, there died Thomas Mounslie. The eighteenth day, there died Robert Pennington and John Martine, Gentleman. The nineteenth day, died Drue Piggase, Gentleman. The two and twentieth day of August, there died Captain Bartholomew Gosnold. . . .

The four and twentieth day, died Edward Harrington and George Walker, and were buried the same day. The sixe and twentieth day, died Kenelme Throgmortine. The seven and Twentieth day died William Roods. The eight and twentieth day died Thomas Stoodie Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September died Thomas Jacob Sergeant. The fift day, there died Benjamin Best. Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases as Swellings, Fluxes, Burning Fevers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreigne Countrey in such miseries as we were in this new discovered Virginia.¹⁵⁰

Though the total impression of the Strachey and Percy relations is not as bad as these excerpts would indicate,¹⁵¹ it is easy to see why the Virginia Company was careful never to publish them among its other promotional pamphlets. Even in the *Pilgrimes* they were the exception, for Purchas

¹⁴⁸XIX, 6-8. This excerpt, by the way, is only about one-third of the total description of the storm.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

¹⁵⁰XVII, 417-418. The deaths were the result of malaria and, probably, typhoid. The health of the settlers improved rapidly after this outbreak, but Purchas ended his extracts from Percy's diary a few paragraphs later on the grounds that the writings of John Smith were a better account of later events. (Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith*, p. 102; Ch. VIII, n. 1, pp. 427-428; Ch. X, n. 3, pp. 436-437.)

¹⁵¹For more optimistic passages in Percy's account, see note 146; in Strachey's, see XIX, 46-49, 54-59.

made it his business to prove that Virginia's failures could not be blamed on natural conditions to be found within the colony, but on men.

In blaming men, Purchas never directly condemned the directors of the Company. He used parts of several of their own promotional pamphlets to show the care which they had taken in trying to develop the colony, and at least one of these selections was a defense of one of the Company's governors, Sir Thomas Dale, against aspersions which had been cast on his rule.¹⁵² It was particularly the writings of John Smith which Purchas intended would fix the responsibility in its proper place. The excerpts from Smith's works concentrate on the continual quarreling, bickering, and dissension among the inhabitants of the colony as the main factor in Virginia's failure.¹⁵³ Purchas has been criticized for these long passages from Smith and for the resulting involvement in all the picayune squabbles of the settlers. But for once Purchas had a purpose that was not just idle curiosity. He was doing his best to blame the troubles of the colony on the dissensions among its settlers, and to do this it was necessary to detail these dissensions. There might have been a time when all this washing of dirty linen would have been poor publicity for the colony, but that time was now past.¹⁵⁴ The colony's failure was well-known to anyone, and if this failure was to be explained without dashing future hopes, it could only be done in this way. As Captain Smith put it, "let all the world judge, how this business would prosper" if all the quarrels and contentions were ended.¹⁵⁵

XIII

Excusing failure was by no means Purchas's only promotional contribution to Virginia. Sometime between the massacre of 1622 and the Company's entanglement in the difficulties that led to its dissolution, Purchas had written a pamphlet in the interest of the colony. It was entitled, "Virginias Verger: Or a Discourse Shewing the Benefits which May Grow to this Kingdome from the American English Plantations, and Specifically those of Virginia and the Summer Ilands." It was never published separately, probably because of the breakup of the Company, but Purchas included a lengthy abridgement of it in the *Pilgrimes*.¹⁵⁶

As befitted a philosopher of the colonial movement, Purchas devoted his first attentions to the ideology of colonization. In his introductory chapters to the *Pilgrimes* he had presented the idea that colonization was in keeping with God's purpose that the Indian should hear the gospel before the Last Judgement, which was expected momentarily. In the light of the massacre, however, and the general feeling that harsh treatment, if not extermination, was due the Indian, the conversion argument

¹⁵²The following passages were taken from the promotional pamphlets of the Company: XIX, 67-72, 85-90, 95-102, 109-116, 122-219, 143-171. For the defense of Dale, see *ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵³XVIII, 459-540; XIX, 116-122.

¹⁵⁴The fact that these dissensions occupied the bulk of Smith's writings on the colony was probably one reason why the Virginia Company steadfastly ignored his writings and refused to publish them under its imprint. See note 22.

¹⁵⁵XVIII, 502. See also *ibid.*, p. 421.

¹⁵⁶XIX, 218-267.

seemed a little thin, and it became necessary to bolster it with further philosophic reasons to prove that the Virginia colony accorded with the will of God. This Purchas did by applying specifically to the Virginia situation several of the other arguments he had presented in his opening discussion.

The chief question was the right of Englishmen to arrogate American lands to their own use. Purchas claimed "that Christians . . . have and hold the world and things thereof in another tenure, whereof Hypocrites [Catholics] and Heathens are not capable;" that is, the latter held their lands only by natural right.¹⁵⁷ This did not mean, however, that native peoples could be displaced by Christians simply because they were heathens. Fortunately, other reasons were readily available. In the first place, there was the right of all men to uninhabited places. This in itself was sufficient to give the English title to the Bermudas. As for Virginia, the natives were not in full possession, and others were thus entitled to occupy the unused lands. In fact, Purchas hinted that since the massacre, the Indians, "being like Cain, both Murtherers and Vagabonds," might have less claim to Virginia than the English. Besides this right to unoccupied lands, there was the matter of trade. Here Purchas used the arguments he had previously developed in his discussion of Solomon: that it was the duty of all nations to trade with one another so the commodities of the world would be available to all men. If the Indians should decline to engage in peaceful trade, then the English had the right to treat them as "Barbarians, Borderers, and Out-lawes of Humanity."¹⁵⁸

In addition to arguments adduced from natural law, the Bible, and the law of nations, Purchas also insisted the English could claim title to Virginia through first discovery, first natural possession, prescription, gift, cession and livery of seisen, sale for price, and the natural inheritance of Englishmen born in Virginia, not to mention the right of the heirs of those murdered by the natives. The claim of discovery came from the voyage of Sebastian Cabot in 1496 [1497], if not through the supposed voyage of the Welshman Owen Madoc of 1170, while natural possession dated from the Raleigh settlements of the 1580's. Purchas maintained that even if the Raleigh settlers and their descendants had all died, possession still remained in English hands. He also pointed out that at the time of the Raleigh colony, the Indians had accepted English hegemony, and then, as later, much land had been purchased from the natives.¹⁵⁹ In Purchas's eyes there was no question as to the legality of the English possession of Virginia, and though ex-post-facto rationalization, his reasoning was the best philosophical answer the English were able to give to the very touchy question of native land rights.

Having disposed of the ideological, Purchas next turned his attention to the practical considerations in answering what he considered to be the two main objections to the Virginia colony. The first was the contention

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 219-221.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 222-224.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 224-229.

that Virginia was useless because it lacked precious metals. That Purchas thought this a criticism worth answering at such a late date is perhaps mute testimony to the fact that the earlier promotional writers had stressed it all too much and too well:

But what are those riches, where we heare of no Gold nor Silver and see more impoverished here then thence enriched, and for Mines we heare of none but Iron? Iron mindes! Iron age of the world! who gave Gold or Silver the Monopoly of wealth, or made them the Almightyes favorites? Precious Perils, specious punishments, whose originall is neerest hell, whose house is darknesse, which have no eye to the heavens, nor admit heavens eye . . . to see them, never produced to light but by violence, and convinced, upon records written in bloud, the occasioners of violence in the World; which have infected the surface of their native earth with deformity and sterility . . . her bowels with darknesse, damp, deaths, causing trouble to the neighbour Regions, and mischief to the remotest! Penurious mindes! Is there no riches but Gold Mines?¹⁶⁰

While he launched this diatribe at those who were interested only in gold, Purchas still could not forego that vain hope of all Englishmen, the possible discovery of another Mexico or Peru:

Neither spake I this, as if our hopes of gold were blasted, and grown deplorate and desperate, the Country being so little searched, the remote in-land-Mountaines unknown; but to shew the sordid tincture and base alloy of these Mine-minds.¹⁶¹

The second main objection to Virginia, thought Purchas, was that it had never enjoyed any success. Again Purchas insisted, as his edited sections had been intended to show, that this was no fault of the country, but of the Indian massacre, and especially of the great divisions in the colony, divisions caused mainly by the fact that the colony had been "much encumbered with Englands excrements."¹⁶²

Purchas next propounded the reasons in favor of Virginia. He began with the usual emotional appeal designed to stir up the patriotism of his readers—religion, humanity, the honor of the English nation and King, etc., and concluded with a compendium of arguments in favor of the Virginia plantation. There was the excellence of the climate, the large area, the great rivers, and the richness of the soil. Using the argument that parallel latitudes would produce similar products, he adduced that Virginia would have products comparable to some of the best tropical lands of the world. Among the likely ones were timber, silk, wine, iron, drugs of all kinds, naval stores, fish, tobacco, and a host of other products yet to be discovered, all of which would supply England with luxuries as well as necessities, free her from dependence on foreign imports, and allow her to keep her money at home. All these commodities he expected would be produced by Indian slave labor, the use of which he now thought justified by the massacre. Further advantage could be gained from the employment which Virginia would furnish to the people of

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 232. See also pp. 233-235.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 232. See also Purchas's conclusion, XX, 134.

¹⁶²XIX, 235-237.

England through providing work for mariners and a market for English products, particularly cloth. As to the matter of furnishing a place for emigration, Purchas had something of a problem. He wrote at a time when economic thinkers who for years had been postulating the idea that England was overpopulated were beginning to wonder if England was not underpopulated. Purchas tried to argue both sides as he explained that on the one hand Virginia would furnish a refuge for England's poor, while on the other hand he was equally insistent that there would not be enough of this emigration to depopulate England. As the capstone, there was the strategic value of Virginia as a base for attacks on the Spanish in war time, an argument which had received scanty attention from most other promotional writers of the early seventeenth century.¹⁶³

It would be difficult to think of a single reason for colonization in general or Virginia in particular that had been advanced with any effectiveness in the previous half-century that did not find a place in "Virginias Verger." None, except for some of the philosophical justification for English possession of Virginia lands, was original with Purchas. His contribution was not originality, but the organization of all the arguments for colonization into a coherent and easily understandable whole. With its emphasis on religion, economics, and strategic considerations, "Virginias Verger" is, as Professor Louis B. Wright has pointed out, a worthy successor to Richard Hakluyt's much more famous (though never published) "Discourse of Western Planting."¹⁶⁴ In fact, the resemblance is so striking that it seems evident Purchas had access to the earlier work, probably through Hakluyt's papers.

Had Purchas chosen to publish "Virginias Verger" separately, his reputation as a propagandist for colonial expansion would have been made, and latter-day historians would not have been able to view him as an opponent of the Virginia Company's activities, or claim that he was disappointed in America.¹⁶⁵ But, buried as it was deep in the massive volumes of the *Pilgrimes*, it has failed to add a proper luster to Purchas the propagandist.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 223, 237-239, 241-265.

¹⁶⁴Wright, *Religion and Empire*, p. 131.

¹⁶⁵Dunn, "Seventeenth-Century English Historians of America," p. 208.

¹⁶⁶Only Professor Wright has recognized the importance of the piece. See his discussion of it in *Religion and Empire*, pp. 123-31.