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'strange' Lands Of Opportunity - Representations Of Moral, Social, And Economic Profit In Late Medieval And Early Modern Literature

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**'STRANGE' LANDS OF OPPORTUNITY – REPRESENTATIONS OF MORAL,
SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC PROFIT IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN
LITERATURE**

by

LISA M. KANNIAINEN

DISSERTATION

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of Wayne State University,

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INTRODUCTION

For many men hath gret likyng and desire to hyre nywe thynges. And Y, John Maundevyle, knyght, that wente out of my contré and passide the see the yer of Our Lord 1322 – and Y have y-passed thorgh many londes, contrees, and iles and am now come to reste – Y have compiled this book.

--*The Book of John Mandeville*, p. 95

In matters of moral philosophy, they carry on much the same arguments as we do. They inquire into the nature of the good, distinguishing goods of the body from goods of the mind and external gifts. They ask whether the name of “good” may be applied to all three, or applies simply to the good of the mind.

--Thomas More, *Utopia*, p. 50

By degrees read over whatever printed or written discourses and voyages I found extant in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and in my publike lectures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schools, to the singular pleasure, and general contentment of my auditory.

--Richard Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, *2

Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favoured & adventured in the action, to the honour and benefite of our nation, besides the particular profite and credite which would redound to them selves the dealers.

--Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, p. 5

Sitting in a Delta Sky Lounge today, you will find a plethora of publications that deal with travel, such as *Condé Nast Traveler* or *Travel and Leisure* and others that deal with finance such as *The Economist* and *The Financial Times*. It is an unusual modern publication like *Globility Traveler* where the worlds of travel writing and financial prospects merge. It was not

so in the medieval and early modern periods, as the emerging genre of travel writing often bound together trade or financial information with geographical and cultural topics, exploring different kinds of profit. In this same Delta Sky Lounge, you will find an array of individuals traveling for different, independent reasons. That is, a questionnaire always asks if you are traveling for business or pleasure.¹ Again, this distinction would have framed differently in the late medieval and early modern periods. Travel and the spread of the knowledge gained in that travel existed to increase economic profit and to satisfy the need to discover new places. One place where the modern and the late medieval and early modern meet in the Delta Sky Lounge, however, is in the individuals who comprised the authorship and readership of travel and financial texts. That is, they are the modern upper middle class, the “middling sort” or New Men of the late medieval and early modern periods, who share a desire for profit in its multiple forms and believe that it can be achieved through travel. It is this desire and those who voiced it that this dissertation examines.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, people moved from an idea about world geography that had been familiar - - if some instances sketchy - - for centuries to the discovery of a massive New World. With a lack of geographic and ethnographic knowledge, some medieval readers and writers imagined the fantastic in the form of dog-headed men.² This belief in the fantastic faded away as empirical evidence ceased to support its existence and instead recorded contact with new peoples whose perceived simplicity was identified as inferiority and seen as ripe for subjugation by those who believed themselves to be superior and therefore could “manage” their resources and lands better than they could, extracting any moral, social, or economic profit to be had.

¹ Here I would expand pleasure to mean voyaging for interest or entertainment’s sake.

² In Tamarah Kohanski’s introduction to *The Book of John Mandeville*, she discusses the importance of the text as a window into how people understood the larger world around them as well as being a tool for British explorers, foreign geography, and the average Englishman’s imagination (8-9).

Thus, I will lay out how texts selected in terms of authorship, editing, and genre reveal a dynamic and novel understanding of the “middling sort” during the late medieval and early modern eras as revealed through their concern with the exploration, colonization, and the three different types of profit: economic (financial gain), moral (spiritual benefit), and social (individual and communal advantage).

In 16th century England, a growing “middling sort” comprised of a social conglomeration of the gentry, merchants, and New Men emerged for whom opportunities in exploration, trade, and colonization in the New World were especially appealing as all three groups needed to work for their social standing.³ Indeed I show how Richard Hakluyt and Thomas Hariot exemplify the significance of these New Men working together in terms of patronage, authorship, and readership for a common goal as they operated in a milieu that included major players like Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Walsingham. This need to ensure their status became especially pressing as the authoritative constraints of the universal Catholic church and the feudal dichotomy of nobility and peasant gave way to the Protestant church and secular authority in the Tudor bureaucracy. Stephen Greenblatt’s *Marvelous Possessions* (1991) discusses the monumentality of the discovery of the New World and the European ignorance that was part of that discovery as they tried to align what they knew with what they encountered: “virtually all prior recorded encounters between Europeans and other cultures...had been to some degree, however small, anticipated” (38). That is, the New World offered limitless possibilities for success and failure as Europeans foisted their prior knowledge on a land that would confound and astound them.

³ The term “middling sort” is a variable one. It refers distinctly to the gentry in the 15th century; whereas in 18th century England, the “middling sort” identifies wealthy merchants and professionals. In Colonial America it labels the middle class of freemen.

Addressing these moral, social, and economic transformations, I examine how the principle of profit connects several critical areas: gentry and early modern culture studies, travel writing, nationhood, and colonialism. I posit that moral, social, and economic interests define profit as arbitrated by the authorship and readership of the “middling sort” and New Men. Borrowing from the Marxist theory of primitive accumulation and the development of capitalism out of feudalism (Brewer 78-9), I argue that the travel narratives of these periods reflect a growing desire for economic profit whether for group or national concerns or direct individual profit. Thus, literary calls for exploration and colonization increase as the New World emerges as a source for financial returns and a repository for dispossessed peasants who become Marx’s laboring class.

Both Marx and Richard Halpern stress the importance of the merchant in the genesis of capitalism, which speaks directly to the groups whose attitudes my dissertation elucidates. That is, the gentry, merchants, and educated New Men act together to create what becomes the beginning of modern capitalist society. Trade acts as an initial step before true capitalism for which production is necessary; thus expansion through exploration and colonization becomes a vital component for the growth of markets and, by extension, capitalism. Indeed, I explain how Hakluyt’s editing choices bear witness to this idea as he includes entries from merchants like Robert Tomson. Marx downplayed foreign trade in the birth of capitalism in his theorizing. However, my dissertation demonstrates the central role of foreign encounters, specifically in the promise of the New World, in the development of capitalism though pleas for expansion that would encourage trade, colonization, and nation building.

Three Types of Profit

If you poll a group today regarding what first comes to mind when you say “profit,” the response might include ‘gain,’ ‘benefit,’ ‘margin,’ and ‘dividend’ which all have a strongly financial connotation. Material gain is the most straightforward and understandable aspect of profit. My dissertation challenges this strict definition by expanding it to encompass moral and social components. At the same time, I retain a focus on economic profit and explain the symbiotic relationship between the three forms as parsed from these late medieval and early modern texts. Therefore, my dissertation involves identifying and examining the conditions that will eventually manifest in full-blown capitalism and the power of the British Empire. It separates profit (the difference between cost and the selling value) and its forms from capital (the means of production), which had not yet fully emerged in the early modern period. Therefore, my development of a tripartite model of profit allows me to parse these examples of early travel writing to open a new and unique perspective on the “middling sort” and New Men and their desire for moral, social, and economic acquisition.

First, the desire for individual and group economic, financial gain, profit spurred the late 15th - and 16th - century expansion of trade, exploration, and colonization that resulted in the creation and popularity of works like Richard Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations* (1589) which was among the first to chronicle the successes and failures of English voyages in order to promote English involvement in New World ventures. Indeed it is financial gain that stimulates interest in exploration as promoted by Hakluyt, Hariot, and White. Simultaneously this expansion placed Englishmen in the path of socioeconomic others in the form of native populations whose material poverty and perceived social and moral simplicity marked them as ripe for exploitation in the name of financial opportunity. In this way, the native inhabitants

became the dispossessed peasants of European feudalism, ready to aid, either by acquiescence or destruction, in the system of primitive accumulation and economic profit.

Secondly, I prove the relevance of moral, the dissemination of religious ideas and the performance of good works to ensure God's favor, profit to activity in the New World, most significantly as Protestantism becomes England's official religion. Max Weber identified the notion of good works (attainment of God's grace, consideration for the non-Christian, and aid for the poor) as an integral part of Protestantism's inward-looking spirituality which allows for and indeed encourages economic profit. Although good works were not considered necessary to salvation, they were encouraged as signs of an individual's godliness and place among the elect. Additionally, the chance to spread Protestantism in order to combat Catholic Spain's influence in the New World constituted an important motive for exploration and colonization. Thus, through close reading of these texts, this project explains how the bringing of the supposedly true faith to the American Indians, who were ignorant of it, resulted in both economic and moral profit for the English – while salvation through conversion offers a satisfactory by-product for those native inhabitants who will accept it or potential destruction for those who will not.⁴ Indeed, a common motif throughout all of the texts save More is the drive to infantilize these native populations in an effort to make them appear amenable to conversion and willing to contribute to the moral profit of their “superiors.”

Thirdly, I highlight the notion of social, the attainment and maintenance of social status in the middling classes and access to politically influential careers through educational opportunities, profit as expressed in each text. I borrow from Pierre Bourdieu's ideas of social and cultural capital which can be acquired through education and does not necessitate an ancient

⁴ This concept will have a slightly different spin for Mandeville who existed before there was any notion of reformation in the Christian church and the humanist More who saw the need for some reforms but not the dismantlement of the Catholic church.

pedigree. Therefore, social profit emphasizes the benefits and influence of belonging to a group such as the “middling sort” and New Men and the necessity of education to allow entry into authoritative and politically influential careers. As I will show, More, Hakluyt, Hariot, and White belonged to this class and reaped the social benefits accrued under the Tudors through education. It is in the notion of social profit that we most clearly see the symbiotic relationship among the three types of profit. That is, individual social profit, particularly for Mandeville, Hakluyt, Hariot, and White, cannot exist or be maintained without the stabilizing force of economic profit. Also inherent in the definition of social profit is the idea of benefit to a society at large. For most of the texts, I demonstrate how this concept emerges in the promotion of exploration, colonization, and nation-building as perceived by the New Men. Additionally, I will show how More offers another layer to the definition of social profit, demonstrating the desire of the New Men to impact social and political policy at large.

Scholarly focus and significance

In addition to illustrating how early modern writers discussed various forms of profit, I also identify who benefits from the moral, social, and economic profit of foreign encounters, and who manages its positives and negatives, and who promotes its opportunities. Referring back to my example of the Delta Sky Lounge, I chose this group to research and write on because they are more or less and in differing degrees us, modern international individuals, who have made their way through the path of education and who continue to pursue moral, social, and economic profit. Returning to the past, for the 15th century, this group is the gentry, a mixture of country landowners, franklins, and yeomen, as well as urban merchants. Raluca Radulescu sees the gentry as a growing class with a vital need for financial success to become part of and maintain their position in the gentry. Expanding on Radulescu’s scholarly work, I demonstrate how this

need led them to become involved in exploration and trade. The 15th century and its political instability also saw the beginning of lay careers such as administrative clerks and secretaries emerging from the university, which begins the transition to the lay authority that would dominate the 16th century and defines the authorship and readership of the texts in this project.

During the 16th century the New Men, who share with the 15th -century gentry career connections as clerks and secretaries as well as cultural links in collecting and sharing books, emerged during the Tudor reign. Continuing the educational path of the gentry, they became the lay authority of the land, asserting their ‘earned’ social position in opposition to the nobility’s inheritance of status. Referring to himself in an epitaph as one who “was born not of noble, but of honest stock” (House), More provides a prime example of late medieval families that had taken a route of securing a base wealth from working the land or involvement in a trade and then drawing upon education to develop social advancement and power. Particularly significant for my project is Paul Withington’s observation that the colleges of Cambridge and Oxford were well represented in the companies and councils of colonial ventures (203). The New Men were frequently Protestant and had “the human – and financial capital” (Gorski 173) required to establish themselves socially and economically. Tying the 15th century and 16th centuries as well as this dissertation together is the urban merchant class whose successful economic activities on the Continent helped them gain entry into the 15th - century gentry and later the New Men while also stimulating new opportunities for exploration and trade.

The travel narrative is crucial to advertising these opportunities and their potential for profit. Using, or in the case of Hakluyt, collecting, this genre allowed writers to make sense of and make claims on new lands. In order to achieve these goals, the texts of Mandeville, Hakluyt, and Harriot rely on the genre’s employment of the eyewitness account to attest to the veracity of

the information presented. More borrows this device to create the new genre of the utopia. That is, all of the chosen texts share the authorial stamp of “physical” visitation, observation, and contact relating to the opportunities, problems, and necessary actions for exploration of imaginary or new lands. Despite the importance of this activity to varied subjects such as literature, colonization, and, for my purposes, profit, there has been only minor critical attention paid to travel writing. This dissertation adds significantly to this often marginalized genre as I examine its varied definition, its use for promotion of exploration and colonization, and, most importantly, its insight into the attitudes of the “middling sort” and New Men.

A key goal of my dissertation has been to identify the common interests of the “middling sort” and New Men and their motivations for moral, social, and economic profit. I have investigated their use of print technology and scribal circulation for promotion of exploration and colonization by highlighting the significance and popularity of these texts. This demand for such texts indicates a strong interest of the New Man readership in the three types of profit, meditated by the land and peoples with which they came in contact whether in fictional or ‘real’ terms. Additionally, this dissertation elucidates one important source of English national identity as demonstrated in the concerns of the “middling sort” and New Men as they looked outward to ‘strange’ locations from the imaginary in *Utopia* to the reality of Hariot.

Featuring early works like the late 15th - century printings of *The Book of John Mandeville*, mid-period works like the 1551 English version of *Utopia*, and the late 16th century texts of Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations* and Hariot’s *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, I bring together late medieval and early modern texts that share common aspects of the travel narratives in order to identify norms of moral, social, and economic profit as well as discuss English interactions with socioeconomic others through exploration and

colonization. I propose that texts from these two pivotal centuries offer a unique opportunity to examine the development of English identity, opening upon a new vantage point that is not available through the traditional medieval/early modern divide. Specifically, the text of *Mandeville* has been acknowledged as a mélange of various generic types such as: compendium, romance, propaganda, pilgrim's manual, guidebook, devotional manual, satire, encyclopedia, and chronicle (Kohanski 122). Thus *Mandeville* reveals, for me, the complexity of, difficulty in, and fascination with travel writing. *Mandeville* also provides a travel narrative from the 14th century which continued to enjoy a degree of popularity through the 16th century. In this way, it demonstrates a transition from manuscript to print culture as well as provides a source that others will build their hypothesis on as Columbus took a copy of *Mandeville* on the voyage to find a short cut to the riches of the East that resulted in his discovery of the New World. Further, it introduces later genres associated with travel writing as More focuses on the components of guidebook and satire, Hakluyt on encyclopedia and propaganda, and Hariot on chronicle and propaganda. The juxtaposition of 15th and 16th - century texts maps consistencies and transitions in the attitudes of the English as the known world and its potential expands exponentially. Specifically, these texts reveal the perspective of the “middling sort” and New Men during this period of geographical, moral, social, and economic transformation.

Using travel narratives from the 15th and 16th centuries, I demonstrate the connections between gentry studies, early modern studies and colonialism in order to provide a better understanding of profit during this period of transition. Although these critical fields may appear disparate, 15th - and 16th - century texts focusing on ‘strange’ locations – whether in terms of an imaginary utopia created by Thomas More or the travel narratives collected by Richard Hakluyt – share similar concerns regarding the acquisition and maintenance of profit. By examining their

varied and detailed descriptions of lands un- or little known, this project presents a new scholarly perspective on the way that writers of this transitional period debated the three forms of profit linked to the processes of exploration, colonialism, and trade. I prove that this profit takes three forms that I have designated as moral profit, social profit, and economic profit.⁵

The 15th - century gentry instigated the interest in ‘strange’ locations through fabulous tales such as those contained in *The Book of John Mandeville*. A primary focal point of the dissertation is on gentry studies. Many scholars of the 15th century are working in the field, including Raluca Radulescu, whose goal is to define the gentry and identify their interests and impact on society and government. In *The Gentry Context for Malory’s Morte d’Arthur*, Radulescu investigates the notion of “worship ... [involving] ... prosperity and profit ... [and simultaneously cautioning] to beware of overspending and materiality” (36). “Worship” in this context refers to one’s standing and reputation in relation to one’s family, lords, and society. This idea has become a base of the dissertation as the gentry need profit in order to establish and maintain their social position. At the same time, they must moderate their desire for financial gain so that they do not commit the sin of covetousness.

In my project, I expand upon notions of the merchant class to show them as a driving force that draws attention to the need for exploration and colonization as a necessity for all forms of profit. Specifically, Thomas Trolley states that “merchants brought new skills to the gentry – an eye for value, quality and an innate sense of acquisitiveness” (132). Merchants were a significant and powerful part of the burgeoning 15th - century gentry as well as an integral part of the New Men of the Tudor dynasty who mark the transition from medieval to early modern

⁵ Although each form of profit will be treated later in this chapter, I wish to convey that moral refers to the dissemination of religious ideas and the performance of good works to ensure God’s favor, social concerns the attainment and maintenance of social status in the middling classes and access to politically influential careers through educational opportunities, and economic encompasses the financial gain that often envelops the other two types of profit.

constructs. Richard Halpern discusses how “certain early forms of capital -- in particular, merchant’s capital – were already entrenched by the beginning of the sixteenth century” (9). These “early forms of capital” also speak to my discussion of these works as an agent to promote and maintain investment in venturing.

My dissertation goes on to assert the importance of lay authority during the 15th and 16th centuries as related to the involvement in and promotion of venturing. In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Stephen Greenblatt identifies a major cultural shift as societal and even governmental authority moved from ecclesiastical to lay control. I contend that this shift had its onset in the tumult of the late 15th century. Steven Gunn has already shown that this lay authority comes to fruition in the 16th century as a new (and stable) monarchy in the form of the Tudors brings in (and relies upon) the skills gained by the New Men in the Inns of Court. This project proves that this lay authority consisting of New Men in the form of clerks, lawyers, advisers, and even tutors spurred interest in trade, exploration, and colonization for individual and communal profit. It is this same group that developed out of the earlier gentry and “middling sort” who will see these very components as necessary building blocks of English nationhood and thus will lay the groundwork for the British Empire.

Attesting to what I have seen as the moral, social, and economic influence of the gentry and New Men, Mary Fuller finds popular travel narratives like those of Richard Hakluyt and Thomas Hariot to be markers of a growing English identity and agents of exploratory and colonial propaganda. In line with Fuller’s claim, I will examine how Hakluyt’s use of the folio format helps bolster his role as propagandist as it indicates an understanding that preservation of these texts would greatly aid the promotion of exploration and colonization (Day 289). I also argue that Hariot adopts the tone of promotional literature to acknowledge that presenting a

native population that is non-threatening or easily surmountable would help drive efforts at exploration and colonization. Writers of the 15th and 16th centuries sought to understand new lands and to make territorial claims on behalf of England through descriptive writing in many genres about these ‘strange’ locations. As I claimed earlier, scholars have paid cursory attention to travel writing. For example, Paul Smethurst’s introduction to *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire* states that “little has been done to date on the processes of production of these travel texts and their receptions by metropolitan audiences” (2). This project’s discusses “the processes of production” such as print and manuscript versions, the act of collecting and editing, and publication. Also, it examines “their reception by [the] metropolitan audiences” of the “middling sort” and New Men who served as the authorship and readership of these texts. Returning to the general study of travel writing, it seems that this genre was subsumed under other categories or simply ignored until the 1980s. Although my texts flirt with the strict definition of travel narratives, they do share common elements of the travel narrative, such as an insistence on the veracity of their tale, which I argue highlights their significance to understanding the notion of profit as it developed in the late medieval and early modern period.

Chloe Houston’s works on the influence of exploration and the travel narrative on the utopic genre, Zweder von Martels’ discourse on aspects of fiction in travel writing, and John Friedman’s focus on the monstrous have had a combined impact on my project as they concentrate on the role of the travel writer as curious observer as well as address concerns about narrative authenticity. My research substantiates how each text declares the validity of its observations and conclusions regarding exploration, trade, and colonization. The textual concern with authenticity is necessitated by what I believe is the universal motivation for moral, social, and economic profit. Although Paul Salzman refers to Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis* when he

writes, “the plain style of the travel narrative accorded well with Bacon’s own ideal prose” (32), I believe that he uncovered a necessary link between travel writing, veracity, and utopias that I attribute to the originator of the genre, Thomas More. That is, the straightforward, factual reporting of a merchant’s, captain’s, or ethnographer’s travel narrative confers a sense of authority on a text – and this style is rhetorically convincing, even when the narrator might not otherwise be. Indeed, I have applied this argument to all of the texts. Scholarly ideas regarding travel writing and the travel narrative have been a touchstone for this project as I concur with Withington that “because people had to be persuaded to lose life and capital ... promotional literature was so important” (205). Therefore, these works of travel literature identified, promoted, and validated the three types of profit to be found in the New World.

The ultimate goal of such promotional literature was often colonization, which has led directly to my project’s relationship to colonial and even some postcolonial criticism. Specifically, I utilize one aspect of these fields by focusing on the contact between colonized and colonizer to demonstrate both the initial and the lasting impact of one group on the other, whether cultural, economic, or some other category. As Ania Loomba posits in *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, “colonial discourse [is] a new way of conceptualizing the interaction of cultural, intellectual, economic or political processes in the formation, perpetuation and dismantling of colonialism” (54). The economic aspect of colonial and post-colonial discourse has been most significant for me to show the upwardly mobile Englishman’s drive for moral, social, and economic profit. Loomba’s work found that travel narratives mix religion, commerce, and racial inferiority as justification for colonial practices. I have taken her work a step forward, or backward in time, to show that these narratives have these constructs in place at the very gestation of colonialism.

Edward Said's *Orientalism* offered another starting base for my work as he examined the Western need for dominance, which sets up a relation between a strong (imperial) force and a weak (subject peoples) one. Again, I demonstrate in my dissertation that this relation has its genesis in these early texts as the New World beckons with promises of three types of profit. Said also uncovered a paradox of attraction and repugnance experienced by the dominant force which, I attest, provided the justification for the exploitation of the 'strange' locations and the people who inhabit them in the New World. Although exploitation would take many forms, I use Said's construct to refer specifically to moral profit and conversion.

A similar paradox manifests in texts like More's *Utopia*, which speaks about the benefits and drawbacks of exploration at the same moment. Importantly for my work, Said states that "empire must be wise [and] temper its cupidity with selflessness and its impatience with flexible discipline" (36). Although Said refers to full-blown empires like the British empire of the 19th century, I use this idea to refer to the genesis of such empires as well. Specifically, Thomas Hariot's commodification of the abundant and profitable goods to be found in the New World simultaneously offers cautionary advice regarding who should take on the enterprise of colonization. Thus, I have applied Said's insights into colonial practices to the early modern English need to balance a desire for profit with warnings about the dangers of materialism and bad, or at least slow-moving, government.

Although venturing posed physical dangers, such as the sheer undertaking of travel or exploration, moral dangers, such as greed, and social ones, such as the loss of capital investments, for those in the 15th and 16th centuries, the potential personal and national profit was so advantageous that the authors' language is even infused with allusions to profit. Richard Helgerson, for example, states that "Hakluyt thinks in economic terms like 'vent' and

‘commodity’” (163). I have taken this idea to show how the literary activity of the gentry and New Men attempts to influence readers and listeners at a moment when the realm of moral, social, and economic possibilities had exploded. In detailed descriptions of the profit to be found in ‘strange’ locations, the writers, illustrators, collectors, and publishers discussed in this dissertation discovered the best mode of expression to communicate the opportunities afforded by the expansion of exploration, trade, and colonization.

Chapter descriptions

Chapter one focuses on the fictional but influential 14th - century work *The Book of John Mandeville* as it was received in print during the 15th and early 16th centuries. Here I introduce the significance of the travel narrative and its concern with and nature of authenticity as the opening epigraph of this introduction witnesses. This chapter discusses briefly the late medieval conditions of war and political instability that made economic profit through venture difficult. Additionally, I show how Mandeville evokes the triple nature of profit as I define it throughout the chapters. Thus, beginning with *The Book of John Mandeville* allows for an examination not only of this work as a text that incited discourse on exploration and profit, but also of the major shift in geographical and ethnographic perception that exploration and eventually colonization will bring in the period of transition framing this dissertation.

This chapter also begins to define the audience for travel narratives as those seeking moral, social, and economic profit as well as to describe how the end of the 15th century paved the way for this pursuit. The highly literate gentry collected and circulated books. Thus, I argue that a work like *Mandeville* had the potential to spark the imagination and open the door to opportunities in trade and exploration possible under the stabilizing political influence of the Tudors. In addition to the gentry, chapter one also addresses the role of the merchant as a

necessary component for the genesis of capitalism, as some thought *Mandeville* credible enough to accept as a valid “medium of exchange.”⁶ This acceptance of *Mandeville* reveals both the late medieval attitude toward what was accepted as truth and how drastically and quickly information about the world would change, drawing attention again to this period of transition.

Whereas chapter one deals with the fanciful and real mixed to create a perception of truth, chapter two switches to a new and forthrightly fictional genre of the utopia. Chapter two focuses on Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1518) to identify changes brought about by late 15th - and early 16th - century exploration as well as political opinions that contributed to the creation of the utopian genre. As Columbus’ voyages of discovery dispelled fantasies of dog-headed men, the vastness of the New World continued to inspire speculation about potential societies yet to be found. More used such speculation to create a ‘strange’ location where he could explore his pursuit of social profit, seeking to improve the organization of English society and disguising governmental criticism through fiction. Although More focuses primarily on social profit, the opening epigraph of this introduction reveals the multi-layered definition of profit which I have devised in this project, interpreting “good” as profit and “mind,” “body,” and “external gifts” as its moral, social, and economic aspects respectively. The form of the travel narrative suits his purpose because of its contemporary popularity and its connection to the ongoing interest in exploration and the discovery of the New World and its potential profit, in which More had a personal interest.

Despite its entirely fictitious nature, More’s *Utopia* is a vital component to my theorizing about profit as it emerged during a period of exploration where initial contacts with the New World and its inhabitants offered a societal ‘do-over.’ Furthermore, More utilizes elements of

⁶ Of Mandeville’s importance, Greenblatt states that the work “was accepted in Paris, Bruges, and London as a fair medium of exchange ... suggest[ing] that the work could be imagined not only as current but as currency” (37).

the travel narrative which allies his work with all of the others examined in the dissertation. More relies on the eyewitness account and proclaims the veracity of his story to support his observations regarding social problems and possible solutions to be found in these idealized lands. More focuses almost exclusively on social profit in the identification of societal problems and the offering of alternative solutions, incorporating a humanist stance. In his concrete and organized world, void of the monstrous, I show how More foregrounds his didactic intent by analyzing motives for and methods of exploration and colonization as well as offering political criticism regarding the role of the ruler.

Chapter three outlines the fundamental change from the acceptance of Mandeville's fantastic stories to the empirical truth of voyages as collected, categorized, and edited by Hakluyt. Hakluyt acts as an excellent guide through this transformation as he proclaims both the difficulty ("voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in several hucksters hands" [3]) and the necessity of the activity he has undertaken, as all preceding accounts were "either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned" (2). In *Principall Navigations* I highlight the obvious use of the travel narrative as promotional tool to encourage exploration for the greater good of England when Hakluyt includes the Cabot trips of the 1490s, an appeal from the merchant Robert Thorne to Henry VIII for northern exploration "in which without doubt your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subjects infinite profite" (16), and Martin Frobisher's expeditions in 1576-77 to find the Northwest Passage as a means to establish an English hold on areas not already claimed by Spain. I demonstrate how Hakluyt's selection of texts offers a twist on the travel narrative's eyewitness account as the texts of others are filtered through his categorization and editing. Further, Richard Hakluyt's ability to read and translate works from the multitude of languages mentioned in the opening epigraph of this chapter alludes

to the role of education in the development of the power of the New Men. Because *Principall Navigations* is first and foremost a collection, I also utilize Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Planting* in this chapter to achieve a more certain understanding of his voice regarding the three forms of profit as found in the New World.

Hakluyt's diction plays a key part in this chapter as it is full of economic terms which indicate his emphasis on financial profit. However, I contend that he balances this financial gain with the social promotion of England, which is presented as world player and moral leader due to the spread of Protestantism. Hakluyt does not let his enthusiasm for exploration and colonization wane in the face of failure; instead, I argue that he includes failed ventures to highlight why the English should not let opportunities go by or deter future involvement in exploration. As chapter three gives way to the final chapter, it also shows the milieu of New Men working together to promote the New World and its invitation to profit.

The team of Thomas Hariot and John White provide the focus for the fourth and final chapter. They offer a written and pictorial account of their own experience in the New World with *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*. In their narrative and images, a nearly modern voice of the ethnographer emerges. Hariot and White record what they experience. There is no suggestion of the fantastic; rather, there is the account of the eyewitness observer, attempting to deliver an objective and factual report. However, I maintain that Hariot does not abandon the role of promoter as his text contains the language of commerce and economic profit as he categorizes what he sees as commodities: "there already found or to be raised, which will not only serve the ordinary turns of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus...as by way of traffic and exchange with our own nation of England, will enrich your selves the providers" (34). Additionally he comments on the

simplicity of the people who “may in short time be brought to civility and the embracing of the true religion” (48). While the text’s relevance and importance for the New Man readership are indicated by Hakluyt’s inclusion of *A briefe and true report in Principall Navigations*, Hariot’s caution regarding how colonization should occur and who should undertake it tempers Hakluyt’s fervor. Sharing its perception of native inhabitants with Hakluyt, Hariot presents them as inferior and in need of help and thus ripe for exploitation. Again, like Hakluyt, *A briefe and true report* would have enjoyed a wider readership that included the New Men as this group would have been both appealed to for investment and enticed by the potential economic profit in terms of natural goods and land. Further, Hakluyt, Hariot, and White had a powerful patron in the form of Raleigh who was a main proponent of exploration and colonization. *A briefe and true report* affords a natural ending for my project as it shows the progress from the fantastical to the realistic. Further, it offers a snapshot of the moment before colonization would or would not take place in the New World, which held the possibilities for moral, social, and economic profit and for the English to become a powerful player on the world stage or remain an insular and insignificant bystander.

CHAPTER 1: FANTASTIC LANDS IN *THE BOOK OF JOHN MANDEVILLE*

The Book of John Mandeville – a 14th century work that had the power to inspire 15th - and 16th –century explorers like Columbus and Raleigh -- offers a solid opening foray. It has intrigued generations of readers because of its first-hand observations by a narrator who boasts of his ties to a great “soudan [sultan]” and describes lands full of “goode marchaundyses” while maintaining his persona as a pilgrim to the Holy Lands. The text emerged in the 14th century purporting to be a personal memoir of journeys through the Holy Lands and parts of Africa, India, and China as experienced and written by one Sir John Mandeville, an English knight from St. Albans. This memoir blends a wide array of generic forms such as: compendium, romance, propaganda, pilgrim’s manual, guidebook, devotional manual, satire, encyclopedia, and chronicle (Kohanski 122). In acknowledgment of the popularity of the text, more than 250 manuscripts of *Mandeville* have survived in a variety of Western languages.⁷ Further, at a time when personal libraries were limited, *Mandeville* was one of only six volumes mentioned in the inventory at the death of Sir Thomas Ursweyk, chief baron of the exchequer and recorder of London in 1479, attesting to the status of the text (Thrupp 248).

Mandeville’s initial popularity extended into the early print era and beyond. Searches of the ESTC and EEBO identify multiple printings of *Mandeville* from one in 1496 by Richard Pynson to three editions by Wynken de Worde in 1499, 1505, and 1510 through to a 1568 version by Thomas East (STC 17246, 17247, 17249.5, and 17250 respectively). This last edition may signal the change of interest in Mandeville from authoritative guidebook to entertaining travel literature as this edition appears well into the period of exploration. In “The Metamorphoses of Sir John Mandeville,” Moseley underscores the significance of this print

⁷ By the end of the 14th century, the text had been translated into most major European languages. The figure of 250 represents three times the number of extant manuscripts for similar works of Friar Odoric and Marco Polo (Clogan 178).

history by stating “when Pynson and de Worde published *Mandeville*, they were clearing the way for the new geography” (10). Thus, through an ever-changing variety of generic elements, the text of *Mandeville* appealed to a variety of literary tastes and was able to marry the concerns of the soul and the pocketbook simultaneously and seamlessly.⁸ Through its initial appearance in French and English and its quick translation into a number of other European languages, *Mandeville* represents a very popular and widely disseminated text of the medieval period. Although it would be translated into Latin, it first surfaced in languages that did not limit the reception of the text to the erudite. Therefore, *Mandeville*, from its beginning, was fully accessible to and able to be interpreted by that readership of the “middling sort” which forms the basis of my study.

The multiplicity of texts, whether in terms of languages, manuscripts, or print editions, highlights the fact that *Mandeville* is not *one* simple text. To serve the purposes of this study, this chapter will use the Royal 17C manuscript dated to after 1377 and edited by Tamarah Kohanski and C. David Benson. This version of the text represents the most popular English version both in manuscript and print during the late medieval and early modern periods.⁹ Additionally this chapter will utilize woodcuts from print versions by Pynson and de Worde to show a transition between manuscript and print as new technology emerged at the same time as a New World. This transition is significant to underscore how a potential “middling sort” readership could have identified textual elements as relevant to profit motivation both in

⁸ As Fannie Moghaddassi finds “the voyage serves thus as a self-reflection: the various societies shed light on the society of both the traveler and his readers” (le voyage sert ainsi une réflexion sur soi: les sociétés différentes éclairent la société du voyageur et de ses lecteurs), my translation (18). Unless otherwise noted, all translations from French are my own.

⁹ Royal 17C manuscript is known as the Defective Version as it leaves out a substantial early section of the text referred to as the “Egypt Gap”. Its popularity is attested to by the number of extant manuscripts, 35 according to Kohanski and 38 according to Iain Higgins, as well as being the base for the first English print copy by Richard Pynson in 1496 (Kohanski 13).

manuscript circulation and later in a larger print context. Both in manuscript and print versions, the text draws attention to the possibilities in “strange” lands and to the necessity for its readership to become involved in these opportunities, if only vicariously.

Due to Mandeville’s generalized, physical, impersonal observations of the “strange” locations he visited, I believe that the text could be enjoyed and interpreted in multiple ways by readership such as the “middling sort.” More specifically, the author/narrator, who provides Mandeville’s voice, is able to meditate on moral issues while also considering economic and social ones. Building on existing mandevillian scholarship that I will briefly outline below, this chapter will investigate the text of *Mandeville* as a motivational agent for the triple forms of profit in the late medieval period as well as its later 16th-century re-interpretation as an indicator of religious change and a catalyst for exploration in the early modern period. Through this endeavor, I intend to show the vital significance of *Mandeville* to the moral, economic, and social aspirations of the “middling sort” as the late medieval period gave way to the early modern one.

Mandevillian Scholarship

Whether included in a collection or on its own, *The Book of John Mandeville*, *The Travels of John Mandeville*, or *Mandeville’s Travels* has presented challenges for criticism. I shall briefly touch upon some of these challenges as they elucidate questions regarding textual veracity that are crucial to this chapter’s arguments. To begin, the narrator’s persona has caused scholarly problems. Many critics have tried to unlock Mandeville’s true identity or at least to tie down his country of origin in hopes of clarifying the text’s provenance. However, what details Mandeville provides regarding himself offer only insignificant clues to his identity. Even though the text has caused controversy regarding provenance, a scholarly consensus believes that its

genesis is Continental and French (Clogan 178). Although scholars have reached this agreement regarding origin, *The Book of John Mandeville* has been canonized in English rather than French literature (Clogan 178). The provenance of and claim to the text becomes even more muddled when its print history is taken into account. Its earliest English print version (1496) was published by Richard Pynson, a Norman who became a naturalized English citizen around 1493 (Neville-Sington).

However, this concern about provenance has not impacted the text's popularity. As C.W.R.D. Moseley remarks about the text, "it was at no point in four hundred years without a considerable body of readers – more than can be said for any Middle English author outside Chaucer and Langland. But at the same time, its reputation varied from respect to contempt....At no point has the book's integrity even been respected; it has been re-cast at will into many forms" (25). The text's negative reputation resulted from accusations of plagiarism. However, in *Writing East*, Iain Higgins, concurring with Mary Carruthers, points out that the medieval definition of plagiarism centered on the "lazy" use of existing materials (12). The *Mandeville* author's inventive combining of sources to create a unique work would have been acceptable to a medieval audience by this definition therefore not leaving it open to accusations of plagiarism. It was later criticism which sought to bring those charges. However, as Susan Bassnett finds, "different narratives, all sensationalist, are blended in *Mandeville*'s narrative, though always with a detail here and there that rings true, an authenticated source that ensures credibility...[where] the reader is required to make a leap of faith and to trust both travel writer and translator" (70). It is this idea of credibility that will make Mandeville's statements regarding profit believable to his readership. Indeed, Mandeville's credibility as an educated knight is crucial to understanding how the text could be used as a guide for those who wanted to

gain profit through journeys to “strange” lands. That is, elements of the text could be extracted and used to promote the seeking of profit. His observations had to be feasible to justify the physical, financial, and even spiritual risks that adventure incurred. In fact there are those who now look at *Mandeville*'s potential plagiarism as a type of “textuality, parody, [or] pastiche” (Smethurst 170). Even though the reader or scholar cannot entirely ignore these charges of plagiarism, he or she must take the period of production into context as well as what is most significant to this project, the display of multiple forms of profit in the 15th and 16th centuries. Scholarly concerns regarding plagiarism have kept the text from serious critical evaluation which this study intends to rectify. For this reason, valuable components of the text such as its significance to late medieval and early modern notions regarding profit and its perspective on the ambitions of the “middling sort” have not been allowed to emerge.

More recently, some scholars have concentrated on the way that the text influenced European views of non-Christian geography from the 14th through 16th centuries until its claims could no longer compete with the geographic facts uncovered through exploration (Grady 271). Scholarship has also debated the genre, intention, and literary quality of the text.¹⁰ The discussion of genre impacts my conclusions in three ways: 1) a loose definition of the travel book allows for the extraction of textual elements signaling profit; 2) the current multigeneric focus further permits the examination of profit while considering the potential variety of purposes behind the text; 3) lastly, the idea of personal and cultural self-reflection propels the text into postmodern criticism as it evokes the notion of an active reader who would understand the varied references to the positives and negatives of profit. As late medieval and early modern readers had no contention with overlapping genres, this chapter will show how *Mandeville* works

¹⁰ Tamarah Kohanski in “What is a ‘travel book’ anyway?: Generic Criticism and *Mandeville’s Travels*” and Josephine Bennett in “The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville” are two scholars who have taken on discussions of genre, intention and literary quality.

not strictly as a travel narrative or memoir, but as a multigeneric, popular text from which it would be possible for some readers to extract religious or financial information. Further, I will demonstrate how the guise of a travel book with a pilgrimage bent hides economic potential for the “middling sort” in plain sight of more acceptable ideas like moral profit.

These various debates have resulted in a renewed interest in an often neglected text and have prompted my focus on this work as a fitting starting point for a discussion of profit. Regarding this neglect, Iain Higgins remarks that “like Polo’s *Divisament*, and unlike more obviously literary or historical writings, *The Book of John Mandeville* has rarely been the object of sustained critical attention, particularly of a sort concerned with the text’s interpenetrating discursive, rhetorical, formal, thematic, and ideological elements and strategies” (*Writing East* 14). By employing *Mandeville* as a literary agent of profit, I intend to add particularly to scholarship regarding the text’s ideological components. In fact, some scholars are re-examining the text in a postmodern light as “it emerges at a pivotal moment in world history – the transition from a relatively static world of antiquity and medieval Christianity to the dynamic and expanding world of modern discovery and explorations” (Smethurst 166). Some mandevillian scholarship also highlights the significance of the text to commercial interests and its continued relevance.¹¹ Expanding on current scholarship, I will show that *Mandeville* is integral in a discussion of late medieval and early modern notions of profit as it displays this concept as an underlying theme.¹² Of equal significance to my study as a whole, my scholarship will explain how *Mandeville* offers a late medieval appeal to the moral, economic, and social ambitions of the

¹¹ Fanny Moghaddasi in “L’ailleurs dans les *Voyages de Mandeville* (XIV^e siècle): entre rêverie populaire et réflexion savante” [The other in the *Travels of Mandeville* (14th century): between popular imagination and scholarly reflection] and Paul Smethurst focus on these textual concerns.

¹² Of Mandeville’s importance, Stephen Greenblatt states that the work “was accepted in Paris, Bruges, and London as a fair medium of exchange...suggest[ing]that the work could be imagined not only as current but currency” (37).

“middling sort” and also serves as a starting point for understanding early modern attitudes toward profit.

Moral Profit: Reclamation, Conversion, and Pilgrimage

Moral profit infuses Mandeville from the very beginning of the text. In a description of a route to Jerusalem by sea, Mandeville makes a clear allusion to moral profit: “the haven of Tire, that is now i-called Sirre. And hit is at the entré of Syrrie, wher was somtyme a fair cité of Cristen men, but Sarizens hath destried hit a gret party therof, and they kepe well that haven for dred of Cristyn men” (lines 379-81). Mandeville criticizes how Christians have let the Holy Lands fall into the hands of Muslims with the charge that “Sirre...was somtyme a fair cité of Cristen men.” However, the excerpt also hints at the potential power of and possibility for moral profit in the form of conversion through the idea that the Saracens allow the city to remain a haven for Christians because of the “drede of Cristyn men.” In the text, Mandeville will reference both the need for Christians to shape up and to reclaim what belongs to them as well as the opportunities that exist to convert Muslims to the True Faith. Although moral profit is thematic to the text as a whole, it is most prevalent in the first half, which centers on the Holy Lands.

In the context of this narrative, moral profit most often signifies conducting an enterprise for the common Christian good rather than for individual spirituality or right behavior. That is, *Mandeville*’s moral profit incorporates an entire societal group, whether interpreted as all Christians or Englishmen. Mirroring my study’s overall intent to address multiple forms of profit in a variety of texts, this section will investigate how individual forms of profit could often become further divided to attend to a variety of purposes. I will show how *Mandeville*’s version of moral profit encompasses three goals: reclamation of the Holy Lands, conversion of Muslims,

and pilgrimage in order to promote its own necessity and the varied opportunities to be obtained. Ultimately this tripartite moral profit, as perceived in the text, will permit Mandeville to utilize his role as pilgrim as a promotional tool for pilgrimage as a spiritual Crusade to counteract the disastrous history of military Crusade.

Before turning to *Mandeville's* plan for reclaiming Jerusalem, I shall provide a snapshot of the concept of Crusade in the 14th and 15th centuries. The knights that made up the Crusader pool came from France, Germany, most of Italy, and southern England, or what has been termed Latin Christendom (Latham 17).¹³ His claim to roots in St. Albans, England would place Mandeville squarely in the environment of Latin Christendom and the Crusades. Although I will analyze Mandeville's plan for militarily reclaiming Jerusalem, such an idea was already considered a fantastic proposal. By the 14th century a Christian ruling presence in Jerusalem was a distant remembrance as the land had long been under Muslim control (Tuchman 202). In 1362 Pope Urban V promoted Crusade, backed by the King of Cyprus, who bore the empty title of King of Jerusalem (Tuchman 202). However, the call received no support from the courts of Europe, including England, and was abandoned (Tuchman 202). Calls to Crusade were frequently used by the papacy to attempt to end fighting between England and France, to no avail (DeVries 545). A perpetuation of Crusade on heretics at home and a lucrative trade with Muslims offer two explanations for the lack of enthusiasm regarding Crusade (Tuchman 202). Thirty years later a Turkish threat in Hungary sparked a Crusade that ended in a disastrous military defeat (Tuchman 563). After the defeat in 1396 at Nicopolis, some contemporaries complained that Crusaders followed the "daughters of Lucifer [e.g. luxury]" rather than the

¹³ In *Theorizing Medieval Geopolitics – War and World Order in the Age of the Crusades*, Andrew A. Latham identifies four categories and purposes of crusades: Crusades to the Holy Land ("wars of liberation"), the Iberian Crusades (wars of liberation in Spain and Portugal), the Northern Crusades ("indirect missionary wars" in the Baltic region), and Crusades directed against other Christians (defensive wars against threats to the Church's spiritual authority) (126-128).

principles of good governance (DeVries 543). Thus, the military losses against the forces of Islam represented a humiliation for Christian soldiers but also a systemic failure of chivalric ideas.

Why then would Mandeville clearly encourage an enterprise that had been so unsuccessful and disregarded by his “countrymen”? A possible answer to this question lies in the narrator’s self-representation as a knight and, by implication, his adherence to the code of chivalry. Crusades against Muslims and heretics formed part of the traditional fabric of chivalric codes from before *Mandeville*’s 14th-century production through the 15th century (Tuchman 202). We see evidence of this in Chaucer’s Knight of the 14th century, who goes to Canterbury after fighting a Crusade against Muslims in the Middle East and pagans in Northern Europe, or in the destruction or conversion of Saracens in Malory’s 15th-century *Morte d’Arthur*. In the period following *Mandeville*, the text remained relevant as the threat of Muslim encroachment continued into the 15th century with varied effects. Negatively, Constantinople fell irrevocably to the Turks in 1453, devastating chivalric ideals (Tuchman 594). Despite the Christian soldiers being what Mandeville terms “right children of Crist” (line 44), success eluded the soldiers of Christ who followed the tenets of chivalry on the battlefield. In a positive vein, Christian warrior rulers like Ferdinand and Isabella parlayed the chivalric tradition into the successful expulsion of the Moors from Spain in the late 15th century. Beyond the realm of potential active participants, an interest in chivalric codes and tradition pervaded the *Grete Books* collected by the gentry in the 15th century (Radulescu, *The Gentry Context of Malory’s Morte D’Arthur* 78). This interest in the chivalric may explain the continued appeal of *Mandeville* to a later audience who could then use the text to promote notions of moral profit.

Simultaneously appealing to chivalric ideals and stressing the necessity of moral profit, the narrator emphatically states in the Prologue, “This is the lond that longeth to oure heritage” (lines 39-40). That is, it is the destiny and hereditary right of *all* Christians to retake the Holy Lands. A 15th-century readership would most probably have taken this notion in literal terms as applying exclusively to Jerusalem and its environs. Late medieval Europeans saw Jerusalem as representational of the East, blending ideas of earthly paradise, knowledge, wealth, and spices (Freedman 102). The notion of reclaiming “oure heritage” even extended into action in the North as Crusades to subdue pagan Slavs portrayed this area as another Jerusalem (Latham 156). Some propose that the text of *Mandeville* itself takes on the form of a 14th-century Old Testament map where Jerusalem is at the center (Camargo 57). Drawing on this familiar *mappa mundi* construction, Mandeville could support his claims for moral profit through a simple journey to these lands, a call for re-claiming of the lands, and the necessity of conversion and pilgrimage. In a sense, he allows the text to become the “londe” that should be reclaimed. Due to his repeated use of phrases such as “oure heritage” in the Prologue, Mandeville makes the near-impossibility of the task of physical reclamation less significant as his written word becomes action.¹⁴ Therefore, the mental act of reading can replace physical, martial action, which has been ineffectual. Mandeville strengthens his tone regarding military Crusade as moral profit in lines 41-45. Here, he urges, “every good Cristen man that hath whereof sholde streynth hem for to conquere oure ryghte heritage and chace away myssetrewantes [misbelievers]” (lines 41-43). A militant tone emerges here with the use of “conquere” and “chace,” indicating strength of might that has not yet manifested in Crusading successes.

¹⁴ In the Prologue, “oure heritage appears twice as does “oure ryght heritage”. “Synne of oure fader Adam”, “oure owen synnes also”, “righte heritage of Oure Fader”, and “ryghte eyres of Jhesu Crist” offer other examples of this same lexical theme.

Despite a history of unsuccessful Crusades with which the narrator and his audience would have been familiar, Mandeville focuses on that possibility with “every good Cristen man that hath whereof [capacity or ability].” “Heritage” presents a legal term of inheritance as if Christians are prodigals who need to reclaim what should be theirs. Through the expression “oure ryghte heritage,” Mandeville emphasizes the divine purpose behind engaging in the quest for moral profit. This militant tone continues a few lines later when he states, “then to chalenge [claim] the righte heritage of Oure Fader and put hit out of strange men hondes” (44-5). The societal acknowledgement that this desire to “put hit [Jerusalem] out of strange men hondes” has been unsuccessful may explain why Mandeville’s tone changes later in his discussions of conversion and pilgrimage. However, I believe that the implications for *Mandeville’s* 15th - century readership were contained in the medieval ideas of a dichotomy between Christianity and Islam as well as confusion regarding the tenets of Islam. In late medieval mystery plays, characters like Pharaoh and Herod were depicted as invoking Mohammed, which causes them to be defeated by the right forces of Christianity (Beadle and King 32). These characters highlight Christian confusion regarding the status of Muslims. Were they pagans or heretics? In either case, their teachings needed to be preached against and conquered, whether through Crusade or, as I shall show, conversion and pilgrimage.

An emphasis on moral profit does not stop at endorsing a Christian takeover of the Holy Lands. Mandeville also proposes a theory explaining the loss of the Holy Lands and identifies the parties most responsible for these failings. He lays blame for Christian shortcomings firmly at the feet of governmental leadership in his Prologue:

And comyn peple that wolde put here body and catel to conquere
oure heritage may nought do withoute lords. For asemble of
comyn peple withoute a chief lorde beth as a flock of sheep that
nath no shephurd, which they parteth asoundre and woot nought

whyder to go. But wolde God that wordli lordis were of good
 acoord and eche of hem other and also commune people that wolde
 take this holy viage over the see. I trowe then withynne a litel
 while oure right heritage forsayde sholde be reconciled and y-putte
 in hands of the right eyres of Jhesu Crist. (lines 48-55)

His use of “comyn” twice and “commune” indicates average people, suggesting that all those in need of proper guidance by authority whether secular (“chief lorde”) or ecclesiastical (“a flock of sheep that hath no shephurd”) should be engaged in this campaign. There is an underlying call to leadership without which the common people cannot be successful in their attempt at this form of moral profit. If leaders are not performing their roles correctly, we cannot reclaim “oure heritage.” However, if leaders and common people do the right thing, “withynne a litel [time],” Christians could get back their inheritance as “the right eyres [heirs] of Jhesu Crist.” That is, through retrieving their rightful inheritance via military opportunities, all Christians could satisfy the necessity of moral profit.

For the 15th-century gentry readership, Mandeville’s focus on the moral failures that came with a lack of accord, proper secular guidance and government, and rule by lords would have struck a chord as the Wars of the Roses continued. Regarding ecclesiastical authority, from the 14th century the English experienced dissatisfaction with the papacy and the international flavor of the Church, feeling that English concerns were being subsumed by Continental ones (Smith 120). Stepping outside of England to the larger world of Christendom, Higgins in “Imagining Christendom” says, “unlike the traveling friars, this stay-at-home author...had to have known that the Crusades and this mission to Asia alike had failed to fulfill the high hopes surrounding their launching” (101). That is, religious and secular leadership had both failed the people, an issue that Mandeville foregrounds in the Prologue. Their failure permits Mandeville (in the 14th century) and his readers (now emerging and interpreting the text in a new generation)

to take action by participating in the varied forms of moral profit, even to the most minimal step of simply reading the text.

Even with the accession of the Tudors in the late 15th century, the “middling sort” desired the nobility to lead correctly and responsibly, whether politically, morally, or, as I shall show, economically just as Mandeville’s original readers had in the 14th century. This section of *Mandeville* could have been seen by 14th- and 15th-century readerships to place an emphatic call for strong religious and earthly shepherds to guide their people properly - - even into Crusades and pilgrimages. In other words, the readerships’ achievement of moral profit would be difficult without proper leadership. Whether written and read in the chaotic 14th century or reinterpreted in the late 15th century, the failings of leadership are at the crux of the hereditary loss of the Holy Lands. The text asserts that “comyn peple...may nought do without lords” (line 49), which seems to acknowledge a need for strong leadership. Further, there is the claim that “comyn peple without a chief lorde...parteth asoundre and woot nought whyder to go”(lines 50-1). This “chief lorde” is a king who is solidly in charge so that he can keep the country together which had “parteth asoundre” in the War of the Roses. As Higgins states, *Mandeville* is “an implicit treatise on rule in both the Christian and the non-Christian worlds (a kind of mirror for Christian princes)” (*Writing East* 13). I believe that the “chief lorde” could be interpreted as a need for a central, unified government in order to stabilize the society. From a position of strength, this “chief lorde” then has the ability to direct the country “whyder to go” for the benefit of all. Interpreted during the period of the Wars of the Roses, this central, unified government needs the counsel, though, of the clerks of the “middling sort” as 15th-century authors like Hoccleve and Lydgate attest. As C. David Benson states in *Public Piers Plowman – Modern Scholarship and Late Medieval Culture*, “all three works [*Piers Plowman*, *Mandeville*, and *The Book of Margery*

Kempe] were written by loyal Roman Catholics who nevertheless portray their secular and ecclesiastical leaders as wanting” (140). According to Mandeville, this is why moral profit in the form of reclamation of the Holy Lands has been elusive and explains why the “heritage” was first lost.

Thus, the significance of these lines would have meaning beyond the parameters of moral profit into that of social profit for the “middling sort” who hoped to help guide leadership into the correct patterns that would benefit both England and Christianity. These lines even seem to anticipate Thomas More’s complaint in *Utopia* that “governments solidly established and sensibly ruled are not so common” (7).¹⁵ When Mandeville writes that “worldly lordis were of good acoord” (line 52), he anticipates a time when temporal leaders will work together for the common good, which will have the desired result: “oure right heritage forsayde sholde be reconsiled” (line 54). It is difficult to determine how much real hope *Mandeville*’s author or his late medieval audience would have held out for this accord of leaders, whether secular or religious, as criticism regarding the laxity and decadence of all ranks was pervasive (Tuchman 509).¹⁶ The concept of Crusade is necessary as a form of moral profit, but Mandeville indicates that he and his readership need to address and admonish the lack of success generated through poor leadership. Problems with Crusade in turn create an opening for the other types of moral profit: conversion and pilgrimage.

Despite his concerns about leadership and military failure, Mandeville expands upon the notion of conversion as a form of moral profit. In Chapter 12, Mandeville remarks: “and for Sarasyns byleveth so neygh our fay, they beth lightly converted when men telle them the lawe of Crist” (lines 1269-1276). With this statement to his readers, Mandeville seems to assert that

¹⁵ Indeed Luther and Erasmus declared the Turkish military evils perpetuated on Christians were deserved because of bad behavior (DeVries 553).

¹⁶ In his *Vox Clamantis*, John Gower chastises vice among every rank of society (Tuchman 509).

Islam is close enough to Christianity (“so neygh our fay”) that very little effort would be required to bring them over to the truth faith.¹⁷ Again, the reader, whoever he or she may be, should seize Mandeville’s opportunities for moral profit through conversion. Of course, this emphasis on the ease of conversion may represent some definite medieval wishful thinking, but it does put an important spin on the reasons to head into the Holy Lands and beyond. If Islam and Christianity are indeed this close, then it behooves “every good” Christian to embark on this undertaking. In late medieval and early modern court and urban entertainments involving Moors, physically dark Moors could turn white easily, reflecting this notion of easy conversion (Vaughn 76). Thus, many perceived Muslims as amenable to the transforming influence of Christianity.¹⁸ That is, the Moors were recognized as being able to wash themselves of their racial darkness. By extension, they should also easily be able to purify themselves of their religious impurities, conflating their racial and religious natures. Due to the perceived ease of conversion by some, including Mandeville, contact with Muslims through pilgrimage affords a golden opportunity to achieve moral profit.

Continuing his promotion of moral profit and his persona of pilgrim knight, Mandeville focuses on the traditional concept of pilgrimage to religious sites. Through his visits to and descriptions of these sites, Mandeville proffers both as a way to reclaim “oure heritage,” despite military defeat, and to actively engage armchair pilgrims in his journey. In Chapter 5, “A Wey to Jerusalem,” Mandeville describes an unusual relic of the Virgin Mary at the “cherche of Seynt

¹⁷ However, this statement seems at odds with Mandeville’s observation of the easy ceremony for the conversion to Islam. “Also hit falleth somtyme that Cristen men by cometh Sarasyns, other for povert other som other skyl. And therefore Larches leven, that is receyvour of Cristen men when he receyveth hem, he seith thus: Ra ells ella Machamete reozes alla. That is to say: “Ther is no God but on, and Machamete his messenger” (lines 1365-8). The inclusion of reverse conversion also provides an example of what some scholars have designated as an impersonal reporting of public observations by the narrator (Benson 116).

¹⁸ However, a belief in easy conversion was not universal. There were those in the late 13th century who were convinced of the true difficulty in converting Muslims (Munro 343). This disagreement regarding followers of Islam perhaps offers a reason for the conversion impulse in the New World where natives represented a clean slate.

Nicholas” where the stones contain marks from her spilled breast milk, “And for she hadde so moche mylke in here pappes that hit greved here, she milked hit out upon the reed stones of marble so that yit men may see the traces” (lines 565-71). Such a detailed description, “the reed stones of marble,” lends veracity to the pilgrimage and devotional status of the text. Furthermore, I believe this scene offers the same entertainment value as the fantastic creatures found later in the text. That is, the religious sites are “strange” in that they are out of the ordinary in the same way “strange” creatures would be, “so that yit men may see the traces [of the Virgin’s breast milk].” They also comprise part of the idea of “oure heritage,” the national and religious goal of retaking this land so that the sites are in safe Christian possession. The combined notions of the extraordinary and “oure heritage” are particularly relevant in this example as it portrays a very human Virgin whose natural act of lactation has produced an overabundance that has left a permanent mark. Therefore, this monument to maternity should be protected by the “right eyres [heirs] of Jhesu Crist.”

Regarding *Mandeville*’s description of religious sites, Fabienne Michelet states that “the narrator, by identifying at various sites significant religious – and especially Christian – events, re-appropriates these distant lands...The traveler tames and symbolically re-takes possession of the land” (288). For this reason, the need to reclaim the Holy Lands emerges in *Mandeville*’s diction as it is “amonge alle londes hit is most worthi and sovereyn...and y-halwed and sacred of the precious blode of Oure Lord Jhesu Crist” (lines 11-14). By choosing to describe this area as “most worthi,” “sovereyn,” and “y-halwed,” Mandeville emphasizes the crucial part this land plays in the lives of all Christians. Further, his detailed description of locations and his presence there allow him to re-claim them metaphorically for Christians through the word as this is the most “sacred of the precious blode of Oure Lord Jhesu Crist.” In emphasizing “the precious

blode,” Mandeville reminds readers of Jesus’ sacrifice which should, in turn, make the reader more than willing to retake this land from Islamic control in any form, including a literary one. For example, he states “byfore the Cherche of the Sepulchre 200 pace is a gret hospital of Seynt John, of which Hospitalers hath her foundation” (lines 692-3), referring to the Crusading groups who once held the land physically. The history of a military Crusading presence, albeit unsuccessful, should nonetheless encourage pilgrims on their path of spiritual Crusade. Thus, this desire to reclaim the Holy Lands through Crusade or pilgrimage as expressed in word may inspire and support deed, encouraging others to follow his path (Zumthor and Peebles 811).

In order to further his encouragement of pilgrimage, Mandeville draws attention to his deep knowledge of the sites and the history of loss and also begins to blend economic with moral concerns. Mandeville notes that it is at the Templum Domini that “Charlemayn when the angell brought hym prepays [the foreskin] of Crist when he was circumcised, and sithe Kyng Charles let bryng hit to Parys” (lines 710-11). That is, this is a text about pilgrimage to which the examples testify at least on one level; additionally, this passage refers both to the West’s former position which allowed such items to be appropriated by the West and to Mandeville’s call to reclaim the Holy Lands. Pilgrimage, in a milder way than Crusade, had the potential to result in conversion as Christians come into contact and interact with Muslims on their journeys. “A Way fro Galilé to Jerusalem thorgh Damas” (Chapter 8) has Mandeville portraying the economic plenty of Damas as “a fair cité and full of good and ther is plenté of marchaundise” (lines 1103-4). Immediately after this business report, however, Mandeville mentions that Damas has a connection to Abraham and the story of Cain and Abel as in that place “Cayn slow his brother Abel” (lines 1108-9). In this way, Mandeville validates his reporting of material offerings through their inclusion with biblical references, which maintains the notion of the text as

pilgrimage.¹⁹ In other words, the proximity of religious references with financial ones moderates material gain, as will be demonstrated in the chapter's next section.

To continue the push for pilgrimage as a form of moral profit and to highlight his authority as promoter thereof, Mandeville mentions in Chapter 6 the special access he has to the Templum Domini: "Y hadde letters of the Soudan with his greet seel, and comonly other men haveth but a synet. And whoso haveth his letter with his greet seel, he hit shal bere afore hym uppon a gret sper hangynge. And men do gret worship therto...and then they profre hem to do al the wyll of the bringer" (lines 702-708). This passage underscores Mandeville's presentation of a truthful, unique, and exclusive account and highlights the power of the Sultan, which in turn elevates Mandeville's social status. The value of relics and pilgrimage sites validates his stance as a "master" pilgrim as the relics and sites are more "strange" than what his readers are used to. Therefore, he is a worthy guide into this land that did and should belong to Christians. Again, I maintain that Mandeville's description of his journeys to the Holy Lands allows him to repossess this area through the agency of the word which should then stir action. By establishing his status, he represents himself as a frequent traveler who has "many times y-passid and ryden to Jerusalem in company of greet lords" (line 71), promoting the accord that would allow Christians to physically reclaim the Holy Lands. Additionally the softer tone in this section where pilgrimage sites are combined with references to the Sultan exposes the dichotomy in the perception of Muslims. There are the noble Saracens in the form of Mandeville's Sultan, or as witnessed in other works like Malory's Sir Palomydes, who can and should be saved through conversion versus the terrible infidels who must be destroyed for keeping Christians out of sites

¹⁹ For the late medieval period, there seems to have been a blending of the Old and New Testaments. The mystery plays included moments from the Old Testament including the Fall and Moses and Pharaoh as heralds of New Testament events (Beadle and King 32). It stands to reason that Mandeville would have felt comfortable offering Old Testament as well as New Testament "sites to see".

like the *Templum Domini* as “they [Muslims] say that so foul men [Christians] ne sholde come thereynne in so holy place” (lines 700-1). Most significantly, the status implicit in Mandeville’s “letters of the Soudan” and his being “in company of greet lords” will allow him to transfer his authority from moral to economic and social profit.

This section has demonstrated how *The Book of John Mandeville* models a triple form of moral profit: military Crusade, conversion, and pilgrimage. He proffers pilgrimage as a necessary substitute for the failure of military action. In what amounts to a literary Crusade, conversion of Muslims is the product of Crusade or pilgrimage. In the next section, I will show how the references to a Christian manifest destiny in the Holy Lands, the easy conversion of Muslims, and the insider’s peek at strange relics of pilgrimage act as agents of a stratagem to validate economic profit. Mandeville accomplishes this through the various forms of moral profit which he has obtained and the opportunity which he extends to his readers to become participants through the action of reading his text.

Economic Profit: Commodities, Market Share, and Dangers

In addition to establishing a base of moral profit and its various forms, *Mandeville* explores economic profit. I use this term to refer to the monetary gain made through international trade by the merchants and those who invest in mercantile opportunities. *Mandeville* intends to appeal to the merchant class as well as to the “middling sort” and even nobility who would be inclined to increase their net worth through international trade. While not all readers of *Mandeville* would seek to engage personally in adventure for economic profit, the bountiful riches described would offer a tantalizing escape from everyday life. As the text moves from the Middle to the Far East, it fires the imagination through opulent and exotic examples of potential economic profit:

for withynne the halle beth 24 pylers of goolde, and alle the walles
beth y-covered with rych skynnes of beestes that men callen
panters, which ben fair and well smellyng. And for tho skynnes
smelleth so well, no wicked smel may come in that palays. And
tho skynnes ben as reed as blood, and they shyneth so again the
sonne that unnethe any man may behold hem. And men preesen
tho skynnes for as moche as hit were goold. (lines 1968-73)

A fascination with the incredible riches of the East manifests in the “24 pylers of goolde,” which alludes to the aura of extraordinary wealth associated with “strange” locations. However, Mandeville also offers a practical observation in his description of the panther skins, “which ben fair and well smelling,” that cover the walls. The fur trade was a lucrative and exclusive one, later providing an impetus for continued exploration in the north of the New World. In this moment Mandeville indicates a new, “strange” commodity for which a good return could be expected as “men preesen tho skynnes for as moche hit were goold.” As with moral profit, economic profit too breaks down into more than one category. This section will examine *Mandeville’s* focus on promoting opportunities for economic profit through commodities and market share while simultaneously tempering these goals with caveats regarding the moral dangers associated with financial plenty.

Before examining the text’s slant on the positives and negatives of economic profit, it is necessary to offer some historical context by surveying late medieval economic theories and practices. Joel Kaye discusses the increasing monetization of the late medieval period. Due to this development, he posits that all people, not just merchants and money changers, had to be aware of the continually vacillating worth of commodities and money (252). I believe that this theory of increased awareness of market and currency fluctuation offers an insight into both the author and the readership of *Mandeville*. The author, in outlining economic opportunities, speaks to an active readership who understood the necessity of engaging in these opportunities as the market allowed. The drive to venture to untried markets expressed in *Mandeville* also

anticipates 15th -century growth of new markets spurred by consumer demand and the development of capitalism (Jardine 77). A network of foreign trade linked England to Gascony through wine and Flanders to England through wool in spite of the political opposition between these two countries (Tuchman 77). Additionally, English wool represented a viable trading commodity in the Orient as it provided the base for cloth of Flanders (Tuchman 77). As contemporary, factual witnesses to England's participation in an expansive medieval foreign trade system, 14th-century letters survive from merchants who worked eastern trade routes and interacted with eastern missionary outposts (Ryan 662). Thus, late medieval England participated in a vibrant monetary and mercantile system that spanned the known globe.

In late medieval English society, merchants played significant roles from simple purveyors of goods to promoters of education and social advancement. In *The Merchant Class of Medieval England [1300-1500]*, Sylvia Thrupp discusses the merchant class's interest in education, whether in terms of in the basic necessity of reading and writing English or their interest in Latin studies for their sons (158-160). It is this interest in secular education as well as material gain which ties the merchant class to the gentry (Thrupp 247). The link between social class and material possession emerges in 14th-century sumptuary laws which permitted merchants with a worth of £1,000 to have the same dress and meals as a knight worth £500 (Tuchman 19). Obviously, a knight had more social prestige than a merchant as the merchant has to have a financial worth double that of the knight to display the same material trappings. However, the fact that the merchants' financial success allowed them to equate themselves in dress and food with the lesser nobility indicates the important social position that they had achieved. Merchants were omnipresent in society as they provided the source for a wide variety of items for a socially diverse group of clients (Dyer 234). The clients at the higher end of the

merchants' spectrum often took an interest in trade activity beyond the mere purchasing of goods. In order to become stakeholders in locations like the spice island of Java, wealthy customers willingly offered to put up money to support new trade ventures (Jardine 77). These wealthy customers took on a variety of roles from serving as "silent partners with merchants ...[to] active wholesale dealing on their own account" (Thrupp 243). They were distinct from their merchant partners as trade was not their primary focus but one of several interests such as rents, military pay, or bureaucratic services (Thrupp 243-4). Financial success also allowed wealthy merchants to develop a role as merchant bankers who could lend prominent individuals money in return for trade concessions (Jardine 93). *Mandeville's* focus on economic profit would have greatly enticed gentry and merchants whose social position relied heavily on economic success.

While merchants' financial success granted them social standing, it also incurred the disdain of the Church and government regarding profit. The amount of profit gained from the sale of goods was heavily scrutinized by ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Evidence shows that merchants were regularly fined for exceeding the proscribed amount of profit to be gained from the sale of goods (Tuchman 38). It becomes equally clear from extant evidence that resulting fines were paid, and business went on as usual (Tuchman 38). Again, the social and financial benefits of economic profit seemed to outweigh the negatives for the merchant class.

Mandeville's text can also be seen to allude to the balance of the positives and negatives associated with economic profit. In Chapter 13, Mandeville finds fleet, one-footed Ethiopians seen in Figure 1 as illustrated in de Worde's 1499 edition, and shortly thereafter uncovers precious gems in "Ynde." Details of the exotic and fantastic allow Mandeville to be encyclopedic and even entertaining in his descriptions, drawing attention away from economic

concerns. Kohanski underscores the “voyeuristic appeal of details like [the monopods or] the isle where all the women are common to the men, or the land where everyone goes naked” (121). Thus, interspersing “strange” examples with economic opportunities may deflect attention from Mandeville’s focus on financial prospects as the concept of making a profit was often looked upon as a sin by the Church (Tuchman 37). Mandeville provides an account of these fantastic creatures as a backdrop for a practical discussion of the best quality diamonds:

So that for gret forst the water wexith into cristal, and uppon that is
a trobul colour. And that dyamaunde is so hard that no man may
breke hym. Other diamaundes men fyndeth in Arabye, that beth
nought so goode, that beth more nesh [soft]. And some beth in
Cipre, and somme beth in Macydoyn, but the best beth in Ynde.
(lines 1508-12)

This tangential observation on diamonds serves to prompt thoughts of a particular kind of economic profit. A good source for diamonds speaks to merchants who dealt in a wide range of commodities, trading in both necessity and luxury (Dyer 234). The evidence of fantastic riches moves beyond the more practical appeal of spices or livestock. A report on diamonds also promotes the narrator’s veracity by listing and categorizing varied qualities to be found throughout “strange” lands. Fleck states, “the monstrous races included in the *Travels* may function like the exotic Oriental spices Mandeville also describes throughout his tale; they provide the narrative with an appealing, unusual taste” (385). I believe that this “unusual taste” would inspire readers as well as the booksellers who provided the texts to take advantage of opportunities to explore these areas or invest in such prospects, regardless of the risk involved.

Mandeville approaches his discussion of commodities in a variety of ways that elicit economic profit. Early on, Mandeville sings the praises of never diminished resources, a godsend to those expected to provide a wide variety of goods to a large clientele. Chapter 3’s “A Wey by the See to Jerusalem” describes a magical gravel pit, “the Fosse Ynone all rounde, that is

nyghe a hundred cubits brode, and hit is ful of gravel shynynge of which maketh good verres [glasses] and cler. And men comen fer by see and by londe and with cartes to take of that gravel. And thow hit be take never so moche upon a day, hit is never lasse upon the morwe, for hit is ful agen, and it is a greet mervayle” (lines 416-19). This gravel pit inspires multiple readings. First, there is the “mervayle,” alluding to the outstanding resource of gravel that is “never lasse upon the morwe.” A self-replenishing gravel pit would indeed seem marvelous to the merchant or gentry entrepreneur for whom the possibility of a cheap, endless supply of superior glassmaking material forecasts great economic profit worth the risk of outfitting crews to go there. Second, Mandeville underscores the quality of the material as “the gravel shynynge...make good verres [glass] and cler,” which acts as an enticement to the reader as well as a further justification for the risk of venture. Lastly, Mandeville’s indication that people come from far and wide to this spot has various interpretations. On the one hand, the fact that “men comen by see and by londe” to collect the gravel promotes the veracity of his claim that this is a popular, frequented site. When he indicates that they bring “cartes to take of that gravel,” Mandeville proclaims that the area is not monitored and that the material is there for the taking. Extending this idea further, the lack of control at this site may also provide an opportunity for an outside force such as the English to establish themselves as “guardians” of this site. As will be noted in the 16th -century section, the potential for “land grabs” anticipates later colonial and nationalist impulses.

Another example of limitless resources emerges in one of Mandeville’s many references to the valuable commodities of preservatives and spices. Mandeville tells of “Tauzyre” in Chapter 13’s “Diversities of Peple and of Contreis.” Near Tauzyre “is an hille of salt, and therof ech man taketh what he wol” (lines 1450-1451). Salt was an extremely valuable item, and a seemingly endless supply of salt there for the taking would surely inspire exploration. As in the

case of the gravel pit, the fact that anyone may “taketh what he wol” speaks to the fact that it is a somewhat easy, unregulated enterprise, but one perhaps that is also in need of control. Certainly a woodcut from the 1499 Wynken de Worde edition of *Mandeville* suggests that late 15th-century readers saw the potential for economic profit in this description. A common worker stands poised to strike the hill with a pick axe in Figure 2, which emphasizes the importance of this commodity and, by extension, the opportunity the situation affords to explorers. The significance of this moment is further highlighted in de Worde’s edition by the fact that it is represented in one of the few woodcuts included in the text.

Turning from preservatives to spices, Mandeville offers many examples of lucrative trading opportunities in these particular commodities. In the same chapter as the salt hill, Mandeville drinks from what seems to be the Fountain of Youth at the foot of Polombe Hill. Although he maintains that it appears to have done him some good, “me thynketh yit Y fare the better” (line 1597), he finds more importance in describing the economic profit to be had in this area. He explains that “in that contre [Bomk] growth gyngyner, and thyder cometh marchantz for spyces” (lines 1600-1). Almost interpreting Mandeville as an early anthropologist as well as a geographer, Modghaddassi remarks, “Mandeville apporte ainsi des précisions sur de nombreux sujets d’intérêt géographique comme l’hydrographie fluvial et marine...les villes, l’organisation des sociétés” (11).²⁰ These descriptions, while fulfilling the anthropological and geographic goals inherent in the travel genre, also promote economic opportunities and establish the narrator’s credibility regarding these opportunities. As in Chapter 3, the existence of merchants emphasizes the security of the area as a trading zone as well as performing the role of a call to action. “Thyder cometh marchantz” shows that this is a relatively safe area in which to trade as

²⁰ Mandeville brings specific information on various subjects of geographic interest including fluvial and oceanic hydrography, cities, societal organization...

it is frequented. However, the fact that it is a well-traveled location necessitates immediate action so that the reader is not left out of this opportunity. The pairing of the fantastical and the practical makes *Mandeville* believable to readers and a desirable source for economic opportunity. Here, one can see both Ponce de Leon's search for the Fountain of Youth in Florida, "som men callen hit the well of youthe" (line 1598), as well as Columbus' quest for a direct route to India, which Thomas Heffernan classifies as a "re-invent[ion of] the ancient and medieval 'discoverer topos' [as] the attention of poets was drawn to strange creatures [and lands]...as images for moral or spiritual discovery" (169). I would extend Heffernan's conclusion to include economic discovery and profit.

Not limiting foodstuffs to preservatives and spices, Mandeville also finds economic possibilities in livestock. In Chapter 14 he describes the great abundance of different types of fowl and assorted meats to be had cheaply in Mancy. Further he explains how "in this contre [Mancy] beth white hennes, but they have no fetheris but woll, as sheep do in our lond" (lines 1915-16). Again, there is the comparison of the known with the unknown, but in this case, there is also an economic interest. Raising such versatile hens for their wool, meat, and eggs increases the uses for these animals and has the added benefit of less wear and tear on the land, a tantalizing prospect. Figure 3 from de Worde's late 15th-century edition portrays these hens, speaking to their strangeness as well as underlining their potential profitability. To demonstrate the qualities of this hybrid animal, the woodcut shows a woolen coat on the body while prominently featuring the comb, wattle, and feet of the fowl. The strange hybridity of this animal demonstrates how even and especially the oddities that Mandeville observes can serve the goals of economic profit.

Mandeville describes a literally golden economic opportunity in Java that combines basic (spices) and luxury (precious metals) commodities. In what could be seen as a comparison to the Sultan, Java is ruled by a “myghty and stronge king” whose land offers “alle maner of spices more plente than in another place, as gyngyner, clowes, canel [cinnamon], notemyge, maces, and other spyces” (lines 1786-7). The veritable grocer’s list of spices to be found in abundance here testifies to this location’s viability as a valuable resource to be tapped. Not only is Java rich in spices, but it also appears to be rich in precious metals, as the king’s palace is “y-covered and y-plated with goold and sylver” (lines 1790-1). This Javanese plenty serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, it presents a strong incentive to venture to Java in hopes of trade opportunities in “alle maner of spices.” On the other, it also provides motivation to explore new ways to reach this area. Through this exploration of new routes to the East, the New World and its offerings will eventually emerge.

Having enticed the reader with the variety of commodities to be had, Mandeville must also establish the imperative to gain part of the market share in these areas. Early in Chapter 3, Mandeville explains how “men goon gladly to Cipre to rest hem in the londe other els to bye hem thing that hem nedeth. Uppon the seeside bossh many [many a merchant ship] men may fynde” (lines 382-4).²¹ This excerpt demonstrates the role of the merchant as catalyst for exploration in the quest for economic profit. It also explains the need for new markets and even defines how some markets are currently being used. When he states that in “Cipre...bye hem thing that hem nedeth,” Mandeville offers this area as a supply base for long trade or exploration journeys much in the same way that medieval merchants utilized missionary outposts in the Near and Far East (Ryan 661). The intimation that a lot of merchant ships already frequent this area (“bossh many men”) may be interpreted as the existence of a safe, established market of which

²¹ Kohanski offers this uncertain translation of “bossh many” as “many a merchant ship.”

many readers should become a part, if only vicariously as armchair adventurers. Such assurances of security would be a necessity when considering the financial risk investors would be asked to make as silent or active partners of merchants.

When the text moves to the Far East, Mandeville investigates the possibilities in China as a tapped but still viable market. “The Londe of the Gret Cane of Catay” is depicted as:

A gret contre and good, and ful of good and of marchaundise.
 Theder cometh marchaundes every yer to fecche spices and other
 marchaundises, more comunely than they doth to other countre.
 And ye shal understonde that marchauntes that cometh fro Venyse
 and fro Gene, other fro eny other places of Lumbardie other
 Romain, they goth by see. (lines 1952-6)

Thus, China, “ful of good and marchaundise,” becomes a land of plenty; however, it is also a market that has been exploited. I do not believe that Mandeville intends to say that there are no opportunities in China. Rather, I think that he sees an urgency in staking out a place in this market as “cometh marchaundes every yer to fecche spices and other marchaundises.” The fact that these merchants do this “more comunely than they doth to other contre” says that there is a plentiful market, but that it is necessary to strike now. Further, in citing the presence of the Venetians and Genoese, who have established reputations as sailors and merchants, Mandeville emphasizes the practicality, security, and necessity of venture to this area via the sea.

Investigating more exotic, potentially untapped markets, in Chapter 14 Mandeville presents a prosperous city in the “Land of Mancy” that is “y-called Latorym and hit is moche more than Parys” (lines 1908-9). Here Mandeville again appeals to economic sensibilities by comparing a known, prosperous city, “Parys,” to an unknown one, “Latorym,” thereby exciting the imagination of his readers. The fact that Latorym outshines Paris might entice the adventurous reader who can expect to find economic reward as the region of Latorym’s location has “the best lond...and most plenteous of all good that is in the power of man” (lines 1902-3).

Finally, the last chapter, “Why He is Y-Cliped Prester John,” describes several different locations, but one seems especially chosen by Mandeville to represent untapped economic potential and a fresh market. He describes an island named Cassoy where “if marchauntes come theder as commonly as they do unto Chatay it shuld be better than Chatay, for it is so thyk of cytees and townes that whan a man gothe oute of a cyté he seth as sone another on eche syde. There is greate plenté of spyces and other godes” (lines 2747-50). As a relatively untapped and unknown market, Cassoy presents a unique opportunity for the import and export of goods. In Cassoy, the reader sees the ultimate expression of the potential for economic profit in a new market as numerous towns, “so thyk of cytees and townes,” and, by extension, a large population speak to limitless opportunities. Thus, Mandeville’s accounts of Latorym and Cassoy show the tremendous possibilities which exist for the daring. Even for those readers who did not have the means to invest in the opportunities Mandeville describes, the text unlocks a world of “strange” and opulent plenty that would afford great pleasure to an expanding literate public.

While uncovering opportunities in Bethlehem, Mandeville identifies the potential for moral and economic profit to intersect. He relates that “ther beth fair vines aboute the cité and greet plenté of wyn. But here bokes of Macametis lawe forbedeth hem to drynke wyn, for in that book he acurseth all tho that drynketh wyn, for synne that he slow an heremyte that he loved well in his dronknes” (lines 571-574). If the wine exists but there is no market for it, then perhaps there would be an opening for Western merchants who could bring the wines to European markets. De Worde’s 1499 edition visually draws attention to this opportunity for Christians to benefit from Islamic prohibitions. Figure 4 shows a drunken Mohamed whose feet are being bloodied by one of his men, which illustrates the source of Islamic prohibitions against alcohol while simultaneously denigrating a religion whose main prophet would exercise such a lack of

control and whose followers are thus in need of conversion. This moment, which represents both economic opportunity and moral frailty, provides a natural transition to Mandeville's discussion of the dangers of economic profit.

Throughout his glowing reports of financial opportunities, Mandeville also consistently infuses his reports with the dangers inherent in solely focusing on economic profit. In "The Lond of Prester John" Mandeville outlines both physical dangers to the body and moral dangers to the soul found in economic adventure. Although the land of Prester John is wealthy, it does not compete with the riches of China. Additionally the water around the land of Prester John is full of lodestone, which makes for dangerous sailing:

And his londe is good and ryche, but noight so ryche as the lond of
the Gret Chane. For marchauntes cometh not so moche thider as
they doon to the lond of the Gret Chane, for hit is longer
way...And thow hit [goods] be beter chepe in the lond of Prester
John, yit they leve hit for the lenger way and gret periles of the see.
For in the see beth many places where ben many roches of
adamaundes [lodestone]. (lines 2390-2405)

In addition to warnings about physical dangers, "where ben many roches of adamaundes," Mandeville once more takes a moment to remind readers about the fine line between economic profit and covetousness. He relates a description of the "Valey Perlous...[where] is moche goold and sylver, wherfore many Cristen men and other gooth theder for covetyse...But fewe of hem cometh out again, for they beth anoon astrangled with fendes [fiends]" (lines 2498-2500). Seeking material gain exclusively will leave one at the mercy of the devils of covetousness made physically manifest in this strange and dangerous valley. The specific mention of "moche goold and sylver" alludes to the biblical warning regarding the love of money as the root of all evil (1 Timothy 6: 9-11). In stating that "fewe of hem cometh out again," Mandeville cautions that venture is *not* for the physically or morally weak. Mandeville thus urges all of his readers to keep the desire for financial profit in perspective while adventuring.

Mandeville restates this tempering of the economic with the moral in an anecdote regarding Alexander the Great. In Chapter 21, “Aray the Court of Prester John,” Mandeville recounts King Alisaundre’s visit to Synople, an island inhabited with naked people who are of “good faith and trywe.” King Alisaundre offers to give them anything that they would like, but they are content with what they have “and they answered that they have rychesse ynow when they had mete and drynke to systeyne her bodyes. And they seyde the rychesse of the worlde is noght worth” (lines 2609-11). If they could have one boon however, it would be the granting of eternal life. Alisaundre, of course, cannot grant this request as he too is mortal. The Synople islanders then say to him:

Why art thoue so proute and woldest wynne all the worlde and have in thyn subjeccioun as hit were a god, and thou hast no terme of thyn lyf? And thou wolt have all the rychasse of the worlde, which shall forsake thee or thou forsake hit. And thou shalt bere noght with thee, but hit shal by leve byhynde thee to other. But as thou were y-bore naked, thou shalt be y-do yn erthe. (lines 2615-19)

This excerpt echoes medieval concerns regarding materiality and economic profit which are prevalent in other works such as *Everyman* and will continue into the early modern period. Unlike the powerful Sultan or Javanese king, these are simple islanders. However, they are both examples of the self-reflexive nature of the text. Mandeville applauds the pagans for their virtue and also refers back to his initial criticism of the materialism of the Christian world. The use of the word “proute” harkens back to the Prologue and the misbehavior that shamefully cost Christians the Holy Lands. At the end of the text, he still searches for the correct balance between moral and economic profit. As Fleck states, “the misguided Indians are to be lauded for their piety while also denigrated for the improper object of their devotion” (392). That is, they have the correct understanding regarding materiality, but they are misguided regarding moral profit.

In another powerful example, Mandeville uncovers a dark side to commerce and its risks to the soul when he describes “Lamoryse,” a communal society in which all property is shared, including women as well as land and goods. This society also supports a nasty and, at the same time, fascinating evil – cannibalism. Their proclivities are serviced by merchants who “thyder bryngeth...her children to selle” (line 1685). Although Mandeville relates his account without condemnation, I believe that there are implications for those involved in trade as shown in Figure 5 where de Worde’s late 15th-century woodcut illustrates the exchange of money for infants. Both the text and the image underscore the potential moral hazards of economic profit. The danger of exchange emerges in the cruel, barbaric description where “tho that ben fatte, they ete hem, and the other they kepe and fed hem telle they ben fatte, and then they ete hem” (lines 1685-6). In a moment that conjures horrible images from fairy tales, infants are fattened like beasts until they reach a desirable plumpness, “fed hem telle they ben fatte, and then they ete hem.” The woodcut shows the exchange of coins between adults in the foreground while naked, innocent babes are seen naively awaiting their fate in the background. Thus, merchants must be careful in trade and aware of its potential dangers to the soul. This moment also serves as a warning to gentry who have chosen to engage in trade whether actively or as a silent investor. In the expansion and increase of trade, the growth of economic profit logically stands to follow. However, a society must then decide what trade should be engaged in and what should not at the peril of its citizens’ moral reputation and immortal souls. Mandeville must demonstrate this concern in his text so that a proper balance between economic and moral profit is maintained.

In this section, I have shown *Mandeville*’s consideration of the commodities, markets, and dangers involved in economic profit. The text lists a range of desirable commodities in which to trade and describes a plethora of markets of which to become a part. Lest the reader

lose sight, however, of his or her obligation to strive for moral profit, Mandeville qualifies the positive aspects of trade and exploration by showing their potential dangers to the body and soul. Due to spiritual pressures of the Church, governmental control of commerce, and class distinction, moral profit could be at odds with economic profit. The “middling sort” struggled with this dilemma as economic profit was such an integral part of their attainment and maintenance of social status. In the next section, I will investigate how the text of *Mandeville* addresses the crucial but imprecise social form of profit.

Social Profit: Education, Connections, and Government Service

Of the three types of profit, social profit seems the most veiled, least present, and most subject to interpretation in *Mandeville*. Social profit here involves a narrow definition of the upward social mobility attained through education and service to the nobility. Personal reputation and financial success are additional components of social profit that also constitute elements of moral and economic profit, forever entwining the three forms. For the gentry and merchants of the 15th century, money and learning was one route by which to establish and then cement their position in the social hierarchy. A scene that exemplifies this combination of education and service can be found in Chapter 15, “The Londe of the Gret Cane of Catay [Great Khan of Cathay or China]” where Mandeville observes, “and under the emperouis table sitteth 4 clerkes and writeth al that he saith, good other ylle” (lines 1992-3). The close presence of “4 clerkes” refers to the position and influence of the “middling sort.” As a group pursuing lay careers, the “middling sort” would become the clerks and secretaries to the nobility, proving to be indispensable. By indicating that the emperor’s clerks record everything that the emperor says whether “good other ylle,” Mandeville hints at the influence of the “middling sort” as chroniclers, advisors, or even spin doctors. Through additional close readings in this section, I

will speculate on some ways in which Mandeville's 15th-century readership might have extrapolated social profit from references to education and patronage in the text.

Before investigating examples of social profit manifested in the text of *Mandeville*, I will delve into the social climate of the late medieval period to provide context for my interpretations. The 14th and 15th centuries were tumultuous, with international and domestic warfare. Despite the martial and political concerns of the late medieval period, however, there were opportunities for social mobility among the "middling sort." Increased commercial and industrial growth as well as administrative service brought the gentry and merchants into greater positions of social power (Thrupp 249). An emphasis on education among the "middling sort" stood behind their rise as influential members of 14th- and 15th-century governmental bureaucracy, whether on the local or national level (Tuchman 453). Focusing on education had the additional impact of expanding the reading public, which in turn contributed to social profit as the possession of books indicated a man's cultivation (Tuchman 453). Works like *Mandeville* appealed to this expanded audience as the knight narrator represented a member of their class, or at least the one they hoped to enter, and the drive for social profit. Therefore, the "old" 14th-century text of *Mandeville* might have resonated with a new audience who saw their goals reflected in the narrative. Higgins in *Writing East* attests, "among other things, this rise of vernacular prose [like Mandeville] was vital to the increasingly widespread transmission of information in the expanding literature society of late medieval and early modern Europe" (16). Thus, increased literacy would foster the professional and social goals of the "middling sort." The stature of a text like *Mandeville* would have increased with the growth in literacy due to its blending of the devotional (religious sites), economic (commodities), and "strange" (human and animal oddities).

Turning to England, literacy was also at the fore for the “middling sort” as the chaos of the Wars of the Roses disappeared with the budding stability of the Tudors. An emphasis on literacy is witnessed in Caxton’s printing of over 30 editions of English romances, poems, and histories in seventeen years, which hints that schools were educating individuals who had purchasing power (Lander 38).²² Many scholars believe that educated clerks of the period, who saw the social and economic gains to be had in administrative service, held the government together during this period. J.R. Landers infers from extant period documents “an essential continuity of forms of administration” provided by clerks (120). Financial gain, rather than altruistic motives, encouraged their participation in government service (Lander 121). When the narrator claims that he was “y-bore in the toun of Seynt Albons” (line 2), he makes a statement regarding education that would have resonated with his “middling sort” readership. In Writing East Higgins remarks that the narrator’s “upbringing in St. Albans likewise has no directly obvious significance, but it does associate him with an important monastery town where he would have gotten the education that allows him to quote Latin Scripture at will” (53). Like his “middling sort” counterparts, Mandeville’s proposed education would have opened doors for him in administrative service to the nobility. The gentry and merchants used Latin studies, formerly reserved for ecclesiastics, to further their own social status and that of their children (Thrupp 247). Drawing attention to a place known for scholarship would have appealed to a reader’s sense of identification with, or aspiration toward, the narrator which, in turn, might also have added to the credibility of his observations.

Creating another tie with his “middling sort” readership, *Mandeville* provides examples of a second component of social profit, his connections with a variety of nobles. In his Prologue,

²² Although this example only refers exclusively to male readership, Sylvia Thrupp surmises that “most of the intelligent women [of the “middling sort”] had found ways of learning at least to read and write English” (161).

Mandeville describes a symbiotic relationship between lords and their retainers which would be familiar to his 15th-century audience. He states, “Y have many tymes y-passid and ryden to Jerusalem in company of greet lordes and other good companye” (lines 71-2). By drawing attention to his place “in company of greet lordes,” Mandeville underscores the inherent social prestige one’s association with a lord entails. If the “middling sort” wanted to ascend the hierarchical ladder, a relationship with a noble patron was essential as extant letters from gentry like the Pastons attest. Mandeville also presents himself as establishing similar connections outside of England. Chapter 6, which spotlights Mandeville’s exclusive access to sites in Jerusalem, highlights the power of the Sultan which, in turn, elevates Mandeville’s social status and offers another example of the lord and retainer bond: “Y hadde letters of the Soudan with his greet seel, and commonly other men haveth but a synet [signet]” (lines 702-3). Mandeville draws attention to the fact that he bears the Sultan’s “greet seel” on his documents, putting himself above others who receive “but a synet.” The desirability of this vicarious status would be recognizable to the “middling sort” readership, whose rank and prestige were reliant upon their association with a lord (Thrupp 245). This description “depict[s] a powerful and secure lord whom Mandeville seems proud to have served” (Grady 278). In the section on moral profit, I discussed Mandeville’s notion regarding the closeness of Christianity and Islam that would allow for easy conversion. I believe that this perceived similarity would also permit Mandeville to look highly upon his tenure with the Sultan.²³ In addition to taking pride in serving the Sultan, Mandeville also enjoys the social cachet in the Holy Lands that this service has given him. The Sultan’s security is in contrast to English instability and the poor leadership that Mandeville had

²³ Michelet and Fleck comment on the compression of Christianity and Islam. Michelet states “depicting this foreign culture as being close to ‘ours’ the narrator also minimizes its alterity and perceives it as being almost similar to ‘us’ (296). Fleck remarks on the collapse of Muslims and Christians as “the postcolonial formulation of impossibility of maintaining the self/other dichotomy” (390).

taken to task in the Prologue: “pryde, covetise, and envye hath enflamed the herte of lordes of the world” (lines 46-7). I believe that a 15th-century readership would have viewed these lines as relevant to the dynastic turbulence of the period. *Mandeville*’s text, then, clearly signifies one component of social profit by mentioning the narrator’s alliance with a lord who demanded service, as Mandeville’s identity as a knight attests.

Although Mandeville boasts of his ties with “greet lordes” and the Sultan, these references also reflect on the tenuousness of the relationships. In “‘Machomete’ and *Mandeville’s Travels*,” Grady finds that “his knighthood...comes with an allegiance that can be transferred or sold...[which] can be commodified and rendered as negotiable as a gem and as marketable as cloth of gold” (281). I believe that his readership would have recognized this commodification and marketability in their own positions, as their skills were sought after and bought by the nobility to assist in running governmental bureaucracy. The reward for administrative services was often a title of gentle rank (Thrupp 240). Such rewards are reflected in Mandeville’s claim that the Sultan “wolde have y-wed me to a greet princes doghter ful richely, if Y wolde have forsake my byleve” (lines 448-51). That is, the relatively “lowly” knight had the opportunity to climb the social ladder quickly through financial gain (“ful richely”) and marriage to a princess. Ever mindful of moral profit, however, he turns down this extraordinary chance as he would not “forsake [his] byleve.” Despite the prestige that his service to the Sultan has brought him, Mandeville never loses sight of his status as a Christian knight, seeking moral profit through pilgrimage. During the instability of the 15th century, the “middling sort,” like *Mandeville*’s knight, would be competing in a constant game of marketing themselves to the “right” noble patron who then had the ability to bestow elements of social profit. For many readers, this game might start on an even lower level as they aspired to enter the rank of

knight. The next section will focus on how Mandeville remained viable into the 16th century as a new audience reinterpreted the text for its own goals.

16th-Century Changes

As the tumultuous 15th century gave way to the tenuous stability of the 16th century, the “middling sort” continued this self-marketing process. For the New Men under the Tudors, education remained a driving force behind social profit. Steven Gunn contends that the educated lay authority came to fruition in the 16th century as the Tudors relied upon the skills gained by the New Men in the Inns of Court (153). *Mandeville’s* text would still have had relevance for these men, both in terms of the governmental positions to which they aspired and the national exigency of joining the international push for exploration and colonization. In describing the workings of the Sultan’s court, Mandeville states, “in that castel is dwellyng allway, to kepe hit and to serve the soudan, more than 8000 persones of folk” (lines 446-8). I believe that his New Men readership consisting of explorers like Frobisher and Raleigh would have recognized the machinations of courtly life (Moseley 9, 19). New Men might have seen this large court of “more than 8000 persones of folk” as similar to the tremendously deep pond in which they themselves swam and needed to make a significant and lasting splash. Further they would have seen the desirability of Mandeville’s social position as shown in the moment when the Sultan “lete voyde the chamber of all maner men, for he seide that he wolde speke with me in conseil” (1296-7). Mandeville’s influential position with the Sultan who “speke[s] with[him] in conseil” would be something that the “middling sort” would seek in their own relationship with a lord. That is, the New Men wanted to be the one who remained once a lord “lete voyde the chamber of all maner men,” indicating a privileged and intimate relationship with the noble class. Despite this being the court of a Muslim leader, I believe that a 16th-century readership could have

viewed the text's description as a generalization of how courts function. This idea works if consideration is given to the fact that Mandeville does not spend time describing religious rituals in the Sultan's court. His discussions of Islam are encyclopedic and informational in nature rather than commenting on a particular individual's religious observance. The establishment of such communication between lord and retainer became even more important as the stability of the Tudors allowed the New Men to attain positions of authority within the new monarchy.

Achieving advisory positions within the government would permit the New Men to promote the exploration necessary to investigate the economic opportunities in *Mandeville*. To this end, the text was used as a source of inspiration, a resource for commercial interests, and "map" as interest in exploration and colonization grew in the 16th century (Smethurst 159). Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, naturalists used *Mandeville* as a source, and Mercator cites *Mandeville* in the creation of his map (Moseley, "The Metamorphoses" 10). During this period, the finances and human lives that had been spent earlier in crusades were now being repurposed through contact with the New World (Tuchman 595). The plentiful resources and inhabitants, naïve natives not Muslims, from *Mandeville* could be projected onto the untapped and unknown of the New World. In terms of inhabitants, the perceived naivety of New World natives offered a more promising subject for conversion and moral profit than Muslims who had not succumbed to the easy conversion that Mandeville had described. *Mandeville* offered practical observations regarding the Polar Stars and calculation of the size of the globe while also containing titillating elements of eating babies and a man traveling nearly around the world before deciding to return back the way he came, which would appeal to the adventurous of the time period. In 1530, Robert Thorne, a merchant who had lived in Spain, urged Henry VIII to foster exploration in the northwest of the New World as "...in the which without doubt your

Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subjects infinite profite” (Hakluyt, *Voyages and Documents* 16). Thorne and his father had been investors and supporters of the Cabots’ discovery and exploration of Newfoundland (Baldwin). As an experienced merchant, Thorne would have had a clear idea of potential profit in new routes and resources as described in a work like *Mandeville*. The word “winne” indicates a sense of taking from the competition, i.e. Spain and Portugal. Thus, Thorne wants to position England as an international player and to establish his own role as a merchant in making this happen. Although Thorne does not reference *Mandeville*, the popularity of the text, whether in reprints, collections, or edited versions, permits some speculation for its use (Moseley 13, Clogan 178). Spanning the dates of 1496 to 1625, an ESTC search shows ten printings of *Mandeville*. This number includes Hakluyt’s 1589 *Principall Navigations* but does not take into consideration any other collections or edited versions. Hence, Mandeville’s references to “bossh many men” and “thyder cometh marchauntz” could support the case of merchants and New Men alike who sensed the urgency of England gaining a foothold in the New World. By claiming a stake in the New World, the 16th-century readership, inspired by the possibilities in *Mandeville*, could prove, or disprove as the case turned out, his accounts.

As the 16th century progressed, a shift in the moral lens of the English “middling sort” readership might have resulted in re-interpretations of *Mandeville*’s moral profit. Some of the moral manifest destiny that the narrator envisioned could have had a different spin under Protestantism as Protestants sought to legitimize the primacy and authority of their fledgling church and discredit the Catholic Church. DeVries notes that “by the beginning of the sixteenth century, a new interpretation of these Turkish military evils began to be declared: the Turks were performing these atrocities on Christians only because the Christians deserved it...Martin

Luther...subscribed to this belief” (553). I would like to expand Luther’s contemporary thinking to possible interpretations of *Mandeville*. *Mandeville*’s call to “our ryghte heritage” in the Prologue could easily be reinterpreted with a Protestant thrust. That is, the Protestant “ryghte heritage” would be the successful guiding of the English nation to the True Faith. Further the Prologue’s claim that “pryde, covetise, and envy hath enflamed the herte of lordes of the worlde” (lines 46-7) could be decoded as a reference to Catholic secular (Philip of Spain) or ecclesiastical (the Pope) lords who needed to be conquered by Protestantism so that “our right heritage forsayde sholde be reconsiled and y-putte in hands of the right eyres [Protestant heirs] of Jhesu Crist” (lines 54-55). In *Mandeville*’s “biography” in *Principall Navigations*, a Master Bale writes that *Mandeville* “being arrived againe in England, and having seene the wickedness of that age, he gave out this speach: In our time (sayd he) it may be spoken more truely then of olde, that vertue is gone, the Church is under foote, the Clergie is in errour, the devill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the sway” (24). Thus, *Mandeville*’s 14th-century words could be exploited for 16th-century concerns. Indeed, *Mandeville*’s references to Indians and Tibetans who “haveth some articles of our feith” (lines 2805-6) and whose “simulacres and mamettes [idols]” (line 2816) could transferred to worship of the Virgin and saints, making Catholics ripe candidates for Protestant conversion. I concur with Fleck’s surmise that “it is only a short step from *Mandeville*’s portrayal of these people (Indians and Tibetans) to the representations that filtered back to Europe during the colonization of the Americas from explorers like Harriot who described natives ready for conversion” (399). Therefore, I believe that *Mandeville* could realistically be re-interpreted in the 16th century to promote Protestant concerns.

Mandeville’s contribution to the impetus for 16th-century profit via exploration cannot be denied, as its early print history confirms. Late 15th and early 16th-century printings speak to an

interest in geography which the discovery of the New World inspired (Moseley 10). Although *Mandeville* was printed and read as a whole text, extracts and abridged forms were used as parts of compendia from the 15th through 17th centuries (Moseley, “The Metamorphoses” 8). Two of the most famous examples are Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations* and Purchas’ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. Purchas’s text exceeds the boundaries of this discussion, but *Mandeville*’s presence in Hakluyt’s first edition is extremely significant to this project. Hakluyt’s first edition has been touted as the one “which caught the imagination of the age [of exploration]” (Moseley, “The Metamorphoses” 9). Thus it underscores the importance of *Mandeville* as a textual agent of profit, firing the imagination at a moment crucial to English history and furthering the goals of this project.

In addition to highlighting *Mandeville*’s influence on the age of exploration, Hakluyt’s inclusion of the text also indicates a change in the perception regarding the credibility of the text. Hakluyt expressed concerns he had about the text (Moseley, “The Metamorphoses” 7). At the conclusion of the *Mandeville* entry, Hakluyt adds a “brevis admonitio ad Lectorem [a brief warning to the reader]” saying: “Joannem Mandevillum nostratem, eruditum, and insignem Authorem (Balco, Mercatore, Ortelio, & Alystestibus) ab innumeris Scribarum & Typographorum mendis” (77).²⁴ Hakluyt leaves *Mandeville* out of his 1598 second edition, testifying to a loss of textual credibility brought about by exploration. While a textual decline in readers looking for facts was natural, the text continued to be edited for doctrinal, devotional, and even dramatic purposes (Moseley, “The Metamorphoses” 13). Returning to the 1625 *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, *Mandeville* was being read for its quaint descriptions and its value as travel literature (Smethurst 159, Moseley 7). Therefore, *Mandeville* provided a rich resource for

²⁴ “John Mandeville of our nation, a learned and famed Author (to Balcus, Mercator, Ortelius and Alystes) from [or by?] the countless mistakes of scribes and printers.” Unless otherwise noted, all Latin translations are my own.

editors and printers of the 16th century and beyond, whether as a source of factual information or engaging literature.

Either as a stand-alone or as part of a collection, *Mandeville*'s 16th-century reprints also provide insight into a burgeoning print industry interested in economic profit. Figure 6 from a 1568 edition features an image of a cannibalistic society where relatives eat each other as part of a death ritual, and another of a naked Cyclops. These images support the idea of appealing to the prurient and macabre curiosity of contemporary readers, and of promoting sales in much the same way as marketing works today. Thus, *Mandeville*'s charm extends beyond a readership that conducted and invested in trade to the printers and publishers who sold his work. Thrupp finds that "Caxton looked to his own class for patrons and customers in the book trade, as well as to noblemen and gentlemen. Slight as is the evidence for intellectual stirring among merchants, they had long formed an important proportion of the country's small lay book-owning public" (247). I would extend Thrupp's mention of Caxton to the increasing field of printers at large in the 16th century who, like their "middling sort" counterparts, needed to take advantage of economic opportunities to secure and ultimately augment their social standing.

Despite *Mandeville*'s popularity and potential for re-interpretation, the text eventually suffered from the results of the curiosity it engendered. The fantastic potential in the text came face to face with the empirical evidence brought about through the exploration it inspired in the 16th century. That is, although cannibals had been found and were alluded to in the New World, dog-headed men had not. Hakluyt's inclusion of the text in his first collection and then its omission in his second edition attests to rapidly changing geographic knowledge. Eventually *Mandeville* became the subject of scholarly derision as it also faded from popular interest. In spite of *Mandeville*'s ultimate fate, however, I believe that the text had a lasting impact on the

changing world of the 16th century through the stirring of the imagination which led to exploration as well as the text's propensity to be re-interpreted by an audience 200 years after its initial creation.

Conclusions

Whether its blend of fact and fiction was intentional or not, *Mandeville* had a lasting impact on the imagination of the 15th and 16th centuries. As a focus for chapter one, *Mandeville* facilitates an examination not only of how a text can serve as the inspiration for profit, but also of the shift in geographic perception that exploration and colonization will bring. Beginning with *Mandeville* demonstrates the ways that medieval perceptions and literary interests lasted well into the early modern period. That is, this text remains viable even when people had a better understanding of what the New World had to offer, especially when considering economic and moral profit. Therefore, *Mandeville* sets an important tone for how a text may afford a glimpse into the motivations of its readership.

This chapter offered a re-examination of *Mandeville* without focusing on accusations of plagiarism or its "tall tale" aspects. Thus, it joins the scholarship of others in the field who concentrate on the underlying meaning of the text. The relative "truth" of the text led to it falling out of favor and being ignored or dismissed as deception. It has been my intention to rescue *Mandeville* from this condition so that the text may be used as a viable and valuable tool to discuss the triple forms of profit as perceived by late medieval and early modern readers of this 14th-century narrative. The detailed analysis of excerpts has demonstrated how the 15th-century gentry and merchants could have studied this text to further their economic and, less explicitly stated, social goals. At the same time, this chapter has demonstrated how moral profit provides a necessary "cover" in order to avoid the criticism of ecclesiastical and secular authorities. I have

also shown how moral profit acts as a check on the dangers of the other forms of profit. Lastly, a study of *Mandeville* offers a valuable perspective on the transition from the late medieval to the early modern period and the gentry and merchants to the New Men of the “middling sort.” While the importance of literacy and accumulation of wealth to achieve and maintain social status remains the same for the “middling sort,” the political and religious atmosphere alters significantly for this group in the 16th century.

While this chapter examines the conditions that preceded modern notions of profit, it also details circumstances at the close of the 15th century that would set the stage for an obsession with moral, social, and economic profit. As shown in current scholarship, the importance of *Mandeville* stretches beyond mere entertainment value. It has been essential for me to determine how this text could have been interpreted by the group I propose as constituting a major part of its readership, the “middling sort.” By bringing some of their possible interpretations to light, this chapter has helped to define their aspirations as well as examine their development from the gentry and merchants of the 15th century to the New Men of the 16th. Fannie Moghaddassi claims that “L’ouvrage de Mandeville appartient à la fois à la culture populaire et à la culture savant et témoigne de leur profonde imbrication à la période médiévale. Le lecteur d’aujourd’hui voit ainsi cohabiter fantaisies imaginatives, démonstrations scientifiques et réflexion dans un ouvrage qui semble unir tous les genres et appartenir à tous les niveaux de la culture à la fois” (Moghaddassi 20).²⁵ By extracting references to profit at the crux of the text, this chapter has utilized Moghaddassi’s conjecture to demonstrate the appeal of *Mandeville* across a social and temporal range.

²⁵ Mandeville’s work belongs simultaneously to popular and scholarly culture and witnesses the profound overlap on the medieval period. Today’s reader sees imaginative fiction, scientific demonstrations, and reflection coexisting in a work which seems to unite all the genres and belongs to all levels of culture at the same time.

The following chapters will reveal how this same lure is present in other texts that exhibit the quest for profit. Integrating the different forms of profit within one text, as seen masterfully in *Mandeville*, will continue to be a feature of subsequent texts. *Mandeville*'s unequal emphasis on the three forms of profit will also be reflected in other chapters, as authors like More, for example, will stress social profit over economic. Regardless of the weight each text puts on its various forms, profit remains at the fore throughout. In this way, references to profit will be able to show changes and continuity in the moral, economic, and social desires of the "middling sort." As the next chapter moves to the early 16th century, More's imaginative *Utopia* emerges from the discovery of the New World, inspired by the fantastical claims of *Mandeville*. Using the travel book genre, More, like Mandeville, criticizes ecclesiastical and secular authorities as More explores his own vision of profit (Moseley "New Things to Speak of" 13).

CHAPTER 1 FIGURES

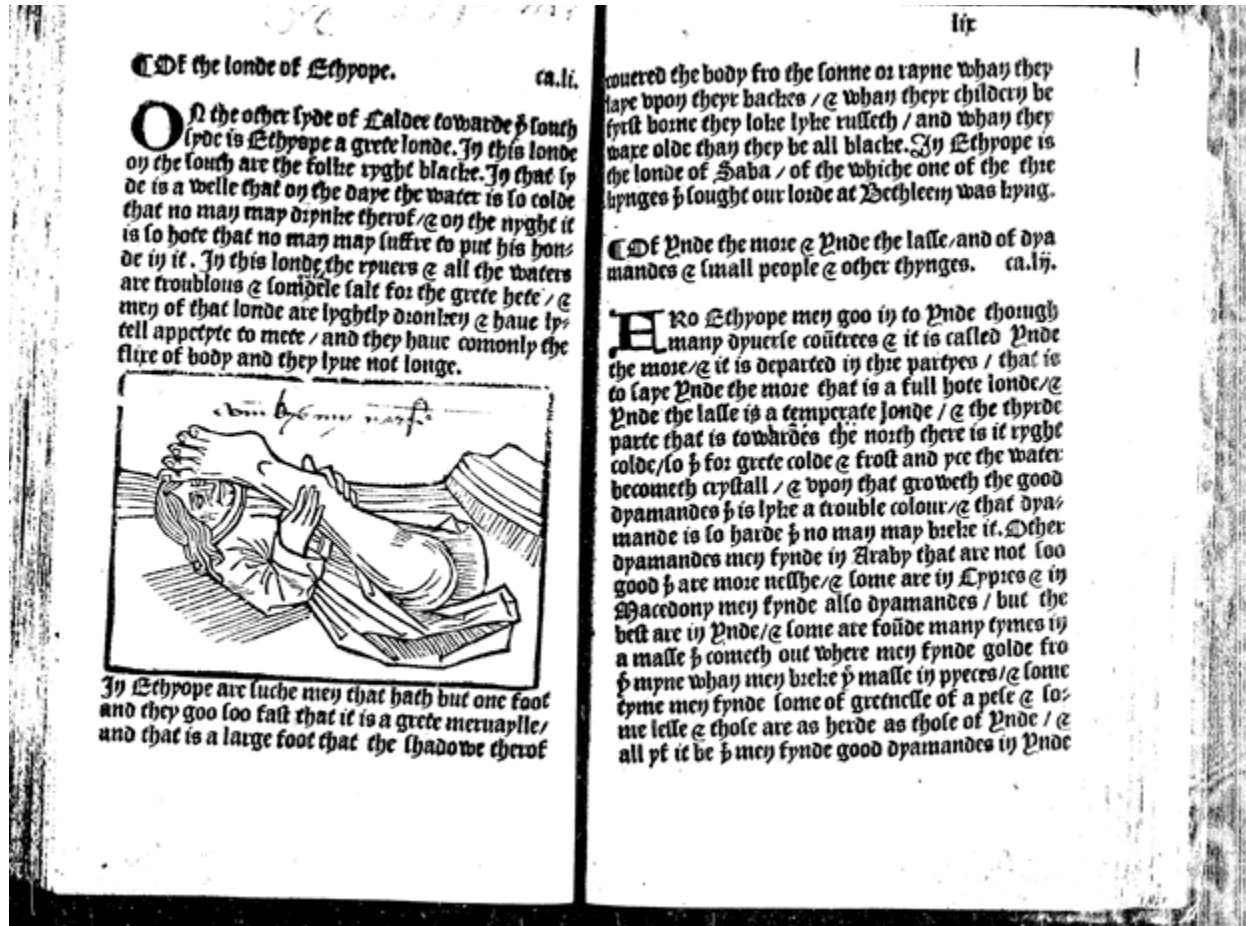


Figure 1. One-footed Ethiopian

that hylle for snowe þ is alwaye vpon that hille
bothe wynter & somer that no man may go vp &
neuer podo lyth noe was but a monke thugh the
grace of god brought a plank that is yet at the
abbey at the hille foot & he had grete desyre to go
vpon þ hille & afoiled hym therfo / and whan he
was at the chyrdre parte vpwarde he was so wey
that he myght no ferther & he rested hym & slepte
& whan he awoke he was downe at the hille foot
and thay prayed he to god deuouly that he wolde
suffre hym to go vpon the hille & the angell lard
vnto hym that he sholde go vpon the hille & so he
dyde / and sythen that tyme no man came there
and therfore mey shall not hyleue suche wordes.



¶ And fro thens mey goo to a cyte that is called
Tanzro and that is a fayre cyte & good. Bely

lvi

de that Lyte is an hille of salte and therof euery
may take what he wyll / and there dwelled many
cristen mey vnder tribute of the sarrafyns.



Fro thens mey go thugh many cytees & towncs
and many castels towarde Vnde / and thay come
to a cyte that mey calle Sallage that is a fayre cy
te / and in that cyte is hacondaunte of come and
wynes and of all maner goodes / and there met
the thre kynges togyder that wente to make theyr
offryng to our loide in Bethleem . fro that cyte
mey go to a cyte that mey calle Cardabago / and
papnyms saye that cristen mey may not dwelle
there but they deye soone & they wote not the cause
And fro thens mey go thugh many coutees cy
tees & towncs þ it werc to longe to telle to the cyte
of Carnaa that was wonte to be so grete that the
R ij

Figure 2. Salt Hill

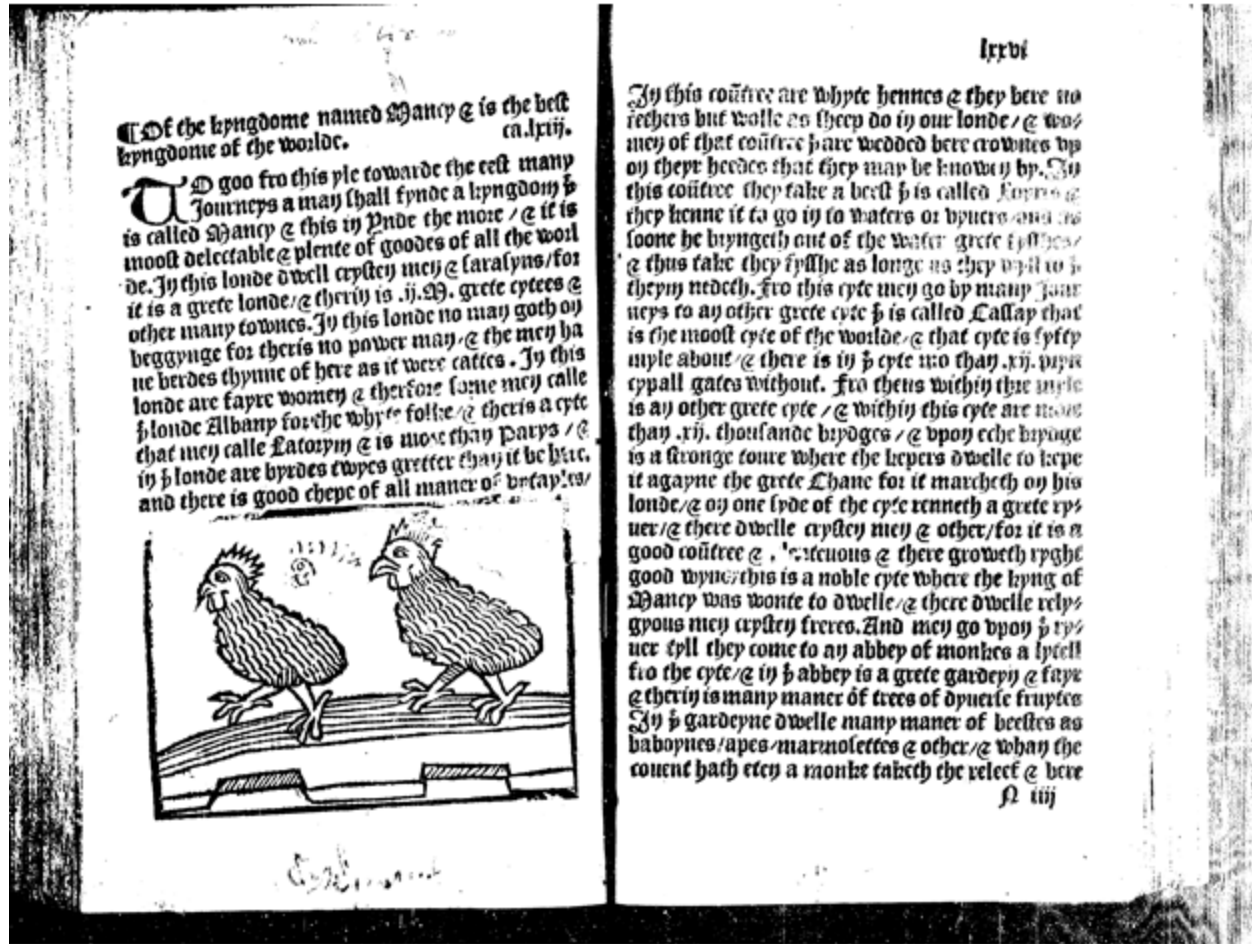


Figure 3. Woolen Hens

be wyse & ryche and he was a grete astronomer / & sythen was he keper of the londe of the pynce Co today & gouerned it full well in the whiche maner that whan the pynce was dedd he wedded the lady dy that men called Quadyge . And Machomet felle oftey in the fallynge euyll / wherfore the lady was wiothe that she had taken hym to her husbon de . And he made her to vnderstande that euery tyme that he felle so . he sayd þ Gabryell the angell spake to hym / & for the grete byghenes of the angell he felle downe . This Machomet reigned in Araby the jere of our lorde . vi . hondred and .xx . & he was of the bynde of Jmaell that was Abrahams sone þ he gate of Agar / & other are called Sarralyns of Sarra / but some are called Moabytes and some Amonytes after two sones of Loth . And also Machomet loued well a good mayn hermyte that dwelled in wyldernesse a myle from mouit Synay in the waye as men go fro Araby to Caldee & a dayes Journey fro the see where marchantes of Venys came . And Machomet wente so oftey to this hermyte þ all his men were wiothe / for he herde gladly the hermyte pryche / & dyde his men walke all the nyght / & his men thought they wolde this hermyte were dedd . Soo it befell on a nyght that Machomet was full dronken of good wyne & he felle in slepe / and his men toke Machometes swerde out of his sheathe whyles he lay & slep te & therwith they slewe the hermyte / & after war

de they put the swerde by agayne all bloody . And vpon the morowe whan he founde this hermyte thus dedd / he was in his mynde very angry and ryght wioth / & wolde haue done his men vnto the deeth / but they all with one accorde & with one wyll sayd þ he hymself had slayne hym whan he was dronken / and they shewed hym his owne swerde all bloody / & thay byleued he that they sayd sothe / and thay he curst the wyne & all those that dronke it . And therfore sarralyns þ are deuout drynke no wyne openly ellys they sholde be reprinted / but they drynke good beuerage & swete and noryshtynge that is made of Calamelis / & therof is sugone made .



Also it befalleth somtyme that crythen men becomme sarralyns / epyther thugh pouerte or symplenes

J iij

Figure 4. Depiction of Mohamed

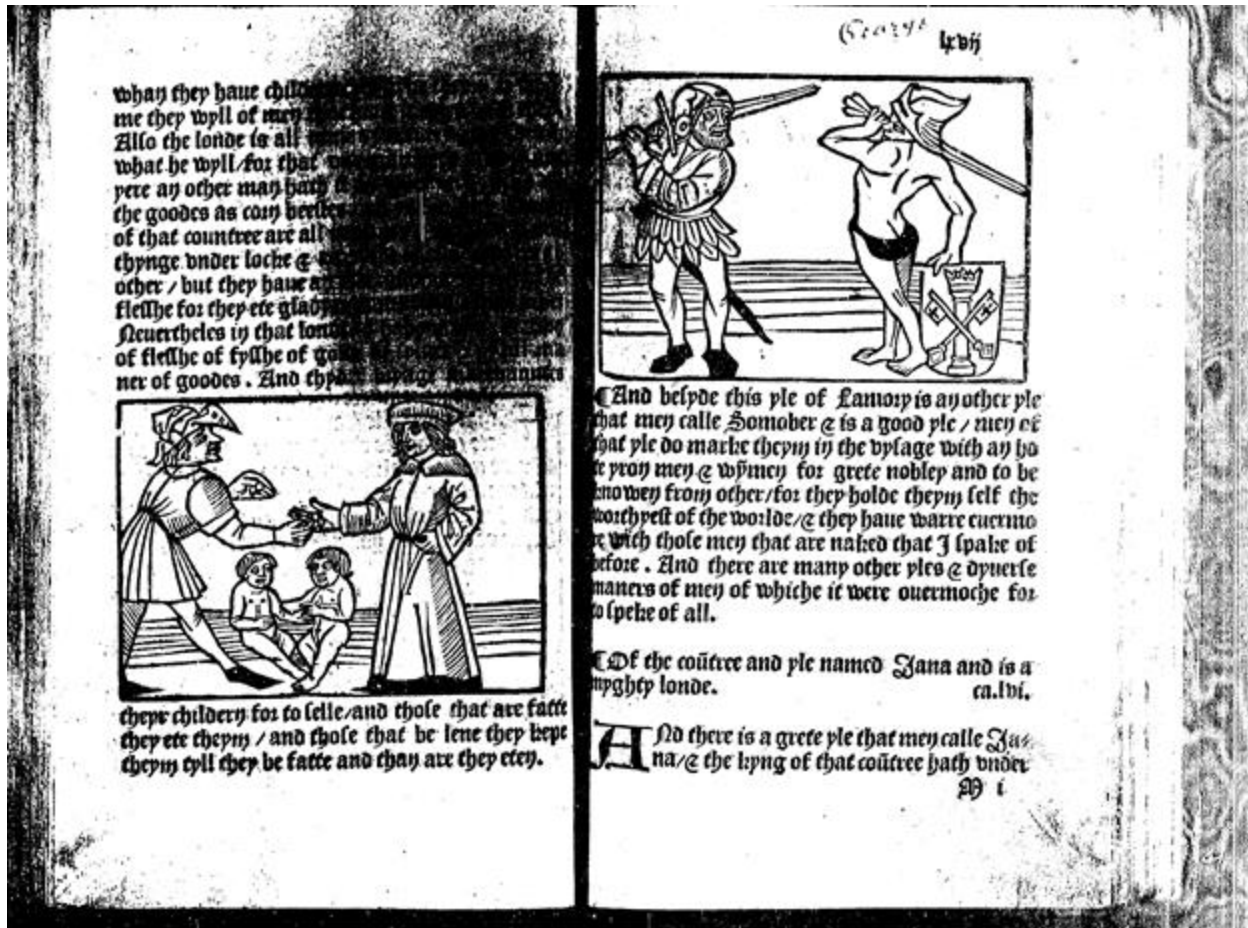


Figure 5. Exchange of Money for Infants



Figure 6. Cannibals and Cyclopes

CHAPTER 2: IMAGINATIVE LANDS IN THOMAS MORE'S *UTOPIA*

In 1516 Thomas More produced *Utopia*, an enigmatic work which has continued to fascinate and inspire readers throughout the ensuing centuries. Although *Utopia* was written and published in pre-Reformation England, it nevertheless expressed concerns regarding profit that occurred as massive changes in global perception and religious reform ushered in the early modern period. *Utopia* and its derivative adjective “utopian” swiftly became part of the international lexicon, and the text gave its name to a genre that, due to its appearance of conveying a personal meditation, has allowed for generations of interpretation as well as imitation.²⁶ Purporting to be the true account of Raphael Hythloday’s visit to the island of Utopia as told in an afternoon conversation with More himself, *Utopia* made use of New World discoveries to create an unattainable “model” society. Though not perfect itself, this imaginary civilization offered a medium through which to critique the imperfections of More’s own culture (Houston 87). Indeed, using classical components of the dialogue and satire, More crafted a significant offshoot of the travel genre. From its initial Latin publication in 1518, *Utopia* has remained a popular and engaging text. Early publications of the Latin text are extant from German, Swiss, French, Belgian, and Italian printers, attesting to its immediate impact on Continental thought (Davis 30). Indeed, *Utopia* had already been translated into several Continental languages by the time of its English translation in 1551 (Davis 30). Thus, from its beginnings, *Utopia* struck a universal chord with a wide readership. Searches of ESTC and EEBO further confirm the continued popularity and authority of the text throughout the ensuing centuries as does its influence on other utopian works like Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis* and

²⁶ Pamela Neville-Sington and David Sington explain how “a utopia is almost without exception the product of a single mind and expresses the values and world view of a lone individual. The insights and prejudices of that person are transformed into the mores of an entire community” (14). Further, they find that “to name something is, in a sense, to create it...he [More] fashioned a new instrument of thought” (Neville-Sington and Sington 15).

even its antithesis in dystopian works like George Orwell's *1984*. *Utopia*'s legacy therefore makes it an excellent vehicle to examine the three forms of profit and how their definition may shift in different texts. Consequently, *Utopia*'s sustained relevance will allow me to examine More's personal concerns regarding moral, social, and economic profit. Expanding this discourse beyond the individual, I will demonstrate how the text's English translation illuminates these same cares for the New Men of the 16th century.

Although the text was and remains admired by and influential on a varied readership, its author did not necessarily intend it to reach so large an audience. Some scholars believe that More sought or expected only a limited approval (Fenlon 126-7). More's use of Latin invokes a specific erudite audience that subsequent publication and translation exponentially widened. In the letter from More to Giles, More confesses, "to tell you the truth, I myself have not yet made up my mind whether or not to publish it at all ... a person would do far better to follow his own bent ... than to wear himself out trying to publish something for an audience so finicky and ungrateful ... Dummies reject as too hard whatever is not dumb. The literati look down their noses at anything not swarming with obsolete words" (More, *Utopia* 6). Despite the fact that More may have engaged here in the normal posturing associated with introductory materials, the satiric nature of the text lends itself to the idea that he takes the entirety of his potential readership, whether "dummies" or "literati" to task. Whether or not More truly experienced trepidation regarding publication, the text quickly reached a wide audience beyond More's control. The first three editions (Louvain 1516, Paris 1517, Basel 1518) are the only ones with which More was personally involved (Miller xvi). After this, the text leaves its author's control. Although *Utopia* resonated with its contemporary audiences and produced a widely imitated genre and anti-genre (dystopia), the physical 16th-century text was written by a New Man, who

clung to conservative religious tradition in the midst of changing times. *Utopia* is a meditative humanist attempt to identify social problems ranging from poverty to materialism, and to offer potential solutions in the workings and programs of an “ideal” society that may exist “nowhere” as the Greek translation of the title signifies, and therefore may be impossible to achieve or implement. I believe that it is through this simultaneous hope and pessimism that the text continues to engage readers as it holds out possibilities for societal improvement without implying the ease of its attainment.

Significant to this text and its lasting impact is the translation of the text, specifically for my project, into English, and translation’s inherent potential to change meaning.²⁷ It is through the processes of translation and subsequent publication that I believe that More’s text can offer insight into the workings of both erudite humanist concerns and the broader concerns of the New Men of the later 16th century. More’s text fashions the fictional world of Utopia, reflecting a changing global perspective developed through discovery throughout the 16th century. Thus, the text’s location in the “strangeness” of the New World affords a clean slate for the writer and readers of *Utopia* to meditate on many topics of which profit is the most significant to my work. Therefore, this chapter will examine the textual agency of *Utopia* to explore More’s concerns regarding economic, moral, and social profit. The English translation and dedicatory epistles brought these concerns to an expanded English readership, permitting the generation of

²⁷ Starting in 1548, the text emerged in Italian, swiftly followed by translations into other major European languages (Peggram 330). In addition to its influence on meaning, translation also impacts the mechanics of this chapter as I will use a recent (2001) English translation by Clarence H. Miller of More’s Latin original. This chapter will also make use of the dedicatory epistle written by Ralph Robinson, More’s first English translator, in 1551 (STC 18094) as well as his “From the Translator to the Gentle Reader” from the 1556 edition in which he claims to have purged his translation of errors so that “verye fewe great faultes and notable errors are to be founde” (STC 18095.5 Aiiii). Although the necessity of the English translation is obvious for a modern readership for most of whom facility in Latin has long been a thing of the past, I have also chosen to utilize the introductory writings of the later 16th-century translated editions to support my contentions regarding early modern interpretations of the text.

hypothesis regarding how this text might have reflected the concerns of the New Men in terms of altering notions of profit.

Genre and Sources

Utopia is most often credited with producing a new genre, the utopia, and enhancing another, travel writing. In writing *Utopia*, More “transforms a number of literary topoi and their conventions: imaginary voyage, speculum principis, model commonwealth, dialogue, satire ... and so on” (Leslie 12). A great amount of scholarship such as that of Chloe Houston, Warren W. Wooden, and Marina Leslie, therefore, has focused on the establishment of the genre as well as its literary influence. Utopian literature can be seen as a form of fictional travel writing which engages both the desire for information and the concern with the spiritual, exotic, or rewarding journey (Houston, *New Worlds Reflected* 6). I contend that for More part of this journey comprised a spiritual meditation on profit. Utopian satire and travel writing acted as an excellent medium to express “a new feeling that would give voice to the new currents of thought that were then arising in Europe ... [that] out of the ruins of medieval social order, a confidence in the human beings capacity emerged” (Vierva 8). That is, in terms of genre, *Utopia* is characteristic of the innovation that marked the Renaissance.

Utopia represents an increase in travel literature prompted by the Age of Discovery (Houston, “Traveling Nowhere” 86). Pretending to offer an authentic account of a voyage to an unknown land, More asserts in his letter to Peter Giles, “the closer my language came to his [Hythloday’s] casual simplicity, the more accurate it would be, and in this matter accuracy is all that I ought to, and in fact do aim for” (More, *Utopia* 13). More emphasizes the accuracy expected of travel accounts with the knowledge that he has created a fake world in order to produce a satire of the travel genre. Earlier in his letter to Giles, More states, “but if you do not

recall, I will stand by what I think I remember myself, for just as I have taken great pains to prevent any inaccuracy in the book, so too, when I am in doubt, I would rather say something inaccurate than tell a lie, because I would rather be honest than clever” (More, *Utopia* 5). This quote promotes the concept of seeking veracity in the recording of a “real” event. Additionally, this quote hints at the satiric nature of the text as More would rather “say something inaccurate than tell a lie” when indeed the entire text is a lie. Thus, the reader needs to be ever vigilant when reading the text and attempting to derive meaning.²⁸

Building on the satiric conceits of the travel genre, the New World offers a “perfect” setting where the ills of the Old World can be juxtaposed with New World possibilities. That is, there was a “reaction to an undesirable present and an aspiration to overcome all difficulties by the imagination of possible alternatives” (Vierva 8). Marina Leslie notes that the text “represents a working out of the internal logic of and relationship between Tudor expansionism, land management, and national identity” (49). Leslie’s ideas easily lend themselves to a discussion of profit. In Book 1, Hythloday “out of a desire to see the world ... joined Amerigo Vespucci, and was his constant companion in the first three of the four voyages which everyone is now reading about” (More, *Utopia* 12). Contemporary audiences found Vespucci’s voyages engaging as the genre of travel writing as a whole saw an increasing popularity. Further, an allusion to current events lends the credence necessary to this genre as the author must make the lie believable to be successful.

In addition to drawing upon the genre and tropes of travel, More relied on a variety of classical and contemporary models and genres. There are those who reference the influence of St. Augustine’s *City of God* on the text (Vieira 6). More also called upon medieval and English

²⁸ As Wooden points out, “in both *Utopia* and its parerga there is a serious center ringed by humorous snares for the unwary. The hyperbolic praise of Hythloday and Utopianism is such a snare, a trap for the reader who is encouraged to believe that he is about to receive a blueprint for social perfection” (153).

traditions of common law to create Utopian society (Wegemer 134). In his article, “The Tudor Prose Dialogue: Genre and Anti-Genre,” Roger Deakins stylistically aligns *Utopia* with the contemporary popularity of the prose dialogue format. Other scholarship has focused on More’s indebtedness to Lucianic dialogue and satire as noted in *Vera Historia* (Houston, “Traveling Nowhere” 86).²⁹ Plato’s *Republic* provides a model of a society which cannot be found anywhere on earth (Parrish 493). More’s debate regarding the contemplative versus the active life as seen in the characters of Hythloday and Morus speak to the influences of Seneca’s “On leisure” and the works of Cicero which promote withdrawal and service respectively (Parrish 494).

Biographical and Humanist Perspectives

Any investigation of More’s *Utopia* that seeks to examine notions of profit and the concerns of the New Men must explore some key biographical details. More epitomized the New Man of the 16th century who would take on crucial roles in the Tudor government.³⁰ On an epitaph he created in a Chelsea church, More draws attention to the notion that “he was born not of noble, but of honest stock” (House). That is, More’s family had taken the path of others like the Pastons, notable for their letters of the 15th and early 16th centuries which detailed the concerns of the “middling sort,” who had garnered initial wealth from working the land or involvement in a trade and then used education to move into the world of law and ensuing social advancement. More’s father had parlayed success in a trade into a career as a barrister and eventually a judge on the King’s Bench (House). Like many New Men of his time, John More

²⁹ More’s indebtedness to Lucian may spring from the fact that he and Erasmus were major translators of Lucian during the period as More would have been wider known as the translator of Lucian than the author of *Utopia* (Houston, “Traveling Nowhere” 86).

³⁰The “middling sort” of the last chapter will take on the more specific term of the New Men of the Tudor period. The New Men were the educated commoners (clerks and lawyers) who would advance under the auspices of the Tudors.

subsequently channeled his achievement into reinforcing and augmenting the upward social mobility of his family. He secured good marriages to lawyers for his daughters and then intended his son to follow the law as a profession, making use of and increasing the professional contacts that he himself had cultivated (House).

However, during the critical period of 1494-1505, More focused rather on scholarly and spiritual pursuits. It is at this time that many scholars believe that he contemplated the cloistered life, much to the disdain of his father (House). Ultimately he decided against this vocation as he chose to pursue a secular career and marry twice although his connection to London's strict Charterhouse, a Carthusian monastery inhabited by hermits who focused on prayer and the dissemination of devotional writings and were attended to by lay brothers, would influence both the way he would organize his own household and his translation of works like the biography of Pico della Mirandola (Fenlon 120).³¹ This experience also impacted the "universal monastery" seen in Utopian society (Ryrie 174). Perhaps most significantly in 1499, he made the acquaintance of Desiderius Erasmus, forging a relationship that would influence and remain important in More's life until his death. This strong friendship with Erasmus clearly indicated More's ties with humanism.

More's devotion to learning, education, and scholarship reflects humanism's promotion of ancient learning which challenged the Catholic Church's mediation of the Bible in its original languages (Ryrie 66). However, such challenges were delivered in the controlled medium of Latin which limited the audience for many of the movement's ideas. Emerging as an "international scholarly celebrity," Desiderius Erasmus defined humanism with his edition of the

³¹ It is unclear whether More lived in or merely around the London Charterhouse for a four-year period (House). Whatever the true case, his contact with the Carthusians and their ways had a great personal impact on More and his interest in "practical piety" (House). The translation of Mirandola's biography also adds to More's philosophical debate regarding contemplation and action as Mirandola espoused contemplation (Davis 33).

Greek text of the New Testament, his views regarding all Christians being Bible-readers, and his promotion of an interiorized religion that moved away from exteriorized ritual and sacramental acts (Ryrie 66-7). Erasmus's embrace of communality combined with More's experience with the Charterhouse resulted in the communalist nature of Utopian life. Erasmus believed that "friends have all things in common, not all given in equality to all – but in accordance to dignity" (qtd. in Surtz 178). Other key humanists such as John Colet, Thomas Elyot, and Guillaume Budé shared similar ideas regarding communality. However, Colet tempered his views by saying that common property was a natural state but that man's fallen nature had necessitated private ownership (Surtz 174). Elyot too ceded leadership to a king or prince from the original state of holding things in common (Surtz 175). Thus humanism embraced the concept of communality but also highlighted the societal constraints and failings that inhibited its practicality, like More's pessimistic "nowhere" of Utopia.

Given his strong spiritual nature and humanism, there is some scholarly contention regarding how willingly More entered into governmental service, and the text of *Utopia* does analyze the potentially corruptive dangers of such service (as well as offering up a lawyer as a scapegoat in Book 1). Nevertheless, whether More entered his career with enthusiasm or trepidation (or a combination of both), he excelled nationally and internationally due to his intellect, wit, and merry charm (House). In the text, More refers to his advisory position as a New Man under the Tudors: "reported by the Illustrious Thomas More a Citizen and the Undersheriff of the famous British City of London" (More, *Utopia* 9). He goes on to outline that "recently the invincible king of England, Henry the eighth of that name, who is lavishly endowed with all the skills necessary for an outstanding ruler, had some matters of no small moment which had to be worked out with Charles, the most serene prince of Castile. To discuss and

resolve these differences he sent me to Flanders as his ambassador” (More, *Utopia* 9). In this passage, More emphasizes that he has the trust of the king as well as highlights his talents as a negotiator and a diplomat. The terms “invincible,” “lavishly endowed,” and “outstanding” more than hint at the posturing necessary to maintain patronage, but, at the same time in *Utopia*, More repeatedly tells his audience to be cautious about flattery, the dangers of governmental service, and the benefits and perils of profit.

In comparison to *Mandeville*, *Utopia* presents a different emphasis on the three types of profit. Rather than being described and sought after, as in *Mandeville*, in *Utopia* economic profit for the individual is disdained. Hythloday takes the English economy to task when he explains, “thus the very feature [sheep] that seemed to make your island extremely fortunate has been turned into an instrument of its destruction by the wicked greed of a few men” (More, *Utopia* 24). Therefore, individual economic profit causes misery for the society at large due to the greed that it engenders. As Neville-Sington and Sington have remarked, “in the Middle Ages ... Church fathers ...justif[ied] personal property ... as a necessary evil for mankind, weighed down as we are by original sin. Communism can only work among a community of saints; capitalism is for sinners” (22). More rejected this notion in *Utopia* as well as the idea that the basis of law is for the protection of private property (Neville-Sington and Sington 23). Thus, individual economic profit occupies the lowest rung of profit.

Social profit, as it relates to communal and not personal benefit, occupies the highest rung manifesting in Utopian programs such as the sharing of agricultural labor (More, *Utopia* 54) or the accessibility of education for all (More, *Utopia* 68). Utopian views on education reflect the method by which many New Men, including More, attained social advancement. The focus on communal and not only individual promotion deviates from the social profit found in

Mandeville. Additionally, social profit involves More's meditations regarding governmental service as "commonwealths will be happy *only* [emphasis mine] when philosophers become kings or kings become philosophers, how far will we be from happiness if philosophers [like More] will not even deign to impart their advice to kings" even if that advice is ignored by the king or challenged by other advisors (More, *Utopia* 35-6). An emphasis on communal social profit would become emblematic of the utopian genre as a whole as later utopian (and even dystopian) writers focus on the evils of societies and how they may or may not be able to be corrected.³² With this concern for the greater good and right behavior, moral profit often conflates with social profit throughout the text of *Utopia*. That is, the nature of doing the right thing and behaving in the right way benefits society at large, thereby joining the two forms of profit. Chambers suggests that More centers *Utopia* around the four Cardinal Virtues that pagans could achieve – Wisdom, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice – which, in turn, highlights the moral deficiencies of Christian Europe and ultimately the moral profit to be found in Utopian society (138) further explaining why this society could never really exist.

In this chapter, I will suggest that the utopian genre, created by More, is influenced by the discovery of the New World, examining the significance of this connection. I will also show how Robinson's English translation can illuminate the significance of the text for mid- to late 16th-century New Men. I believe this is possible despite the monumental social changes wrought by the Reformation in England. The English translation of the text exposed More's ideas to a wider national audience which, I posit, will offer insight into the concerns of the New Men, whether the staunchly Catholic More or the Protestants of the Edwardian and Elizabethan reigns. Thus, this chapter will show that "More's preoccupations [about moral, social, and economic profit] found their way into *Utopia* and coincided with those of his readers" (Fenlon 121). In this

³²Scholars such Houston, Wooden, and Leslie examine this property of utopian literature.

way, I will add a new focus for Morean scholarship by concentrating on how the text defines and mediates profit for both More in the early 16th century and the New Men of the mid-16th century and beyond.

Economic Profit: Caution, Necessity, and Disdain

In great contrast to *Mandeville* and the texts of subsequent chapters, *Utopia* demonstrates the least amount of enthusiasm for individual financial and material profit, which it presents as resulting in debasement for all classes (Fleisher 34). In one example of *Utopia*'s negative stance toward personal gain, the text explains how in a society "where everyone tries to get clear title to whatever he can scrape together, then however abundant things are, a few men divide up everything among themselves, leaving everyone else in poverty" (More, *Utopia* 47). Regarding the dichotomy which exists in Western society, Hythloday protests in Book 1, "what shall we say when this miserable poverty and want is coupled with wanton luxury" (More, *Utopia* 24). That is, "miserable poverty" exists because there are those who live in the "wanton luxury" brought about by personal wealth. *Utopia* thus "explore[s] the rapacity of rulers [and the wealthy at large] and the collusion of the Church" in a system where individual financial gain is prized over the common good (Fenlon 128). Further the satiric nature of the text "exposes our (then and now) society as the one in which mindless and amoral competition for a greater share in the acquisition and consumption of goods dominates the life of so many" (Pavkovic 31). For some, this attitude reflects More's clinging to medieval traditions regarding the corrupting influences of monetary gain.³³ Whether or not this is the case, financial profit contributes to the evils in society if it is kept for personal rather than collective use. More turns economic profit on its ear as "personal gain of property as a reward for work is, in effect, replaced by the universal reward

³³ Thomas S. Engeman and David Norbrook are among the scholars who address More's attempt to reconcile medieval traditions with Renaissance change.

of spare time needed to pursue various pleasurable activities” (Pavkovic 29). In other words, leisure time to pursue intellectual and enjoyable activities becomes a precious commodity rather than goods or property. Book 2 clearly states that “the structure of the commonwealth is primarily designed to relieve all the citizens from as much bodily labor as possible, so that they can devote their time to the freedom and cultivation of the mind” (More, *Utopia* 66). However, this sentiment does not take away the necessity of societal economic profit, or at least solvency, which will produce a good physical and emotional standard of living for all.

As a New Man, More would not have been a stranger to the necessity of having financial security to bolster and secure one’s social standing. More sought a balance between personal financial security and the greed that could result. In his personal life, this manifested in More’s modest lifestyle (House). More shows the Utopians as having achieved this balance as they live well but modestly and without greed. Further, he wanted to explore in the text of *Utopia* how economic ease could be shared by society as a whole. To achieve this end, More utilized his understanding of the material potential that the New World represented.³⁴ Rather than strictly using the New World’s economic appeal, however, More employed its imaginative draw. Further, as has already been stated, he was familiar with Amerigo Vespucci’s voyages to the New World as he provides the character of Hythloday with the back story of being an important crew member on Vespucci’s voyages (More, *Utopia* 54). However More’s sophisticated Utopians are at great odds with the savages described by Vespucci (Cave 213). It may be that accounts of the New World supplied “a new horizon of the imagination” for people like More to project their ideas (Cave 211). That is, the New World as manifested in *Utopia* offered More a

³⁴ More had a personal connection to the New World through his brother-in-law’s, John Rastell, disastrous venture in March of 1517, which left Rastell in Ireland for two years (Clough). Rastell was a sometime business partner as well as brother-in-law to More. His effort to establish an outpost in Newfoundland ended quickly and adversely due to a sailor’s mutiny (Cave 218). Except for this one instance, however, it does not appear that More entertained any other personal economic designs on the New World.

medium to examine how economic and material profit might be used to benefit all rather than just fostering the greed of the few.

Economic profit, like all other aspects of life in Utopia, therefore takes on a communal form. One of Utopian economic profit's most basic and important forms is related to agriculture. Although there are those who work the land on a continual basis, the difficult field work of agricultural labor is shared by all Utopians. As the text outlines, "whatever land they have, they consider themselves its tenant-farmers, not its landlords. In the countryside, through the fields, they have conveniently located houses, each provided with farming tools. They are inhabited by the citizens, who take turns [of two years] going out to live there [and work the land]" (More, Utopia 54). This quote demonstrates a rotating system which does not confine one group to labor but also shows the Utopian concept of landownership, or truly the lack thereof as "they consider themselves its *tenant-farmers*, not its *landlords*." As Park observes, "agriculture seems to be organized reciprocally in Utopia" (281).³⁵ This is in great contrast to the situation in England, or really any part of Europe at the time, where backbreaking agricultural labor was assigned to tenant-farmers whose profit was taken by noble landowners. More respects such labor and deems that it should be shared by *all* as "on the day of harvesting, the phylarchs of the farmers inform the city magistrates how many citizens should be sent out; since they arrive at precisely the right time, such a large crowd of workers gets the harvest almost completely done in one day if they have good weather" (More 55). In a shared situation, when the backbreaking labor is spread among the populace, not only is the burden alleviated, but efficiency also increases. Therefore, this appreciation for the toil of the tenant-farmer underlines their importance to English society.

³⁵ Park refers to reciprocity as the exchange of goods and favors for mutual benefit (280).

Agricultural abundance is housed in warehouses where it is distributed freely. Everyone has more than adequate access to food and goods as “in the middle of each district is a marketplace for all sorts of commodities ... each head of household goes to get whatever he and his household need ... paying no money and giving absolutely nothing in exchange ... Adjoining the marketplaces I [Hythloday] mentioned are the food markets ... [where] stewards from each hall gather ... and get food according to the number of mouths they have to feed” (More 67-8). An institutionalized “redistribution of goods helps reciprocity [and creates] centrality in society” (Park 284). I believe that this reciprocity and centrality then allows for agricultural economic profit to be shared by the entire Utopian community. More provides a scenario in great contrast to the contemporary situation in England. The practice of enclosure and the repurposing of land for raising sheep to maximize individual profit led to hunger for the greater segment of society.³⁶

Although More cautions against the evils of personal economic profit and luxury, the food served in the refectory-like dining halls appears to be plentiful and justly distributed. In fact, Hythloday explains that “the dishes of food are not served to the highest places and then downward to the others, but rather the choicest pieces are served first to the old people...and then equitable shares are served to the rest” (More, *Utopia* 71). This plenty reflects the successful management of agricultural output. The setting provided by More would have greatly surpassed the reality of the average Englishman. Even the atmosphere of accompanying music hints at lavishness as “they never dine without music and after dinner they never lack for tasty desserts. They light incense and sprinkle perfumes and spare no effort to cheer up the diners” (More, *Utopia* 71-2). This moment describes the aesthetic pleasures that reflect Utopian

³⁶ Fleisher remarks that “mania for profits has created scarcity where before there was plenty” and by extension creates unnecessary suffering (33). The ruling class, both secular and ecclesiastical, strove to enclose as much land for profit. The evicted tenants became unemployed, starving masses who turned to crime. Enclosure not only increased unemployment and crime but also led to inflated food prices.

Epicureanism (Engeman 142). Although More did not put great personal stock in luxurious food or dress, a family portrait of him and his family shows an interest in music which hints at some enjoyment of aesthetic pleasure (House). However, it is clear that the reward of good food served in an equally good atmosphere is shared by all as “everyone has the same advantage from it [the well-prepared and proportional meals]” (More, *Utopia* 71). Thus, everyone’s labor in the field allows the community at large to enjoy well-earned and pleasurable sustenance as the agricultural bounty produces collective economic and even social profit.

Another form of communal economic profit emerges in the products of tradesmen. In Utopia, “everyone is taught some trade of his own” (More, *Utopia* 60). The role of the tradesmen also reflects the communal nature of economic profit in Utopia as the production of goods like “working with wool or linen” or services such as “laboring as a stonemason, blacksmith, or carpenter” is common to all Utopians as “everyone learns one or other of these trades” (More, *Utopia* 60). Due to the societal norm of everyone participating in a trade to benefit the common good, “everyone practices his trade diligently, but not working from early morning till late at night, exhausted by constant labor like a beast of burden. For such grievous labor is fit only for slaves, and yet almost everywhere it is the way workmen live, except in Utopia” (More, *Utopia* 61). Here More strongly criticizes the labor practices seen in England. Again, if everyone participates in a trade, there is no need for an abusive system as labor is shared, not relegated to lower classes. This collective production whether in the fields or in trades often creates an overabundance for the Utopians.

The resulting surplus then affords the Utopians an opportunity to engage in trade, and “they export to other countries vast quantities of grain, honey, wool, linen, timber, red and purple dye, fleece, wax, tallow, leather, and also livestock” (More, *Utopia* 73). This laundry list of

items adds to the “veracity” of More’s tale, but also supports the benefits of collective labor.³⁷ There are strict guidelines to this trade as well as an emphasis on modest profit for “they give one-seventh of all this to the poor in that country and sell the rest at a moderate price” (More, *Utopia* 73). By extension, a “moderate price” would most likely accrue a “moderate” profit for the Utopians thereby reflecting Western ecclesiastical and governmental restrictions regarding profit from trade. As mentioned in my previous chapter, the late medieval Church held the concept of making profit to be a sinful one (Tuchman 37). So, not only do the Utopians demonstrate the virtue of moderation in profit, but they also build good works into trade by donating “one-seventh” to the poor. In exchange for their goods, Utopians “not only acquire goods they do not have at home ... but also they bring back to their homeland enormous quantities of silver and gold” (More, *Utopia* 74). But what use is any coinage accumulated through trade in the Utopian world of communality? One possibility is that More may be hinting at hypocrisy in Utopian society where they are so enamored of their society that they cannot see the negative implications of amassing “enormous quantities of silver and gold.”³⁸ A second involves More’s entering into governmental service and this scene leading to meditation on the unsavory tactics that may need to be pursued for the greater good.

Focusing on the second possibility, *Utopia* reveals that the Utopians stockpile currency for what may be perceived as ethically dubious purposes. Treasuries are maintained by the Utopians “as protection against extreme danger or sudden emergencies” (More, *Utopia* 74). These anticipated dangers and emergencies are martial in form. The Utopians maintain their

³⁷ This laundry list along with other aspects of the text has also led Lorainne Stobbart to create a link between *Utopia* and More’s knowledge of Mayan culture in *Utopia fact or fiction? The Evidence from the Americas*. Stobbart compares extant lists of Mayan products to Utopian ones, drawing conclusions regarding More’s familiarity with the New World and its influence on the writing of the text.

³⁸ This hypothesis would fit in well with White’s theory that More thought there was “one primary source of social evil and it is economic as shown in pride” (44). The potentially corrupting influence of pride needs a safe outlet as I will show later in the chapter.

treasury to “pay enormous wages to foreign mercenaries, whom they would much rather expose to danger than their own citizens ... [and in acknowledgement that] even the enemies themselves can be bought and set against one another, either through treason or open hostilities” (More, *Utopia* 79). Money is a necessary evil then for the Utopians in their dealings, not with each other, but with foreigners. Utopians utilize money to “pay enormous wages to foreign mercenaries” that they employ to fight in wars. Additionally a store of currency allows them to engage in the morally questionable practice of offering bribes which, in turn, foment division in other lands. In this way, the Utopians are able to avoid direct participation in military engagements unless absolutely necessary.

Hythloday defends what may be perceived as a nasty process: “other nations may condemn this practice of bidding for and buying off an enemy as a barbarous, degenerate crime, but the Utopians think it does them credit: it shows them to be wise, since in this way they win great wars without fighting at all, and also humane and compassionate, since by killing a few malefactors they spare the lives of many innocent persons” (More, *Utopia* 108). Thus, the ability to “win great wars without fighting at all” and the “killing of a few malefactors ... [to] spare the lives of many innocent persons” provide justification for a doubtful practice. More, inserting his role as advisor, seems to question whether the end justifies the means in wartime. Should ethics be tempered to save the lives of countrymen? Under these circumstances, Hythloday asserts that the Utopians are brave so that they are not negatively perceived because “when they can no longer avoid entering the fray, the courage with which they fight matches the prudence with which they avoided the fighting as long as they could” (More, *Utopia* 112). Thus, Hythloday rationalizes their practices almost bestowing upon them a diplomatic tone.

Bribes and the dissention which they instigate also permit the Utopians to make necessary land grabs when their population expands beyond their country's capacity. These population demands attempt to justify questionable colonization practices that will be examined further in the context of social profit. Again, this process of bribery and discord allows the Utopians to avoid physical confrontation. Although some may find this aspect of Utopian culture distasteful, I believe that it reflects More's general opinion regarding personal wealth and the evil of greed. That is, the desire for material wealth results in social problems. Therefore, the Utopians can use this weakness against their enemies or inhabitants of potential colonies.

The false and morally debilitating value placed on precious materials as part of economic profit also comes under scrutiny in *Utopia*. Disdain for ostentation created by personal wealth manifests in descriptions of precious commodities. The gold and silver sought after by adventurers, such as More's brother-in-law, to the New World and associated with economic profit have an inverse value for the Utopians. Utopians fashion lowly items "not only [in] the common halls but also in private houses, to make all the chamberpots and lowliest containers" of gold and silver (More, *Utopia* 76). The lowliest individuals are also provided with gold and silver as "the chains and heavy shackles used to restrain the slaves³⁹ are made of the same metals" as are the earrings, rings, collars, and headbands worn by criminals (More, *Utopia* 76). In the artlessness of childhood, Utopian children are given jewels as toys which they put aside "just as our children discard their baubles, necklaces and dolls as they grow up" (More, *Utopia* 76). It is as if baubles are meant to be left behind as one comes of age and grows in seriousness rather than assigning a value to them for which nations will kill. Utopians express disdain for the ostentatious display of gold and silver shown by ambassadors to their land (More, *Utopia* 76-78). Indeed the officials are assumed to be of the lowliest standing as "they [the Utopians] considered

³⁹ I shall address the rationale for a Utopian slave class later in the chapter.

the ambassadors to be slaves because they wore golden chains, and so they passed over them with no respect whatever” (More, *Utopia* 77). More seems to mock the nobility as well as other New Men who seek to emulate the nobility through a display of excess. By degrading precious metals and gems, More reveals his warning about the insidiousness of pride and greed associated with personal economic profit.⁴⁰

Despite their scorn for luxury items, the Utopians do enjoy some creature comforts. As I have already stated, they enjoy good food and music. Additionally, it is remarked that “they commonly use glass (which is very plentiful there) to keep out the wind” (More, *Utopia* 58). In this circumstance, communalism allows a luxury in More’s society to be commonplace in Utopia. However, it is significant that the practical use of glass, “to keep out the wind,” is emphasized rather than its presence as ornamental display. In other words, Utopian comfort or luxury does not become the wanton excess seen in the Old World because economic profit benefits all, not just a fortunate few. As proposed in *Utopia*, all members of society must have access to economic profit whereby a good standard of living may be achieved by all. Further, More seems to warn that a driving desire for personal finery and individual attainment fosters societal weaknesses that can be used by enemies. Balancing his desire for monastic simplicity and communality with a New Man’s need for financial mean to secure social stability, More draws attention to the conflation of the types of profit and the danger of moral profit losing out to social and economic gain.

Moral Profit: Pleasure, Threats, and Individuality

Moral profit in *Utopia* springs from both More’s humanist leanings and his time spent in London’s Charterhouse. For More, moral profit relies heavily on a communally supported

⁴⁰ James Binder in “More’s *Utopia* in English: A Note on Translation” remarks on the frequency of “the direct attacks on finery” (372).

emphasis on good behavior. That is, if the entire society participates in good behavior, then moral profit will result for all. This moral profit manifests in the Utopian belief in the necessity of physical and mental pleasure, classified as “any motion or state of the mind or body which produces delight in accordance with the guidance of nature” (More, *Utopia* 84). Paramount also to Utopian moral profit is their certainty in the existence of the immortal soul. Hythloday elucidates that the Utopians “believe that after this life punishments are ordained for vices and rewards for virtues” (More, *Utopia* 119). So strong is the belief in recompense for good behavior that “almost all of them are certain and fully persuaded that human happiness will be so boundless that they mourn for everyone who is sick but not for anyone who dies” (More, *Utopia* 120). Therefore, Utopian moral profit revolves around the promotion and assurance of good behavior and works that are heavily monitored so that the citizens can anticipate the promise of a blissful afterlife while simultaneously enjoying a pleasurable existence in this world without anxiety regarding the experience of death.

Through Hythloday’s discussion of England’s moral decay, More imagines the greatest threat to moral profit in the sins of pride and greed.⁴¹ Although More refers to the dangers of pride throughout the text, taking to task the full range of privileged society from nobility to clergymen, one of his strongest statements comes at the end of Book 2 when Hythloday says, “and in fact I have no doubt that everyone’s concern for his own well-being or the authority of our Savior Christ ... would long since have easily drawn the whole world to adopt the laws of this commonwealth, if it were not held back by one and only one monster, the prince and parent of all plagues, pride” (More, *Utopia* 133). More also devotes a lot of time to the offspring of pride and greed--poverty and idleness. Book 1 condemns the practice of treating theft as a

⁴¹ Sanford Kessler notes that More was particularly emphatic that pride was the cause of many problems within the Church and was even “responsible for the base hatred that some churchmen directed toward Erasmus” (216-7).

capital crime, stating, “as a punishment for theft it is too harsh, and even so it is not a sufficient deterrent: simple theft is not so serious a crime as to deserve capital punishment, and no penalty is great enough to keep people from stealing if they have no other way to make a living” (More, *Utopia* 19). Rather the societal problems that turn desperate people to crime must be reformed. Again, at the end of Book 2, More makes a strong, if quixotic, statement aligning greed and poverty when, after listing a great number of crimes from fraud to treason caused by the love of money, he concludes through Hythloday’s voice that “poverty itself, which merely seems to be the lack of money, would itself immediately fade away if money were everywhere totally abolished” (More, *Utopia* 132). Here More expresses the wishful thinking that the destruction of capitalism and maintenance of the monastic charitable institutions of the Middle Ages would cure society’s ills and secure moral profit (Chambers 144, 147). The futility of More’s desire is reflected through the satiric nature of the text and most pointedly in the naming of his creation as Utopia or “nowhere,” acknowledging that the ideals he proposes are unattainable. At the same time, More would want his readers to remember that Morus in Book 1 championed the value of attempting to do good as something positive may result. In this way, Utopia may prove an impossible model, but perhaps something practical can be taken from it and implemented in society.

Turning to the offspring of pride and greed, Book 1 emphasizes the destructive nature of idleness as seen in England. Here More criticizes the idle retainers of noblemen and, by extension, the noblemen themselves. Hythloday maintains that a system of pride and greed has created a group “whose vigorous and strong bodies ... are now either grown flabby with idleness or soft with almost ladylike activities” (More, *Utopia* 22) and who are “supported in idleness” by the nobility who are soft themselves (More, *Utopia* 25). Thus, economic profit enjoyed by a

limited few creates a physical and moral weakness in this social group. The greed of the wealthy forces idleness down the social ladder as “the poorer people who ordinarily make cloth out of it [wool] in this country cannot buy it, and for that reason many of them are out of a job and reduced to idleness” (More, *Utopia* 23). Eventually, this idleness can lead to theft and other crimes. Chapter one demonstrated how *Mandeville* too denounced pride and greed. Whereas *Mandeville* simply took society and leadership to task for these sins, More offers an improbable solution to the prevalence of these sins in the creation of his fictional society and its communal organization. Although improbable and impractical, the possibilities presented in *Utopia* provide concepts still discussed today. This travel writing may lead “no where,” but that does not preclude the reader from aspiring to positive aspects of its culture.

The communal lifestyle promoted by the Utopians acts a cure-all for these moral evils associated with England. Due to their sharing of goods and labor, greed has no place to fester. According to Hythloday, the Utopian society “is made up of simple, modest men who by their daily labor contribute more to the common good than to themselves” (More, *Utopia* 47).⁴² This emphasis on simplicity and modesty speaks to the Utopian triumph over pride. The Utopians’ commitment of “daily labor ... to the common good [rather] than to themselves” helps to eradicate greed. Further, the Utopians have a faction “who neglect learning in the name of religion, who do not strive to attain any knowledge, and who allow themselves no leisure at all ... determined to earn happiness after death solely by keeping busy in the service of others” (More, *Utopia* 121). Due to the satiric nature of the text, the reader must be cautious of those who “neglect learning” and “do not strive to attain any knowledge” as education was important to More and other New Men. At the same time, this passage does reflect Utopian moral profit that is gained through helping others. As already indicated, commodities such as gold and gems

⁴² This moment seems to echo More’s Chelsea epitaph and his claim to being of “honest stock.”

are viewed by Utopians with disdain so these objects do not inspire the greed that the Old World experiences. Utopians also distribute “one-seventh of all this [surplus goods] to the poor” (More, *Utopia* 73). While I have used Utopian benevolence toward the poor in reference to economic profit, their altruism also speaks to the Utopian sense of moral profit. That is, these good works help ensure their place in the afterlife as “they are determined to earn happiness after death solely by keeping busy in their service of others (More, *Utopia* 121).

Furthermore, the equality of clothing, housing, and even rank in Utopia dispels pride and consequently engenders moral profit as no one is obviously “better” than anyone else through the display of personal wealth or power. Hythloday states that “they [the Utopians] are concerned only about the whiteness of linen and the neatness of wool, for they place no value on fineness of weave. The result is that in other places four or five woolen cloaks and the same number of silk shirts are not enough for one person ... there everybody is content with one” (More, *Utopia* 65). The focus on the quantity, functionality, and uniformity of clothing hints at contemporary English sumptuary laws as well as condemns the pride inspired by the ability to dress as one’s betters. Utopian contentment with a limited wardrobe criticizes English society’s elite, as well as the New Men who desired to be part of society’s “superiors” and who should not be setting themselves apart from anyone else by means of excessive apparel.⁴³

Interestingly, the only area where Utopians are permitted some individuality and perhaps even pride is their gardens. Hythloday describes how “the Utopians place great stock by these gardens; in them they grow vines, fruit trees, herbs, and flowers, all so bright and well tended that I have never seen anything more flourishing and elegant. In gardening they are motivated not only by their own pleasure but also by competition among the various blocks to see which has the best garden. And certainly you will not easily find any feature of the whole city that is of

⁴³ More himself demonstrated a utopian lack of concern regarding the quality and quantity of his clothing (House).

greater use to the citizens or gives them more pleasure” (More, *Utopia* 57-8). The gardens provide an outlet for an acceptable form of pride and the human tendency toward competition, but these normally destructive forces are safe here because they do not deprive anyone else. Like the glass mentioned in relation to economic profit, these edenic gardens have a practical function as shown by their portrayal of being of “greater use to citizens” as well as giving “more pleasure.” More’s personality emerges in the depiction of Utopian gardens as he took pride in his own gardens (House). Pride is perhaps permissible here because it deals with the majesty of God’s creation rather than human invention. Rather than the vanity of jewels, velvets, or other material items, one instead can reflect on “how the lilies of the field grow. They do not labor or spin. Yet I tell you that not even Solomon in all his splendor was dressed like one of these” (Matthew 6:28-9). Indeed Hythloday tells the reader that “they think the worship which pleases God is the contemplation of nature and the praise which springs from it” (More, *Utopia* 121). That is, one can revel in the magnificence of nature and man’s tending of it rather than the ostentation of human production and ornamentation.

Despite a strict and uniform moral code with limited religious freedoms, the Utopians entertain some unique features in their system. Regarding marriage and sexuality, the Utopians have the curious custom of allowing prospective, and chaperoned, brides and grooms to view each other naked before committing to marriage where “the bride ... is presented naked to the groom by a sober and respected matron, and the groom is shown naked to the bride by some honorable man” (More, *Utopia* 97). Although Hythloday and his group find the practice laughable, the Utopians explain its practicality through an analogy to the purchase of a colt which receives more physical attention in Western culture than the binding to a spouse (More

Utopia 98).⁴⁴ Although a base comparison of horses to humans is used by the Utopians, the significance of this scene emerges in its communication that individuals come willingly to marriage as More did himself. Additionally, it seems that individuals should be physically as well as spiritually content in marriage which would in turn enhance moral profit as seen in the Utopian emphasis on “good and honorable” pleasure (Neville-Sington and Sington 135).

This inspection does not, however, indicate a society which allows for any permissive behavior regarding premarital sexual relations. Instead it represents a check on the good behavior so crucial to Utopian moral profit. A severe punishment is meted out to those who indulge in pre-marital sex where “they are both severely reprimanded and they are forbidden ever to marry anyone unless the ruler remits this sentence” (More, *Utopia* 97). Punishment extends to the household in which the transgression was committed (More, *Utopia* 97). Ever practical (and one could say cognizant of human behavior), the Utopians believe that severe punishment is a necessary check on promiscuity which would take the place of marriage (More, *Utopia* 97). That is, the Utopians have clearly embraced the idea of “why buy the cow if you can get the milk for free.” Again, freedoms granted in Utopian society have strong constraints to guard morality for the “Utopians have sought to accommodate the sex urge within an ideal community ... [and] one can see ... the connection between sexual mores and the shape of society” (Neville-Sington and Sington 133).

Once two Utopians have decided to marry, *Utopia* does allow for another seemingly progressive alternative if that marriage proves unsatisfactory. Divorce is a sanctioned component of Utopian moral and social order as “sometimes it happens that two people are temperamentally incompatible, and if they have each found someone else with whom they hope they can live more agreeably, they separate by mutual consent and remarry” (More, *Utopia* 99).

⁴⁴ The Utopians must use an economic example to explain their practices to their financially minded visitors.

However, as is the case with any Utopian “freedoms,” there are procedures and constraints governing this process as they cannot divorce “without the permission of the senate” (More, *Utopia* 99). Thus, the Utopians always employ a series of checks and balances to preserve moral profit. Divorce therefore is “tolerate[d] only when it creates two happy marriages out of one miserable one” (Neville-Sington and Sington 135). The ability to change partners does not indicate a lax attitude toward adultery, however. As the text shows, “adulterers are punished with the harshest servitude, and if both were married, the injured parties may divorce their spouses and marry each other if they wish to; otherwise they may marry whomever they like ... But if the crime is repeated, it is punished with death” (More, *Utopia* 99). Therefore, it seems that these strictly controlled and harshly punished “escape valves” regarding marriage and sexuality are created by More in order to maintain and regulate the “good and honorable” pleasure component of moral profit.

Another odd segment of the Utopian moral code is the attitude toward euthanasia. If certain criteria are met, Utopians are actively encouraged to end their lives. This concept has ecclesiastical and secular sanction:

if someone suffers from a disease which is not only incurable but also constantly and excruciatingly painful, then the priests and magistrates point out that he can no longer live a useful life, that he is a heavy burden to himself and to others, and that he has outlived his own death; they encourage him to make a decision not to maintain the sickness and disease any longer and urge him not to hesitate to die ... he should escape from this miserable life on his own or willingly allow others to rescue him from it. This would be a wise act ... since death ... would save him from suffering; and since in doing so he would be following the advice of the priests, the interpreters of God’s will, it would also be a pious and holy deed (More, *Utopia* 96)

They are in no way forced to take this option, however. Although it would seem that such an idea goes against traditional Christian precepts, there is a clear distinction between euthanasia

and suicide in Utopia. Like adultery, the punishment for suicide is harsh as “anyone who commits suicide for reasons not approved by the priests and the senate is deemed unworthy of either burial or cremation and is ignominiously thrown into a swamp without a proper burial” (More, *Utopia* 97). Kessler maintains that “others [scholars] hold that More considered religious freedom appropriate for pagan societies like Utopia where the absence of Revelation precludes a knowledge of the one, true faith and makes a wholly rational politics acceptable” (211). I believe that this same philosophy could be used to justify euthanasia. As a strange form of moral profit, the encouragement of euthanasia strengthens the common good. That is, the act of euthanasia allows an individual to cease to be “a heavy burden to himself and to others” (More, *Utopia* 96). Thus, euthanasia can be seen to promote both individual moral profit and group social profit. The socially accepted and promoted practice of euthanasia in Utopian society affords More another moment in which to consider the extent of moral and social profit as well as the limits of what is acceptable and what is not in these two forms of profit. Further, euthanasia, by “sav[ing] him from suffering” (More, *Utopia* 96), reinforces the notion that life should be lived pleasurably: “this national love of material [and emotional] well-being led the Utopians to condone practices condemned by the Church” such as euthanasia (Kessler 221). Utopians extend this concept to quality of life so that when life can no longer be enjoyed then there is a way out, another escape valve.

Another form of moral profit that emerges in Utopia is the attitude toward church and religion. As in all other forms of Utopian life, there is a great amount of conformity which is tempered by a degree of freedom. That is, Utopians must conform to the basic tenets of a belief in one God and the immortality of the soul (Davis 44), or they risk “sink[ing] below the dignity of human nature” (More, *Utopia* 119). Beyond this base, however, Utopians do have the

freedom to hold whatever additional beliefs that they might have thus encouraging a limited sense of individual moral profit. Utopus, founder and king of Utopia, is credited with providing this degree of freedom as “he did not venture to dogmatize rashly because he was uncertain whether or not God wishes to have varied and manifold kinds of worship and hence inspires different people with different views” (More, *Utopia* 118). Kessler believes that “while More recognize[d] the Church’s ultimate authority in doctrinal matters, he warned churchmen to theologize humbly and implicitly endorsed Erasmus’s view that salvation depends more on virtuous behavior than on belief in extensive theological systems” (217). Therefore, the Church should provide guidelines for behavior, but man’s individual actions and relationship to God offer the best path to deliverance and moral profit.

However as with all Utopian freedoms, this one too has its limits. The Utopians do have the privilege of holding their own personal beliefs, but they do not have the permission to persuade others that their position is best. This concept supports humanist emphasis on individual faith, but it seems to be in direct contrast to More’s attitude toward heresy. However, it is a degree of persuasion under consideration here. Zealotry is scorned as “anyone who quarrels insolently about religion is punished with exile or enslavement” (More, *Utopia* 118). According to Kessler, More wants to expose the notion “that religious fanaticism was as real, if not as great, a threat to Europe’s well-being as private property” (210). Zealotry even emerges as a negative form of religious pride with dangerous implications for moral profit (Kessler 218). As an individual who sought reformation of the Church within the existing humanist framework, More displays concern regarding zealotry that would seem to serve as a warning to Christians against succumbing to fanaticism. This viewpoint presents something of a conundrum when considering the author’s personal outlook. More would go on to become a relentless prosecutor

of heretics as he later perceived the enormous threat that Protestantism posed for the Catholic Church. Thus, More pursued the zealotry in his later life that his text of the early 16th century seems to argue against.⁴⁵ The text bears witness to More's struggle with moral profit and changing times – he desired ecclesiastical reform but not the complete destruction of the Church as it existed.

Although against zealotry for any specific faith, Utopians are open to other belief systems. Their innate intellectual curiosity lends them a willingness to learn about Christianity as is specified by Hythloday:

but after they heard from us the name, the teaching, the behavior, and the miracles of Christ, and the no less miraculous constancy of so many martyrs who freely shed their blood and thus brought many peoples, from far and wide, over to their religion, you would not believe how eagerly they also were converted, whether through the secret inspiration of God or because Christianity seemed closest to the sect which is predominant among them, although I think it was a matter of no small moment with them to hear that Christ approved of life in common for his disciples and that it is still practiced among the most genuine Christian communities (More, *Utopia* 117)

Like Islam in *Mandeville*, “because Christianity seemed closest to the sect which is predominant among them,” the Utopians present exciting, straightforward opportunities for conversion. The Utopians offer an intelligent, contemplative audience for the promises of Christianity such as those “heard from us [Hythloday and his group]”. Further, the tenets of Christianity mesh naturally with Utopian lifestyle as it was “a matter of no small moment ... [how] Christ approved of life in common.” They did not represent the *tabula rasa* perception that early modern Europeans associated with most New World inhabitants. Indeed, the possibility of Utopian conversion piques the interest of Old World church leaders who imagine applying for bishoprics

⁴⁵ Rather than finding More guilty of zealotry, Kessler believes that More was anxious about Protestant threats to “legitimate Christian orders” and the potential of decades of religious war (228).

in Utopia.⁴⁶ The intelligent and sophisticated Utopians present a challenge, however, for any aspiring missionaries as they do not share the theorized ignorance and simplicity of New World natives who presumably would accept the precepts of Christianity without question.⁴⁷ However, the Utopians' desire to keep the status quo of their society demonstrates a preference to adopt Christianity without outside influence. Indeed, the Utopians inquire if they "could receive the sacerdotal character without the dispatch of a Christian bishop" (More, *Utopia* 117). It appears that the Utopians would prefer to examine the moral profit offered by Christianity with minimal foreign influence.

Although the Utopians are open to moral profit potentially gained through their conversion to Christianity, the Utopians engage in their own form of conversion for moral profit in their interactions with the inhabitants of potential colonies. Whereas Europeans will use Christianity to justify colonial practices in the New World, Utopians use lifestyle. Hythloday states, "assenting willingly to the same style of life and the same customs, the natives are easily assimilated, and that to the advantage of both groups" (More, *Utopia* 67). The perceived perfection of the Utopian society seems to support this hypothesis, but at the same time, no voice is given to the natives whose land has been taken over for their "benefit." As will happen often in colonial literature, the Utopians validate their actions: "for by means of their institutions the Utopians make the land easily support both peoples, whereas before it provided a meager and skimpy living for only one" (More, *Utopia* 67). In this way, the Utopians seek moral profit by

⁴⁶ In the introductory letter from More to Giles, More recounts how "a devout man and a theologian...who is amazingly eager to go to Utopia...to nourish and spread our religion ... [and who] has no scruples whatever about begging for this bishopric" (More, *Utopia* 5-6).

⁴⁷ Alternatively, a resistant New World populace would be persuaded through force.

bringing their ideas of commonwealth to natives who can reap the benefits of Utopian “institutions.”⁴⁸

Moral profit, as it relates to pleasure, good works, and the immortal soul, must be carefully guarded for a society to be successful. If certain guidelines are enforced, then moral profit follows as it is mediated by Utopian priests who “govern[ed] mores” (Kessler 223). Indeed the Utopian dead are even employed in the monitoring system as “they believe that the dead are present among the living, observing what they say and do, and for that reason they go about their business more confidently because of their trust in such protectors; their belief in the presence of their [own] ancestors [versus the angelic hierarchy of Christianity] also deters them from secret wrongdoings” (More, *Utopia* 121). People need both rules and “perceived” freedom to do the right thing. It indeed seems ironic that in the presence of so many behavioral guidelines and rules that in Book 1 Hythloday refers to “the most prudent and holy institutions of the Utopians, who have so few laws and yet manage so well that virtue is rewarded” (More, *Utopia* 46). These rules and regulations manifest in the type of profit where, as in Mandeville, Utopia links moral profit closely with social profit. Thus, one can conclude, as much as satire allows, that More deems this systematization necessary as evidenced in his ties to the monasticism of the Charterhouse. Indeed, the essential elements of individual good behavior and works, which define Utopian moral profit, result in the communal benefits found in Utopian social profit.

Social Profit: Useful Labor, Questionable Practices, and Regulation

As a text that creates a fictional “ideal” society that can ironically be found “nowhere,” Utopia focuses a great deal of attention on social profit. While social profit in terms of personal

⁴⁸ Of course, if the natives choose not to participate in this moment of Utopian beneficence, they are chased out and warred against in extreme cases (More, *Utopia* 67). This excerpt both promotes and belies the truth of Utopian moral profit and pride in their society.

advancement plays a role in the text, social profit related to communal benefit appears at the fore. This emphasis on social profit indeed would become emblematic of the utopian genre as utopian (and even dystopian) writers focus on the evils of societies and how they may or may not be capable of correction (Houston, "Traveling Nowhere" 95). More's position as a New Man necessitates a focus on social profit as he weighed its costs and benefits in his own life and career. Social profit takes on many forms in the text from service to a prince to social programs and institutions to warfare and colonialism. Societal order in *Utopia* stems from an assent to the rational idea that everyone should perform useful labor contributing to the general good (Sullivan 30). Therefore, social profit in the establishment of the proper processes for leadership, advancement, and service for the common good becomes a central focus for Utopia.

Such concerns preoccupied More and his fellow humanists, especially early in Henry VIII's reign when men devoted to the new learning enjoyed great prominence, and while More himself was doing the king's business (Leslie 28). As already indicated, the text commences with More's mission on behalf of Henry. Book 1 reprimands "princes [who]... are more devoted to military pursuits ... than they are to the beneficent pursuits of peacetime; and they are far more interested in how to acquire new kingdoms by hook or crook than in how to govern well those they have already acquired" (More, *Utopia* 16-17). Thus the wars, the avarice and the idleness of Europe's military aristocracy are mirrored adversely and satirized in the reflected virtues of *Utopia* (Fenlon 118).

Book 1 focuses on service to a prince, reflecting More's personal struggle with the level of his own service to Henry VIII and the resulting potential for individual social advancement (Wegemer 2, 83, 92). Hythloday and More present two sides of this argument where "Raphael the Gnostic abandons the known world and renounces all responsibility for it; in contrast, Morus

the Christian humanist advocates and embodies a ‘more civil’ behavior” (Wegemer 107). Early in Book 1, Hythloday remarks that “they [his family] should not demand and expect me to hand myself over into servitude to kings for their sake.’ ‘A fine thing to say,’ said Peter. ‘I want you to go into the service of kings, not be in servitude to them.’ ‘There is, he said, only one syllable’s difference between them” (More, *Utopia* 15). This passage demonstrates the wit that drives so much of More’s writing and allowed him to “speak the ‘full truth in jest” (Wegemer 2). It also represents the dilemma that “service” or “servitude” to a prince evinces. Throughout Book 1, Hythloday states the reasons why he does not have the temperament or desire to be in noble service, and he does not find that any advice he could give would be taken as “you [More] can judge how high an estimation courtiers would have of me and my advice,” a position that Hythloday bases on his time with Cardinal Morton (More, *Utopia* 35). Morus counters that “I am convinced if you could bring yourself not to shrink from the courts of princes, you could contribute a great deal to the common good through your advice. No duty of a good man (and you are one, of course) is more important than that” (More, *Utopia* 35). Hythloday remains adamantly against this idea, however. At one point, Morus concurs that there is no room for “academic philosophy” in government (More, *Utopia* 43), but instead argues that there is room for the possibility of positive influence through “handl[ing] everything deftly, and if you cannot turn something to good at least make it as little bad as you can” (More, *Utopia* 44). Although not providing hope for great change or reform, More’s ideology implies that even attempting a small turn from the bad is worth the effort and danger. Ultimately Hythloday remains unconvinced. Although a major pathway to social profit for New Men such as More was through counsel and advisory positions to nobility, More is mindful of the corrupting influences that such a path holds. However, the need to try to do the right thing prevails despite misgivings

and acknowledged obstacles. Ultimately, More as a character within the text of *Utopia* and in his personal life will choose this dangerous but necessary option in the hope that he may be able to effect some reform and offer proper guidance that will be beneficial to the greater good.

For More, social profit truly centers around benefits to society at large rather than just for the individual. Ills of European society such as treatment of the poor and punishment for thievery brought on by poverty pervade Hythloday's discussion in Book 1. For example, England treats poorly its disabled soldiers for "[we] will overlook the many soldiers who come home crippled from foreign or domestic wars" (More 19). Additionally Hythloday comments that "as soon as their master dies or they get sick" displaced retainers or servants "are immediately thrown out" (More 20). Finally, he sympathizes with the masses of indigent people who, through enclosure, "one way or another, the poor wretches [tenant-farmers] depart ... from hearth and home ... and they cannot find any place to go ... [after spending the little they make from selling their belongings] what else is left but to steal and hang" (More 23). By contrasting European and English shortcomings with Utopian successes, More's text demonstrates how "justice and prosperity are the societal goals which, in Raphael's opinion at least, all societies should strive after but which are achieved only in Utopia" (Pavkovic 24). In Book 2, Utopian institutions provide solutions to these social ills. Organized under topics like "Social Relations" and even "Slaves," Hythloday's speech lays out Utopian programs which dispel poverty, provide effective aid for the sick and infirm, and deliver appropriate and just punishment for criminals (More 73, 123, 127). Ultimately, social profit as witnessed in Utopia relies "on order, which is to say regulation, so that one person's happiness does not become the occasion of another's sadness" (Sullivan 33).

This order allows the Utopians to capture a key element of social profit, enjoyment of life. Pavkovic elaborates that “since happiness lies in the development of freedom and culture of the mind, the principal constitutional objective of the state is to allocate as much time as possible to all of its citizens for this purpose” (24). Education and intellectual pursuits offer other positive components of social profit imagined by More (Engeman 143) as “all children are introduced to good books” (More 79). In this passage, the term “all” emphasizes the Utopian concept of education being available to everyone, which was the complete opposite for the majority of the English population (Halpin 304). Priests “take the greatest pains from the very first to instill in the tender and impressionable minds of children sound opinions conducive to preserving the common good” (More 124), leading to the conclusion that social change and profit must start necessarily with youth.

Hythloday describes further how Utopians eagerly sought leisure time filled with legitimate pursuits “not wasted in idleness and debauchery” (More, *Utopia* 61). More focused on activity and disdained waste in his own life (Halpin 305). Recreation in leisure time is guided and not left to chance, however. In one example, Utopians can benefit from “lectures before dawn” (More, *Utopia* 61). Turning to true diversions, “after dinner they devote one hour to recreation ... there they either play instruments or entertain themselves with conversations” (More, *Utopia* (62). Utopians even participate in games that resemble chess where vices are pitted against virtues (More, *Utopia* 62) so that social profit, conflated with moral profit, is preserved. This emphasis on education and the intellect is reflective of More’s interests and personal philosophy (Halpin 304-5). Despite the Utopian openness to education for all, More espoused education as a way to curb foolishness, especially that of women (Halpin 305). This undercurrent lends itself to a discussion of other negative aspects of Utopian social profit.

Although many social benefits are displayed within Utopian culture, there are some distressing elements as well. Slavery is an institutionalized component of Utopian society. As seen in the marketplaces, “from here [designated places outside the city] they bring the cattle which have been slaughtered and cleaned by the hands of bondsmen. For they do not allow their own citizens to become accustomed to butchering animals” (More, *Utopia* 68). Despite their embrace of communal labor, the Utopians draw the line at certain distasteful activities and relegate those to the slave population. Because of its institutionalized nature, slavery, in the manner of all Utopian institutions, is regimented. Prisoners of war are only slaves if they are from wars where Utopians themselves fought (More, *Utopia* 95). In other circumstances, “their slaves are those who have committed a serious crime in Utopia or foreigners who have been condemned to death ... [who are] kept constantly at work but also in chains” (More, *Utopia* 95). Utopian slaves receive harsher punishment than foreign slaves because they should have better principles because of their education (More, *Utopia* 96).⁴⁹ Finally, there is an elective group of the poor of other nations who choose slavery but are not treated badly by the Utopians and may leave anytime (More, *Utopia* 96). Although the existence of slavery seems to blight the Utopian ideal of communal benefit, it also exposes New World practices where the native population or imported slaves provided the backbreaking labor that More felt should be shared and where indentured servants were held in bondage for a specified time without the freedom to leave.

Utopian tactics in warfare seem morally difficult to maintain while simultaneously keeping Utopian ideals regarding social profit intact. As previously mentioned, Utopians actively utilize bribery and trickery to destabilize opponents. They also use their knowledge of the waters around Utopia to keep foreigners out and to shipwreck enemies: “by moving these [signals on the shore] to different locations, they can easily lure an enemy fleet to shipwreck”

⁴⁹ This is a manifestation of the shame component prevalent as a behavioral check in *Utopia* (Greenblatt 172).

(More, *Utopia* 53). They employ mercenaries if the need to engage in physical warfare develops. Utopians especially like to exploit the neighboring Zapoletes, who “are born only for warfare ... fight[ing] fiercely and with complete loyalty for whoever pays them ... for no fixed period” (More, *Utopia* 109-10). Although the Zapoletes switch loyalties according to the highest bidder, Utopia’s deep pockets would seem to enable the Utopians to buy their loyalty for as long as necessary. It seems that in order to maintain the abundant, collective social profit enjoyed by all Utopians, a ruthless attitude towards others is acceptable. Once again, More presents a situation for meditation by the writer and reader regarding what is acceptable. Wars need to be fought to preserve England, but advisors, like More, need to be aware of the ethical costs of expedient tactics.

Colonization is undertaken to maintain population norms and by extension, communal social profit or comfort (Sargent 204). Social and moral profit converge as the Utopians justify their land grabs with the beneficial spread of their lifestyle. The Utopians intend to bestow social profit upon the colonized through “means of their institutions” (More, *Utopia* 67). In the case of overcrowding, Utopians leave as “colonists to live under their own laws on the nearest part of the continent, wherever the natives have a lot of land left over and uncultivated” (More, *Utopia* 67). Although willing to live in peaceable co-habitation, the Utopians justify the takeover of lands which they feel are not being properly utilized. As the text affirms, if the inhabitants agree to “assent ... willingly to the same style of life and the same customs, the natives are easily assimilated, and that to the advantage of both groups ... The natives who refuse ... are driven out of the [Utopian] territory ... if they resist, the Utopians make war against them. For they think it is quite just to wage war against someone who has land which he himself does not use ... but denying its possession and use to someone else who has a right, by law of

nature, to be maintained by it” (More, *Utopia* 67).⁵⁰ Harshly, the Utopians deem inhabitants of desirable land as insignificant in comparison to their needs (Sargent 204). It is no great stretch to apply this philosophy to eventual colonization policies in the New World as several scholars have done.⁵¹ In some ways, Utopian pride in their society has blinded them to ethical problems in their forceful colonization practices as would European belief in the superiority of their “civilizing” tactics exercised in the New World. More is meditating, as other contemporaries would, on how to treat New World inhabitants. That is, colonizers believe that they bring social and moral benefits to ignorant inhabitants whether they want them or not. In this way, Utopians play the Europeans whether the Spanish in Mexico or eventually the English in New England.

Regimentation and regulation within Utopian society itself, as imagined by More, are seen as crucial to ensuring the social profit of the community. Individual ambition must be curbed through controls in order to provide the abundance, comfort, equality, and justice found in Utopia (Cave 224, Pavkovic 24). That is, social controls are in place regarding travel, professions, population, religion, and personal behavior that guard against chaos by enforcing a status quo. Despite Hythloday’s ironic comments to the contrary, a concentration on social control to maintain social profit is supported by the pervading emphasis on laws and regulation. Building on More’s humanist and monastic leanings as well as his role as future royal advisor, the notion emerges and dominates that regulation and regimentation are necessary in order to enjoy the social profit possible through communal living.

English Translation and Dedicatory Epistles of *Utopia*

In the previous sections, I have drawn my conclusions regarding More’s views on profit based on a modern translation of his Latin original. Translation also provides the medium

⁵⁰ Utopian policy has been viewed as “an expression of rigid moralism that, in the end, justified as righteous the use of unrestrained violence against the unregenerate” (Cave 227).

⁵¹ Engeman and Fleisher discuss the link between More’s meditation and English colonialist policies.

through which we may understand how his text could be appropriated by a translator to voice his own preoccupations. Therefore, this section will delve into the text's history in English, including: the first translation of 1551, *A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia* (STC 18094), and its dedicatory epistle to William Cecil and the "translator to the gentle reader" which accompanied the 1556 "retranslated" version, *A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia* (STC 18095.5). I will also refer to marginal notes that remain consistent in both editions. Although these marginal notes are also translated from the original text, I find it significant that the choice was made to retain them. Their potential relevance for the readership of the English translation emerges as in "early editions ... labels [exist] to mark off section equivalent to paragraphs ... [but Robinson] included only the marginal notes that make some independent comment on the text" (Miller xx). Further support for this concept emerges when considering that the English translations do not contain any images such as the map of Utopia whereas they are always present in Latin editions (Peggram 334). That is, the inclusion of the marginal notes but not the images reflects editorial decision-making for reasons that could include cost but also a new audience. There seems to have been a perceived importance for the marginal notes that did not exist for the images as there was no longer any need to keep up the façade that Utopia was a physical place to be rediscovered. It is my intent to demonstrate how these translations, their dedicatory epistles, and their marginal notes shed light on social and economic profit, particularly as emphasized by Ralph Robinson, the first English translator of *Utopia*.

During my research, I have found little scholarship regarding the immediate impact of the English translation of 1551. Writing in the 1940's, Reed Edwin Peggram and James Binder

discuss only the quality and looseness of Robinson's translation. Others such as D.B. Fenlon focus on Continental translations of *Utopia* and their broad-reaching impact. Most scholarship regarding the influence of the English version of *Utopia* focuses on the 17th century and later, ignoring its immediate impact. Thus, scholarship seems to ignore any contemporary impact of the first English translation. However, I believe that the English translation has a crucial immediacy that warrants further investigation as it appears as at moment in time when the nature of profit is being worked out by New Men concerned about moral, social, and economic profit in England as well as its potential in the New World.

As I stated in the chapter introduction, the act of translation itself exposed More's musings to a wider audience than he may have initially intended. That is, the *Utopia* as translated by Ralph Robinson adapted More's academic interests for a "lesser educated [but socially ambitious] bourgeois" (Pegram 331). More himself "was well aware that translations ... must necessarily result in some distortion, so that the act and product of translation will at once take a reader further away from the original" (Leslie 58), providing a rationale for More's resistance to translation. This "distortion" involves both the mechanics of language as words are interpreted and reinterpreted and ideas which are also altered in the process. Translation and subsequent print editions move the text swiftly beyond the control of its original, erudite readership. Therefore, the 1551 translation placed the text firmly in the hands of the merchants, lawyers, and successful yeomen who had profited socially and economically under the Tudors (Smith 114).

More's first English translator, Ralph Robinson was a New Man who was exploring ways to further his own social prominence. Robinson had attended Oxford, been apprenticed to a New

Man who was a knighted goldsmith,⁵² and eventually became a clerk in the Tower mint (Peggram 131). Therefore, More's translator himself was part of the "lesser educated bourgeois" who would become the translation's readership. This same social group prompted the translation itself. George Tadow, a haberdasher, had commissioned the translation, the original intention of which had been a manuscript version for limited distribution (Bennell). Indeed, Robinson points out that "the barbarous rudeness of my translation was fully determined never to have put it forth in print" (*A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke* *5v). Robinson's modesty exemplifies the usual tack of epistles, but it also mirrors More's apology for a lack of eloquence in his letter to Giles as he wants to deliver a verbatim report of Hythloday (Fleisher 129). Robinson goes on to place any lack of wisdom in publishing this work at Tadow's feet, stating, "as the chefe persuadour, must take upon him the daunger" (*A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke* *5r). Although publication of a text by a Catholic martyr during a strongly Protestant reign can pose a definite "daunger," Robinson's translation appears at the end of a period of little official censorship and a large jump in the output of English print (Ryrie 151).

Despite any modesty or concern on Robinson's part, however, he does indicate that his translation provides an important service as he states, "I am in dede, of muche lesse habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge that shall or may be for the avauncement and commodities of the publique wealthe ... I toke upon me to tourney, and translate out of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which Thomas More knight compiled, of the new city: Utopia" (*A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke* 5r). Therefore, Robinson makes the claim that he is doing his small part for the greater English good, a notion designed to appeal to the translation's dedicatee, William Cecil. Although Robinson's act of translation "may be for the avauncement

⁵² Robinson's apprenticeship to the knighted goldsmith typifies the sort of New Men who emerged from the hard-working and successful merchant and tradesman class who made connections to augment their social profit.

... of the publique wealth,” Robinson must also have anticipated that this work also had the potential to promote his own social “avauncement.”

Robinson had loose school ties with William Cecil that he hoped to use to his social advantage (Bennell). Referencing the fact that “in the time of our childhood, being then scolefellowes together. Not doubting that you for your native goodness, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift” (*A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke* *5r), Robinson seems simultaneously to be seeking patronage, or social profit, and protection from any fallout from publication. As someone who had advanced due to ability, education, and ambition, Cecil was a logical choice for Robinson’s dedicatee. William Cecil was a New Man and humanist who formed part of a group of advisors and tutors to Edward VI (Ryrie 196). Although compliant under Mary, Cecil became a powerful force under Elizabeth (Ryrie 196). Ryrie explains how Cecil mixes blunt political pragmatism with Edwardian idealism regarding the reform of the commonwealth as well as Cecil’s belief that politics are for private and civilized discussion between learned men and not a shouting match through the printing press (196).

Here, Cecil shares the idea with More that politics should be discussed with intellectual equals, not left for the general discussion of the masses. This desire to contain political debate within the parameters of the learned elite will be a vain one. Robinson’s printing of his translation attests to a readership that will expand beyond More and Cecil’s ideal one. Additionally Cecil belonged to the “Athenian” group who shared the scholarly pursuits of the humanists and therefore would entertain the ideas in *Utopia*. Under the strictly Protestant reign of Edward, Robinson, ever cognizant of the interests of his intended patron, significantly chooses in the epistle to outline how More’s “error” was in remaining Catholic as “he [More] could not or would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certain principal pointes of Christian

religion” (*A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke* *4v). That is, from Robinson’s perspective, More was a brilliant thinker but would not see the light of Protestantism. Thus, the time is right to use his ideas again because, despite his obstinacy, his thoughts still have value to promote Protestant ideals and reform under Edward. *Utopia* proposes that perhaps “God wishes to have varied and manifold kinds of worship and hence inspires different people with different kinds of views” (More, *Utopia* 118). This statement could be used as a justification for Protestantism and would seemingly become more significant under Elizabeth, whose reign sought a more moderate stance. While offering support to Protestantism, the text should also have pointed to the Utopian stance regarding zealotry.

Turning to the 1556 version, Robinson offers a “translator to the gentle reader,” replacing the dedication to Cecil and hinting at a broader audience. Although it is possible to surmise that the dedication disappeared because it garnered Robinson nothing, it is more probable that Cecil’s strong ties to Protestantism might have brought Robinson unwanted attention despite Cecil’s compliance under Mary. Whatever Robinson’s real reason for dropping the dedication to Cecil, caution would be warranted during a violent period that saw over 280 individuals burned for heresy (Ryrie 187). That is, *Utopia* was not controversial itself, but a dedication to Cecil would be. As a New Man seeking to climb the social ladder, Robinson would most certainly have been aware of this fact. Once again, the epistle asserts that it should not have been printed as “was it never my minde nor intente that it shoulde ever have bene imprinted at all ... [and I] did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne private use” (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* A2v). Further, Robinson compares his role as translator to that of a gambler “I am in dede in comparison of an expert gamester and a conning player, but a verye bungler” (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* A3r). The comparison references the “gambling” inherent in word

choice and meaning that occurs during translation as well as the “chance” involved in choosing texts to translate. “Gambling” could also be expanded to include the perils of attaining and maintaining social profit. Finally, Robinson apologizes for any mistakes that he may have made in his new and improved version and hopes that his “most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therin ... I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premises, gentyle and favourablye winke at them” (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* A3r). In the “translator to the gentle reader,” Robinson also tactfully leaves out More’s “errors” in remaining Catholic as they were now three years into Mary’s reign and attempted restoration of Catholicism (Ryrie 180). The changes in dedication and references to More’s Catholicism demonstrate the necessary skills to read and then adapt to societal change that New Men, especially a lower one like Robinson, had to have in order to survive and hopefully thrive economically.

Both the 1551 and 1556 editions of *Utopia* coincide with economic and social issues in England that would have warranted bringing out More’s ideas for a new audience. The marginal notes draw particular attention to these issues. The period of 1547-49 saw extended Anglo-Scottish warfare, financial and economic crisis created by the debasement of the currency, and civil unrest in the South of England as standards of living decreased for all (Ryrie 158-9). Therefore, references to “excesse in apparel and diet [as] a maintainer of beggary and thefte” (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* 17), drawing attention to a section of the text where the luxury sought by all levels of English society contributes to theft, and observations that “siences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the maintenance of riotous exercise and wanton pleasure” (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* 56), as the text here describes how *each* Utopian is trained in an occupation or craft for the betterment of society and

not personal gain, would have had an immediacy for the translator as well as any readership who had experienced loss due to the economic crisis.

Enclosure continued as a devastating carry-over from More's day so that the note "English shepe [as] devoures of men [and] Shepe masters [as] decayers of husbandrye" (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* 15), highlighting Hythloday's comments regarding the problems he observed in English society due to enclosure, would have remained an accurate picture for readers during Edward and Mary's reigns. Mary's reign saw disastrous autumnal rains in 1555 and 1556 which contributed to two pitiful harvests (aided by the need for land for sheep), rocketing food prices, and pockets of starvation in 1556-7 (Ryrie 182). In this environment, a marginal note condemns that "now adaies dice play [is] the pastime of princes" (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* 58), making an unfavorable comparison of Englishmen to the Utopians whose leisure involves intellectually stimulating games resembling chess rather than those of chance, would have appealed to new readers. Further by identifying "by what meanes ther might be fewer thieves and robbers" (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* 12), this marginal note points to Hythloday's commentary regarding the failure of capital punishment for those driven to theft by poverty and the need for social change which New Men readers could hope to influence under the Tudors. The social and economic problems being endured would also have the potential to open up dialogue regarding the assets of a society to which marginal notes highlight the concepts that "many hands make light worke" (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* 47) and "nothing is done by compunction" (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* 64). Ultimately, a new readership could have an interest in necessary societal changes which could create "a common wealthe [which] is nothing ells but a great household" (*A frutefull, pleasaunt [and] wittie worke* 69) and where "similitude causeth concorde" (*A frutefull, pleasaunt*

[and] wittie worke 47). Viewed through the lens of Robinson as translator, the 1551 and 1556 translations, dedicatory epistles, and marginal notes bear witness to a vibrant text that lent itself easily to expressing the concerns of a New Man seeking social profit.

Conclusions

In writing *Utopia*, More created a medium through which we continue to examine the possibilities of an ideal society. Lending his work's title to a new genre, his "strange" land of *Utopia* demonstrates the influence of the Age of Discovery as well as reflecting social, economic, and religious changes impacting Europe as the medieval period gave way to the early modern one. As a work in a world of transition, *Utopia* also provides insight into a New Man author who struggled with aspects of economic, moral, and social profit. Following the chapter on *Mandeville*, I use *Utopia* to show how texts can shift emphasis on the different forms of profit. Through its translation and print history, *Utopia* also demonstrates the ability of a text to be repurposed in order to remain viable to subsequent generations. In this way, *Utopia* builds on the focus established in chapter one regarding how texts reflect the motivations of their readership.

As this chapter has examined notions of profit in transition from the medieval to the early modern, it is firmly entrenched in the "middling sort" whom I sought to define in the introduction and first chapter. Emerging from the "middling sort," the New Men of the 16th century constitute the author, translator, and readership of *Utopia*. Texts referenced in subsequent chapters will also reflect this same social group in both their authors and readership as England continues to solidify its national identity and international power through the involvement of the New Men. I believe that this strong identification with the New Men explains the continued viability of this text as "the development of this discourse of ideal politics

and the proliferation of utopian writings represent the legacy of More's text and its resonance in an expanding global world" (Houston, "Traveling Nowhere" 91), extended to a meditation on profit.

When the next chapter turns to Hakluyt, there is a shift again in the emphasis on the three forms of profit. More's negative take on personal economic profit is unique among all of the texts. While Hakluyt will emphasize economic gain as contributing to the common good of English prestige and prosperity, he is clearly acting as a propagandist for personal benefit through adventure. As shall be shown, More's desire for communalism and devotion to the idea of a commonwealth of shared labor and profit will pale and fade in comparison with the allure of capitalism and commercialism as represented in the abundance of the New World.

CHAPTER 3: COLLECTING LANDS IN RICHARD HAKLUYT'S *PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS*

During the Tudor period, New Men took on what to some seemed a predestined role as promoter of profitable opportunity and English nationhood. As such, Philip Sidney hailed Richard Hakluyt as “a very good trumpet” for the cause of exploration and colonization (Payne). Hakluyt was celebrated by the Victorians as the compiler of “the great prose epic of the English nation,” and they also gave his name to the Hakluyt Society for the publication of scholarly editions of geographical texts (Sherman 207). Such are the accolades given to Richard Hakluyt and his various works of which *Principall Navigations* is the most significant and the one which forms the focus of this chapter. A collection of ‘documents’ culled from various sources, *Principall Navigations*, published in 1589 and in a second edition in 1598, offers an anthology of English maritime quests that foster a sort of English Manifest Destiny. Hakluyt’s texts range from the ancient (“The voyage of Helena, the Emperesse, daughter of Coelus King of Britaine, and mother of Constantine the great to Jerusalem. Anno 337”) to the legendary (“The voyage of Madoc the sonne of Owen Gwinned prince of Northwales to the West Indies. Anno 1170”) to the contemporary (“The voyage of Wiliam Michelson, and William Mace, with a ship called the Dogge, to the bay of Mexico. An. 1589”). With the specific goal of promoting exploration which would result in the aims of increased trade and colonization, Hakluyt collected documents with great zealously and great “travail.” His use of first-hand accounts lent his work veracity for his readership and supported his goals of profit for his nation. The approximately 120 extant copies of *Principall Navigations* speak to its contemporary importance (Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage* 4) and its scholarly significance in terms of editing, translation, and composing dedicatory epistles. Through its format of collected works, Richard Hakluyt designed *Principall Navigations* to advance the economic, social, and moral profit for the nobility and the

New Men, the lawyers and clerks who had risen to prominent roles through education. Via the imperative of exploration, he sought to make the English viable players on the international scene, seizing opportunities that he and his patrons felt had too long been ignored. In so doing, he created a document that defined a genre and helped drive English nationhood and ultimately empire.

As I conduct my own exploration, I will use the earlier version of *Principall Navigations* as I wish to highlight the text in relation to this period of transition. Additionally, the 1589 edition contains a Latin version of Mandeville that warrants discussion and ties Hakluyt's work to the early chapter on Mandeville. Although I will use extracts from various authors whom Hakluyt included in his opus to support the different types of profit, I will also focus on Hakluyt's editorial choices as well as his dedicatory epistle and "To the Favourable Reader" as an insight to Hakluyt's purpose. Further, I will spend some time referencing Hakluyt's 1584 manuscript "A Discourse Concerning Western Planting" to show how his attitudes might have influenced his collecting and editing process.⁵³ Although I will reference all sections of *Principall Navigations*, I will focus most heavily on the last section because it involves the New World and its possibilities, and what I and other scholars contend, is the true focus of the entire work (Mancall 188). In this chapter, I will explore how Hakluyt's mediated agency in the act of collecting, editing, and dedicating his *Principall Navigations* shows a vivid picture of the New Men and their views on moral, social, and economic profit. Specifically, I will argue that Hakluyt offers a conduit through which the modern reader can see the New Men's motivation to align economic with moral and social profit for themselves and, by extension, the nation.

Biographical and Scholarly Reception

⁵³ Indeed, "Discourse" was not published until 1877 (Hart 125).

As an individual, Hakluyt epitomizes the New Man who rises through education. Rather than pursue law as did many New Men, his education took him into the more traditional path of the church. His ties to the New Man contingent of tradesmen and merchants are attested to in his father's belonging to the Skinners' Company as well as Hakluyt's financial support from the Clothmakers' Company (Ramsay 504). Orphaned at the age of six, Hakluyt comes under the nearly providential guidance of his uncle and namesake, Richard Hakluyt the Elder who introduces his nephew to "that knowledge [geographical] and kinde of literature [travel], the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me" (Hakluyt *2). Besides acting as a catalyst, Richard Hakluyt uses his uncle as a source in *Principall Navigations* by providing documents such as "A letter written to Richard Hakluyt Esquire, of the middle temple, by Antonie Parkhurst, conteyning a true report of the state and commodities of Newe found land," and "The letter of Ralfe Lande written from Virginia to Richard Hakluyt of the Temple, concerning the state thereof". As a lawyer and mercantile advisor, a capacity he shared with his nephew, Richard Hakluyt the Elder demonstrates the role of the New Man as well as instilling in his nephew the importance of exploration for individual and national profit of all types.

In his religious attitudes Hakluyt held strong anti-Catholic sentiments. The force of his anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish feelings demonstrates itself more strongly in his manuscript works like "A Discourse Concerning Western Planting" than in his published works like *Principall Navigations*. In his own words in "Discourse", Hakluyt states:

Upon these lambes (meaning of the Indians), so meke, so qualified and endewed of their Maker and Creator, as hath bene said, entred the Spanishe, incontinent, as they knew them, as wolves, as Lyons, and as tigres moste cruell, of longe tyme famished; and have not don in those quarters these forty yeres be paste, neither yet doe at this presente, oughte els then teare them in peces, kill them, martir them, afflicte them, tormente them, and destroye them by straunge sortes of cruelties. (72-73)

In this excerpt, Hakluyt uses infantilizing language to describe the natives (lambes, meke) and harsh language to criticize the Spanish (wolves, lyons, tigres, martir) to support his position regarding the necessity for colonization and agriculture in the New World. With *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt chooses rhetorically to back away from his own language and uses the words of others to further this same goal as in “The discourse of Miles Philips, one of syr John Hawkins’ companie, set on shore in the bay of Mexico, concerning bloodie and most tyrannous cruelties of the Spaniards, used against him and his fellowe Englishmen at Mexico.” Using his own or others’ remarks, Hakluyt thought that it was crucial for England to stake its claim in the New World and strike a blow against the Pope, the spread of Catholicism, and the dominance of Spain.

His patrons, who included Sir Edward Stafford, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney, and Edward Dyer, supported him in this belief. As Mary C. Fuller comments in *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage*, “the careers of these men at the center of these narratives [Raleigh, Frobisher, Grenville] interacted repeatedly in both the Old and New Worlds” (23). That is, this group of New Men, including Hakluyt, shared similar goals in regarding to moral, social, and economic profit. Therefore, I contend that *Principall Navigations* provides a forum for these ambitions with Hakluyt emerging as a self-appointed, but divinely directed, spokesman for the profits to be found in exploration, colonization, and building nationhood.

Hakluyt was not alone in his chosen enterprise. He followed in a long tradition of collecting travel accounts even aligning his complaints about the difficulty of his task with that of Pliny (*3 v). Additionally, the late 15th and early 16th centuries saw both the English and French busy in compiling accounts of the New World, Africa, and the East while simultaneously forging the identity of their own nations (Helgerson, “Camoës, Hakluyt, and the Voyages of Two Nations”

15). However, Hakluyt's project is considered unique because of his never before published official documents (Schleck 785). Although Julia Schleck contends that another unique quality of Hakluyt is that "the majority of Hakluyt's 'voyages' make no effort to draw morals, present social or religious truths or conform to the formal and rhetorical standards of traditional history writing" (785), I believe that their selection by Hakluyt and their authorship make tangible statements regarding all three forms of profit.

Hakluyt's importance regarding English nationhood, colonization and empire building, and travel literature has long been understood. Samuel Purchas appointed himself as Hakluyt's successor in his *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas his Pilgrimes*. The Victorians celebrated Hakluyt as the English Homer (Helfers 160), naming a society devoted to the publication of scholarly editions of primary records of various geographical texts. Recently scholars have considered the impact of Hakluyt on English nationhood, colonization, and empire building. In fact Mary C. Fuller credits Hakluyt with the endurance of Grenville and Frobisher beyond just guarding their tales but also providing "new meanings that guaranteed their continued currency" (*Remembering the Early Modern Voyage_7*).⁵⁴ Through analysis of profit in *Principall Navigations*, I intend to add to current scholarship on Hakluyt's literary contribution to our understanding of the early modern period.

Moral Profit: Material Rewards, Divine Sanction, and Spanish Concerns

Although clearly constructed to promote economic and social goals, Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* is also driven by the moral profit to be gained by English adherents to Protestantism. For Hakluyt, the material rewards of economic and social profit flowed from a perceived

⁵⁴ Robert Detweiler, W. Nelson Francis, David A. Boruchoff, and Alfred A. Cave debate the positive or negative impact of Hakluyt on exploration and the treatment of natives. Others like Pamela Neville-Sington, William H. Sherman, and G.D. Ramsay focus on Hakluyt's role in Elizabethan politics and propaganda. Further, Hakluyt continues to warrant discussion by James P. Helfers and Julia Schleck regarding editing and credibility. Lastly, scholars such as Matthew Day compare Hakluyt to others like Purchas, Nashe, or Martire.

providential design that English exploration and colonization of the New World fulfilled (Boruchoff 122). That is, it is part of God's plan that the English engage in venturing to the Americas. Beginning in his youth, Hakluyt felt a divine motivation behind his efforts. In his dedicatory epistle of the *Principall Navigations* to Sir Francis Walsingham, Hakluyt relates the extraordinary story of how a visit to the chamber of his uncle, Richard Hakluyt the Elder, awakened his interest in cosmography through books and maps: "when I found open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with a universall map: he seeing me somewhat curious in my view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by showing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, and better distribution, into more" (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 2). That is, a glorious coincidence stimulated Hakluyt's curiosity and ultimately the service he would provide to the English nation with the *Principall Navigations*. The notion that Hakluyt's work and, by extension, English expansion carry out a divine plan becomes more apparent as Hakluyt remembers, "from the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord" (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 2). This statement clearly indicates the personal connection Hakluyt felt with his task as well as underscores the divine impetus for the English nation to engage in exploration and colonization, for by "occupy[ing] by the great waters, they [the English will] see the works of the Lord," thereby fulfilling their task as promoters of Protestantism. Hakluyt then states, "which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse...tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministered for these studies [that I would engage in them]" (*Principall Navigations* 2). The phrases "so

deepe an impression,” “constantly resolved,” and even “ministered” highlight the imperative to strive for moral profit that Hakluyt attempted to fulfill in both his collection and his promotion of English expansionism.

Hakluyt himself felt divine guidance in his personal role as a promoter of exploration and colonization. He remarks, “I would by God’s assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 2). This confidence in “God’s assistance” lies beneath the nature of Hakluyt’s enterprise to collect and publish the history of English exploration. Additionally, Hakluyt’s belief in God’s approval espoused the necessity for his personal responsibility to take on this task, as “both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin...[I] determined to undertake...the burden of that worke” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 2). As divinely sanctioned, the moral profit in exploration lay in converting natives to Protestantism, either in an initial exposure to Christianity or by subverting the proselytizing efforts of Spanish Catholics and undermining the papal division of the New World.⁵⁵ In order to achieve these seemingly sacrosanct goals of moral profit, the English had to seize upon their history of both success and failure, or wasted opportunity, and venture forth with Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations* as a guide.

Hakluyt’s training in ministry would have primed him for this ambition (Marcall 4). Educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, Hakluyt was ordained a minister in 1580 (Payne). This background would certainly have encouraged Hakluyt to find a divine motivation behind his activities, particularly those outside the realm of strict theology or ministry. Indeed, Hakluyt states in his dedicatory epistle to Sir Francis Walsingham, “according

⁵⁵ In 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued a Papal Bull, *Inter caetera* (“Among other things”), dividing the New World territory between Spain and Portugal, guaranteeing Spanish and Portuguese efforts at conversion (Butler and Lamar 29, 152).

to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was removed to Christ Church in Oxford, my exercises of duty first performed, I fell to my intended course, by degrees read whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 2). That is, Hakluyt combined his religious obligations, “my exercises of duty,” with the task of researching and collecting evidence of English exploration, “my intended course,” that had been divinely prescribed for him. In addition, the staunchly anti-Catholic Protestant group to which Hakluyt allied himself and whose patronage he sought cemented his drive for moral profit as a necessary component of economic and social profit. By dedicating *Principall Navigations* to Sir Francis Walsingham, Hakluyt clearly hoped to align himself with Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh, who pressed Elizabeth to support the Netherlands as well as colonial development (Hadfield 100). Hakluyt’s divinely inspired work can be seen as designed to bolster Walsingham and Raleigh’s plans for the New World with the goal of thwarting the abusive religious power of Spain (Hart 125).⁵⁶ *Principall Navigations* therefore became a providentially designed promotional medium for publicizing the moral profit that could result from English exploration and colonization.

To understand the mindset that went into Hakluyt’s collection of *Principall Navigations*, it is necessary to reference Hakluyt’s “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting” from 1584. Written as a manuscript for a royal audience while Hakluyt was in the midst of collecting and preparing *Principall Navigations* for print, this document provides insight into Hakluyt’s fervent feelings about the moral profit to be found in the New World as well as his strong anti-Spanish stance. Hakluyt outlines the barbarity of Spanish behavior in the title of his eleventh point of “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting” stating “that the Spaniardes have executed moste

⁵⁶ In the modern media age, such moral proselytizing would instantly come under scrutiny a none too thinly veiled emotional appeal to garner political and financial support.

outrageous and more than Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies, whereby they are everywhere there become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde...moste willingly...shake of their moste intolerable yoke” (“Discourse” 4). Hakluyt describes the Catholic Spanish as a regime of terror in order to urge the Protestant English to intervene. The claim that the Spanish have become “moste odious unto them [New World natives] whoe woulde...most willingly...shake...their most intolerable yoke” demonstrates the pressing need for the Protestant English to release New World inhabitants from the oppression of the Spanish and guide them to Protestantism. For this reason Hakluyt gathers accounts in *Principall Navigations* to highlight the atrocities of the Spanish and the menacing influence of Catholicism in the New World for both New World inhabitants and English voyagers.

In one example from *Principall Navigations* concerning native perceptions of the Spanish, “The Voyage of John Oxnam of Plymmouth, to the West India, and over the Strait of Dariene into the South” relates the plight of rebellious natives “which before were slaves unto the Spaniards, and...fled from their masters...and joined themselves to the Englishmen” (596). Here, the native population seeks out the English to help them throw off Spanish oppression. The natives ally with the English at their own peril as they aim to “revenge themselves on the Spaniards [for their mistreatment while the Spanish send soldiers who] executed great justice upon them” (*Principall Navigations* 596). Therefore, the native population represents a group desirous of English assistance to rid themselves of Spanish tyranny.

Reflecting on the impact of Spanish tyranny on English trade and exploration, Hakluyt discloses as his second point in “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting” “that all other Englishes trades are growen beggerly or daungerous especially in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to fling their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to

forswear and renounce their religion and conscience, and consequently their obedience to her Majesty” (“Discourse” 3). This statement reflects Hakluyt’s anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish stance whereby he disagrees with the Pope’s division of the New World between the Spanish and the Portuguese, which has created a “beggerly or daungerous” situation for the English “in all the Kinge of Spayne[’s] dominions” (“Discourse” 3). Hakluyt expresses his feelings about Catholicism and Spain more vehemently within point nineteen when he states, “are wee to answer in generall and particulerly to moste injurious and unreasonable donation graunted by Pope Alexander the Sixte...to the greate prejudice of all other Christian Princes, but especially to the damage of the Kinges of England” (“Discourse” 118).⁵⁷ Further, Hakluyt classifies English involvement in trade and colonial expansion as a moral imperative as “our men are dryven [by Spanish Catholicism]” to put their souls into jeopardy, “forswear[ing] and renounce[ing] their [Protestant] religion and conscience.” Although intended only as a manuscript to help persuade Queen Elizabeth to back Raleigh’s schemes, Hakluyt’s anti-Catholic vehemence in “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting” offers an important context for his use of the *Principall Navigations* to combat the menace to English “religion and conscience” brought about by the Spanish and Portuguese influence in the New World. Therefore Hakluyt shared with the queen and others abhorrence for the Catholic Church and the dissemination of its teachings in the New World (Mancall 4), offering his *Principall Navigations* as a testament to the moral profit to be found in the New World. Further, he highlights the direness of the situation to Elizabeth as he cautions that “theyr [her subjects’] obedience to her Majesty” (“Discourse” 120) is at risk if the English do not take on opportunities afforded by the New World to garner moral profit.

⁵⁷ Hakluyt believed that this division was symptomatic of a corrupt church as Alexander VI was a Spaniard himself and therefore colluded with the Spanish government to dominate the discoveries in the New World (Mancall 152).

As a specific example of the horrors visited upon Englishmen who fall into Spanish hands in the New World, Hakluyt includes in *Principall Navigations* “The discourse of Miles Philips, one of Sir John Hawkins’ companie, set on the shore in the bay of Mexico, concerning the bloodie and most tyrannous cruelties of the Spaniards, used against him and his fellowe Englishmen at Mexico.” Terms such as “bloodie” and “tyrannous” grab the reader’s attention and reinforce negative perceptions of the Spanish as cruel tyrants in the New World. As an editor of texts and, by extension, words, Hakluyt clearly intended such diction to further his goals of promoting New World exploration. Hakluyt includes the account in “the discourses, letters, privileges, relations, and other materiall circumstances procident to the voyages of the third part” section, which he uses to conclude each of his geographic “parts” with evidentiary documentation that emphasizes the scale of his collection as well as testifies to its authenticity. Hakluyt pairs the longer accounts with affidavit-like documents to provide support for the veracity of the voyages.

In the account, Philips describes an incident where the Spanish ambush the English and reflects on “the villainous treacherie of the Spaniards and their cruelty” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 568). Philips also tells of a gruesome practice: “for it is a certain trueth, that whereas they [the Spanish] had taken certaine of our men at shoare, they cooke and hung them up by the armes upon high postes untill the blood burst out of their fingers ends” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 566). Such vivid imagery would serve as part of the excitement of the account as well as reinforcing England’s moral imperative to combat Spanish influence in the New World (Helgerson 578). Philips also discusses the shift from tolerable to unbearable conditions with the arrival of “the cruell judgements of the Spanish Inquistors upon our poore countrymen” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 571). Despite the deprivation and abuse he

suffers and the relief he could have had if he had renounced his faith, Philips maintains that “I was an Englishman and no Spaniard” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 577). Philips here identifies himself as an unbreakable English Protestant with a clear sense of himself (Helgerson 577). This personal account and Philips’ self-identification as a Protestant Englishman appeal to both national and individual responsibility to protect and promote Protestantism throughout the world. By means of an account such as that of Philips, Hakluyt can spur English exploration and expansion to achieve moral profit.

In his eighth speaking point in “A Discourse on Western Planting,” Hakluyt highlights Spanish deception and treachery in “that the lymites of the Kinge of Spayne’s domynions in the West Indies be nothings so large as ys generally imagined and surmised, neither those partes which he holdeth be of any suche forces as ys falsly given out by popishe clergie and others his fautors, to terrifie the princes of the relligion and to abuse and blynd them (“Discourse” 4).” That is, the English need not be intimidated by Spanish claims regarding New World dominance as supported by the papacy as these notions are exaggerated and “be nothings so large as ys generally imagined.” Indeed, it is necessary for the English to challenge Spain’s hyperbolic claims which are used simply “to terrifie the princes of the relligion” and keep the English from their divine task.

Due to his demonstration of Spain’s over-exaggerated claims to land in the New World, their cruelty to natives and captured Englishmen, and Catholic use of terror for evangelism, Hakluyt urges the imperative to spread the reformed faith in *Principall Navigations*. Although Protestant colonialism would visit its own brand of abusive on native peoples, Hakluyt expresses the desire to “rescue” natives from the destructive practices of Catholicism as well as to offer Protestantism to natives in areas untainted by Catholic influence. In “The second voyage of

Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West, and Northwest Regions, in the yeere 1577,” Dionise Settle remarks “that by our Christian studie and endeavour, those barbarous people trained by in Paganrie, and infidelite, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion and the hope of salvation in Christ our Redeemer” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 625). A clear obligation of “our [English] Christian...endeavour” to bring “the knowledge of true religion” to the New World natives highlights the notion of moral profit in Hakluyt’s collection. The English must save “those barbarous people trained by in Paganrie” so that they may enjoy “the hope of salvation in Christ,” and this can be accomplished more easily in northwest areas free of Spanish influence.

The title of Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s 1583 account also includes the stated purpose of moral profit “to discover and plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 679). English exploration will find these “place[s] convenient” to plant the seeds of Protestantism. As imagined by Edward Haies, participant in Gilbert’s voyage, English Protestants “may...confidently repose in the preordinance of God...[as] the time is complet of receiving also the Gentils into his mercy...It seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spanyardes and French sundry times: that the countreyes lying North of Florida, God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civilitie by the English nation” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 680). Haies seems to believe that God has specifically set aside “the countreyes lying North of Florida...to be reduced unto Christian civilite by the English nation.” This statement concurs with Hakluyt’s ideas from the dedicatory epistle regarding the divine motivation behind his own efforts. These examples reflect the divine purpose that Hakluyt found in his work as well as designate the moral profit that the English must seek in exploration and colonization.

To further bolster the divine motivation for English colonization, Hakluyt's final section, "the voyages of the third and last, part, made to the West, Southwest, and Northwest regions," offers distinct examples to evidence a long history of English involvement in exploration. He begins with "The voyage of Madoc the sonne of Owen Gwinned prince of Northwales to the West Indies. Anno. 1170" (*Principall Navigations*). This particular selection clearly is meant to indicate an English (Welsh) presence in the New World that predates Columbus by 300 years.

In his other sections, Hakluyt also makes tenuous historical links to "English" voyages throughout the world, attempting to establish a significant lineage of English venture. Section one of "the voyages of the first part made to the South and southeast regions" begins with "the voyage of Helena, the empress, daughter of Coelus, King of Britaine, and mother of Constantine the great to Jerusalem. Anno. 317" (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*). The inclusion of Helena constitutes a questionable assertion of ancient evidence for English and British voyaging, but it also subtly alludes to the moral profit to be found in exploration as Helena was credited with discovering the True Cross during this journey. Although opposed to Catholic dependence on relics, Protestants could repurpose Helena's voyage to serve as important historical precedent for English exploration.

Following a similar vein, section two, "the voyages of the second part made to the North and northeast quarters," lists first "the voyage of Arthur king of Britaine to Islande [Iceland], and the most northeasterne partes of Europe. Anno. 517" (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*). Here Hakluyt starts with Arthur as another historic "celebrity" to promote the idea that the English have long been involved with venturing throughout the world. As king of a united Britain, Arthur could also evoke Queen Elizabeth as a unifier and leader of the English as a nation. The inclusion of any and all of these texts quantifies Hakluyt's contention that the English need to

return to the active role in exploration which they had in a dubious history constructed by Hakluyt in his editing.

Although all three sections seek to show a long if dubious history of English participation in venture, I believe that the inclusion of Madoc's journey to the West Indies has a secondary purpose. Unlike the other sections which contain a gradual timeline of voyages culminating in contemporary accounts, Hakluyt jumps from Madoc's mythical, and unverifiable, account of 1170 to Sebastian Cabot's documented and verifiable one in 1494. Hakluyt then follows a fairly tight timeline throughout the 1500s, ending the section with William Michelson and William Mace's voyage in 1589. By including Madoc's voyage to the West Indies, Hakluyt can make claims to English and, by vast extension, Protestant primacy in the New World, thereby subverting the "false" papal divisions.⁵⁸ The given date of 1170 for Madoc's voyage predates any Spanish attempts by several hundred years. Hakluyt had already made this argument in "A Discourse Concerning Western Planting" when within point eighteen he states, "wee of England have to shewe very auncient and auctenticall chronicles...wherein wee finde that one Madock ap Owen Guyneth, a Prince of North Wales...made twoo voyadges oute of Wales, and discovered and planted large contries which he founde in the mayne ocean south westward of Ireland, in the yere of our Lorde 1170" (Hakluyt, Woods, and Deane 118-9).

A glaring three hundred year gap before the English again become active could be explained as a lost opportunity which the English can no longer afford to ignore. Prolonged English dormancy could also be justified by the emergence of Protestantism, to which the English were not "awakened" until the reign of Henry VIII. Indeed Madoc's inclusion seems to reinforce Hakluyt's epistle which talks about "the latter, and better distribution [of the earth] into

⁵⁸ Howard Mumford Jones argues that Hakluyt shared this notion with his contemporaries as "more characteristic was the argument of Gilbert, Hakluyt, and Strachey himself that British discoverers, beginning with Madoc, had first set foot on the mainland, from which, by their own logic, the Spaniards were to be excluded (142)."

more.” That is, the English are divinely sanctioned to challenge the false papal division of the New World. Again, this action stresses the English moral imperative to explore and colonize. The ancient account of Madoc, along with that of Helena and Arthur, also points to God’s favor in the enterprise in that there has been a sustained push in the British Isles to seek new lands as proponents of the Christian faith, now properly asserted in the form of Protestantism.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, Hakluyt appeals to the Queen’s role as Defender of the Faith as an integral part of the moral profit of exploration. Hakluyt believed that Elizabeth should take the opportunity to be the chief Reformed monarch to guide Christianity in the New World (Hart 128). “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting” first supplies evidence of Hakluyt’s concerns in this area. His first point in the manuscript asserts “that this western discoverie will be greatly for thinlargement of the gospell of Christe whereunto the princes of the reformed religion are chiefly bounde amongst whome her Majestie is principall” (Hakluyt, Woods, and Deane 3). Following this line of reasoning from manuscript to print, Hakluyt alludes to England’s special bond with God, as “in this most famous and peerless governement of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God” have to follow the divine path prescribed for them (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 3). That is, the Queen and the English are anointed by God to take on exploration and colonization. Hakluyt continues on this theme, stating, “I take it as a pledge of Gods further favour both unto us and them [those the English encounter in voyages]: to them especially, unto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity and the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 3). Here, the “trueth of Christianity” and moral profit as delivered through English

Protestantism meld neatly with economic profit in the “exercise [of] common trade with their marchants.”

To appeal further and specifically to the Queen so that she will bless English exploration and colonization, Hakluyt compares Elizabeth and her father Henry to Solomon and David. Hakluyt relates to his readers that “I must confesse to have read in the excellent history intituled Joannes Goropius, a testimonie of king Henrie the viii, a prince of noble memory, whose intention was once, if death had not prevented him, to have done some singular thing in this case” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 3). Using citation (Joannes Goropius) and flattering terms (“noble memory”), Hakluyt deftly walks a dangerous and presumptive path, down which he intends to guide his monarch. Naturally, “this case” is the English program of exploration and colonization which Hakluyt is none too subtly encouraging his monarch to support. Drawing a biblical connection to the Queen’s involvement, Hakluyt goes on to state, “but as the purpose of David the king to builde a house and temple to God was accepted, though Salomon performed it: so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforesaid most renowned prince may seeme no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reserved for the person of our Salomon her gracious Majesty, whom I feare not to pronounce to have received the same Heroicall spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous father” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 3). That is, Queen Elizabeth has an obligation set forth from her father to finish his work by exploring and colonizing as Solomon was obligated to finish the temple started by his father, David. Thus, with the Queen at the helm, the English have a divinely sanctioned responsibility to explore and colonize as directed by Hakluyt.

Social Profit: Social Advancement, National Reputation, and Social Policy

Hakluyt envisions social profit emerging in several different forms in *Principall Navigations*. Written by a New Man for New Men, the text acknowledges the drive for social advancement, whether through connections due to patronage or through the financial gain sought by all New Men.⁵⁹ Hakluyt designed *Principall Navigations* to serve as a call for Protestant Englishmen (especially New Men, gentry, and nobility) to explore and colonize the New World. For this reason, the text reveals the collective social profit within nationalism, as Hakluyt seeks to enhance England's standing in the world. Finally, Hakluyt actively utilizes his collection to promote social reform as well, emphasizing the curative powers of colonization for social ills such as idleness, poverty, and crime. Although also concerned with moral and economic profit, Hakluyt hoped that *Principall Navigations* would benefit both his readers and his nation, by offering texts that would enable social advancement, enhance England's international reputation, and revitalize social policy.

Hakluyt himself was a New Man. By attending Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, Hakluyt had followed the path of advancement through education key to New Men under the Tudors. Hakluyt underscores the social importance of education in the dedicatory epistle to *Principall Navigations* when he states, "I do remember being a youth, and one of her Majesties scholars at Westminster, that fruitfull nurserie" (Hakluyt 2). His dedication to geography and his drive to create *Principall Navigations* typify Hakluyt's humanist education, which emphasized the practical application of scholarship (Day 285). Becoming the third scholar supported by the Clothworkers' Company in 1577, Hakluyt also demonstrates the social cachet of education as guilds tried to link themselves to academia by supporting students

⁵⁹ To reiterate, I use the term New Man or New Men to refer to those who through commerce or education, rather than birth, elevated themselves to positions representing various degrees of power. It is through his background and patronage circle that I assign Hakluyt to this group as well as More, Hariot, and White, believing that they would not fault this designation.

(Mancall 27). That is, educating a student like Hakluyt added to the prestige of the Company and, at the same time, reflected the growing connection between education and politics (Ramsay 114). Richard Hakluyt the Elder, Hakluyt's relative, inspiration and namesake, further demonstrates the New Men's emphasis on advancement through education. Like other New Men, Hakluyt the Elder had experienced upward mobility thanks to his legal training. Hakluyt the Younger is careful in the dedicatory epistle of *Principall Navigations* to mention that "it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple" (2). The mention of Middle Temple is noteworthy as a significant number of Temple members became colonial officials (Mancall 76). Therefore, Richard Hakluyt the Younger identifies his relative as his mentor, a successful New Man, and a contributor to *Principall Navigations*, and, by extension, to England's history of voyaging. The younger Hakluyt typifies the need of the New Man to cultivate relationships to vie for social advancement, as shown by his career as the chaplain for Sir Edward Stafford, English ambassador in Paris, the request from Raleigh to write "A Discourse Concerning Western Planting," and the dedication of *Principall Navigations* to Walsingham. Indeed Alfred A. Cave notes, "Hakluyt's social connections and his reputation as an expert geographer afforded easy access to court circles" (5). Hakluyt's associations indicate his success as a New Man and the approbation of a wide ranging and powerful patronage network and readership for *Principall Navigations*.

Parsing the individuals mentioned or included in *Principall Navigations*, the reader gets a sense of the range of New Men working in Tudor society. Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom Hakluyt dedicated *Principall Navigations*, represents an especially successful and powerful New Man. The son of a lawyer, Walsingham was a member of Gray's Inn who advanced to the House of Commons, was named as an ambassador to France, and eventually became a principal

secretary and privy councilor to Elizabeth (Adams, Bryson, and Leimon). Walsingham further shows the interconnectedness among the New Men in his relationship to Sidney, Raleigh, and Christopher Carleill. This social infrastructure could help bolster and secure careers including Hakluyt's own. If we turn to the individuals referenced in the collection itself, the selections represent a wide range of New Men. There are merchants such as Robert Tomson, Richard Staper, and Thomas Aldworth who sought to establish themselves socially by trade opportunities in the New World (Dirks 42). We also find men like Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who attended Oxford and New Inn and went on to exercise a campaign of terror in Ireland (Rapple). Hakluyt includes "The voyage of Sir Humfrie Gilbert knight to the coastes of America, An. 1578," "The discourse of Syr Humfrie Gilbert knight, to prove a passage by Northwest to Cathays, and the East Indies," and "The letters patent graunted by her Majestie to Syr Humfrie Gilbert knight, for the inhabiting and planting of America" in *Principall Navigations*. The inclusion of a significant amount of Gilbert's voyages in *Principall Navigations* indicates two possibilities. First, it highlights Gilbert's promotion of colonization. Second, it allows for speculation regarding the link between Gilbert's brutal reputation in Ireland and its impact on the treatment of natives in the New World. Additionally, Hakluyt offers "The first voyage of Sir Martin Frobisher to the North west. An. 1576," "The second voyage of Sir Martin Frobisher to the same coastes. An. 1577," and "The third and last voyage of Sir Martin Frobisher, to Meta Incognita, An. 1578." Frobisher's three accounts reflect Hakluyt's promotion of the northern New World as a domain ripe for English mastery.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Frobisher had been knighted on the naval battlefield for actions taken while at the same time being well known for his privateering activities, demonstrating the allure of privateering as social and economic profit. However, Frobisher represents a sort of anti-New Man whose lack of culture and literacy curbed his social advancement (McDermott).

The text of *Principall Navigations* articulates the social profit to be found in exploration and colonization both for individuals and the nation. An expensive enterprise, exploration requires capital and as such Hakluyt wants to persuade the emergent middle class of merchants and gentry to invest in the lucrative promise of the New World (Jones 134). Multiple selections in “The discourses, letters, priviledges, relations and other materiall circumstances incident to the voyages of the third part” section encourage New Men to look forward to a return on their investment that would support and ensure their upward mobility. Notable among the examples are “A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the Inhabitants, written by Henry Hawkes marchant, who lived 5 yeeres in the countrie,” “A letter written to Richard Hakluyt Esquire, of the middle temple, by Anthonie Parkhurst, conteyning a true report of the state and commodities of Newfoundland,” and “The discourse of Sir George Peckham Knight touching the possession of the Newfoundlandes taken in right of the Crowne of England, of her Majesties lawfull title thereunto, and of the commodities that would insue to the Realme by planting in them.” The repeated use of the term “commodities” in these titles appeals to a mercantile audience in a practical vein, signaling a wide range of vendable goods awaiting English investors and venturers in the New World. Ostensibly focusing on economic profit, the prevalence of commercial diction also underlies the financial base needed for social mobility and stability.

Although Ben Jonson would simultaneously celebrate and mock the aspirations of the New Men, their burgeoning power cannot be denied (Sherman 201). Indeed Hakluyt and those texts he selected attest to this expanding social class. The need for New Men to support exploration and colonization becomes clear in two selections, “The discourse of Master Christopher Carlile to satisfie and incourage our Marchants, and people in general about the

action of planting in America” and “An assignement from Sir Walter Raleigh to divers gentlemen, and Marchants of London, for continuing the inhabitations of the English in Virginia.” Both excerpts speak directly to New Men by addressing “Marchants” and “divers gentlemen” who needed to be “incourag[ed]” in their crucial support of the New World enterprises of “planting in America” and “inhabitations ... in Virginia.” The reference to “inhabitations in Virginia” indicates another important promotional item for New Men. That is, the New World represented opportunities for land ownership exhausted in England. The possibility “for the discovering, and inhabiting of new Countries” as presented by “The letters Patents granted by the Queenes Majestie to Sir Walter Raleigh Knight” clearly would appeal to New Men who needed land to indicate and assure their social standing. Further, these selections help to solidify the existence of this group by referring to them explicitly and bringing their interest together in one place.

While encouraging individual social profit, Hakluyt also advertises the social benefits to the English nation at large in *Principall Navigations*. That is, exploration and colonization can bolster England’s prestige and power among other European nations. Hakluyt sees the increase of England’s international reputation as an imperative as shown in several of the titles from his earlier “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting”. The fourteenth title is “That this action will be greately for the increase, mayneteynauce and saftie of our navye, and especially of greate shipping, which is the strengthe of the realme, and for the supportation of all those occupations that depende upon the same” (“Discourse” 5). Significantly, this chapter acknowledges the importance of “greate shipping” to the success and “strengthe of the realme.” That is, Hakluyt believes that “greate shipping” or trade will produce financial gains for England that will bolster its international status and power. The title for chapter fifteen expresses the timeliness of

English involvement in exploration and colonization as it states, “that speedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon those luckey westerne discoveries, for feare of the daunger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intentions, with the order thereof, and other reasons therewithal alleaged” (“Discourse” 5). In other words, the English must take advantage of “luckey westerne discoveries” now before they are “prevented by other nations.” Last, the sixteenth chapter draws attention to the “meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe, and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour” (“Discourse” 5). That is, Hakluyt acknowledges the need to work as a nation to promote profit in order to avoid “shame and dishonour” in the eyes of the international community.

In the dedicatory epistle of *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt continues this theme, promoting his vision of nationhood for a wider, print readership. English inactiveness and pride appall him: “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 continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace” (*Principall Navigations* 2). That is, the English must slough off “their sluggish security” and take advantage of the “long and happy time of peace” and prosperity brought about by the Tudors to increase English prominence in the world. Encouraging his readers to redress past shortcomings, Hakluyt acts as a coach for the English stating, “they [the English] have bene men full of activity...hav[ing] excelled all the nations and people of the earth” (*Principall Navigations* 2). In patriotic language designed to promote expansion, he is calling on the English who once “excelled the nations and people of the earth” to reaffirm their successes and learn from their lost opportunities (Sherman 203). Once again, he offers his collection as a tool

to stimulate and achieve this goal both for the nation as a whole and the individuals who stood poised to make this achievement happen.

Hakluyt's editorial choices indicate his desire to promote English nationhood. James P. Helfers finds that "complex motives underlie [Hakluyt's] collecting...among the principal of these is patriotism" (169). Scholars have also identified the scope of Hakluyt's collection as a type of patriotism (Helfers 177). In addition, Hakluyt's republication in folio format (a size that indicated durability) of texts that had initially appeared in inexpensive and ephemeral formats attests to Hakluyt's promotion of exploration and colonization through preservation of texts praising English maritime accomplishments (Day 289). Hakluyt's explanation of his use of translation in "Richard Hakluyt to the favourable Reader" also bears witness to this notion. He notes, "concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoever testimonie I have found in any author of authoritie appertaining to my argument ... I have recorded the same word for word... If the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it was originally written ... and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English" (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 3). The words "authoritie" and "signification" are important here as they indicate the grave necessity of his labors as perceived by Hakluyt and his supporters.⁶¹ In "To the favourable Reader," Hakluyt acknowledges those whose assistance was invaluable in the construction of *Principall Navigations*. Regarding specific support for his work, it is significant that he mentions "in the third and last [section] besides myne owne extreme travaile in this histories of the Spanyards, my cheefist light hath bene received from Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle

⁶¹ Peter C. Mancall concludes that Hakluyt realized that his endeavors were significant, giving policymakers like Walsingham and even Queen Elizabeth the drive to continue efforts at colonization despite a lack of success thus far (128).

Temple” (*Principall Navigations* sig. r5); Raleigh and Hakluyt the Elder were proponents of colonization. Regarding the patriotic nature of his choice of selections, Hakluyt goes on to state, “I meddle in this worke with the Navigations onely of our nation” (*Principall Navigations* 3). Hakluyt clearly intends this “worke” to celebrate the achievements of “our nation,” promoting further exploration and colonization.

In the text of *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt also identifies social ills which exploration and, more specifically, colonization can alleviate. Hakluyt believes in the potential for colonization to aid problems with overcrowding, unemployment, idleness, and the resultant crime (Mancall 94). The idea of new lands to cure old problems was not new or revolutionary in Hakluyt’s project. As demonstrated in the last chapter, Thomas More creates imaginary social programs to dispel poverty and decrease crime in *Utopia*. Whereas More situates his reform ideas in a fictional locale, Hakluyt imagines the New World as a real alternative to *Utopia*’s imaginary one as “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting” attests. In chapter four of “Discourse” Hakluyt states, “this enterprise will be for the manifolde employmente of numbers of idle men, and for breeding of many sufficient, and for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the comodities of our realme” (Hakluyt, Woods, and Deane 3). Significant is Hakluyt’s mindset that the New World would provide a viable alternative for dealing with “the manifold employmente of numbers of idle men” and the crime resultant from this idleness and poverty.⁶² By presenting selections in *Principall Navigations* which encourage planting and colonizing the New World, Hakluyt promotes the implied goal of solving social ills in England. A chief example comes from “A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands.” In the fourth chapter of this account of Gilbert’s voyaging,

⁶² Andrew Hadfield discusses Hakluyt’s extension of idleness to ministers who engage in doctrinal disputes merely to be divisive. The rigor of New World life would ameliorate this idleness as well as that of the traditional poor and unemployed to the betterment of the nation (Hadfield 103).

George Peckham contends, “it will provie a generall benefite unto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now live idley at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, and unprofitable to this realme, shall heerby beset on worke [in New World colonies]” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 710). Peckham even specifies and categorizes employment opportunities by age and sex as “children of twelve or fourtheene yeeres of age, or under, may be kept ... in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things,” “women shall also be employed on plucking, drying and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton,” and “men may imploy themselves in dragging for pearle, hunting the Whale ..., making calks ..., fishing ..., and felling of trees” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 711). Based on this list of harsh physical labor, the New World will eradicate the perceived idleness that plagues England.

Another form of social policy contained in *Principall Navigations* is its implicit ideas about the treatment of New World natives. That is, English influence would bring perceived social benefits to the indigenous people whom the English explorers and colonizers encountered. Policy toward indigenous populations involves physical and cultural perceptions as well as their amenability to conversion and English use of their land. Any policies regarding native acculturation to English norms also reflect the patronizing attitudes behind these ideas. Alfred A. Cave notes that “the portrayals of the Indian in Hakluyt’s collections ... warrant close scrutiny, as they offer valuable insight into the preconceptions and assumptions which guided English colonialism” (4). One vivid example of rude New World inhabitants in need of English civilizing influence comes from “The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West, and Northwest Regions, in the yeere 1577. With a description of the Countrey, and people,” where the natives are observed to “eate their meate all rawe, both fleshe, fishe, and

foule, or something perboyled with bloud and a little water, which they drinke” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 627). The savagery of eating “rawe” meat is followed up by an allusion to their mental immaturity or inferiority as it is also noted that “they are greatly delighted with anything that is bright, or giveth a sound” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 629). Harkening back to Hakluyt’s sense of moral profit, the selection shows that the English have a duty to tame these wild and childlike inhabitants.

Regarding conversion, Hakluyt identified this notion as a major component of moral profit. However, some of his selections show forceful social policy regarding this process. One of Gilbert’s stated goals for his 1583 voyage is “to discover and plant Christian inhabitants ... upon those large and ample countries extended Northward from the Cape of Florida” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 679). Criticizing a lack of English activity since the days of Cabot whereby “the seed of Christian religion had beene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time [should] have brought forth a most plentiful harvest,” Gilbert takes on the mantle, asking God “to prepare us unto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordained, of calling those pagans into Christianity” by, it can be assumed, any means necessary (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 680). Gilbert’s agricultural metaphor regarding conversion will take on practical terms in Peckham’s account. Considering Gilbert’s reputation, New World inhabitants resistant to the “calling...into Christianity” could expect to be met with force.⁶³ However, the probability of brutal conversion would bring many social benefits to the New World inhabitants in the paternalistic and condescending perception of the English.

Peckham’s narrative of Gilbert’s voyage pinpoints the perceived social benefit of English colonization for natives most specifically. Speaking about the natives’ lack of agriculture, he

⁶³ Gilbert, who used terror in the submission of the Irish, was an acknowledged supporter of the New World as a medium to lessen poverty and crime (Rapple).

states, “yet being brought from brutish ignorance to civility and knowledge and made them to understand how the tenth part of their land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary use of mans life” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 714). That is, English farming techniques will have the social benefit of bringing “civility and knowledge” to the natives, “permitting” them to emulate their English perceived superiors. Peckham links this civilizing process to Protestant conversion and God’s will by asserting, “I doe verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry, yeeld things necessary for mans life” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 714). Improved agricultural methods are not the only social profit that the English will bring to natives. Peckham reveals that “they shall receive by the Christians ... reduc[tion] from unseemely customes honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well governed commonwealth, and withall shalbe taught mecanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 714). Thus, all native pagan social and cultural practices will be replaced by Protestant English ones.

Lastly, Hakluyt’s editorial choices indicate his attitude regarding the repossession of land held by native peoples. As shown in *Utopia*, Utopians justified the takeover of lands which they deemed underutilized either by peaceful “assent ... to the same style of life” or “if they resist ... [by] mak[ing] war against them [the inhabitants]” (More, *Utopia* 67). Peckham’s account included in *Principall Navigations* subscribes to this idea as well. He encouraged the use of force against natives who did not willingly acculturate to Protestantism and English civility (Cave 10). In his own words, Peckham states, “wherein if also they [natives] shal not be suffered in reasonable quietness to continue, there is no barre (as I judge) ... [so that] the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, [and] take possession of their

Townes, Cities, or Villages” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 706). Stating that “there is no barre” to using a “strong hand” with native inhabitants, Peckham perceived the necessity to utilize physical force in the New World. Although seemingly opposed to Spanish cruelty visited upon New World inhabitants, the English felt justified in their own particular policy of violence to achieve social profit.

Social profit, whether as societal advancement, reform, or policy, melds with moral profit. That is, it is only through God’s blessing that the English will achieve social profit, whether for the individual or as a nation (Helfers 173). Referring to past English diplomatic and trade successes in the Near and Far East, Hakluyt states, “I take it as a pledge of Gods further favour both unto us and and them: to them especially, unto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* *3v). Although “common trade with their marchants” implies economic profit, it also hints at the social profit to be gained by the English as individuals whose financial growth will aid social advancement and as a nation whose reputation increases through commerce with other lands. However, any social and economic profit can only be had because of “Gods further favour,” as social and economic success demonstrates evidence of Protestant salvation. Therefore, as he had with moral profit, Hakluyt proffered *Principall Navigations* as a viable medium to acquire social profit.

Economic Profit: Networks, Diction, and Propaganda

At its essential, practical core, *Principall Navigations* focuses on economic profit. In the first and second parts, Hakluyt includes selections that represent the commercial opportunities awaiting in known but exotic locales ranging from Guinea and “the voyage of Robert Gaynsh

under Queen Mary to Guinea. Anno 1554” to Egypt and “the voyage of John Evesham into Egypt. An. 1586,” in the “South and Southeast regions.” The “North and Northeast quarters” range from Russia with “the voyage of Anthony Jenkinson into Russia wherein Osep Napea first Ambassador from the Emperor of Moscovia to Queen Marie was transported into his countrie. An. 1557” to Persia and “the voyage of Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheiny servantes to the Company of Moscovie Marchants in London, into Persia. An. 1563.” In “the voyages of the third and last part, made to the West, Southwest, and Northwest regions,” Hakluyt concentrates on excerpts highlighting the financial benefits to be found in the strange New World domains of the West Indies, Mexico, and Virginia with “the voyage of Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies. An. 1562,” “the voyage of Roger Bodenham to Saint John de Ullua in the Bay of Mexico. Anno 1564,” and “the voyage of Philip Amadas, and Arthur Barlowe to Virginia, at the charge, and direction of Sir Walter Raleigh. Anno 1585” among many others. Further, this section imagines the economic possibilities inherent in the discovery of an elusive Northwest Passage, “the third voyage of John Davis in his former enterprise, wherein hee discovered 200 leagues more to the North-west, than master Frobisher.” Utilizing loaded language, Hakluyt proffers his collection in *Principall Navigations* to advertise various opportunities for financial and commercial success in the New World for both individuals and the English nation at large.

As a New Man, Hakluyt would have been interested in economic profit in order to bolster his social standing. His uncle, namesake, and muse, Richard Hakluyt the Elder, found importance in the financial opportunities in venturing as evidenced in his accounts reproduced in *Principall Navigations*. In addition to the fostering of profit for the individual New Man, Richard Hakluyt and his uncle also understood exploration, colonization, and trade as being for the economic benefit of the nation at large. In “Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt of the

middle Temple Esquire, given to certain Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discoverie, for their directions,” the elder Hakluyt highlights the necessity of exploration for economic profit and the important role of explorers “because trafficke is a thing so material, I wish that great observation be taken what every soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soever, and what it may be made to yeeld by indeavour, and to send us notice home, that thereupon we may devise what means may be thoght of to raise trades” (637). This passage puts plain emphasis on the economic implications of exploration in the words “trafficke” and “material” and the phrase “what means may be thogte of to raise trades.”

Both Hakluyts worked as mercantile advisors for various groups, gathering a plethora of facts regarding practices in overseas trades and potential new markets throughout the world.⁶⁴ As mercantile advisors, they had a significant role in promoting and directing interest in the New World, acting as “commercial-geographical consultants to the merchant explorers who dominated England’s exploratory ventures during the sixteenth century...[and] made the first attempts to collect and codify practical foreign geographical information. The older Richard Hakluyt specialized in mercantile information [while the collector of the *Principall Navigations*]...was the youngest in this [new] line of practical geographers” (Helfers 162). Additionally, the Hakuyts had associations with others who made money through commercial schemes which aided their credibility and success (Fuller, *Voyages* 144). This network included merchants, gentlemen, privateers, and colonizers such as Master Richard Staper, whom Hakluyt the Younger credits as a prime source of information, and Sir Francis Walsingham to whom he dedicated *Principall Navigations* (Ramsay 518).⁶⁵ It would be this network that would also

⁶⁴ Eric H. Ash coins this term in “A Note and a Caveat for the Merchant: Mercantile Advisors in Elizabethan England” (2).

⁶⁵ Staper represents Hakluyt’s connection to the Clothworkers and their long-ranging trade associations as he was elected as Warden of Clothmakers in 1576 and Hakluyt singles him out as a patron (Ramsay 521).

establish the validity of Hakluyt's work as "what counted for a narrative's credibility was the social standing of its author(s), and Hakluyt's compilation had status in excess" (Schleck 791). Therefore, key contributors and backers supported the financial risk of New World venturing that Hakluyt promoted in *Principall Navigations*.

The dedicatory epistle of *Principall Navigations* adds to the subject of economic promotion. The dedication to Walsingham itself implies the investment in commercial opportunities. A prior affiliation with the Russia Company along with initially strong support of Frobisher's search for a Northwest Passage identifies Walsingham's interest in exploration for financial and political reasons (Adams, Bryson, and Leimon). In the revelatory moment in his uncle's chamber, Hakluyt relates how Richard Hakluyt the Elder "pointed with his wand to all knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, and particular wants; which by the benefit of traffike, and entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied" (*Principall Navigations* *2). References to "speciall commodities," "particular wants," "benefit of traffike," and "entercourse of merchants" emphasize the mercantile and commercial outlook Hakluyt gained from this pivotal discourse with his uncle. Later in the dedicatory epistle, Hakluyt describes how Elizabeth's diplomacy has already "obteined for her merchants large and loving privileges [throughout the Near and Far East so that they] returne home most richly laden with the commodities of China" (*Principall Navigations* *3 v). This known success certainly supports the investment in venturing to the New World contained in *Principall Navigation*'s third and final section, laying the economic groundwork for what will eventually become the British empire (Schleck 791).

The diction of *Principall Navigations* and its selections is replete with the language of commerce. As Richard Helgerson notes in “Camoës, Hakluyt, and the Voyages of Two Nations,” “Hakluyt thinks in economic terms...that continue to dominate the various collections of voyages that he published” (37). A cursory look at “the discourses, letters, privileges, relations, and other materiall circumstances incident to the voyages of the third part” reveals a tendency toward commercial word choice. The word commodities appears in three titles: “a relation of the *commodities* of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the Inhabitants, written by Henry Hawkes marchant, who lived 5 yeeres in the cuntry,” “a letter written Richard Hakluyt Esquire, of the middle temple, by Anthonie Parkhurst, conteyning a true report of the state and *commodities* of Newfoundland,” and “the discourse of Sir George Peccham Knight touching the possession of the Newfound lands taken in the right of the Crowne of England, of her Majesties lawfull title thereunto, and of the *commodities* that would insue to this Realme by planting in them” (my emphasis). Also, the term commodities appears twice in the dedicatory epistle. In the first instance, multiple commercial terms appear in his revelatory moment when his uncle showed “their speciall *commodities*, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplies” (*Principall Navigations* *2; my emphasis). This second mention of commodities comes at the end of a list of English and particularly Elizabethan accomplishments where “last of al retourne home most richly laden with the *commodities* of China” (*Principall Navigations* *3; my emphasis). Hakluyt uses the term profit to discuss his own work on *Principall Navigations*, noting the “huge toile, [involved] and the small profit to insue” (*3). I posit that he truly believes that moral, social, and economic profit will be worth his “huge toile.” In “To the favourable Reader,” Hakluyt references trade and

enterprise, while expressing the desire that *Principall Navigations* will “yeelde both profite and pleasure to the reader” (*5).

Significant to the economic goals of *Principall Navigations* are Hakluyt’s editorial choices. In the table of contents, he sets off selections that are affidavit-like in their nature. He highlights documents such as “the letters patents of king Henry the seventh, graunted unto John Cabot” as well as those of Humfrie Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, and Adrian Gilbert in the “discourses, letters, privileges, relations, and other materiall circumstances incident to the voyages of the third part.” These documents contain direct references to financial opportunities as well as appealing to crown and noble support of exploration.

His commonsensical outline of instructions for the Muscovy Company highlight the practical aspect of financial gain found in *Principall Navigations*. In this case, he gives advice to individuals “sent by the merchants of the Moscovie companie for the discoverie of the Northeast straight” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 460). Throughout the carefully divided instructions, Hakluyt urges explorers to hone their observation skills for a place where “an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found” and “the Islands be noted, with their commodities and wants” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 460-1). That is, he wanted these explorers to ascertain which new markets would be open to specifically English goods, “our warme wollen clothes.” Thus, a commercial tone establishes a particular goal for exploration that will benefit investors and the nation. Additionally Hakluyt recommends carrying a sample case of “things to be carried with you, whereof more or lesse is to be caried for a shew of our commodities to be made” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 462). Thus, in order to set up trade opportunities the English should bring examples of what they had to offer. Hakluyt also recommends carrying some luxury items for “banketing on shipboard persons of credit” (Hakluyt, *Principall*

Navigations 466), where “credit” indicates important social standing. At the end of a long list, including marmalade, olives, and sack, Hakluyt indicates “with these and such like, you may banquet where you arrive the greater and best persons” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 466), thereby recognizing the need to solicit those with whom you intend to conduct business. This advice is given regarding exploration of a relatively known, if unestablished, marketplace, as Russia was being explored for its potential as a passageway to the East. Hakluyt specifies that the “banketing” be reserved for the “greater and best persons” and “not among Savages” as determined by English and European standards (*Principall Navigations* 466).

When discussing the unknown, Hakluyt gives specific advice to safeguard the financial risks as well as support anticipated trade. First attention is given to finding a secure location, “chosen on the seaside so as...you may have your owne Navie within Bay, river or lake, within your seate safe from the enemies” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 636). There is an assumption of hostilities here based on what traders most probably had encountered in the past. This safe harbor will also allow “the shippes of England [to] have access to you to supply al wants, so may your commodities may be caried away also” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 636). Thus, the dual necessities of supply and commercial access work together here as a successful enterprise involves the ease of transporting goods back to England as well as the ready replenishment of supplies for colonists. Hakluyt also acknowledges the potential differences in this unknown terrain: “by trade of merchandise they cannot live, except by the seas or the lande there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to have most speciall regard of that point, and so to plant” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 636). That is, the initial stages of setting up trade and colonies in the New World will be predicated on practical skills such as farming. This selection also includes long lists of sought-after commodities such as salt, olives, grapes, and cochineal

from the Old World in hopes that exploration will discover the conditions necessary to produce “a merchandise for the [financial benefit of the] realme” (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 637). Hence, I believe that there is an expressed desire to set up the New World for a long-term investment as opposed to simply pillaging the area and leaving, a concept that the next chapter on Hariot and White will support.

Additionally, it is important to note the practical, business-like formats included in *Principall Navigations*. As the pages attest, lists of distances, commodities, and even mercantile language underscore the concrete nature of *Principall Navigations* to appeal to merchants and investors for whom “fact[s] [were] highly contested deed in which firsthand witnessing was the most credible evidence for its occurrence, followed by second- or thirdhand accounts, and finally documentary evidence” (Schleck 783). That is, the readership of merchants and gentlemen investors did not need entertaining accounts, but rather specifics regarding the opportunities available in the New World. Hakluyt’s entry for “the first voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest for the search for the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576” spans approximately eight pages (Figure 7). This selection takes the form of a travel log organized by day of voyage and containing a brief entry of location, weather, and distance.

The largest entry in this selection comes from the day where they encountered natives who “spake, but we understood them not [and who]...be like to Tartars” (*Principall Navigations* 621). The last page from the account of Frobisher’s first voyage (Figure 8) contains an odd list of words from “the language and people of Meta incognita” (*Principall Navigations* 622). The reader learns words for body parts (comagaye: leg), and some small (pollevetagay: knife) and large (accaskay: ship) objects. Although this linguistic aside seems almost random or trivial, I

contend that it can also be expanded to what Eric H. Ash cites as Hakluyt's concept that "a friendly, clever population, no matter how 'savage', could certainly be taught be determined English merchants to make their soil (however soil is interpreted) yield the very wealth they would need to purchase the civilized English goods they did not yet realize they so badly needed" (29). In other words, a small inroad to language is the first step to establishing some sort of beneficial economic, apart from social, relationship with a foreign population.

In "the request of an honest merchant to a friend of his, to be advised and directed in the course of killing the Whale, as followeth, Anno 1575" (Figures 9 and 10), two detailed lists are offered for "a proportion for the setting foorth of a ship of 200 tunne, for the killing of the Whale" and "a note of certain other necessarie things belonging to the Whalefishing." Such examples show the "how to" nature of many entries that Hakluyt chooses to included. These detail-oriented passages aid the purpose of Principall Navigations two-fold. First, they lend credibility to the work at large by offering first-hand documentary evidence. Second, they detail what investors could expect to involve themselves in when helping to outfit a voyage.

Finally, Hakluyt acted as a propagandist for New World economic possibilities. In "A Discourse Concerning Western Planting," Hakluyt explicitly states the financial motivations for exploration and colonization in the New World. The headings of chapters three, nine, ten, twelve, thirteen, and seventeen blatantly point out the economic opportunities gained from cultivating the New World. In chapter three, Hakluyt states, "this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Africa, and Asia...and supply the wants of all our decayed trades" ("Discourse" 3). Thus the vast unknown of the New World was seen as a wonderland containing all of the goods present in old, distant, and controlled markets. Hakluyt mentions commodities again in title ten, "a brefe declaration of the chefe ilandes in the bay of

Mexico beinge under the Kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what commodities they yelde” (“Discourse” 4). Careful to point out the benefits to the monarchy, Hakluyt describes how “the revenewes and customes of her Majestie, both outwards and inwards, shall mightily be enlarged by the toll, excises and other duties, which without oppression may be raised” (“Discourse” 4). Always in search of revenue to bolster her coffers, Elizabeth should have been very interested in this promise of the New World. Lastly, the potential return of Western exploration is alluded to in chapter seventeen as “that by these colonies in the Northwest Passage, to Cathaia and China may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute” (“Discourse” 5). That is, a colonial base will allow “easely quickly and perfectly” the opportunity to discover a Northwest Passage to unlock the treasures of the East.

In “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting,” we might see the easy elision of all three forms of profit as chapter one’s moral intent is “the enlargement of the gospel of Christ,” while other chapters have a clearly social vein whether solving the problem of the “numbers of idle men” (4) or avenging themselves on the Spanish as “a mean that we may arrest at our pleasure for the space of ten weeks or three months every year one or two hundred [Spanish] sails” (5; Hadfield 101; Boruchoff 120). All of the above come together under the larger goal of economic profit and getting a share of the New World pie before it is too late. Hakluyt stakes the claim in the title of chapter thirteen “that speedy planting in divers fit places is most necessary upon these last lucky western discoveries for fear of the danger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intentions” (“Discourse” 5). This economic theme will move from manuscript form to print in *Principall Navigations*.

For example, Captain Christopher Carlile makes a blatant appeal to investors in his “brieve and summarie discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America”

whereby he hopes “to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscovian companie and others in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge (*Principall Navigations 720*).” In the text Carlile mentions seven points that are typical support for venturing: proximity, year round possibilities, safety from enemies, and the added bonus of the spread of Protestantism (*Principall Navigations 720*). More interesting, however, is the blend of optimism and caution he portrays about New World profit. First he highlights negative outcomes the English have had in dealing with Russians who have “very ticklish termes,” the Dutch who are untrustworthy “[because of the] uncertaintie of the Emperors disposition to keep promise with our nation,” the Turks who are “the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ,” and finally the Spanish and Portuguese “with whom we have very great trade...yet hath he [the emperor] the meanes to put in hazard...our shippes” (*Principall Navigations 719*). Therefore America creates an exciting growth opportunity in contrast to past difficulties. However, Carlile tempers his enthusiasm by asking investors to undertake a long-term vision “as for merchandising, which is matter especially looked for, albeit, that for the present, we are not certainly able to promise any such quantitie...But when this of America shall have bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscovia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be employed well, twise the yeere at the leaste” (*Principall Navigations 720*). That is, the profits to be expected from the New World promise to be immense, but they need to be cultivated over time as quick returns will most like not manifest themselves. Again, these ideas demonstrate the investment that will ultimately pay off in the British Empire.

I have concluded this chapter of my project with the promotion of colonization to mirror Hakluyt’s ending his “third part” with “an assignment from Sir Walter Raleigh to divers

gentlemen, and Merchants of London, for continuing the inhabitations of the English in Virginia”. As he outlined in the manuscript of “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting” and in the selection of many entries in the *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt clearly saw colonization as the best way to ensure profit from the New World. Raleigh’s document states the “zeale of planting the christian religion, in, and amongst the sayde barbarous and heathen countries, and for the advancement and preferment of the same, and the common utilitie and profite of the inhabitants...assistants nowe lying in Virginia, and other adventurers aforesayde, their heirs, and assignes...the somme of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, to use by them adventured and disposed...to have, holde, occupie, use, employ, possesse, enjoy, and dispose...as also such gayne, profite, commoditie, and advantage and increase” (*Principall Navigations* 816). Here, Raleigh is careful to include (what he believes is) the moral imperative behind colonization as the “planting [of] the christian religion...[will be for the] profite of the inhabitants”. However, it is equally important to note the economic “gayne, profite, commoditie, and advantage and increase” waiting for those who take the risk in New World exploration and colonization. Long-term profit would be found in New World colonization, where it allowed the moral, social, and especially economic advancements to continue in perpetuity for the British people and nation.

Conclusions

In his construction of *Principall Navigations*, Richard Hakluyt designs a vehicle to guide his contemporaries in the direction of exploration and colonization. Beyond his achievement for Elizabethan England with the 1589 and 1598 editions of *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt also leaves an invaluable resource with which to deduce the attitudes of the New Men who were building a new England and a New World. Due to his efforts at collecting and publishing

documents, Hakluyt produces a work that presents a witness to English accomplishment and failure. Additionally, it provides a testament to the power of editing and translation.

Throughout this chapter, I have shown how *Principall Navigations* brings to light the three types of profit. At its most obvious is the drive for economic profit for investors and the nation at large. I have shown how Hakluyt's editing choices provided a positive, if often cautious, picture regarding potential economic profit in the New World as well as offering practical advice to safeguard this profit. Additionally, it is clear that economic profit was to go hand in hand with moral profit in the spread of Protestantism. Through excerpts from his manuscript "Discourse," editing choices, and evidence from the dedicatory epistle, this chapter has demonstrated Hakluyt's shared anti-Catholicism and desire to promote the True Faith. Social profit is implicit in *Principall Navigations* as it was also in "Discourse." Again through editing choices, Hakluyt gives voice to his own feelings about colonization as a solution to social issues such as idleness and poverty.

This chapter also demonstrates the active and engaged readership of the New Men for whom the text was created and to whom the number of extant copies attests. Hakluyt, his uncle, and many of his patrons were New Men. *Principall Navigations* promoted the desires of the New Men regarding moral, economic, and social profit and their interest in creating a national identity and a competitive empire.

As the final chapter turns to Hariot, I will finally arrive at the New World with a first-hand account by Hariot and drawings by White. This will bring together the imagined world of Mandeville, the invented world of More, and the collected world of Hakluyt. As a part of *Principall Navigations*, Hariot will emphasize Hakluyt's editorial expertise for its inclusion as well as its place as an early anthropological treatise.

CHAPTER 3 FIGURES



Figure 7. Excerpt from The first voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest

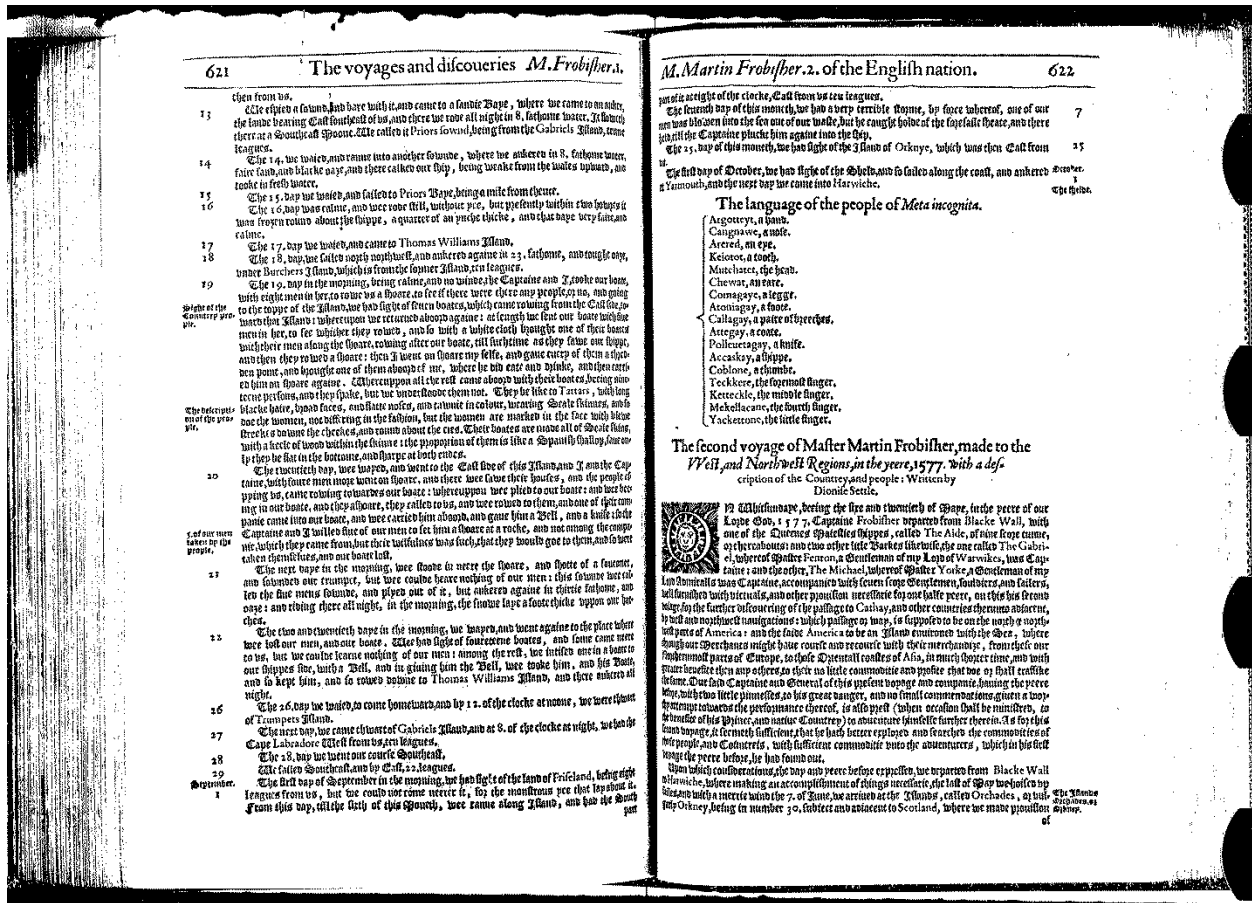


Figure 8. The language and people of Meta incognita

then from us.
 13 The first day of the clocke, and from us ten leagues.
 14 The second day of this month, we had a very terrible storme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowne into the sea out of our walke, but he caught hold of the forefall theare, and there lay till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship.
 15 The 15. day of this month, we had sight of the 3. hand of Ockney, which was then East from us.
 16 The third day of October, we had sight of the Shetland, and so sailed along the coast, and entered the mouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.
 The language of the people of Meta incognita.
 Argonteyn, a hand.
 Cangrowe, a nose.
 Areted, an eye.
 Keicoret, a tooth.
 Mutehate, the hand.
 Chewat, an ear.
 Comagay, a leggyr.
 Acowagay, a foot.
 Callagay, a part of the cheek.
 Attegay, a coat.
 Polleucagay, a knife.
 Accaskay, a shippe.
 Coblowe, a thimble.
 Yekkerre, the foremost finger.
 Kereckle, the middle finger.
 Mchellacore, the fourth finger.
 Yackewone, the little finger.

The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West, and North-west Regions, in the year, 1577. with a description of the Countrey and people: Written by Dionis Settle.
 The first day of the clocke, and from us ten leagues.
 The second day of this month, we had a very terrible storme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowne into the sea out of our walke, but he caught hold of the forefall theare, and there lay till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship.
 The 15. day of this month, we had sight of the 3. hand of Ockney, which was then East from us.
 The third day of October, we had sight of the Shetland, and so sailed along the coast, and entered the mouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

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 The second day of this month, we had a very terrible storme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowne into the sea out of our walke, but he caught hold of the forefall theare, and there lay till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship.
 The 15. day of this month, we had sight of the 3. hand of Ockney, which was then East from us.
 The third day of October, we had sight of the Shetland, and so sailed along the coast, and entered the mouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

And the first day of June I departed from the said Vologda by water towards Colmogor, where I arrived the 21. of June aforesaid, and remained there until the 23. of June, looking for the said John Poxton to have returned unto me in all that time, which had written fully enough in the spare both to go to the court to dispute his business, and to have returned againe unto me, but he came not, for it was otherwise determined before his going, as I did after understanding, & can more at large by word of mouth declare unto your worshipps, the occasion thereof.

Nevertheless I am well assured before this time your Agents both returned into his hands the said letters of privileges, and shall have dispatch with expedition in all things touching your affairs according to his majesties grant by me obtained, and as hee hath written to the Queenes majestie at this present, wishing that as now by my going the Emperour hath bestowed his gracious displeasure from you, and rebuys you against into his favour, so your Agents and others your friends there resident may behave, and endeavour themselves to keepe & augment the time, whose cruel doings have bene the onely occasion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of such countries as I Anthonie Jenkinson have tra- uelled vnto from the second of October, 1546. at which time I made my first voyage out of England, vntill the yeere of our Lord, 1572. when I returned last out of Russia.

I first I passed into Flaunders, and trauelled through all the base countries, and from thence through Germanie, passing ouer the Alpes I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through Picconne into France, through all which realme I haue thoroughly iourneied.

I haue also trauelled through the kingdoms of Spaine and Portugal, I haue sailed through the L. euant sea east way, and haue bene in all the chief standes within the same sea, as Rhodes, Spalta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and diuers others. I haue bene in many partes of Grecia, Sporca, Achata, and where the olde cite of Capri stood.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers other countreys in Asia minor.

I haue passed ouer the mountaines of Libanus to Damasco, and trauelled through Samaria, Galilee, Iudithine and Iudee, vnto Jerusalem, and so through all the holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Africa, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the Colles twise the gulf of Tunis.

I haue sailed farre Northward within the More glaciale, where there haue had continuall day, and sight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that navigation was in Norway, Lapland, Siamogolia, and other very strange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia and Sibiria, which extend from the North sea, and the confines of Norway, and Lapland, euen to the Black Caspian.

I haue bene in diuers countreys neere about the Caspian sea, Scythia, and Spahometas, as Casan, Cremia, Rezan, Cherenusi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagain, with diuers others of strange names and religions.

I haue sailed ouer the Caspian sea, and discovered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Chio casti, Cornul, Shacall, Shiruan, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40. daies iourney beyond the said sea, towards the Djicraall India, and Cochina, through diuers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through 5. kingdoms of the Turkes, and all the land of Turkeman and Sagatay, and so to the great cite of Boghar in Barria, passing out great perils and dangerous sundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562. I passed againe ouer the Caspian sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a cite called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, and from thence trauelled through Media, Persia, Hircania into Iberia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tarnasie, whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes majestie, and remained in his court 8. monthes, and returning homeward, passed through diuers other countreys. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Russia, the one in the yeere 1566. and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefely consisting my selfe, in that my seruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her maiestie and the rest by whom I haue bene employed.

The request of an honest merchant to a friend of his, to be aduiced and directed in the courst of killing the Whale, as followeth. Anno 1575.

I pray you pleasure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder specified.

By the position and furniture for a ship of 200. tonnes, to catch the whale fish in Russia, passing from England.

How many men to furnish the ship.

How many fisher men shall full to catch the Whale, & how many other officers, and Coopers.

How many boats, and what fashion, and how many men in each boat.

The wages of such skilfull men and other officers, as we shall neede out of this ship.

How many harping irons, speares, coybes, axes, hatchets, knives, and other implements for the fishing, and what sort and greatnesse of them.

How many beehes, the greatnesse and manner of them, and of what metall, and whether they bee set on stoves or on furnaces for boiling of the frame oyle, and others.

What quantitie of cashe, and what sort of cashe, and what number of hoopes and twiggcs, and how much thereof to be stowed for the tract.

The quantitie of victuals, & what kind of victuals for the men in all this time.

For the common mariners and officers to gouerne the ship, we shall neede any out of this ship, but onely men skilfull in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oyle, and one Cooper skilfull to see by the stowed cashe.

Also what other matters are requisite to be knowne, and done for the said voyage to catch the Whale, not here neede now remembred.

These requests were thus answered, which may serue as directions for all such as shall intend the same voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the setting forth of a ship of 200. tonne, for the killing of the Whale.

There must be 55. men who departing for Wardhouse in the moneth of April, must be furnished with 4. kintals and a half of bread for every man, 250. hogheads to put the bread in.

- 150. hogheads of Cedar.
- 6. kintals of oyle.
- 8. kintals of bacon.
- 6. hogheads of biele.
- 10. quarters of salt.
- 150. pound of candles.
- 8. quarters of beanes and pease.
- Salt fish and herring, a quantitie convenient.
- 4. tunnes of wine.
- Half a quarter of mustard seed, and a quene.
- 2. gredstone.
- 800. empty shaken hogheads.
- 350. bundles of hoopes, and 6. quintalines.
- 800. paire of hoes for the hogheads.
- 10. Catches called rees for harping irons.
- 10. pieces of Aporicas.
- 3. pieces of Baidrus for the Taulings small.
- 2. tacked to turne the Whales.
- A halfe of 27. fadoms long to turne the Whales.
- 15. great Taulings.
- 18. small Taulings.
- 50. harping irons.
- 6. marlines to cut the Whale withall.
- 2. doozin of machetes to minch the Whale.
- 2. great hookes to turne the Whale.

Figure 9. A proportion for the setting forth of a ship of 200. tonne, for the killing of the Whale

- 3, paire of Can hookes,
- 6, hookes for staves,
- 3, dozen of staves for the harping irons,
- 6, pulles to turne the Whale walch,
- 10, great baskets,
- 10, lampes of iron to carrie light,
- 5, bettels of 150 ll. the piece, and 6, ladles,
- 1000, of nails for the pinnaces,
- 500, of nails of Carabellie for the houses, and the warst,
- 18, nets and hatchets to cleave wood,
- 12, pieces of linc, and 6, dozen of hookes,
- 2, bettels of Kofemarie,
- 4, dozen of oares for the pinnaces,
- 6, lantemes,
- 500, of Telle,
- Item, gunpowder and matches for barquebushes as shall be needfull,
- Item, there must be carried from hence 5, pinnaces, five men to strike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5, coopers, and a purser of two,

A note of certaine other necessarrie things belonging to the

- Whalefishing, received of master W. Burrough,
- A sufficient number of pulles for tackle for the Whale,
- A dozen of great baskets,
- 4, furnaces to melt the Whale in,
- 6, ladles of copper,
- A thousand of nails to mend the pinnaces,
- 500, great wailes of spikes to make their house,
- 3, paire of bootes great and strong, for them that shall cut the Whale,
- 8, calve skins to make apparels of barbecous,

The deposition of M. William Burrough to certaine Interrogatories ministred vnto him concerning the Narue, Keger, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are subiect, made the 23. of June, 1576.

These articles seeme to haue bene ministred vpon the quarell betweene Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscouic companie, for his trade to the Narue without their consent.

The first Interrogatorie.

Item, whether the villages or townes vulgarly called the Narue, Keger, Pechingam and Cola, and the portes of the same towne, as well as the time of the grant of the letters of priuiledge by the Emperour to our merchants, as also in the years of our King, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575, respectively were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiects of the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia: and whether the sayd Emperour of Russia by all the time aforesayd, was chiefe lord and gouernour respectiue of the sayd places, and so vulgarly known, had and reputed: and whether the said towne and places, and either of them be situated towards the North and North east or North west, and betwene the North and the East point: and be the same places whereunto by force of the sayd priuiledge, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffique, sailing to the forreine aforesaid.

The second Interrogatorie.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent saith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narue, Keger, Pechingam and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the said priuiledge (as he iudgeth) were reputed respectiue to bee vnder the iurisdiction, and subiect to the Emperour of Russia, and so from the time of the sayde grant, vnto the year, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our King, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575, respectively they were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect vnto the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia, and the same Emperour of Russia by all the time aforesaid, was chiefe gouernour respectiue of the said places, and so vulgarly known, had and reputed. And that all the sayd places are situated from London Northward, betwene the East and the North, and

within the grant of the letters patents, and priuiledges of the said companie of merchants for the traffique of new reades, and the same places whereunto by force of the said letters patents, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffique sailing to the forreine aforesaid.

Item, whether the Deponent saith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeeres, or euer yeere once, hath had one of his subiects or more by himselfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places, Cola, Keger, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappie certaine tribute or head price, which the said Lappie haue willingly giuen to him in fauour of the said prince, and to him quietly by his subiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their countrey, whereof Warthouise is the strongest hold, & bordereth vnto them. He hath also heard that in the time of peace betweene the said Emperour of Russia, and the kings of Sweden, there was secretly for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in manner as the king of Denmarke's seruant used to doe, and did demand of them some tribute or dutie which the king of Denmarke's seruant used to doe, and did demand of the said Emperour and king of Sweden, he hath not heard of any thing that hath bin paid by them to the king of Sweden: such is the simplicitie of the people the Lappie, that they would rather giue tribute to all those that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill wills.

But the truth is, as this Deponent saith, that the said mightie prince the Emperour of Russia is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the said countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are observed by them, he takes toll and custome of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become christians, he endeth amongst themselves, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they require to the honor of Finmarke: also said in Lappia, is the monastrie Berchingam, which are monkes, and use the Ruffe law, the chiefe of that abbey is atwaies appointed by the elege in Spolha.

Also in the yeere of our King, 1557, the said Deponent was at the place Keger, in the moneth there the Ruffes, Scythians and Lappians, on the one side subiects to the said mightie prince the Emperour of Russia, and the Norwegians or Fines and people of Finmarke, subiects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fish for other commodities. The deponent saith that he had the chiefe gouernment of the said part, and tooke toll of those people that were subiect to his master, and the capitaine of Wardhouse, had then the gouernment of the people subiect to his master the king of Denmarke. He saith also, that betwene the abbey Berchingam and the abbey of St. Nicholas in Russia, vpon the boorde of the said coast of Lappia, he hath bene vpon the boarde at diuers places, where fresh riuers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken fresh Salmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the subiects of the said Emperour, and by the said Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he saith, that he hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that there is not any such riuere or creeke of fresh water which falleth out of the said countrey of Lappia into the sea, betwene the said abbey Berchingam, and the baie of St. Nicholas, but they are all and except of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiue the rent for them.

Berchingam abbey.

Item, whether as well before as also within the memory of men, till the time of the grant of the said letters patents of the English merchants (sailing the merchants of the said forreine) subiects of this Realme of England, haue commonly exercised or frequented business or trade in the said villages or townes called the Narue, Keger, Berchingam, & Cola, or in any of them, or in any partes or townes of the said Emperour of Russia.

The third Interrogatorie.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent answereth, that the subiects of this Realme before the grant of the said letters patents did not commonly exercise, neither frequented any trade to any of the said places called the Narue, Keger, Berchingam, or Cola, or to any of them.

The fourth Interrogatorie.

Certaine reasons to dissuade the vse of a trade to the Narue aforesaid, by way through Sweden.

The merchants of the Narue are grosse waers, viz. flaxe, hemp, ware, saltow & hides. The traffique at that place standeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Russia, with the king of Sweden: so all these merchandises that are brought thither come from Moscoue, Rostogrod, and other partes of the Emperours dominions. For transporting those merchandises from Narue to Stockholm, or what other place shall be thought convenient in Sweden, it must be in vessels of those colanies, which will be of final force to resist

R. 3. f. 111.

Figure 10. A note of certain other necessarrie things belonging to the Whalefishing

CHAPTER FOUR: DESCRIBING LANDS IN THOMAS HARIOT'S *A BRIEF AND TRUE REPORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIRGINIA WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY JOHN WHITE*

I have therefore thought it good beeing one that have beene in this discoverie and in dealing with the naturall inhabitantes specially imploied; and having therefore seene and knowne more then the ordinarie: to imparte so much unto you of the fruites of our labours. (Hariot 3)

With this statement, Thomas Hariot indicates the uniqueness and importance of *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia (1590)*. Hariot asserts the authority of the text and by extension White's images as originating from "one that have beene in this discoverie." He draws attention to his first-hand perspective, which he further emphasizes by stating that he has "seene and knowne more than the ordinarie." It is this eyewitness accounting and "dealing with the naturall inhabitants" that identify the text and accompanying illustrations of *A briefe and true report* as an influential piece of propaganda for English expansion and colonization as well as reveal its academic significance as a work that some like David Beers Quinn have called an early example of ethnographic work. Described as a servant of Sir Walter Raleigh in the frontispiece of *A briefe and true report*, Thomas Hariot allied himself with Raleigh, his circle, and their interest in New World discovery, exploration and colonization. Hariot's text presents a straight-forward account of what he saw in Roanoke and what possibilities he envisioned for the English in this region. As an acute observer, he noted flora, fauna, minerals, and metals that he recognized and hypothesized properties for those he did not. Further, he provided a remarkable description of the natives and their culture with which he came in contact. Accompanied by John White's drawings, *A briefe and true report* as presented in the edition by Theodore de Bry tenders an early example of a study that sought to present facts obtained through observation, leaving behind fantastical works like *Mandeville*. Mary Baine Campbell asserts that "since de Bry chose [primarily] only ethnographic pictures to engrave; the whole of Hariot's verbal text

comes to seem ethnographic” (55). While portraying a people and their culture through prose and image, it also provides opportunity for discourse on profit, making it an integral part of my project and a fitting end to this same project. In this way, *A briefe and true report* as a text differs from my earlier chapters as offering a first-person account versus the pretense of Mandeville, the fiction of More, and the secondhand (or more) collection of Hakluyt. Hariot and White were individuals who were taking an active role in England’s expansion in the New World and colonization there. In addition to its ethnographic interest, *A briefe and true report* provides an excellent example of promotional literature. It was principally designed as propaganda to attract and bolster financial investment in New World ventures. Additionally, it was employed to counteract negative press about the colonizing of Virginia.⁶⁶ Its organization into three neatly compiled and classified parts and a table of images and items at its conclusion speaks explicitly to this purpose and sets up the text for a discussion of moral, social, and economic profit. Published on its own, *A briefe and true report* was also featured in Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations* as part of the affidavit-like documents included in the collection. With *A briefe and true report*, Hariot and White created a work that provides one of the most intriguing early glimpses of the New World and its inhabitants.

As I navigate the world that Hariot and White observed, I will be using the 1590 publication of *A briefe and true report* as printed by Theodore DeBry in Frankfurt (STC 12786). This version as found on EEBO contains White’s illustrations, which are integral to understanding how *A briefe and true report* reflects the three types of gain. In this chapter, I will

⁶⁶ Earle Leighton Rudolph compares the tone of such works as *A briefe and true report* to the spiel of real estate agents (79). However, he also states that “after Hariot returned to England he felt it necessary to defend Raleigh from his critics, those members of the expedition who complained bitterly about the colony” (80). Wayne Franklin remarks that “all of his [Hariot’s] comments on variant visions [of the expedition] can be placed at the head of his enthusiastic catalog, their dismissal an act of sarcasm rather than historical oversight [where] the bad reports to which he refers have resulted from bad men” (105).

examine how Hariot's written and White's visual act of representing the "new found land of Virginia" and its inhabitants in a seemingly practical, scientific, and cautious account had a lasting impact on the New Men and their expectations for moral, social, and economic profit in the New World as well as influencing English policy regarding colonization and the treatment of native peoples. Although this stance appears undoubtedly to be an ambitious task for such a small tract, I assert that the author and water colorist intended to have a direct impact on later colonization as witnessed by Hariot's discourse regarding native peoples and the type of individual who should be involved in colonization as well as White's eventual role of the doomed colony of Roanoke. Further, I will show how this work provides an excellent tool for the modern scholar to examine early ethnography and promotional literature at a key moment in the defining of English nationhood and, eventually, empire.

In this chapter, my discussion of moral, social, and economic profit will build on the text's scholarly reception in specific ways. My evidence from *A briefe and true report* of moral profit speaks directly to scholarship regarding Hariot and White's contribution to ethnography and their observation of native religion. Regarding social profit, I will add to scholarship on the New Men represented by this text and their interest in promoting England on the international stage. Finally, and most obviously, my close reading of the text and its images will contribute to scholarly debate about *A briefe and true report* as a work of promotional literature intended to garner interest in colonization and its potential for economic profit.

Biographical, Contemporary, and Modern Perspectives

Both Hariot and White were New Men.⁶⁷ Taking the path of education for social promotion, these men enjoyed the rewards open to them through patronage under the Tudors and

⁶⁷ Alternate spellings exist for individuals like Hariot (Harriot) and Raleigh (Ralegh). Throughout this chapter, I will use the spellings which DeBry employed in his publication of *A briefe and true report*.

their favorites. This path links all of the texts in this project from the readership of Mandeville, to More to Hakluyt as they respectively demonstrate the emergent “middling sort” who profited during the War of the Roses and grew to great power in the relative peace that followed. Thus, Hariot and White operated in the milieu of other New Men like Raleigh, Grenville, and Hakluyt who were eager to impact English policy regarding exploration and colonization.⁶⁸ As has been shown in the previous chapter, Richard Hakluyt intended his *Principall Navigations* as a call to action on the part of the Protestants, the New Men, and the queen to take on a dynamic role in exploration and colonization. Hakluyt’s inclusion of *A briefe and true report* in his collection highlights both Hakluyt’s purpose and the notion that this work shared Hakluyt’s goal. In this way, the packaging of their voyage to and observation of Virginia as *A briefe and true report* was designed to promote English nationhood and expansion, advertising the potential for profit in the New World. The work would have also been intended to attract and maintain the financial investment of those New Men who saw the connection between land, trade, and the court (McIntyre 187).⁶⁹ This connection then would provide a means to attain moral, social, and economic profit, the hallmarks of the New Men.

Again demonstrating the link between education and social advancement under the Tudors, Thomas Hariot attended Oxford. Hariot’s mathematical and instrumental skills in astronomical navigation garnered him the notice of Raleigh for whom he became a tutor (Roche). Indeed, scholars have noted the significance of Hariot’s mathematical and scientific research, but due to a lack of desire to pursue publishing his work actively during his lifetime, Hariot’s impact on math and science has been less than what it potentially could have been

⁶⁸ Susan Schmidt Horning argues that DeBry himself might have been aiming for Raleigh’s patronage with the publication of *A briefe and true report*. DeBry would have felt an affinity for Protestant colonization in the New World as he was a Huguenot refugee living in Frankfurt-am-Main (Horning 376).

⁶⁹ One such significant New Man was William Sanderson. Sanderson acted as a financial sponsor and manager of exploration by John Davis and, more significantly for my research, Raleigh (McIntyre 184).

(Roche). His association with Raleigh increased Hariot's fortunes but also went on to enmesh him later in unproven charges of atheism (Webb 10, 14). Although I will not delve into this aspect of Hariot and Raleigh in the body of the chapter, I do believe that it can be offered up as tangential support for the notion of Hariot as unbiased observer. As part of Raleigh's circle, Hariot also spent time on colonizing efforts in Ireland (Roche). This involvement in Ireland has a dual significance. First, it allows for analysis regarding the English attitudes toward and treatment of native populations. Secondly, it provides an additional link between Hariot and the New Men surrounding Raleigh. Unlike White, Hariot never seemed to desire a leadership role in colonization. Instead he preferred to follow scholarly pursuits during his lifetime (Roche).

Hariot also had ties to Hakluyt, another figure who saw the importance of skillful navigation (Horning 373). As already stated, Hakluyt would include *A briefe and true report* in his 1588 *Principall Navigations*. Its inclusion attests to Hakluyt's belief in the text's ability to represent the profit to be found in the New World. Another factor contributing to the significance of this tract and its author is also manifested in the fact that Hariot studied the local language before the expedition of 1585 (Roche). This detail demonstrates a scientific mind as well as a grasp of the nature of true communication. In my opinion, this aspect of the scientific or ethnographical observer also allowed Hariot to have a more objective viewpoint of the land and people he encountered as well as those who thought to colonize the land.

Another enthusiast of American colonization and recipient of Raleigh's patronage, John White joined the enterprise as a water colorist to provide visual documentation of the native inhabitants, their settlements, and the flora and fauna of Virginia. White's passion for colonization led Raleigh to name White governor of the enterprise that would end disastrously as the Lost Colony of Roanoke (Miller 82). After this catastrophe, White also spent time in Ireland,

which once again brings up the similarity in English attitudes toward native peoples of all sorts, whether the “Indians” of North America or the “savage Celts” of Ireland.

Due to the commonality of his name, White’s biography has caused some difficulty for scholars (Adams 89). However, most agree that the water colorist and the governor are one and the same (Binyon 20). David I. Bushnell praises White’s artistic work for its depiction of detail, stating that “the drawings made by White convey a better understanding...than would many pages of text” (21). Although not included in the deBry version, White’s images of wildlife have caught the attention of scholars like Laurence Binyon who highlight White’s ability to draw “with his eye on the object...[to] make a faithful report...us[ing] a sober delineation” (21). In accord with these scholars, I believe that it is crucial to pair White’s images, whether of people or wildlife, with Hariot’s text in order to gain an accurate understanding of the importance of the importance of the three types of profit within this text.

Although he is best known for his drawings of Virginia and his time as governor of the doomed Roanoke colony, this was not White’s first involvement in exploration. He was part of Martin Frobisher’s expedition of 1577 (Tiro). As evidence of another tie with New Men, Frobisher’s various expeditions were included in Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations*. As a governor, White shows the personal aspect of venturing for profit. In an example of social profit and its connection to land ownership, White brought his daughter and son-in-law along in the colonization effort. From the onset there were indications that the effort would be plagued with difficulties as he had issues with asserting his command at the beginning (Tiro). Having voyaged to England to resupply the colony, White was delayed three years because of the conflict with Spain. When he finally returned, White found that the colonists had disappeared. In this instance, White paid a heavy personal price in his pursuit of profit as three family

members were casualties of the Lost Colony.⁷⁰ As examples of true New Men operating in the environment of others like Raleigh and Grenville, Hariot and White demonstrate the affinity of like-minded New Men who looked to the New World as a means whereby all forms of profit could be achieved albeit at a heavy price.

As already alluded to in the introduction, *A briefe and true report* has great value as an early foray into ethnography. Scholars like Wayne Franklin and Mary Baine Campbell have asserted the significance of this text to science and cultural anthropology. Franklin finds that “his [Hariot’s] own interests...extended as well into what we now call anthropology...spend[ing] a good deal of time traveling around with John White for the purpose of recording in prose, as White was in water colors, the details of native experience, and of New World flora and fauna” (106). I utilize this framework to develop my arguments regarding this text as an example of moral, social, and economic profit. Mary Baine Campbell places works like *A briefe and true report* in “a period of intense intellectual, technological, religious, and economic transformation” (4) which highlights the importance I find in this text as well as in all of the texts from previous chapters. Elucidating this period of transition, *A briefe and true report* provides a counterpoint in this dissertation to the Mandeville and even More chapters as it emerges in “an age of discovery, invention, venture capital, conquest...[where] the active, not contemplative virtues were in the ascendance [and] increasingly wonder was suspect, inconvenient, need[ing] to be put in its (eventually aesthetic) place” (Campbell 4). Following their lead, I will contend that Hariot’s words and White’s drawings together provide a vivid portrayal of the natives and their environment at a pivotal moment in time when early English ideas of nationhood and identity intersected with a distinct other whom they would seek to dominate and ultimately displace and

⁷⁰ Most famous is his granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first English child born in the New World. Reading a fascinating but largely imagined biography about Virginia Dare as an elementary school student, I had a Hakluyt-like moment that sparked my interest in the Early Modern Period.

destroy. Hariot and White offer a type of objectivity, but they will both go on to spend time in Ireland where a policy of harsh treatment of the indigenous people transfers easily across to colonies in the New World. This depiction of natives also has led some scholars like Michael Leroy Oberg to make a contrast between *A briefe and true report* and the harsh English policy regarding natives as favored by colonizers like Ralph Lane when successful colonization later took hold. I concur with Oberg that Hariot's scientific and optimistic perspective, which he shared with Hakluyt, alludes to native potential for conversion and control without the intensely negative attitudes others would have towards the native culture and people (46). Indeed, Hariot and White's "gentler" perspective would have quickly disappeared as colonists and later settlers would treat native peoples with disdain, deception, and violence that continues to this day as part of the shameful fabric of American postcolonialism.

Other scholars like Roberta Rosenberg, Hugh T. Lefler, and Howard Mumford Jones highlight *A briefe and true report's* importance as an example of promotional or travel literature. As a scholar interested in representations of profit, I also intend to examine this aspect of the text in this chapter in keeping with the foci of previous chapters. Lastly, there is also scholarly interest in the varied publications of *A briefe and true report* whether as part of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* or the DeBry version. I will add to this aspect of scholarship as I believe that the strong link between Hariot's words and White's images encapsulates the interest of New Men in the New World and its potential for profit.

Moral Profit: Ethnography, Divinity, and Conversion

Although I begin with moral profit, Hariot does not reference it until "The Third and Last Part...with a description of the nature and manners of the people." Even at this point, moral profit shares billing with "of commodities for building and other necessary uses." I believe that

this juxtaposition emphasizes the text's function as promotional literature and ethnographic observation rather than strict moralizing. Hariot's description conveys a sense of scientific examination as he describes the natives' housing being "made of small poles made fast at the tops in rounde forme after the maner as is used in many arbories in our gardens of England" (Hariot 24) and their clothing as "mantles made of Deere skins, & aprons of the same rounde about their middles" (Hariot 24). Therefore, Hariot presents a kind, engaging portrayal of the native population in addition to drawing parallels to familiar sights in England. This representation at once makes the unfamiliar familiar in "the maner as is used in many arbories in our gardens of England" thereby drawing a limited connection between native inhabitants and the English, humanizing their "otherness". In describing native clothing, he feeds a natural curiosity on the part of his readership but also implies a sense of morality (or shame) in that the indigenous people do not go about completely nude.⁷¹ That is, on the one hand, Hariot performs the function of the scientific observer, describing what he has specifically encountered. On the other hand, he also shows his audience that the native peoples have a natural sense of "Christian" modesty that humanizes and familiarizes them in what I believe is Hariot's gentler stance on contact with the native population.

His account provides a sympathetic vision of the natives who are "in respect of us...a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value" (Hariot 25). Hariot's use of the word "poore" conveys multiple meanings. First, the natives are "poore" materially and technologically as perceived in comparison to the English. Secondly, they exercise "poore" discernment in Hariot's mind as the natives are more interested in the "trifles" that the English offer than in other items

⁷¹ Naturally the climate of Virginia would not allow natives to go around entirely nude, but it also permits me to make this scholarly stretch.

the English have that Hariot believes would be more useful to them.⁷² Third, as I shall show, I believe that Hariot finds the native population “poore” spiritually and thus ripe for Protestant conversion. While he does describe them as “people poore...[who have a] want of skill and judgement,” Hariot does not condemn them as unintelligent as he goes on to describe the inhabitants as “seem[ing] very ingenious; For although they have no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences, and artes as wee: yet in those thinges they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit” (25). I find this passage important as it shows Hariot’s scientific nature of observation, which finds him attesting to English superiority in “craftes, sciences, and artes” while also acknowledging the accomplishments of the natives. Because “they shewe excellencie of wit,” Hariot believes that the natives have the potential to develop whether technologically or spiritually.

When describing the native religion, Hariot again takes on an ethnographic tone. He states “some religion they have already, which although it be farre from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may bee the easier and sooner reformed” (Hariot 25). Careful to appease the zealous, “although it be farre from the truth,” Hariot finds that the religion as it exists has potential in that “there is hope it may bee the easier and sooner reformed.” His finds confirmation of their amenability to conversion in his discussion of the organization of their religion. Hariot lets the reader know that “they believe that there are many Gods which they call *Mantóac*, but of different sortes and degrees; one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternite” (25). The fact that the native religion contains a notion of “one onely chiefe and greate God” offers proof that the natives should transition easily from a polytheistic to a strictly monotheistic belief system. Hariot might have had manifold reasons for positing the

⁷² More might have applauded the perceived native lack of discernment as his Utopians disdained the precious metals and jewels so valued by their European visitors.

native religion as he did. Clearly as a representative of Raleigh, Hariot was compelled to sell the New World and its inhabitants in a positive light, appealing to social, economic, and, here, moral benefits. However, based on a life that appears primarily guided by scholarship, I contend that Hariot also presented his observations for the simple benefit of knowledge for knowledge's sake.⁷³

Additionally Hariot describes a native concept of heaven and hell that would lend itself to Christianity. Specifically, he identifies their belief in “the immortalitie of the soule...[so that when] the soule is departed from the bodie according to the works it hath done, it is eyther carried to heaven the habitacle of gods...or els to a great pitte or hole...there to burne continually: the place they call *Popogusso*” (Hariot 26). Clearly, this native belief aligns itself well with the reward of God's favor and salvation through faith. Hariot goes further and provides anecdotal evidence to support his claim. He relays what to the modern reader is a near-death experience when “a wicked man...made the declaration where his soule had beene, that is to saie very neere entering into *Popogusso*, had not one of the gods saved him & gave him leave to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should doe to avoid that terrible place of torment” (Hariot 26). This example supports native openness to conversion as the English could “teach his friends what they should doe to avoid that terrible place of torment” by embracing the True Faith.⁷⁴ Additionally, this excerpt demonstrates Hariot's understanding of his role as a propagandist portraying the New World as a resource for all three types of profit. In this scientific vein, Hariot also stresses that his understanding of native religious practices is tempered by a “want of perfect utterance in their language to expresse” (27). That is, he

⁷³ Hariot does not appear to have sought social or economic profit beyond taking care of his needs to maintain the life of a scholar unlike White who becomes governor of the Roanoke venture. As someone contented with study, it seems rather that Hariot looked for his own brand of moral and social profit in knowledge.

⁷⁴ In what I read as almost mischievousness on Hariot's part, I believe that this example could also worry Hariot's readers who saw in it evidence of eternal damnation – even if it was for “deserving” pagans!

understood that communication about any topic from the esoteric to the practical would always be subject to linguistic limitations, again pointing to his scientific bent.

Hariot also provides examples of native reactions to the Bible and Christianity as well as their physical interactions with the Bible itself as further proof of native amenability to conversion. Acting in a missionary stance, Hariot “manie times and in every towne where [he] came...made declaration of the contentes of the Bible; that therein was set foorth the true and onelie God, and his mightie woorkes, that therein was contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with manie particularities of Miracles and chiefe poyntes of religion, as I was able then to utter, and thought fitte for the time” (27). He makes sure to reference that he is exposing natives to “the true doctrine of salvation through Christ.” That is, he will replace their false perception of religion and salvation with the True Faith.⁷⁵ This excerpt also bolsters Hariot’s confidence in his understanding of the native people and their language that he tailors his discussion to what “I was able then to utter, and thought fitte for the time.” In other words, he felt that he had the capability to tailor his message to the group before him.

In addition to their reaction to the verbal word, Hariot also records the native reaction to the physical presence of the Bible. He recollects that “although I told them the booke materially & of itself was not of anie such virtue, as I thought they did conceive, but onely the doctrine therein contained; yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their brests and heads, and stroke over all their bodie with it; to shewe their hungrie desire of that knowledge that was spoken of” (Hariot 27). This scene carries with it a great sense of a strange other as well as a childlike reaction on the part of the natives as if contact with the physical book (“to touch it, to embrace it...[or to] stroke over all their bodie with it”) would allow the natives

⁷⁵ Of course Hariot’s expressed desire does not meld with modern criteria for ethnographic or anthropological study.

to transfer what they had heard from Hariot by contact with the physical book. As Hariot interprets the native reaction as an effort “to shewe their hungrie desire of that knowledge,” we also get an insight into the various forms of communication as Hariot believes that the natives are pantomiming what they cannot express in words. The modern reader may question, however, if this behavior shows “their hungrie desire of that knowledge” or rather a lack of understanding that the book had “onely to doctrine there contained.” That is, Hariot’s words might have assigned a magical rather than spiritual property to the material book with which the natives wanted to visit upon themselves. In either case I believe that the inclusion of this anecdote serves to cast the native inhabitants in an underdeveloped or ignorant, but not threatening, light from which the civilized explorers and colonizers could deliver them and thereby achieve moral profit in conversion to Protestantism.

It is at this point in his discussion of the native population and their culture that Hariot turns to the presence of disease that has a destructive impact on the indigenous people but leaves Hariot and the other Englishmen unscathed. In a grave statement, David Beers Quinn finds that “the introduction of epidemic disease was the worst thing the English and Europeans could and did bring with them to the New World as it was to destroy whole populations over the next fifty years, and to go on doing so after that” (228), effectively wiping out native ability to stem European incursion. After a time Hariot reports that “there could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurtes, or any other crosse unto them, but that they would impute to us the cause or meanes therof for offending or not pleasing us” (28). He goes on to say that “there was no towne where had any subtile devise practised against us, we leaving it unpunished or not revenged...but within a few dayes after our departure from everie such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space” (28). For Quinn and myself, Hariot’s statement brands

him as a man of his time, identifying a belief in the irrational and mysterious despite his scientific bent (228). That is, Hariot seems to buy into the idea that the disease was brought on supernaturally to native peoples with whom they had had difficulties. Peter B. Mires believes that influenza is most probably responsible for this quick moving epidemic (30).⁷⁶ The natives and Englishmen are alike baffled by the disease as “the like by report of the oldest men in the country never happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially observed by us as also the naturall inhabitants themselves” (Hariot 28). For Oberg, this notion that it was “a thing specially observed by us as also the naturall inhabitants themselves” demonstrates how the illness and technological advances brought by the English threw Algonquian society off balance (9). Further, it strikes the modern reader as incomprehensible that neither Hariot nor his companions thought that they had brought the disease with them.

Although the natives did not understand the medical theory behind the carrying of disease without displaying its symptoms, they did make a connection between the English and the disease. Indeed they “did come and intreate us that we woulde bee a meanes to our God” to procure his services to protect them and deal malevolently with their enemies (Hariot 28). Hariot tells them that such requests “were ungodlie, affirming that our God would not subject himselfe to anie such praier” (28). Further, the instance of disease, the absence of women among the English, and a lack of interest in the native women by the English led the native people to hold the “opinion that were were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that wee were men of an old generation many yeeres past then risen againe to immortalitie” (Hariot 29). This belief places the English in a position of great power, the abuse of which will quickly and inevitably be realized. Although this discussion may seem to stray from moral profit, Hariot

⁷⁶ Mires cites the example of a lack of obvious symptoms as proof that influenza and not another disease like the plague was the most probable cause of epidemic among the natives as brought to them by English carriers of the infection (34).

returns himself to the topic at the end of his storytelling. He states, “these their opinions I have set downe the more at large that it may appeare unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreet dealing and government to the imbracing of the trueth” (29). It is my contention that this “trueth” is conversion to the Protestant faith and that the native awe of English immunity will go a long way to promote moral profit in the New World. Although this notion will satisfy Hariot’s New Man readership, patronage, and the Tudor monarchy, it also represents the arrogance of the colonizer who would seek to enforce their “better” ideas on their perceived inferiors. This particular concept of moral profit as conversion is evident in Mandeville and Hakluyt where native inhabitants may be imagined as infidels (Mandeville’s Muslims) and children (Hakluyt). It is only in the case of More’s *Utopia* with its equal or superior native inhabitants that conversion is a possibility that is entertained but not a given. Because of their nature and More’s purpose, the Utopians will not be treated as Hariot’s (and Mandeville’s and Hakluyt’s) natives who “may bee hoped if means of good government bee used, that they may in short time be brought to civilitie, and imbracing of true religion” (25).

The notion of moral profit is also supported by White’s images from the deBry version with captions translated from Hariot’s Latin into English by Hakluyt. Generally, I contend that all of the images of the native inhabitants reference a different type of moral profit that is physical in nature. In each image whether male or female, old, or young, their bodies are drawn as very healthy and athletic. Because their clothing allows the viewer to see more of their bodies, it almost brings to mind an idea of Adam and Eve in a postlapsarian state, ripe for salvation in the form of the English.⁷⁷ Images V and XI depict religious figures from the native culture. The first image is entitled “On of the Religeous men in the Towne of Secota,” and it depicts a front and back view of a single man with a hairstyle that incorporates a Mohawk and

⁷⁷ In fact, de Bry includes stock images of Adam and Eve.

almost a visor across his forehead (Figure 11). In bearing, the man is shown to be dignified with an aged face, and his age is attested to in the caption: “the Priests of the aforesaid Towne of Secota are well stricken in years, and as yt seemeth of more experience then the common sorte” (A3). By referencing that this priest “seemeth of more experience than the common sorte,” Hariot and White indicate the level of respect given to this individual based on his age and also signal the importance of this same individual to the process of conversion. In addition to commenting on their apparel and grooming, Hariot notes “for their pleasure they [the priests] frequent the rivers, to kill with their bowes, and catche wilde ducks, swannes, and other fowles” (V). White’s background mirrors this statement showing a lake or river where a man stands on a canoe aiming a bow and arrow at a group of ducks. While clearly illustrating the guise of this religious figure, the background of this image also demonstrates the interconnectedness of the three types of profit. That is, the abundance of ducks shows the surplus to be found in the New World. Regarding their religious duties, Hariot says that “they are notable enchaunters,” relegating the native religious practices to the realm of superstition and magic. Through aligning native religious leaders with magical, pagan rites, Hariot and White further draw attention to the moral profit to be had by bringing inhabitants to the True Faith.

Image XI of “The Conjuerer” further cements this notion (Figure 12). It portrays a muscular man in a running stance. His eyes seem to roll back as he looks up to the sky. He wears a loincloth with a sack attached to the belt and has a blackbird pinned by his ear. His stance and costuming bring to mind classical representations of the god, Hermes. As the title of this image indicates, this figure is also associated with magical practices. The caption states that they “use strange gestures...[and] they be verye familiar with devils, of whome they enquier what their enemys doe” (B3) and also expresses the confidence natives have in their abilities as

the caption goes on to state, “the Inhabitants give great credit unto their speeche, which often tymes they finde to bee true” (B3). The “great credit [accorded] unto their [the Conjurer’s] speech” indicates the power that these figures have in native culture which the English will need to overcome in order to spread the True Faith. Certainly these images as well as most of the others throughout the text also provide titillation for the readership as they gaze upon the exotic, semi-nude inhabitants of the New World.⁷⁸ I believe that these images and their accompanying text convey the moral profit to be had from releasing the natives from their perilous state of believing in magical prognostications.

Image XXI “Ther Idol Kiwasa” further promotes this idea as well. The idol has an almost Eastern pose and appears seated in a tent-like structure (Figure 13). An anecdote is related in the text, which states, “for when wee kneeled downe on our knees to make our prayers unto god, they went about to imitate us...Wherefore that veye like that they might easelye be brought to the knowledge of the gospel” (D2). The juxtaposition of the image of an idol and the discussion of an innate hunger for “the knowledge of the gospel” provides a clear call for the moral profit that it behooves the English to pursue in the New World. Indeed, the inclusion of an image of an idol has anti-Catholic leanings as the Protestants disdained the Catholic veneration of statutes. The fact that “they went about to imitate us” demonstrates to Hariot and, by extension, his readership native desire and amenability to conversion. Their imitation also gives the native inhabitants a childlike appearance whereby they are looking to please and mime their betters, a fact which also would signify ease of colonizing and subduing a willing populace. At the very end of the work, “Some Pictures of the Pictes Which in the Olde tyme dyd habite one part of the great Brittainne” are included. Laurence Binyon states that “these were John White’s

⁷⁸ Campbell finds that “de Bry’s engravings gives us what are among the earliest examples of erotic exoticism in European art [and that] they should [also] take pride of place as the first scientifically respectable visual document of ethnography” (59). She goes on to identify a link between economics and eroticized representation (59).

imaginary portraits of Ancient Britons, and that he had drawn them to remind himself and his countrymen that the woad-stained primitive inhabitants of England were not less savage than the tattooed Indians of Virginia” (21). I concur with Binyon that these images also form a part of the quest for moral profit. They show classical, stylized drawings of tattooed Picts in different degrees of nudity. By including these images of the perceived ancestors of the English, Hariot and White are drawing attention to the potential of the native inhabitants, simultaneously providing a tantalizing glimpse of the native inhabitants and subtly drawing attention to the potential for conversion of these individuals in their natural state.⁷⁹ As the Picts became “civilized” by Christianity, so can the natives with whom the English colonists will come in contact. Therefore, the English should feel an obligation to colonize and undertake this form of moral profit.

Social Profit: Patronage, Advocacy, and Travail

As New Men who operated in the milieu of other New Men, Hariot and White would have recognized and been interested in the social profit resulting from expansion and colonization. Although he preferred a more reclusive life of study, Hariot did make his way as a New Man and understood the social profit necessary to maintain his comfortable academic existence. On the other hand, White took on a more active role as a New Man through serving as governor of the fledging colony at Roanoke. Despite the fact that this venture ended disastrously, it does depict the social profit that the New World promised as there was virgin land to be possessed that was unavailable in England. Their patron, Raleigh, also was a New Man who looked toward the New World as a way by which to express English nationhood and to solidify his own societal position.

⁷⁹ As stated before, de Bry includes an image of Adam and Eve which I believe gives further credence to a subliminal marketing ploy to link New World venturing to moral profit.

In addition to giving insight into the New Men's desire for social profit, *A briefe and true report* also offers a look at another aspect of promotional literature, putting a positive spin on bad press. In "To the Adventurers, Favorers, and Welwillers of the Enterprise for the Inhabiting and planting in Virginia," Hariot wants to counteract "divers and variable reports with some slanderous and shamefull speeches bruited abroade by many that returned from thence" (5). He feels that it is his obligation to set the record straight with his methodical report of his personal observations of the potential for economic and therefore social profit in the New World and in Virginia specifically. Hariot goes on to describe the "slanderous and shamefull speeches" as a form of sour grapes on the part of those who have "bruited [them] abroade." As I shall discuss later, he also makes a case to identify and encourage the right type of individuals to seek any form of profit in the New World. That is, Hariot praises the New World and its benefits but cautions against those who would seek its profits without the stamina to handle the adversity and to "make difficulties of those things that they have no skill of" (6). However, at this moment, I wish to demonstrate how *A briefe and true report* attempts to restore faith in New World venturing.

Hariot explains that the enterprise still has "the favour of her Majestie...[who] hath not onelie since continued the action by sending into the country againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony" (5). That is, despite negative claims, the queen has not removed her support from the idea of colonization so neither should the New Men who are potential investors. This particular point shows social profit linked to both individual concerns and those of the nation as a whole as Hariot goes on to state, "you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action by the view here of you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and ther upon consider how your dealing therein if it procede, may returne your profit and gaine; bee it

either by inhabiting and planting or otherwise in furthering thereof” (5). Therefore expansion and colonization will benefit the nation at large through “continuance of the action” as well as “returne your profit and gaine” to the individual investor. In this way, Hariot shares Hakluyt’s belief that social profit is both individual and collective, contributing to the notion of English nationhood. Another emphasis on the connection between social profit and nationhood appears later in the introduction when Hariot states that those who talked negatively about the Virginia colony “for their sakes slaunders the countrie it selfe” (6). Hariot’s second appeal has a more personal tone as he states, “that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action by the view hereof you may generally know & learne what the countrey is, & ther upon consider how your dealing therein if it proceede, may returne you profit and gaine; bee it either by inhabiting & planting or otherwise in furthering therof” (5). Obviously, Hariot uses the specific terms “profit” and “gaine” in reference to financial return from Virginia. However, I posit that he also refers here to social benefits as the direct reference to “inhabiting & planting” alludes to land ownership which was such a key component of upward social mobility and stability.

Jumping ahead to “The Conclusion,” Hariot uses the device of a rhetorical question to return to the notion of social profit. In a method that seems like an example of modern advertising, he states, “why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plenty, as well of other things, as of those which wee have alreadie discovered? Unto the Spaniardes happened the like in discovering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this countrey of Virginia, extending some ways so many hundreds of leagues...where yet no Christian Prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yield many kinds of excellent commodities” (31). Likening Virginia to the West Indies appeals to English pride and therefore the potential for social profit (and certainly financial) on an international scale. Hariot seems to

deem it an English duty to the crown to take part in this enterprise to bolster their personal social concerns but those of their nation as well. Further, his statement that “no Christian Prince hath any possession or dealing” has a two-fold purpose. First, it clearly indicates the timeliness of the opportunity. The English need to get involved here or they will lose again to Spain. Secondly, it is another call to moral profit and its tie to social and economic gain. That is, we cannot lose this vast land of opportunity to Catholicism as happened in the West Indies and throughout Mexico. As already evidenced in Hakluyt’s editorial choices in *Principall Navigations* and his manuscript, “A Discourse on Western Planting,” this anti-Spain and anti-Catholic sentiment is an integral part of English travel literature that sought to promote exploration, colonization, and nationhood. After this conclusion, White’s drawings are again called upon to support, this time even more subtly, Hariot’s argument for social profit.

In images VII and VIII White portrays “A cheiff Lorde of Roanoac” and “A cheiff Ladye of Pomeioc”(Figures 14 and 15 respectively). The text describes their dress and manner of bearing. Differing from other descriptions, this “cheiff Ladye of Pomeioc” sports “a chaine of greate pearles, or beades of copper, or smoothe bones 5. Or 6. Fold about their necks” (VIII). This description points to a difference in the woman’s social status but also indicates an abundance of material resources in “great pearles, or beades of copper.” White’s drawing clearly identifies the five or six necklaces as coming to mid-waist with large beads. Regarding “A cheiff Lorde of Roanoac,” he “hang[es] pearles stringe copper a threed att their eares, and weare bracelets on their armes of pearles, or small beades of copper or of smoothe bone called minsal, nether paintinge nor powncings or themselves, but in token of authoritye, and honor, they wear a chaine of greate pearles, or copper beades or smoothe bones abowt their necks, and a plate of copper hinge upon a stringe, from the navel unto the midds of their thighs” (VII). Again,

White's drawing clearly highlights these adornments. I feel that their inclusion makes reference to the existence of social stratification among the native inhabitants. While in Mandeville and even Hakluyt this social stratification manifested in the acknowledged importance of patronage (Mandeville's relationship with the sultan and Hakluyt's dedicatory epistle), this moment from Hariot evokes a comparison to More where simple, unadorned clothing belied any notion of social stratification. However, as something that the English would have been very familiar with, I contend that this indicator of social levels may also signify social profit. Ultimately though, the promise of this wilderness is not for everyone.

Returning to Hariot's introduction, he makes a strong case that the social and other profit that the New World promises is not to be had easily or by the faint of heart. He cites the case of "many that after golde and silver was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had little or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies" (6). That is, effort, physical, economic, and emotional, must be spent in seeking profit in Virginia. However, by stating that "golde and silver was not so soone found," Hariot makes it clear that these precious metals may still be there as a hook for potential investors and as a reassurance to maintain current ones for whom the achievement, maintenance, and augmentation of their social mobility depended on their financial solubility. That said, I contend that it is also a direct indictment of the type of individual who should not be afforded access to any type of profit in Virginia. Hariot's text provides support of this claim in the next paragraph. He derides those who "were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to bee found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their olde accustomed daintie food, nor any soft beds of downe or fethers: the cuntry was to them miserable, & their reports thereof according" (6). This statement clearly

seeks to offer a viable explanation as to why some individuals may have been disgruntled with their experience in Virginia as they were clearly too soft for the undertaking.⁸⁰ As someone who studied the language and ventured inland, Hariot is also expressing his disdain for those who were unwilling and perhaps because of their social position unable to give this venture the chance that it deserved. As a work of promotional literature, Hariot addresses and encourages the social class of his New Man readership, but he also takes them to task, stating that the way to profit, social or otherwise, will not be an easy one in Virginia. If taken on properly, however, *A briefe and true report* offers a cautiously optimistic economic picture.

Economic Profit: Prudence, Encouragement, and Pragmatism

Putting all ethnographic concerns aside, this text was created first and foremost to present the economic opportunities available in this part of the New World. Hariot's text along with White's images delivers a cautious, practical, and encouraging plan. Thus, Hariot writes, "as I hope by the sequel of events to the shame of those that have avouched the contrary shalbe manifest: if you the adventurers, favourers, and welwillers do but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or having bin doubtfull renewe your liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the worthinesse thereof alreadye found and as you shall understand hereafter to be requisite" (5). Hariot hopes that his text will put an end to complaints about Virginia, allay the fears of investors, and increase the numbers of those interested in the proposition of colonization.

As promotional literature, Hariot's account needed to reassure the readership that colonization in Virginia would be a risk worth taking. Therefore, in his opening paragraph of the section "Of the nature and manners of the people," he states, "how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause both to

⁸⁰ Unfortunately, Hariot was largely unheeded in this particular vein as Roberta Rosenberg discusses the class conflict that arose in the 1606-7 voyage to Virginia where "antagonisms between gentlemen who refused to work and those few who could continued" (40).

feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them” (Hariot 24). Based on his personal perspective after having spent time among these peoples, he wishes to make it clear that they pose no immediate threat but rather “shall have cause both to feare and love us.” At this moment, I believe that the “feare and love” Hariot mentions is that of a child towards its parents as I do find the tendency to infantilize native populations present in Hariot’s work as I have in the works discussed in previous chapters. However, I will return to this point later. On the next page, Hariot goes further to dispel any concerns about the native population when he states, “if there fall out any warres between us & them, what their fight is likely to bee, we having advantages against them so many maner of waies, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and devises els; especially by ordinance greate and small, it may be easily imagined; by the experience we have in some places, the turning up of their heels against us in running away was their best defence” (25). Although this statement demonstrates arrogance, “we have advantages against them so many maner of waies,” I also believe that Hariot takes on the tone and trope of promotional literature. That is, the native population must be perceived as non-threatening or an easily surmountable obstacle in order to dispel the concerns of investors and potential colonists. Additionally, Hariot’s assurances about the native population set the stage for the Virginia colony’s potential for economic profit. Unlike other texts and visionary dreams, Hariot does not imagine the New World and Virginia specifically as a get-rich quick scheme but more of a long-term investment with a high potential for returns. The entire organization of the text lends itself to this idea. In the introduction, Hariot outlines his intent stating that “for your more readie view & easier understanding I will divide into three special parts” (6). I will follow Hariot’s plan in my discussion of economic profit.

In the first section that Hariot calls “Merchantable,” he identifies those items that he feels will be of most immediate interest. Hariot claims that “I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serve the ordinary turns of you which are and shall bee the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus sufficiently to bee yielded, or by men of skill to be provided, as by way of trafficke and exchange with our owne nation of England, will enrich your selves the providers; those that shal deal with you; the enterprise in general; and greatly profit our owne countrey men, to supply them with most things which heretofore they have bene faine to provide, either of strangers or of our enemies” (6). By indicating that there is something “already [to be] found or to be raised,” Hariot clarifies that there are already existent commodities of marketable value. Additionally, he is clever to use the word “overplus” to describe the potential for “merchantable” items in the New World. Therefore, investments might not see a huge return at first, but they will also not be wasted or lost. In other words, *A briefe and true report* shares commonalities with a modern business plan provided to encourage and reassure both current and potential investors.

To this end, he mentions “flaxe and hempe,” “allum,” “pitch, tarre, rozen, and turpentine,” “furre,” “iron,” and “dyes of inner kindes” among other items. Although he identifies these different items, Hariot is cautious about their availability. For example, in reference to “Pearle,” he states that “sometimes in feeding on muscles wee founde some pearle; but it was our hap to meete with ragges, or of a pide colour; not having yet discovered those places where wee hearde of better and more plentie” (10-11). By stating “wee founde some pearle,” Hariot holds out promise of its existence, but by explaining that it was “of a pide colour,” he is guarded about its immediate or even potential existence in great quantities of good quality. He ends this section on a neutral tone even passing on responsibility to those who will

come after him by stating “many other commodities by planting may there also bee raised, which I leave to your discret and gentle considerations” (12). Although Hariot may appear to absolve himself of responsibility if things do not turn out as stated, I believe that it is further evidence of his scientific bent. That is, he is simply reporting on his observations without unreal speculation. To this end, Hariot provides an alphabetized index of goods that could be consulted according to the interests of the reader (Figure 16). At the same time, White’s images will support Hariot’s information about these materials as has already been discussed.

Additionally, Hariot presents the “disappointing” reality of their being practical items in Virginia rather than the gold found by the Spanish, or Mandeville’s wool-bearing hens. The lack of easy profits from gold and silver speak to a complaint made by individuals like Hakluyt that the English were late to the game and have had to make do with the leftovers of the Spanish and Portuguese. In their part of the New World, the English will have to use the goods of nature as economic profit (Campbell 55). That is, they will have to accept perishable commodities and crops rather than precious metals as the means to financial gain. In this last chapter, I demonstrated how Hakluyt drew upon prior missed opportunities that the English could no longer afford to ignore as the Spanish gobbled up all of the New World’s economic profit. Therefore, the possibilities that Hariot outlines while not easy and obvious do represent a positive economic outcome for the English.

Moving on to his second section, Hariot provides information about items that will provide sustenance, if not profit. Specifically, he states that “I will set downe all the commodities which wee know the countrey by our experience doeth yield of it selfe for victuall, and sustenance of mans life; such as is usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by us during the time we were there” (6). The expression “sustenance of mans life” speaks

to Hariot's understanding that true economic profit will be a long process. For those naysayers, he adds that he knows that there is enough to maintain the enterprise when he says that "such is usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by us during the time we were there." It is of interest that this section is longer than the first. I contend that this supports Hariot's contention that the Virginia colony will take time to manifest its total economic potential. Hariot identifies grains like "*Pagatower...*[which] the same in the West Indies is called MAYZE: English men call it Guinney wheate or Turkie wheate" (13) as a source of sustenance. He defines roots, fruits, nuts, meat, and fish which he has identified, further exemplifying his practical and cautious but ultimately encouraging approach to successful colonization.

In the last section, Hariot outlines the commodities that will ensure the long-term economic profit that he envisions. He titles this third section "of such thinges as is be hoofull for those which shall plant and inhabit to know of; with a description of the nature and manners of the people of the countrey" (22). By pairing "thinges as is be hoofull" for future colonists with "a description of the nature and manners of the people of the countrey," Hariot appears to be connecting economic success in Virginia with the colonists, the land that they will encounter, and the people that already inhabit this land. Regarding the land in this section, Hariot spends his time describing the types of hard woods to be found there as well as the existence of sources of "Stone, Bricke and Lime" (23). As noted by Lee Miller, Hariot is amazed by the size of trees in Virginia, signifying to the modern reader a wiser use of natural resources on the part of the natives than what the English practiced at home (101). Once again, Hariot speaks to a practical outlook on colonization and economic profit which will be supported by White's images.

An examination of the backgrounds of White's drawings attests to the bounty of the land. They demonstrate the plethora of flora and fauna that was to be found in Virginia. By extension,

these drawings support Hariot's contention that true economic profit will be found in commodities generated by agriculture, forestry, and hunting and fishing. Multiple images show fish being speared and birds being speared and shot in abundance. Image XIII is entitled "Their manner of fishynge in Virginia" (Figure 17). The middle ground shows a canoe full of fish as an individual in the back plucks more fish out of the water with a net. In the background, individuals wade in the water, spearing large amounts of fish that have been corralled into a system of net fences. The foreground displays the variety of water creatures to be found, featuring a turtle, crabs, and what appears to be a sturgeon. Clearly, White wants the viewer to grasp the natural abundance of the New World in "An aged manne in his winter garment," the subject pointing to vast fields of grain at full ripeness (Figure 18). These vast fields speak again to abundance but also to successful native agricultural procedures and even to the long-term profits of the New World. The image of "The Towne of Secota" presents both a picture of practical and successful agricultural practices and extreme abundance (Figure 19). It shows hunters finding game easily just outside the boundaries of the town. Additionally the image displays excellent field management and yield. White's drawing alludes to Hariot's faulty understanding of native agricultural practices but also provides a visual explanation of the incredible bounty and fertile soil that Virginia has to offer. Therefore with words and images working in tandem, Hariot and White make a convincing case for economic profit through colonization and cultivation in the Virginia colony.

Conclusions

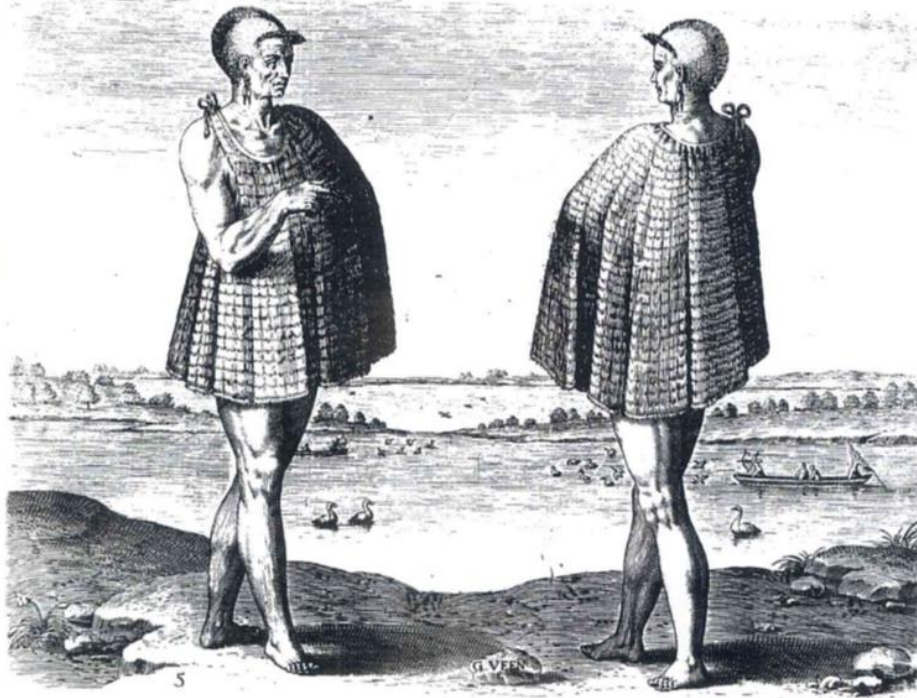
A briefe and true report provides a window on a very specific moment in time. It shows the beginning of what would eventually become the vast British Empire. Further, it illuminates the leading role that New Men, with the support of the monarchy, would play in forging this

empire. Although a moderately successful colony in the form of Jamestown was twenty years away, *A briefe and true report* offers a testimony to the real potential for moral, social, and economic profit in the New World as seen in Virginia. Designed as a work of promotional literature, Hariot's text in conjunction with White's images serve this genre well both identifying the abundance that could be exploited and cultivated in Virginia as well as allaying the fears of venturers and investors who had heard negative accounts. Further, I have demonstrated how *A briefe and true report* operates as a work of ethnography where Hariot and White support moral, social, and economic profit through a scientific, practical, and detailed eyewitness account.

Ending with *A briefe and true report* brings my dissertation full circle. I began with the fantastical possibilities of Mandeville, which would eventually be displaced by the real observations of works like Hariot's, and moved to the critical fiction of More which incorporated ideas from travel literature. With Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, I showed the importance of travel collections to promote expansion and colonization. *Principall Navigations* also provided a transition to *A briefe and true report* as it was included as a selection in Hakluyt's work. The link between Hakluyt and Hariot also shows the group of New Men who were like-minded in their desire to promote English expansion and colonization. *A briefe and true report* stands as an important example of the power of the word and image to motivate nation building even as it offers the modern reader and scholar an authoritative perspective on Early Modern primary observations of the New World and its impact on moral, social, and economic profit.

CHAPTER 4 FIGURES

On of the Religeous men in the V.
towne of Secota.



THe Priests of the aforefaid Towne of Secota are well stricken in yeers, and as yt seemeth of more experieuce then the comon sorte. They weare their heare cutt like a cresse, on the topps of thier heades as other doe, but the rest are cutt shorte, sauing those which growe aboute their foreheades in manner of a perriwigge. They also haue somwhat hanginge in their ears. They weare a shorte clocke made of fine hares skinned with the hayre outwarde. The rest of thier bodie is naked. They are notable enchaunters, and for their pleasure they frequent the riuers, to kill with their bowes, and catche wilde ducks, swannes, and other fowles.

Figure 11. On of the Religeous men in the Towne of Secota

The Coniurer.

XI.




They haue comonlye coniurers or iuglers which vse strange gestures, and often contrary to nature in their enchantments: For they be verye familiar with deuils, of whome they enquier what their enemys doe, or other suche things. They shaue all their heads sauinge their creste which they weare as other doe, and fasten a small black birde aboue one of their ears as a badge of their office. They weare nothinge but a skinne which hangeth downe from their gyrdle, and couereth their priuityes. They weare a bagg by their side as is expressed in the figure. The Inhabitants giue great credit vnto their speeche, which oftentymes they finde to bee true.

B 3

Figure 12. The Coniurer

Ther Idol Kiyvafa. XXI.




 He people of this cuntry haue an Idol, which they call KIWA SA: yt is carued of woode in lengthe 4. foote whose heade is like the heades of the people of Florida, the face is of a flesh colour, the brest white, the rest is all blacke, the thighes are also spotted with white. He hath a chayne about his necke of white beades, betweene which are other Rownde beades of copper which they esteeme more then golde or siluer. This Idol is placed in the temple of the towne of Secotam, as the keeper of the kings dead corpes. Somtyme they haue two of thes idoles in theyr churches, and somtyme 3. but neuer aboue, which they place in a darke corner wher they shew terrible. Thes poore soules haue none other knowledge of god although I thinke them verye Desirous to know the truth. For when as wee kneeled downe on our knees to make our prayers vnto god, they went about to imitate vs, and when they saw we moued our lipps, they also dyd the like. Wherfore that is verye like that they might easelye be brongt to the knowledge of the gospel. God of his mercie grant them this grace.

D 2

Figure 13. Ther Idol Kiwasa

A cheiff Lorde of Roanoac. VII.



T
 He cheefe men of the yland and towne of Roanoac reace the haire of their crounes of theyr heades curt like a cokes cōbe, as thes other doe. The rest they wear lōge as woemen and trufs them opp in a knott in the nape of their necks. They hange pearles stringe copper a threed att their eares, and weare bracelets on their armes of pearles, or small beades of copper or of smoothe bone called minfal, nether painting nor powncings of them selues, but in token of authoritye, and honor, they wear a chaine of great pearles, or copper beades or smoothe bones abowt their necks, and a plate of copper hinge vpon a stringe, from the nauel vnto the midds of their thighes. They couer them selues before and behynde as the woemē doe with a deers skynne handfomley dressed, and fringed, More ouer they fold their armes together as they walke, or as they talke one wjth another in signe of wifdome.

The yle of Roanoac is verye pleifant, ond hath plaintie of fishe by reason of the Water that enuironeth thefame.

Figure 14. A cheiff Lorde of Roanoac

A cheiff Ladye of Pomeiooc. VIII.



A
 bout 20. milles from that Iland, neere the lake of Paquippe, ther is another towne called Pomeioock hard by the sea. The apparell of the cheefe ladyes of dat towne differeth but litle from the attyre of those which lyue in Roanaac. For they weare their haire trussed opp in a knott, as the maiden doe which we spake of before, and haue their skinnes powned in thesame manner, yet they wear a chaine of great pearles, or beades of copper, or smoothe bones 5. or 6. fold about their necks, bearinge one arme in the same, in the other hand they carye a gourde full of some kinde of pleasant liquor. They tye deers skinne doubled about them crochinge hygher about their breasts, which hange downe before almost to their knees, and are almost altogether naked behinde. Commonlye their yonge daughters of 7. or 8. yeares olde do waigt vpon them wearinge about them a girdle of skinne, which hangeth downe behinde, and is drawen vnder neath betwene their twiste, and bownde aboute their navel with mose of trees betwene that and thier skinnes to couer their priuiliars withall. After they be once past 10. yeares of age, they wear deerskinnes as the older sorte do. They are greatlye Diligted with puppetts, and babes which wear brought oute of England.

Figure 15. A cheiff Ladye of Pomeioc



A TABLE
OF THE PRINCIPALL THINGS THAT
are contained in this Historie, after the
order of the Alphabet.

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|----|------|-----------------------------|-----|----|
| | A. | | | E. | |
| Allum | | 7 | Elme. | | 23 |
| Applecrabs | | 17 | | F. | |
| Ashe | | 23 | Faulcons | | 19 |
| Afcopo. | | 23 | Flaxe and Hempte | | 7 |
| | B. | | Fiere trees | | 23 |
| Beares | | 17 | Furres | | 9 |
| Beech: | | 23 | | G. | |
| | C. | | Geefe | | 19 |
| Cedar | | 9.23 | Crappes | | 17 |
| Cheftnuts | | 17 | | H. | |
| Ciuet Cartes | | 9 | Habacon | | 15 |
| Conies | | 19 | Hau they bwild their houfes | | 24 |
| Cofcuhaw | | 15 | Haukes | | 19 |
| Copper | | 9 | Hernes | | 19 |
| Cranes | | 19 | Herrings | | 19 |
| Creuifes | | 21 | Holly | | 23 |
| | D. | | Hutleberies. | | 17 |
| Deare | | 19 | | I. | |
| Deareskinnes | | 9 | Iron. | | 9 |
| Dyes of diuers kindes. | | 11 | | K. | |
| | | | Kaishucpenauk | | 15 |
| | | | | F 3 | |

Figure 16. A Table of the Principall Things That are contained in this Historie, after the order of the Alphabet

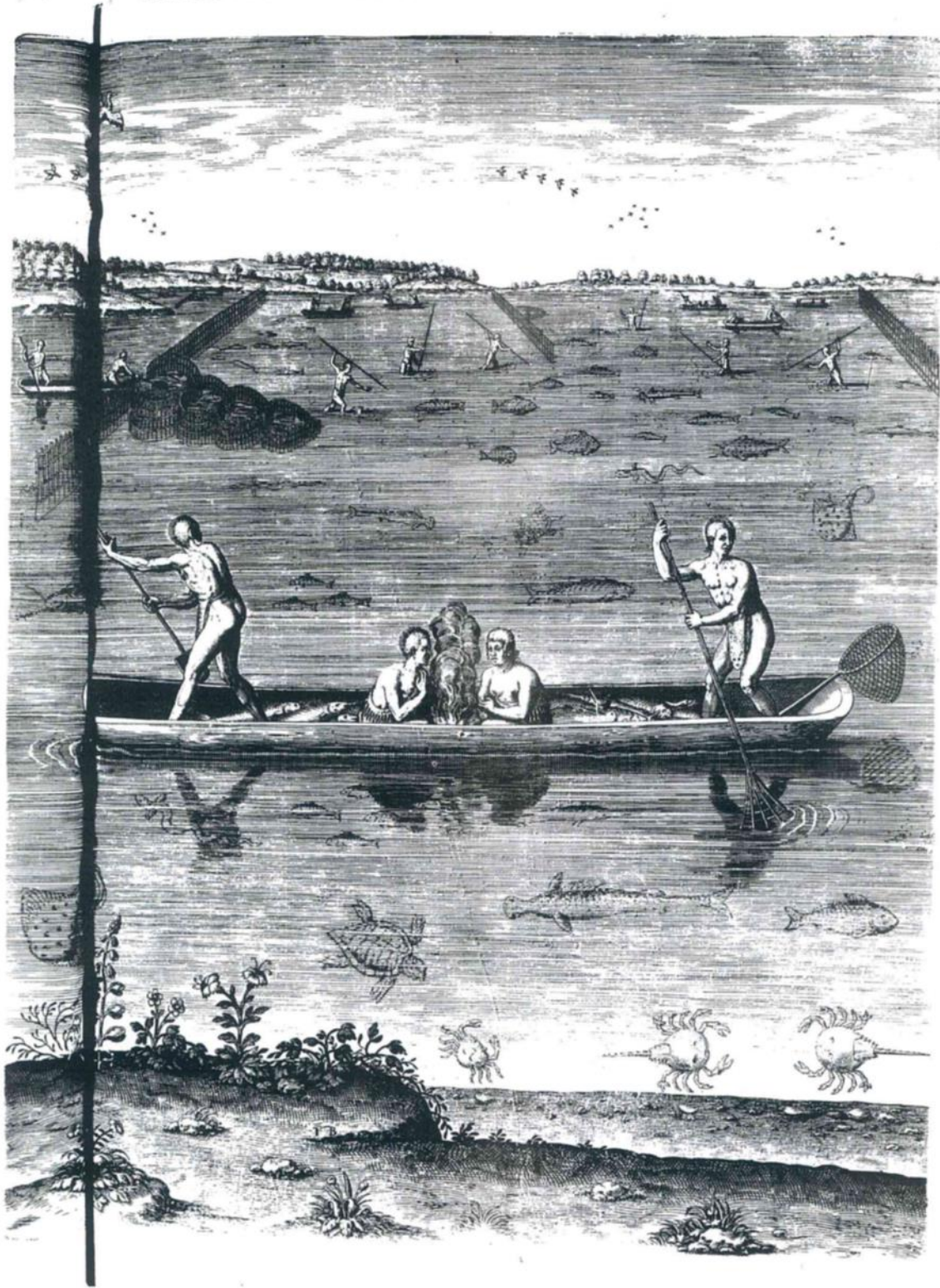


Figure 17. Their manner of fishyng in Virginia

An aged manne in his winter IX.
garment.



T He aged men of Pommeioocke are couered with a large skinne which is tyed vppon their shoulders on one side and hangeth downe beneath their knees wearinge their other arme naked out of the skinne, that they maye bee at more libertie. Those skynnes are Dressed with the hair on, and lyned with other furred skinnes. The yongge men suffer noe hair at all to growe vppon their faces but as soone as they growe they put them away, but when thy are come to yeeres they suffer them to growe although to saye truthe they come opp verye thinne. They also wear their haire bownde op behynde, and, haue a creste on their heads like the others. The contrye abowt this place is foe fruit full and good, that England is not to bee compared to yt.

B

Figure 18. An aged manne in his winter garment

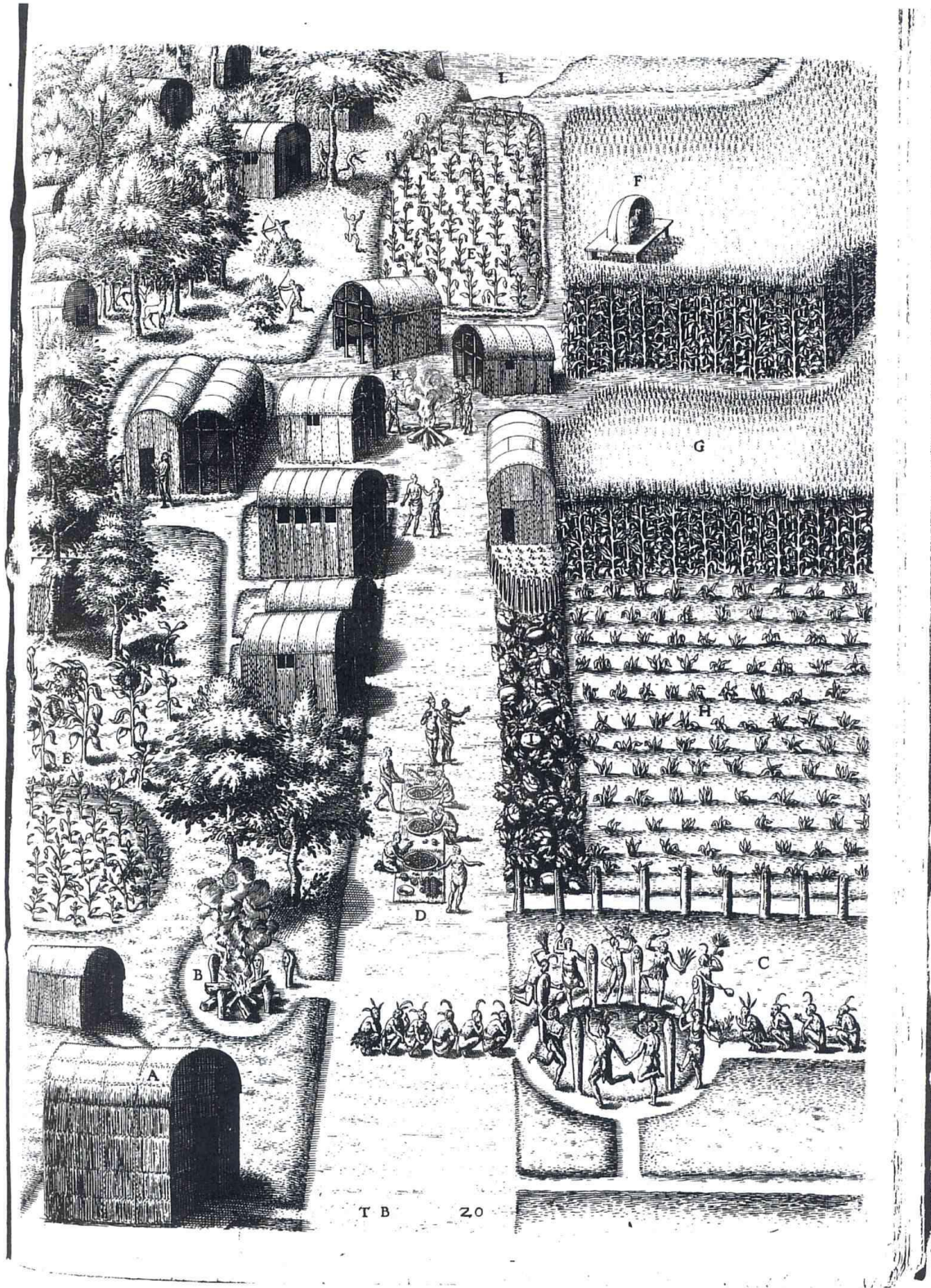


Figure 19. The Towne of Secota

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have presented a close reading of texts representing the transition and transformation of travel writing in the late medieval to the early modern period. My project has generated a definition of moral, social, and economic profit as revealed in these texts. At the same time, I have provided a new understanding of the motivation of the “middling sort” and New Men as authors, editors, illustrators, and readers to influence nationhood and achieve these forms of profit for individual and communal benefit. It is my belief that my research will add to scholarly discourse on gentry and early modern studies as well as those of travel writing, propaganda, and colonialism. While working together as a cohesive unit, each chapter has provided its own unique perspective on the discussion of profit and the “middling sort” and New Men.

The *Mandeville* chapter provided a medieval construct of authenticity, the types of profit, and the fantastical perceptions that would be dispelled as discovery and exploration of the New World took place in the early modern period. With *More*, I demonstrated how the conventions of nonfiction text can be repurposed to create a new imaginative genre focused on social profit in terms of communal benefit and governmental criticism. Chapter three explored Hakluyt’s role as editor in the creation of promotional literature and the push to develop exploration and nation-building through the collection of texts. Chapter four offered an example of early ethnographic study devoted to moral, social, and economic profit through Hariot’s words and White’s images.

As the sixteenth century gave way to the seventeenth, a concern with profit in the New World became more tantamount as a fledgling British empire made a permanent and eventually successful colonial hold in Virginia that would expand throughout New England and the South. The “middling sort” and New Men of this dissertation were integral to this process, with many

reaping the hoped for moral, social, and economic profit promised by earlier fictional and nonfictional texts. Poets and playwrights of the early seventeenth century gleaned their own profit from English efforts at exploration and colonization. As has been shown by scholars such as Rowland Wymer and Shankar Raman, works like Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and John Donne's "Love's Progress" demonstrate the influence of contemporary discourse regarding colonization and empire-building and their moral, social, and economic implications that preoccupied the "middling sort" and New Men, a group to which Shakespeare and Donne belonged and whose patronage they sought. Indeed, Donne had connections to the Virginia Company, and Shakespeare was familiar with individuals involved with the Jamestown enterprise (Raman 136; Frey 30). Thus, we see a continued literary connection between New Men, writers, and profit as the early modern period advances.

In *The Tempest*, Ariel comments about retrieving "dew from the still vex'd Bermoothes" (I. ii. 229), an allusion to the islands of Bermuda upon which Sir George Somers, member of the Virginia Company headed for Jamestown, was shipwrecked in 1609. I am not here intending to enter the scholarly debate regarding the play and its relation or lack thereof to America or Virginia. Rather, I wish merely to highlight the interest in current events regarding English expansion by New Men and those within their milieu. That is, Shakespeare offers a throwaway line, much like how a modern sit-com will make topical references, that shows his knowledge of English efforts at colonization and, by extension, demonstrates how England's venturing in the New World was ever-present in the minds of his New Man audience and patrons.

Similarly with Donne, I do not wish to enter into any long discourse on his poetry but merely to show how his eroticized language was peppered with the diction of exploration and profit. In "Love's Progress," the speaker says, "the nose, like to the first meridian, runs/Not

‘twixt an east and west, but ‘twixt two suns.’ Obviously the terms, “meridian”, “east”, and “west” speak to navigation, and, I believe, to contemporary developments in this field. In another line he states, “but if I love it [gold, a woman, profit], ‘tis because ‘tis made/By our new nature, use, the soule of trade.” It is in lines like this that Arthur Marotti finds “from the first, the sexual is defined in relation to commercial reality” (50). That is, the New Man preoccupation with profit as hoped for in the New World finds its way into Donne’s poetical discourse on sex. Whether it is a fleeting mention of the “Bermoothes” or the “the soul of trade,” Shakespeare and Donne demonstrate the increasing discussion about colonization and empire-building that the works of this dissertation began.

At the conclusion of this dissertation, I hope that I have presented ideas that if not revolutionary are illuminating. I do believe that my project may offer suggestions for other areas of investigation besides what I have proposed above. At the core of my dissertation has been Smethurst’s claim that “it [*Mandeville*] emerges at a pivotal moment in world history – the transition from a relatively static world of antiquity and medieval Christianity to the dynamic and expanding world of modern discovery and explorations” (166). Although I examined this idea specifically in the Mandeville chapter, I believe that it allows us to look at all of the texts in a post-modern light, renewing and reimagining their significance.

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ABSTRACT**'STRANGE' LANDS OF OPPORTUNITY – REPRESENTATIONS OF MORAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC PROFIT IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN LITERATURE**

by

LISA KANNIAINEN**May 2017****Advisor:** Dr. Jaime Goodrich**Major:** English (British Literature)**Degree:** Doctor of Philosophy

This dissertation pursues the link between late medieval and early modern texts and the thoughts of the developing middling class and the New Men. Adding to scholarship regarding travel literature, colonization, and propaganda, I claim that the selected texts offer insight into medieval and early modern concerns regarding moral, social, and economic profit. Employing contemporary economic constructs as a base, this enterprise investigates the genre of travel literature, fictional and nonfictional, as an agent to convey middling and New Man preoccupations with spirituality and good works, social and political influence, and financial gain. Through my research, I have uncovered the means by which travel literature and the New World promoted profit and a fledgling sense of nationhood. This dissertation examines the nature of travel literature as a convenient and popular medium to express growing interest in exploration, colonization, and England's opportunity for growth. Further, this project demonstrates the role that New Men envisioned for themselves in New World ventures, imagining the potential for spiritual, societal, and financial gain both as individuals and members of the English nation. Therefore, the works analyzed in this dissertation evidence travel

literature as an agent to promote the ideas of the middling sort and New Men, offering a new perspective on late medieval and early modern studies.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

My studies at Wayne State began in 1992 in the Romance Language Department. After obtaining a scholarship to participate in an immersion program at Laval University, I decided to take a different scholarly path, transferring schools and receiving a teaching certificate in secondary education. In the fall of 1995, I entered the Master's in English Literature program and studied under Elizabeth Sklar, obtaining my degree in 1998.

After a long absence from academia to pursue career opportunities at the Ford Motor Company and Visteon and a return to secondary education, I decided to extend my scholarly endeavors to a doctorate. My extended doctoral work has allowed me to conduct my studies among a wide range of professors and students. I believe that my experience at Wayne has had a profound impact on my role as a public school educator as I guide students and colleagues alike along academic paths, promoting the ideas of strong scholarship and intellectual curiosity and freedom I have experienced at Wayne State.

In this spirit I have created and implemented curriculum for a Film Studies program at Fordson High School. Additionally, I have supported as sponsor and director of the drama department, producing three plays in as many years. Further I am involved in district World Language common assessment and have taken on a significant role in the district committee to implement the Seal of Biliteracy which will be presented at a state level.

At the completion of this dissertation, I will continue as a high school Language Arts and French educator as well as actively seeking out opportunities as adjunct faculty. More significantly at a personally rewarding level, I look forward to writing articles and attending conferences.