

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Books of enduring scholarly value

Travel and Exploration

The history of travel writing dates back to the Bible, Caesar, the Vikings and the Crusaders, and its many themes include war, trade, science and recreation. Explorers from Columbus to Cook charted lands not previously visited by Western travellers, and were followed by merchants, missionaries, and colonists, who wrote accounts of their experiences. The development of steam power in the nineteenth century provided opportunities for increasing numbers of 'ordinary' people to travel further, more economically, and more safely, and resulted in great enthusiasm for travel writing among the reading public. Works included in this series range from first-hand descriptions of previously unrecorded places, to literary accounts of the strange habits of foreigners, to examples of the burgeoning numbers of guidebooks produced to satisfy the needs of a new kind of traveller - the tourist.

The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

The publications of the Hakluyt Society (founded in 1846) made available edited (and sometimes translated) early accounts of exploration. The first series, which ran from 1847 to 1899, consists of 100 books containing published or previously unpublished works by authors from Christopher Columbus to Sir Francis Drake, and covering voyages to the New World, to China and Japan, to Russia and to Africa and India. The first volume issued by the Society was the *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins*, and this later edition of that work includes additional narratives about other members of the Hawkins family: Richard's grandfather William, his father Sir John and his cousin William. The volume was 'intended to be a monograph of the naval enterprises of the great Elizabethan navigators of the name of Hawkins', from voyages to Brazil in the reign of Henry VIII to the foundation of the East India Company in 1600.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection will bring back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

EDITED BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108011488

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2009

This edition first published 1878

This digitally printed version 2009

ISBN 978-1-108-01148-8 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.



THE HAWKINS' VOYAGES.

ETC.

No. LVII.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



SIR JOHN HAWKINS KT

FROM A BASSO RELIEVO IVORY BUST IN POSSESSION
OF THE REV^d BRADFORD DEAN HAWKINS.

John Hawkins

(AUTOGRAPH FROM A FACSIMILE IN T)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

THE
HAWKINS' VOYAGES

DURING
THE REIGNS
OF
HENRY VIII, QUEEN ELIZABETH,
AND JAMES I.

Edited, with an Introduction,
BY
CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

—
MDCCLXXVIII.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I
Edited by Clements R. Markham
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

COUNCIL
OF
THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

-
- COLONEL H. YULE, C.B., PRESIDENT.
- ADMIRAL C. R. DRINKWATER BETHUNE, C.B.
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B. } VICE-PRESIDENTS.
- W. A. TYSEN AMHERST, Esq.
REV. DR. G. P. BADGER, D.C.L., F.R.G.S.
J. BARROW, Esq., F.R.S.
WALTER DE GREY BIRCH, Esq.
E. A. BOND, Esq.
ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD COLLINSON, K.C.B.
AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, Esq., F.R.S.
W. E. FRERE, Esq., C.M.G.
JOHN WINTER JONES, Esq., F.S.A.
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR J. HENRY LEFROY, C.B., K.C.M.G.
R. H. MAJOR, Esq., F.S.A.
COLONEL SIR WM. L. MEREWETHER, C.B., K.C.S.I.
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L.
ADMIRAL SIR ERASMUS OMMANNEY, C.B., F.R.S.
LORD ARTHUR RUSSELL, M.P.
THE LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.
EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.
- CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., SEC.R.G.S., HONORARY SECRETARY.

C O N T E N T S.

	PAGE
Introduction - - - - -	i
<hr/>	
1.—The Voyage of William Hawkins in 1530 - -	3
2.—The First Voyage of Sir John Hawkins - -	5
3.—The Second Voyage of Sir John Hawkins - -	8
4.—The arrival, and courtesy of Sir John Hawkins to the distressed Frenchmen in Florida - -	65
5.—The Third Voyage of Sir John Hawkins - -	70
<hr/>	
6.—The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Kt., in his Voyage into the South Sea, A.D. 1593 - -	83
<hr/>	
7.—A Spanish Account of the Naval Action between Sir Richard Hawkins and Don Beltran de Castro: translated from the Life of the Marquis of Cañete by Christobal Suarez de Figueroa - -	333
<hr/>	
8.—Journal of the Voyage under Captain Fenton (1582) kept by William Hawkins - - - -	353
9.—Journal of the Voyage of the <i>Hector</i> , kept by Captain William Hawkins (1607) - - - -	364

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I
Edited by Clements R. Markham
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CONTENTS.

10.—Captain William Hawkins; his Relations of the Occurrents which happened in the time of his Residence in India, in the country of the Great Mogol	-	-	-	389
11.—A Briefe Discourse of the Strength, Wealth, and Govern- ment, with some Customs, of the Great Mogol; by Captain William Hawkins	-	-	-	419

ERRATUM.

At page 13 (*note*), for “11,430”, read “12,370”.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins in his Voyage into the South Sea* was the first volume issued by the Hakluyt Society, in 1847. It was edited by Admiral C. R. Drinkwater Bethune, C.B.; and most of his valuable foot-notes in the first edition have been retained, especially those explaining old sea terms and Spanish phrases. Some of the Admiral's notes have been omitted as having become obsolete, or from other considerations. As the first edition is now out of print, it has become necessary to reproduce it. The Council decided that the present volume should be made more complete, by including the narratives of the voyages of Sir Richard's grandfather William, of his father Sir John, and of his cousin William Hawkins. It is, therefore, intended to be a monograph of the naval enterprises of the great Elizabethan navigators of the name of Hawkins.

The first of that name made three voyages to Brazil in the time of Henry VIII, and was one of our earliest naval pioneers. The second was closely connected with the history of our navy, both as a gallant commander at sea and as an able administrator on shore, during upwards of thirty eventful years. The third was a worthy emulator of his father's fame ; while the fourth

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

is among the first founders of the success of the East India Company.

The cradle of the naval Hawkinses was certainly in Devonshire,¹ the county of Drake and Oxenham, of Grenville and Davis, of Raleigh and Gilbert, and of so many other Elizabethan naval worthies. In the reign of Henry VII, John Hawkins and his wife Joan, daughter of William Amydas of Launceston, were living at Tavistock, and their son William Hawkins is the first of the three generations of famous seamen.²

We owe our slight knowledge of the first WILLIAM HAWKINS to the research of Hakluyt. He tells us that old Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth was a man of wisdom, valour, experience, and skill in sea causes, and that he was much esteemed and beloved by King Henry VIII. He was one of the principal sea captains in the west of England in his time, and made three adventurous voyages to the coast of Brazil, an account

¹ The name of Hawkins, it has been suggested, may be derived from Hawking, in the hundred of Folkestone. There was an Osbert de Hawking in the reign of Henry II, from whom descended Andrew Hawkins of Nash Court, near Faversham, in the time of Edward III, according to one statement. Another account derives Andrew Hawkins from Holderness, and marries him to Joan de Nash, an heiress. A family of Hawkins of Nash Court, flourished there until the end of the last century. (See *Halsted's Kent*, iii, p. 4.)

But Hawkins is a common name, and it is more probably derived from the Dutch Huygen; in common with Hodge, Hodgson, Hodgkinson, Hoskins, Huggins, Hoggins, Hewson, and the like.

² The Hawkins ancestry is given by Prince in his *Worthies of Devon*, p. 472, who had it from William Harvey, Clarencieux; entry of 1565, when the arms were granted to John Hawkins.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

iii

of two of which, taken from Hakluyt, will be found at pages 3 and 4 of the present volume. William Hawkins married Joan, daughter of William Trelawney, and had two sons, John and William, who entered upon the sea service with great advantages, owing to the wealth and experience of their father.

The date of the birth of JOHN HAWKINS is not certain, but the inscription on his monument, formerly in the church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, gives his age at the time of his death in 1595, as "six times ten and three". If this is correct, he was born in 1532.¹ Hakluyt tells us that he made divers voyages to the Canary Islands in his youth, where he obtained much information respecting the trade with the West Indies. He heard, among other things, that there was a great demand for negroes at St. Domingo, and that they could easily be obtained from the coast of Guinea. He resolved to make trial of this trade, and, having communicated his plan to several influential friends in London, he received liberal support. Among those who were adventurers for this voyage, was Mr. Benjamin Gonson, of Sebright Hall, near Chelmsford, and Treasurer of the Navy, who, probably before the ship sailed, became the father-in-law of the gallant young commander of the expedition.

John Hawkins, when he undertook the voyage in 1562, was in about his thirtieth year; and he was then married to Katharine Gonson,² daughter of

¹ 1520 is the date usually given, but on no authority.

² William Gonson was Treasurer of the Navy in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. He bought Sebright Hall,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

the Treasurer of the Navy, by whom he had a son Richard.

The first expedition of John Hawkins, consisting of three good ships, was very successful, though a cargo which he sent to Cadiz in charge of his second in command, Captain Hampton, was confiscated. An order was also sent to the Indies, by the Spanish Government, that no English vessel was to be allowed to trade there in future. The account of this voyage, taken from Hakluyt, will be found from pages 5 to 7 of the present volume. Hawkins returned in September 1563.

No blame attaches to the conduct of John Hawkins in undertaking a venture which all the world, in those days, looked upon as legitimate and even as beneficial. It was in 1517 that Charles V issued royal licences for the importation of negroes into the West Indies, and in 1551 a licence for importing 17,000 negroes was offered for sale. The measure was adopted from

in the parish of Great Badow, near Chelmsford. His son Benjamin Gonson, of Sebright Hall, was also Treasurer of the Navy from 1553 to 1573, when he was succeeded by his son-in-law, John Hawkins. He died on November 21st, 1577, leaving a son, Benjamin, born in 1551, and a daughter, Katharine, the first wife of Sir John Hawkins. This second Benjamin Gonson left only four daughters, co-heiresses. One of them, Anne, married Giles Fleming. Another, Thomasine, was the wife of Christopher Browne of Sayes Court (son of Sir Richard Browne, Clerk of the Green Cloth to Queen Elizabeth), who died, aged 70, in 1645. Their son, Sir Richard Browne of Sayes Court (Deptford), died in 1683, aged 78, leaving an only daughter, Mary, the wife of John Evelyn, F.R.S., the author of *Sylva*. Evelyn lived at Sayes Court from 1652 till 1686.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

v

philanthropic motives, and was intended to preserve the Indians. It was looked upon as prudent and humane, even if it involved some suffering on the part of a far inferior race. The English were particularly eager to enter upon the slave trade, and by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 England at length obtained the *asiento*, giving her the exclusive right to carry on the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish Indies for thirty years. So strong was the party in favour of this trade in England, that the contest for its abolition was continued for forty-eight years, from 1759 to 1807. It is not, therefore, John Hawkins alone who can justly be blamed for the slave trade, but the whole English people during 250 years, who must all divide the blame with him.

John Hawkins sailed on his second voyage in 1564, in the good ship *Jesus of Lubeck*, of 700 tons, returning in the autumn of the following year. He was accompanied by several gentlemen adventurers, and one of them, named John Sparke, wrote the narrative published by Hakluyt. It will be found from pages 8 to 64 of the present volume, and is followed by an account of the succour given by Hawkins to a distressed French colony in Florida, which Hakluyt translated from the French work of M. Laudonnière, printed in Paris in 1586.¹ Mr. Sparke is somewhat diffuse,

¹ See pages 65 to 69. When Hakluyt was Chaplain to the English Embassy in Paris, he discovered a manuscript account of Florida, and published it at his own expense in 1586. It is dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. The attention this book excited in France encouraged Hakluyt to translate it, and the English ver-

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

but he gives many interesting details respecting the various places, in Africa and the West Indies, that were touched at, including a full account of Florida.

The third voyage was undertaken in 1567, and had a most disastrous termination. It was on this occasion that Hawkins and Francis Drake first served together. Drake is called the kinsman of Hawkins by his biographers, and he certainly appears to have been born in a cottage on the banks of the Tavy, while the Hawkinses came originally from Tavistock, so that the two families were near neighbours. Francis was about ten years younger than Hawkins. His father was persecuted under the Six Articles Act, and fled into Kent, where he became the vicar of Upnor, and the son served his apprenticeship in the Medway, and in short voyages to Zeeland. But young Francis, as soon as he had the means, returned to his native county, and had made at least one voyage (with Captain Lovell in 1565-66) to the West Indies before he joined the expedition of Hawkins. The latter commanded his old ship, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, while Drake was in a little

sion was published in London in 1587. The title is: "A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French capitaines into Florida, wherein the great riches and fruitfulness of the countrey, with the manners of the people, hitherto concealed, are brought to light; written, all saving the last, by Monsieur Laudonnière, who remained there himself, as the French King's Lieutenant, a yere and a quarter; newly translated out of the French into English by R. H." (London, 1587, 4to.)

The portion relating to Hawkins was inserted by Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations*, following Hawkins's second voyage. It is this portion which is reprinted in the present volume.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

vii

vessel called the *Judith* (of 50 tons). The sad story of this voyage, as given in Hakluyt, was written by John Hawkins himself, and will be found from pages 70 to 81 of the present volume. After the treacherous attack of the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulloa, two vessels only escaped, the *Minion*, with Hawkins on board, and the *Judith*;¹ but there was not sufficient food for so large a number of men crowded into two small vessels, and their case seemed almost hopeless. At length half the number, a hundred out of two hundred, volunteered to land on the coast of Mexico, so as to save the rest. They were put on shore, and their more fortunate comrades, after suffering great hardships, arrived in England on January 25th, 1568.²

It is remarkable that Hawkins never mentions Drake's name throughout his narrative. His letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil,³ describing his misfortunes, is dated on the day of his landing in Mounts Bay.

The fate of the unfortunate men who were put on shore in Mexico was most cruel. They were sent to the capital, and were at first treated with humanity. But in 1571 a tribunal of the Inquisition was established in Mexico, the English castaways were seized and shockingly maltreated, and several tortured and most inhumanly mutilated. Some were burnt, and a few were sent to Spain, and left to die of hunger in

¹ See page 78.

² The introduction of tobacco into England after this voyage is attributed to Hawkins by Stow, and also by John Taylor, the Water Poet, in his *Prosaical Postscript* to the *Old old, very old man*, etc. (4to., 1635).

³ Given by Barrow, in his *Life of Sir Francis Drake*, p. 10.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

the Archbishop of Seville's dungeons. Three escaped, and the tale of their wrongs excited the utmost indignation throughout England. The narratives of these survivors, David Ingram, Job Hartop, and Miles Philips, are given by Hakluyt;¹ and no one who peruses them can be surprised at the hatred of the English against the Spaniards in those days. John Hawkins was extremely anxious about the fate of his unhappy men, and when tidings of their treatment began to reach England he sought every means to be revenged upon the Spanish nation. He intended to go out in search of his men, but was prevented. He then determined to try what cunning would do, apparently deeming intrigue and deceit to be justifiable against such a foe.

But there never was a more absurd calumny than that promulgated by Dr. Lingard and others, to the effect that Hawkins consented to betray his country for a bribe from Spain. Lingard² refers us to an agreement made at Madrid on August 10th, 1571, between the Duke of Feria,³ on the part of Philip II, and George Fitzwilliam on the part of John Hawkins, by

¹ *Principal Navigations*, pp. 557 to 560. Philips reached England in 1582, and Hartop not until 1590.

² *History of England*, v, p. 481 (n).

³ Gomez Suarez de Figueroa y Cordova, fifteenth Conde de Feria, was created Duke of Feria in 1567. He was envoy in England when Queen Mary died, and married her maid of honour, Jane, daughter of Sir William Dormer, by Mary, sister of Sir Henry, and aunt of Sir Philip Sydney. He died at the Escorial, on Friday, September 7, 1571, less than a month after the signature of the above imaginary document. His son, born in 1559, succeeded as second Duke.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

ix

which the latter was to transfer his services to Spain, bringing with him sixteen of the Queen's ships fully equipped with 420 guns, in consideration of an amnesty for past offences, and monthly pay of 16,987 ducats. This pretended agreement may be found in the Spanish Archives. The calumny lies in Dr. Lingard's conclusion from it, and in his additional statements which are as follows. "The secret was carefully kept, but did not elude suspicion. Hawkins was summoned, and examined by order of the Council. Their lordships were, or pretended to be, satisfied, and he was engaged in the Queen's service." Lingard adds that Hawkins tendered hostages to Spain for his fidelity. All these supplementary statements are untrue. The simple fact was that Hawkins was trying to deceive and entrap the Spaniards, with the full knowledge and approval of the English Government from the first. This is proved beyond doubt by Cecil's correspondence. It was not very clean work and it ended in failure, but it is false that Hawkins was ever untrue to his country. A more loyal and devoted subject never lived. His whole life was one of zealous devotion to the service of his Queen.¹ His Spanish intrigue was

¹ Lingard quotes, as his authority for the above calumny, *Gonzalez*, 116, *Memorias*, vii, 351, 360, 364, 367, 368, a formidable array!

These references are calculated to confuse the reader, sometimes being given as "*Memorias*", then as "*Gonzalez*", in another place "*From the documents at Simancas*". On the return of Ferdinand VII, in 1815, the archives were entrusted to Don Tomas Gonzalez, who restored them to order at Simancas. In the seventh volume of the *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* (4to., Madrid,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

INTRODUCTION.

undertaken with the object of rescuing his unfortunate men by a resort to guile, as he could not do so by force. Their miserable condition must have haunted him, and

1832) was published a contribution entitled, "Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey Don Felipe Segundo de España por lo tocante a sus relaciones con la Reina Isabel de Inglaterra desde el año 1558 hasta el de 1576, por Tomas Gonzalez, Canonigo de Placencia." There is an English version: "Documents from Simancas relating to the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1568), translated from the Spanish of Don Tomas Gonzalez, and edited by G. Spencer Hall, F.S.A., Librarian to the Athenæum (1865)."

It is to the *Apuntamientos* of Gonzalez that Lingard alone refers. As for his reference at p. 351 there is no mention of Hawkins there. At p. 357 there is a statement that "Achins" had solicited to be allowed to enter Philip's service, offering to make great discoveries; that he sent Fitzwilliam to the King to offer to re-establish the Catholic religion in England, and that Philip received the proposals well, but required details as to the mode and form of executing them. At p. 360 it is stated that Fitzwilliam, having reported this reply, returned to Spain with assurances of promptitude from "Achins" and other disaffected persons. At p. 364 is the detailed agreement between the Duke of Feria and Fitzwilliam on the part of "Achins". At p. 367 there is nothing about Hawkins. At p. 368 an interview is reported between Don Guerau de Espés, the Spanish Ambassador in England, and John Hawkins.

The whole of Lingard's portentous mare's nest, built out of these Spanish references, is exploded by Cecil's correspondence, which proves that Hawkins was fooling the Spaniards, with the full knowledge and approval of the English Government. The aim of Hawkins was to obtain the release of the prisoners. Cecil's object was to unravel Spanish plots.

It was with Cecil's secret permission that Hawkins sent Fitzwilliam to Spain, and that he himself had an interview with Don Guerau de Espés, the Spanish Ambassador. See Froude's *History of England*, x, cap. xxi, pp. 259-270. The letters of Hawkins to Lord Burleigh at p. 264 (*n.*) and p. 269, finally dispose of Lingard's accusation.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

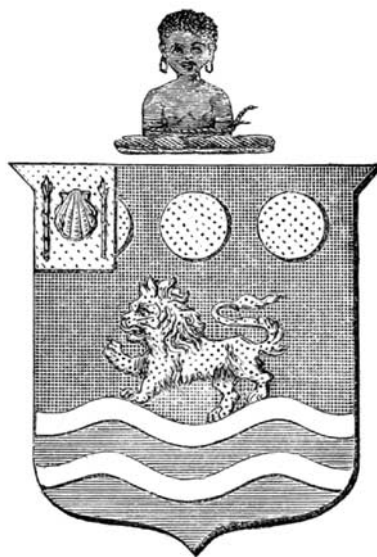
[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

xi

he felt that any means that offered a chance of liberating them was justifiable.

After his three voyages, John Hawkins justly stood high with the Government, as a resolute and experienced sea captain. In 1565 a coat of arms was granted to him, with an augmentation in August 1571.¹



ARMS.—*Sable*, on a point wavy a lion passant *or*. In chief 3 bezants. Augmentation : on a canton *or* an e-callop between two palmer's staves *sable*.

CREST.—Upon a wreath *argent* and *azure* a demi-Moor proper bound and captive, with amulets on his arms and ears *or*.

In 1573 Hawkins succeeded his father-in-law as Treasurer of the Navy, and commenced a useful, but very anxious and laborious administrative career on shore. But he still occasionally served afloat. In 1570

¹ The grant in 1565 was by William Harvey, Clarenceux. The augmentation was granted by Robert Cook, Clarenceux, in 1571.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

his son tells us that he was Admiral of the fleet of Queen's ships then riding in Catwater, and that he fired upon a Spanish ship for not lowering her topsails.¹ In a letter dated February 23rd, 1573, from Charles IX to La Motte Fénelon, a complaint is made against "Haquin" (Hawkins) for being joined with certain French rebels in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Wight, to the number of twelve or thirteen ships, with which they carried munitions and provisions from England to Rochelle.²

The civil employments of John Hawkins must, however, have absorbed most of his time. Besides the Treasurership of the Navy, he was also Treasurer of the Queen's Majesty's Marine Causes, and in the same year he succeeded Mr. Holstock as Comptroller of the Navy. He was a keen reformer of dockyard abuses, and Sir William Monson says that he introduced more useful inventions and better regulations into the navy than any of his predecessors. Stow tells us that Hawkins was the first that invented the cunning stratagem of sail nettings for ships in fighting, and he also devised chain pumps for ships.

In 1581 he had a severe illness,³ but he had recovered

¹ See p. 118.

² But this may refer to his brother, William Hawkins.

³ On October 30, 1581, he wrote to T. Smythe that he would be glad to join in Sir Francis Drake's enterprise, but was hardly able to overcome the debt he owes Her Majesty, and keep his credit. His sickness, too, continually abides with him, and every second day he has a fit. More like to provide for his grave than to encumber himself with worldly matters. *E. I. Colonial*, 1513-1616, p. 68.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

xiii

in 1583, when we find him busily engaged making investigations for the reduction of the expenses of the navy, and encountering much opposition. For fifteen months the officers at Chatham took “hardness and courage to oppose themselves against him”, yet he there made a saving of over £3,200, while adding to the efficiency of the fleet. His correspondence with Sir Julius Cæsar, the Judge of the Admiralty, shows that he paid close attention to all branches of naval expenditure, detecting and putting a stop to many abuses. This good service naturally made him enemies. Mr. Borowe, who was ousted, “made a book against him”, and in 1583 there were articles drawn up “against the injuste mind and deceitful dealings of John Hawkins”.¹ Among those whom he found out conniving at abuses were Sir William Winter and the Master Shipwright Baker, who of course became his bitter enemies, and he had a controversy with Mr. Peter Pett, the shipwright, touching his accounts. Winter wrote—“When he was hurte in the Strande and made his will he was not able to give £500. All that he is now worth hath byn drawne by deceipte from her Majesty.” These calumnies received no credit, and Hawkins never lost the confidence of his Government.

In 1584 we find him consulting with Peter Pett as to a project for improving Dover harbour. In December 1585 he submitted books to Lord Burleigh with lists of her Majesty's ships, their tonnage, and estimates for outfit; and he represented the expediency of increasing the seamen's pay. He also sent in a state-

¹ *Lansdowne MSS.*, vol. lii, cap. 43, fol. 109.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

ment of the management of the navy from 1568 to 1579, with his scheme for its future government by commissioners.

During all these years of active civil employment John Hawkins lived in a house in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, with his office at Deptford. He lost his first wife, the mother of his son, when she was only thirty-two years of age, and married secondly Margaret, daughter of Charles Vaughan, Esq., of Hergest House, Herefordshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir F. Baskerville. This lady was bed-chamber woman to the Queen.

In 1587 the intention of Spain to invade England was manifest, and a Council consisting of Lord Charles Howard, Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher, got the English fleet in readiness to meet its formidable adversary. Hawkins was appointed Vice-Admiral, hoisting his flag on board the *Victory*; and after the dispersion of the Spanish Armada he received the honour of knighthood. Then came the anxious and troublesome business of paying off the fleet. "I pray God", he wrote to Burleigh, "I may end this account to her Majesty's and your Lordship's liking, and avoyd myne owne undoing, and I trust God will so provyde for me as I shall never meddell with soche intrycate matters more." In 1590 he got away to sea again, in a fleet commanded by himself and Sir Martin Frobisher, with orders to do all possible mischief on the coast of Spain. But the Plate fleet was warned in time, and remained in the Indies. None of the enemy's ships appeared, and the expedition came back without any results.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

xv

Sir John Hawkins, on his return, reminded Elizabeth that “Paul planteth and Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase.” “God’s death!” exclaimed the Queen, “this fool went out a soldier, and is come home a divine!”

In the year 1588 Sir John, aided by Drake, instituted a fund for maimed and worn out mariners, which was long known as the “chest at Chatham”. This fund was the forerunner of Greenwich Hospital. Thus actively and laboriously employed, on shore and afloat, Sir John Hawkins became grey in the service of his country. Edmund Spenser, when he drew likenesses of the chief sea captains of England, in his “*Colin Clout’s come home again*”, speaks of old Hawkins as Proteus, “with hoary head and dewy dropping beard”. His end was heroic. In 1593 he had, with some difficulty, obtained a commission for his dearly loved son Richard,¹ when he set out on his adventurous voyage to the South Sea in the good ship *Dainty*. Then came the sad news that his boy was a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards.

There can be no doubt that old Sir John undertook his last fatal voyage with a broken heart, in the faint hope of rescuing his son.

An expedition was decided upon to sail for the West Indies under the command of Sir John Hawkins and

¹ Oct. 1593. “Commission to Richard Hawkins to attempt some enterprise with a ship, bark, and pinnace, against the King of Spain, upon the coasts of the West Indies, Brazil, Africa, America, or the South Seas, reserving to the Crown one-fifth of treasure, jewels, or pearls.” *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic.* 1591-94, p. 276.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Sir Francis Drake, in 1595. The Queen furnished five ships, but she drove a hard bargain with her old Treasurer of the Navy. She was to have a third of the booty, and Sir John was to victual the fleet at his own charge. He did his part well, being, as Sir T. Gorges reported from Plymouth to Robert Cecil, "an excellent man in those things, and sees all things done orderly." Nombre de Dios was the destination of the fleet, but Hawkins died at sea, off Puerto Rico, on the 21st of November 1595.¹

So ended the life of Sir John Hawkins, one of the best of Elizabeth's great sea captains, and the terror of the Spaniards.² He was a thorough seaman, and an able and upright administrator; endowed with great courage and unfailing presence of mind; "merciful," says Maynarde, "and apt to forgive, and faithful to his word". Stow, in his *Chronicle*, speaks of him as a very wise, vigilant, and true-hearted man.

On July 9th, 1596, the disbursements of Sir John Hawkins in his last voyage, were delivered by Robert Langford, Deputy Treasurer, in the name of his widow Margeret Hawkins, at £18,661, which was declared to be not more than his third part. His watery grave was far away within the tropics, but a handsome tomb to his memory was erected on the north side of the chancel of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East,³ which was his place of

¹ Drake also died during this disastrous voyage, on the 28th of January 1596.

² They called him "Juan Achines".

³ Destroyed in the great fire. The present church was built by Sir Christopher Wren; and the tomb has disappeared.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

xvii

worship during many years. It bore the following inscription—

“Johannes Hawkins, Eques Auratus, clariss. Reginae
Marinarum causarum Thesaurarius. Qui cum XLIII
annos muniis bellicis et longis periculosisque naviga-
tionibus, detegendis novis regionibus, ad Patriæ utili-
tatem, et suam ipsius gloriam, strenuam et egregiam
operam navasset, in expeditione, cui Generalis præfuit
ad Indiam occidentalem dum in anchoris ad portum
S. Joannis in insula Beriquena staret, placide in Domino
ad cœlestem patriam emigravit, 12 die Novembris anno
salutis 1595. In cujus memoriam ob virtutem et res
gestas Domina Margareta Hawkins, Uxor mœstissima,
hoc monumentum cum lachrymis posuit.”

His widow survived until 1621. Stow tells us¹ that she hung a “fair table” by the tomb, fastened in the wall, with these verses in English :—

“ Dame Margaret,
A widow well affected,
This monument
Of memory erected,
Deciphering
Unto the viewer's sight
The life and death
Of Sir John Hawkins, *Knight*,
One fearing God
And loyal to his Queen,
True to the State
By trial ever seen,
Kind to his wives,
Both gentlewomen born,
Whose counterfeits
With grace this work adorn.

¹ *Survey of London*, vol. i, lib. ii, p. 45 (ed. 1720).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

INTRODUCTION.

Dame Katharine,
The first, of rare report,
Dame Margaret
The last, of Court consort,
Attendant on
The chamber and the bed
Of England's Queen
Elizabeth, our head
Next unto Christ,
Of whom all princes hold
Their scepters, States,
And diadems of gold.
Free to their friends
On either side his kin
Careful to keep
The credit he was in.
Unto the seamen
Beneficial,
As testifieth
Chatham Hospital.
The poor of Plymouth
And of Deptford town
Have had, now have,
And shall have, many a crown.
Proceeding from
His liberality
By way of great
And gracious legacy,
This parish of
St. Dunstan standing east
(Wherein he dwelt
Full thirty years at least)
Hath of the springs
Of his good will a part
Derived from
The fountain of his heart,
All which bequests,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION.

xix

With many moe unsaid,
 Dame Margaret
 Hath bountifully paid.
 Deep of conceit,
 In speaking grave and wise,
 Endighting swift
 And pregnant to devise,
 In conference
 Revealing haughty skill
 In all affairs ;
 Having a worthie's will
 On sea and land,
 Spending his course and time
 By steps of years
 As he to age did climb.
 God hath his soul,
 The sea his body keeps,
 Where (for a while)
 As Jonas now he sleeps ;
 Till He which said
 To Lazarus, Come forth,
 Awakes this knight,
 And gives to him his worth.
 In Christian faith
 And faithful penitence,
 In quickening hope
 And constant patience,
 He running ran
 A faithful pilgrim's race,
 God giving him
 The guiding of His grace,
 Ending his life
 With his experience
 By deep decree
 Of God's high providence.
 His years to six times
 Ten and three amounting,

c 2

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01148-8 - The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I

Edited by Clements R. Markham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xx

INTRODUCTION.

The ninth the seventh
 Climacterick by counting.
 Dame Katharine,
 His first religious wife,
 Saw years thrice ten
 And two of mortal life,
 Leaving the world the sixth,
 The seventh ascending.
 Thus he and she
 Alike their compass ending,
 Asunder both
 By death and flesh alone,
 Together both in soul,
 Two making one,
 Among the saints above,
 From troubles free,
 Where two in one shall meet
 And make up three.
 The Christian knight
 And his good ladies twain,
 Flesh, soul, and spirit
 United once again ;
 Beholding Christ,
 Who comfortably saith,
 Come, mine elect,
 Receive the crown of faith."

There is a basso-relievo ivory bust of Sir John Hawkins¹ in the possession of the Reverend Bradford Denne Hawkins, Rector of Rivenhall, near Witham, in Essex, who informs me that it came to his father by inheritance, from Dr. Denne, Archdeacon of Rochester and Rector of Lambeth in the last century.

I can only hear of one portrait of Sir John Hawkins. It was at Kirtling in Cambridgeshire, the seat of the

¹ See the frontispiece to the present volume.