

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS BEFORE 1580*

AT THE outset I must confess that it was mere whimsy that prompted me to supply this title when the Historical Society kindly invited me to give this paper. What I have actually been up to in the studies of which this essay presents representative selections is the investigation of the encounters of Tudor Englishmen with North and South American and Caribbean Indians in the course of the voyages of exploration and discovery to the New World. The idea of what it was like to be a man living in a primitive society underwent some rapid and decisive changes during the period when these discoveries were being made; and these changes, in turn, brought about perforce some interesting revisions in antiquaries' concepts of life in Britain before the advent of the Romans.

Until the Tudor adventurers brought back reliable and eyewitness accounts of the nature of primitive man, English historians were content to repeat the old legend, given its greatest currency by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century, that Britain had been founded by refugees from the Trojan War under the leadership of one of the scions of the house of Priam, Brutus (hence the name Britain). This was a comfortable tale, of course, implying that civilization had rather sprung full-blown in Britain from the temple of Zeus, than climbed painfully upward from savagery to the world of light. All the countries of western Europe, as the late Professor George Gordon observed, had "forged Trojan passports," but all of them had turned them in for more official-looking papers before the sixteenth century. It took the American Indian to show English (or more particularly

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Welsh) historians that it really couldn't have been quite like that.¹

It was not long after the English discovery of America that mariners began making sure that the folks at home could see for themselves. Some Bristol seamen, organized into a company with some Portuguese from the Azores, sailed for the New World in the spring of 1501, and fished there until their return home shortly before Christmas. The Household Accounts Book of Henry VII records a payment on January 7, 1502 (N.S.), of a hundred shillings "to men of Bristoll that found Thisle." The same men made another voyage the following year, represented in the Household Accounts by two further payments: one of 6s.8d. "to a mariner that brought an Egle" on September 23, and on the 30th, one of £20 "to the merchants of Bristoll that have bene in the newe founde Launde."²

If six-and-eightpence was the going price for an eagle from the New World, it is possible that £20 was a fair value for three Eskimos. For it was in this year that an anonymous London chronicler entered, for the mayoral year running from September 15, 1501, to September 14, 1502, under the heading "III men were brought from the newe Ilond," the following note: "This yere three men were brought out of an Iland founde by merchauntes of Bristowe ferre beyonde Ireland, the which were clothid in Beestes skynnes and ete raw fflesh, and rude in their demeanure as Beestes."³ The same facts, with some additional ones about the savages, were printed by Hakluyt in 1582 from the MS. chronicle (since lost) of Robert Fabyan, which was in the possession of John Stow. After Fabyan's paragraph about the 1498 expedition of John Cabot, which Hakluyt attributed to Sebastian Cabot, he printed the one dealing with the savages,

adding a headnote of his own which further confused the issue: "Of three savage men which hee [i.e., Sebastian] brought home and presented unto the king in the xvii yeere of his raigne"—the right date, but the wrong explorer. "This yeere also were brought unto the king three men, taken in the new founde Iland, that before I spake of in William Purchas time, being Maior. These were clothed in beastes skinnnes, and ate rawe fleshe, and spake such speech that no man coulde understand them, and in their demeanour like to brute beastes, whom the king kept a time after. Of the which upon two yeeres past after I saw two apparelled after the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster pallace, which at that time I coulde not discerne from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were. But as for speech, I heard none of them utter one worde."⁴

The first extended mention of primitive Americans in what may be called imaginative literature was in the *New Interlude of the Nature of the Four Elements*, by John Rastell, brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More. Rastell attempted in 1517 a voyage, not alone of discovery but of colonization, to the New World, to which Henry VIII granted a safe-conduct in Letters Patent; but the King's support was lukewarm, for his Lord Admiral, the Earl of Surrey, successfully interfered with the voyage in order to prevent ships leaving the Channel that he thought were needed for its defense.

The records of the subsequent action brought by Rastell in the Court of Requests for recovery of damages throw some light on the purposes of his venture. He took goods that appear to have been intended for trade with civilized Cathay: "cofers of silks and tukes and other mercery ware"; but he also took supplies that could mean that a lengthy stay was intended somewhere else: "howsold stuff/as fedyr bedes

napery pannes pottes and divers other wares. . . .” But the expedition never got farther than Ireland, and the vessels returned to the Channel, as Surrey intended they should.⁵

Rastell was to have, nonetheless, if not his heart's desire, at least the last word. The issue of the court action was apparently in his favor; but so intense was his indignation at the frustration of his design that he wrote, printed (probably in 1519), and perhaps even produced at Court, a dramatic piece in which he vilified those responsible for his failure, the *New Interlude* already referred to. Not only is it the first English description of America, but it records also the first imaginative apprehension of the astounding significance of the discoveries that must have seemed to contemporaries almost like *creatio ex nihilo*.

Rastell tells with fiery passion the story of his own abortive voyage:

. . . They that were they venteres
 Have cause to curse their maryners
 Fals of promys and dissemblers
 That falsly them betrayed;
 Whiche wolde take no paine to saile farther
 Than their owne lyst and pleasure,
 Wherefore that vyage and dyvers other
 Suche kaytyffes have destroyed.

He sets down in a few earnestly patriotic lines his desire to colonize the new country:

O what a thyng had be than
 Yf that they that be Englyshe men
 Myght have ben the furst of all
 That there shulde have take possessyon
 And made furst buyldynge and habytacion:
 A memory perpetuall.

Here, too, is the first English recognition of the duty of evangelizing the Indian:

And what a great meritoryouse dede
It were to have the people instructed
To lyve more vertuously,
And to lerne to knowe of men the maner,
And also to knowe God theyr Maker.

For, as he continues,

... as yet [they] lyve all bestly
For they nother knowe God nor the devell
Nor never harde tell of hevyn nor hell,
Wrytynge nor other scripture;
But yet in the stede of God Almyght,
The[y] honour the sone [sun] for his great lyggt,
For that doth them great pleasure.

Not only is their manner of life bestial, their habitations are also:

Buyldynge nor house they have none at all
But wodes cotes and cavys small:
No merveyle though it be so,
For they use no maner of yron
Nother in tole nor other wepon
That shulde helpe them therto;
Copper they have, whiche is founde
In dyvers places above the grounde,
Yet they dyg not therfore;
For as I sayd they have non yryn
Wherby they shuld in the yerth myne
To serche for any [m]ore.

These early and explicit comments upon the aborigines of America were of great value to my study, but none more so than those lines in which Rastell reflects the problem that exercised thinkers all over Europe for some time to come:

But howe the people furst began
In that contrey or whens they cam,
For clerkes it is a questyon.⁶

The question had been raised, and "answered," in an ecclesiastical council held at Salamanca in 1486; after grave deliberation, the council pronounced belief in the antipodes

“incompatible with the historical traditions of our faith: since to assert that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe, would be to maintain that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean.”⁷

Although neither trade, nor colonization, nor the propagation of the faith sufficed as motives to get an English ship successfully to sea for America until 1527, there was in England a good source of information about North America before that time. This was Giovanni Verrazano, a Florentine who was sent out by Francis I to explore the New World. He had sailed from Madeira on January 17, 1524, on his first transatlantic voyage, and wrote his report on it from Dieppe to King Francis on July 8 of the same year. Afterwards he seems to have gone out again, and upon his return found Francis a prisoner of war in Spain. It was at this point that he must have taken himself to England to seek the patronage of Henry; for Hakluyt reports that he was in England, and that he presented a parchment chart of his discoveries to the King. Neither this nor any other document now exists to confirm Verrazano's visit to England; but Hakluyt's word is sufficiently authoritative to justify the use of the letter to Francis as evidence for the stories that Verrazano must have told the English Court, and probably a wider London circle, in 1526-27.

He had sailed along the North American coast southwards from his landfall for 50 leagues looking for a good harbor, and then turned back (to avoid encroachment upon Spanish territory) and revisited his original landfall, which has been identified as Cape Fear, North Carolina. He anchored there and sent a boat ashore to reconnoiter. There his men found “great store of people,” “marveiling greatly at our apparell, shape and whitenes. . . .”

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Leaving this spot and sailing some hundred miles up the coast, tending toward the east, they stopped at another place, attracted by the multitudinous camp-fires on the shore, although there was no fit harbor; they were then approximately in the vicinity of Cape Lookout. Here occurred an incident that did much to endear the natives of the place to the visiting Europeans, and to overcome the voyagers' initial fear of the aborigines. Verrazano wished to make friends with them, and determined that the way to do so was to send some gifts to them. "Wee sent a young man one of our Marriners a shore, who swimming towards them, and being within 3. or 4. yeards off the shore, not trusting them, cast the thinges upon the shore; seeking afterwarde to returne, hee was with such violence of the waves beaten upon the shore, that he was so bruised that hee lay there almost dead, which the Indians perceiving, ranne to catche him, and drawing him out they carried him a little way of[f] from the sea: The young man perceiving they caried him, beeing at the first dismaide, began then greatly to feare and cried out pitiously; likewise did the Indians which did accompanie him, going about to cheere him and give him courage, and then setting him on the grounde at the foote of a little hill against the sunne, beganne to beholde him with great admiration marveiling at the whitenesse of his fleshe: And putting off his clothes they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remained in the boate, that they would have rosted him at that fire and have eaten him. . . . The young man having recovered his strength, and having stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that hee was desirous to returne to the shippe. . . ."8 Doubtless!

One of the most important early sources of information about the developing English understanding of primitive

man is the first three voyages made to the Brazil coast by William Hawkins, father of the famous Sir John, between 1530 and 1532. Hawkins had been a Plymouth merchant engaged in overseas trade for some time, exporting cloth and tin from England to Western European ports. The only direct information we have about these early Hawkins voyages is an account in Hakluyt, probably obtained by word of mouth from Sir John. In Hakluyt the chronology is confused, and he speaks in the title to the story in one edition of one voyage to Brazil, and in another of two such voyages, whereas in fact the text makes it clear that there were three. In the account, William Hawkins is spoken of as "a man for his wisdome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloved of K. Henry the 8," and as "being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time. . . ." The ship that he armed and sent out to Brazil was the *Paul*, belonging to himself; and in her he made "three long and famous voyages unto the coast of Brasil, a thing in those dayes very rare, especially to our Nation. . . ."

Once there, Hawkins distinguished himself by his wise and fair dealings with the Indians; we do not know how long he spent in Brazil, but he is said to have grown "into great familiarity and friendship with them." "Insomuch," adds Hakluyt, "that in his second voyage, one of the savage kings of the countrey of Brasil, was contented to take ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed. . . ." The initiative in the transaction is thus obscured by Hakluyt: that the savage was "contented" sounds as if he had been invited; that Hawkins "agreed" sounds more as if he had invited himself. Weighing both phrases, one is inclined to think that perhaps the Indian

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expressed a desire to go to the country of his visitors' origin; certainly there is none of the callousness of French kidnapping involved. For as surety for the return of the Brazilian king Hawkins left a member of his party with the Indians in South America, a Plymouth man named Martin Cockeram.

Hakluyt's description of the arrival of the Brazilian monarch (whose name is nowhere recorded) is well known and delightful: being arrived in England he "was brought up to London and presented to K. Henry the 8, lying as then at White-hall: at the sight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle marvaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their savage maner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great braverie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease: All his apparel, behaviour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders."

The Brazilian remained in England for nearly a year, until such time as Hawkins was ready with his third expedition to Brazil; King Henry, we are told, was "fully satisfied" with the sight of his tame royal brother. So Hawkins, as he had promised, took the visitor aboard his ship and sailed again to Brazil; but the strange king never arrived there. "By change of aire and alteration of diet"—we may note that as yet it does not occur to the narrator to blame the debilitating effects of civilization⁹—"the said Savage king died at sea. . . ." This untoward circumstance naturally caused Hawkins and his party some concern; it was thought unlikely that Martin Cockeram would ever see England again. But the wisdom of Hawkins's treatment of the natives in his earlier visits paid dividends: ". . . The Savages being fully per-

swaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored againe the said pledge, without any harme to him or any man of the company. . . ." We have no knowledge of Cockeram's experiences in his year as the only white man among the Indians of this locality; but we may suspect that he had not been idle, and had persuaded the natives to work for him as the Portuguese factors did at Pernambuco, for small beer: since the *Paul* seems to have sailed straightway for England, "fraighted, and furnished with the commodities of the countrey." Sir John Hawkins assured Richard Hakluyt before the latter published the 1589 edition of his *Principal Navigations* that Cockeram "was living within these few yeeres."¹⁰ It was this Martin Cockeram, incidentally, to whom Kingsley assigned a role in his *Westward Ho!*

There was another English voyage to Brazil in 1540. The *Barbara* of London sailed from Portsmouth on March 10, having been warned by the mayor of that city "that they should do no robbery but folowe the vyage like honeste men": he must have known his men. They were Captain John Philips, Pilot John Nycoll (of Dieppe), and a crew of about a hundred men, including twelve Frenchmen; and they committed acts of piracy from Portsmouth to Brazil and back again, by way of the West Indies. They landed at Fernando de Noronha, which they named "Phelippe and Jacobbe's Ilande"—according to one, "because ther wer no people inhabitying therein," and according to another, perhaps more credible witness in the Admiralty Court, because they had landed there on the feast of SS. Philip and James, the first of May. In three more days they had made Cape San Roque, where they traded with the natives; and from thence to the east in a search for brazilwood that met with little success.

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So they turned back and sailed 100 leagues westward to a place called "Caymond" on the coast of the "kennyballes or Callybaldes." There they stayed for about a month trading with the natives for "cotten wolle, popynjayes, monckeyes, and dyvers other straunge beastes of that countrey." But there were other traders in the area, French and Portuguese, who resented the English intrusion. They came aboard the *Barbara* with warnings, which were disregarded to the extent that the Englishmen set up a sort of warehouse on the shore for their goods. So the French tried to cut the mooring cable of the ship, and they were aided by the defection of the twelve French members of the crew, who fled with some of the English goods.

It was a bad day for the English altogether. Their boatswain, John Podd, and fifteen members of the crew, gave chase, but the natives of the place intervened, attacking and killing all but one of the Englishmen. He was Richard Everton, who was described thus in the Admiralty suit brought subsequently at the instigation of the French and Spanish ambassadors: "Hic ille est qui vidit Podde occisum, in frusta secatum, tostum, et comestum per silvestres."¹¹ Another bit of evidence, perhaps (and there is plenty of it), that the Indians of this coast preferred the flavor of all other Europeans, but the company of the French.

In the spring of 1576, Martin Frobisher sailed from England in his first attempt on the North-West Passage (in the event, it was his only real attempt to find one). The party entered what they took to be a strait (it subsequently proved to be the gulf now known as Frobisher Bay) on August 11, and on the 19th, had their first glimpse of "the Countrey people." "The Captaine and I," wrote Christopher Hall, "tooke our boate, with eight men in her, to rowe us a

shoare, to see if there were there any people, or no, and going to the toppe of the Island, we had sight of seven boates, which came rowing from the East side, toward that Island: whereupon we returned aboard againe: at length we sent our boate with five men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the shoare, rowing after our boate, till such time as they sawe our ship, and then they rowed a shoare: then I went on shoare my selfe, and gave every of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboard of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on shoare againe. Whereupon all the rest came aboard with their boates, being nineteene persons, and they spake, but we understoode them not. They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale skinnes, and so doe the women, not differing in the fashion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe streekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eyes. Their boates are made all of Seales skinnes, with a keele of wood within the skin: the proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop, save only they be flat in the bottome, and sharpe at both ends."¹²

It is interesting to see what the perspicacious Camden made of this report of Hall's (which he used), in view of his position in the sixteenth and seventeenth century controversy about primitivism. Frobisher, he said, "found men of blacke hayre, broad faces, flat wry noses, of a swart and tawny colour, clothed with Sea-Calves skinnes, and the women were painted about the eyes and the balls of the Cheeke with a deepe azure colour, like the ancient *Britans*.

...¹³

According to Michael Lok's version of the first voyage,

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the man who came to Frobisher's ship did so only after an English hostage had been placed with the Eskimos. "And this man . . . made great wondering at all things: and the capitayn gave him to taste of the ship's meat and drink and wyne: but he made no countenance of liking any. And he [i.e., Frobisher] gave him . . . tryfles which he liked well and toke them with him to land where he was delyvered and our man received bak agayn. And hereby [surely the most non-sequacious adverb in all literature] the captayn perceiving these strange people to be of countenance and conversation proceeding of a nature geven to fyersnes and rapyne, and he being not yet well prepared in his ship for defence, he set sayle presently . . . to an other iland. . . ."14

Or, according to Hall, "the East-side of this Island." Whichever it was, five Englishmen were lost there to the natives. The laconic Hall treats even this catastrophe briefly: "One of their company came into our boate, and we carried him a boord, and gave him a Bell, and a knife: so the Capitaine and I willed five of our men to set him a shoare at a rocke, and not among the company, which they came from, but their wilfulnesse was such, that they would goe to them, and so were taken themselves, and our boate lost." Again Lok is far more circumstantial; he doubtless had much of his information from Frobisher himself. ". . . Presently an other of those strange men went willingly in the capitayns bote aboard the ship to see the same. . . . And he being in the ship the capitayn had talke with him by signes in a bargayn which they made that he should be their pylot through the Streiets into the West Sea: to pas in his little bote rowing before the ship thither: which he agreed onto, and made signes that in two dayes rowing he should be there. . . . Yet . . . the capitayn did wisely forsee that these strange people

are not to be trusted for any cause nor shew of freendship that they would make. . . ." And, in Lok's version, the five English mariners insisted upon rowing with him to the land, and rowed (against express orders) out of sight of their ship, and were never seen again.

Frobisher searched up and down the coast of the island for three days for some sign of his men, but found none, so he returned to the place from which they disappeared, and found one of the Eskimos who had earlier visited the ship. The native was suspicious by now (rightly so), and stayed far enough away from Frobisher's ship for safety. "Yet at the last with the fayr offers and entisements with gifts of the capitayn he approached agayn with his bote to the ships syde, but stood upon garde with his ore in one hand. . . ." But Frobisher held out a bell (a toy always greatly coveted by the savages) to him "with a short arme, and in that reache [he] caught holde on his wrest; and suddenly by mayn force of strength he plucked both the man and his light bote owt of the sea into the ship in a tryse. . . ."

At the collapse of his plans for a native pilot through the Passage, and probably also because of the prevalence of ice in the upper reaches of the Bay, Frobisher decided to return to England and prepare for another journey. He sailed from the New World on August 25, and arrived in London on October 9. Immediately, he began preparations for another voyage the following year. This time, of course, the objective had shifted from an almost scientific approach to the problem of the North-West Passage to the practical venture of hunting for gold. There was to be, nonetheless, some diversion of the shipping to the attempt on the Passage, and there was certainly to be some encounter with the primitive inhabitants of "Meta Incognita" (the name given

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to this area by Queen Elizabeth). The probability of such encounters was fully taken into account in the instructions given to Frobisher before his departure. He was to see that his gold-miners "maye bee placed as well from daunger & malice of the people as from any other extremitie that maye happen."

He who drafted these instructions was above all things clear that no chances should be taken with regard to the natives that might result in further losses of men. Paragraph 13 reads as follows: "Item as you shall mistrust rather to muche than any thinge to litle towching the matter of your saltie, when you happen to come to have conference with the people of those partes wher you shall arrive: so agayne wee requyre you, that in all your doynge you doe behave your selfe, and to cawse your companie to doe the like, towards the sayd people as maye gyve lest cawse of offence, and to procure as much as in you shall lye to wyne bothe frendshippe & likynge." He also made provision (paragraph 16) for Frobisher to bring some of the Eskimos back to England with him. "Item wee doe not thincke it good you should bringe hither above the nomber of [*iiij* or *iiij*] deleted] 8 or tenne at the most of the people of that Contrie: whereof some to be ould and the other yonge: whome wee mynd shall not returne agayne thither, and therefore you shall have great care howe you doe take them for avoidyng of offence towards them and the Contrie."¹⁵

In spite of the fact that Frobisher was "more carefull by processe of time to winne [the natives], then wilfully at the first to spoile them," the second voyage resulted in much trouble between the English and the Eskimos. George Best's narrative is one skirmish after another, from the time of the first landing of the English among the savages on July 18,

1577, at the north foreland of Frobisher Bay. And Best is a much more reliable informant for this expedition than Dionyse Settle, who was not an officer of the expedition, and who was vain, garrulous, and tiresomely philosophical. That Best also wrote much more delightful prose is not perhaps a recommendation for his historical veracity, but we can give an example that moves the theme forward at the same time: describing one armed encounter between the English and the natives, he writes, “. . . When the Salvages heard the shot of one of our calivers (and yet having first bestowed their arrowes) they ranne away, our men speedily following them. But a servant of my Lorde of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger a good footman, and uncombred with any furniture having only a dagger at his backe overtooke one of them, and being a Cornishman and a good wrastler, shewed his companion such a Cornish tricke, that he made his sides ake against the ground for a moneth after. And so being stayed, he was taken alive and brought away, but the other escaped. Thus with their strange and new prey our men repaired to their boates. . . .”¹⁶ This was the first of the captives taken in this expedition, and the “Cornish tricke” turned out to be the death of the Eskimo, as we shall see.

On August 2, a fierce battle took place between part of the English party and sixteen or eighteen of the Eskimos, of whom five or six were slain; one Englishman was wounded. Among the Eskimos were two women, one old and one young with a baby. The English captured them, but let the old one go, since she was so ugly that “our men thought shee had bene a devill or some witch.” The child suffered an arrow wound in the arm, “and our Surgeon meaning to heale her childes arme, applyed salves thereunto. But she

not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salves away, and by continuall licking with her owne tongue, not much unlike our dogs, healed up the childes arme."

"The Elizabethans were not anthropologists," A. L. Rowse has said. No, indeed; they were forever confusing the primitive condition with beastliness or sub-humanity. A later passage in Best's narrative makes this clear, and makes us shudder for the inhumanity of the civilized nation. "Having now got a woman captive for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together, and every man with silence desired to behold the maner of their meeting and entertainment. . . . At their first encountring they beheld each the other very wistly a good space, without speech or word uttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it seemed the grieffe and disdeine of their captivity had taken away the use of their tongues and utterance: the woman at the first very suddenly, as though she disdeined or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to sing as though she minded another matter: but being againe brought together, the man brake up the silence first, and with sterne and stayed countenance, began to tell a long solemne tale to the woman, whereunto she gave good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finished, and afterwards, being growen into more familiar acquaintance by speech, they were turned together, so that (I thinke) the one would hardly have lived without the comfort of the other. And for so much as we could perceive, albeit they lived continually together, yet they did never use as man & wife, though the woman spared not to doe all necessary things that appertained to a good houswife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and every other thing that appertained to his

ease. . . . Only I thinke it worth the noting, the continencie of them both: for the man would never shift himselfe, except he had first caused the woman to depart out of his cabin. . . .”

So, having laden the ships with Fool's Gold and captive Eskimos, Frobisher and his two consorts sailed for England about August 24, and all reached ports safely, although they were separated on the way. The *Ayde* (Frobisher's admiral) was ordered to Bristol by the Council a month after her arrival in Milford Haven, and it is from there that we have the report of Dr Edward Dodding upon his post mortem examination of the Eskimo man brought back from the New World. It is dated from Bristol on November 8, 1577, and corroborates many of the facts already outlined, such as that Nicholas Conger's "Cornish tricke" was a severe wound. Dodding found that two of the man's ribs were broken and that the cause of his death was probably the pulmonary effusion brought about by the bruises on his lung. He also reported an interesting occurrence at the death of the man in Bristol: just before he died, he became conscious and recognized those around him ("as his friends," according to Dodding; one wonders); he spoke "the few of our words he had been able to learn [verba nostra quae ediscerat pauca ut potuit], and responded appropriately to questions put to him. And they who heard him said that he sang clearly the same song that his fellows in place and rank chanted, standing on the shore, at the death of one of themselves." Doctor Dodding was scornful of the charms and incantations used by the Eskimos: "If the futile, fickle rigmarole of spells, and those useless and ludicrous rites, had had any power of assuaging diseases, assuredly this Calichoughe (for that was his name) whilst he was alive ought to have checked and

repressed the diseases that grew like hydras; for no one was more practised in this art and none was more sure in that superstitious practice."

But perhaps the most interesting passage in the report is that which displays the heroic stoicism of the woman in what may have been to her a horrible situation. "I showed the body to the woman . . . and, at my persuasion, she was led along (although unwillingly) to the burial, which I wished to be carried out with no religious rites, so that there might be no possibility of alarm being caused to her on the ground that we go in for human sacrifice, . . . [and] that I might remove from her mind every suspicion about the eating of human flesh (which suspicion had struck deep roots among these people). . . ." But the woman showed no signs of being moved by the man's death ("quantum ex vultu intelleximus"), and Dodding and the others concluded that she had felt nothing but scorn for him. One may suspect that the explanation was more complicated than this. Dodding goes so far as to report that "although they used to sleep in the same bed, yet relations between them were confined to talk, and she shrank from his embraces [amplexus ejus abhorruisse]." Both the young woman and her child also died within a short time, but so far as is known, no examination was made of their bodies. It may not exceed the bounds of possibility that the cause of her death was in fact simply captivity, and the cause of her stoicism at the death of her companion simply that she had a husband at home.¹⁷

Altogether, the capture and transportation to England of the Eskimos left more lasting marks than any other such exploit in my survey. A nineteenth century annalist of Bristol found a record of their arrival as follows: "In the year 1578 [sic] a great ship of our Queen's called *the Aid* . . .

came into Kingroad from Cattaie, Martin Forbisher being captain of her, after having attempted to find the Northwest passage to the East Indies, China, and Cattay. . . . The[y] brought with them a man of that country called *Callich* . . . with his wife, called *Ignorth*, and a child. They were savage people, clothed in Stag's skins, having no linen nor woollen at all, and fed only upon raw flesh. . . . Oct' 9th, he rowed up and down the river at the Back of Bristol, it being high tide of the sea, in a boat, the which was about fourteen feet long, made of skins . . . ; and as he rowed up and down he killed a couple of ducks with his dart; and when he had done he carried away the boat through the Marsh on his back. The like he did at the Weare, and at other places. Within one month they all three died."¹⁸

Further, a French translation of Settle's account of the voyage was published at Geneva in 1578, which adds some original material (from what source is unknown) on the Eskimos brought to England. "Le sauvage, & la femme avec son enfant, qu'on avoit admenez de ce pays barbare, & nouvellement descouvert, fut presenté à la Royne. . . . Tost apres leur arrivée, le sauvage & la femme moururent, l'aissant a elle survivant son enfant aagé de quatorze à quinze mois."¹⁹ Finally, a German visitor to England in 1592, Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, caused to be recorded in his journal that on August 21 he visited Hampton Court in company with the Queen. "Among other things to be seen there, are lifelike portraits of the wild man and woman whom Martin Forbisser . . . the English captain, took in his voyage to the New World, and brought alive to England."²⁰

This brings us nearly to our terminal date; but the final blow to the old, unhistorical view of primitive society was not delivered until a few years after, when John White

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(later a governor of the Virginia colony) went to Virginia under the command of Sir Richard Grenville and drew some excellent watercolors of the Indians he found there. Whether or not a picture is worth a thousand words, when John Speed saw White's paintings, he took one of the female Indians, added a spear when he engraved it, and labeled the resulting warrior "Boadicea."

T. N. MARSH

NOTES

1. The story of the historiographical change is well told by Sir Thomas Kendrick, in *British Antiquity* (London, 1950).
2. British Museum Add. MS. 7099.
3. B. M. Cotton MS. Vitellius A.xvi, fol. 204; printed in C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), p. 258.
4. *Divers Voyages to America*, ed. J. W. Jones for the Hakluyt Society (London, 1850), p. 24.
5. A. W. Reed, "John Rastell's Voyage in the Year 1517," *The Mariner's Mirror*, ix (1923), 137-147.
6. John Rastell, *A New Interlude and a Mery, of the Nature of the iiij. Elementes*, ed. J. O. Halliwell[-Phillips], Percy Society, vol. xxii (London, 1848), pp. 28-31.
7. Quoted from D. Wilson, *Caliban: the Missing Link* (London, 1873), p. 70.
8. Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages to America* (London, 1582), sigs. Av, A3.
9. Nor homesickness, which Professor Alan McKillop has suggested was a characteristic feeling ascribed to the "Noble Savage" away from his native land in the eighteenth century.
10. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (London, 1598-1600), III, 700-701.
11. R. G. Marsden, "Voyage of the *Barbara*, of London, to Brazil in 1540," *English Historical Review*, xxiv (1909), 96-100; and Public Record Office, HCA 1/33: Oyer and Terminer, Examinations as to pirates and other criminals: deposition of George Moone.
12. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, III, 31.
13. William Camden, *Annales*, tr. A. Darcie (London, 1625), pp. 364-365.
14. B. M. Cotton MS. Otho E. viii, fol. 47f.
15. P.R.O., SP 12/113, 12, pp. 82-84.
16. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, III, 64.

17. P.R.O., SP 12/118, 40(i). I must record my gratitude to the Rev. R. L. P. Milburn, Fellow and Chaplain of Worcester College, Oxford, for his help in translating this MS.
18. Samuel Seyer, *Memorials Historical and Topographical of Bristol and it's Neighbourhood*, II (Bristol, 1823), 247.
19. Quoted in Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (London, 1938), II, 237-238.
20. W. B. Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners* (London, 1865), p. 18.