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Michael G. Brennan, 'Editorial Matters', for *The Ashgate Research Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Tim Youngs and Alasdair Pettinger, Routledge (forthcoming)

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Editorial Matters

1. Editorial Challenges

Travel writings are now central to many areas of humanities and social sciences and treated as significant primary sources for a wide range of literary, historical, geographical, anthropological and ethnographic concerns. But unlike well-established textual conventions for handling prose, poetry and drama, editorial standards for the vast corpus of international travel writings are still very much under debate. The challenges facing a modern editor of travel writing may initially be defined within four broad categories: genre, authorship, textual history and readership (both contemporary and modern). The treatment and balancing of these categories often plays a significant part in determining the overall design of a modern edition with respect to how its introductory materials should be presented, what kinds of critical apparatus (including footnotes, annotations and textual collations) are required and what other supplementary materials (such as maps, glossaries, illustrations, bibliographies, appendices and indices) should be supplied to support the intended readership.[1]

In relation to genre, the term 'travel writing' has only recently replaced the multi-purpose categorisation of 'writings about travel' or the vague terminology of the pre-1980 Modern Language Association Bibliography, 'travel, treatment of'.[2] Travel writing is now recognised as a diverse and ever-shifting genre, central to most literary cultures, but one which has never settled (and is unlikely to do so) into a unifying paradigm. From the sixteenth century onwards travel narratives emerged in England as an engaging and flexible

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1   See Germaine Warkentin, ed., *Critical Issues in Editing Exploration Texts*(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); and *Pierre-Esprit Radison. The Collected Writings, vol. 1*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2012), for further discussion of these issues.
2   Mary Baine Campbell, 'Travel Writing and its Theory', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel*, ed, Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 261.

form of writing. They were aimed, variously, at memorialising an author's achievements, instructing fellow travellers, entertaining unknown readers, inspiring nationalistic and imperial ambitions, stimulating commercial investments and supporting military or naval campaigns. Hence, the modern editor frequently needs to determine from (often incomplete or elusive) contemporaneous documentary and textual evidence how the composition of a travel text might have once related to a specific set of social, political, economic, scientific, imperialist or religious perspectives. In some cases it will also be necessary to assess how later circulations of the text in either manuscript or print related to sustained or new political, commercial, imperialist or other causes.[3]

Secondly, the fluidity of early modern concepts of authorship may further complicate the editor's initial assessment of a travel text. The original author or collaborative authors may be unknown or, at best, biographically hazy, leading to challenging or even insurmountable problems in contextualising the original purpose of a travel account. Sometimes, the fact that an author is now remembered primarily as a courtier, diplomat, merchant, explorer, adventurer, privateer, cleric, religious exile, servant, student or scholar can prove either central or misleading to an understanding of the intended purpose and scope of a travel text. Indeed, some compilers of travel accounts – such as Richard Hakluyt – never or rarely travelled outside their own country and brought only scholarly and editorial expertise rather than geographical knowledge to their collections.

Modern concepts of distinctions between subjectivity and objectivity and the assumed integrity of single authorship can also prove inapplicable to writings about travel. The concept of sequential multiple authorship – with one compiler of a travel account silently drawing descriptions, factual information and the first-hand observations of others into his or her own narrative – is a familiar one in this field.[4] Modern standards of improper use of sources or plagiarism cannot be applied to a form of writing in which authors (especially in

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3   See, for example, Michael G. Brennan, ed., *The Origins of the Grand Tour* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2004), for the diverse travel records (1649-54) of the youthful Robert Montagu (partly drafted by his tutor Mr Hainhofer), witty letters home from the continent (1655-58) from William Hammond and a panegyric account of Banaster Maynard's travels (1660-63) by his servant Robert Moody.

4   The detailed travel narratives in the diary of John Evelyn (1620-1706) contain a wealth of apparently first-hand topographical, political and cultural details. However, his description of Paris was written not at the time of his main visit to the city in 1643 but during his retirement in the 1670s. Evelyn was also heavily dependent upon a popular guidebook, *Le voyage de France* (Paris, 1643) by Claude de Varennes, for much of his specific detail. Like many of his contemporaries, Evelyn regarded travel narratives not as original commentaries but as informed amalgamations of first-hand and authoritative secondary information. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

guidebooks and formal travel reports) were expected to compile detailed and up-to-date narratives by drawing together an accretion of valuable knowledge and observations from other sources which would only rarely be acknowledged. The modern editor may also sometimes encounter additional handwritten annotations and descriptions made by contemporary readers in their personal copies of travel documents – an editorial challenge which often raises important but notoriously elusive issues of early provenance and ownership.

Thirdly, accurately establishing the textual descent and integrity of a particular travel account through manuscript or printed versions (or both) may prove complex for the modern editor since the author's original versions (including rough jottings, notebooks, ship's logs, personal correspondence, working copies and private fair copies or presentation manuscripts) may have long since been lost or sometimes have remained previously unrecognised (as with Richard Hakluyt's account of the Spanish Armada, discussed below). Either known or unidentified transcribers of surviving manuscript copies of travel accounts may have silently made substantive emendations to surviving copies which can no longer be identified – or only spotted if the modern editor can also access the original author's version (as with Hakluyt's account of the Cadiz Expedition, see below). Furthermore, many works of travel disseminated in English were originally written in another language (as was Hakluyt's Spanish Armada account) and the modern editor must try to assess both the accuracy of the translation and the specifics of how the translator may have adjusted the foreign language source in either factual substance or linguistic inflexion for ulterior nationalistic, political, religious or other purposes. Furthermore, as the editing of travel accounts continues to proliferate, it is becoming increasingly common for the appearance in print of a modern edition to flush out either earlier or later versions of the text or foreign translations which were previously unknown or merely suspected.[5]

The fourth category, relating to the editor's assessment of past, present and potential readerships of both the original work and the modern edition, can prove especially complex. While it might be assumed that a modern edition should be accessible to all kinds of interested readers, the editor's presentation of the possible original reasons for the writing,

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[5]   This writer's edition of *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave* noted that printed extracts (published in 1836-7) had probably been drawn from a then lost transcription: Robert Bargrave, *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave, Levant Merchant (1647-1656)* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1999), 48-51 In 2014 Anthony Payne discovered this later version (c.1700) of Bargrave's account in the stock room of the London antiquarian booksellers Maggs Bros where it had probably been stored since the 1930s (private correspondence).

manuscript circulation and any contemporaneous or later printings of travel texts, often requires careful handling in both introductory materials and annotations. For example, early-sixteen-century narratives about the discovery and exploitation of the New World can at first be regarded as exciting accounts of heroic and marvel-filled explorations, even though the original narratives may have been initially drafted and circulated primarily to confirm the global ascendancy of the Spanish Empire. Consequently, later English translations were carefully edited and published as an implicit means of challenging and appropriating the reputation of Spanish imperialism for the commercial purposes of English naval exploration and colonisation.[6] Finally, as in the case (below) of Charles Lord Howard of Effingham (1536-1624), the commander of the English fleet against the Armada, identifying the original owner of a manuscript can sometimes provide crucial contextual perspectives on its circumstances of composition or transcription which may not have been otherwise realised by the modern editor.

Finally, modern editors must always give careful consideration to the amount and scope of annotations and other supporting materials provided for their readers, including historical, biographical, geographical and other cultural, political or religious notes, as well as maps, glossaries, illustrations and bibliographies of relevant primary and secondary materials. For example, during the Jacobean period two of the most informative printed accounts of travels within continental Europe were compiled by Thomas Corayte (1577?-1617) and Fynes Moryson (1565/6-1630). *Coryat's Crudities* (1611) contains a wealth of historical, geographical, sociological and cultural information but it is still only available to modern readers through either rare book libraries possessing the original 1611 edition, or (now more commonly) via websites such as Early English Books Online, archive.org website, Google books (1776 edition), or in an unannotated two-volume reprint of 1905 by the Glasgow publisher, MacLehose.[7] Similarly, Moryson's *An Itinerary* (1617) remains one of the most detailed works of travel writing printed during the Jacobean period, documenting his perspectives on much of Western Europe, as well as Turkey and the British Isles. Modern readers, however, still struggle to utilise this text productively since it has only been

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6   See my essay, 'The Texts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades* (1504-1628)', *Connotations* 6.2 (1996/97): 227-43. It traces the varying nationalistic and expansionist purposes of the numerous Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch and English editions of Martyr's narratives in relation first to Spanish and Portuguese (Catholic) imperialism and then to English (Protestant) global expansionism and colonisation through its 1555 (ed. Richard Eden), 1577 (ed. Richard Willes), 1587 (ed. Richard Hakluyt) and 1612, 1625 and 1628 (ed. Michael Lok) editions.
7   Since 2011 a print-on-order copy of this Glasgow edition has also been available from the Nabu Press.

reprinted, again by MacLehose, in an unannotated four-volume edition of 1907-8. Current web resources tend to reproduce merely the original 1617 edition or the MacLehose reprint without additional annotations identifying its detailed references to people, places and other items of literary or historical interest.[8]

The annotations in any future editions of Coryate and Moryson would need to strike a reasonable balance between providing enough information to facilitate a clear understanding of a text and the risk of overwhelming its readers with historical, geographical, cultural or other details. Such a balance is far from easy to achieve since travel writings are now readily incorporated into so many different academic disciplines and perused by a wide range of both general and specialist readers, including those interested, for example, in domestic politics, international affairs, architecture, garden design, mercantile trade, ecclesiastical and theological matters, pilgrimage routes and military and naval affairs. Prospective editors of Coryate and Moryson would also need to treat historiographical evidence derived from their narratives with caution or, in David Henige's memorable phrase, 'systematic doubt', since the blending of factual observations with imaginative or embellished recreations is far from uncommon during this period of travel writings.[9]

2. Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations*

This essay will now explore some of these editorial challenges within the context of two well-known and often quoted accounts of Anglo-Spanish relations during the late-Elizabethan period. *The Principal Navigations* of Richard Hakluyt (1552?-1616), was first published as a single volume in 1589 and then significantly expanded into three volumes between 1598 and 1600. His accounts of the Spanish Armada (1588) and the Cadiz Expedition (1596) appeared at the end of the first volume of the second edition and offer an intriguing range of editorial problems common to many forms of travel writing from this period. Both of these edited texts form part of Oxford University Press's 'The Hakluyt Edition Project', comprising a fourteen-volume critical and annotated edition of almost 600 accounts of travel, exploration and related documents, totalling some 1.76 million words.

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8   Unpublished chapters from Moryson's *Itinerary* were included in *Shakespeare's Europe*, ed. Charles Hughes (New York: Blom, 1967); and the MacLehose edition is available on the archive.org website. The 1617 edition is also accessible via Early English Books Online and the University College, London, Digital Collections website.
9   See David Henige, *Historical Evidence and Argument* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 39.

Hakluyt's editorial work remains of central importance to the history of the textual editing of travel writings in that he sought to blend the methodologies of both English and continental predecessors in collecting together informative and geographically diverse narratives for publication. In response to earlier English publishing practice, he followed the example of Richard Eden (c.1520-76) and Richard Willes (1546-79?) who had translated and edited, respectively, the 1555 and 1577 editions of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades* or *Decades of the New World*. This landmark publication provided a series of early-sixteenth century reports of New World explorations.[10] Hakluyt was also mindful of well-established continental models of editing, exemplified by the German cartographer Sebastian Münster (1488-1552) in his *Novus orbis* (1532), the first Northern-European collection of global voyages, and the Venetian civil servant Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557), who had advocated the humanist ideal of meticulous transcription from the 'best' manuscript and printed sources available in his *Navigationi et Viaggi* (1555-59). In this respect, Hakluyt's publications mark in England a decisive cultural and bibliographical moment in the emergence, as Joan-Pau Rubiés explains, 'of travel writing as a distinctive genre central to the late Renaissance system of knowledge'. He sought in *The Principal Navigations* to build on, rather than replace, the major contribution of these earlier collections, 'both in English (by Eden and Willes, which he freely ransacked) and in other languages of the learned (in particular Ramusio's magnificent collection, which was never translated from Italian to English in full).'[11]

If it is assumed that Hakluyt wished to provide his contemporary readers with the 'best' available text of a travel narrative, it is crucial for the modern editor to determine how the term 'best' should be interpreted within the context of Hakluyt's own time. It should not be confused with current standards of textual editing, usually based upon a carefully selected copy-text in conjunction with readings from other related manuscript and printed versions, thereby providing modern readers with what is assumed to be a reliable rendering of the author's concluding draft of (or final intentions for) a work. *The Hakluyt Handbook*, edited by D.B. Quinn, details all known sources for items included in both the 1589 and 1598-1600 editions of *The Principal Navigations*. It confirms Hakluyt's eclectic use of identifiable printed and manuscript sources (although not necessarily the specific printed editions or

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10 See note 5.
11   Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'From the "History of Travayle" to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2013),26, 31.

manuscript versions utilised) as well as a substantial number of unidentifiable sources which are assumed to have been drawn primarily from now lost manuscript accounts.[12] But considerable uncertainty still remains over various key aspects of the publication process for *The Principal Navigations*. It is not known, for example, whether Hakluyt sent marked up manuscript and/or printed copies to the printers of his 1589 and 1598-1600 editions, or if he employed scribes to transcribe some of these printers' texts, or if he copied out in his own hand large sections of these manuscript drafts since no printers' authorial or scribal manuscripts or marked-up proofs are known to have survived.

Modern readers of Hakluyt's volumes have usually envisaged him selecting and editing his numerous travel narratives not only for literary and commercial reasons but also for the purposes of English national propaganda. In making these choices, he was guided by both geographical and cosmographical reasons (as well as by the essentially random availability and survival of informative accounts) and by a network of influence and court patronage which included Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Ralegh and, most significantly for *The Principal Navigations*, two successive Secretaries of State, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Robert Cecil, and the Lord High Admiral Charles Lord Howard of Effingham.[13]

Hakluyt's choice of copy-text for his account of the Spanish Armada in *The Principal Navigations* (1:591–607) has only recently been established by the present author. It was previously supposed that it had been derived from either the Cologne (1597?) or Antwerp (n.d.) editions of *Historia Belgica* by the Flemish historian Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612) – whom Hakluyt knew personally – or perhaps from one of its earlier German editions (1596, 1597, 1598). Alternatively, it was suggested that van Meteren may have personally supplied a manuscript text 'directly to Hakluyt, in advance of the Latin edition, for him to translate.'[14] But it now seems that Hakluyt did not directly access his account of the Armada expedition from either a manuscript or printed version of *Historia Belgica*. Instead, during the mid-1590s the London scribe and commercial hack writer Richard Robinson (1544/5-1603) compiled a series of manuscripts relating to the Dutch revolt and the allied English war effort, including in 1595 Latin transcriptions from van Meteren's as yet unpublished *Historia*

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12   D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), [1589 edition] 2:341-77, [1598-1600 edition], 2:378-460.

13   George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (1928; repr., New York: F. Ungar, 1961), 123-32, 173-86; Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 183-94, 221-34.

14   *Hakluyt Handbook*, 2:382; John Parker, *Van Meteren's Virginia, 1607–12* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), 12-17. For Hakluyt's contacts with van Meteren, see *Hakluyt Handbook*, 1:300, 307, 311; Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, 210-13.

Belgica. He continued this scribal work in 1596 with accounts of both the Armada campaign and the Cadiz expedition. Robinson's transcription of the Armada narrative states that it was derived from a Cologne text of van Meteren's account of the Spanish Armada (contained in the fifteenth book of his *Historia Belgica*). It was completed by Robinson on 9 July 1596 and then presented to Howard of Effingham who had given Robinson on 18 July 1595 another manuscript account from which he had transcribed this carefully written copy.[15]

Robinson's Latin manuscript transcription, rather than a printed edition of *Historia Belgica*, became the primary source for Hakluyt's English account in the 1598 edition of *The Principal Navigations*. Its lavish dedication (fol. 1v) to Howard also directly prefigures Hakluyt's dedication to him of this entire volume of *The Principal Navigations*. It would seem, then, that the inclusion of both the Spanish Armada and Cadiz narratives at the end of this volume was probably occasioned at a relatively late stage in the pre-production process (or even when printing of the earlier sections of the volume had already begun) as much by Charles Howard, as by Hakluyt himself. Since Robinson had in 1596 completed for Howard his transcription (derived from van Meteren) of the Armada engagement, it was probably opportune and personally useful for Hakluyt to utilise this particular text. After all, the volume in which it appeared was to be dedicated to Howard and his achievements in leading the English fleets during the Spanish Armada and at the Cadiz Expedition were proclaimed on its title-page. Hakluyt, thereby, could pay gracious tribute to Howard through both the preliminary and concluding matter offered by this volume. Even though these two accounts in no way fitted with its broader geographical or mercantile remit, it may be that Howard not only suggested or requested their inclusion but also personally supplied a copy of Robinson's Latin manuscript transcription from which Hakluyt could make his English translation.

4. Hakluyt's Account of the Cadiz Expedition (1596)

During 1598 Charles Howard, by then Earl of Nottingham, collaborated with Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in preparing the country against an anticipated (if exaggerated) threat of a Spanish invasion and in 1599 he alone was appointed to 'an unprecedentedly powerful commission' as 'Lord Lieutenant-General of all England' in overall charge of all

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15   Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tanner 255. Robinson's title-page (fol. 1r) notes that the account was first written in German in 1594, translated from German into Latin and also printed in German in 1595 and then transcribed by him in Latin in 1596.

military defences.[16] This pointed absence of the more youthful and militarily experienced Earl of Essex from such a commission may be fed back into the curious circumstances surrounding the inclusion – and then sudden excision – of an account of the triumphant 1596 Cadiz Expedition which immediately followed that of the Spanish Armada at the end of the first volume of the 1598 edition of *The Principal Navigations*. This latter voyage had been jointly led by Howard as sea-commander and Devereux as land-commander, and in his 'Epistle Dedicatorie' Hakluyt enthusiastically praised Howard's role in this 'late renowned expedition and honorable voyage unto *Cadiz.*' He also noted that he had derived his text largely from an account by 'a very grave and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action.'[17] Given that this individual was Dr Roger Marbeck (1536-1605), Howard's personal physician on the Cadiz voyage, it seems likely that Hakluyt's use of his manuscript as the sole source for his account of the expedition was, as already seems the case for the Spanish Armada, personally approved by Howard himself.[18]

If Hakluyt did source both his Armada and Cadiz accounts from Howard's private library, it remains far from clear as to what then occasioned a radical, post-publication excision of the Cadiz (but not the Armada) account – literally by cutting out the relevant leaves – from some 1598 volumes (probably those still remaining in the hands of stationers and booksellers). Hakluyt's Cadiz voyage account was unexpectedly and rapidly suppressed, resulting in various (but by no means all) copies of the 1598 volume being thus crudely emended in about October 1599, with the title-page of the volume reprinted (omitting any mention of Cadiz) and the publication date revised from 1598 to 1599. However, brief passing references to the expedition in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' (sig. *2v), preface (sig. **2v) and contents list (sig. **4v) remained untouched in this 1599 reissued edition. Anthony Payne has calculated that of 110 examined copies with the 1598 title-page, sixty copies retain

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16   James McDermott, 'Charles Howard, second baron Howard of Effingham and first earl of Nottingham (1536–1624),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition).

17   Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1598), sig.*2v.

18   Hakluyt's account was edited from a copy of Marbeck's (possibly autograph) manuscript narrative, 'A Breefe and a true Discourse of the late honorable voyage unto Spaine, and of the wynning, sacking and burning of the famous Towne of Cadiz there'. See BL Sloane MS 226 and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson D 124. Howard may have also loaned to Hakluyt another manuscript account of the Cadiz expedition, 'An English quip for a Spanish quo' (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawl B 259), which Richard Robinson had transcribed and presented him with in October 1596.

the Cadiz leaves and of 130 examined copies with the 1599 title-page, fifty-five copies still include them. He concludes: 'The implication of this is that, if there was censorship it was not especially effective as the Cadiz leaves survive in so many copies and […] that it was short-lived and confined to a particular time and set of political circumstances'.[19]

The most likely reason for this censorship lies in Queen Elizabeth's and Sir Robert Cecil's deep annoyance at the Earl of Essex's failed Irish expedition between April and late-September 1599, leading to his unauthorised truce with the Earl of Tyrone. Essex's erratic behaviour immediately following this debacle instigated his temporary house-arrest and forced withdrawal from court, ultimately leading to his ill-fated rebellion and execution for treason in February 1601. Alternatively, this censorship may have also been prompted by lingering resentment over the political controversy occasioned by the Cadiz venture itself. Elizabeth considered that Essex had tried to highjack the expedition for his own purposes to establish an English garrison and naval base in the city, a strategy which she had specifically vetoed. It had also been rumoured that Essex was secretly planning to publish a 'True relation' of the expedition, glorifying his own leadership and heroism. To prevent such partisan propaganda, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had ensured that the Council, via the licensing authority over stationers of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, imposed a blanket ban on all publications about Cadiz immediately after the expedition's triumphant return to England.

Perhaps most significantly, Hakluyt wished to dedicate the second and third volumes of *The Principal Navigations* to Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil, then Secretary of State (1596-1608) and the most influential opponent of Essex in advocating a negotiating peace with Spain. It may be that Sir Robert was the prime instigator of the excision of the Cadiz leaves since in 1599 he was keen to secure his own still uncertain position at the royal court, following the death of his father, Lord Burghley, on 4 August 1598. Hakluyt's personal cultivation of the younger Cecil was notably successful. Appointed in 1599 as Sir Robert's personal chaplain, he was promised (at Cecil's request) the next reversion to a chaplaincy at the Hospital of the Savoy, in London.[20] Finally, through Cecil's influence he was installed as a prebendary (4 May 1602) and archdeacon (3 December 1603) of Westminster Abbey. He

19   Anthony Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt and the Earl of Essex: The Censorship of the Voyage to Cadiz in the Principal Navigations', *Publishing History*, 72 (2012) [2014]: 7-52, 7-8. To circumvent this censorship, the excised leaves may have been made available at the time of sale by the bookseller for reinsertion at the purchaser's discretion. Semi-facsimile copies of the Cadiz leaves were also printed in about 1720 and 1795 and various copies of the original 1598–1600 edition contain these later additions.

20   *Hakluyt Handbook*, 1:313, 316-19.

duly dedicated to Cecil the second (1599) and third volumes of *The Principal Navigations* (dedication dated 1 December 1600), as well as his edition of António Galvão's *Discoveries* (1601). From the Armada and Cadiz narratives it is clear that modern editors of travel writings at this period must take into account not only which surviving manuscript and/or printed sources should be utilised as copy-texts but also the often complex historical and personal circumstances determining the processes by which editors of early modern travel texts obtained the requisite primary literary materials for their intended publications.

5. Later Texts and Editors of Hakluyt's Spanish Armada and Cadiz Expedition Accounts

It seems that this censorship of Hakluyt's account of the Cadiz Expedition was short-lived since the 1600 edition of John Stowe's *Annales of England*, dedicated on 24 November to Archbishop Whitgift, still an official licenser for the press, included an account of the Spanish Armada (pp. 1244-61) and – apparently without any problems – 'The Abstract of the expedition to Cadiz 1596' (pp. 1282-93), both utilising (but without acknowledgement) Hakluyt's accounts and supplementary information.[21] Hakluyt's narratives of the Spanish Armada and the Cadiz Expedition were also reprinted, primarily for propaganda purposes, in a four-volume folio collection edited by Samuel Purchas (1575-1626), *Hakluytus Posthumus or, Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1624/25), the year in which George Villiers (1592-1628), Duke of Buckingham, led another attack on Cadiz, inspired by both Sir Francis Drake's 1587 raid and the 1596 joint expedition of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and the Earl of Essex. The title-page of this work also bore a small inset illustration of the defeat of the Armada. The clergyman and compiler of travel accounts, Purchas knew Hakluyt personally and borrowed from him various manuscript and printed sources for the second edition of his own earlier compilation of travel literature, *Purchas, his Pilgrimage* (1613; rev. and rpt. 1614). Purchas, who envisaged a 'militantly theological' purpose for his publications, viewed himself as Hakluyt's rightful literary successor and acquired in about 1620 a range of the latter's manuscripts which he extensively used in his *Pilgrimes* collection.[22]

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21   Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to those Associated with Him 1580–1625(*London: Quaritch, 2008), 16-19, 64-5; Payne,'Richard Hakluyt,' 24-7.

22   Rpt. *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons [in collaboration with The Hakluyt Society], 1905-07), 19:510 [Spanish Armada] and , 20:23[Cadiz Expedition], both mainly from Hakluyt with additional material from van Meteren's *Historia Belgica*. See L.E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook: studies of the life, times and*

During the nineteenth century two major editions of *The Principal Navigations* were published. The first was printed in five volumes as *Hakluyt's Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, edited by R.H. Evans, J. Mackinlay and R. Priestley of London (1809–12). It reproduced *verbatim* Hakluyt's accounts of the Armada (2:1-18) and Cadiz Expedition (2:19-33). Over seventy years later, a sixteen-volume edition of *The Principal Navigations* was edited by Edmund Goldsmid, who extensively reordered Hakluyt's materials, and published in Edinburgh by E. and G. Goldsmid (1885–90). Volume seven, *England's Naval Exploits Against Spain*, included Hakluyt's Armada and Cadiz Expedition accounts taken from the 1598-1600 edition with perhaps also reference to the Purchas and Evans, Mackinlay and Priestley editions.[23] Between 1903 and 1905 the Glasgow firm J. MacLehose and Sons published, in conjunction with The Hakluyt Society, a twelve-volume edition of *The Principal Navigations* (1598–1600), with only slight modifications in spelling and the addition of illustrations of contemporary maps, plans, charts and portraits. The fourth volume contained the accounts of the Armada and the Cadiz Expedition .[24] A new essay was also added and, for the first time, a comprehensive index of the volumes was supplied by Marie Minchon and Elizabeth Carmont.[25] Since 1905 this edition has remained the standard point of reference for the majority of readers of *The Principal Navigations* who lack ready access to the original 1598-1600 edition, along with a cheaper eight-volume Everyman's Library edition, excluding all Latin texts, published by J.M. Dent in 1907.

During the last three decades there has been a significant escalation of interest in Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* from various historical, literary, geographical and cultural perspectives and a comprehensive new edition is patently needed. The Oxford University Press edition selected as its copy-text the Huntington Library's copy of Hakluyt's

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writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577–1626 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1997), 1:353-4, 2:463; and James P. Helfers, 'The Explorer and the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas,' *Studies in Philology*, 94 (1997),

23   *England's Naval Exploits Against Spain*, 7.132-64 (Armada account) and 165-86 (Cadiz account). In 2006 the University of Adelaide created an electronic edition of the Goldsmid edition under Creative Commons (http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hakluyt/voyages/). The 1589 and 1598-1600 editions, as well as those by Evans (1809-12) and Goldsmid (1885-90), are accessible via < http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=Hakluyt >. However, the MacLehose edition (1903–05) is only available to US readers on this site.

24   *The Principal Navigations* (1905-07), 4.197-236 (Armada account) and 236-68 (Cadiz account).

25   *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth. Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society 1846-1996*, ed. R.C. Bridges and P.E.H. Hair (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1996), 296.

original 1598-1600 edition. However, the Cadiz leaves are missing from this volume and so the copy-text for this account has been taken from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, copy (Savile X 12) once owned by the scholar and politician Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622). This copy has been chosen because it is an original 1598 printing and the Cadiz leaves are clearly original to this volume with no attempt having been made to remove them. This new fourteen-volume edition (produced by twenty-three volume editors) retains old-spelling (with some standard modernisations, such as 'i' for 'j' and 'u' for 'v', etc.) but does not seek to create a facsimile of typographical effects (such as the use in 1598-1600 of black letter) and standardises roman and italic type to modern usage. Most importantly, this edition of *The Principal Navigations* provides via its footnotes comprehensive annotations of all persons, places, vessels, obscure or complex military and naval terminologies, dates, routes and other factual details and via its endnotes additional textual and editorial information.

Such rigorous editorial standards offer a major step forward in understanding the nature and importance of Hakluyt's choice of texts for his accounts of the Armada and the Cadiz Expedition. Of all the previous editions, none attempted any textual collations or tried to identify the Hakluyt's original sources. Only Goldsmid's 1885-90 edition provided selected explanatory annotations. Even so, he felt it necessary to apologise for the paucity of these glosses, lamenting: 'I can assure any who may be disposed to cavil at their brevity that many a *line* has cost me hours of research' (1:vii). In contrast, 'The Hakluyt Project' provides readers with a stable and authoritative text of the 1598-1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations*.

Finally, this new edition of *The Principal Navigations* seeks to stimulate current and subsequent generations of scholars to conduct further research into Hakluyt's accounts of the Armada and Cadiz Expedition, not least with a view to noting both the contemporary authority of these texts and their significant omissions. The Armada account was compiled, indirectly, from a Dutch original and the Cadiz account from the private record of the Lord Admiral's personal physician who had no prior experience of seamanship or naval engagements. Hence, it is inevitable that these two narratives offer partisan and incomplete accounts. Roger Marbeck's narrative of the Cadiz Expedition is, predictably, highly subjective and in its manuscript draft he reveals his naïve fascination with various standard naval practices. He describes in detail how naval vessels traditionally encountered and saluted one another at sea and such spectacular sights as passing shoals of flying fish. However, Hakluyt systematically excised such incidental details from his printed account in *The Principal Navigations* as extraneous to his primarily nationalist and propagandist

purposes. Similarly, this account offers substantial listings of over eighty English participants since Marbeck was clearly at pains to provide as detailed a record as possible of the naval and court personnel involved in the expedition. No previous attempt had ever been made to identify all of these individuals or to assess their roles in the expedition. But, in contrast, the Armada account is much more selective – as is to be expected from a continental text – in its naming of commanders, officers, crews, volunteers and chaplains among the English fleet. Its references to English vessels are no more than perfunctory and it lacks throughout the detailed knowledge of the organisation and day-to-day running of the fleet which is so apparent in Marbeck's informative, albeit amateur, account of the Cadiz Expedition.

To take only one historically significant omission, no mention is made in Hakluyt's Armada narrative (i.e., via Robinson's transcription from van Meteren's Latin text) of the presence and conspicuous feats of bravery of the retired sea commander, military officer and Member of Parliament, Sir George Beeston (c.1520-1601). Beeston, probably in his late-sixties at the time of the Armada crisis, had participated in the Battle of Musselburgh (1547) and the Siege of Boulogne (1548). During Queen Mary's reign he was a Gentleman Pensioner and served at sea during the 1570s in command of a new warship, the *Dreadnought* (launched 1573). By 1576, as befitted his age, he was primarily occupied on land supervising the shore defences at Gravesend but during the Armada conflict he took to the sea for one final adventure, again commanding the *Dreadnought*, and was knighted for bravery on the deck of Howard of Effingham's flag-ship, the *Ark Royal*.

Hakluyt's Armada account does at least make brief reference to several other English naval notables, such Sir Francis Drake (1540-96), George Clifford (1558-1605), Earl of Cumberland, Lord Henry Seymour (b.1540) and Thomas Fleming (fl.1580s), whose pinnace, the *Golden Hind*, first sighted the Spanish fleet as it approached The Lizard.[26] It is also especially informative in its referencing of the Spanish commanders and sea captains, such as the commander of their fleet, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia (1550-1615) and its two deputy commanders, Juan Martínez de Recalde (d.1588) and Miguel de Oquendo y Segura (d.1588), since van Meteren had a detailed knowledge of the Spanish hierarchy. Indeed, modern readers need to recognise that the overall balance of the naval

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26　　Hakluyt had probably also consulted an English propaganda pamphlet by J.[ames?] L.[eigh?], *An Answer to the Untruths* (London, 1589), supposedly a translation of a Spanish tract but really written and printed in England (by Arnold Hatfield for the London stationer Thomas Cadman). He may have also accessed other manuscript accounts, including one written personally by Lord Burghley. See Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550–1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), 27-9.

information in van Meteren's account is sometimes weighted (especially at the beginning of the account) far more towards the Spanish than English fleet. But numerous other examples of English individuals and vessels known from other contemporary sources to have been involved in the repulse of the Spanish fleet could be readily added to those included in this account, even though Hakluyt's third-hand (i.e., via Robinson and van Meteren), continental account makes no specific mention of them.

In conclusion, the modern editor needs to make clear how van Meteren (via Robinson's transcription) tends to view the significance of the Armada Fleet from the perspective of its potential impact on the Low Countries and Spanish Netherlands as much as England. Hakluyt reproduces without qualification van Meteren's statement that the Spaniards considered conquering England to be 'lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland' and also cites his usage of the Spanish printed pamphlet, *La Felicissima Armada*, published at Lisbon on 9 May 1588. Similarly, he sometimes accepts without question errors incorporated into van Meteren's original text. For example, he describes Juán de Escobedo (1530-78) as secretary to Philip II rather than, as was the case, to his brother, Don John of Austria. The Oxford University Press edition of Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* implicitly underlines, therefore, an editorial need for the collecting together (ideally in digital form) and thorough reassessment of all surviving contemporary manuscript and printed accounts (in various languages) of the Spanish Armada engagement of 1588 and the Cadiz Expedition of 1596.

Future Directions for Travel Writing

This Oxford edition of Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* was intended from its earliest planning stages to be published in both hardback (aimed primarily at the library market and select bibliophiles) and digital form as part of the 'Oxford Scholarly Editions Online' series. The rapid technological developments in electronic texts over recent years offer to all genres of literary editing the most important advances in textual scholarship since they provide not only facilities for online searching but also unlimited possibilities for the future emendation and expansion of the edition. For example, the seven volumes of *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, edited by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, were published in paper form in 2012 but this project also offers a comprehensive online edition which is regularly updated with new and revised materials. This process enables editors (and their contributing readers) to continue to respond to developments in editorial thinking as

well as to newly discovered materials and fresh interpretations of Jonson's works. The digital texts also provide a fully searchable version of the printed edition, including all introductory materials, textual collations and commentaries.

Digital technology, however, can offer much more than a mere online reflection of a printed edition. In the case of the Cambridge Jonson project, the electronic edition also provides 'hundreds of digital images and dozens of searchable old-spelling transcriptions of the early printed versions of Jonson's texts and some of the major manuscripts' which can be viewed either independently or in comparison with the modern-spelling version or other relevant documents reproduced on the project's website. Print editions, in the words of Martha Nell Smith, have in the past been 'necessarily faith-based, for readers cannot adequately see the documentary evidence that determines everything from genre to suitability for inclusion in a scholarly edition.'[27] In contrast, the Ben Jonson digital edition also provides in support of its primary textual materials a wide range of essays and archival documents relevant to Jonson's life, performance history and afterlife, including about '80 old-spelling texts, 550 contextual documents, 88 essays, several hundred high-quality images, and 100 music scores' as well as details of 'more than 1300 stage performances' and a 'cross-linked bibliography of over 7000 items.'[28]

When this kind of electronic technology is applied to the editing of travel texts, a range of important new possibilities readily become apparent. Since so many early modern travel accounts were originally written in languages other than English and often translated into other languages both before and after the English translation(s), reproducing texts of all such multi-lingual versions becomes prohibitively expensive in print. But in digital form, there is no limit to the number of texts and editions of a work which can be made simultaneously available to both editors and readers – a process which will surely enrich both the editorial process and the reader's engagement with specific travel narratives. In this respect, digital technology also significantly enhances the possibilities for collaborative editing since materials can be posted and revised by several hands as the project progresses.

Electronic processes are now offering new ways of readily retrieving information from damaged or apparently illegible documents. For example, the 'David Livingstone

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27   Martha Nell Smith, 'Electronic Scholarly Editing', in *A Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens and John Unsworth (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 311.306-22 (311). See also Marilyn Deegan and Kathryn Sutherland, ed., *Text Editing, Print and the Digital World*, ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, chapter 12, 'The way ahead: Travel writing in the twenty-first century' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 177-89.
28 < http://0-universitypublishingonline.org.wam.leeds.ac.uk/cambridge/benjonson/ >

Spectral Imaging Project' utilises 'spectral imaging technology and digital publishing to make available a series of faded, illegible texts produced by the famous Victorian explorer when stranded without ink or writing paper in Central Africa.'[29] With the possibilities of electronic searching and the open-ended collation of large amounts of data from a growing collection of related texts and images, the concept of a constantly updatable electronic edition is now becoming an intrinsic (and increasingly essential) element in the textual editing of travel writings. These new perspectives, however, offer major challenges to currently active academic editors who have only been trained in the compilation and dissemination of travel texts through paper publications. Clearly, this rapidly evolving age of digital textual editing will require the development of a range of new editorial skills and the increasing collaboration of editors of travel writings with technologically adept digital practitioners as well as with the compilers of online editions of other works from the written and visual arts, humanities and sciences.

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29 'The David Livingstone Spectral Imaging Project, Livingstone Online and the UCLA Digital Library Program, accessed 9 April 2017, http://livingstone.library.ucla.edu/about.htm;Adrian S. Wisnicki, 'Journey into Digital Humanities: One Victorianist's Tale', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 18.2 (2013).

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