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Imagining Peripheries:
English Images of Patagonia
1527-1694

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Lay summary

We all imagine what distant lands are like. We wonder about the way the people live there, how they look and what they eat. These mental images come, on the one side, from the information we have from that place and, on the other side, from geographical pre-conceptions, cultural stereotypes and fears or desires from our society and culture. These two things interact with one another, shaping a mental image that sometimes does not have much grasp on reality.

This dissertation examines how England imagined Patagonia in the early modern period, more specifically, between 1527 and 1694. Much as Patagonia situates between the two largest oceans of the world, the Atlantic and the Pacific, studying Patagonia situates between two bodies of scholarship. Anglophone scholarship has tended to overlook this region for its little economic value for the empire. Instead, Spanish scholarship has paid significant attention, as it was the southern border of the wealthy Vice-royalty of Peru. However, a traditional political approach related to military and naval history has prevailed in these studies.

I propose to study Patagonia from two bodies of literature: maritime cultural history and global history, showing how imagination was a driving force in the understanding of the world map. I focus on a wide range of actors, such as merchants, writers, seafarers, policy makers, scientists and mapmakers to show that imagination of distant territories developed both at sea and at land. I examine how these sources complemented, competed and reinvented one another, showing how active and varied the English imagination of Patagonia was. By doing so, I challenge the long-standing impression that Patagonia was a neglected periphery in the English world map.

Abstract

The waters of Patagonia came to play an increasingly important commercial, geographical and political role from the sailing of Ferdinand Magellan (1519-1522) onwards. This thesis examines English visions about Patagonia between 1527 and 1694, a time of growing colonial expansion, cultural exchange and national-identity building. Specifically, I argue that Patagonia was more than a mere forsaken periphery, but it was a fruitful place for English imagination. Drawing on a wide range of sources, both written and visual, manuscript and printed, I analyse how this material conveyed what was known and imagined about Patagonia in the English milieu. Rather than opposing categories, I argue that knowledge and imagination came together in the early modern construction of the world.

This research underscores the indispensable role of Patagonia in the larger maritime history. The region's representation in English imagination not only facilitated maritime endeavours by fuelling curiosity and colonial ambitions, but also became instrumental in strategic planning, human and resource allocation, and geopolitical projects that sought to act upon the South Sea.

By examining how circumstances, imagination, and imperial ambitions interacted with one another, this work presents Patagonia as a space where early modern English maritime aspirations, fears, and ambitions converged and crystallized. This dynamic interplay paints a novel picture of Patagonia in England's maritime history, offering insights into the interdependence of exploration, cultural perception, and geopolitical ambition in shaping the world as the early modern English knew it.

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Note on orthography and translations

I have retained the original orthography in all sources.
All translations of secondary literature into English are mine.

Introduction

A curious illustration accompanies the 1766 version of the poem *The wonderful, surprizing and uncommon voyages and adventures of Captain Jones, to Patagonia*, written originally in 1631 by the Welsh poet David Lloyd (Fig.1). The image shows Captain Jones on horseback confronting an armed man on an elephant. In the foreground, Jones' horse steps on the heads of crowned men, while in the background a knighted man rides a sea-creature, a ship sinks in the sea, and an angel carrying two trumpets says "Patagonia". At the bottom right, an inscription says *haec spolia nostra* (these are our spoils) and at the bottom left another inscription says *sic transit gloria mundi* (So the glory of the world). Originally titled *The Legend of Captain Jones*, the poem tells the story of a famous Elizabethan sailor who performed many spectacular feats of military prowess with his sword, *Kyl-za-dog*, in the furthestmost reaches of the world. He killed the mighty giant Asdriasdust and fought off the eleven kings before being captured by the king of Spain, who lost 6,000 warriors trying to catch the elusive English sailor. Loved by his companions, Captain Jones was immediately rescued by his loyal men. The poem caused great fascination within the English readership and so it was reissued in 1636, 1648, 1656, 1659, twice in 1671, and 1766. However, only the latter version, that of 1766, includes Patagonia in the title and illustration (Fig.2).

Why does the 1766 version include Patagonia if at no moment of the poem Captain Jones goes there? Patagonia is not mentioned anywhere in the poem apart from the title and the illustration. Alden Vaughan has argued that the poem satirizes the autobiographical accounts of Captain John Smith.¹ However, Smith's exploits took place in North America, considerably far from the extreme south of South America, so the question about Patagonia featuring in the title and the illustration remains open. I suggest that Patagonia was included as a metaphor for a faraway, dangerous land. How did Patagonia move from a physical geographic region to a rhetorical space? What image of Patagonia existed in early modern England? What were its physical and rhetorical grounds? From the first news that entered England of Ferdinand Magellan's voyage, merchants and seafarers described Patagonia as a dangerous and hostile place. Although seafarers progressively gained more knowledge about the region, Patagonia continued to evoke by 1766, a sense of danger and remoteness.

¹ Alden T. Vaughan, 'John Smith Satirized: The Legend of Captaine Iones', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (1988): 712–32.



Figure 1. Frontispiece of *The wonderful, surprizing and uncommon voyages and adventures of Captain Jones, to Patagonia*, Lloyd, David. Printed for John Lever, Bookseller, Stationer and Printseller, at Little Moorgate, next to London Wall, near Moorfields. 1766. Centre for Research Collections, Edinburgh.

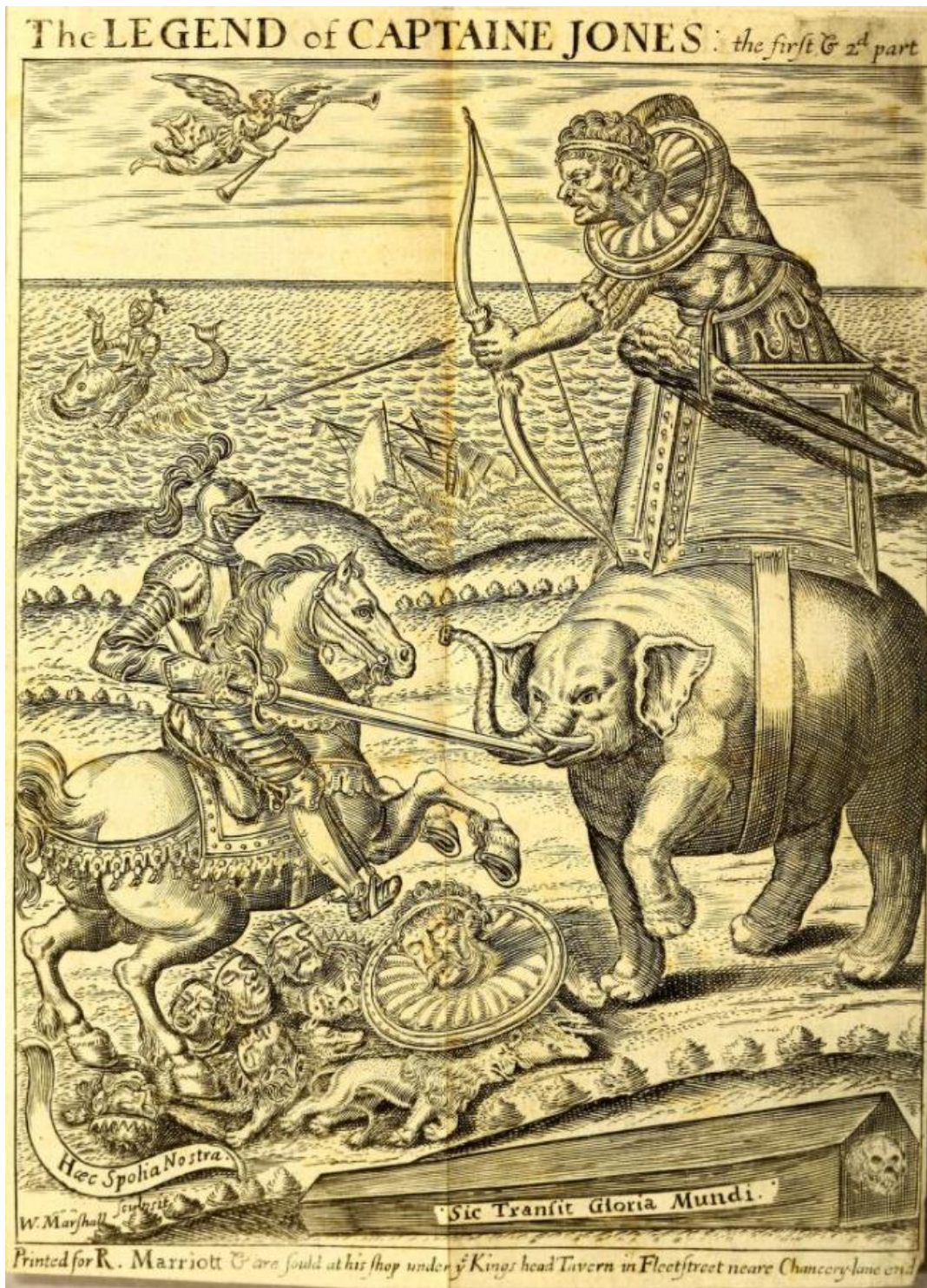


Figure 2. Frontispiece of *The legend of Captain Jones: the first and second part. Relating his adventure to sea...*, Lloyd, David. London: Printed for Francis Haley, and are to be sold at his shop at the upper end of Chancery-lane, next Holborn, 1671. <https://archive.org/details/legendofcaptainj01lloy>

This dissertation examines the many ways the English viewed and imagined Patagonia between 1527 and 1694. I argue that Patagonia was located on the far geographical, environmental, and political borders of England's maritime expansion. From adventurous navigators to merchants and scholars, Patagonia was conceived as a key strategic place for any nation interested in trade across the Pacific Basin, but extremely "hostile", "rough", "furious", and populated by "uncivilised" people with no potential for any alliance whatsoever, as the sources describe. These images were the result of the experience of sailors and explorers, the image of borderlands in early modern Europe, and the political, commercial and intellectual interests of the Crown, merchants, mapmakers and scientific groups. Moreover, I argue that there were overlapping, sometimes even contested, images of Patagonia, demonstrating that, far from being a forsaken periphery, it was a prolific space for European imagination of the Americas and its borderlands. In turn, I show that the many ways this territory was depicted reflects how England shaped its maritime expansion and the role of the American Pacific rim in it. Therefore, these images of Patagonia also reflect how England fashioned ideas about colonial expansion, selfhood, and otherness.

Spatial theorists have conceptualised the cultural construction of space in various ways, such as "imagined geographies", "spatial imaginaries", "geographic imaginaries" and "meta-geographies".² I will use the term "imagined geographies", introduced by Edward Said in *Orientalism*, to refer to the ways that places and peoples different from one's own are perceived, represented and imagined.³ In Said's view, imagined geographies are valuable to study the idea of a space as well as the preconceptions, desires or dislikes of its creator and context. Furthermore, these narratives account for ideas of selfhood and otherness, as they mark the boundary between the belonging and non-belonging space. More specifically, I will use the term "image" to refer to the diverse ways Patagonia was perceived.⁴ For geographer Denis Cosgrove the concept of "image" merges both the ocular act of recording the external world

² For a detailed and useful review and differences between these concepts, see Josh Watkins, 'Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography. Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions', *Geography Compass* 9/9, (2015), 508–522. For further reading see: Watkins, 'Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography. Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions', *Geography Compass* 9/9, (2015), 508–522. Denis Cosgrove, *Geographical Imagination and the Authority of Images* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994). Felix Driver, 'Imaginative Geographies' in *Introducing Human Geographies*, ed. Paul J. Cloke (New York: Routledge, 2014).

³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

⁴ Some scholars, such as Bernard Smith and Denis Cosgrove use the term "vision", while others, like Gregory, Watkins, Driver, Said and Korner, Miller and Smith use "image". The difference is not entirely clear, but whether they use vision or image, they all advocate for a constructivist understanding of the term. Since I am looking at Patagonia as an "imagined geography", I consider less confusing to stick with the term "image". Therefore, an "image" will be understood the expressions of an imagined geography.

and the abstract, mental act of imagining.⁵ In this way, images are the result of the interaction between the tangible and the intangible, between the realm of observation with the realm of imagination. Similarly, Axel Körner's has claimed that images are not just "visual representations, but also textual metaphors and concepts". Even when they are fair images of a reality, images are always "subjectively constructed abstractions".⁶ Körner's approach underscores the creative nature of images in the sense that are not mere reflections of the world, but interpretations fabricated by the observer.

In cultural history, the concept of "representation" evokes a similar meaning to that of "image", although with certain differences. For historian Roger Chartier, representations are mental images that reflect ideas, imaginaries and attitudes of a society at a given time.⁷ In contrast to spatial theorists, this approach emphasizes the role of language and textual discourse in shaping representations. From this point of view, language, rather than observation, is at the centre of representations, since the meaning, attributed to it by the recipient, is as important as the mental image created by the observer. In this way, representations are mediated by their creator as well as their receiver. For Chartier, it is also important to understand the materialization of representations, that is, the physical medium in which they are rendered. In this sense, books, poems or letters are themselves representations of the reality they describe or narrate. Accordingly, Chartier describes texts as artifacts with "plural and mobile meanings, constructed in the encounter between a proposition and reception, between the forms and motives that give them their structure and the competencies and expectations of the publics who take possession of them".⁸

Building on Chartier's argument, I consider some of the sources examined in this thesis, such as the settlement and reconnaissance projects of Simón de Cáceres and Carlos Enríquez, the travel account of John Narborough, or the map of Tierra del Fuego drawn by Basil Ringrose, to be representations of Patagonia, since, rather than accurate portraits of the place itself, they are a reflection of the way (or ways) in which Patagonia was perceived and imagined. I say

⁵ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 5.

⁶ Axel Körner, Nicola Miller, and Adam Smith, *América Imagined. Explaining the United States in Nineteenth – Century Europe and Latin America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 5.

⁷ Roger Chartier, 'Le monde comme représentation', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, No. 6 (1989), 1505-1520. I have used the translation to Spanish of this article, which is contained in a compilation of several works by same author. Roger Chartier, *El mundo como representación*, transl. Claudia Ferrari (Barcelona: Gedisa 2005), 45-62.

⁸ Chartier, *El mundo como representación*, XI.

“some” sources and not “all” because sources such as Robert Thorne’s letter or Roger Barlow’s treatise, address briefly Patagonia, and therefore, rather than a representation of the place itself, they are representations of other spaces of which Patagonia was part.

Despite their differences, imagination underlies as the central element of both “imagined geographies” and “representations”, as the abstract construction of an idea or a place is an act of imagination. However, imagination is not necessarily a matter of fancy. Imagination is a matter of knowledge. In this context, knowledge acts as the raw material from which imagination constructs novel ideas, scenarios, or “images”. The less we know about a particular place, the fewer constraints exist on the imagination’s creative processes. Until the late seventeenth century, only a handful of English seafarers had navigated to Patagonia, so the information circulating in England came mostly from indirect sources, such as translations of Spanish and Dutch travel accounts, circulating news on merchants’ circles, Dutch cartography and word of mouth. The indirect access to information about Patagonia had significant impact in the way it was imagined, as the more limited information about a distant or unfamiliar location, the more imagination roamed freely, unburdened by the constraints of accurate representation.

Imagination is also a matter of space. Although early modern Europe saw remarkable advances in the construction of geographical knowledge of the globe, the distance with the Americas, Asia or Africa was often an obstacle to obtaining first-hand information. In this regard, the geographical distance between England (and more generally Europe) with Patagonia influenced the way people perceived and conceptualised such a distant land, as writers were compelled to fill the spatial gap with imaginative constructs often influenced by fragmentary information, cultural stereotypes, personal desires or England’s colonial agenda. Thus, merchants, scholars, writers and political figures took the relation between imagination, knowledge and space to an extreme, identifying a geographical, environmental and cultural distance between Patagonia and England. This, coupled with intermittent navigations during the early modern period as opposed to a more continuous presence in regions such as the Caribbean or North America, fuelled the English imagination in several ways, giving rise to overlapping, sometimes opposing, images. Thus, Patagonia was seen as a route unsuited for colonial expansion, as a place of giants, as a platform for expansion, as a venue of science, among others. I analyse the role of imagination at three levels: as a catalyst for maritime

exploration, as a shaper of cultural encounters, and as a coexisting element of the actual maritime experience.

As a catalyst for maritime exploration, imagination has long featured in discussions and debates concerning expansion. In the early modern period, imagination enabled individuals and communities to envision uncharted territories, fostering a spirit of curiosity and adventure. By examining how the English imagination of Patagonia influenced the navigational decisions of explorers, merchants and policy makers, I can study their understanding of the maritime world and the rewards and risks of venturing into the unknown. Thus, studying how England imagined Patagonia also entails studying how England imagined itself. As a shaper of cultural exchange, imagination was at the centre of fantastical narratives surrounding distant lands and exotic goods, fuelling ambitious projects that often had little grasp of the reality. By analysing the English imagination of foreign lands, goods and peoples, I can examine how Patagonia fitted into the colonial agenda of the English state. Imagination and maritime experience share a symbiotic relationship, wherein each informs and shapes the other. As imagination fuelled maritime endeavours, actual encounters with the sea and its challenges provided raw material that fuelled the imagination of foreign lands. This did not necessarily mean that navigators were blinded by their preconceptions. Navigators – especially from the seventeenth century onwards – were aware of the importance of eyewitness testimony for the construction of knowledge and precisely because of this, they asserted observational authority as a means to report new things that they, and only they, were able to observe.

1. Patagonia, a “vital periphery”

Patagonia is in modern-day southern Chile and Argentina, between the 47° and 55° southern latitudes. From East to West, it extends from the estuary of Santa Cruz River, in Argentina, to the Gulf of Penas, in Chile. From these two points, Patagonia extends southwards to Cape Horn. At latitude 49°, the Strait of Magellan crosses Patagonia, connecting the two largest bodies of water of the globe, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Southwards of the Strait of Magellan there is Tierra del Fuego, an island that marks the southern end of the Americas. In the extreme south of Tierra del Fuego, Cape Horn appears as a second interoceanic passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific (Fig.3).

The British Isles are located at further north than Patagonia is to the south, around the 49° and 58° northern latitudes. However, Patagonia is significantly different in terms of climate. Europe

receives the warm oceanic current of the Gulf Stream, whereas Patagonia receives the Humboldt Current, the most important cold water flow in the world. The Humboldt Current flows from south to north, more precisely from the west coast of Patagonia to the Peruvian north coast, coming from the Antarctic Circumpolar Current. Therefore, the atmospheric and marine temperature is significantly colder than those of the British Isles. Most of the year glacial and alluvial sediments cover the soil, hampering any attempt of agricultural activity.⁹

Patagonia covers around 250,000 square kilometres and is home to a number of ecosystems and landscapes. Mateo Martinic has identified five: the western archipelago, the Patagonian-Fueguinian mountain range, the lacustrine-marine depression, the eastern pre-cordillera and the Atlantic plains or *pampas*.¹⁰ The number of landscapes accordingly shaped different ways of life. Patagonia's ethnography, a rich and complex mosaic, is particularly hard to study, as most of the indigenous population is now extinct. Identifying one group from another is a complex issue for archaeologists, anthropologists and ethno-historians, as the sources we have come from material remains "all very fragmentary and confusing", as noted by Ricardo Álvarez.¹¹ We also have the various descriptions that Europeans made during their sailings, but "we do not have their voice [indigenous] or decision regarding the final account that describes and explains them".¹² Moreover, Francisco Mena argues that the sources only partially reconstruct Patagonia's ethnographic past, as they do not show subdivisions based on language, territory and constant interaction of nomadic groups.¹³ Despite local variations of dressing and language, Patagonia's indigenous peoples shared certain traits. They were nomadic and their way of life was defined by the proximity to a marine landscape. They used canoes and moved around the coasts of Patagonia in search of fish, shellfish, seals, whales and seagulls.¹⁴

⁹ Mateo Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*. Vol I. (Punta Arenas: Ediciones de la Universidad de Magallanes, 2006), 20–22; Mateo Martinic, 'El Establecimiento de La Agricultura En Magallanes (1843-1880)', *Historia*, 33, (2000): 263–96.

¹⁰ Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*, I, 20. From the Quechua word meaning "flat surface", pampas are the vast plains extending westward across central Argentina from the Atlantic coast to the Andean foothills, bounded by the Gran Chaco in the north and Patagonia in the South. See "Pampas" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 20, 2015.

¹¹ Ricardo Álvarez-Abel, 'Reflexiones En Torno a Las Identidades de Las Poblaciones Canoeras, Situadas Entre Los 44° y 48° de Latitud Sur, Denominadas "Chonos"', *Anales Del Instituto de La Patagonia*, 30, (2002): 79.

¹² Ídem.

¹³ Francisco Mena, 'Presencia Indígena En El Litoral de Aisén', *Revista Trapananda*, N°5 (1985): 203–12.

¹⁴ Nicolás Lira and Dominique Legoupil, 'Navegantes del Sur y de las Regiones Australes', in *Mar de Chile*, ed. Carlos Aldunate del Solar (Santiago: Museo chileno de arte precolombino, 2014), 102–43; Nicolas Lira and Dominique Legoupil, 'Los Canoeros Del Fin Del Mundo', in *Mar de Chile*, ed. Carlos Aldunate (Santiago: Museo Precolombino, 2014), 62–99.

By verdict of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Spain ruled “until the last corner of the Americas”, so, legally, Patagonia was part of the Spanish Empire.¹⁵ Administratively, Patagonia was under the jurisdiction of the province of Chiloé, an island off the Pacific coast close to the Chilean mainland.¹⁶ However, there was no Spanish (or European) presence in Patagonia until the nineteenth century.¹⁷ The closest centres of power were Chiloé and Buenos Aires. Chiloé is 1,500 kilometres or 930 miles northwards from the Cape Horn and Buenos Aires 2,500 kilometres or 1,550 miles.¹⁸ Spain’s dominion was nominal rather than real. The geographical distance between Patagonia and the closest centres of power, doubled by the distance to Madrid, made Patagonia a periphery of the Spanish Empire.

¹⁵ Paul Gottschalk, *Earliest Diplomatic Documents on America: The Papal Bulls of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas* (Berlin: P. Gottschalk, 1927), 53–74.

¹⁶ Isidoro Vásquez de Acuña, ‘La Jurisdicción de Chiloé (Siglos XVI al XX), Su Extensión, Exploración y Dominio.’, *Boletín de La Academia Chilena de La Historia*, N°103 (1993): 111–91.

¹⁷ Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*, I:343–70.

¹⁸ These calculations are estimations coming from straight-line measurements done in Google Maps.



Figure 3. Map of Patagonia including the main places addressed in this dissertation. The diagonal white line marks the northern limit of Patagonia following Martinic's demarcation (self-made).

Spain was aware of this and thus created centres of power that worked on different levels to exert power in the empire. Elizabeth Montañez identifies four levels in this scheme.¹⁹ The first level was the dominant centre in Madrid, the metropolis, where the king, the council of state and the court resided. On the second level were the viceroyalties, first in New Spain (1535) and Perú (1542) and later in New Granada (1717) and Rio de la Plata (1776), where the presence of the viceroy as representative and image of the king made these cities the centres of the Americas, although they were peripheries in relation to Madrid. On the third level were intermediate cities, defined by *audiencias* – high courts of a region with administrative powers – and minor settlements, such as Panama, Charcas, Santiago de Chile, and Quito. These cities were regional centres although they were peripheral in relation to vice-regal cities. Finally, on a fourth level were the provinces on the margins of the empire that were truly peripheries. In these regions, Spanish political presence was either weak or null, as was the case with Darien, the Araucanía, and the Mosquito Coast. I include Patagonia in the fourth level. For Rodolfo Urbina, Chiloé was already “the southern periphery of the Spanish Empire in the Americas”, as a Mapuche-Huilliche insurrection in 1598 in Arauco isolated Chiloé from the closest administrative centres, Concepción and Santiago.²⁰ To visit Chiloé, settlers would have to sail along the coast of Chile to avoid Arauco instead of going overland and then crossing to the island. This was not an easy task: the sea in southern Chile is known for its strong winds and rough sea. The geographical distance from Patagonia to Chiloé, and the isolation of Chiloé itself from second and third-level centres, made Patagonia the periphery of another periphery.

Patagonia’s geographic peripherality can easily be confused with political peripherality. However, Patagonia was geopolitically substantial to maritime expansion and thus it would be a mistake to see it as a territory of no political significance. Using the terminology of John Jay TePaske, Patagonia was a “vital periphery”.²¹ TePaske used the concept for studying the mercury mine, Huancavelica, in Perú. In the early modern period, mercury was used to extract silver from the ores but Huancavelica is at an altitude of 3,600 and it is surrounded by mountains of varied elevations. Though Huancavelica never developed into a metropolis, it was a key location because it was where mercury was obtained to extract silver from Potosí,

¹⁹ Elizabeth Montañez-Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire: Pirates in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1570-1750’, PhD diss., (University of California Davies, 2014), 30–31.

²⁰ Rodolfo Urbina B., *La periferia meridional indiana: Chiloé en el siglo XVIII* (Valparaíso: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 2012).

²¹ John Jay TePaske, ‘Integral to Empire. The Vital Peripheries of Colonial Spanish America’, in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, eds. Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack P. Greene (New York: Routledge, 2002), 37.

the main silver mine in the Americas. Patagonia did not produce a specific commodity, but it was a gateway to the South Sea, which in practical terms meant access to the Americas and Asia. In the Americas, sailors could navigate a long rim full of active trading ports, such as Callao and Acapulco. In Asia, they could find famous trading posts, such as Manila, Tidore and Macau. The Pacific Ocean itself became an area of colonial interest, as sailors looked forward to intercepting the lucrative trans-Pacific trade via the Manila galleon.²² In this way, Patagonia was essential to the overall functioning of the empire despite its remoteness.

That Patagonia Indians lived outside Spanish rule was a complex political and defensive problem for the metropolis and the viceroyalty. Borders were the empire's first line of defence in Spanish America. The absence Spanish rule, namely, people institutions and ultimately power, meant that rival nations could establish alliances with the Indians. Moreover, the nomadic lifestyle of the indigenous peoples made the region significantly different from other borders within the Spanish Empire. As Walter Hanisch has argued, there were "fixed" borders, like Arauco, and there were fluid borders, like Patagonia, which he defines as a "mobile and wandering border, a dynamic limit between two worlds".²³ To overcome the problem, in 1584, Spain attempted to establish two settlements in the Strait of Magellan but they failed miserably.²⁴ The best guardian of the region, as Martinic states, "was its own inclemency towards anyone who was not from there".²⁵ The barren nature of the southern passages and the limited-to-absent opportunities for economic activity, led Spanish and Europeans to look further north in the South Sea, mainly Callao, Peru. Patagonia had a very different ethnographic profile compared to regions where there was extensive contact with the Spanish, and by extension European culture. While Santiago, Buenos Aires, Lima and Quito became representative of the mestizo society, Patagonia seemed to Europeans untouched by colonialism. Patagonia's empty appearance would change significantly in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the nascent nations of Chile and Argentina saw the opportunity

²² Glyndwr Williams, *The Prize of All the Oceans: The Triumph and Tragedy of Anson's Voyage Round the World* (London: Harper Collins, 2008); Glyndwr Williams, *Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters 1570-1750*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Salvador Bernabéu Albert and Carlos Martínez Shaw, *Un océano de seda y plata: el universo económico del Galeón de Manila* (Madrid: Editorial CSIC, 2013); José Antonio Cervera Jiménez, 'El Galeón de Manila: mercancías, personas e ideas viajando a través del Pacífico (1565-1815)', *México y la cuenca del pacífico* 9, no. 26 (2020): 69–90.

²³ Walter Hanisch, *La Isla de Chiloé, Capitana de Rutas Australes* (Santiago: Academia Superior de Ciencias Pedagógicas de Santiago, 1982), 28.

²⁴ I analyse these two settlements in detail in Chapter 2. For further reading about them, see Mateo Martinic, 'El Reino de Jesús. La Efímera Historia de Una Gobernación En El Estrecho de Magalanes (1581-1590).', *Anales Del Instituto de La Patagonia*, 14 (1983), 7-31.

²⁵ Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*.

to develop coal mining and sheep farming there, transforming forever the profile of a region that for centuries had been ruled out for economic projects.²⁶

2. Patagonia in the Spanish and Anglophone literatures: approaches and topics of interest

There is a clear difference between Spanish and Anglophone historiography on Patagonia.²⁷ This has to do with the political division between North and South America and their respective relevance for the English and Spanish empires. Patagonia began to draw the attention of Latin American historians towards the 1980s, when the Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos in Seville, using documentation from the Archivo General de Indias, gave rise to a prolific Spanish speaking borderland historiography.²⁸ Some studies drew from a global approach, looking at the development of colonial dynamics across the Spanish empire, while others developed a more narrow approach in an effort to promote local history.²⁹ Despite their differences, scholars agreed that, aside from marking what was “inside” and “outside” the empire, the Americas were full of interior borders that revealed that colonisation did not develop homogenously across the continent. Furthermore, they stressed the mobile nature of borders, for the very advance of the colonisation pushed borders into different directions. The overall aim of these studies was to highlight regions overshadowed by the traditional centres of power.

This approach allowed historians to delineate Patagonia as a clear unit of historical analysis, although the delineation followed administrative divisions within each state; therefore, there is an Argentinean and Chilean scholarship of Patagonia. Among Argentinean studies, the works of Ricardo Caillet-Bois, Armando Braun Menéndez and Arnaldo Canclini stand out as they

²⁶ Martinic, I:343–70.

²⁷ I use the term “Spanish scholarship” in a linguistic instead of a national sense. Thus, I include in “Spanish scholarship” both Latin American and Spanish scholars.

²⁸ Foundational works in this field are Luis Navarro García, *La Conquista de Nuevo México* (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica del Centro Iberoamericano de Cooperación, 1978); Luis Navarro García, *Las reformas borbónicas en América: el plan de intendencias y su aplicación*, (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de Sevilla, 1995); Salvador Bernabeu Albert, *Expulsados Del Infierno: El Exilio de Los Misioneros Jesuitas de La Península California, 1767-1768* (Madrid: CSIC, 2008); Salvador Bernabeu Albert, ed., *El Septentrión Novohispano: Ecohistoria, Sociedades e Imágenes de Frontera* (Madrid: CSIC, 2000).

²⁹ Hebe Clementi, *La Frontera En América: Una Clave Interpretativa de La Historia Americana, 4 Vols.*, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Leviatán, 1985); Mateo Martinic, *Archipiélago patagónico: la última frontera* (Punta Arenas: Ed. de la Univ. de Magallanes, 2004); María Ximena Urbina Carrasco, *La Frontera de Arriba En Chile Colonial: Interacción Hispano-Indígena En El Territorio Entre Valdivia y Chiloé e Imaginario de Sus Bordes Geográficos, 1600-1800* (Santiago, Valparaíso: Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana; Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2009); Urbina B., *La periferia meridional indiana*; Sergio Villalobos, *Relaciones Fronterizas En La Araucanía* (Santiago: Universidad Católica de Chile, 1982).

were the first to put Patagonia at the centre of historical analysis.³⁰ Among Chilean historians, Rodolfo Urbina, Walter Hanisch, Gabriel Guarda, and Mateo Martinic laid the foundations of what would become a prolific Patagonian historiography.³¹ These works are seminal studies for anyone looking to study the history of Patagonia from the first European voyages onwards. Their framing, although useful for the study of political-institutional issues, is unsuitable for understanding the economic, social and cultural phenomena that go beyond jurisdictional and administrative divisions.

In recent years, valuable studies have emerged that analyse Patagonia from the perspective of global history. Ximena Urbina studies the circulation of news at local, regional and imperial levels, connecting Patagonia, the Viceroyalty of Perú and the metropolis, Madrid.³² To analyse this, she pays attention to the interactions bureaucrats and Jesuit missionaries from Chiloé had with the Indians from West Patagonia.³³ Urbina argues that local interests, misperceptions of Patagonia and the fear of imminent rival attack were “the driving force for political action on the most extreme border of the Spanish empire”.³⁴ Similarly, Montañez analyses how Spain’s rival nations, mainly England, France and the Netherlands, established complex networks of information and knowledge aimed at undermining Spain’s power in the Americas.³⁵ She argues that Patagonia acted as a natural “lock” of the South Sea until Francis Drake’s incursion in

³⁰ Ricardo Callet-Bois, *Un Capítulo de La Historia de Las Malvinas: Bougainville y La Negociación Franco-Española* (Buenos Aires: Imp. A. Bailocco y cía, 1940); Ricardo Callet-Bois, *Las Islas Malvinas: Una Tierra Argentina. Ensayo Basado En Una Nueva y Desconocida Documentación* (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1948); Armando Braun Menéndez, *Navegantes Ingleses a Los Mares Del Sur Desde Drake (1577) Hasta Fitz-Roy (1836)* (Buenos Aires: Asociación Argentina de Cultura Inglesa, 1956); Armando Braun Menéndez, *Pequeña Historia Fueguina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1971); Armando Braun Menéndez, *Pequeña Historia Magallánica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1971); Armando Braun Menéndez, *Pequeña Historia Austral* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1971); Arnoldo Canclini, *Indios Fueguinos: Vida, Costumbres e Historia* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Continente, 2014); Arnoldo Canclini, *Historia de Tierra Del Fuego* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Plus Ultra, 1980).

³¹ Urbina B., *La periferia meridional indiana*; Hanisch, *La Isla de Chiloé, Capitana de Rutas Australes*; Gabriel Guarda, *Flandes Indiano: Las Fortificaciones Del Reino De Chile, 1541- 1826*. (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1990); Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*; Mateo Martinic, *De la Trapananda al Aysen: una mirada reflexiva sobre el acontecer de la Región de Aysén desde la prehistoria hasta nuestros días* (Santiago, Chile: Pehuén, 2005); Martinic, *Archipiélago patagónico*.

³² Ximena Urbina Carrasco, ‘Los «papeles de Londres» y alertas sobre ingleses. Chiloé y las costas de la Patagonia Occidental ante los conflictos entre España e Inglaterra: siglos xvii y xviii’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez. Nouvelle série*, no. 48–2 (2018): 235–64; ‘La sospecha de ingleses en el extremo sur de Chile, 1669-1683: actitudes imperiales y locales como consecuencia de la expedición de John Narborough’, *Magallania (Punta Arenas)* 44, no. 1 (2016): 15–40.

³³ Ximena Urbina Carrasco, ‘Interacciones entre españoles de Chiloé y Chonos en los siglos XVII y XVIII: Pedro Y Francisco Delco, Ignacio Y Cristóbal Talcapillán y Martín Olleta’, *Chungará* 48, no. 1 (2016): 103–14; Ximena Urbina Carrasco, ‘Expediciones a las costas de la Patagonia Occidental en el periodo colonial’, *Magallania* 41, no. 2 (2013): 51–84.

³⁴ Urbina Carrasco, ‘Los «papeles de Londres» y alertas sobre ingleses. Chiloé y las costas de la Patagonia Occidental ante los conflictos entre España e Inglaterra’, 260.

³⁵ Montañez-Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire’, chap. 4.

1578, breaking Spain's (false) sense of safety and the exclusivity over the South Sea. More recently, Natalia Gándara-Chacana has studied how Patagonia became integrated into British, Spanish and Spanish-American systems of knowledge in the Age of Revolutions.³⁶ Her analysis shows how the gathering of geographical material became part of a collective enterprise that involved people in Chile and Europe. In turn, it became an enterprise of national value at a time when Chile was emerging as an independent nation-state. Gándara-Chacana's analysis is a remarkable contribution regarding the political relevance of scientific enterprise.

Given the geopolitical importance of the Strait of Magellan and the Cape Horn for the defence of the empire and for the development of transpacific trading routes, Patagonia featured in maps shortly after the Magellan-Elcano voyage. In this regard, Martinic, Guarda and Rodrigo Moreno offer a comprehensive overview of the subject, showing the number of maps that existed of Patagonia and the various ways it was depicted in the early modern period.³⁷ Likewise, the studies of Jorge Ortiz-Sotelo, Ximena Urbina, and Martinic together with Moore, show how maps were not only instruments of navigation, but also of power, as Spain aimed to keep them secret, while England tried to steal them given the strategic value of the information they conveyed.³⁸

In Anglophone scholarship, Patagonia has been double overshadowed by two disciplinary divides: North versus South American history, and Atlantic-Caribbean versus Pacific history.³⁹ Patagonia appears as a complex but geostrategic passage that only a few skilled English navigators managed to cross. However, very little is said about Patagonia outside this context, fostering the misperception that Patagonia was not on the English radar of expansion until

³⁶ Natalia Gándara-Chacana, 'Thalassologies of Empire and Republic: Competing for Knowledge of the South Eastern Pacific in the Age of Revolutions', PhD diss., (London, University College London, 2020).

³⁷ Mateo Martinic, *Cartografía Magallánica 1523-1945* (Chile: Ediciones de la Universidad de Magallanes, 1999); Gabriel Guarda and Rodrigo Moreno Jeria, *Monumenta cartographica chiloensia: misión, territorio y defensa 1596-1826* (Santiago: Pehuén Editores, 2010); Rodrigo Moreno Jeria, 'El Estrecho de Magallanes Como Antesala Del Pacífico: Evolución Cartográfica y Toponimia Entre Los Siglos XVI y Comienzos Del XVIII', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 70, no. 2 (2013): 419–39; Rodrigo Moreno Jeria, 'Magallanes Entre Los Siglos XI al XVIII: Cartografía Hispana Para Un Estrecho Incógnito', *Anales de Literatura Chilena* 33, (2020): 103–26.

³⁸ Mateo Martinic and David Moore, 'Las Exploraciones Inglesas En El Estrecho de Magallanes 1670-1671. El Mapa Manuscrito de John Narborough', *Anales Del Instituto de La Patagonia* 13 (1982): 7–20; Jorge Ortiz-Sotelo, 'La expedición de Dampier y un derrotero inglés en Perú', in *El mar del sur en la historia: ciencia, expansión, representación y poder en el Pacífico*, ed. Rafael Sagredo Baeza and Rodrigo Moreno Jeria (Viña del Mar: Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, 2014), 217–38; María Ximena Urbina Carrasco, 'La isla Madre de Dios (costa del Pacífico austral) en los siglos XVII y XVIII: circulación de la información e intereses geopolíticos de España e Inglaterra', *Vegueta: Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia*, no. 17 (2017): 26.

³⁹ Rainer F. Buschmann, 'The Pacific Ocean Basin to 1850', in *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, ed. Jerry H. Bentley, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

navigators were confronted with crossing it.⁴⁰ Chapter 1 of this dissertation challenges this perception. It argues that Patagonia entered the English imagination as early as 1527 through far-sighted merchants attentive to emerging trading opportunities, yet scholarship sees the appearance of Patagonia in the English milieu with Francis Drake, as he was the first to sail to it.

Such a monolithic view of maritime expansion leads to what Andrew Hadfield has defined as the “teleological reading” of colonial texts: the tendency to situate early English material about the Americas solely within the context of the large-scale process of colonialism. Hadfield claims that “just because we know what eventually happened we are not entitled to return to the start of a defined historical process – colonialism – and assume that the results we have observed were always an inevitable consequence of the initial actions or the intentions of the original actors, propagandists and historians”.⁴¹ Building on Hadfield’s work, I argue that just because Patagonia never reported revenues to the English empire, or was never populated by English settlers, we should not overlook it within England’s map of colonial ambitions. Rather, Patagonia was actively circulating in the English imagination of the Americas between the sixteenth and seventeenth century, featuring as a key geostrategic place for imperial expansion.

Since Oskar Spate’s seminal *The Spanish Lake*, published in 1979, historians have emphasised the South Sea as a unit of analysis in its own right.⁴² Peter Bradley stresses the value of South Sea history arguing that “it is an area which never gained the same regular attention of Spain’s enemies as shores of the Spanish Main or islands of the West Indies, but which, nevertheless, continued to be a beguiling attraction to [early modern] Europeans”.⁴³ Glyndwr Williams goes even further, claiming that the South Sea was an “obsession” for English navigators. He has

⁴⁰ Gordon Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975); Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); David B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620: From the Bristol Voyages of the Fifteenth Century to the Pilgrim Settlement at Plymouth* (New York: Knopf, 1974).

⁴¹ Andrew Hadfield, ‘Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience and Translation’, *Connotations* 51 (96 1995): 2.

⁴² Oskar.H.K Spate, *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2004); Williams, *Great South Sea*; David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds., *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Montañez Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire’; Rafael Sagredo Baeza and Rodrigo Moreno Jeria, eds., *El mar del sur en la historia: ciencia, expansión, representación y poder en el Pacífico* (Viña del Mar, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, 2014). Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Armitage and Bashford, *Pacific Histories*; Buschmann, ‘The Pacific Ocean Basin to 1850’.

⁴³ Peter T Bradley, *The Lure of Peru: Maritime Intrusion into the South Sea, 1598-1701*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 1989), 1.

argued that “speculative cartographers and ingenious writers helped to create an image of the South Sea that was alluring and pervasive, the first-hand accounts of the voyages also played their part”.⁴⁴ Despite these claims, there is no Anglophone work dedicated to the study of Patagonia as a unit of analysis.

Although the maritime study of Patagonia is heavily divided by language, the study of its alleged gigantic inhabitants, the Patagonians, seems to be a space of convergence for both Anglophone and Spanish scholars. Classical scholarship on Renaissance travel writing has examined the legend of the Patagonians, paying attention to the philosophical and cultural foundations of the belief. Building on the works of Stephen Greenblatt and John H. Elliott about the marvellous imagination of extra-European territories, Juan Gil and Jorge Magasich and Jean-Jacques de Beer, have studied the cultural context in which navigators, scholars and readers conceived the possibility of giants living at the southern tip of the globe.⁴⁵ These authors argue that the representation of the Patagonians as giants reflected how Europeans viewed and understood the Americas using ideas about humanity and monstrosity, establishing overlapping dichotomies between civility and barbarity and European and extra-European.

In recent years, Surekha Davies, Michael van Groesen and Carolina Martínez have paid attention to the representation of the Patagonians on visual sources, mainly maps and engravings.⁴⁶ These works add to a prolific line of research risen from the “material turn” that historiography has undergone in the past decade.⁴⁷ Davies argues that maps became a privileged space for Europeans to represent human variation across the world, elaborating ideas

⁴⁴ Williams, *Great South Sea*, xiii–xiv.

⁴⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); John Huxtable Elliott, *The Old World and the New: 1492 - 1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías del descubrimiento. 2. El Pacífico*, vol. 2, 2018; Jorge Magasich-Airola and Jean-Marc de Beer, *America Magica: When Renaissance Europe Thought It Had Conquered Paradise*, trans. Monica Sandor, 2nd ed (London ; New York: Anthem Press, 2007), 172–93.

⁴⁶ Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)*, v. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Carolina Martínez, ‘Patagonia En La Edad de Oro de La Cartografía Holandesa: Una Genealogía Del Gigantum Regio (S. XVII)’, *Magallania* 48, no. especial (2020): 123–45; Carolina Martínez, ‘Patagones En El Mapa Del Amazonas de Samuel Fritz (1707)’, *Terra Brasilis*, no. 14 (2020): 1-13 .

⁴⁷ Giorgio Riello, ‘The “Material Turn” in World and Global History’, *Journal of World History* 33, no. 2 (2022): 193–232; Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Paula Findlen, *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2021); Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016); Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate Publisher, 2010).

about the relationship between human societies, bodies, cultures and natural environments.⁴⁸ Von Groesen, on the other hand, focuses on the production of engravings representing Patagonians in the De Bry *Collection of Voyages* (1590-1634), the greatest collection of travel writings and illustrations assembled in early modern Europe.⁴⁹ He argues that the engravings represented Patagonians in ways that simultaneously evoked human alterity and homogeneity. The naked, fearful and pagan representation of the Patagonians represented an element of distinction from Europeans, as well as a feature common to non-European peoples. That De Bry engravers assigned identical qualities and characteristics regardless of the region or the continent, led to a homogenisation of the “other”.⁵⁰ In a similar fashion, Martínez has looked at the similarities in the representation of the Patagonians in Dutch cartography.⁵¹ She argues that Dutch cartography developed models of Patagonians that mapmakers repeated continuously across the early modern period to evoke a certain idea of otherness and barbarity.

Since the early twentieth century, anthropologists and archaeologists have made valuable contributions to unravelling the pre-extinction ethnographic setting of the different Indigenous peoples that inhabited Patagonia. The foundational work of American anthropologist John Cooper collects the different denominations that European travellers used to designate Patagonia’s complex ethnographic mosaic, according to the natives’ geographical location and customs.⁵² The studies of Francisco Mena and Abel Álvarez identify the differences across these groups by analysing their linguistic and territorial variations, routes of movement, and interactions with Europeans.⁵³ In recent years, the archaeological studies of Nicolás Lira with Domique Legopouil have greatly contributed to the understanding the significance of canoes in the material culture and movement of people located in western Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego.⁵⁴ These studies underline the advantage that the Indians of Patagonia had over the Europeans as a result of the material, technological and cultural appropriation of the territory.

⁴⁸ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, 1–2.

⁴⁹ Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)*.

⁵⁰ Groesen, 271–72.

⁵¹ Martínez, ‘Patagonia En La Edad de Oro de La Cartografía Holandesa’; Martínez, ‘Patagones En El Mapa Del Amazonas de Samuel Fritz (1707)’.

⁵² John M. Cooper, *Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra Del Fuego and Adjacent Territory* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917).

⁵³ Mena, ‘Presencia Indígena En El Litoral de Aisén’; Álvarez Abel, ‘Reflexiones En Torno a Las Identidades de Las Poblaciones Canoeras, Situadas Entre Los 44° y 48° de Latitud Sur, Denominadas “Chonos”’; Mateo Martinic, *Los Aónikenk* (Punta Arenas: Ediciones de la Universidad de Magallanes, 1995).

⁵⁴ Lira and Legopouil, ‘Navegantes del Sur y de las Regiones Australes’; Lira and Legopouil, ‘Los Canoeros Del Fin Del Mundo’.

These studies overturn the traditional view that European expansion in the Americas faced no major obstacles or difficulties.⁵⁵

3. Historiographical framework

This dissertation draws from maritime history from a cultural perspective and global history from a borderland perspective. It also takes some analytical tools from cultural geography, and history of science. I have divided this section in two parts. First, I explain what is meant by maritime history from a cultural perspective. This is followed by my definition of “imagined geography”, the overarching concept of this dissertation. I then describe the sources of maritime history and the ones I will to examine Patagonia as an “imagined geography”. Second, I discuss borderland history and its overlap with the centre-periphery scheme. Borders exist in relation to a centre, so borders are also peripheries. The second section includes a general review of the centre-periphery relationship in literature. Because I am interested in the English imagination of a borderland, I do not address Patagonia in isolation but in relation to England as an expansive colonial power and contender for other powers. Therefore, I include analytical tools from global and interconnected history that will allow me to see Patagonia in a broader context. In this historiographical framework, I bring together Latin American, Spanish, and Anglophone scholarship. In doing so, I not only attempt to explain the historiographies that will support this dissertation, but also show how Spanish and Anglophone scholars have approached some of the main nodes of recent historiographical discussion.

Maritime history from a cultural perspective

Ferdinand Braudel’s *Mediterranean*, published in 1949, is often praised by historians for its foundational role in maritime studies.⁵⁶ Braudel studied the relationship between geography, society, economy, politics and material culture revolving around the in the Mediterranean sea. Maritime historians regard his work as foundational as he placed a waterscape at the centre of historical analysis.⁵⁷ Following this approach, a prolific historiography of waterscapes has

⁵⁵ I explain in Chapter 5 that Patagonia is a point in case of what Mary Louise Pratt has called, the “contact zone”, a space where power relations are redefined because of the geographical and cultural borderland nature of the certain regions.

⁵⁶ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); David Armitage, ‘World History as Oceanic History: Beyond Braudel’, *The Historical Review* 15, no. 1 (2019): 341; Philip E. Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001), 9, 13.

⁵⁷ Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *Fifty Key Thinkers on History* (London: Routledge, 2014), 22.

identified oceans, seas, islands and shores as different units for maritime analysis.⁵⁸ John Hattendorf defines maritime history as “the field of historical study that encompasses humankind’s relationships to the seas and oceans of the world. It is a multidimensional, humanistic study of human activities, experiences, interactions, and reactions to the vast water-covered regions”.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, Braudel’s model for analysis, although inspiring, is not transferable from the Mediterranean to any sea.⁶⁰ As Mack argues “each sea does have its own characteristics; indeed depending on the breadth of perspective adopted each has its own combination of characteristics”.⁶¹ In this sense, regionalising and historicising the sea, namely, delineating the space, time and actors is crucial to historical analysis. The importance of regionalising and historicising the sea reflects in the increasing amount of histories about the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Ocean, and the Caribbean, South or Black Sea.⁶² Likewise, oceans have been politicized spaces immersed in the interests and projects of different empires, now states, which over time have tried to delimit, control and even regulate access to them.⁶³ More generally, this renewed interest has been defined as “new thalassology”, that is, a “turn towards the waters of the world, the dwellers on their shores and islands and the modes of interaction across maritime spaces”.⁶⁴ Thus, waterscapes have become key organising units for “examining the histories of the landmasses [and peoples] they link together”.⁶⁵

Patagonia is not a waterscape but a terrestrial landscape. However, I propose to analyse it from the new thalassology perspective for two reasons. First, because the marine landscape determined both the way of life of Patagonia’s inhabitants and the encounters they had with Europeans. Second, because, as a double gateway between the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean, Patagonia is a space of transnational connections, cultural entanglements, and global processes.

⁵⁸ David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram, eds., *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Michael S. Reidy and Helen M. Rozwadowski, ‘The Spaces In Between: Science, Ocean, Empire’, *Isis* 105, no. 2 (2014): 338–51; Helen M. Rozwadowski, *Vast Expanses: A History of the Oceans* (London: Reaktion Books, 2018); Carlos Martínez Shaw, ‘La historia marítima de los tiempos modernos. Una historia total del mar y sus orillas’, *Drassana: revista del Museu Marítim*, no. 22 (2014): 36–65.

⁵⁹ John B. Hattendorf, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1.

⁶⁰ For an alternative to Braudel’s model, see David Armitage’s tripartite model for analysing the Atlantic. David Armitage, ‘Three concepts of Atlantic History’, *História unisinos* 18, no. 2 (2014): 206–17.

⁶¹ John Mack, *The Sea: A Cultural History*, 2013, 37.

⁶² For an extended discussion about historiography on different seas, see: Mack, 31–76.

⁶³ Elizabeth Mancke, ‘Early Modern Expansion and the Politicization of Oceanic Space’, *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (1999): 225–36.

⁶⁴ Armitage and Bashford, *Pacific Histories*, 6.

⁶⁵ Natalia, ‘Thalassologies of Empire and Republic’, 26.

Moreover, maritime history allows us to move away from traditional “terracentric” studies by stressing the importance of maritime passages for historical analysis.⁶⁶ I argue that Patagonia, though land, cannot be understood without looking at its close relationship with water.

More specifically, this dissertation approaches maritime history from a cultural perspective.⁶⁷ There are many ways historians do cultural history, but “the common ground... might be described as a concern with the symbolic and its interpretation”, Peter Burke explains.⁶⁸ Cultural historians seek to unpack the complex pattern of meanings, symbols and attitudes of societies across time.⁶⁹ One of the main challenges of the field is the broadness of the concept of culture itself. Today, “culture” evokes a range of artefacts, practices, disciplines and discourses but until the mid-twentieth century, culture evoked a sense of tradition, related to a certain kind of knowledge and skills handed down from one generation to the next.⁷⁰ This understanding led the social sciences to associate culture with “a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development”.⁷¹ Raymond Williams widened this understanding by arguing that culture is essentially ordinary: “Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings. Every human society expresses these, in institutions, and in arts and learning”. In this manner, Williams explains that culture entails two, inseparable senses: “to mean a whole way of life - the common meanings; to mean the arts and learning - the special processes of discovery and creative effort. Some writers reserve the word for one or other of these senses; I insist on both, and on the significance of their conjunction”.⁷² Engaging with Williams’ view, this dissertation bases itself on cultural history as I am interested in the various meanings that the English society ascribed to Patagonia in the early modern period. I examine the interplay between William’s two senses of culture by analysing the long-standing imagination of borderlands and far-distant places and the incoming information brought to England by seafarers and scholars. Moreover, I am interested in the many actors involved in

⁶⁶ Armitage and Bashford, *Pacific Histories*, 4.

⁶⁷ Recent studies about the state of cultural history are Rogge, *Cultural History in Europe*; Burke, *What Is Cultural History?*; Hunt, *Writing History in the Global Era*; Bonnell, Hunt, and Biernacki, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*.

⁶⁸ Burke, *What Is Cultural History?*, 3.

⁶⁹ Bonnell, Hunt, and Biernacki, *Beyond the Cultural Turn* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Jörg Rogge ed., *Cultural History in Europe* (Mainz: Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften); Burke, *What Is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2021); Lynn Hunt, *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 1–22.

⁷⁰ Burke, *What Is Cultural History?*, 26; Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); Adam Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologists’ Account* (Hauppauge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁷¹ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 1985), 80.

⁷² Raymond Williams, ‘Culture Is Ordinary’, in *Conviction*, ed. Norman Mackenzie (MacGibbon & Kee, 1958), 75–76. Also see Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*; Williams, *Keywords*.

this process. From astute merchants, both from England and elsewhere, to prominent figures of the political sphere, and from well-respected naval captains to notorious buccaneers, these images account for their own specific cultures, showing how they related to one another when imagining the world.

From the standpoint of social geography, Eduardo Martínez de Pisón has studied how geographical landscapes are more than mere settings of human life, arguing that landscapes have played an active role in shaping social and cultural transformations throughout history.⁷³ Philip Steinberg has argued that the sea is a “social construction”, which, “like land, shapes and it is shaped by social and physical processes”.⁷⁴ In a similar way, John Mack argues: “the sea, then, is not a single conception but often has a kind of cultural geography associated with its construction”.⁷⁵ Contrary to fixed, static constructs, the sea “is continually reconstructed through our encounters, but as we engage the sea our experiences are performed and internalized through articulations with pre-existing imaginaries”.⁷⁶ Moreover, Steinberg emphasizes the role of human agency in shaping maritime spaces, boundaries, regulations, institutions, customs and conducts that define the relationship with these spaces.⁷⁷ Steinberg’s and Mack’s works contribute to a prolific scholarship regarding the sea as a social and cultural space, namely, a “cultural seascape” in Charlotte Mathieson’s words.⁷⁸ Other works have focused more specifically on the representations of the sea in particular spheres of cultural production. The field of travel writing has contributed much to this debate.⁷⁹ So have

⁷³ Eduardo Martínez de Pisón, *Miradas sobre el paisaje* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2016), 14–20.

⁷⁴ Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, 10. For a similar approach, see Charlotte Mathieson, ed., *Sea Narratives: Cultural Responses to the Sea, 1600–Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), 4–13.

⁷⁵ Mack, *The Sea*, 89.

⁷⁶ Philip E. Steinberg, ‘Mediterranean Metaphors: Travel, Translation and Oceanic Imaginaries in the “New Mediterraneans” of the Arctic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean’, in *Water Worlds: Human Geographies of the Ocean*, ed. Kimberley Peters (London: Routledge, 2016), 23.

⁷⁷ Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, 26–32.

⁷⁸ Mathieson, *Sea Narratives*, 2; Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840* (London: Penguin, 1995); Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2004); David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2011); Mike Brown and Barbara Humberstone, *Seascapes: Shaped by the Sea* (Farnham: Routledge, 2015); Jon Anderson and Kimberley A. Peters, *Water Worlds Human Geographies of the Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2016); Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016).

⁷⁹ Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1998); Nandini Das, ‘Early Modern Travel Writing (2): English Travel Writing’, in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 77–92; Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 7 (Cambridge: University Press, 1995); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Michael G. Brennan, ‘The Literature of Travel’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Richard Gameson et al. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 246–73; Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge History for Travel Writing*, 1st ed.

cartographical studies.⁸⁰ More than merely textual descriptions and visual representations of the world, travel writing and cartography are socio-cultural constructs that help us understand the complex relationship between culture and the sea.

Global history from a borderland perspective

As a space of flow and convergence, oceans have become an ideal unit of analysis for global historians. For Hattendorf, maritime history is indeed a dimension of global history.⁸¹ It should be noted though that, as Bartolomé Yun has argued, global history *per se* is not a field in its own right; it is an analytical perspective that can be used in a range of historical fields, such as political, social, economic or environmental history.⁸² This innovative approach seeks to challenge traditional notions of historical events unfolding independently within the confines of individual nation-states. Thus, global history advocates for a comprehensive and interconnected examination of the past, emphasizing the intricate webs of interactions, exchanges, and influences that have transcended geopolitical boundaries.⁸³ As a hinge between

(Cambridge University Press, 2019),; Gerald MacLean, 'Early Modern Travel Writing (1): Print and Early Modern European Travel Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 62–76; Juan Pimentel, *Testigos Del Mundo: Ciencia, Literatura y Viajes En La Ilustración*, Estudios (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2003).

⁸⁰ David Woodward, ed., *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, The History of Cartography, v. 3, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Günter Schilder and Marco van Egmond, 'Maritime Cartography in the Low Countries during the Renaissance', in *Cartography in the European Renaissance. The History of Cartography*, v. 3, pts 1 & 2, ed. David Woodward, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1384–1432; J. B. Harley and J. H. Andrews, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton, A Johns Hopkins Paperback (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, 'Maps and Exploration in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward, The History of Cartography, v. 3, pts 1 & 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 738–59.

⁸¹ Hattendorf, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History*, 1; Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds., *Maritime History as Global History* (Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2018); Hank L. Wesseling, 'Overseas History', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2001), 71–96.

⁸² Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *Historia global, historia transnacional e historia de los imperios: el Atlántico, América y Europa (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando Católico Excm. Diputación de Zaragoza, 2019), 7–8; Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, 'The Spanish Empire, Globalization, and Cross-Cultural Consumption in a World Context, c. 1400-c. 1750', in *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492–1824*, ed. Bethany Aram and Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 277–306.

⁸³ Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: University Press, 2016); Diego Adrián Olstein, Alejandro Pérez-Sáez, and Diego Adrián Olstein, *Pensar la historia globalmente* (Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2019); Yun Casalilla, *Historia global, historia transnacional e historia de los imperios*; Romain Bertrand, 'Historia global, historias conectadas: ¿un giro historiográfico?', *Prohistoria* 24, no. 24 (2015): 03–20; Serge Gruzinski, *Las cuatro partes del mundo: Historia de una mundialización* (Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016); Bernd Hausberger, *Historia Mínima de La Globalización Temprana* (Ciudad de México, México: El Colegio de México, 2018); Bethany Aram, 'Entre Dos Mares? Reflexiones a Partir de La Historia Atlántica y Hacia Tres Conceptos de La Historia Global', *Nuevo Mundo, Mundos Nuevos*, 2019; Matilde Souto Mantecón and Alicia Salmerón Castro, eds., *Hacia Una Historia Global e Interconectada: Fuentes y Temas Para La Enseñanza (Siglos XVI-XIX)* (Ciudad de México: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2017); Sven Beckert and Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global History, Globally Research and Practice around the World* (London:

two worlds, Patagonia offers a privileged opportunity for studying global connections and entangled histories.

As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has pointed out, global history also challenges historiographical paradigms by unveiling the entwined histories of colonizers and colonized, conquerors and the conquered, rulers and subjects, and various other social groups who have often been marginalized or overlooked in conventional historical accounts.⁸⁴ Similarly, Roman Bertrand argues that global history allows us to deconstruct ethnocentric and Eurocentric perspectives, promoting a deeper understanding of global historical dynamics and shared experiences.⁸⁵ Through the examination of maritime trade networks, navigation routes, and the movement of peoples, global historians shed light on how interactions between diverse societies have influenced the diffusion of ideas, practices, technologies and objects. Such interactions have fuelled cultural transformations and the fusion of various traditions, fostering a global interconnectedness that transcends national boundaries.⁸⁶

For a great part of the twentieth century, historians viewed the Spanish American borders as weak territories, vulnerable to foreign attacks due to their geographical distance from vice regal and metropolitan centres of power. This led to the perception of borders as spaces of marginality and remoteness. The first studies of borderlands arose in 1980s, when scholars revisited the terms centre and periphery. Sociologist Edward Shils firstly introduced these concepts in 1961 to explain the organization of societies, and historians have deeply discussed them ever since.⁸⁷ For Shils, the centre of a society is the place where authority is possessed. In contrast, the periphery is where authority is least possessed. In this scheme, the further one moves away from the centre, the less attached the periphery becomes to it, to the extent that the peripheries develop their own set of symbols and values that give them, to some extent, a degree of independence. More than physical places, centres and peripheries are a social

Bloomsbury Academic, 2018); Manuel Pérez García, *Global History and New Polycentric Approaches: Europe, Asia and the Americas in a World Network System* (Basingstoke: Springer Nature, 2018).

⁸⁴ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ed., *Entangled Empires: The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 4–5.

⁸⁵ Bertrand, 'Historia global, historias conectadas', 3–20.

⁸⁶ Guido van Meersbergen, 'Dutch and English Approaches to Cross-Cultural Trade in Mughal India and the Problem of Trust, 1600–1630', in *Beyond Empires: Global, Self-Organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks, 1500-1800*, ed. Cátia A.P. Antunes and Amelia Polónia (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 69–87; Francesca Trivellato, Leor Halevi, and Cátia Antunes, *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁸⁷ Edward Shils, 'Centre and Periphery', in *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi on His Seventieth Birthday, 11th March, 1961* (London: Routledge & Paul 1961), 117–30.

constructs, defined by symbols, values and beliefs exercised by the elite and the institutional network.⁸⁸ From this point of view, Patagonia was a periphery not because it was geographically distant from the centre – for that matter, the Americas can be understood as Spain’s periphery – but because Spain did not exert effective authority there.

Perhaps the most widely known work in the study of centres and peripheries is Immanuel Wallerstein’s theory of the Modern World System.⁸⁹ Wallerstein employed the terms to explain the colonial and mercantilist nature of the world system in the early modern era, arguing that “centres” were core-states defined by their strong state machinery and complex economies. These two features allowed “centres” to dominate “peripheries”, which he viewed as weak or almost non-existent states, characterised by their simple economies which were mostly based on mining, agriculture and other sort of resource exploitation, and system of forced labour.⁹⁰ Moreover, he developed a theoretical framework to understand the major economic historical transformations in the rise of the modern world. Though Wallerstein’s scheme helps to understand the economic relation between the New World (periphery) and Spain (centre), his analysis is too focused on broad economic developments and trade systems, overlooking other aspects, and ultimately the complexity of the relationship centre-periphery.⁹¹ Jack Greene, D. W. Meinig and David Weber posed this critique when they revisited the centre-periphery scheme.⁹² From their perspective, the deconstruction of these concepts, along with their relationship, enlightened the study of the internal working of European empires within the Americas.⁹³ This approach proved that the experience of colonialism in the New World – the periphery – gave birth to a serious number of internal centres and peripheries, with distinctive

⁸⁸ Shils, 117–18; 120; 123–25.

⁸⁹ Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System I.*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academic Press, 1974); Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System. II, II*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

⁹⁰ Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System I.*, 349–51.

⁹¹ For an extensive and thorough critique to Wallerstein’s scheme, see Steve J. Stern, ‘Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean: “Ever More Solitary”’, *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 4 (1988): 886.

⁹² Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607-1788* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986); Donald W. Meinig, *Atlantic America, 1492-1800.*, vol. I (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, Yale Western Americana Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁹³ Greene, *Peripheries and Center*, 1–24.

roles and in varied scales.⁹⁴ Moreover, peripheries proved to be territories with distinctive political, economic and social dynamics from the metropolis.⁹⁵

Danna Levin Rojo and Cynthia Radding conceptualise borders as spaces where 1) two or more spheres of hegemony claim jurisdiction over resources and people, contesting each other's influence, 2) two or more groups of people with different cultures intermingle, and 3) prevailing ecological conditions challenge particular forms of human life.⁹⁶ Amy Turner Bushnell adds that borders are "geographic areas contested by two or more nations, each of which is engaged in a process of polity formation in which control is tenuous and continuously negotiated, and each of which tries to extend its negotiating mechanisms to include the others".⁹⁷ Rather than defined and rigid zones related only to the exercise of sovereignty, borders are spaces with no clear demarcation.⁹⁸

Building on the above, I consider Patagonia as a borderland not only because it constituted the geographic limit of the Spanish empire in the Americas, but also because it was a space that the European powers disputed among themselves and, in turn, with the inhabitants of Patagonia. The number of encounters recorded in the navigators' travel accounts are testimony to the interactions that Europeans had with the indigenous peoples, where cultural differences – material and symbolic – demarcated Patagonia as a space distinct from Europe. In addition, the environmental conditions of the region not only shaped indigenous ways of life, but also challenged European navigation. Although Magellan called the place where he encountered the supposed giant "Patagón", San Julian Bay, Patagonia, the textual and visual representations demonstrate that the entire southern border of the Americas, including its Atlantic and Pacific coasts, was considered "Patagonia". In this sense, the boundaries of the region were unclear. What indicated having reached Patagonia was cold weather and the absence of Spaniards rather

⁹⁴ Meinig, *The Shaping of America*, I:258–67.

⁹⁵ Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack P. Greene, 'Peripheries, Centers and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires', in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1–13.

⁹⁶ Danna A. Levin Rojo and Cynthia Radding, 'Introduction: Borderlands, A Working Definition', in *The Oxford Handbook of Borderlands of the Iberian World*, ed. Danna A. Levin Rojo and Cynthia Radding (Oxford University Press, 2019), 2–3.

⁹⁷ Amy Turner Bushnell, 'Gates, Patterns, and Peripheries: The Field of Frontier Latin America', in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 19–20.

⁹⁸For the latest historiographical analysis refer to Danna Alexandra Levin Rojo and Cynthia Radding, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Borderlands of the Iberian World*, Oxford Handbooks (New York, NY, United States of America: Oxford University Press, 2019); Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman, *Contested spaces of early America* (William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, 2014), Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen, *Borders: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

than any geopolitical line. The boundaries of Patagonia became even more blurred when Patagonia began to evoke among Europeans a sort of trope in transatlantic navigation, a fantasy and adventure space, as depicted in Lloyd's engraving of Captain Jones.

The centre-periphery discussion overlaps with debates about the political nature of the Spanish empire and its worldwide possessions. Anthony Pagden has argued that "There never was, of course, a 'Spanish Empire'". Rather, what existed was a "confederation of principalities held together in the person of a single king".⁹⁹ To an extent, Pagden claims, the administration of these principalities was imperial, but only in practice not in theory.¹⁰⁰ John H. Elliott has conceptualised England and particularly Spain as "composite monarchies", in the sense that they conformed an association of territories ruled by a single political centre while maintaining most of their political-administrative structures, freedoms and privileges.¹⁰¹ In *Polycentric Monarchies*, Pedro Cardim et al. propose a radically different scheme, as the composite approach assumes that Spain was a "sum of many separate national histories" unified by a centre, Madrid. Instead, the authors suggested seeing the Spanish Empire as polycentric, with "many different interlinked centers that interacted not only with the king but also among themselves, thus actively participating in forging polity".¹⁰² Following this approach, Montañez defines Spain as an "empire of archipelagos" comprised of multiple centres and peripheries around the world under the same monarch that related to one another in different political capacities, giving the Spanish monarchy a false sense of continuity and control over the Indies.¹⁰³

More recently, a trend has emerged within global history to study disconnections by paying attention to instances, events or phenomena that cause ruptures, disjunctions or interruptions in the interconnected tapestry of human activity.¹⁰⁴ The study of disconnections intersects with

⁹⁹ Anthony. R. Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513-1830* (New Haven ; Yale University Press, 1990), 3.

¹⁰⁰ Pagden, 3.

¹⁰¹ J. H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past & Present*, no. 137 (1992): 48–71; For a summary of Elliott's argument, see Montañez-Sanabria, 'Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire', 30.

¹⁰² Pedro Cardim et al., eds., *Polycentric Monarchies How Did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?* (Brighton ; Sussex Academic Press, 2012), 14.

¹⁰³ Montañez-Sanabria, 'Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire', 32.

¹⁰⁴ Zoltán Biedermann, *(Dis)Connected Empires: Imperial Portugal, Sri Lankan Diplomacy, and the Making of a Habsburg Conquest in Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Zoltán Biedermann, '(Dis)Connected History and the Multiple Narratives of Global Early Modernity', *Modern Philology* 119, no. 1 (2021): 13–32; Jürgen Osterhammel, 'A "Transnational" History of Society: Continuity or New Departure?', in *Comparative and Transnational History* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010); Jürgen Osterhammel, 'Global History', in *Debating New Approaches to History*, ed. Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 21–47.

broad historiographical debates involving conversations about what exactly the connections – symbolic, political, commercial, cultural, etc. – consist of and to what extent they define global history. This is particularly relevant to early modern history. It is clear that the period saw a drastic increase in long-distance connections. However, as Zoltán Biedermann has argued, we also “need to make questions about how the new links did or did not work, and why”.¹⁰⁵ Global history is not about studying more and more connections, but about studying the fabric of those connections even when they fail to link things together. Moreover, the fact that there are disconnections does not cancel out the existence of connections. Rather, they coexist with each other. In this respect, Biedermann proposes the term “(dis)connections” to underline the coexistent nature of connections and disconnections, arguing that the two categories “are not successive historical stages, but the two aspects of, two inherent qualities of, the same history”.¹⁰⁶ Hence, they are complementary, interconnected and independent terms.

Using Biedermann’s terminology, I see Patagonia as a “(dis)connected” place from England. Patagonia by itself was not an alluring objective. The English viewed Patagonia as a place with intolerable climate, as a place that lacked any sort of precious metal or commodifiable goods, and as a place where the indigenous people seemed uninclined to cooperate with the English projects. As a result, the English never settled there and the times they sailed it, they tried to cross it as quickly as possible, trying to avoid the dangers of the extreme southern waters. However, Patagonia’s connectivity to the South Sea, more specifically to Callao, and to the transpacific Manila trade, made it a crucial piece in the jigsaw of colonial expansion. From the metropolis, England envisaged a series of possibilities for imperial expansion should Patagonia be sailed, observed, described and mapped. What connected Patagonia and England was not physical contact, but imagination; the possibility to dream of the treasures of the Pacific Ocean and imperial expansion.

By examining Patagonia through a cultural perspective, this dissertation aims to enrich our understanding of how early modern empires perceived and engaged with distant lands and how these perceptions influenced the empires’ colonial agenda. Focusing on both the tangible and symbolic (dis)connections between England and Patagonia, this research strives to illuminate the role “peripheries” played in shaping imperial imagination. It invites scholars to engage in

¹⁰⁵ Biedermann, *(Dis)Connected Empires*, 14.

¹⁰⁶ Biedermann, ‘(Dis)Connected History and the Multiple Narratives of Global Early Modernity’, 25.

further research and discussions about the intricate relationship between borderland regions, empires and global history from a cultural vantage point.

4. Sources and Methodology

This dissertation builds on sources held in the Centre for Research Collection from the University of Edinburgh, the National Library of Scotland, the British Library and the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. It brings together written and visual sources, mainly, colonial projects, travelogues or accounts, travel collections and route-books, as well as maps and atlases. Some the sources are manuscript and others printed. In this section, I explain the main features of these sources, the way I used them for my analysis and their value for understanding the English imagination of Patagonia.

First, there are colonial projects. These were often written by merchants seeking financial support, so they addressed them to diplomats, state secretaries and sometimes the crown itself, showing the kind of audience in which these pieces of writing circulated. As schemes for concrete colonial activity, these letters developed a very straightforward language that pointed out the design and motives of the project. Because of this, colonial projects are quite persuasive in tone, stressing the opportunities at stake. Some of these were written by English merchants seeking the aggrandisement of their nation, such as Richard Hakluyt's proposal for a colony in the Strait of Magellan in 1578-1580. However, other projects demonstrate that early modern England, particularly London, was an increasingly multinational place, where people from different cultural backgrounds arrived seeking new opportunities for trade. This was the case for the Sephardic merchants Simón de Cáceres and Carlos Enríquez, who, coming from Amsterdam, elaborated compelling projects concerning Patagonia based on the information they had from the Portuguese sugar trade in Brazil. These projects are valuable sources for seeing how merchants imagined commercial opportunities emerging from the ongoing maritime expansion. They also shed light on how merchants crossed national and transnational barriers in search of opportunities.

Then there are travel accounts and collections. The early modern period saw an unprecedented increase in travel writing, greatly favoured by the printing press.¹⁰⁷ These writings combined

¹⁰⁷ Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625*; Das, 'Early Modern Travel Writing (2)'; Brennan, 'The Literature of Travel'; Das and Youngs, *The Cambridge History for Travel Writing*; MacLean, 'Early Modern Travel Writing (1)'; Pimentel, *Testigos Del Mundo*; Fuller, *Voyages in Print*; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: Chicago University Press

elements of factual observation, personal reflection, and cultural interpretation, offering readers rich images about distant lands and peoples, playing a pivotal role in shaping the European imagination and understanding of the world beyond their borders. They were both a source of information and a form of entertainment. They convey significant amounts of geographical and ethnographic information, at the same time they are deeply influenced by ideas of selfhood and otherness.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, empires found in travel writing a powerful vehicle for transmitting ideas about nationhood, imperial expansion and maritime dominance.¹⁰⁹ While travel accounts and travel collections disseminated similar information, they were two distinct genres. They differed in terms of authorship, perspective, literary style, motivation, and structure. These distinctions reflect the diverse ways in which Europeans engaged with the broader world and sought to understand and convey their encounters with it.

Travel accounts were typically written by individual travellers and developed a more personal and narrative style, with the author recounting their adventures in an autobiographical manner.¹¹⁰ Travellers were frequently driven by the desire to record their adventures, promote their own accomplishments, or gain recognition for their contributions. Travel accounts normally organise the narrative chronologically, following the route from departure to return. The English travellers who described Patagonia were privateers, naval captains and buccaneers. Because of this, the information these accounts convey varied according to the navigator's intellectual context, social background, aim of the voyage and targeted audience. For example, the descriptions about the voyage of privateer Francis Drake are not as detailed as the depictions by naval captain John Narborough. This is due, among many other reasons I examine in this dissertation, to the fact that Drake's aim was not to conduct a geographical survey, but to attack the unprotected Spanish ports of the South Sea. Not so Narborough, who travelled with the instruction to make a geographical survey of the Strait of Magellan, an objective favoured by the emerging observational practices of the Scientific Revolution. Thus,

2009); Michiel van Groesen, *Imagining the Americas in Print: Books, Maps and Encounters in the Atlantic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

¹⁰⁸ Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Frederic Regard, ed., *British Narratives of Exploration: Case Studies on the Self and Other*, *Empires in Perspective* 9 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009); Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625*; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*; Elliott, *The Old World and the New*.

¹⁰⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006); Georgina Rannard, 'Empire and Useful Knowledge: Mapping and Charting the British American World, 1660-1720', PhD. diss., (Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh, 2018).

¹¹⁰ Das and Youngs, *The Cambridge History for Travel Writing*, 1–16.

travel accounts vary in their content, style and information. Nevertheless, they are useful documents for following the route of navigation, indicating places for replenishing, overwintering, plundering, etc. They also convey significant information about the peoples they encountered, describing their modes, costumes and interactions. Thus, travel accounts are valuable geographic and ethnographic sources, for they are first-hand sources of territories seldom known by the majority of European readership.

In contrast, travel collections were compilations of various travel accounts. In some occasions, they included other documentation relating navigation, such as reports, letters or lists of supplies. Thus, they presented a mosaic of perspectives regarding travelling. As Gerarld MacLean has argued, assembling these collections was a complex work, as it entailed gathering all the sources and editing them in a way the volume had stylistic coherence and soundness.¹¹¹ Although the collections retained many of the original aspects of travellers' accounts, such as the first-person narration, editing always involves a modification of the original text, however minor. Moreover, travel collections were normally sponsored by patrons or monarchs interested in promoting ideas and projects of colonial expansion. At other times, scientific institutions acted as patrons in the interest of disseminating the knowledge gathered about newly discovered lands. This sponsorship directly influenced the way the collection was assembled, as editors had to make decisions about which stories would make up the volume, whether to include the whole story or fragments, or which fragments to include. Equally important was the editor's decision as to the structure of the volume, which could be geographical or thematic, grouping the accounts by region or theme, as opposed to travel accounts, whose content was organised chronologically. In addition, collections were usually accompanied by a preface or introduction in which the editor explained the intentions of the volume. Typically, these sections adopted a seemingly more objective tone, with the editors explaining the purpose of providing an overview of various voyages, although travel collections conveyed as much subjectivity as travelogues. The editors also used the first part of the book to make dedications to their sponsors, demonstrating that the creation of a travel collection brought together different actors and interests. All these decisions and edits ultimately altered the original sense and purpose of the traveller's personal account.

The two main travel collections I use in this dissertation are Richard Hakluyt's *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation* (1589, 1598-1600) and

¹¹¹ MacLean, 'Early Modern Travel Writing (1)', 65–67.

the Royal Society's *An Account of Several Late Voyages to the South and North* (1694). Both collections sought to disseminate knowledge about newly discovered lands but differ in their motivation, structure and target audience. As I examine in chapter 2, Hakluyt's purpose was essentially propagandistic, seeking to portray England as a power with a dazzling maritime capacity at a time when European powers forged their reputations on the dominance of the seas. He did this by gathering English narratives dating from the sixth to the sixteenth century, which he organised chronologically to show how the country's nautical skill had been forged throughout the centuries. He also included Spanish and Portuguese materials to provide insights into territories where England had vested interests, depicting his country as a power attentive to new possibilities for expansion. He dedicated the first edition of the *Principal Navigations* to state secretary Sir Francis Walsingham, with whom Hakluyt was associated from very early on in his publishing career. Following Walsingham's demise, in 1590, the patronage of Sir Robert Cecil became essential for Hakluyt, and thus he dedicated volume two and three of the second edition of the *Principal Navigations* to Cecil.¹¹²

The motivations behind the publication of *An Account of Several Late Voyages to the South and North* differ from those behind Hakluyt's. As I examine in chapter 4, this volume was a collection of the four most recent narratives to the extreme north and south, where only one of them was an English voyage: John Narborough's navigation across the Strait of Magellan. The collection did not aim to make a historical overview of the those places, nor developed the nationalistic, propagandistic tone of Hakluyt. Rather, it developed a plain style that aimed to provide a geographically and scientifically enhanced update of the northern and southern sea passages. Indeed, a geographical rather than a chronological approach prevails in the collection. Starting with the south and then the north, the Royal Society's collection opened with Narborough's voyage to the South Sea in 1669-1671, followed by Abel Tasman's voyage to present-day New Zealand in 1642, John Wood's failed attempt to find the Northeast Passage in 1676, and Friderich Marten's diary to Spitsbergen and the northern seas of Russia in 1671. My analysis on Narborough's account shows that, although most of the original account was retained, the editors introduced some modifications that show how assembling a travel collection was not simply a matter of collecting stories and printing them together in a single volume. Rather, it involved making decisions about the style and role of the accounts in the overall purpose of the collection. Likewise, the introduction of the collection, made by Fellows

¹¹² Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew, B. Harrison, and L. Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Samuel Smith and Benjamin Waldorf, highlights the intellectual and political value of the accounts stories collected in this volume and the philosophical value of geographical knowledge for humankind. Although travel collections reproduced travel accounts, analysing these composite volumes necessarily involves paying attention to all the editorial decisions beyond the accounts themselves.

“It is impossible to conceive of the world without maps”, one historian claims.¹¹³ Since this is a dissertation analysing how people imagined a place in the world, the other great corpus of documentation involves cartography.¹¹⁴ All maps tell a story; to tell a story, maps need language; the language of cartography is not written or verbal, but graphic. From this point of view, cartography is as much a “text” as are letters, drafts and travel collections. Hence, maps can and should be “read”. Textual criticism scholar Donald McKenzie has argued, “what constitutes a text is not the presence of linguistic elements but the act of construction”.¹¹⁵ Rather than merely illustrative representations, maps are social and cultural constructions of the world. However, the fact that maps have a textual character does not mean that the analysis of travel narratives and collections is transferable to maps. As Davies describes, in travel writing, descriptions of lands and peoples are “scattered across the narratives”, but in cartographic representation everything is condensed in a single image.¹¹⁶ Therefore, analysing cartography requires us to pay attention to all those elements that constitute the image and ultimately its meaning, such as symbols, colours, drawings, measurements, boundary lines, toponyms, dedications, etc. Moreover, cartographic analysis entails re-inscribing these meanings in the broader setting and context of the map’s production, looking at social processes of construction, circulation and impact.¹¹⁷

Similar to travel writing, early modern cartography not only depicted the physical landscapes encountered by Europeans, but also reflected the prevailing cultural, political, and ideological constructs of the time. In this regard, cartography contributed greatly to the formation of

¹¹³ Donald Kimball Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: Re-Writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 1.

¹¹⁴ On cartography, see Arthur Howard Robinson, *The Nature of Maps: Essays toward Understanding Maps and Mapping* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Harley and Andrews, *The New Nature of Maps*; Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Martin Dodge, *Rethinking Maps* (London: Routledge, 2009).

¹¹⁵ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 43

¹¹⁶ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, 4.

¹¹⁷ Harley and Andrews, *The New Nature of Maps*, 159. For more about deconstructing cartography, see Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London ; New York: Verso, 1989), 12.

selfhood by delineating territorial boundaries, emphasizing the reach of empires and defining national identities. A number of studies on early modern cartography show how maps were one of the many arenas in which European empires contested each other's maritime capacity and power.¹¹⁸ In this regard, Karl Schlögel has argued that "maps represent, and are instruments of, power". Maps, he remarks, "do not just represent spaces, they construct and project them; they are what turn spaces into territories".¹¹⁹ In a similar vein, J. B. Harley has examined the role of maps as instruments of political contestation: "As much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism".¹²⁰ In this regard, the drawing of British flags in Patagonia and the invention of toponyms evoking English political figures, such as "Elizabeth Island" or "Albemarle Island", put forward ambitious claims over territories legally bounded to the Spanish Empire. Likewise, maps were instrumental devices for portraying a sense of belonging and identity, reinforcing distinctions about selfhood and otherness.¹²¹ As Davies and Martínez have studied, early modern maps activated cultural discourses about humanity, the body, culture and environment.¹²² In this respect, the representation of the Patagonian indigenous peoples as societies who go around semi-naked, carrying bows and arrows and with a seemingly rudimentary material culture activated in European travellers discourses about alleged backwardness and barbarity.

As I mentioned above, this dissertation includes both manuscript and printed sources. Whether the sources involving Patagonia remained manuscript or were printed, depended if they were written or visual sources. In regards to written sources, the issue was essentially political. When the first news of Patagonia came to England, they did in an atmosphere of secrecy, so the first documentation was manuscript, aiming to remain within a small, private circle of readers. For example, chapter 1 opens with the letter that merchant Robert Thorne, based on Seville, wrote

¹¹⁸ Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific: Maps and Narratives of Spanish Exploration, 1567-1606*, *Portada Hispánica* 18 (Amsterdam New York, N.Y: Rodopi, 2005); Ricardo Padrón, *The Indies of the Setting Sun: How Early Modern Spain Mapped the Far East as the Transpacific West* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2020); Schilder and van Egmond, 'Maritime Cartography in the Low Countries during the Renaissance'; John B. Hattendorf, *'The Boundless Deep...': The European Conquest of the Oceans, 1450 to 1840: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Rare Books, Maps, Charts, Prints and Manuscripts Relating to Maritime History from the John Carter Brown Library* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 2003); Alistair S. Maer, 'The Cartography of the Sea: Mapping England's "Mastery of the Oceans"', in *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400-1800.*, ed. Craig Lambert, Steve Mentz, and Claire Jowitt, 2021.

¹¹⁹ Karl Schlögel, *In Space We Read Time: On the History of Civilization and Geopolitics*, trans. Gerrit Jackson, *Cultural Histories of the Material World* (New York: 2016), xxi.

¹²⁰ Harley and Andrews, *The New Nature of Maps*, 57.

¹²¹ Woodward, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*; David Buisseret, *The Mapmaker's Quest: Depicting New Worlds in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: University Press, 2003).

¹²² Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*; Martínez, 'Patagonia En La Edad de Oro de La Cartografía Holandesa'.

in 1527 to the English ambassador in Madrid, Dr Edward Lee. Thorne aimed for his letter to arrive to King Henry VIII via the ambassador. Although Thorne did not advocate for any action against Spain, his letter contained information that Spain aimed at keeping in secret, so printing the letter for a wider circulation could have raised suspicion and mistrust at a time when England's relationship with Spain was amicable. A similar thing happened with the projects of Richard Hakluyt in 1579-1580 (chapter 2), Simón de Caceres in 1655 and Carlos Enríquez in 1669 (both in chapter 3). They all conveyed sensitive information about England's geopolitical moves, so printing them and putting them into wider circulation could have jeopardize the colonial agenda. Hence, they remained as manuscript pieces of writing.

Nevertheless, as the sixteenth century progressed and England started gaining more prominence at sea, travel publishers printed the latest feats to boost England's international reputation and national morale. That is the case for Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* or the Royal Society's publication of Narborough's travel account. Indeed, some writings that were initially intended to be kept within a small circulation space were later printed in order to place them at the centre of the great debates surrounding expansion. Thorne's letter is a case in point. Originally written as a secretive document, Hakluyt published it in 1582 as part of his *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America*, his first printed work aimed at a large audience. The political circumstances of Hakluyt's publication were drastically different from those of Thorne's time, shifting from friendship between England and Spain to a growing rivalry. Hence, Thorne's letter now fitted a widely-established discourse of national maritime expansion. Thus, the transformation of certain documents from manuscript to print reveal the role of travel publishing in the creation of imperial propaganda.

This example could suggest that there was a correlation, on the one side, between the manuscript culture and the private sphere, and, on the other side, between the print culture and the public sphere. However, early modern English cartography demonstrates that manuscript culture was not solely a matter of privacy but also a practical one. Although England consolidated itself as a maritime power in the Elizabethan era, it was not until the second half of the following century that it developed its own printed cartography. This was not because English cartographers wanted to keep their maps secret, as was the fashion of the *Casa de Contratación*, but because they lacked the means for printing maps. Well into the seventeenth century, the English map trade based itself on Dutch cartography, whose output was famously known in Europe for its scale and sophistication. Perhaps the best example of this is William

Hack's multiple copies of his *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America* a profusely decorated atlas that he himself made by hand and copied at least 14 times between 1684-1685. Therefore, one of the contributions of this dissertation is to show the importance of manuscript sources in an era often praised for its print culture.

From loose fragments of information introduced by merchants living outside England, passing through colonial projects written by nationalistic writers and Sephardic merchants, to detailed geographic descriptions and full-blown beautifully decorated atlases, this dissertation brings together a varied corpus of documentation. The diversity of sources shows how imagination moved permanently across sea and land, among merchants, scholars, navigators and scientists. Likewise, it challenges the prevailing idea that Patagonia was seldom discussed by early modern English society.

5. Chronology and chapters

This dissertation deals with the period from the 1527 to the 1694. Historiography has set the starting point of the relationship between England and Patagonia in 1578, when Francis Drake crossed the Strait of Magellan.¹²³ Though Drake was in fact the first English seaman to navigate southern American waters, I argue that as early as 1527 Patagonia was circulating in the English imagination. The dissertation extends to the turn of the seventeenth century, when two milestones in the production of material on Patagonia took place. One was mapmaker William Hack's multiple copies of his *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America*, which he assembled copying buccaneer Basil Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner*, which in turn was a copy Ringrose made from a Spanish map book he stole during his voyage across the South Sea and Patagonia between 1680-1682. The second is the Royal Society's publication of naval captain John Narborough's travel account in 1694, the most comprehensive overview of Patagonia until then. I see these two moments as a turning point in the cartographic production of Patagonia, for from then onwards a much more precise and accurate knowledge began to develop, close to a more scientific view of the territory that in the eighteenth century would be consolidated by the science of the Enlightenment.

Chapter 1, *Gathering the New Modern World Together: Patagonia in Global Perspective (1527-1555)*, focuses on the works of two merchants, Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow, and

¹²³ Williams, *Great South Sea*, 13; Mateo Martinic, *Los británicos en la Región Magallánica* (Valparaíso: Editorial Puntágeles y Universidad de Playa Ancha, 2007), 15.

one translator, Richard Eden. Between the 1520s and the 1550s, they produced the first images of Patagonia in the English world. These images were not many, neither were they comprehensive. They were bits of information scattered in different works, written by authors who targeted audiences different from the travellers and their accounts. This shows that the process of imagining Patagonia involved more people than just navigators. Despite being fragmentary information, I argue that they placed Patagonia in a global perspective, as they were part of a larger effort in Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century to bring the different pieces of the new modern world together. This chapter examines how Patagonia began to feature in global connections through the circulation of information among merchants and scholars.

Chapter 2, *Richard Hakluyt's Reinvention of Patagonia: a Periphery for the English Empire (1579-1580)*, moves forward into the sixteenth century, analysing the famous armchair traveller Richard Hakluyt. This chapter focuses on one of his lesser-known writings, a proposal for a colony in the Strait of Magellan (1578-9). I argue that Hakluyt viewed in Patagonia's peripherality an opportunity to challenge the Spanish Empire. Moreover, Hakluyt reinforced Patagonia's peripherality by proposing to populate the colony with people from the margins of English society – convicts and Maroons. I analyse the relationship between centre-periphery through the analysis of ideas related to race-building, selfhood and otherness. This chapter contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the power of imagination in colonial ambitions.

Chapter 3, *Patagonia on hold: Sephardic merchants, shared imaginaries and colonial projects (1655-1669)*, examines the reasons that drove England away from Patagonia, but also the reception of Dutch material in seventeenth-century England. I focus on two Sephardic Jewish merchants from Amsterdam living in London, who brought with them into England detailed knowledge about the Dutch colonization of Brazil promising it would enhance England's expansion in the South Sea. I argue that, aware of their intermediate position between the England, the Netherlands and by extension South America, they acted as transmitters of colonial ideas at their convenience. This chapter works as a historical hinge between chapters 1-2 and chapters 4-5, since there were no English voyages to Patagonia between 1594 and 1669, it shows that Patagonia continued to linger in the English imagination. This chapter contributes to the history of cross-cultural entanglements in the design and imagination of imperial projects.

Chapter 4, *Baconian science in the periphery: Knowledge and Power in the Voyage of John Narborough (1691-1694)*, looks at England's return to Patagonia. I argue that John Narborough actively engaged with a prevailing epistemological Baconian framework, viewing Patagonia as a "venue of science" where he could exercise emerging practices in scientific inquiry, such as systematic observation, repeated experimentation, attempted accuracy, as well as skills to draw visual geographical records. I examine Narborough's employment of "internal techniques" and the subsequent "external endorsement" given by the Royal Society. I also argue that Narborough's representation of the Patagonians as "savages" shows the permanence of marvellous tropes even in the seventeenth-century scientific discourse. Rather than the replacement of the marvellous discourse for a more scientific one, wonder and science reshaped their relationship. This chapter studies the relationship between science and power at the time of the scientific revolution and England's return to the South Sea.

Chapter 5, *A "Biopirate" Atlas: Buccaneers and Mapmakers (1682-1685)* examines the voyage of buccaneer Bartholomew Sharp in the South Sea, the first English buccaneering incursion in those waters. This chapter analyses the navigator-state relationship by paying attention to the problematic nature but convenient use of buccaneers within the imperial machinery. "Biopirates" engaged actively in the construction of geographical knowledge and thus became crucial agents of science and power, especially in regions where the Crown could not easily reach. I focus on the buccaneer Basil Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* (1682) and the subsequent copies mapmaker William Hack made of it in the form of an atlas, the *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America* (1684-1685). Hack's lavishly decorated copies show how Patagonia now featured in the English imagination as a strategic place for transoceanic expansion, while showing transformations in English mapmaking. Similar to Chapter 4, this chapter studies the relationship between science and power but now in relation to buccaneers.

The chapters are organised chronologically, showing how Patagonia slowly appeared on the English world map. From small fragments of information introduced by merchants, the dissertation closes with English-made atlases relating only to the South Sea. The frontispiece of the 1766 version of Lloyd's poem (Fig.1) shows how Patagonia continued to evoke a sense of adventure in the eighteenth century, and so it represents the underlying question of this dissertation: how the geographic borders of Patagonia vanished in the canvas of the English imagination.

Chapter 1

Patagonia in global perspective: gathering the pieces altogether (1527-1555)

1. Introduction

Patagonia was not a target in England's geography of expansion, but from 1527 to 1555 fragments of information concerning the southernmost tip of the Americas entered the country, outlining the first edges of what Patagonia would evoke in the English imagination. Imperial and maritime histories overlook this period as they have fixed the starting point of England's history with Patagonia on the voyage of Francis Drake (1577-1580) since he was the first English navigator to sail it, falling into what Hadfield calls the "teleological reading" of colonial literature. Though Drake rightly deserves the attention that historiography has given him, his voyage represents only part of the relationship England and Patagonia developed during the sixteenth century.

This chapter examines how Patagonia entered England's imagination by focusing on three Englishmen who never sailed to it: the merchants Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow, and the translator Richard Eden. Thorne and Barlow belonged to a small group of English merchants living in Seville in the 1520s. Their knowledge of the world was rather commercial and came from a mixture of geography and the experiences that merchants returning to Seville reported from their travels. They wrote at a time when Anglo-Spanish relations were peaceful and friendly, which does not mean that they were not alert to commercial opportunities arising from Spanish colonial expansion. On the contrary, they emphasised the benefits of commercial expansion beyond Europe. Eden, on the other hand, was a scholar with intellectual interest and background. His knowledge of the world combined cosmographic theories of the ancient world with the most recent encounters concerning America. In contrast to Thorne and Barlow, he wrote from England and in a context of an alliance with Spain, albeit an alliance recognised by his contemporaries as fragile and circumstantial. More than advocating for any sort of expansion, Eden put into vernacular language the most recent works concerning the Americas and cosmography. In this chapter, I focus on Thorne's "Book" (1527), Barlow's *Brief Summe of Geographie* (1541), and Eden's *Treatise of the Newe India* (1553) and *Decades* (1555). Their works show that the relationship between distant territories and Europe was based not only on what navigators saw *in situ*, but also on what merchants and scholars imagined *ex situ*.

I argue that Patagonia did not enter the English imagination in isolation, but with reference to an expanding geography of commerce and ongoing debates of Renaissance Europe regarding the ontology of the inhabitants of the Americas. The writings of these three characters show the economic, political and cultural aspects of England's early imperial aspirations. Overlooking the role they played in the construction of imagined geographies may lead to an incomplete understanding of how Europeans ascribed meanings and ideas to distant territories. Thorne, Barlow and Eden not only were receptive to the information travellers brought from overseas but also processed, interpreted, and disseminated it, shaping the collective geographical imagination of their societies. Their influence, therefore, must be acknowledged to fully understand the process of imagining Patagonia in the early modern period. Ultimately, this chapter aims to examine an overlooked period in Patagonian studies. By establishing connections between the commercial and literary contexts of sixteenth-century England, I explore how early imperial ambitions, initial voyages to North America, and intellectual desire to engage with Continental Europe, shaped the English imagination of Patagonia.

The first time England navigated the deep southern waters was in the context of rivalry with Spain. As a result, histories about England and Patagonia begin with Francis Drake's voyage (1577–1580) overlooking the period before. In a few succinct lines, Mateo Martinic and Hamish Stewart have described Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow as a reflection of England's "early interest" in the southern regions of America but they fail to explain what kind of interest this was and whether it extended beyond the merchants.¹ The little attention paid to these figures in Patagonian studies is not due to a lack of rigorous research, but rather to the prominence that political and military histories overshadowing the role of merchants. Anglophone studies have also tended to begin with Drake, although they have paid somewhat more attention to the context that preceded him. For maritime historians Glynn Williams and Peter Bradley, knowledge of the South Sea entered England through various avenues apart from navigation, such as cartography, geographical treatises, official documents, and letters.² Nevertheless, the protagonists of their works are navigators.³

¹ Martinic, *Los británicos en la Región Magallánica*, 13. Stewart and Cabello, 'Los Británicos En El Estrecho de Magallanes: 1550-1808', 15–16

² Williams, *Great South Sea*, 13–15; Peter Bradley, *British Maritime Enterprise*, 333–41.

³ This approach is well reflected on Williams' chapter "'The World encompassed': Drake and his successors", where Drake's voyage clearly marks a before and after. Williams, *Great South Sea*

The extent to which these merchants were involved in political affairs of both England and Spain is a matter that has been broadly discussed by prominent empire historians. While scholars such as E. G. R. Taylor, Gordon Connell-Smith and Kenneth Andrews acknowledge that merchants had certain political capacity within the Spanish imperial infrastructure and consequently in Spanish America, others such as D. B. Quinn and Anthony MacFarlane regard them as secondary actors within the flourishing Spanish trade in the Americas. In a seminal overview, Taylor reconstructed the extent of a small yet influential circle of English merchants living in Seville in the 1520s. She argues that Thorne and Barlow belonged to a “circle of men very prominent in English affairs, a circle with which Ministers of the Crown kept in close touch”, suggesting that their scope of interests was far from purely commercial.⁴ Connell-Smith looked at the political ties of the Seville group and claimed that the English group operated within the Spanish political structure, participating in the empire’s maritime affairs and, consequently, developing the first commercial interactions between England and Spanish America.⁵ He even characterises the early 1520s as “the most prosperous years enjoyed by the English merchants trading to Spain in the Tudor period”.⁶ Andrews also regards the 1520s as prosperous years for English trade, although for distinct reasons. At a time when a new world was now revealed to Europeans, English geographical knowledge advanced at a “snail’s pace”.⁷ Hence, he regarded Barlow, who joined Sebastian Cabot’s voyage to the Strait of Magellan in 1526, as an exceptional figure within England’s maritime development at the time. Andrews addresses the Seville group to explain the early history of England’s maritime expansion, so he regards them as fragments of a wider story.

While Quinn conceded that the English merchants of Seville were “penetrating legally the trade of the Spanish Indies”, he kept his attention on North America, overlooking the global approach both Thorne and Barlow developed in their trading projects.⁸ In a similar vein, McFarlane argues that during the first half of the sixteenth century, English merchants “were more interested in trade with Europe than the exploration and development of new commercial routes”. It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that English merchants “sought to take advantage of the burgeoning colonial trades of the Iberian powers as parasites on the commerce of Spain and Portugal”.⁹ Evan Jones, Heather Dalton and Maria Grove-Gordillo

⁴ Roger Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), xxiii.

⁵ Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, 31–55.

⁶ Connell-Smith, 60.

⁷ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement*, 57.

⁸ Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620*, 160.

⁹ Anthony MacFarlane, *The British in the Americas, 1480-1815* (London: Longman, 1994), 15–16.

have recently challenged Quinn and McFarlane's opinions. Jones argues that the Seville group was "more interested in profiting from the new wealth of Spain and its American colonies" than following up England's early ventures in the North Atlantic.¹⁰ Dalton nuances Jones view, claiming that "although the English were not significantly attracted to the Americas until the second half of the sixteenth century, there were individuals like Barlow and Cabot who had a knowledge of the Atlantic world and its opportunities that was extraordinary for the first half of the sixteenth century".¹¹ Grove-Gordillo's studies on specific English merchants in early-sixteenth-century Seville show the active role of an increasingly compelling network attentive to the opportunities of trade between Spain, England and the Americas.¹²

Another space for news about the New World to circulate was the intellectual world of scholars and translators. Historians have commonly regarded Richard Eden as the first populariser of the Americas in England, anticipating Richard Hakluyt's famous *Principal Navigations*.¹³ However, two things set them apart. First, they wrote in very different contexts. Eden wrote during Mary's reign and his work is in many ways a product of the political alliance between England and Spain. Hakluyt, on the other hand, wrote in the midst of Elizabeth's war with Spain. The radically different political climates in which these men worked had a major impact upon Eden's vision of Spain and of how England should undertake imperial expansion. Secondly, Eden made a "hodgepodge" regarding the Americas, putting together chronicles and histories with not much relation to each other.¹⁴ Instead, Hakluyt assembled the *Principal Navigations* with a clear nationalistic tone, assembling a much more coherent collection of voyages. Eden multiplies the confusion by including ambivalent and contradictory information

¹⁰ Evan Jones, 'The Matthew of Bristol and the Financiers of John Cabot's 1497 Voyage to North America', *The English Historical Review* CXXI, no. 492 (2006): 778–95; Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange, 1500-1560*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

¹¹ Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers*, 5.

¹² Grove-Gordillo, 'El papel de la comunidad mercantil inglesa en la industria del jabón en el Reino de Sevilla', in *Hacer Historia Moderna: Líneas actuales y futuras de investigación. V encuentro de jóvenes investigadores de la FEHM* (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2020), pp. 346–361; Grove-Gordillo, 'Mercaderes Ingleses En Sevilla: La Liquidación de La Empresa Comercial de Tomás Mallart, 1523', in *A la sombra de las catedrales: cultura, poder y guerra en la Edad Moderna*, coord. Cristina Borreguero Beltrán, Oscar R. Melgosa Oter, Ángela Pereda López, Asunción Retortillo Atienza (Burgos: Universidad de Burgos, 2021), 1881–1893; Grove-Gordillo, 'El puerto de Cádiz en el entramado comercial anglo-castellano (1545-1560)' in *Ciudades y puertos de Andalucía en un Atlántico global, siglos XVI-XVIII*, coord. José Jaime García Bernal, Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez, Isabel María Melero Muñoz (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla 2022), 41–64.

¹³ John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), 44–45; Loren Pennington, 'The Origins of English Promotional Literature for America, 1553-1625' (University of Michigan, 1962), 18–41; Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing*, 87. For a literature discussion on Hakluyt, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation

¹⁴ Pennington, 'The Origins of English Promotional Literature for America, 1553-1625', 27.

about Patagonia, complicating the ethnographic knowledge of the region. While it is true that both authors were the first to put into vernacular language the maritime feats of the sixteenth century, it may be misleading to situate Hakluyt and Eden under the umbrella of a single, unified colonial idea of English colonialism.

In a thorough biographical essay, David Gwyn examined Eden's career identifying two dualities that marked his life.¹⁵ The first one regards Eden's dual work as an alchemist and a translator of cosmography. As Gwyn has argued, the Eden family was interested in finding ways to generate gold, so the chronicles and natural histories of America soon came to Eden's attention, especially after the foundation of Potosí, Bolivia, in 1541.¹⁶ The second duality stems from his work as a translator. As a supporter of the union between Queen Mary I and King Philip II, the great majority of Eden's translations were Spanish works, making him an intellectual hinge between England and Spain. This middle position has caused among scholars much debate regarding whether Eden wanted the English audience to support or defy the Iberian monopoly on the Americas.¹⁷ John Parker states that "There can be no doubt of Eden's strong nationalistic spirit".¹⁸ However, Gwyn refers to him as "weak and vacillating" before Mary and Philip's union.¹⁹ Claire Jowitt sees him as a "Protestant Spy", attentive to Spain's move due to his hinge position and astute enough to satirize through encoded metaphors the royal couple.²⁰ While it is very difficult to assert Eden's real political loyalties, and despite the tensions that were beginning to emerge between England and Spain, it is certain that Spain was a model of imperial expansion in the pre-Elizabethan era. Thus, entangled in questions of nationhood and expansion, Eden's translations opened England's eyes to the possibilities offered by maritime expansion.

This chapter begins with an overview of the Magellan-Elcano voyage, focusing on the aspects most relevant to this dissertation to see how England reacted to them. I look at encounter with Patagonians at San Julian, the navigation of the Strait of Magellan and their return to Spain having accomplished the first circumnavigating in history. I move then to analysing Robert

¹⁵ David Gwyn, 'Richard Eden Cosmographer and Alchemist', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15, N°1 (1984): 13.

¹⁶ Gwyn, 18.

¹⁷ Michael G. Brennan, 'The Texts of Peter Martyr's De Orbe Novo Decades (1504-1628): A Response to Andrew Hadfield', *Connotations* 6, N°2 (1996): 227-; Claire Jowitt, "'Monsters and Strange Births': The Politics of Richard Eden: A Response to Andrew Hadfield", *Connotations* 6, N°1 (1996): 51-; Brennan, 'The Texts of Peter Martyr's De Orbe Novo Decades (1504-1628)'; Anthony Pagden, 'Peter Martyr and Richard Eden: A Letter', *Connotations* 6, N°1 (1996): 65-66.

¹⁸ Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 44.

¹⁹ Gwyn, 'Richard Eden Cosmographer and Alchemist', 34.

²⁰ Gwyn, 34; Jowitt, "'Monsters and Strange Births'", 54.

Thorne and Roger Barlow, studying how they saw Patagonia as they searched for useful trade routes for England. Finally, the chapter addresses Richard Eden's translations and his representation of Patagonia. By analysing these three authors, I challenge dominant narratives about Patagonia in the English milieu. I demonstrate how Patagonia entered the European imagination before Drake sailed and before England even considered it as a colonial target. In doing so, I attempt to avoid Hadfield's concern about a teleological reading.

2. The Magellan-Elcano voyage (1519-1522)

In the 1490s, Portugal and Spain sought to split the world by means of bulls and treaties. The partition occurred first in 1493, when Pope Alexander VI promulgated the bull *Inter caetera*, also known as the Bull of Demarcation. The Pope established that, starting from a line drawn one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, everything discovered east of that meridian line belonged to Portugal and west to Spain. As a consequence, the Cape of Good Hope, until then a well-known maritime passage that connected with the East, remained in Portuguese hands. The following year, 1494, the Treaty of Tordesillas moved the demarcation line 370 leagues to the west, leaving Brazil under Portuguese rule.²¹

In 1518, the Portuguese navigator, Ferdinand Magellan, proposed to Emperor Charles V that Spain challenge Portugal's monopoly by searching for an alternative passage to the East via the south-west. Magellan's plan supposed an unprecedented nautical and cosmographic challenge. At the time, Spain had only explored a few Caribbean islands, the coasts of Central America and northern Brazil. It was unknown to Europeans how much the American continent extended beyond that. In 1513, Vasco Núñez de Balboa sighted for the first time the Pacific Ocean, or the Mar del Sur as he called it. Although Balboa recognised that the body of water in front of him was an ocean, he did not know its size and extension. The furthest south a European had navigated was the River Plate, when Juan Díaz de Solís reached Punta del Este (Uruguay) in 1516. How much the South Sea extended to the East and the Americas to the south was a mystery in the years before Magellan's undertaking. It was also enigmatic what kind of people inhabited the south and what kind of resources existed in the region. Cosmographically, Magellan's route challenged directly the ancient cosmographer Ptolemy,

²¹ For an overview of Bull of Demarcation and the Tordesillas Treaty, see Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific*, 71; H. Vander Linden, 'Alexander VI. and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494', *The American Historical Review* 22, N°1 (1916), 1. For both documents in English, see Gottschalk, *Earliest Diplomatic Documents on America*.

who argued that a landlocked ocean existed south of the equator. Although Ptolemy had no certainty about this, his authority was highly regarded by early modern cosmographers.²² Magellan thus not only broke the Portuguese monopoly on the Spice Islands, but also proved Ptolemy's theory wrong, transforming the course of both the Spanish empire and world history.

The “Armada de Molucca”, the official name of the expedition, sailed from Sanlúcar de Berrameda, Cádiz, on August 1519 with 5 ships and 239 men on board. More people joined later in the Canary Islands and Brazil, comprising finally 265 men.²³ Among the crew were mostly Spaniards but also Portuguese, Italians from Genoa, Lombardy and Sicily, Greeks from Rhodes and one Englishman, all sailing under the flag of the Spanish Empire. It is easy to forget how miscellaneous and diverse the crews were when we refer to the voyages as enterprises of the “Spanish” or “English” empire. Seafarers and merchants often crossed national and cultural borders in search of commercial opportunities.²⁴ Magellan arrived in Santa Lucia Bay (now Rio de Janeiro) on November 13 and continued navigating southwards along the Argentinean coastline. On 31 March 1520, Magellan reached San Julián Bay, where he decided to overwinter before continuing further south. In San Julián, chronicler Antonio Pigafetta recorded one of the most famous episodes of the voyage. One day, he claimed, “without anyone expecting it, we saw a giant... He was so tall that the tallest of us only came up to his waist”.²⁵ According to Pigafetta, Magellan called the giants “Patagonians” and their land “Patagonia”, but the chronicler did not explain the reason behinds the captain's naming. Historians agree that it probably came from the popular Spanish Golden Age chivalric romance *Primaleón* published in 1512 by an anonymous author in which there was a giant called “Patagón”.²⁶

Since ancient times, Europeans imagined those who lived outside the known world, the *ecumene*, as different. Those who lived inside the *ecumene* called themselves “civilised” and called the ones who lived outside “barbarians”. These concepts ascribed sense to complex notions about “me” and “you”, “us” and “them”. Originally, the term “barbarian” was used in a linguistic and ethnocentric sense to designate foreign peoples due to their alleged guttural

²² Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography,’ in *Cartography in the European Renaissance* vol. 3, ed. David Woodward, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 342–44.

²³ Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*, I, 144.

²⁴ Francesca Trivellato, ‘Introduction: The Historical and Comparative Study of Cross-Cultural Trade’, in *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000-1900*, ed. Francesca Trivellato, Leor Halevi, and Catia Antunes (Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–23.

²⁵ Antonio Pigafetta, *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan: Transl. from the Accounts of Pigafetta and Other Contemporary Writers*, ed. Henry Morton Stanley (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 49.

²⁶ Magasich-Airola and Beer, *America Magica*, 177; Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 154.

language (bar, bar, bar) as opposed to a more fluent and pleasant language. However, over the centuries the term broadened and became increasingly complex, incorporating other dimensions of human life, such as politics, religion, behaviour, material culture and geographical location. As it happens with the terms “centre” and “periphery,” “civilisation” and “barbarism” are social constructs whose meaning can change depending where we stand.²⁷

In the early modern period, the term “barbarian” evoked a sense of marvel and monstrosity.²⁸ Based on the *Historia naturalis* of the first-century scholar, Pliny the Elder, and the *Etimologies* of seventh-century scholar, Isidore of Seville, Renaissance scholars argued that beyond the borders of the ecumene, the world was populated by fantastic creatures: Cynocephali (dog-headed people), Sciapods (one-foot people), Blemmyies (headless people) and giants. Late-Roman scholar Macrobius added a climatological dimension to the question. He divided the world into five climatic zones: the hottest was to be found around the equator, the coldest at the poles, with the temperate zones between them. It was believed that only the temperate zones could host civilised life, whereas the polar and torrid zones were either inhospitable or inhabited by savage, monstrous creatures.²⁹ Early modern travellers reinforced the belief on monstrous creatures by claiming they had encountered them, as Pigafetta did with the Patagonians. The encounters between Europeans and the indigenous peoples of the Americas raised all sorts of ontological questions about the population of the world. What was the nature of these beings? Were they human or monstrous? How did they fit in the tapestry of humanity?

In Renaissance Europe, giants evoked various symbolic and moralistic meanings, raising a number of ontological possibilities concerning their place in humanity.³⁰ According to certain oriental myths, giants were a monstrous race who lived in the world before humans.³¹ In Assyrian, Babylonian, and Sumerian mythology, Humbaba or Huwawa was an anthropomorphic creature, often compared to an ogre, a demon or a giant. The tradition appears

²⁷ Brown and Humberstone, *Seascapes*; Maria Boletsi and Christian Moser, eds., *Barbarism Revisited: New Perspectives on an Old Concept* (Leiden: Brill 2015); Todorov, *The Conquest of America*; Kathy Lavezzo, ‘Complex Identities: Selves and Others’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne (Oxford University Press, 2012), 434–56.

²⁸ Juan Gil, *Mitos y Utopías Del Descubrimiento* (Madrid: Alianza, 1989); Magasich-Airola and Beer, *America Magica*; Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*.

²⁹ Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 19–53; Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 23–46.

³⁰ For an overview about giants in different mythologies, religions and cultures, see Theresa Bane, *Encyclopedia of Giants and Humanoids in Myth, Legend and Folklore* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2016).

³¹ Henryk Drawnel, ‘The Mesopotamian Background of the Enochic Giants and Evil Spirits’, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 21, N°1 (2014): 14–38.

as well in some of the founding myths of Greek antiquity and some episodes of the Old Testament.³² In Ancient Greek mythology, *Titanomachy* or *Gigantomachy* evoked the time when the Titans, a race of gigantic beings, ruled the world. As for the Old Testament, some theologians argued that giants were antediluvian, for no other human survived the Flood besides Noah and his family. Others, instead, posited that some giants could have survived the Flood as they would have climbed the tallest mountains and thrust their nostrils above sea level for forty days and forty nights.³³ Different versions vary to some extent but ultimately agree that giants were displaced to the margins of the world, both metaphorically and geographically. The centre was thus associated with human life, a space of order and civility, while the margins became the space of chaos and barbarism.³⁴ The tradition would spread beyond the boundaries of Hellenic and biblical culture. The *Romance of Alexander*, the *Book of John Mandeville* and the *Divisament dou monde* (Description of the World) of Marco Polo, are testimony to the prominence of giants in medieval travel writing.

In addition to mythological explanations, Classical humoralism supported this belief.³⁵ According to this theory, all bodies were composed of a balance of four humours: blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile. Each humour was related to one of the four elements (air, water, earth and fire, respectively), and was either hot (blood and yellow bile) or cold (phlegm and black bile). In the first century, Pliny the Elder argued in his *Historia Naturalis* that minds and bodies were shaped by their environment, so extreme environmental conditions could cause “physical and mental changes to people and their offspring” as it could alter the balance between environment, humours and temperature.³⁶

In these traditions, giants often appear in confusing and contradictory ways regarding their location, appearance, height, and relationship to humanity. While in some versions the giants

³² Debbie Felton, ‘Rejecting and Embracing the Monstrous in Ancient Greece and Rome’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle. (London: Ashgate, 2017), 106–11.

³³ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 31–32; Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1999), 20–21.

³⁴ François Hartog, ‘Barbarians: From the Ancient to the New World’, in *Barbarism Revisited: New Perspectives on an Old Concept*, 31–44; François Hartog and Janet Lloyd, *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001).

³⁵ Classical humoralism is commonly associated with the fifth century BCE physician Hippocrates but Aristotle and Galen are also considered proponents of this theory. Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1990), 102–6; Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1973), 80–115.

³⁶ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 151.

are bad-tempered, aggressive and evil, in others they evoke an image similar to that of the good savage. At some moments, the Patagonians evoked monstrosity but others they appeared innocent and naïve. The crew approached the Patagonians and tried to establish some trade with them, Pigafetta said: “The captain caused food and drink to be given to this giant, then they showed him some things, amongst others, a steel mirror. When the giant saw his likeness in it, he was greatly terrified, leaping backwards, and made three or four of our men fall down. After that the captain gave him two bells, a mirror, a comb, and a chaplet of beads”.³⁷ Pigafetta’s description is one of the many encounters with indigenous people that Europeans depicted in term of innocence, showing an overlapping vision about the inhabitants of the Americas that would endure well into the late modern period.³⁸

A combination of myths and classical traditions informed elite and popular notions of late medieval and Renaissance cosmography, so when Magellan encountered the Patagonians in 1520, he awoke a long-standing reminiscence of giants living at the edges of the world. At the time of the circumnavigation, Patagonia was indeed the southernmost reach of earth to be visited by Europeans. What Magellan observed were likely Tehuelche people, a branch of the large complex of indigenous peoples that inhabited southern Argentina and Tierra del Fuego.³⁹ In Renaissance culture, the Patagonians bore three hallmarks of the giant tradition: they seemed from a pre-human time, all Patagonians shared an unusual inherited characteristic, and they lived in extreme cold regions very far from Europe. As Davies argues, “these features suggested that Patagonia’s giants were not isolated, accidental, monstrous births but rather the object of a wide-ranging force that had rendered them monstrous”.⁴⁰ Magellan thus had a number of interpretative frameworks that he could use as he encountered the Patagonians. The encounter at San Julian gave birth to a prolific legend that circulated widely in early modern Europe that reflected through travel accounts, natural histories, maps and engraving. Spanish chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo even put a figure on the issue, claiming that

³⁷ Pigafetta, *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan*, 50–51.

³⁸ Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001); David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

³⁹ Osteo-archaeological evidence shows that the Tehuelche were around 1.80 metres tall, while a sixteenth-century European was around 1.60 metres tall on average. Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*, I:205; Alejandra Pero, ‘The Tehuelche of Patagonia as Chronicled by Travelers and Explorers in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives on the Native Peoples of Pampa, Patagonia, and Tierra Del Fuego to the Nineteenth Century*, (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 2002), 104–5.

⁴⁰ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 151.

Patagonians measured 13 hands, or 2.86 metres.⁴¹ In 1591, English navigator Anthony Knyvet (or Knivet), claimed that the Patagonians were of fifteen or sixteen “spans of height” based on footprints he saw in the ground and bones he observed in a burial site.⁴²

The belief in giants lingered well into the eighteenth century, as shown on the frontispiece of John Byron’s printed account from his voyage to Patagonia (1764) (Fig.4). In a classic study by Percy G. Adams, the author showed how, despite some sceptical voices, travel accounts, newspapers and letters published in prestigious media, such as the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, helped to spread the legend of the gigantic Patagonians even at the height of the Enlightenment.⁴³ Increasingly detailed and specific reports – trademarks of the emerging ‘new science’ – contributed to the legend being conceived by modern Europeans as fact. In 1766, Charles Clarke, an officer who went aboard the *Dolphin* with Byron, wrote a letter to Fellow Dr. Mathew Maty in which he described the Patagonians as people of “extraordinary size (...) men are certainly nine feet if they don’t exceed it. The commodore, who is very near six foot, could but just reach the top of one of their heads (...) women, I believe, run from to 7½ to 8”.⁴⁴ Clarke’s letter was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, which not only showed the endorsement of the Royal Society to such claim but also the prevalence of the legend in the eighteenth century.

After five months overwintering in San Julian, Magellan resumed his navigation and on November 1, 1520, they found the desired passage that connected the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean. Magellan named it “Strait de Todos los Santos”, according to the saints’ calendar.⁴⁵ Emperor Charles V renamed “Strait of Magellan” after the return of the Armada de Molucca, in honour of the navigator. The only thing Magellan saw on the southern border of the Strait were some bonfires, which he suspected had been lit by the inhabitants of those shores. He named this land “Tierra del Fuego” (Land of Fire), the name that remains in use.⁴⁶ After 28

⁴¹ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural de Las Indias*, ed. José Amador de los Ríos (Madrid: Imprenta Real Academia de la Historia), 56–57.

⁴² Knivet’s account was published by Samuel Purchas as ‘The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet’, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, ed. Samuel Purchas, 4 vols (1625), 4:1201–42. I have used here a recent edition, see Vivien Kogut Lessa de Sá, ed., *The Admirable Adventures and Strange Fortunes of Master Anthony Knivet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 132.

⁴³ Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Liars. 1660-1800* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), 19–43.

⁴⁴ Clarke, ‘An Account of the Very Tall Men, Seen near the Streights of Magellan, in the Year 1764, by the Equipage of the Dolphin Man of War, under the Command of the Hon. Commodore Byron; in a Letter from Mr. Charles Clarke, Officer on Board the Said Ship, to M. Maty, M. D. Sec. R. S’, 76–78.

⁴⁵ Pigafetta, *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan*, 6.

⁴⁶ Pigafetta, 9.

days navigating across the passage, the Armada de Molucca entered the South Sea, opening a new gateway for Europeans to navigate to the East. The crew returned to Sanlúcar in September 1522 with almost 90% of human loss. Of the 265 men who took part in the expedition, only 36 survived. Magellan was not one of them. On April 27, 1521, he was killed in a skirmish among rival tribes in Mactan, Philippines and so the Spanish navigator, Sebastian Elcano, finished the voyage. After three years navigating across the oceans of the world thus was completed the first circumnavigation in history. Back in Spain, the few survivors were rapidly summoned to give declarations in Valladolid. Emperor Charles V, authorities from his immediate circle, scholars and some of the most prominent merchants in Spain attended the interviews. The survivors confirmed that Magellan's route was extremely hazardous, but useful. The Strait of Magellan showed two possibilities that from now on would dominate European thinking about the Pacific: a continuous sea passage from the Atlantic into the South Sea, and a way to the Spice Islands different from the Cape of Good Hope.



Figure 4. Frontispiece of *A voyage round the world, in His Majesty's ship the Dolphin, commanded by the honourable Commodore Byron*, printed for M. Cooper, in Pater-noster Row, London, 1767.

3. News of the first circumnavigation in history reach English ears.

A painting attributed to the Spanish painter Alonso Sánchez Coello depicts the hustle and bustle of sixteenth-century Seville (Fig.5). Both on water and on land everything is in motion. On the Guadalquivir River, moored and incoming ships reflect the riches that have entered and continue to enter the Spanish port. On land, goods are unloaded in a city with a prominent skyline. Along with goods, news, legends and the most incredible stories of a newly discovered world entered Europe. A bustling market, skirmishes, pedestrians, carriages, and horses raise a cloud of dust that evoke the noise and movement of a busy port. Thus, sixteenth-century Seville, Europe's commercial heart, was a privileged place for merchants like Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow to hear the news of the first circumnavigation in history.



Figure 5. View of the city of Seville attributed to Alonso Sánchez Coello. Late sixteenth century. Prado Museum. <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/vista-de-la-ciudad-de-sevilla/df3adb65-3fbd-4438-8c06-d75e8685f117>

Robert Thorne (1492-1532) was a member of a Bristol family very well-established in Seville since the late fifteenth century. Following his father's footsteps, Thorne became involved in the sugar and woad⁴⁷ business with the Canaries and the Azores, as well as in the fish trade with Iceland.⁴⁸ Thorne was also a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, the London tailors' guild, which enabled him to maintain a useful network in the English capital while living in Spain.⁴⁹ As a merchant involved in international trade and participant of various trading circles, Thorne was deeply aware of the importance of voyages for the opening of new markets. Hence, in 1526, he invested 1,400 ducats in an expedition that sought to imitate the exploits of Magellan and Elcano by following the route of the southern passage.⁵⁰ This voyage involved Roger Barlow, who I will examine later in this chapter. In 1527, while Barlow sailed southern waters, Thorne sent a letter to Dr Edward Lee, the English ambassador in Madrid, urging the English nation to seek a new route to the East. Thorne's recipient reveals the prominence of the circle in which he moved and the possible influence he had on it.

The original letter is now lost but there are three copies of it: from 1535, 1577 and 1580. The 1535 letter is a copy of the original and it is preserved at Hatfield House; the 1577 would have been made for or by John Dee and came into possession of Cyprian Lucar, an English author who was apprenticed to Thorne when the letter was written; and the 1580 copy is included among the Landsowne manuscripts.⁵¹ The letter remained unpublished until 1582, when the famous Elizabethan cosmographer, Richard Hakluyt, made a copy of it which he included in his *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoveries of America and the Islands*, published in London in 1582. Hakluyt used the 1577 copy, as he states in the introduction, which is the one I am using in this chapter. Thorne's letter began with a general description of the world, indicating the treasures of the East and the existing routes known at the time. Thorne explained that the Portuguese reached Asia via the Cape of Good Hope, while the Spanish did so via the "Estrecho de todos los Sanctos", the passage recently discovered by Magellan.⁵² He also explained that each nation had sovereignty over these passages, as Spain and Portugal had "deuided the

⁴⁷ Woad, also known as dyer's woad or *glastum*, is a flowering plant formerly grown as a source of the blue dye indigo.

⁴⁸ Robert C. D. Baldwin, 'Thorne, Robert, the Younger (c. 1460–1519)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁹ Davies and Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*.

⁵⁰ Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, xxix.

⁵¹ For further reference about the copies of the letter see Barlow, xxvi–xxvii.

⁵² Robert Thorne, 'The Booke Made By The Right Worshipful Master Robert Thome, in the Yeere 1527', in *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt*, ed. John Winter Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 38.

worlde betweene them", referring to the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494.⁵³ Given that the Iberian nations controlled the southern passages, Thorne proposed seeking an alternative route to the East "sayling Northwarde and passing the pole" from "the Newe founded Ilands we discovered".⁵⁴ The idea was not entirely new, for in 1497 the Italian navigator John Cabot sailed from Bristol, with King Henry VII's patent, to seek a route north of the island of Newfoundland via the pole.

In this manner, Thorne's project proposed to take up Cabot's project. Firstly, because, unlike the southern passages, England had some experience in northern navigation, referring to the navigations of the 1490s and particularly to Cabot. Secondly, because according to Thorne's own calculations, the northern route "shoulde bee much more shorter way than eyther the Spaniardes or the Portingales".⁵⁵ Lastly, because in Thorne's view, there was "no land uninhabitable no Sea innavigable", depicting England as a prominent maritime nation.⁵⁶ The reasons given by Thorne are those of a merchant attentive to the economic possibilities of overseas exploration, but also those of a person aware of the political impact that this route could have for England, anticipating the spirit of overseas expansion in the Elizabethan era.

To reinforce his proposal, Thorne gave a detailed description of the world and its parts, explaining how to measure distances from longitudes and latitudes according to the Ptolemaic system.⁵⁷ He also included a world map showing some of the places mentioned in the letter. The original manuscript of the map has not yet been found, but Hakluyt included a copy along with the letter when he published them in *Divers Voyages* (Fig. 6). Mateo Martinic argues that Thorne's map would be the first world map of "English manufacture", which might explain why Hakluyt decided to include it in his work.⁵⁸ While in Europe, Africa and Asia we can see cities and countries, only a few landmarks appear in the Americas, showing the early stage of New World geographical knowledge in 1527 England and Europe more generally.

⁵³ Thorne, 44.

⁵⁴ Thorne, 48.

⁵⁵ Thorne, 48.

⁵⁶ Thorne, 50.

⁵⁷ Gautier Dalché, 'The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography'.

⁵⁸ Martinic, *Cartografía Magallánica 1523-1945*, 20.

passages to the East, one via the Strait of Magellan and another via the Cape Horn.⁵⁹ The voyage was a milestone for Patagonian navigation, as it confirmed that Tierra del Fuego was an island and not a projection of the legendary Terra Australis. It also confirmed how far south the Americas extended and that there was a second gateway to the South Sea.

We do not know if Thorne was himself the mapmaker of *Orbis Universalis Descriptio* (Fig.6). He regarded the map as a “rude composition” due to some issues about cardinal calculations, but he also said that, in case the reader wanted, he or someone else could make an improved version of it.⁶⁰ Likewise, it is unclear what map Hakluyt used for the copy he made in 1582. Martinic argues that Hakluyt used Thorne’s map, which was in turn a copy of the *Padron Real* of Turin of 1523, while Taylor suggests that Hakluyt used Martín Fernández de Enciso’s world map and not Thorne’s.⁶¹ The lack of clarity on this matter relates to Spain’s cartographic production in the sixteenth century. As María Portuondo demonstrates, the question of authorship, circulation and access to maps was a matter that Spain guarded with great care and secrecy.⁶² Over the second half of the sixteenth century, King Philip II centralised all Spanish cartographic production in the *Casa de Contratación* and in the position of *Piloto Mayor* as a way to organise and protect highly valuable information for the expansion of the empire.⁶³ Thus, maps became tools of power that had to be kept away from anyone aiming to contesting Spain’s power.

Thorne’s map belongs to an early stage of Spanish cartographic production, which makes it hard to place him in the context of cartographic secrecy. Thorne must have known that this was a sensitive issue, as he warned Dr Lee that “it would not sound good to them [the Spanish] for a stranger to know their secrets, and it would be the worst thing for them to understand that I am addressing you to discuss a route to the island of the Spices”. For his part, Thorne anticipated he would also have to keep this a secret and thus said to Lee, “I knowe your Lordshippe wil rather commande me to keepe silence”.⁶⁴ Sixteenth-century Seville developed as Europe’s trading heart, so the presence of merchants from various countries was natural.

⁵⁹ Mateo Martinic, *Historia Del Estrecho de Magallanes* (Santiago de Chile: Andrés Bello, 1977), 70–75.

⁶⁰ Thorne, ‘The Booke Made By The Right Worshipful Master Robert Thorne, in the Yeere 1527’, 51.

⁶¹ Martinic Beros, *Cartografía Magallánica 1523-1945*, 20; Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, xiv–xv.

⁶² María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

⁶³ Portuondo, ‘Cosmography at the Casa, Consejo, and Corte During the Century of Discovery’; Tyacke, *London Map-Sellers, 1660-1720 : A Collection of Advertisements for Maps Placed in the ‘London Gazette’ 1668-1719, with Biographical Notes on the Map-Sellers*; Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)*.

⁶⁴ Thorne, ‘The Booke Made By The Right Worshipful Master Robert Thorne, in the Yeere 1527’, 52–53.

Nevertheless, traders such as Thorne saw in their residency in Seville and their connections with prominent political figures an opportunity that could favour their own country, showing that merchants played a liminal role between trading and intelligence.

England's maritime history in the first half of the sixteenth century indicates that Thorne's project did not prosper, and so his letter remained a private document until 1582, when Hakluyt included it in *Divers Voyages*, entitled as "Book". In fact, England did not perform any attempts to resume the search for the Northwest Passage until the 1570s.⁶⁵ A few years later, Hakluyt published it in both the first and second edition of his famous *Principal Navigations*, so that by the end of the sixteenth century Thorne's letter was a popular source. Hakluyt did not explain why he called it "Book", but Taylor suggests that rather than a letter, it was a sort of short tract, "a diplomatic document of great importance".⁶⁶ Klaus Vogel argues that in the early-sixteenth century, geography was not yet a well-established science. Rather it was a complex combination between cartography, ethnography and cosmography.⁶⁷ In this regard, Thorne's letter acted as a sort of treatise invested with the ambition of an attentive merchant searching for new commercial opportunities. By the time Hakluyt published the letter, Drake had already circumnavigated the world via the Strait of Magellan, and so any sense of caution about Spanish domains had vanished. Likewise, Martin Frobisher had already made three – unsuccessful – voyages in search of the Northwest Passage (1576, 1577 and 1578). Intended as a private, secret document, Thorne's letter was now published to stress the visionary spirit of an English trader that fifty years ago advocated for an English route. Thus, Thorne's letter is testimony of the deep and close relationship that power and knowledge were developing at an age of increasing maritime expansion.

To complement Thorne's letter, the merchant Roger Barlow wrote in 1531 *Brief Summe of Geographie*, a translation into English of the treatise *Breve Suma de Geografia* (1519) by Spanish cosmographer Martín Fernández de Enciso. The relationship between Thorne and Barlow had been made clear in Thorne's letter, where he said that he had enlisted two friends of his in Sebastian Cabot's voyage to the Strait of Magellan.⁶⁸ Son of the famous Italian navigator John Cabot, who sailed to North America in 1497 under the commission of King

⁶⁵ Bradley, *British Maritime Enterprise*, 252–61.

⁶⁶ Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, xxv.

⁶⁷ Klaus A. Vogel, 'Cosmography', in *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, trans. Alisha Rankin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 469–71.

⁶⁸ Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers*, 34–39.

Henry VII, Sebastian also developed a career in navigation interested in overseas exploration and the discovery of new markets and routes. Unlike his father though, Sebastian performed his voyage under patronage of Charles V. The objective was to repeat Magellan's voyage, yet Cabot ended up navigating inwards the Plate Basin, visiting modern-day Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.

Thorne's friends who embarked on Sebastian Cabot's voyage were Henry Latimer and Roger Barlow, both from the mercantile group of Seville. Barlow was the eldest son of a prominent Buckinghamshire cloth merchant family.⁶⁹ In Seville, Barlow and Thorne forged a close friendship, which Dalton characterises as representative of the useful ties that tightly bound the Seville mercantile group.⁷⁰ When Thorne enlisted Barlow, he did so with both commercial and practical objectives in mind. Thorne described Barlow as "somewhat learned in Cosmographie", and stressed that their participation in Cabot's voyage would bring to the English "certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to bee experte in the Nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other things and aduise that I desire to know especially".⁷¹ Thus, for Thorne, Cabot's voyage was a means and an end in itself. It would allow Latimer and Barlow to reach the places visited by Magellan, while learning about navigation and cosmography from the experience of the voyage.

Barlow arrived to Spain in 1530 and moved rapidly to England, for the next year, he was ready to embody Thorne's project for the North-west Passage. Barlow put his observations of the Plate Basin in his translation of Enciso's *Geografia*, a treatise commissioned by King Charles V to highlight the most recent discoveries in Spanish America.⁷² Treatises on geography were not regarded with the same suspicion that surrounded maps. On the contrary, treatises about the New World played a propagandistic role that publicised Spain's expansive capacity and imperial power.⁷³ It is not clear how Barlow gained access to Enciso's work, but it is likely that he did so through his network of contacts in Seville. His version of Enciso is an accurate

⁶⁹ Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, xi–lxi; Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers*, 7–24.

⁷⁰ Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers*, 40–55.

⁷¹ Thorne, 'The Booke Made By The Right Worshipful Master Robert Thome, in the Yeere 1527', 35.

⁷² Mariano Cuesta Domingo, 'La Influencia de La Náutica Española En Europa', in *Carlos V: La Náutica y La Navegación*, ed. Antonio Gómez Ortiz (Barcelona: Lunverg Editores, 2000), 53; Martín Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de Geographia*, ed. Mariano Cuesta Domingo (Madrid: Museo Naval, 1987); Martín Fernández de Enciso, *Descripción de Las Indias Occidentales Por Martín Fernández de Enciso*, ed. José Toribio Medina (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Ercilla, 1897); J. Ibáñez Cerdá, 'Introducción', in *Suma de Geografía de Martin Fernández de Enciso* (Madrid: Estades, 1948).

⁷³ Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing*; Fuller, *Voyages in Print*; Das, 'Early Modern Travel Writing (2)'.

translation of the Spanish treatise but modified and updated in light of some of the recent maritime undertakings, as seen in the section on Patagonia. For instance, Barlow altered Enciso's introductory section on the terrestrial sphere and the rules of navigation, drawing on his own nautical experience with Cabot. Perhaps the most evident change Barlow made to Enciso's work was the inclusion of his personal account of his voyage along River Plate.

Following the model of Enciso and the geographical tradition of the time, Barlow gave an account of Patagonia based on its geography and "marvellous" inhabitants. He explained that the Strait of Magellan had been discovered in 1520 by "a Portuguese named Magalanias", that it was located at "52 degrees towards the Antarctic pole" and that Spain used it to "pass to the South Sea".⁷⁴ He also referred to what Magellan called "Tierra del Fuego", but claimed not to have further information, "as for other knowledge toward the pole antartik we have none".⁷⁵ In contrast to Thorne, Barlow referred to the inhabitants of the New World, claiming that in the bay of San Julián lived people of "a very grete stature called 'patagudus'. Thei be clothed with wylde beastes skynnes for the countre in the wynter is very colde, they have frost and snowe as we have here".⁷⁶ This is the first reference by an Englishman to the Patagonians, and although Barlow regards them as "people of great stature", he avoids the term "giants".⁷⁷ His position on the issue remains unclear, but it reveals that there existed space for scepticism.

Encountering people west of the Atlantic and south of the Equator was, as Davies puts it, "problematic" for early modern Europeans.⁷⁸ The height of Patagonians raised all kinds of questions in Europe. Was it possible for giants to exist? If they did, were they humans or monstrous creatures? Were Patagonians giants or was this a literary licence that travel writers like Pigafetta used to amaze the reader? Not everyone believed the legend immediately. Humanist Maximilianus Transylvanus, pupil of the famous Peter Martyr said, "one has to be ignorant to believe the existence of giants".⁷⁹ In 1578, Francis Drake encountered Patagonians and claimed that the Spanish were liars, for the Patagonians were not taller than a regular

⁷⁴ Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, 163.

⁷⁵ Barlow, 163.

⁷⁶ Barlow, 164.

⁷⁷ A starting point in the study 'monstrous' creatures in the New World and their intellectual foundations, are the following Works: Elliott, *The Old World and the New*; Magasich-Airola and Beer, *America Magica*; Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías del descubrimiento*; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*; Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500 - c. 1800*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁷⁸ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 27.

⁷⁹ Maximilianus Transylvanus, 'A Letter From Maximilianus Transylvanus to the Reverend Cardinal of Salzburg', in *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan*, ed. Henry Morton Stanley (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010).

English man. The episode was made known fifty years after by Drake's nephew, John Drake, who published the first account of the circumnavigation, taking material from a manuscript left by Francis Fletcher, chaplain on board of the *Pelican*, Drake's own ship. Concerning the giants, the nephew said:

they are nothing so monstrous, or giantlike as they were reported: there being some English men as tall as the height of any that we could see (...) the Spaniards did not thinke that ever any English man come thither to reprove them; and therevpon might presume the more boldly to lie.⁸⁰

In 1669, Captain John Narborough agreed with Drake, saying that the Patagonians were no taller than any English man.⁸¹ Whether Barlow believed or not in giants, we need to understand his work as having a broader purpose in giving account of the places and peoples of the world, including those that could seem oddly striking.

Barlow thus developed an overview of Patagonia, indicating the main landmarks: the Strait, its location and the people who lived around it. In a comparable manner to Thorne, Barlow placed Patagonia in the geography of the world, addressing it as an official, existent and therefore knowable part of the globe. Ultimately, Barlow's aim was to inform the reader about the world, its places and its people, so from the outset his text was intended as a much more public document than Thorne's letter. However, *Geographia* did not have significant circulation in comparison to the "Book". Originally intended to be published in 1532 as a complement to Thorne's letter, Barlow's *Geographia* was finished in 1541. Barlow stated in the introduction that his intention was to bring the document into print, yet it appears that Henry VIII and his advisers "were not alive to the need for an up-to-date exposition of the progress of current knowledge".⁸² Thus, his work remained as an unpublished manuscript until Taylor's 1932 edition. The proliferation of material concerning the Americas in England was to come in later decades with the translations of Richard Eden.

⁸⁰ Francis Fletcher, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake: Being His next Voyage to That to Nombre de Dios*, ed. William Sandys Wright Vaux (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010), 58.

⁸¹ See Chapter 4.

⁸² Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, xlix.

4. Richard Eden's translations

The first news about the Americas in England were loose fragments of information without much cohesion between them. It was not until the translations of Richard Eden (c. 1520–1576) that a single voice spoke for a national interest in overseas imperialism. Born into a family of merchants from East Anglia, Eden was deeply familiar with the links between geography and trade. Gwyn describes the Edens as “prosperous merchants in the main, though with a strong university and service tradition”.⁸³ George and Thomas Eden, Richard's father and uncle, belonged to the Merchant Tailors' Company (as Thorne) and therefore were well connected in the great trade metropolis of Antwerp, the staple market for much of England's cloth exports.⁸⁴ Richard, on the other hand, followed a different path. He attended Christ's College, Cambridge (1534–7), probably intending to take holy orders, and subsequently Queen's College, graduating BA in 1538 and MA in 1544.⁸⁵

Eden developed a keen interest in alchemy, which would become key in the 1540s with the discovery and foundation of the Spanish silver mine Villa Imperial de Potosí, the greatest supply of silver in Spanish America. Chronicles and natural histories of the Americas quickly came to Eden's attention.⁸⁶ Gwyn notes that Eden moved among scientific merchant circles eager to find magical (also illegal) ways to generate gold.⁸⁷ In the 1550s, religion became another element of difference between the translator, his father and his uncle. As John Craig has studied, reforming opinion became a very strong thought in East-Anglian wool-producing areas.⁸⁸ The connection to the new currents of thought circulating in London and on the continent made George and Thomas Eden convinced Protestants. Instead, Richard remained closer to Queen Mary's Catholicism. This religion division would have political consequences for Eden and his translation output, as I will address later in this section.

Eden's career as a translator flourished amidst an economic and political crisis. In the 1550s, the repercussions of Henry VIII's lavish reign became evident when the heavily indebted

⁸³ Gwyn, 'Richard Eden Cosmographer and Alchemist', 13.

⁸⁴ Gwyn, 15.

⁸⁵ Andrew Hadfield, 'Eden, Richard', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸⁶ Gwyn, 'Richard Eden Cosmographer and Alchemist'; Edmund Valentine Campos, 'Translating the New World: England, Spain and the Americas', PhD diss. (University of Stanford, 1999).

⁸⁷ Gwyn, 'Richard Eden Cosmographer and Alchemist', 18.

⁸⁸ John Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500-1610*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Crown started devaluing the currency as domestic prices surged.⁸⁹ Concurrently, the long-term consequences of the Henrician enclosure movements began to manifest themselves in the wool industry.⁹⁰ This situation worsened due to the wars in France (1552-56), which led to a depreciation of the exchange rate for England and capital outflows from the country. Meanwhile, Spain experienced an economic boom thanks to the influx of gold and silver from the Americas, which became even more abundant with improved smelting techniques in the rich mines of Peru and Bolivia. In this context, the marriage between Mary I and Philip II in 1554 seemed promising, as it brought England closer to the American precious metals. However, instead of easing tensions, the union heightened domestic political turmoil. The marriage faced swift resistance and scepticism within England due to anti-Spanish sentiments and concerns about foreign influence.⁹¹ Thus, Eden's translations appeared amidst an increasingly fragile relationship with Spain.

The term "translation" commonly refers to the transformation of a text from language to another. However, in its etymological sense – *translatio* –, it can also imply the "transmission or transfer of objects and ideas from one point to another".⁹² As Natalia Petrovskaja notes, translation requires at least some degree of adjustment and negotiation between the source language and the target language to ensure that the text conveys meaning. This meaning does not solely come from the translator's word choices but also from the broader context within which the translator operates.⁹³ Consequently, translation inherently possesses a socio-cultural dimension. In the early modern period, translators served as mediators between languages, rendering texts from various languages into the vernacular of their intended audience. This function enabled the transmission of knowledge and ideas across linguistic and geographical boundaries, contributing significantly to the diffusion of intellectual and cultural discussions of the time.⁹⁴ Moreover, translators played a crucial role in shaping and reinforcing cultural

⁸⁹ Edmund Valentine Campos, 'West of Eden: American Gold, Spanish Greed, and the Discourse of English Imperialism', in *Entangled Empires: The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 250.

⁹⁰ F. J. Fisher, 'Commercial Trends and Policies in Sixteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review* 10, no. 2 (1957): 95–117; Nigel Heard, *Tudor Economy and Society*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992), 58–61; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 38–41.

⁹¹ Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain*, (United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 2020).

⁹² Natalia Petrovskaja, 'Translatio and Translation: The Duality of the Concept from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period', *Doshisha Studies in English* 99 (2018): 119.

⁹³ Petrovskaja, 124–28.

⁹⁴ Gordon Braden, 'An Overview', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 2. 1550-1660*, ed. Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford University Press, 2010); Jane Tylus and Karen Newman, *Early Modern Cultures of Translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

identities and national consciousness.⁹⁵ Through their choices in translation, they not only conveyed foreign ideas but also tailored them to align with the values, norms, and sensibilities of the target culture. In mid-sixteenth century England, translating material regarding the Americas served two purposes: one was to keep England abreast of the colonial progress of others, and the other was to engage with ongoing debates taking place elsewhere. In this regard, Jeffrey Knapp has argued that Eden's translations responded to a certain backwardness with respect to the cultural flowering of Renaissance continental Europe.⁹⁶

Eden's career as a translator was prolific, paving the way for the flourishing of translation in the Elizabethan era. In 1553, Eden published *Treatise of the New India*, a translation of the fifth book of *Cosmografia Universalis*, written by Dutch cosmographer Sebastian Münster in 1544. Two years later, he published *Decades of the New World* (1555), a translation of the famous *De Orbe Novo* written in 1530 by the Italian humanist and chronicler, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera. In 1561, Eden published *The Arte of Navigation*, a translation of *Breve compendio de la Sphera y del Arte de la Navegación* by the Aragonese cosmographer Martín Cortés Albacar in 1551. *The Art of Navigation* was the first English manual of navigation and included descriptions of mathematical instruments, possibly by Eden himself. Finally, in 1577, Richard Willies published *A History of Travayle*, a posthumous and expanded version of Eden's *Decades*. Only two of Eden's works touch on Patagonia: *Treatise of the New India* and *Decades*. In contrast to Thorne, whose letter remained private, and to Barlow, whose treatise was never printed, Eden's translations were printed and enjoyed wide circulation, pushing Patagonia further into the English imagination.

Treatise of the New India and *Decades* show Eden's double vision of Patagonia: as an empty space and as a resourceful, populated place. Moreover, these works show these visions of Patagonia were entangled in Eden's mid-position between two competing worlds. The sections Eden translated for *Treatise of the New India* dealt mostly with India, China and the Spice Island, but he also included material regarding the Americas he gathered from the journals of Columbus and Vespucci. Eden's focus on the East and the Americas came from Sir William Cecil's expansionist projects. In 1552, Eden became secretary to Cecil, who at the time was seeking to expand England's commerce to the Far East, which in turn was in line with the new protector's, the earl of Northumberland, grand plans for imperial expansion. Northumberland

⁹⁵ Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 36–54.

⁹⁶ Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 18–19.

was keen to have works produced that would help encourage challenge Spain's global empire and it was undoubtedly under his direction, and with Cecil's support, that Eden wrote *Treatyse of the Newe India*, which he dedicated to Northumberland.⁹⁷

Here Eden refers to Patagonia solely in regards to the Strait of Magellan. He located it at 53° latitude south and ignored any information concerning Tierra del Fuego. The account continues with a description of Magellan's experience while crossing the passage:

They coulde see no people stering in the costes of this entraunce. Therfore Magellanus seing thys lande to be rough and salvage, and unpleasant to abide in, the reason of extreme cold, he thought it not worthye the travayle, to spend any time in serching the same. Therefor sailing forward in his viage thus attempted by ye said strayghte, (which is now called the strayght of Magellanus) he was thereby brought into another mayn sea, very greate and large.⁹⁸

Eden does not provide much more information about the place, but he synthesises the most famous and recurrent elements Strait of Magellan-writing: a cold, hostile and allegedly inhabitable place. The description is that of an empty space, where only the interoceanic passage constitutes the geography of extreme South America.

Like *Treatyse of the Newe India*, Eden's *Decades* is also composite in nature, although because Martyr himself arranged it that way. Martyr compiled information from explorers, sailors and other eyewitnesses to produce a comprehensive account of the encounters between Europeans and the indigenous peoples of the Americas, playing a crucial role in the European knowledge of the continent. Originally written in Latin, Martyr's *Decades* was translated into various languages during the sixteenth century, including Italian, Dutch and German. Eden's translation was not only the first translation into English but also the first translation of *Decades* into another language.⁹⁹ Moreover, Eden complemented his work with a full translation of Antonio Pigafetta's diary and fragments from Amerigo Vespucci, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Francisco López de Gómara and metallurgist Vannucio Biringoccio. For Loren Pennington, Eden's *Decades* was a "hodgepodge" of information dealing with cosmography, overseas exploration, precious stones and metal generation, but nonetheless propagandist and

⁹⁷ Hadfield, 'Eden, Richard'.

⁹⁸ Edward Arber, ed., *The First Three English Books on America (?1511)-1555 A.D* (Birmingham: Printed by Turnbull & Spears, 1885), 33.

⁹⁹ Brennan, 'The Texts of Peter Martyr's De Orbe Novo Decades (1504-1628)'.

political in nature.¹⁰⁰ If Eden dedicated *Treatise of the New India* to Northumberland, he dedicated *Decades* to Mary and Philip.¹⁰¹ Praising Spain proved to be beneficial to Eden as shortly after his *Decades* was published, he was appointed to a prominent position in the treasury. However, his religion, and by extension his loyalty to the monarchs, came under suspicion of heresy towards the end of 1555, forcing him to surrender his office.¹⁰²

In contrast to *Treatyse of the Newe India*, in *Decades* Eden overlooks the cold and inhospitable weather to focus on the resources and inhabitants of Patagonia according to Antonio Pigafetta's travel account. In this manner, Eden describes that close to 49° latitude south, the seafarers "came to a place where were two Ilandes replenyfled with giefe and woolues of the fea...also thofe fyffhes that wee caule pikes. Thefe were in fuch number that in an houre all the fyue flippes myght haue byn lade with giefe". The geese are penguins in reality, which he describes of a "blacke coloure" and "so fatte that they coulde scarfely fly... They haue noo feathers but a certeyne downe".¹⁰³ Later descriptions of Patagonia, as the ones I examine in chapters 2 and 4, will regard penguins as an essential means of food, challenging views of Patagonia as a bare space.

Likewise, Eden included Magellan's encounter with the alleged giants at San Julian: "One day by chance the espyed a man of the stature of a gigante". Eden narrates how the Spanish barely reached the giant's waist, following closely Pigafetta's description of the giant:

He was of good corporature and well made in all the partes of his bodie, with a large vyfage paynted with dyuers coloures, but for the moft parte yelow. Vppon his cheekes were paynted two hartes, and redde circles abowt his eyes. The heare of his headde was coloured whyte, and his apparell was the skynne of a beaste sowde togyther. This beaste (as seemed vnto them) had a large heade and great eares lyke vnto a mule, with the body of a camel and tayle of a horse. The feete of the giant were foulded in the skynne after the maner of flioos. He had in his hande, a bygge and shorte bowe, the stryng whereof was made of a synewe of that beaste. He had also a bundell of longe arrowes

¹⁰⁰ Pennington, Loren, 'The Origins of English Promotional Literature for America, 1553-1625', PhD diss., (University of Michigan, 1962), 27.

¹⁰¹ Arber, *The First Three English Books on America (?1511)-1555 A.D.*, 50.

¹⁰² Hadfield, 'Eden, Richard'.

¹⁰³ Arber, *The First Three English Books on America (?1511)-1555 A.D.*, 251.

made of reedes fethered after the maner of owrs, typte with sharpe stones in
the steade of iren heades.¹⁰⁴

If Barlow described the Patagonians as people of “great stature”, Eden introduced them as giants and beasts, engaging with Pigafetta’s marvellous narrative. Eden enhanced this claim by including fragments of Oviedo, who claimed that the Patagonians were 13 hands tall.¹⁰⁵ Like Pigafetta, Eden said that the encounter involved more than one giant, including women and children, reinforcing the ideas that this was a people of giants rather than an isolated case. In addition, Eden introduced the Patagonians as both fierce and naïve. He claimed that when Magellan gave them a mirror and beads, the Patagonians reacted with great surprise, as if they had never seen anything similar before.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, Eden remarked their dressing and material culture (along with other features, such as guttural language, semi-nakedness and pagan religious ceremonies) as signs of barbarity.¹⁰⁷ In this way, he combined tropes coming from the legendary giant’s fierceness with circulating ideas of the good savage.

If Eden depicted Patagonia as a virtually empty space in *Treatise of New India*, in *Decades* he claimed that Patagonia was resourceful (or at least not resourceless) and populated by giants. It is possible that these visions raised questions among readers about who lived in Patagonia. Was Patagonia an inhabitable place as claimed in the *Treatise of New India* or a place populated by giants as claimed in *Decades*? Whether it was populated or not, and by giants no less, made a significant difference in the way English people imagined Patagonia. From this information, English promotional writers and navigators devised navigation and colonial projects for the Strait of Magellan. Likewise, scholars, theologians and cosmographers debated about the possibility of monstrous creatures such as giants coexisting with humanity. Such unresolved matters were typical of early accounts of the Americas, for the understanding of the region, both of its territory and its inhabitants, was at a very early stage. On more than one occasion, and that is the case for these two works, information was contradictory and erroneous. Nevertheless, it shows how the information that reached Europe about the Americas triggered discussion and debate in various circles and how Eden, through his translations, introduced the English reader to them.

¹⁰⁴ Arber, 251.

¹⁰⁵ Arber, 233.

¹⁰⁶ Arber, 251.

¹⁰⁷ For Eden’s whole description of the Patagonians, see Arber, 251–52.

Eden continued narrating Magellan's voyage, which he regarded as "one of the greatest and most marvellous that has yet been known".¹⁰⁸ The English reader was thus introduced to the possibilities inherent in westward navigation. To attract them, Eden translated Pigafetta's narrative with descriptions of precious stones and the places where they could be found, as well as the prices for which they could be bought. Eden's book as a whole is a reflection of his vision of the world and the opportunities that England could achieve if the country embarked on sailing the world. Aware that geographical ignorance was a disadvantage, he urged his readers to forge a close relationship with Spain that could help to remedy that condition. Eden did not advocate for a special region or enterprise. Instead, he opened the Americas and the Straits of Magellan to English eyes by putting Pigafetta's chronicle, and other Spanish sources, into English. This not only allowed his readers to become acquainted with the American geography, but also to engage with ongoing discussions about human diversity. Thus, Eden wrote not only from his merchant and political connections but also as a scholar well-versed in continental languages, literature, and contemporary debates.

5. Conclusions

I have reviewed in this chapter the first information on the Strait of Magellan that circulated in England before its navigation. This was information that came from "outside", from people directly related to Spain, such as two Bristol merchants living in Seville and an English translator close to the Spanish crown. To a considerable extent, the proximity of Thorne, Barlow and Eden to Spain enabled them to act as "information brokers", bringing specific knowledge of Patagonia to their country at a time when the southern tip of America was still seldom known by English people.

Moreover, they were characters intricately linked to the world of merchants and travellers, seeing the Strait of Magellan, especially Thorne and Barlow, in terms of its connectivity with the Pacific Ocean. Overall, the southern passage was imagined as a distant place, used by Spain to access the South Sea and, eventually, to reach Asia. It was considered a cold and unpleasant region, populated by supposed giants. Despite its connectivity, the Strait of Magellan was discarded for political and practical reasons. The place assigned to it was that of a peripheral passage in England's overseas projects. The English were indeed more experienced, as Thorne

¹⁰⁸ Arber, 249.

said, in navigating north than south and thus focused in North America in the first half of the sixteenth century. This was to change radically after Drake's voyage, which proved that access to the South Sea from the Strait of Magellan could bring enormous benefits to the country.

Eden instead approached Patagonia from a scholarly perspective. In the intellectual fashion of the time, he introduced Patagonia through the translations of major writings regarding the Americas, like Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis* and Martyr's *Decades*. Eden's description revisited certain features asserted by Thorne and Barlow years earlier, such as the cold climate and extreme environmental conditions, yet introduced other elements that were new, like the possibility of giants living in Patagonia. In contrast to the merchants, Eden does not consider the usefulness – nor uselessness – of the Strait of Magellan. Rather, engaging with the textual production and ontological debates of continental Europe, Eden introduces two images of Patagonia, one as an empty space due to its extreme location and another as a place populated by giants. Both images stem from the classic idea of a far-distant land of giants, and thus his image of Patagonia comes from the old question among Europeans about the inhabitants of the world.

By bringing together Thorne, Barlow and Eden, two merchants and a scholar, I have shown that Patagonia did not enter in the English imagination in isolation but in global perspective in relation to emerging commercial opportunities at overseas, to ongoing Renaissance ontological debates about humanity-monstrosity, and to emerging historiographical genres such as American histories and translations. This chapter has aimed at avoiding the “teleological danger” Hadfield warns us about. These fragments of information did not shift England's attention to Patagonia, neither were they central to England's colonial expansion, but they form part of England's process towards becoming a maritime power. Located between Spain's desire to maintain geographical secrecy while publicising its maritime prowess, these fragments of information reflect how England was attentively looking to Spain's expansion and the impact of that in theirs, even at times of monarchic unions. As non-navigators, Thorne, Barlow and Eden proved themselves knowledgeable in the history of navigation and geography. In this sense, commercial expansion, geographical production and the translation of voyages were deeply interrelated enterprises in the modern age, and their boundaries were far from rigid and exclusive. The information provided by these three men was sparse, fragmentary and unrelated. In this sense, the imagination of Patagonia in the first half of the sixteenth century was not a cumulative and linear process. Like scattered pieces of a jigsaw,

information entered England in disarray through the written and printed word, aiming at different audiences and developing a shapeless image that, with voyages of Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish, would acquire a clearer definition.

Chapter 2

Reinventing Patagonia: a Periphery for the English Empire (1579-1580)

1. Introduction

From the mid-sixteenth century, England started gaining more prominence at sea and, what had been minor visits to North America and the Caribbean became regular and challenging enterprises.¹ In the last quarter of the century, England managed to cross from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from there to the entire globe, consolidating itself as an emerging maritime power. Between 1576 and 1578, Martin Frobisher made three – unsuccessful – voyages in search of the North-West Passage. Francis Drake completed the first circumnavigation in English history (1577–80). Shortly after, Thomas Cavendish repeated Drake's feat (1587–1588), completing the second circumnavigation in English history. Between 1582 and 1583, Humphrey Gilbert navigated to Newfoundland, aiming at establishing colonies there. In the Caribbean, a series of violent incursions against Spain only worsened the crumbling relationship between the two countries.² Travel-publisher Richard Hakluyt put these feats on paper, boosting England's international reputation and national morale. Just like the sea, travel writing became a space where European powers contested their maritime prestige and colonial dominance.

This chapter focuses on a manuscript titled 'Discourse of the commodity of the taking of the Straits of Magellan', referred to hereafter as the 'Discourse...'.³ The author, the addressee and the date of the document remain unknown to us. It was long attributed to Richard Hakluyt, but this attribution has recently been questioned, as I will show later in this chapter. The manuscript was a proposal for an English settlement in the South American passage. The project involved two kind of settlers: English criminals, who in service to the crown would find forgiveness for their actions, and Maroons, whom Francis Drake himself would transfer from Tierra Firme to Patagonia. A union of redeemed criminals and Maroons would then enter the South Sea and seize the Spanish golden mines of Peru. If the merchants from Bristol disregarded Patagonia

¹ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement*; Kenneth Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War 1585-1603* (Cambridge: University Press, 1966); Montañez-Sanabria, 'Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire'.

² For this context, see Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing*, 97; Bradley, *British Maritime Enterprise*, 31–64.

³ TNA SP 12/229/97, ff. 212r–15v. There is also a transcribed version of document by E.G.R. Taylor in *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 139-146.

as a suitable place for expansion because of geographical and nautical difficulties, the ‘Discourse...’ inverted this impression by appealing to England’s emerging maritime prowess and the alleged willingness of the Maroons to abide by the English rule. I argue that the author of the ‘Discourse...’ reinvented the English image of Patagonia, transforming it from a route disregarded for colonial activity to an essential region for imperial expansion. This vision stripped Patagonia of its peripheral character. On the contrary, the author used it to England’s advantage and reinforced Patagonia’s peripherality by proposing to colonise it with people from the margins of society, such as criminals and Maroons.

The proposal was certainly audacious, yet the ‘Discourse...’ barely features in the great histories of Patagonia. Martinic places the project in a broader discussion about the English sixteenth-century voyages to Patagonia, focusing his attention on the privateering incursions of Francis Drake (1578–1580) and Thomas Cavendish (1587–1588). Martinic notes the ambitious tone of the proposal, commenting in a few lines that “[the project] never became more than a dream, but helped to forge the inspirational thinking behind a British imperialist policy that would eventually bear surprising results”.⁴ In a similar vein, historians of the English empire in the Americas, D. B. and Alison Quinn, claim that the scheme reflects the author’s intention to “show himself as an overseas expansionist”.⁵ Both branches of scholarship recognise the author’s expansionist ambitions but fail to explain the motivations and context behind this specific piece of writing, presumably because it was never carried out and thus had no visible impact on the Spanish and English empires.

The lack of attention from historiography also has to do with the prominence of North America over southern latitudes in Elizabethan England. A notable exception is E.G.R. Taylor, who attributed the document to Hakluyt for the first time, but also examined the anatomy of the ‘Discourse...’ and the political context that encouraged its author to think about the Strait of Magellan for colonial expansion.⁶ For Taylor, this project was a reaction to two circumstances. One was the Iberian Union in 1580 and the other was Thomas Grigg’s unexpected return from the Strait of Magellan in 1579. The unification of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns meant

⁴ Martinic, *Los británicos en la Región Magallánica*, 20.

⁵ D. B. and Alison Quinn, ‘Introduction’, in *A Particular Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities That Are like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Western Discoueries Lately Attempted ... Known as Discourse of Western Planting*, ed. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993), xvi.

⁶ Richard Hakluyt, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. E. G. R Taylor (London: Routledge, [1935] 2016).

for England that the Spanish empire was now in control of the two hitherto known maritime passages, that is the Strait of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope. That same year Thomas Griggs returned unexpectedly from Francis Drake's circumnavigation, supposedly giving Hakluyt first-hand information about the Strait of Magellan.⁷ Rather than a project planned in advance, Taylor sees the 'Discourse...' as a reaction to Spain's ambition to become a *monarchia universalis*.⁸ I too believe that the author was reacting to Spain's moves. However, I believe they were also imagining things. In this regard, the author of this document viewed England as an emerging maritime power, capable of establishing settlements anywhere the country deemed necessary for expansion. At the same time, they saw English criminals and Maroons as valuable allies on the basis of service to the crown as a means for redemption and an allegedly shared anti-Spanish sentiment. The project shows how ideas devised in the metropolis often clashed with the experience at sea, showing how imagination was as powerful as navigation in fuelling imperial ambitions.

England's maritime activity shows that the project did not have any discernible outcome in the time it was written. England did not establish any settlements in the Strait of Magellan in what was left of the Elizabethan period. Nor is there any documentation to confirm that the Crown, merchants or seafarers intended this. In other words, Patagonia remained politically "disconnected" from England. Why study a project that never materialised? Why study a region that England disregarded as convenient for colonial purposes? Studying the 'Discourse...' challenges dominant narratives in which imperial expansion is conceived in terms of occurred events, such as plunder, colonisation, trade, shipwrecks, navigation, cross-cultural encounters. Likewise, it challenges dominant narratives in which global history is understood solely in terms of connections. Analysing unmaterialised projects and disconnected places is equally crucial for understanding the complexities of imperial expansion as it shows circulating ideas and preconceptions of the overseas lands and peoples. More specifically, it offers the opportunity of studying the relation between imagination and power, as it reflects the way empires viewed the world and themselves.

This chapter opens with an overview of the 'Discourse...', focusing on the discussion about its authorship. This followed by a discussion about the genre of "promotional writing", studying

⁷ Hakluyt, 16–18.

⁸ On Spain as a *Monarchia Universalis*, see Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1995).

how the imagination of promotional writers often clashed with actual experience at sea. I then move to the project itself, analysing the strategies of expansion that the author modelled for the Strait of Magellan in contrast to the Northeast Passage. The last part analyses the kind of settlers he proposed for the colony, looking at ideas of nationhood and race-building. This chapter brings to light a document that Patagonian historians and historians of the English empires have overlooked because of its little impact in England's expansion to the Americas and its uncritically attribution to Hakluyt. Instead, I see here a document laden with the ideological significance of a promotional writer trying to find new paths for imperial expansion, showing England's emerging identity as an expansive power with agency over distant territories and their peoples. This chapter shows how extreme, peripheral and disconnected territories, such as Patagonia, were part of an empire that pursued global expansion.

2. Authorship of the 'Discourse...'

It was long held among historians that the 'Discourse...' was written by the famous Elizabethan writer Richard Hakluyt. It started in 1935 when Taylor published her classic *The original writings and correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, a compilation of various documents regarding Richard Hakluyt the Elder and the Younger.⁹ In the volume, Taylor included two documents concerning the Strait of Magellan. One was the 'Discourse...' and the other was 'The commodity of taking the Strait of Magellanus', referred to hereafter as the 'Commodity...'.¹⁰ Although their titles suggest are very similar documents, they shall not be confused. Both documents are unsigned, unaddressed and undated. Taylor attributed the first one to Hakluyt based on the similarity between the handwriting of this manuscript and other manuscripts written by him. However, she attributes the 'Commodity...' to him without further explanation, probably on the basis of the similarity in content with the 'Discourse...'.

In comparison with the 'Discourse...', the 'Commodity...' is a much simpler and abbreviated version of the former. The 'Commodity...' does not talk about how the seizure of the Strait of

⁹ When Hakluyt was around five years old, he was orphaned and left under the guardianship of his older cousin and namesake, Richard Hakluyt. The elder Hakluyt was an eminent geographer and lawyer of the Middle Temple involved in international networks of merchants, cosmographers, and travellers. Over the course of his career, he became a respected consultant on trading geography, providing advice for expeditions directed to Persia, the northern coast of Russia, the Northwest and Virginia. In the interest of clarity, I will refer henceforth to the older Richard Hakluyt as the "elder" or "lawyer" Hakluyt. All other references to Richard Hakluyt or simply Hakluyt are to the younger man. For further reading on Richard Hakluyt the Elder, see Taylor's introduction to *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*.

¹⁰ TNA SP 12/169/53. For a transcription of this document, see Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 163-164.

Magellan would be carried out, how the settlers would be fed, let alone who the colonists would be. The ‘Discourse...’, instead, indicates that the settlers will establish in a bay where they would assemble ships, would be fed with food brought from the island of St. Vincent, Brazil, and from Elizabeth and George Islands, adjacent to the Strait, and that the colonists will be specifically English criminals and Maroons from Tierra Firme. This document also includes an geographical overview of the passage and some of the adjacent islands. Instead, the ‘Commodity...’ seems to reinforce the possibilities of enrichment in the South Sea by seizing the Strait of Magellan, rather than outlining a particular plan of action or describing its main geographical features. Although both documents aim for the same objective, there is not enough information to attribute both papers to the same author. Moreover, Taylor makes no mention whatsoever to the handwriting of the ‘Commodity...’, making its connection to the ‘Discourse...’ and ultimately to Hakluyt more tenuous. It should be noted that, while this information is not conclusive enough to attribute the document to Hakluyt, neither is it conclusive enough to dis-attribute it. The purpose of this discussion is to pose a question that historians have long taken as fact.

Historians accepted Taylor’s attribution of both documents to Hakluyt without hesitation for a long time.¹¹ Taking this attribution as a fact, some scholars have speculated about the addressee and people involved in the creation of the ‘Discourse...’. David and Alison Quinn argued that the manuscript was probably commissioned to Hakluyt by Sir Francis Walsingham.¹² Meanwhile, Martinic has argued that there is no doubt that the project was addressed to the

¹¹ In general, scholars have followed Taylor’s attribution of both these manuscripts, although the attribution of the ‘Commodity...’ has been more questioned than that of the ‘Discourse...’. In this regard, the Quinns rejected any connections between the ‘Commodity...’ and Hakluyt. D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, eds, *A Particuler Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities That Are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Western Discoveries Lately Attempted, Written in the Yere 1584. By Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde. Known as Discourse of Western Planting* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993) 15. A list of the historians who have followed Taylor’s attribution, is: Kenneth Andrews, *Drake’s Voyages: A Re-assessment of Their Place in Elizabethan Maritime Expansion* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1967), 87; From the same author, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 161; Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 163–6; Jessica S. Hower, *Tudor Empire: The Making of Early Modern Britain and the British Atlantic World, 1485–1603* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 351; Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise: An Elizabethan’s Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 80–2; David Harris Sacks, ‘“To Deduce a Colonie”: Richard Hakluyt’s Godly Mission in Its Contexts, c.1580–1616’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 206; Helen Wallis, ‘English Enterprise in the Region of the Strait of Magellan’, in *Merchants & Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade*, ed. John Parker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), 194–5, 197; Mateo Martinic, *Los británicos en la Región Magallánica*, 20.

¹² D. B. and Alison Quinn, *A Particuler Discourse*, xvi.

Queen, just as Hakluyt did a few years later with another colonising proposal, the ‘Discourse of western planting’ (1584).

Both Hakluyt’s authorship and Walsingham’s involvement are elements that have been questioned recently by Anthony Payne, one of the major Hakluyt scholars today.¹³ For Payne, the similarity between the handwritings is not sufficiently conclusive to establish Hakluyt as the author of the ‘Discourse...’. Nor are there any records to prove a relationship between Hakluyt and Walsingham before 1583, which is when Walsingham enrolled Hakluyt to promote Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s colonising expedition to North America. More importantly, the ideas proposed in the document “cannot be said to be unique to Hakluyt”.¹⁴ Similarly, Kenneth Andrews, who followed Taylor’s attribution but shares a similar view to Payne, has argued that “Hakluyt was not an original thinker”.¹⁵ For Andrews, the ‘Discourse...’ actually represented other people’s interests and views.¹⁶ On this issue, both authors coincide on the fact that the ‘Discourse...’ echoes Sir Richard Grenville’s proposal for navigation south of the equator to build a fortification in the Strait of Magellan.¹⁷

This proposal dates from 1574, when Grenville petitioned Queen Elizabeth I permission to navigate for the “discoverie, traffique and enjoyenge (...) of all or anie Landes Islands and Countries southwarde beyonde th æquinocciall (which) be not alredie possessed or subdued by or to y^e use of anie Christian Prince in Europe”.¹⁸ Similar to Thorne and Barlow, Grenville was convinced that the way for England to expand its dominance was to open trade with Cathay through the Northwest Passage. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, attempts to find such a passage had been unsuccessful. Thus, Grenville proposed to seek the Strait of Anian – supposed to be southwards of what is known now as Bering’s Strait – no longer through the Atlantic, but through the Pacific so that his plan necessarily required crossing the Strait of Magellan. He suggested to leave England in the summer so that he reached the southern passage before winter and then “bestowe three weekes at the least in plattinge and discovering the Islands and

¹³ Anthony Payne, ‘The Manuscripts of Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliographical Survey with Some Comments on Attributions’, *The Journal of the Hakluyt Society* (2022) 5–6; Payne, ‘Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography 1580–88’, 183.

¹⁴ Payne, ‘The Manuscripts of Richard Hakluyt’ 5.

¹⁵ Kenneth Andrews, “On the Way to Peru: Elizabethan Ambitions in America South of Capricorn”, *Terrae Incognitae* 14, 1 (1982), 62.

¹⁶ Andrews, “On the Way to Peru”, 62.

¹⁷ Grenville’s scheme is contained in two manuscripts, both held at the British Library, Lansdowne MSS 100/4 and Lansdowne MSS 100/18. They were reproduced in R. Pearse Chope, ‘New Light on Sir Richard Grenville: I. The Projected South Seas Voyage’, *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, vol. 49 (vol. 9, third series) (1917): 233–41.

¹⁸ Pearse Chope, ‘New Light on Grenville’, 237.

commodities for fortification of the said straights (if neede were)".¹⁹ Although the plan did not focus on the Strait of Magellan per se, the possibility of building a fortification there underlines its geostrategic character. However, the specific role this fortification would play in the overall achievement of the plan is an unclear matter in this proposal. Grenville does not explain what its function is for his scheme or for future navigations. The fact that the project was never realised does not help to clarify the question either.

Nevertheless, one can speculate about his actual intentions by looking at the declarations three English navigators gave before the Spanish Inquisition at Lima in 1579.²⁰ John Butler, one of the prisoners, declared that Grenville had "asked for a licence to settle on the River Plate towards the Strait of Magellan".²¹ John Oxenham confirmed this information by declaring that Grenville's project was "to come and found a settlement on the River Plate and then pass the Strait and establish settlements wherever a good country for such could be found".²² The third prisoner, Thomas "Xerores", added that the Queen had rejected the scheme because she "did not wish him to come for fear that he might do harm in the possessions of her brother King Philip".²³ While the information is not conclusive enough to clear Grenville's actual intentions southwards the equator, it is clearly suggestive of his interest on interoceanic passages. The 'Discourse...' echoes Grenville's proposal by underscoring the geopolitical value of the Strait of Magellan as a gateway between two oceans. But while for Grenville building a fortification was secondary to his search of the Strait of Anian, for the author of the 'Discourse...' establishing a colony in the Strait of Magellan was the *raison d'être* of the voyage.

The declaration of these three English navigators in Lima do not clarify the question of authorship of the 'Discourse...', but they shed light on the wider implications of maritime exploration at the time. First, reading Grenville's proposal, the statements of the prisoners in Lima and the 'Discourse...' together, we can see how the Strait of Magellan was beginning to feature in expansion projects towards the late sixteenth century. Second, it shows that proposals for imperial expansion often shared ideas, circulating among different actors and not

¹⁹ Chope, 236.

²⁰ The prisoners were John Oxenham, John Butler and Thomas "Xerores". In 1575, Oxenham, who had served as captain in Francis Drake's voyage to Nombre de Dios between 1572–1573, aimed to emulate the ventures of his predecessor in the South Sea, although he failed. In 1577, the English were taken prisoners to Panama, where most of them were executed for piracy. Oxenham, Butler and "Xerores" were transferred to Lima, where were tried in 1579 for heresy. Zelia Nuttall, *New Light on Drake, a collection of documents relating to his voyage of circumnavigation 1577–1580* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010) 1–3.

²¹ Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, 7.

²² Nuttall., 11.

²³ Nuttall, 11.

necessarily exclusive to one person. In this regard, the Elizabethan era was a period when diverse routes and forms of colonial expansion were imagined.

3. Promotional writing and the experience at sea

“As travellers made contact with new places and peoples, authors and editors put the world on paper”, one historian claims.²⁴ From the sixteenth century, promotional writing became a true political arena in which European powers flaunted their emerging maritime power and expansive capacity. Thus, writers, merchants, navigators and publishers developed a compelling narrative style that scholars have termed “promotional literature”. Karen Schramm and Loren Pennington define promotional literature as an emerging prolific genre that aimed to encourage colonial enterprise in the Age of Discovery.²⁵ Such writings were often travel narratives or collections but also included other pieces of writing related to trade and exploration, such as the scheme for a colony in the Strait of Magellan analysed in this chapter. Because of the promotional tone, Taylor and the Quinns regarded the ‘Discourse...’ as a “pamphlet” but I believe the concept can be misleading. Although pamphlets were indeed promotional writings, this document does not match some of the trademarks of pamphlet-writing, like the polemical and provocative rhetoric nor the intention for them to circulate among a wide audience. Hence, I propose to call it “project” or “scheme” instead of pamphlet.²⁶

Promotional writers painted vivid images of distant lands, exotic peoples, and the treasures seafarers would find in uncharted territories, sometimes exaggerating the potential for wealth and opportunity, or portraying indigenous peoples and cultures in a manner that fit European preconceptions and interests. In turn, promotional writers developed a powerful, “rhetoric of erasure”, as Schramm calls, removing from the text any obstacle or resistance that might stand in the way in the empire’s expansion.²⁷ Moreover, they developed a convincing tone that “must make readers dream in order to persuade them to act”.²⁸ Thus, promotional literature can be informative to the reader as well as unreliable, mostly because in the eagerness to encourage

²⁴ William Sherman, ‘Stirrings and Searchings (1500–1720)’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Tim Youngs and Peter Hulme (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19.

²⁵ Karen Schramm, ‘Promotion Literature,’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Early American Literature*, ed. Kevin J. Hayes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 69-90; Pennington, ‘The Origins of English Promotional Literature for America, 1553-1625’.

²⁶ For a definition of “pamphlet” in early modern Europe, see Chapter 3.

²⁷ Schramm, ‘Promotion Literature’, 76–77.

²⁸ Myra Jehlen, ‘The Literature of Colonization’, in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* ed. Sacvan Bercovitch and Cyrus Patell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 33.

colonial enterprises, it blurs the line between fantasy and fact, representing the overseas as a place of opportunity.

Promotional writing served as a powerful fuel for the imagination of distant lands, but often writers took promotion to its extreme overlooking the hazard and obstacles of establishing colonies in far distant regions from home. In this regard, the author of the ‘Discourse...’ never had to encounter the dangers of Patagonia, nor experience the cold of a winter in the Strait of Magellan. In the 1580s, different stories described the risks of living in the extreme south. In 1584, in reaction to Drake’s voyage, King Philip II ordered the construction of two fortresses on the northern bank of the Strait of Magellan. The colonies were called Rey Don Felipe and Ciudad Nombre de Jesús. The undertaking was given to Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, renowned seafarer and soldier from Spain. In 1587, only three years after their establishment, privateer Thomas Cavendish, emulating the voyage of Drake, sailed the Strait of Magellan and found the remains of the two settlements and a group of 18 about-to-die Spanish settlers. Cavendish took only one Spanish settler on board, Tomé Hernández, who eventually escaped in central Chile and ended up in Lima, where he declared in the *Real Audiencia* about Cavendish’s incursion.²⁹ His deposition is a valuable source to reconstruct the short life of the colonies and their terrible outcome, for it covers from the colonies’ establishment to the encounter with Cavendish.

In addition, Hernández’s testimony is based on a prolonged experience, whereas Pretty’s work narrates solely from the experience of navigating in the Strait of Magellan. From the outset, Hernández said, the settlers had difficulties obtaining food. They had taken wheat, barley and bean seeds, yet none of them grew because “there wasn’t good weather”.³⁰ The settlers organised several explorations to locate food, but they failed. An atmosphere of despair and misery prevailed the colonies. Hernández claimed some of them committed food theft, insurgency and murder – all actions punishable with the death penalty.³¹ They could barely find food and many died of hypothermia or poisoning along the way.³² Some of the settlers

²⁹ Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*, Tomo I, 223–26; José Miguel Barros, ‘Primer Testimonio de Tomé Hernández Sobre Las Fundaciones Hispánicas Del Estrecho de Magallanes’, *Anales Del Instituto de La Patagonia* 9 (1978): 65–75; Guarda, *Flandes Indiano: Las Fortificaciones Del Reino De Chile, 1541- 1826*.; Diego Barros Arana, *Historia general de Chile*, Tomo 3, (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria 2000), 64–75.

³⁰ Barros, ‘Primer Testimonio de Tomé Hernández’, 71.

³¹ Barros, 69–71.

³² To know about the specific medical causes of death among the settlers, see: Juan Pablo Espinoza and Ricardo Espinoza, ‘La Increíble Empresa de Sarmiento de Gamboa y Su Triste Fin: Posibles Causas de La Tragedia En El Estrecho de Magallanes En El Siglo XVI’, *Revista Médica de Chile* 138, no. 11 (2010): 1459.

attempted their own navigation outside the Strait, but the ship they improvised could not resist the winds, taking them back to where they started.³³ The only settler who managed to escape from Patagonia was Hernández, who did not accomplish this by his own means, demonstrating that the remoteness of the Strait of Magellan in Spanish America was a major handicap for the colonies.

The encounter with Hernández, does not seem to have dissipated Cavendish's interest in the southern passage. In 1591, only three years after his circumnavigation, Cavendish set sail again to the Strait of Magellan. The aim of this second voyage was to attack the coast of Brazil, enter the South Sea and open trade for England with China and Japan. However, after a few brief episodes of success in Brazil, the expedition turned into a string of disasters. Storms, shipwrecks, dissension among the crew and a depleted fleet dominated the following months.³⁴ The events at Brazil and the misfortunes that followed were recorded by Anthony Knivet, whose narrative was later included in Samuel Purchas' famous collection *Hakluyt's Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, published in 1625.³⁵

Cavendish set sail from Brazil to the Strait of Magellan in February 1591 to cross it before the onset of the dreaded austral winter. However, the fleet was delayed four months due to terrible storms near the River Plate. They reached the passage in April, when temperatures had dropped considerably and the days were getting shorter. They only spent three weeks inside the Strait of Magellan, a time that almost cost them their expedition and their lives. Knivet describes how during that time men were dying every day from the cold and starvation: "From this place [Port Desire] wee went further into the Straites having the winde against us, and with the cold there died every day out of our ship eight or nine men". Although they reached the passage before winter, there was no escape to the cold: "all my clothes were cast overboord, now comming to this cold Climates, and wanting clothes my hope of life was little, for here men were well at morning, and by night frozen to death".³⁶

³³ Barros, 'Primer Testimonio de Tomé Hernández', 69–70.

³⁴ Cavendish's second navigation to the Strait of Magellan has received significant less attention from historians compared to his circumnavigation. For an overview of the second voyage, see David. B Quinn, *The Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish, 1591-1592* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

³⁵ Knivet's account was published as 'The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet', *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, ed. Samuel Purchas, 4 vols (1625), 4:1201–42.

³⁶ *The Admirable Adventures and Strange Fortunes of Master Anthony Knivet*, 51.

As it commonly happened in navigations across extreme latitudes, the cold was not just a matter of thermal sensation, as it affected the body to the point of freezing and losing limbs: “My feete were wette, and wanting shift of clothes, the next morning I was nummed, that I could not stirre my legs, and pulling off my stockings, my toes came with them, and all my feete were as blacke as soote, and I had no feeling of them. Then was I not able to stirre”. Although Knivet was more fortunate, he saw death almost as close as the Spanish colonists, “I was so ill in the Straites that no man thought I would have lived, and twice I was brought upon the Hatches to bee cast into the Sea; but it was the will of God, that when they had said Prayers, as they accustomed when any man died, and that they laid hands on me to cast me over-boord, I spake, desiring them not to cast me overboord, till I was dead”.³⁷ If the first time Cavendish had succeeded crossing the Strait of Magellan, this time the fatidic experience of the Spanish settlers of Rey Don Felipe and Ciudad Nombre de Jesús almost became his own.

After the complete failure to cross the southern passage, Cavendish returned to Brazil, where he stranded some 50 members of his crew, including Knivet. From there, Cavendish made his way to England, but died shortly thereafter somewhere in the South Atlantic. Rey Don Felipe and Ciudad Nombre de Jesús were anything but a promising land of abundance, wellbeing and wealth, unlike the settlements described further northwards in the South Sea. Already after his first navigation Cavendish renamed the place as “Port Famine”, a name that was immortalised in the cartography of the following centuries (Fig. 9, 14, 15), and that Knivet himself used in his travel account.³⁸

It is true that the ‘Discourse...’ was written in some moment before the settlements were even established, so the author could have not known that a settlement in the Strait of Magellan could prove so disastrous. However, the project shows the classic and recurrent gap between promotional writing and experience at sea, that is, between theory and practice. For many promotional writers, as it was probably the cause of the author of the ‘Discourse...’, what mattered to them is “what they saw on maps”, as one historian would say.³⁹ Imagination, armchair travellers and promotional literature engaged in a symbiotic relationship wherein one

³⁷ *The Admirable Adventures and Strange Fortunes of Master Anthony Knivet*, 51–52.

³⁸ *The Admirable Adventures and Strange Fortunes of Master Anthony Knivet*, 51. For a study on Port Famine as a common toponym in early modern Patagonia cartography, see Moreno Jeria, ‘El Estrecho de Magallanes Como Antesala Del Pacífico’.

³⁹ I borrow this expression from Peter Mancall, who used it in a similar way to refer to Richard Hakluyt and his overseas ambitions. Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise: An Elizabethan’s Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 81.

influenced the other. As more and more sailors ventured to the Americas, the genre of promotional literature grew, fuelling in turn the imagination of armchair travellers, whose writings encouraged navigation to the Americas.

4. Fashioning ways of expansion: trade in the north, seizure in the south

Over the course of the sixteenth century, Portugal and Spain demonstrated that controlling interoceanic passages was essential for colonial expansion to the East. Securing these places was a way of fixing strategic landmarks along worldwide trade routes. In 1580, Portugal and Spain established the Iberian Union, that is, the dynastic union of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon with the Kingdom of Portugal. The union entailed the entire Iberian Peninsula and all Portuguese overseas possessions. In practical terms, the union meant that the Spanish Empire would now control the Strait of Magellan and Cape of Good Hope. By monopolising the two known interoceanic passages, Spain was taking a further step towards becoming a *Monarchia Universalis*, and that had political and commercial consequences for England.⁴⁰ In this respect, the ‘Discourse...’ comments:

Whenever the rule and government of the East and West Indies and their several isles and territories shall be in one prince, they neither will receive English cloth nor yet care for any vent of their commodities to us, having then so many places of their own to make vent and interchange of their commodities.⁴¹

Thus, the document begins by alerting England to “The perill that may ensue to all the princes of Europe yf the king of Spain be suffered to enjoy Portugalle with the East Indies is ... a matter of greate and grave consideration”.⁴² It was a proposal opposite in geographical and political scope from Thorne’s scheme. If Thorne intended a route to the east through the north, this scheme intended a route through the south; if Thorne intended to be cautious, this project intended to be audacious. Moreover, the ‘Discourse...’ involved three places: the Strait of Magellan, the island of Saint Vincent – in modern day São Paulo state, Brazil – and the Northeast Passage, which connects the Atlantic with the Pacific via the north of the Russian

⁴⁰ Pagden, *Lords of All the World*.

⁴¹ Richard Hakluyt, ‘A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus’, in *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (London: Routledge, 2016), 143.

⁴² Hakluyt, 139.

coast. Although the principal focus of the project was the Strait of Magellan, this project entailed both the extreme northern and southern passages.

It was known by the late sixteenth century that seafarers had been searching for the Northeast Passage at the same time as they looked for a route through the Northwest Passage, yet both routes would not be fully explored until centuries later.⁴³ For the author, it was a sign of “good policie and good foresight”, that the “discoverie of the north-east be taken in hand”.⁴⁴ Moreover, finding the Northeast Passage had a double meaning: it implied finding new places for “vent” or trade, but also entering “in the trade of the Spicerie, with the interchange of all the commodities of the east and west [partes] of the Worlde”.⁴⁵

Paying attention to the Northeast Passage had concrete reasons. Since 1555, England had been trading with Russia through the Muscovy Company, a joint-stock company founded by London merchants that was granted a monopoly of Anglo-Russian trade.⁴⁶ English traders succeeded in establishing a friendly relationship with Tsar Ivan IV, laying the foundations of fruitful Anglo-Russian relations from that moment forward.⁴⁷ However, the author of the ‘Discourse...’ feared that if the Tsar died, Spain would not recognize the Anglo-Russian agreement, cutting off trade between the two countries leaving England commercially isolated. Therefore, the attention to the Northeast Passage sought to secure trade that already existed. In Helgerson’s view, the ‘Discourse...’ is one of the first English efforts to make mercantile activity the driving force of the empire.⁴⁸ I agree partially with this view as the southern element of the project shows that scheme fashioned alternative ways to expand the empire according to the activities the north and south offered.

The trading activity of the north would be complemented with the wealth England could get in the south. Thus, the author advocated for the Strait of Magellan to be “taken and fortified, inhabited and kept”. With first-hand information from Thomas Griggs, the English should seize the islands of St. Vincent and St. George, as together they would be “able to victual armies”.

⁴³ James Evans, *Tudor Adventurers: An Arctic Voyage of Discovery: The Hunt for the Northeast Passage* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2014); Glyndwr Williams, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage in the Eighteenth Century*; Doug Wilkinson, *Arctic Fever: The search for the Northwest Passage* (Toronto: Clarke, 1971).

⁴⁴ Hakluyt, ‘A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus’, 143.

⁴⁵ Hakluyt, 144.

⁴⁶ Maria Salomon Arel, *English Trade and Adventure to Russia in the Early Modern Era: The Muscovy Company, 1603–1649* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019), 1–18.

⁴⁷ Thomas Stuart Willan, *The Muscovy Merchants of 1555* (Hassell Street Press, 2021), 9; Thomas Stuart Willan, *The Early History of the Russia Company, 1553–1603*. (Manchester: University Press, 1956), 11–14.

⁴⁸ Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 154.

St. Vincent would provide “hogges, hennes, citrons, lymons and oranges”, while St. George, located at the Atlantic entrance to the Strait of Magellan, would provide penguins and land for planting grain.⁴⁹ The characterisation of the colony as a fortification and the resources as victuals reveals the military-offensive character of his scheme for the south. By seizing the Strait of Magellan, the author claimed that the English would “make subjecte to England all the golden mines of Peru and all the coste and tract of that firme of America upon the Sea of Sur”.⁵⁰ In his view, the Strait was “the gate of entry to the treasure of both the East and the West Indies. And whosoever is Lord of this Straight may account himself Lord also of the West Indies, so it may be used”.⁵¹ By 1580, traders, seafarers and armchair travellers were deeply aware of the wealth in Peru. In England, Eden’s *Decades* (1555) spread quite rapidly the news about Potosí and the increasing amount of wealth that the *Armada del Mar del Sur* moved from Peru to Portobello and from there to the Peninsula.⁵² In contrast to the north, an offensive character defined the southern project. Rather than searching for new trade opportunities, the ‘Discourse...’ aimed to seize the Spanish Empire’s main source of wealth.

This proposal was certainly ambitious. It entailed navigation and settlement in regions far from England and its maritime expertise. The audacity of the project becomes even clearer when we note that by 1580 England did not control any territory outside the British Isles. This brief yet ambitious piece of writing shows an emerging transoceanic vision of the world, where sea passages are gateways to expansion. Moreover, it shows how each gateway opened a different kind of expansion: to the north, England secured trade with Russia and sought new commercial opportunities in the East; while to the south, England seized enemy territory and claimed it for the empire. On the one side, the project was grounded on concrete experience – the voyages of the Muscovy Company to Russia since 1555 and Thomas Griggs’s navigation in the Strait of Magellan in 1578–1580. But on the other, it stemmed from the author’s imagination. Because of this, they had to show that he was no mere theorist but a practical man, who could mobilise people and victuals from different parts of world to make clear the realistic and practical steps required to give a young colony a reasonable chance of success. As a promotional writer, the author of the ‘Discourse...’ was ignorant of Patagonian geography, climate and inhabitants. To these ends, they deployed arguments based on possibilities and information he received from

⁴⁹ Hakluyt, ‘A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus’, 140–41.

⁵⁰ Hakluyt, 142.

⁵¹ Hakluyt, 140.

⁵² Bradley, *The Lure of Peru*. Pablo Emilio Pérez-Mallaína Bueno and Bibiano Torres Ramírez, *La Armada Del Mar Del Sur*, (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, C.S.I.C, 1987).

Griggs but he lacked, of course, personal experience in Patagonia, or indeed, in extra-European territory in general. Despite all his efforts to appeal as a practical writer, their approach was that of a promotional writer who took promotion beyond reality.

5. Erasing Patagonians from Patagonia

The layout of the project indicates that, for the author of the ‘Discourse...’, populating the colony was not simply transferring English people to the Strait of Magellan. They specifically advocated for two kinds of settlers: English convicts and “Maroons” from Tierra Firme, Panama. Strikingly, the Patagonians did not feature in any capacity in this project. As I analysed in Chapter 1, the inhabitants of Patagonia entered into the English imagination through Roger Barlow’s *Geographia* and Richard Eden’s translations of Pigafetta and Fernández de Oviedo. A prolific Dutch visual narrative, based chiefly on the engravings of Theodor de Bry, soon followed the textual narrative about the giants.⁵³ At the time this scheme was being written, Drake was establishing the first direct contact between the English and the Patagonians. Hakluyt included the episode in his *Principal Navigations*.⁵⁴ Between the popularity of Eden’s translations and the force of the legend in the rest of Europe, there was abundant material for our author to be aware of the Patagonians and their striking size. Why would they not consider them in an eventual offensive against Spain? What made English criminals and Maroons more suitable for a colony in Patagonia than the Patagonians themselves? Would not the giants be valuable for this scheme? Just as the possibility of scarcity and starvation was erased from the scheme, the Patagonians were erased from Patagonia.

The societal profile of this project is indicative that the scheme was very different from any other English colony developed in the early modern period. During the first six decades of the seventeenth century, a staggering number of English and a smaller number of Welsh and Scottish people left the British Isles to cross the Atlantic and settle on the east coast of North America.⁵⁵ English leading settlers along with their servants – unskilled labourers, youths, agricultural workers and tradesmen, along with an increasing African enslaved population – composed the demographics of what would become the English Empire in the Americas.⁵⁶

⁵³ Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)*.

⁵⁴ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 112.

⁵⁵ Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 7.

⁵⁶ Greene, 8–10.

Despite their differences with the metropolis, the North American colonies were a drastically simplified and distorted version of contemporary English society.⁵⁷ However, the settler devised for the colony in the Strait of Magellan was very different from the one devised for North America. Instead of leading figures, the ‘Discourse...’ advocated for people who came from the margins of society.

Part of the settlers would be “condemned English men and women”.⁵⁸ Hakluyt echoed the strategy in his ‘Discourse for Western Planting’, where he advocated for employing “loyterers”, “idle vagabondes” and “pety theves” in the colonies he devised for Newfoundland.⁵⁹ Labour and crime historians have studied the use of convicts in colonial projects analysing their transfer from the metropolis to the place of punishment as a complex expansionary machinery within imperial power.⁶⁰ England’s penal colony history is more generally associated with the eighteenth-century colonies in Australia, but David Childs claims that the ‘Discourse...’ is one of the first English projects for a penal colony on record.⁶¹ Nevertheless, England was not the only empire to think of penal colonies at this time. Timothy J. Coates has studied how already in 1415 the Portuguese Empire used convicts soldiers for the expansion to Ceuta.⁶²

In the anonymous author’s view, convicts would find in the Strait of Magellan “hope and amendment”, revealing both an expansive and moralising element of the project. In this regard, Clare Anderson points out that transport was “a means of punishment, deterrence, population management” that allowed securing labour in the occupation and settlement of distant frontiers.⁶³ Convicts served multiple social, economic and geopolitical functions. Furthermore, their displacement became a key tool for expansion, as it helped empires to gain a foothold in far-flung regions.⁶⁴ This was the case for England when the ‘Discourse...’ was written, as it would not have any viable colonies outside the British Isles until the first decade of the

⁵⁷ Greene, 12; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement*.

⁵⁸ Hakluyt, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 143.

⁵⁹ Hakluyt, *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities That Are like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted ... Known as Discourse of Western Planting*, 28–31.

⁶⁰ Clare Anderson, ‘Transnational Histories of Penal Transportation: Punishment, Labour and Governance in the British Imperial World, 1788–1939’, *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 3 (2016): 381–97; Timothy J. Coates, ‘The Portuguese Empire, 110-1932’, in *A Global History of Convicts and Penal Colonies*, ed. Clare Anderson (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 37–64.

⁶¹ David Childs, *Tudor Sea Power: The Foundation of Greatness* (Barnsley: Seaforth Pub, 2009), 156.

⁶² Coates, ‘The Portuguese Empire, 110-1932’, 48–49.

⁶³ Clare Anderson, ed., *A Global History of Convicts and Penal Colonies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 3.

⁶⁴ Janice E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 22–24.

seventeenth century. Although the Strait of Magellan would not be colonised by the morally pristine representatives of English society, “the Strait would still be in friendly rather than enemy hands”, as Taylor notes.⁶⁵

English convicts would only be a small part of the settlers, as it was proposed that the majority of them would be *cimarrones* or Maroons, black enslaved peoples who had escaped from Spanish settlements and lived as fugitives in areas geographically inaccessible to the Spanish.⁶⁶ The first enslaved people arrived to the Americas early during the Conquest, “when only a few islands of the Caribbean and odd stretches of the mainland beaches were known”.⁶⁷ In the region of Tierra Firme, Spanish authorities introduced African slaves to work in goldmines, pearl fisheries and construction after the demographic collapse of the Indian population.⁶⁸ The term *cimarrón* – Spanish for Maroon – originally referred to plants and animals that, after having been domesticated or subdued, escaped and returned to a wild, untamed state. However, during the Conquest, Spanish authorities and settlers used it to designate rebellious Indians and black enslaved peoples who escaped from “civilised” life, namely, Spanish control. Gradually, the use of the word became more specific and referred mainly to fugitive African peoples.⁶⁹ Marooning took place in different parts of the Spanish America, such as Panama, Mexico and Venezuela, developing specific characteristics in each place.⁷⁰ Maroon rebellions in the isthmus began as early as 1525, and became increasingly more violent between 1549 and 1582.⁷¹ Organised in gangs, Maroons assaulted mines, villages and cities, becoming an internal menace for the Spanish Empire.⁷² Since Maroons had escaped from the colonial economy and located in inaccessible areas for the Spanish settlers, Rolando Mellafe puts them at the social

⁶⁵ Hakluyt, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 18.

⁶⁶ Ruth Pike, ‘Black Rebels: The Cimarrons of Sixteenth-Century Panama’, *The Americas* 64, no. 2 (2007): 244; Carlos F. Guillot, *Negros Rebeldes y Negros Cimarrones; Perfil Afroamericano En La Historia Del Nuevo Mundo Durante El Siglo XVI* (Buenos Aires: Farina Editores, 1972).

⁶⁷ Rolando Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, trans. J. W. S. Judge, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020 [1975]), 9.

⁶⁸ Montañez Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire’, 89–90; Luz M. Martínez Montiel, *Negros En América* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992); Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*.

⁶⁹ Leslie B. Rout, *The African Experience in Spanish America, 1502 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: University Press, 1976), 21–22; Michael Angelo Gomez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4, 14–15, 21–22, 30; Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, 30–34.

⁷⁰ Armando Fortune, ‘Los Negros Cimarrones de Panamá y Su Lucha Por La Libertad’, *Revista Fortuna*, no. 171 (1970): 17–43. José L. Franco noted Maroon insurrections elsewhere Panama during the sixteenth century, like 1537 in Mexico, another in 1548 in Honduras, another in 1555 in Venezuela. José L. Franco, ‘Maroons and Slave Rebellions in the Spanish Territories’, in *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, ed. Richard Price, (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1973), 35–48.

⁷¹ Pike, ‘Black Rebels’, 244.

⁷² Montañez Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire’, 86–139.

and geographical borders of Spanish colonial society.⁷³ Thus, the scheme evoked a sense of cultural, geographical and social marginality.

There were concrete, practical reasons for considering the Maroons useful for such a project. Between 1572 and 1573, Francis Drake established on three different occasions alliances with the Maroons of Tierra Firme.⁷⁴ *Capitán Francisco*, as Drake was known in the Spanish Main, achieved full support and loyalty from them and, although the attacks did not result as desired, they had a demoralising and disruptive effect for Spain.⁷⁵ Thus, the author suggested that Drake himself move the Maroons from Tierra Firme to Patagonia, stressing that Drake should take with him “hundreds or thowsands, how many as we shal require”.⁷⁶ As soon as contesting powers to Spain began their incursions in the Americas, it became clear that establishing alliances with local peoples was essential to undermine Spain’s symbolic and effective power.⁷⁷ Alliances had practical and political reasons. Indians and Maroons knew the territory better than foreigners did. Moreover, they all shared a strong dislike of Spain. Thus, Europeans fashioned a vision of the Indian and the Maroon as willing peoples to collaborate against Spain, albeit this risked backfiring. Many of these alliances turned out to be extremely unstable and shifting, as they were often distorted by imperial ambitions. Rather than understanding the fugitiveness as a response to colonialism, Europeans projected their political rivalries onto marooning.⁷⁸

Perhaps the best reflection of this is the Black Legend, a powerful anti-Spanish discourse emerging around the mid-sixteenth century that depicted Spain as a cruel tyrant, while suggesting an image of American collaboration and rebellion.⁷⁹ The legend was largely fuelled by *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1552) by the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas. The volume described in detail the violence, persecution and torture that the

⁷³ Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, 33.

⁷⁴ The events are described in detail in Irene Wright, *Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Spanish Main, 1569-1580. I, II, I, II* (Oxford: Routledge 2010 [1932])

⁷⁵ Montañez Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire’, 92–94.

⁷⁶ Hakluyt, ‘A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Strait of Magellanus’, 142.

⁷⁷ Montañez Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire’, chap. 3; Leonardo León, ‘Indios, Piratas y Corsarios En Las Costas de La Araucanía y Patagonia, 1557-1790’, *Boletín de Historia y Geografía* 15 (2001): 117–51; María Fernanda Valencia Suárez, *Los Aztecas y la conquista de México en las ambiciones inglesas, 1519-1713* (Mérida: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2018); Benjamin Schmidt, ‘Exotic Allies: The Dutch-Chilean Encounter and the (Failed) Conquest of America’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (1999): 440–73.

⁷⁸ Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*; Valencia Suárez, *Los Aztecas y la conquista de México, 1519-1713*.

⁷⁹ Margaret Rich Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds., *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Spaniards committed against the Indians of the Americas. Furthermore, las Casas based his work on his own experience while living in New Spain, so his account was based not on what he heard but on what he directly witnessed. That a Spanish friar denounced these actions made them even more truthful to European eyes. In 1560, the Inquisition forbid the book for it said “terrible things about the Spanish soldiers”.⁸⁰ However, attempts at censorship did not get far. De las Casas’ *Short Account...* was translated into German (1579 and 1599), French (1579, 1582 twice, 1594 and 1597), and Latin (1598).

In England, the Black Legend etched itself deeply into the national consciousness and public opinion.⁸¹ In 1583, someone who signed as M. M. S. translated Bartolomé de las Casas into English under the title *The Spanish Colonie*. The book was reissued in 1621 with a much more denunciatory title: *The Tears of the Indians, Popery Display’d in its Bloody colours or Faithful Narrative of the Horrid and Unexampled massacres, The Complaint of England*. This volume included engravings that depicted the cruelties described in the text (Fig.7). Legends are rarely impartial, and the Black Legend was no exception. It was profoundly intertwined with political and colonial interests. The discourse became a convenient facade in which European powers could hide their colonial and imperial interests behind a discourse of a supposedly just and virtuous government. The scheme shows that armchair travellers like himself noticed these alliances and encouraged seafarers to establish them anywhere where the empire sought to expand. In this regard, it was claimed that the Maroons would enthusiastically cooperate, since they detested “the prowde governance of the Spaniards”. Conveniently, the Maroons would “easily be induced to live subject to the gentle government of the English”.⁸² Nothing in this proposal indicates that the author contemplated the possibility of resistance or rebellion from the Maroons. On the contrary, he saw them as natural supporters of the English empire. These words reveal an incredible sense of power, in which he depicts England as a conveniently more just ruler, while overlooking the Maroons’ sense of autonomy from colonialism. In this view, the Maroon’s contempt was against the Spanish in particular and not against colonialism itself.

In addition to the alleged mutual hatred towards Spain and the Maroons’ alleged willingness to abide by the English rule, the scheme claimed that the Maroons were particularly suitable for living in the far latitudes of the Strait of Magellan because “although borne in a hote region,

⁸⁰ Carlos Esteban Deive, *Heterodoxia e inquisición en Santo Domingo, 1492-1822* (Santo Domingo: Taller, 1983), 375.

⁸¹ John. H. Elliott, *Spain, Europe & the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 27.

⁸² Hakluyt, ‘A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus’, 142.

yet by meane he has been bredde as a slave, in all toyle farre from delicacie, he shalbe able to endure the climate". Meanwhile, "the Spanyard, both for his breeding in a hote region and for his delicacie in dyett and lodging, he shall not be able to endure in the coldness of that climate of Strait".⁸³ In this way, the author made slavery more than any other reason what enabled the Maroons to endure the cold. By linking Maroons, environmental adaptability and slavery, it was established a relationship between race and environment that separated categorically the Maroons from Europeans.

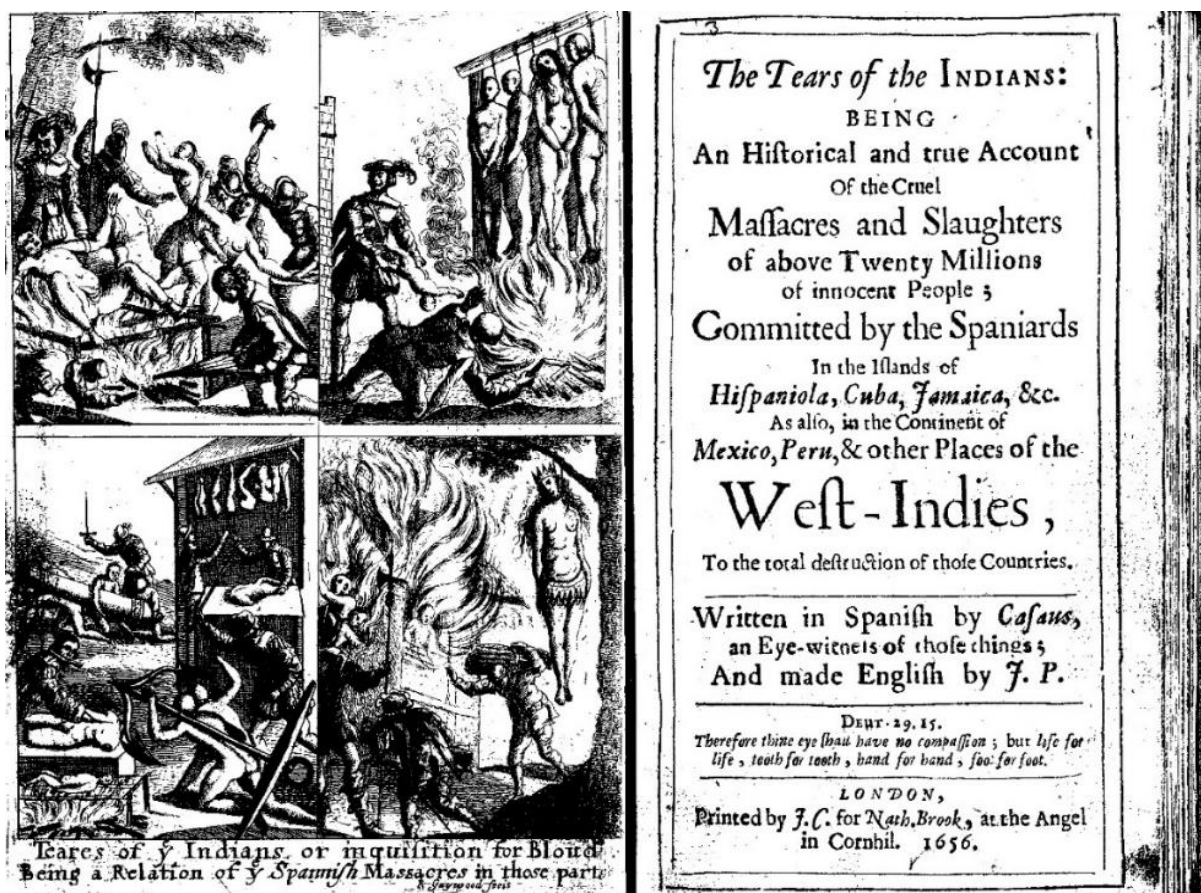


Figure 7. Frontispiece of *The Tears of the Indians* (1656), English translation of Bartolome de las Casas' *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (Seville, 1552). At the left, four engravings depict the atrocities committed by Spain in the Americas.

⁸³ Hakluyt, 142.

Slavery is an old institution. In the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, from the seventh century slavery was regulated by legal codes that stipulated the social and economic foundations of it.⁸⁴ Slavery initially consisted of the enslavement of conquered peoples and captives of war but it was not until the early modern period that slavery became mainly associated with skin colour, connected to the Portuguese slaving expeditions to the coasts of West Africa. Most of the enslaved people were taken to the Azores Islands and Madeira to work on plantations and in sugar mill, but a smaller portion were taken to the Peninsula to perform domestic servitude, labour, mining and construction work. Indeed, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent argue that “Slavery was a frequent phenomenon in Modern Spain, although limited in its geographic extension, since only in the south, in the Court and in some isolated places such as Valencia did it reach a high density”.⁸⁵ There is an abundant bibliography on the introduction of African slaves in America, but the introduction of enslaved black Africans to the Iberian Peninsula from the fifteenth century onwards is a subject that has only recently been studied in depth.⁸⁶ By the time the Iberian powers expanded to the Americas, they had longstanding legal tradition on slavery, alongside a historical experience regarding the economic usefulness of black slavery.

Race is also an old discourse.⁸⁷ Scholars have discussed at length the origins of race and racism. However, it remains a point of agreement among scholars that race is an imaginary category

⁸⁴ For an overview about the legal foundations of slavery in the Iberian Peninsula, see Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, 9–10.

⁸⁵ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Alianza Universidad 415 (Madrid: Alianza 1993), 265.

⁸⁶ Alfonso Franco Silva, *La Esclavitud En Sevilla y Su Tierra a Fines de La Edad Media* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979); Antumi Toasije, ‘The Africanity of Spain: Identity and Problematisation’, *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009): 348–55; Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Aurelia Martín Casares, ‘Esclavos, criados, nobles, y reyes (ss. XIV a XVII)’, *Millars : espai i història* 2, no. 47 (2020); Aurelia Martín Casares, *La Esclavitud En La Granada Del Siglo XVI: Género, Raza y Religión*, (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada 2000); Carmen Fracchia, ‘(Lack of) Visual Representation of Black Slaves in Spanish Golden Age Painting’, *Journal of Iberian and Latin-American Studies* 10, no. 1 (2004): 23–34, ; Carmen Fracchia, *‘Black but Human’: Slavery and Visual Arts in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700* (Oxford: University Press, 2019); María Grove-Gordillo, ‘Una aproximación a la población esclava la collación de Santa Ana de Sevilla (1620-1634)’, in *Tratas, esclavitudes y mestizajes: una historia conectada, siglos XV-XVIII*, ed. Rafael M. Pérez García, Manuel Fernández Chaves, and Eduardo França Paiva (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2020), 289–302. Arturo Morgado García, ‘La Participación de Cádiz En El Comercio de Esclavos Durante La Época Moderna (1650-1800)’, in *Cádiz y El Tráfico de Esclavos: De La Legalidad a La Clandestinidad*, ed. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and María del Carmen Cózar Navarro (Madrid: Sílex, 2018).

⁸⁷ In the last three to four decades, a critical scholarship has examined the issue from numerous angles as scholars have argued that the roots of race and racism can be found in pre modern times. For antiquity, see Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). For the middle ages, see Lynn Tarte Ramey, *Black Legacies: Race and the European Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014); Matthew X. Vernon, *The Black Middle Ages Race and the Construction of the Middle Ages* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018); Cord J. Whitaker, ‘Making Race Matter in the Middle Ages’,

without biological basis that establishes the fictive idea of superior and inferior people.⁸⁸ In medieval Europe, Christian theology provided a framework for understanding human diversity, in which race referred to groups of various types, including those characterized by close kinship relations.⁸⁹ However, race was not necessarily “colour coded”, as some historians would say.⁹⁰ Rather, race was defined in terms lineage in connection to a specific family or ancestral line, leading to the identification of practices, customs, aspects and physical traits as constituting that of a certain race.⁹¹ This understanding influenced greatly the construction of discourses of hereditary inferiority and superiority, which, in turn, well suited discourses about expansion and colonialism.⁹² As Margaret Greer et al. have argued, “Racism emerged as a discourse to assert the superiority of Western Christians and as justification for land appropriation and exploitation of supposedly lesser human beings”.⁹³ Nevertheless, it was not until the period of European overseas expansion in the early modern period, that ideas of race and racism began to be directly associated with skin colour.⁹⁴

In Renaissance Europe, environment began to play an increasingly pivotal role in shaping perceptions of race.⁹⁵ Although scholars witnessed a significant change in the scientific and medical communities, prevailing ideas about the body still relied heavily on theories of antiquity. The classical humoral theory offered two interconnected approaches to the issue: the

Postmedieval a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies 6, no. 1 (2015): 1; Lindsay M. Kaplan, *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁸⁸ Kaplan, *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity*, 1–18. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin H. Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler, *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 6; Charles Hirschman, ‘The Origins and Demise of the Concept of Race’, *Population and Development Review*, Population and Development Review, 30, no. 3 (2004): 408.; Geraldine Heng, ‘The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages II: Locations of Medieval Race’, *Literature Compass* 8, no. 5 (2011): 333. See also Benjamin Isaac’s detailed overview of the term race. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, 17–23.

⁸⁹ Greer, et.al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 319.

⁹⁰ Greer, et.al., 9.

⁹¹ Kaplan, *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity*, 3–4; Heng, ‘The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages II’.

⁹² Kathryn Burns, ‘Unfixing Race’, in *Rereading the Black Legend*, 189.

⁹³ Greer, et.al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 314.

⁹⁴ Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation*; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ‘New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650’, *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (1999): 33–68; Aníbal Quijano, ‘Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality’, *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (2007): 168–78.; Luis Rojas Donat, *España y Portugal ante los otros: derecho, religión y política en el descubrimiento medieval de América*, 1. ed (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad del Bio-Bio, 2002); James H. Sweet, ‘The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 143–66; For a comprehensive overview of racism in the West, see Eliav-Feldon, Isaac, and Ziegler, *The Origins of Racism in the West*.

⁹⁵ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, 23-29; Katherine Johnston, ‘Labor in Hot Climates: The Seventeenth Century’, in *The Nature of Slavery: Environment and Plantation Labor in the Anglo-Atlantic World* (Oxford University Press, 2023); Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2012); Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).

body's internal humours - blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile - had to stay in balance with the external elements - earth, water, air, and fire - and outside influences could have an impact on this balance.⁹⁶ Thus, Davies describes that humours were linked to “macro-environmental categories, such as the constellations and seasons”, so the environmental impact on bodies went “beyond the contingencies of local climate and lay in the region's geographical position”.⁹⁷ According to this framework, people's bodies reflected and responded to their environment. Scholars used this framework to explain variations in skin colour. For example, José de Acosta said in his *Moral History of the Indies* that dark skin was a result of the heat of the sun in regions close to the Torrid Zone, drying out the body and producing a burnt, bilious residue that darkened the skin.⁹⁸ Mary Floyd Wilson has analysed that very pale skins were viewed the other way round, resulting from living in extreme cold regions, where the excessive cold and humidity produced an accumulation of heavy, damp humours.⁹⁹

Likewise, a long-standing biblical tradition narrowed the distance between dark skin colour and slavery. In Genesis, Noah cursed his son Ham's son, Canaan, to be the “slaves of slaves”.¹⁰⁰ The Bible itself makes no connection between Noah's curse and dark skin. In this regard, Benjamin Braude argues that neither did Europeans prior to about 1400, but progressively, because of the Portuguese and Spanish involvement in slaving expeditions in West Africa, such connections began to be asserted more regularly.¹⁰¹ The suggestion that dark African skin was caused by a mysterious biblical curse afflicting not an individual but an entire people marked the African body as fundamentally different and “inferior” to the European one.

Thus, a new web of associations linking inferiority, slavery and black Africans began to assemble in sixteenth-century Europe. As Greer et al. argue: “race as racism goes hand in hand with the emergence of capitalism as a new form of economic organization: the massive appropriation of land and the massive exploitation of labor during the sixteenth and seventeenth

⁹⁶ For humoralism, see note 35 in Chapter 1.

⁹⁷ For further reading, see Davies, 25-26; Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, 25-26; Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine*; Sharon Block, *Colonial Complexions: Race and Bodies in Eighteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc, 2018).

⁹⁸ José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane E. Mangan, Frances Lopez-Morillas, and Walter D. Mignolo, *Chronicles of the New World Order* (London, Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 74-75.

⁹⁹ Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 477-79

¹⁰⁰ Gen. 9:20-27

¹⁰¹ Benjamin Braude, ‘The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 103-42.

centuries (in the hands of western Atlantic European empires) had as its main purpose the production of commodities for a global market”.¹⁰² Similarly, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra states that the history of racism “began to be articulated right then, in the sixteenth century, and there, in the Atlantic world”.¹⁰³ Thus, only when slavery became a central piece in the expansion of the capitalist world system, that it became essentially black.

As mentioned before, promotional literature was heavily influenced by ideas about nationhood, so by depicting the Spanish as too weak to endure the cold, the ‘Discourse...’ was suggesting the English were strong enough. Nevertheless, the Spanish “weakness” was, in this view, circumstantial – it was not that the Spanish could not tolerate the cold, but rather that they had become unaccustomed. Instead, the Maroons’ ability to withstand cold temperatures was both circumstantial – resulting from slavery – and a “natural” adaptability that neither the Spanish nor the English seemed to have. The scheme for the Strait of Magellan separated the English from the Spanish, in turn separating the Maroons from the other two. The way it was established a two-level differentiation with the Spanish and then the Maroons shows how ideas about race intertwined in the discourse of colonial expansion. Furthermore, it shows how discourses on race during the European Renaissance evoked ancient legal and cultural frameworks on slavery, while being connected to the emerging expansion of capitalism.

The suitability of the Maroons to live in the Strait of Magellan did not derive in the first instance from being black. Neither from a historical past in a hot climate transmitted through a kinship that gave rise to a lineage of people tolerant of heat and other extreme temperatures, because if it were, the Spanish would have been as tolerant of cold as the Maroons. In this regard, the author separates very clearly Spanish from Maroons. While the former lived “delicacie in dyett and lodging”, the latter lived “farre from delicacie”. This representation of the Spaniards can be interpreted within the Elizabethan discourse of rivalry against Spain, but his vision of the Maroons was framed in a discourse of race emerging from the growing slave-trade of black Africans in the sixteenth century. In this manner, the ‘Discourse...’ uses slavery as an element of self-definition, separating drastically Europeans from the Maroons. In this way, slavery and black Africans cannot be understood separately in the context of the early modern European overseas expansion.

¹⁰² Greer, *et.al.*, *Rereading the Black Legend*, 314.

¹⁰³ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ‘New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650’, *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (1999): 68.

One must also think about the ease with which was proposed to transfer “hundreds or thousands (of Maroons), how many as we shal require”.¹⁰⁴ That such a number of Maroons was coveted reflects the growing quantity of fugitive enslaved people in Tierra Firme. In turn, this reflects the expanding nature of the transatlantic slave trade in the sixteenth century. In other words, Maroons were just a portion of a larger enslaved population. Ultimately, the author thought of capitalising his project by using a workforce supposedly faithful to England’s projects and continually growing in number and scale. In this regard, the vision of the Maroons developed in this document cannot be understood in disconnection from the emergence of global capitalism.

The proposal to transfer Maroons to the Strait of Magellan reflects how empires built ideas about race and conversely about themselves. By using English convicts, by replicating Drake’s experience in Tierra Firme in 1572-1573, by ascribing to the Maroons a supposed mutual hatred towards Spain and conversely a willingness to abide by the English rule, and by representing them as resistant to endure cold due to their former state of slavery, the ‘Discourse...’ fashioned ideas about race and nationhood. Moreover, it erased the Patagonians from Patagonia and instead proposed to populate it with people coming from the margins of society. This rhetoric of erasure is not just a stylistic concern but also a discursive technique that puts England at the centre by depicting allies and enemies, and suitable/unsuitable people for a colony in the Strait of Magellan. From this point of view, the proposal is a valuable document to study how the anonymous author of the ‘Discourse’ saw and perceived the Maroons, but also how they saw and perceived the English themselves.

6. Conclusions

Although never published nor carried out, the ‘Discourse...’ was an ambitious project for colonial expansion wherein Patagonia was the protagonist. If in 1527 the merchant Robert Thorne dismissed the Strait of Magellan as a suitable passage for England’s overseas expansion, this document reversed this view by placing the passage at the centre of his scheme in the midst of Elizabethan times. However, the vision of Patagonia is that of a promotional traveller with not much grasp of the Patagonian reality. In this sense, the proposal overlooks any kind of inconvenience that might arise – refusal of the Maroons to be part of the plan, insurrection of Maroons and/or convicts against the colonial authorities, resistance and

¹⁰⁴ Hakluyt, ‘A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus’, 142.

adaptation by settling in the Strait of Magellan. Thus, the project shows the tension between England's growing colonial ambition and the reality of settling in territories unknown to the metropolis. To overcome this tension, São Vicente was proposed as a complementary part of the scheme to obtain supplies and materials for the construction of the fortress. This demonstrates that the author understood the remoteness of Patagonia and therefore the need to function in connection with other territories. These particulars speak of the foresight and astuteness of a man attentive to the needs of overseas expansion.

Moreover, it was proposed to populate the colony with people from the margins of society, convicts and runaway slaves. By doing this, the author established a double peripherality in Patagonia, where the marginal character of its future settlers reinforces the peripheral character of the Strait of Magellan. It also attributes a colonial agency to actors sometimes overshadowed by the noticeable privateers or merchants. However, they do not participate in colonialism in the same capacity as ordinary English people, so the author assigns a specific role to convicts and Maroons within the great machinery of colonial expansion.

The project on the Strait of Magellan is not only valuable for seeing how he imagined Patagonia, but also for seeing how the English imagined themselves in a context in which national identities were beginning to be defined in Europe. In this sense, the proposal is a document laden with the ideological significance of a promotional publisher trying to find new paths for imperial expansion, showing England's emerging identity as an expansive power with agency over distant territories and their peoples. This chapter shows how extreme, peripheral and disconnected territories, such as Patagonia, were part of an empire pursuing global expansion.

Chapter 3

Patagonia on hold: Sephardic merchants, shared imaginaries and colonial projects (1594-1669)

1. Introduction

In the seventeenth century, the Low Countries became the greatest maritime power of Europe. The chronology I address in this chapter (1594-1669) corresponds to a period in which England put on hold all activities in the South Sea. I focus on two Sephardic merchants from Amsterdam living in London in the mid-seventeenth century and their proposals for England's return to the South Sea. My turn to these characters implies, at the same time, a turn to the Low Countries, which occupied the role of interlopers in the Pacific Ocean when England was focusing on the Atlantic. My aim is to demonstrate how news of Patagonia and the recent Dutch experience entered the country although national efforts were focused elsewhere. I argue that people on the margins of English society, who saw a favourable opportunity for colonial expansion and themselves, introduced the project of returning to the South Sea. Two specific persons introduced these projects: Simón de Cáceres and Carlos Enríquez. These characters show how these Sephardic merchants took advantage of their intermediate position between two countries, acting as hinges and transmitters of colonial ideas. As Holly Snyder has argued, they “illustrate how European empires interacted with one another in unofficial, as well as in official, capacities”.¹ Moreover, their proposals transformed Patagonia from a forgotten area into a platform for expansion in the eighteenth century. This chapter therefore aims to show how geographical spaces are not only settings for human activity, but also compelling constructions that activated the ambitions and imaginations of expanding empires.² The fact that England did not sail to Patagonia during this period does not mean that it disappeared from the political discussion and the geography of expansion.

The chapter also analyses the interaction between Sephardic merchants, the Low Countries and England, three actors who throughout the early modern period regarded Spain as a tyrant and oppressor. From their respective contexts and ambitions, they elaborated an influential anti-Spanish discourse that rapidly became part of the driving forces behind colonial enterprises.

¹ Holly Snyder, ‘The Pegs of a Wider Frame: Jewish Merchants in Anglo--Iberian Trade’, in *Entangled Empires: The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 107.

² Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*; Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*.

Furthermore, the anti-Spanish sentiment became “Hispanophobia”, a concept I borrow from Yolanda Rodríguez, which refers to the total repudiation of anything Spanish, including its people, form of government, religion, and customs.³

Scholars have looked at Cáceres’ and Enríquez’ proposals as models for John Narborough’s voyage in 1669. My aim is to expand on their importance by analysing the Sephardic diaspora and its role as transmitters of news and images regarding the Americas. I will do so by looking at Cáceres’ and Enríquez’s projects in contrast with the ongoing events developing in the Low Countries in the first half of the seventeenth century, that is, the Eighty Years’ War (1568-1648) and what I call the “Dutch cycle in the South Sea” (1598-1643).⁴ As I will show, the Sephardic merchants included in their proposals the most convenient aspects of the war and the voyages to elaborate appealing projects for England's expanding empire. Furthermore, they urged England to open a new space for maritime operations away from the Atlantic, paving the way for what would become the eighteenth-century expansion of the British Empire in the Pacific.

To understand the role and presence of the Sephardic merchants in England, further explanation about the Sephardic diaspora and the Jewish readmission to England is necessary. As I addressed in Chapter 1, merchants demonstrated that without being navigators, they possessed key knowledge about maritime affairs and trading routes. The case of the Sephardic merchants is no exception. They offer a valuable opportunity to analyse transnational connections through the involvement of a group that actively crossed national, religious and cultural borders.

2. Sephardic merchants in Northern Europe

In 1655, Simón de Cáceres, part of an important family of Iberian Jewish merchants, presented a project to Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell concerning southern Chile. Cáceres advocated navigating towards Valdivia, as it was “unquestionably stored with gold beyond Peru or any country in the world”. He claimed that the people there had “an irreconcilable hatred against

³ Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2020), 11–48.

⁴ The Dutch cycle in the South Sea entailed the voyages of: Jacob Mahu and Simon de Cordes (1598-1599), Oliver van Noort (1598-1600), Joris van Spilbergen (1614-1616), Willem Schouten and Jacob LeMaire (1615-1616), Jacques L’Hermite (1623-1625) and Hendrick Brouwer and Elias Herckmans (1643). For further information on the Dutch cycle, see Isidoro Vazquez de Acuña, *Las Incursiones Corsarias Holandesas En Chiloé: Simón de Cordes (1600) y Enrique Brouwer (1646)*. (Santiago: Universidad de Santiago de Chile 1992); Martinic, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*; Bradley, *The Lure of Peru*; Isidoro Vazquez de Acuña, *Historia naval del reino de Chile: 1520-1826* (Valparaiso: Compañía Sudamericana de Vapores, 2004), chapters 16, 18, 19.

the Spanyards, for their former cruelties, and will side with any people for the rooting of them out". In fact, Valdivia was only inhabited by Indians since the Spanish "have been chased long agoe from the city".⁵ In order to get there, Cáceres advocated to go via the recently discovered Strait of le Maire "or rather the south of it, where it is a vast sea, and roome enough".⁶

In 1669 another Sephardic Jew, Carlos Enríquez, presented a second plan concerning Patagonia instead of Valdivia. He presented to King Charles II three proposals, of which only two have survived. The first aimed to observe and explore the Strait of Magellan.⁷ The second advocated for a colony.⁸ The third one expanded on what he already proposed and reiterated that there were two options: exploration or colonisation.⁹ Through the establishment of a colony, Enríquez aimed to reduce "shortly the Indies or the greater part of them and remain under the Royal protection of Your Majesty, to whom I will open the doors for trade to Buenos Aires, Portobello and Panama, closing them to other nations".¹⁰

Who were Simón de Cáceres and Carlos Enríquez? Why were they familiar with the promises of the South Sea and Valdivia in particular? What took them from Amsterdam to London? Why is it relevant they were Sephardic Jews? Ultimately, how do Patagonia, London, Amsterdam and the Sephardic Jewish diaspora relate to one another? Cáceres and Enríquez belonged to what scholars call the Sephardic Jewish diaspora, an ethnic-religious concept used to designate the people who descended from the Jewish expulsion from Spain and Portugal in the late fifteenth century.¹¹ At first, some immigrated to Iberian colonial lands or went to Jewish communities in Italy and the Ottoman Empire, but in the seventeenth century, Sephardic Jewish migration

⁵ The manuscript of the project is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Rawl. MSS. A. 60, fol. 131, and there is a transcription of it in Lucien Wolf, 'American Elements in the Re-Settlement', *Transactions, Jewish Historical Society of England* 3 (1898 1896): 96–97. A translation into Spanish is in Günter Böhm, 'Simon de Casseres y su plan de conquista de Chile: antecedentes históricos,' *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv, Neue Folge* 6(1) (1980): 117–47.

⁶ Wolf, 'American Elements in the Re-Settlement', 96.

⁷ Ximena Urbina Carrasco, 'La expedición de John Narborough a Chile, 1670: defensa de Valdivia, rumores de indios, informaciones de los prisioneros y la creencia en la Ciudad de los Césares,' *Magallania* 45, no. 2 (2017): 20.

⁸ The manuscript of these proposals are in the National Archives, London. Barros translated them from English to Spanish and included them in his paper. José Miguel Barros, 'La Expedición de Narborough a Chile: Nuevos Antecedentes', *Anales Del Instituto de La Patagonia*, Serie Ciencias Sociales, 18 (1988): 51–57, 57–59. The first proposal dates from 14th July 1669.

⁹ This proposal dates from 25th September 1669, also contained in Barros.

¹⁰ Enríquez in Barros, 'La Expedición de Narborough a Chile', 55.

¹¹ The word "Sephardic" comes from the Hebrew word for Spain, Sepharad. The term refers to the Jewish descendants of those who originally lived in the Iberian Peninsula prior to the enactment of the Alhambra Decree in 1492 by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella and the decree of 1496 by King Manuel I, that is, before their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula.

shifted strongly to the main Atlantic commercial centre of Europe, Amsterdam.¹² Chilean historians identified the two characters in the 1980s, pointing out their residency in Amsterdam and later in London. Gunther Böhm said Caceres came from a large Iberian Jewish family, dispersed between Amsterdam, Hamburg, the Danish province of Glückstadt and London.¹³ Carlos Enríquez is more difficult to identify due to the scarce and contradictory information about him.¹⁴ Historians however, acknowledge that he was a part of the Sephardic diaspora.¹⁵

Studying Sephardic Jews and their networks in the early modern world is quite a difficult task. Sina Rauschenbach and Jonathan Schorsch argue that, as a network of independent families and communities that moved across nation-states, empires, continents and religions, the Sephardic diaspora is unusually complex, posing challenges to accepted historiographical fields and methods.¹⁶ Moreover, mainstream studies of colonial history have long ignored Jews as historical actors, partly, because they do not fit neatly into the traditional colonial dichotomies, complicating the narratives that have been dominant in the field.¹⁷ It is acknowledged that Sephardic Jews played a significant role within trading networks across Europe and the Americas, yet they do not necessarily fit in the traditional dichotomies of coloniser-colonised, evangeliser-evangelised or state-rival state. In various ways, Jews took part in these relations but always outside these categories. In turn, scholars of Jewish history argue that nationalist historiographies have cleansed their accounts of any reference to Jewish

¹² Sources refer to Sephardic Jewish people in many ways, making it hard to distinguish when the term refers to the faith or the ethnicity of the person. The term *converso* (convert) was used to designate New Christians, namely, people who converted to Catholicism but were from Jewish ethnic background. The term *Converso* coexisted with pejorative terms such as, like *judaizantes*, crypto-Jews or *marranos* (swine) - the most pejorative of all. Two useful discussions of these terms in: Sina Rauschenbach and Jonathan Schorsch, *The Sephardic Atlantic: Colonial Histories and Postcolonial Perspectives* (New York: Springer Science 2018), 1–14; Yda Schreuder, *Amsterdam's Sephardic Merchants and the Atlantic Sugar Trade in the Seventeenth Century* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan 2019), 7–8. Since my focus on these characters is based on their connections across countries, rather than their faith or ethnicity, I will refer to them as “Sephardic Jewish” or “Sephardic”, stressing their connections to the Iberian Peninsula and by extension to the Americas. I have avoided the term “New Christian”, widely used in studies about Sephardic merchants, for the same reasons; because I only want to stress their connections to the Iberian Peninsula rather than their faith. Trivellato, ‘Introduction’.

¹³ Böhm, ‘Simon de Casseres y su plan de conquista de Chile: antecedentes históricos.’; Martinic and Moore, ‘Las exploraciones inglesas en el estrecho de Magallanes 1670-1671. El mapa manuscrito de John Narborough’.

¹⁴ Historian Jose Miguel Barros reconstructed the character based on the declarations gave as prisoner in Lima, concluding he could have been either a Franciscan friar called José de Lizarazu, a Frenchman called Oliveros Belin, or a Spanish called Carlos Enriquez Clerque. Barros, ‘La expedición de Narborough a Chile’, 48.

¹⁵ Clayton McCarl provides the most recent study of Carlos Enriquez, yet he has been addressed by various historians included in this dissertation. Clayton McCarl, ‘Carlos Enriquez Clerque as Crypto-Jewish Confidence Man in Francisco de Seyxas y Lovera’s Piratas y Contrabandistas (1693)’, *Colonial Latin American Review* 24(3) (2015): 406–20; Peter T. Bradley, ‘Narborough’s Don Carlos’, *The Mariner’s Mirror* 72, no. 4 (January 1986): 465–75; Guarda, *Flandes Indiano: Las Fortificaciones Del Reino De Chile, 1541- 1826*, 18; Urbina Carrasco, ‘La expedición de John Narborough a Chile, 1670’.

¹⁶ Rauschenbach and Schorsch, *The Sephardic Atlantic*, 4.

¹⁷ Rauschenbach and Schorsch, 5.

involvement in the national past.¹⁸ Even when their participation has been acknowledged, traditional historiographies have found it difficult to place Jews within their national pasts.¹⁹ The growth of global and transnational studies has made it possible to pay attention to actors that, even in the margins of the nation-state, played a role in the development of global connections and cultural entanglements. Looking at Simón de Cáceres' and Carlos Enríquez's interest and participation in England's maritime affairs allows us to see how states' agendas, while pursuing national interests, involved transnational characters. In this sense, Cáceres and Enríquez acted as "cross-cultural brokers", operating as intermediaries and emissaries between three worlds: Northern Europe, the Sephardic diaspora and the New World.²⁰

Gunther Böhm and José Miguel Barros show that Simón de Cáceres and Carlos Enríquez lived in Amsterdam before London, when Amsterdam was the greatest market for colonial goods in seventeenth-century Europe.²¹ Most of the Sephardic Jews who migrated to Amsterdam came from Portugal, where they involved in the sugar trade in Brazil.²² Around the 1610s, rabbis, merchants, schoolmasters, doctors and others, mostly from Portugal, moved to Amsterdam, enlarging what would turn out to be the largest openly Jewish community in early modern Europe, to be known as "the Nation" or "the Portuguese Nation".²³ The Sephardic transnational profile, the increasing demand of sugar in northern and central Europe from the last quarter of

¹⁸ On the neglect of Jewish past in England, see David S. Katz, 'The Marginalization of Early Modern Anglo-Jewish History', *Immigrants & Minorities* 10, no. 1–2 (1991): 60–77; Elisa Narin van Court, 'Invisible in Oxford: Medieval Jewish History in Modern England', *Shofar* 26, no. 3 (2008): 1–20.

¹⁹ In the past decades, scholars have acknowledged the central role Sephardic Jewish merchants played in Early Modern trade, especially in the sugar trade in Dutch Brazil. For more on this topic, see Sephardim have appeared Jonathan Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750* (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998); Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1999); Schreuder, *Amsterdam's Sephardic Merchants and the Atlantic Sugar Trade in the Seventeenth Century*; Rauschenbach and Schorsch, *The Sephardic Atlantic*; Jessica Roitman, *The Same but Different?: Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640* (Leiden: Brill 2011).

²⁰ Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1984).

²¹ Böhm, 'Simon de Casseres y su plan de conquista de Chile: antecedentes históricos.'; Barros, 'La expedición de Narborough a Chile'. For the rise of Amsterdam and the migration of Sephardic Jewish, see. See Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange*, 100-138; Schreuder, *Amsterdam's Sephardic Merchants*, 54–64.

²² For working activities among the Sephardic Jews, see Daniel M Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*, 2000, 102-164. Table 3.1. For their involvement in sugar trade, see Pieter Emmer, 'Jewish Moment and the Two Expansion Systems in the Atlantic, 1580-1650', in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*, ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (Oxford: Berghahn Books 2001), 471–87; Herbert I. Bloom, 'A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623-1654, Based Chiefly upon the Findings of the Late Samuel Oppenheim', *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 33, no. 33 (1934): 43–125; Schreuder, *Amsterdam's Sephardic Merchants*.

²³ Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation*, 4; Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640*. (New York: Oxford University Press 2007), 17–40.

the sixteenth century, and the consolidation of the Low Countries as the main staple market, made Amsterdam the link between the Dutch and Sephardic merchants.²⁴ Amsterdam thus became the centre of a diaspora that eventually included the Caribbean and the Atlantic coast of North America.²⁵

When Cáceres and Enríquez presented their projects in England, the Sephardic merchants had been involved in the sugar trade for more than half a century, establishing networks across Brazil, Portugal and the Low Countries. In the eyes of Northern Europe, the Sephardic merchants had developed a competitive edge over other European merchants. Perhaps the most relevant circumstance for Cáceres and Enríquez was the readmission of the Jewish people in England in 1655. The reasons behind the readmission in England have been deeply discussed by scholarship. Some scholars argue it was due to philosemitic sentiment among English people, while others argue that readmission came from England's interest in Sephardic commercial networks with continental Europe. Nevertheless, the majority of them agree that the involvement of Sephardic merchants in colonial trade played an important part in Cromwell's decision.²⁶

As a result of the readmission, a significant group of Sephardic merchants from Amsterdam moved to London in mid-seventeenth century. The migration took place amidst the visit to London in 1655 of rabbi, diplomat and scholar residing in Amsterdam, Manasseh Ben Israel. During his visit he advocated strongly for the readmission of the Jewish people in England, which he claimed beneficial for the country, among other reasons, for the commercial ties Jewish merchants had with the Low Countries and, by extension, with the Caribbean, where Cromwell was seeking to expand. The recently admitted community thus played a double role as traders and informants of the English authorities, redirecting valuable information from abroad into England, as did Cáceres and Enríquez with their projects concerning southern Chile.

²⁴ Schreuder, *Amsterdam's Sephardic Merchants*, 44–54. It has been argued that the Dutch “free of conscience” policy was an incentive for Sephardic migration, yet Bodian questions the extent of this. Miriam Bodian, “‘Liberty of Conscience’ and the Jews in the Dutch Republic”, *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 6, no. 1 (2011), 1–9.

²⁵ Charles R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); P. C. Emmer, *The Dutch Overseas Empire, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: University Press, 2021); Wim Klooster, *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).

²⁶ For an overview on this debate, see Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, 130–32. And Katz, *The Jews in the History of England*, 109–10;

The mission of Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel in England took place at a particular complex time for the Low Countries. In the mid sixteenth century, the Low Countries fought their Spanish overlords, the Habsburg Empire. The conflict is known as the Dutch Revolt, the Eighty Years' War or the Dutch War of Independence (1568-1648).²⁷ The Dutch viewed the Habsburg Empire as an illegal military tyranny that ruled without the advice of the council of state, imposing taxes without consent of the States General, punishing thousands of people without due process of law, and allowing its armies to terrorise the Dutch without restraint. Religion also played a role in the issue. By accusing the Catholic Church – or the “popists” as contemporary Dutch would say – was seeking to get influence by increasing the number of bishoprics and Inquisition trials in the Low Countries.²⁸ The result of the Dutch Revolt was the emergence of a new independent state: the United Provinces of the Netherlands.²⁹

News about the conflict spread rapidly across Europe, causing admiration among those who viewed Spain as a threatening force and those sympathetic to Protestantism or republican models of political organisation. Hugh Dunthorne analyses the English reception of newsletters, pamphlets and contemporary histories, noting as well the prolific development of print culture in the emergent Dutch Republic.³⁰ For most of the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, the predominant view of the revolt expressed in the English press was openly pro-Dutch. A pamphleteer in 1607 lamented the crudeness of the war, saying that “English ears have heard their roaring cannons echo in the air, imitating Jove’s thunder ... English eyes have seen the devastations, spoils, sieges, ransacking and flaming cities of those countries [the Low Countries]”.³¹ Pamphlets were perhaps one of the most influential genres in this context. Femke Deen et.al recognise their crucial role in “constituting, reflecting, influencing and shaping politics”.³² Moreover, Vincent van Zuilen and Sara Bradley sustain that, given their “popular”

²⁷ Martin van Gelderen, ed., *The Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993); Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002); David Onnekink and Gijs Rommelse, *The Dutch in the Early Modern World: A History of a Global Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2019).

²⁸ Rodríguez Pérez, *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia*, 14.

²⁹ Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1.

³⁰ Dunthorne, 1–29.

³¹ United Provinces of the Netherlands Staten Generaal, *A Declaration or Proffer of the Archdukes of Brabant Concerning a Truce Betweene Them and the States of the Free Vnited Netherlandish Prouinces, Tending to the Treatie for a Perpetuall Peace Betweene Them: Or for a Surceasance of Armes for Certaine Yeares. Contained in a Letter Sent Vnto the Said States. Also the Ansvver and Acceptance of the States of the Vnited Prouinces Vnto the Arch-Dukes. Translated out of Netherlandish Printed Copie.* (London: Printed by R. Raworth for William Ferebrand, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Alley, 1607), B2r–v. The fragment is in the section ‘To the reader’ and, according to Hugh Dunthorne, it was possibly written by Robert Pricket, a ‘poor soldier’ who would have spent some time in the Netherlands.

³² Deen, Onnekink, and Reinders, *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic*, 3.

character and cheap price, pamphlets found their way in the wider social community, having a direct impact in public opinion.³³

In different ways, this media offered the English people a record of current events happening in the Low Countries. Together, they provided a sense of the struggle's background and its main driving forces. England was especially attentive to the news of the revolt due to its own relation with Spain. Since Elizabeth's accession to the throne in 1558, Anglo-Spanish relations were visibly crumbling. Several factors complicated the relationship between the two countries: the wariness with which Spain defended its monopoly in America, the Queen's religious agenda in favour of Protestantism instead of Catholicism, the notorious assaults by English privateers on Spanish ships and ports, Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570, the Spanish and Roman support for Catholics in England, Francis Drake's successful circumnavigation in 1578-1580, and England's support from 1577 for the Protestants against the Duke of Alba in Holland. Finally, in 1588, any attempt at friendship was buried with Philip II's "Enterprise of England". If in 1555 Richard Eden praised the virtues of the Spanish king and his nation, by 1584 Richard Hakluyt called Philip II an "unscrupulous tyrant", whose people, "guided by greed", committed "monstrous" cruelties wherever they set foot.³⁴ Therefore, Manasseh Ben Israel targeted England not only because he sought the readmission of the Jews from where they had been previously expelled, but because, both the English and the Dutch shared an increasingly deep anti-Spanish sentiment, which could be convenient for both parts.

3. Hispanophobia: a shared feeling

Cáceres' and Enríquez's projects focused on the South Sea, a region England put on hold after Richard Hawkins' navigation in 1594. Their proposals echoed various aspects of the Dutch cycle (1598-1643), such as interest in Valdivia, the geostrategic value of Patagonia and the importance of establishing alliances with local inhabitants. I argue that Cáceres and Enríquez interpreted the Dutch voyages and the Eighty Years' War at their convenience, introducing ideas and representations from the Dutch experience in southern Chile into England's maritime

³³ van Zuilen, 'The Politics of Dividing the Nation? News Pamphlets as a Vehicle of Ideology and National Consciousness in the Habsburg Netherlands (1585– 1609)'; Bradley, 'Pamphlet Literature and the Anglo-Spanish War'.

³⁴ Arber, *The First Three English Books on America (?1511)-1555 A.D.*; Richard Hakluyt, *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities That Are like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted ... Known as Discourse of Western Planting*, ed. David B. Quinn & Alison M. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993).

agenda. Cáceres, in particular, saw Valdivia as both a means and an end. When he presented his project to the Lord Protector in 1655, he included two other schemes, one concerning Barbados and the other Jamaica. For Barbados, Cáceres requested the administration of the Navigation Act (1651) so he could monitor and “restrain from strangers” the English sugar trade with Barbados.³⁵ The second project was defensive and responded to the seizure of Jamaica just carried out in 1655. Cáceres requested the fortification of the island and listed all the materials and tools required for it to be built.³⁶ His proposals stemmed from the role Sephardic merchants played in the English possessions in the Caribbean.³⁷

For most part of the early modern period, Spain developed a strict trade monopoly with its colonies, yet the English and Dutch possessions, as Wim Klooster has analysed, were open to inter-imperial trade.³⁸ Schreuder describes that English planters and Dutch merchants had a close relationship, becoming “intimately dependent on each other for business during the early years of the settlement and plantation development of the colonies”.³⁹ In the Caribbean, the English generally viewed Sephardic traders as “skilled and experienced merchants whose service would benefit the metropolitan colonial economy”.⁴⁰ In the same manner as in Amsterdam, the Sephardic merchants fulfilled in the Caribbean the role of intermediaries between connected economies and cultures.⁴¹ As Schreuder has studied, the English appreciation for Sephardic merchants was particularly visible at the beginning the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654), when Sephardic traders based in Barbados and Jamaica were granted protection and trade privileges that enabled them to engage in direct trade with London.⁴²

³⁵ Wolf, ‘American Elements in the Re-Settlement’, 99–100.

³⁶ Wolf, 96–97.

³⁷ See Daniel M. Swetschinski, ‘Conflict and Opportunity in “Europe’s Other Sea”: The Adventure of Caribbean Jewish Settlement’, *American Jewish History* 72, no. 2 (1982): 212–40; Emmer, ‘Jewish Moment and the Two Expansion Systems in the Atlantic, 1580-1650’; James C. Boyajian, ‘New Christians and Jews in the Sugar Trade, 1550-1750: Two Centuries of Development of the Atlantic Economy’, in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*, ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 471–84; Aviva Ben-Ur, *Jewish Autonomy in a Slave Society: Suriname in the Atlantic World, 1651-1825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

³⁸ See Wim Klooster, ‘Anglo-Dutch Trade in the Seventeenth Century: An Atlantic Partnership?’, in *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603-1714: The Atlantic Connection*, ed. Allan I. Macinnes and Arthur H. Williamson (Leiden: Brill 2006), 261–82.

³⁹ For a deeper analysis about the English-Dutch relations in the Caribbean, see Schreuder, 77–118; 199–231.

⁴⁰ Schreuder, 83.

⁴¹ Schreuder, 83; Snyder, ‘The Pegs of a Wider Frame: Jewish Merchants in Anglo-Iberian Trade’; Roitman, *The Same but Different?*; Emmer, ‘Jewish Moment and the Two Expansion Systems in the Atlantic, 1580-1650’; Swetschinski, ‘Conflict and Opportunity in “Europe’s Other Sea”’.

⁴² Schreuder, 83.

The South Sea, however, was a space Sephardic merchants had not approached before, much less Patagonia. The European experience in Patagonian waters had demonstrated that the closest seafarers got into a commercial relations with the Indians was through the exchange of objects that Europeans traded with Indians for fresh food. Indeed, Magellan and Drake described their trade with the Patagonians with astonishment, as if the Indians barely understood the value of objects or the workings of the modern economy. Although part of the same empire, the South Sea developed as a space in its own right and did not mirror the processes occurring in the Atlantic coast or in the Caribbean.⁴³ Trade in the Atlantic was based on agricultural plantations of sugar, tobacco, indigo and cotton. This system was labour-intensive and relied on African enslaved work.⁴⁴ In contrast, in the Pacific coast, the development of silver mining in Mexico and Peru led to the development of a lucrative commerce across the basin through the Manila Galleon trade.⁴⁵ Enslaved work also became a feature of mining, but on a significantly smaller scale than in the Atlantic.⁴⁶ The Pacific and Atlantic oceans were indeed connected spaces, but the events and processes that unfolded there made them distinct areas of historical development.⁴⁷ The unfamiliarity of Sephardic merchants with the economic activities of the South Sea made Cáceres' and Enriquez' plans even more audacious.

Cáceres saw in the South Sea a new space for colonial activities and along those lines suggested the involvement of fellow Sephardic merchants, "I shall engage some young men of *my owne nation* and I promise to lead them in my owne person".⁴⁸ Understanding this was a project that would benefit England's imperial expansion, he clarified "that the bulk and body of the officers and company bee English; and that those of my nation, or others that shal be admitted, shall goe all upon an English account, and as Englishmen, and for his highness service only".⁴⁹

⁴³ Armitage and Bashford, *Pacific Histories*, 9.

⁴⁴ Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat, 'Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America', *The American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015): 433–61; John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492 - 1830*, (New Haven: Yale University Press 2007), 104–8; Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, 13–22.

⁴⁵ Williams, *Great South Sea*, 5–10; Salvador Bernabéu Albert and Carlos Martínez Shaw, *Un océano de seda y plata: el universo económico del Galeón de Manila* (Sevilla: Editorial CSIC 2013); José Antonio Cervera Jiménez, 'El Galeón de Manila: mercancías, personas e ideas viajando a través del Pacífico (1565-1815)', *México y la cuenca del pacífico* 9, no. 26 (2020): 69–90.

⁴⁶ Borucki, Eltis, and Wheat, 'Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America', 455; Kris E. Lane, 'Africans and Natives in the Mines of Spanish America', in *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Matthew Restall, Diálogos (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 159–84.

⁴⁷ Armitage and Bashford, 9.

⁴⁸ Italics are mine.

⁴⁹ Wolf, 'American Elements in the Re-Settlement', 97.

Cáceres does not give any names so that one can construct the Sephardic network he envisaged for the South Sea, but his words illustrate how commercial networks were fluid spaces that involved different partners from the host society and other existing networks, shifting according to commercial opportunities and geopolitical conditions of the moment. In a classic work on Sephardic merchants, Jessica Roitman analyses three prominent Portuguese merchants in Amsterdam.⁵⁰ Her work shows how Sephardic merchants, like the ones she addresses in her paper and Cáceres I address here, often shifted their trade networks according to commercial opportunities and geopolitical circumstances.

Cáceres understood the geopolitical difference between the South Sea and the Caribbean, proposing to go to Valdivia not to play the role of intermediary between two imperial economies, but to establish alliances with the local inhabitants and bring the Spanish Empire down. He refers thus to Valdivia as a place where “there are noe Spaniards, but only Indians”, a city with “well-temper’d ayre, abounding in fruites, corn, cattle, fish and fowle for the life of man” and more importantly the city was “unquestionably stored with gold beyond Peru or any other country of the world”.⁵¹ In the sixteenth century, Callao was the greatest lure of the South Sea.⁵² As more interlopers entered the region, new places began to appear in Europe’s mental map, such as Arauco, a region located in southern Chile. English and Dutch navigators praised the quality of the soil, the air and the food, nothing like the infertile lands of Port Famine. Thomas Cavendish reported from his voyage across Patagonia in 1587. Francis Drake described Arauco as a place loaded with sheep, maize, potatoes and roots, where Indians had hens, eggs, and hog.⁵³ In a similar fashion, Oliver van Noort, in 1598, said that the region “from S. Iago to Baldivia, is the most fertile in the world, and of most wholesome ayre, insomuch that few are there sicke”. There were “Fruits, Mays, Hogges, Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goats, are plentiful and wander in great herds, besides Gold-mines”. Joris van Spilbergen, in 1615, praised similar things about the island Santa Maria - close to the region described by Noort - claiming that the island “is very good, fertile and healthy... [there is] abundance of wheat, barley, beans, sheep, fowls, and the like”.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Roitman, *The Same but Different?*, 40–61; 240–59.

⁵¹ Wolf, ‘American Elements in the Re-Settlement’, 96.

⁵² Bradley, *The Lure of Peru*.

⁵³ Francis Fletcher, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (London: Published for Nicholas Bourne, 1628), 48–50.

⁵⁴ Joris van Spilbergen, ‘The East and West Indian Mirror, Being an Account of Joris van Speilbergen’s Voyage Round the World (1614-1617), and the Australian Navigations of Jacob Le Maire’ (London: Routledge 2016), 55.

These characteristics made Valdivia a place for European navigators to resupply themselves with food before resuming their navigation of the Pacific Ocean. Privateers and pirates resupplied through plundering port cities or through exchanges with local peoples. In this regard, navigators were constantly spotting groups willing to trade with them even when the metropolis forbade it.⁵⁵ For Cáceres, the access to food and favourable weather conditions were important to the project, yet two things drove him specifically to Valdivia: the fact that it was “unquestionably stored with gold beyond Peru or any other country of the world” and that the Mapuche, inhabitants of Arauco, were “mortall enemyes to the Spaniards”.⁵⁶ Sources ranging from Spanish to English and Dutch, referred to the Mapuche as fierce, skilled warlike Indians.⁵⁷ Stories of their bravery circulated from the beginning of the conquest, but increased with the outbreak of the Mapuche rebellion in 1598, which drove all Spanish forces outside the Mapuche territory. Despite various attempts at conquest, Arauco enjoyed full political autonomy from the metropolis, even though it was formally part of the Spanish empire.⁵⁸ Noort said the Mapuche “so hate the Spaniards, that of whomsoever they kil, they plucke out his heart and bite it, and make drinking vessels of their skuls. They use Orations to encourage them to the maintenance of their pristine libertie against the Spanish tyranny”. In the sacking of Valdivia, only few months before Noort got to Chile, the Indians “burned Houses, Temples, Monasteries, and striking off the heads of their Images, cried, “Downe goe the gods of the Spaniards”.⁵⁹

Noort’s description is revealing about the hatred the Mapuche held against the Spaniards, but also about the European view of the New World Indians. In early modern ethnography, visions about the “other” often intersected with powerful notions of barbarism and monstrosity. One

⁵⁵ León, ‘Indios, Piratas y Corsarios En Las Costas de La Araucanía y Patagonia, 1557-1790’; María Fernanda Valencia Suárez, ‘Visiones inglesas sobre la region Maya en els siglo XVI’, *Península: publicación semestral de la Unidad Académica de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades* 10, no. 2 (2015): 71–96.

⁵⁶ Wolf, ‘American Elements in the Re-Settlement’, 96.

⁵⁷ Urbina Carrasco, *La Frontera de Arriba En Chile Colonial*; José Bengoa, *Historia de los antiguos mapuches del sur: desde antes de la llegada de los españoles hasta las paces de Quilín; siglos XVI y XVII* (Santiago de Chile: Catalonia 2013). José Bengoa, *Historia de Un Conflicto: El Estado y Los Mapuches En El Siglo XX* (Santiago: Planeta 1999); Joanna Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 2013). María Gabriela Huidobro Salazar, ‘The Portrait of the Barbarian and the Concept of Barbarism in the Epic on the Arauco War in the Sixteenth Century’, *Hipogrifo* 5, no. 2 (2017): 169–98.

⁵⁸ Bengoa, *Historia de Un Conflicto*; Guarda, *Flandes Indiano: Las Fortificaciones Del Reino De Chile, 1541-1826*.

⁵⁹ Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, Volume 2: Or, Purchas His Pilgrimes : Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others* (London, Routledge: 2014), 196.

of the most enduring images in the European imagination was that of the Indian as a cannibal.⁶⁰ Cannibalism has long been present in travel accounts and ethnographic writings because of the disturbing physicality of the practice. Intellectual historians have studied cannibalism as the visceral embodiment of the degeneration and collapse of civil society, where the tearing apart of other human beings seemed to represent the terrifying promise of chaos and war.⁶¹ Although Noort does not refer to the Mapuche as cannibals, the Indian biting a Spanish heart was a sign of an irreconcilable war far from resuming order anytime soon.

At the same time, Mapuche ferocity represented an advantage for those seeking to contest Spanish rule in the New World. Benjamin Schmidt explains that in the Low Countries, the Mapuche caused a real “fascination” in the country, for the struggle and fierceness against Spain mirrored their own struggle for independence from their former ruler.⁶² For Schmidt, the most representative expedition of the Dutch imagination is the voyage of Hendrik Brouwer in 1643, although from the outset of the Dutch cycle the desire for alliance was a visible goal. Brouwer sailed specifically to Valdivia in an attempt to establish a “defensive and offensive” alliance with the Mapuche so together they could bring down the Spanish empire.⁶³ Joan van Loon, chronicler of the voyage, said that at their arrival, 1,200 Mapuche gathered to hear the words of the Dutch captain, Elias Herckmans.⁶⁴ After his speech, Herckmans handed the caciques a letter from the Prince of Nassau as a sign of their commitment to their liberation:

All of them, from the most to the least significant leader, were so excited about it that they kissed the aforementioned. They praised themselves lucky with the arrival of them [the Dutch] from faraway lands, that they supplied them with European weapons, and that they supported them in their fight against the violence and tyranny of the Spaniards.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986); Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*; Tzvetan Todorov, *Nosotros y los otros: reflexión sobre la diversidad humana* (Madrid: Siglo XXI 2010).

⁶¹ Cătălin Avramescu, *An Intellectual History of Cannibalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2011); Kelly L. Watson, *Insatiable Appetites: Imperial Encounters with Cannibals in the North Atlantic World* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

⁶² Schmidt, ‘Exotic Allies’.

⁶³ Brouwer’s instructions are in the Dutch National Archive and have been transcribed in *Nederlanders in Chili* by Telting and *Goude en Indanen* by Heijer. Excerpts of the document are in Mark Meuwese’s edition of Brouwer’s journal. Johan Van Loon, *To the Shores of Chile: The Journal and History of the Brouwer Expedition to Valdivia in 1643* (University Park: Penn State University Press 2020), 7.

⁶⁴ Brouwer died before arriving to Valdivia.

⁶⁵ Van Loon, *To the Shores of Chile*, 87–88.

It is hard to tell to what extent the reaction of the Mapuche was, in fact, so positive. Early modern travel accounts, alongside describing a reality effectively witnessed, projected the desires and ambitions of their authors and empires. Furthermore, the image of the powerless Indian was strengthened by the Black Legend, which had been in circulation for over a century by this time. As Schmidt has studied, this combination well suited the promotional literature while suggesting an image of American innocence overseas.⁶⁶ In this sense, the English did not develop a mirror discourse about the New World in the fashion the Dutch did with the Mapuche, but they did imagine willingness to collaborate with English expansion. In 1588, explorer Thomas Harriot explicitly stated that the Virginia Indians would not be an obstacle to English colonisation because they feared and loved the English.⁶⁷ Harriot remarked that when they arrived the natives waved their hands in welcome and treated the English with “reasonable friendliness”.⁶⁸ In some occasions, even unfriendly attitudes were interpreted as signs of anti-Spanish sentiment. Hawkins said in regard to the Indians of the Strait of Magellan that “they use all the villainy they can towards white people, taking them for Spaniards, in revenge of the deceit that nation hath used towards them upon sundry occasions”.⁶⁹ In this way, different even contradictory attitudes, such as friendliness and hostility, were interpreted in convenient ways to suit the empire’s desire for expansion.

In some cases, alliances were achieved, but in others they turned out to be no more than a fantasy. In Valdivia, Herckmans’ alliance materialised, albeit partially. While some Mapuche accepted Dutch friendship, they did not show much interest in looking for gold. “That way they would also not notice our great desire for gold, which we feared to be a hindrance. We found this to be a nation of simple minds, which should be approached carefully. As far as we could understand, they are also very lazy”.⁷⁰ After two months of peaceful coexistence, the Dutch abandoned Chile and thus ended the Dutch cycle in the South Sea. For Schmidt, Brouwer’s expedition crystallises the tension between imperial ambitions and local realities.⁷¹ For James Horn, this would be a result of an “imperfect understanding”, namely, unclear and confusing

⁶⁶ Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*.

⁶⁷ Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Privately Printed), 24.

⁶⁸ Harriot, 38.

⁶⁹ Richard Hawkins, *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knt in His Voyage into the South Sea in the Year 1593 Reprinted from the Edition of 1622*, ed. Charles Ramsay Drinkwater Bethune (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 122.

⁷⁰ Van Loon, *To the Shores of Chile*, 87.

⁷¹ Schmidt, ‘Exotic Allies’.

encounters between Indians and Europeans that led to misleading understandings fuelled by rumours, aspirations and imaginations rather than reality.⁷²

Despite the imperfect understanding between the Dutch and the Mapuche, an alliance with the Mapuche was central in Cáceres' proposal. Besides "mortall enemyes to the Spaniards", Cáceres claimed that they had "an irreconcilable hatred against the Spaniards for their former cruelties, and will side with any people for the rooting of them out; and are the most warlike of all the Indians".⁷³ On the supposed ignorance of gold's value and laziness of the Mapuche, Cáceres says nothing. Instead, he overlooks the issue and attributes the Dutch failure to Brouwer's death, as shortly after the expedition "came home and quitted the place, and left it for a noble English resolution".⁷⁴

Cáceres' project took up the most attractive elements of the Dutch experience in Valdivia, appealing to the anti-Spanish spirit shared by both the Northern European countries and the Mapuche, the possibilities of enriching themselves with Valdivia's gold and strangling the Spanish Empire by attacking from both the Caribbean and the South Sea. Moreover, it was a project that advocated the inclusion of members of his "Nation", which in turn, offered new possibilities for trade in an area that had not been accessible to Sephardic merchants until then. We have no documents to explain why Cromwell did not agree to Cáceres' plan but most likely he was aiming at securing the Caribbean, his favourite centre for operations, as Glyn Williams says.⁷⁵ In 1669, another Sephardic Jew presented a project concerning the South Sea, although this time, it was an eminently militaristic and political project devised for Patagonia in particular. Valdivia and Callao were still alluring but to get there it was necessary first, in his view, to cross the Strait of Magellan.

4. Looking southwards: the Strait of Magellan as a platform for colonial expansion

The degree of acquaintance between Simón de Cáceres and Carlos Enríquez is unknown, but is very likely they knew each other and their projects due to the small size and close bonds among the Jewish community in London. Enríquez submitted his proposal in a different political scenario from Cáceres: in 1669, with the monarchy recently restored and under the

⁷² James Horn, 'Imperfect Understandings: Rumor, Knowledge, and Uncertainty in Early Virginia', in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 513–40.

⁷³ Wolf, 'American Elements in the Re-Settlement', 96–97.

⁷⁴ Wolf, 97.

⁷⁵ Williams, *Great South Sea*, 77.

reign of King Charles II. José Miguel Barros has shown that not only did Enríquez embark with Narborough, but also that Enríquez himself was the intellectual author of the expedition.⁷⁶ Studying Enríquez is difficult because we have very few sources about him and the ones we have are very contradictory. Peter Bradley first explored Enríquez's possible connections to Jewish merchants of London.⁷⁷ Clayton McCarl has recently revisited this character, offering an explanation of Enríquez's origins and career.⁷⁸ Three sources give us glimpses of him and his life: Narborough's travel account, Francisco de Seyxa y Lovera's *Piratas y Contrabandistas*, and Enríquez's own declarations in Lima.

Narborough mentioned Enríquez only a few times in his account, referring to him as "Don Carolus". At Valdivia, Narborough said:

Don Carolus the Spanish Gentleman which went out of England with mee stayd here at Baldivia. I cannot tell where he was born nor certainly what countrymen he was but by his own report he said he was a Spaniard but he looked like a Jew, he was about 40 years of age, he spake the Spanish and French tongues, and the English tongue, a did write them all very well, he said he had seen most parts of the world , and that he had lived formerly in Chili. I could not understand what he was, for he knew nothing at all of a Sean man, or a Mathematician, or a souldier for he could not manage a fowling peace, or any arms neither had he any Religion, he took but little notice of anything except for his victuals, all the time he was along with mee in the voyage.⁷⁹

Narborough's words "hee looked like a Jew" do not provide enough information to claim Enriquez was in fact Jewish or Sephardic – rather he seems to replicate forms of racial discrimination based on the idea that physical traits could determine racial lineage.⁸⁰ Spanish sailor Francisco de Seyxas y Lovera identified him as Carlos Enríquez Clerq, born in Spain and son of a *converso* who lived in the Peninsula amid *converso* merchants.⁸¹ Enríquez would

⁷⁶ Barros, 'La expedición de Narborough a Chile', 51–57, 57–59.

⁷⁷ Bradley, 'Narborough's Don Carlos'.

⁷⁸ McCarl, 'Carlos Enríquez Clerque as Crypto-Jewish Confidence Man in Francisco de Seyxas y Lovera's *Piratas y Contrabandistas* (1693)'.

⁷⁹ John Narbrough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough to the Strait of Magellan and the South Sea in His Majesty's Ship Sweepstakes, 1669-1671*, ed. R. J. Campbell, Peter T. Bradley, and Joyce Lorimer (Abingdon: Routledge 2018), 560.

⁸⁰ For a discussion on race and lineage see section 4 in chapter 2.

⁸¹ Francisco de Seyxas y Lovera, *Piratas y contrabandistas de ambas Indias y estado presente de ellas* (1693), ed. Clayton McCarl (A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2011), 144–45.

have been taken to Northern Europe in 1640 by his father, where he received a dual education that allowed him to pass “as Catholic among the Catholics and as a Jew among the Jews”.⁸² Enríquez’ testimony in Lima in 1670–71 adds to the confusion even more. First he that claimed his name was not Carlos Enríquez but Carlos Clerq but later he would have changed it when he became ordained as Franciscan friar, taking the name Fray José de Lizarazu. Months after he confessed that he was neither a Sephardi nor a friar, but French merchant Oliberos Belin, native from Saint Malo.⁸³ He signed his declaration as “Carlos Enríquez Clerque, alias Oliberos Belin”. In general, historians refer to him as a Sephardic merchant. In contrast to Cáceres, Enríquez made no mentions to his “Nation” either. It is likely, however, he did not say anything about his Jewish background for fear of falling into the hands of the Inquisition.

Like in Cáceres’ plan, Spain’s tyranny was at the centre of Enríquez’ project. He advocated removing “the intolerable yoke” imposed, and that Spain was only motivated by “idleness and greed, which are vices that cause so much discord among themselves that there is no nation that does not try to consume and drink blood”.⁸⁴ Both Cáceres and Enríquez issued their proposals after the Eighty Years’ War, but the conception of Spain as a tyrannical ruler lingered in European imagination long after the conflict.⁸⁵ As Rodríguez argues, Hispanophobia was far from a rigid discourse, but a convenient attitude for European powers to disguise their own colonial interests.⁸⁶ In this regard, Enríquez concern about the “intolerable yoke” revolved around Spain’s power rather than colonialism itself.

Enriquez’ proposal focused on the Strait of Magellan instead of Valdivia, so he stressed the benefits that a colony in the passage would bring to England. It was essential that the English would take possession of Elizabeth Island, so named by Francis Drake in 1578 although it was called Santa Clara by the Spanish. Drake described it as “very faire and large, and of fruitfull soile, upon being next to us and the weather very calme”.⁸⁷ Expanding on its features, Enríquez said the island was “very flat, with a lot of grass and trees, with many springs of very clear and tasty water... There is a harbour to the south with a crescent-shaped mouth.... there are rocks

⁸² Seyxas y Lovera, 145.

⁸³ For a reconstruction of these identities during his declarations at Lima, see Barros, ‘La Expedición de Narborough a Chile’, 54.

⁸⁴ Barros, 56.

⁸⁵ Schmidt, ‘Exotic Allies’; Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend*; Valencia Suárez, *Los Aztecas y La Conquista de México En Las Ambiciones Inglesas, 1519-1713* (Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México 2018).

⁸⁶ Rodríguez Pérez, *Literary Hispanophobia*, 11–48.

⁸⁷ Fletcher, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, 1628, 35.

that can be cut and built with them the necessary fortresses to protect the harbour and the towns that would be built there”. The fortress would be “capable of accommodating fifty large ships”, revealing the strategic and military character of the project rather than a colonising settlement.⁸⁸

Cáceres highlighted the abundance of food and resources in Valdivia but the experience of the English and Dutch between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had shown that the Strait of Magellan was characterised by the opposite, scarcity of resources and the enormous distance from the first Spanish settlements in southern Chile. Enríquez tried to alleviate this by making a detailed list of all the things the English would have to take with them, for if they were to build a fortress, it would have to start almost from scratch.⁸⁹ He also advised to navigate during the summer, “comfortable time to cut and dry the wood for the factories and to get the lime, tile and brick that may be needed and for other related things”.⁹⁰ Enríquez had hatched an ambitious plan, so he had to prove that he was not a mere theoretician, but a practical man. The absence of resources was in fact an opportunity to show himself as capable of moving people and supplies from England to Patagonia and laying the foundations of what could be a strategic fortress to enter the South Sea. Patagonia had a powerful advantage over other territories, as Enríquez viewed the arduousness of the Strait of Magellan an opportunity to have freedom of action in a space he saw as empty.

After the arrival to the Strait, Enríquez said that the English would arrange “the manner in which it the fortress is to be built and fortified, and how the communication and treatment of the Indians is to be requested”.⁹¹ Enríquez also assumed the Indians would participate in his project, although he is not clear in explaining the basis for their supposed willingness to do so. His proposal reveals a great sense of power over peoples he assumed would collaborate on the grounds of a shared interest. In this way, he listed a series of things the English should bring with them to win the Indians’ friendship. These were “things of great esteem!: leaf tobacco in rolls, smoking pipes, ordinary knives, ordinary medium scissors, rattles, mirrors, beads and fake pearls among others.”⁹² Enríquez’s list reminds us of Columbus’ first encounters in the Caribbean when, in the absence of words, Indians and Spaniards exchanged beads of glass and

⁸⁸ Barros, 51.

⁸⁹ Barros, 54–55.

⁹⁰ Barros, 58.

⁹¹ Barros, 54.

⁹² Barros, ‘La Expedición de Narborough a Chile’.

small mirrors for gold.⁹³ The episode between Columbus and the Indians ended up laying the foundations for what would become an enduring image of the American Indian in early modern culture and ethnography: the “good savage”.⁹⁴

Present from the first descriptions of Columbus until well into the eighteenth century, the discourse of the “good savage” represented the American Indian as a figure devoid of greed and evil. Among intellectuals and humanists such as Bartolomé de las Casas and Michel de Montaigne, it was an extremely potent discourse for criticising Europe’s actions in the New World.⁹⁵ Moreover, the image of the “good savage” intertwined deeply as well with the Black Legend, suggesting an image of innocence and naivety of the Indians. However, among navigators and explorers, it was a very convenient view of the Indian, which presupposed asymmetrical interactions where power, on account of the Indian’s alleged ignorance, rested with the European. As colonisation in the Americas progressed, interactions between Indians and Europeans became more complex, and visions about innocence clashed with representations of war, violence and bestiality.⁹⁶

Encounters with the Indians of Patagonia developed among Europeans a primitive vision of them, which was expressed in plentiful descriptions of their nakedness, nomadism, paganism and rudimentary weapons, as I analysed in chapters 1 and 2. Although Enríquez wrote his proposal after 150 years of European-Indian interactions, Patagonia remained in the European view a space unaltered by time and colonisation. As I argued in the introduction of this dissertation, in early modern culture, Patagonia was profoundly marked by its peripheral character within the Spanish empire. The latter was both an obstacle and an opportunity for Enríquez, as the lack of resources available in Valdivia compensated with autonomy and cheap workforce.

Enríquez’s project does not seem to have the close relationship to the Dutch experience of the first half of the century that Cáceres developed. In fact, Enríquez only included broad ideas equally common in Northern European countries, such as Hispanophobia and the supposed

⁹³ Christopher Columbus, *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus with Other Original Documents Relating to This Four Voyages to the New World* ed. R.H. Major (Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group 2010), 64.

⁹⁴ For review about the noble savage in history, Stephanie Moser, *Ancestral Images: The Iconography of Human Origins*, *Ancestral Images* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2018), 107–45.

⁹⁵ Weber, *Bárbaros*; Stelio Cro, ‘Montaigne y Pedro Mártir: Las raíces del buen salvaje’, *Revista de Indias* 50, no. 190 (1990): 665–; Vicente Raga Rosaleny, ‘Cultura y naturaleza: Montaigne en América.’, *Alpha*, no. 37 (2013): 91–.

⁹⁶ Sofía Reding Blase, *El buen salvaje y el caníbal*, (Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México 1992).

willingness of the Indians to collaborate in their projects. The project certainly takes distance from Cáceres commercial approach, viewing the Strait of Magellan as a geostrategic place, from where England could prepare an eventual offensive against Spain. The scheme quickly caught the attention of his contemporaries, for that same year, King Charles II commissioned Captain John Narborough to navigate the Strait of Magellan. As I show in the following chapter, it was an expedition that marked a turning point in the relationship between England and Patagonia, giving rise to a new conception of the South Sea from forgotten area into a platform for imperial expansion.

5. Conclusions

In the seventeenth century, England and the Low Countries developed a similar discourse towards Spain, using terms such as tyranny and oppression to refer to Spanish rule. The discourse was fuelled by Spain's own actions both in Europe and the New World, as by the growing ambitions of the other European powers. Two Sephardic merchants saw in Hispanophobia an opportunity profitable for England and themselves. Their schemes showed they were attentive to the latest events in the Caribbean along with the successes and failures of the Dutch Cycle in the South Sea. Furthermore, their projects intertwined concrete possibilities of expansion with images of alliance and collaboration, viewing in clashing attitudes, such as belligerence and innocence, instruments for expansion.

The projects of the Sephardic merchants reawakened England's interest in the South Sea, revaluing Patagonia as a geostrategic place for colonial expansion. As a newly admitted group at the time when Cáceres and Enríquez presented their proposals, we can say that England's return to the South Sea emerged from the margins of society. This was a small yet dynamic group with key connections across an active trading network that involved the Low Countries, Portugal and Brazil. I stress the transnational character of Cáceres and Enríquez not only because they acted as intermediaries between two countries, but also because they allow us to see their importance in the affairs central to the state in a context where national (proto)identities were beginning to be defined in Europe. In this regard, Cáceres and Enríquez remind us that historical characters do not always fit into the traditional national categories of analysis and therefore we need to look beyond the nation-state even when studying empires.

Cáceres and Enríquez advocated looking towards the South Sea, shifting from the traditional theatre of operations in the Atlantic. Neither Valdivia nor the Strait of Magellan offered the

commercial opportunities developed in the Caribbean. However, the southern coasts of Chile offered an offensive-military character that could be profitable in the face of an imminent attack on Spanish America. In this sense, the Sephardic projects introduced an alternative way of thinking about expansion in England that was different from what had been done in North America and the Caribbean, thus outlining a new space and plan of action. In this context, Patagonia re-emerged as the key for expansion in the Pacific Ocean. Although no English people sailed to Patagonia in the period covered in this chapter, they were attentive and receptive to news from other countries. When John Narborough sailed to southern Chile in 1669, he did so in a manner that synthesised Cáceres' and Enríquez's projects. Therefore, expansionist projects did not arise solely from experiences overseas, but from the reception of other voyages and information provided, on this occasion, by merchants attentive to new spaces and opportunities.

Chapter 4

Baconian science in the periphery: Knowledge and Power in the Voyage of John Narborough (1669-1671)

1. Introduction

In 1669, England resumed navigation in Patagonia after seven decades of absence in the South Sea. Employing novel ways of collecting geographical knowledge, naval captain John Narborough, or Narbrough, changed the way Patagonia was recorded and imagined. Classical historiography on early modern travel writing has given prominence to the role imagination, emphasising how the preconceptions rooted in ancient and medieval myths shaped the way Europeans understood the Americas. The “New World proved all too often to be no more than a fragile construct of the mind”, argues Elliott.¹ Imagination, however, was not the only reason England’s image of Patagonia changed after Narborough’s voyage. Europe’s understanding of the Americas was also the result of first-hand information gathered by travellers. In this sense, seafarers strove to bring back up-to-date and reliable information. I argue that Narborough’s observations show new ways of recording the natural world that emerged during the Scientific Revolution while at the same time they show that imagination continued to play a central role in travel writing. On the one side, his descriptions reflect the shift in travel literature towards a more scientific genre, expressed in a language that established authority by quantitative measures, eye witnessing and the external validation publishers and scientific institutions gave to them as reliable texts. On the other side, his observations on the Patagonians reflect how the discourse of the barbarian, and particularly the “savage”, was still very much alive in seventeenth-century travel writing. Therefore, Narborough’s observations show that imagination worked in tandem with science, not in isolation from it.

This argument is organised in two parts. The first one concerns the construction of reliable knowledge. Historian of science Daniel Carey has studied how early modern travel writing sought internal and external forms of authentication, offering double foundation for credibility.² For Carey, travellers employed “internal techniques” dealing with precise observation skills, repeated experimentation and attempts at accuracy, which then were

¹ J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492-1650* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), 25.

² Daniel Carey, ‘The Problem of Credibility in Early Modern Travel: The Problem of Credibility in Early Modern Travel’, *Renaissance Studies* 33, no. 4 (September 2019): 524–47; Also see Daniel Carey, ‘Truth, Lies and Travel Writing’, in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (London: Routledge, 2015), 3–14.

externally endorsed, through their publication or dedications, giving the text validation and credibility. Using Carey's terminology, I examine Narborough's employment of "internal techniques" and the subsequent "external endorsement" given by the Royal Society. I show this by analysing Narborough's observations in the light of the prevailing epistemological Baconian framework coming from intellectual transformations fostered by the Scientific Revolution. The result was more accurate and exact knowledge of Patagonia, as numerical estimates of water depths, latitude, and distance replaced subjective descriptions. Moreover, this image of Patagonia circulated in the highest intellectual circle of seventeenth century England when the Royal Society published it in 1694.

Nevertheless, that Narborough shifted to a more scientific style of travel writing does not mean his descriptions were not laden with subjective notions about extra-European lands. The second part of the chapter examines Narborough's representation of the Patagonians as "savages", showing the permanence of marvellous tropes even in the seventeenth-century scientific discourse. I argue that rather than the replacement of the marvellous discourse by a more scientific one, wonder and science reconfigured their relationship. By analysing Narborough in this framework, I contribute to maritime history and the history of science. I also put forth the notion that Narborough's observations preceded England's colonial interest in the Pacific Ocean at the turn of the seventeenth century.

Most histories of the English empire in the Americas overlook Narborough's voyage, largely due to the disciplinary divide between North American and South American history and limited attention to the Pacific. Glyndwr Williams and Peter T. Bradley are notable exceptions, analysing Narborough's experience in the South Sea and its aftermath. They argue that the economic and political outcomes were limited in comparison to the Elizabethan privateers Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish. The reason behind this comes from the events that took place in Valdivia, that is, when Spanish officials captured four Englishmen and refused to release them. Moreover, they threatened to shoot at Narborough's ship if he did not leave immediately, forcing him to return home sooner than expected. Williams argues that Narborough's voyage itself was an "ill-conceived venture" that failed miserably. In his view, the voyage was "a casual attempt to combine a trading enterprise with a reconnaissance mission".³ Bradley focusses on the presence of a "mysterious Spanish mariner" in

³ Williams, 'The Inexhaustible Fountain of Gold: English Projects and Ventures in the South Seas, 1670-1750', 29

Narborough's crew, referring to Carlos Enríquez, intellectual author of the voyage analysed in Chapter 3 and one of the four men taken prisoners in Valdivia. By foregrounding the events at Valdivia and Enriquez, Williams and Bradley overlook Narborough's collection of geographical data. Bradley does assess the charting of the Strait of Magellan and regards it as successful, yet he does not elaborate on what exactly made Narborough a contributor to geographical knowledge.⁴ Moreover, Williams's characterization of the voyage as "casual" minimises the volume of labour and skill behind the collection of information, overlooking the human capital involved and the employment of emerging scientific practices.

In contrast to Anglophone scholarship, Chilean historians have paid great attention to Narborough's voyage.⁵ His contribution to a larger and more detailed knowledge about Patagonia is well recognised. Isidoro Vázquez de Acuña argues that Narborough made "important contributions in cartography (...) in the scientific knowledge of the southern tip of Chile, his observations were the first to be made with modern criteria in the natural sciences, ethnography and anthropology".⁶ With regard to one of the maps that Narborough presented to King Charles II back in England, Mateo Martinic and David Moore claim that Narborough's work "anticipates the scientific cartography produced in the eighteenth century".⁷ While these are valuable contributions, they overlook the intellectual and scientific context that led Narborough to produce geographical knowledge in such a scientific manner. In large part, this is due to the prominence of political and military histories in the literature of Patagonia. In turn, studies of Narborough's voyage overlook the extent to which the English context, marked by the restoration of the monarchy and the Scientific Revolution, had an impact on the development of maritime activity in Patagonia. Instead, they focus on the impact the voyage had on the Spanish Empire and the protection of the southern border.

Literature about Narborough has only recently explored new avenues of historical analysis. Ximena Urbina and Clayton McCarl examine the activation of a complex network of

⁴ Bradley, *The Lure of Peru*, 86–102.

⁵ Barros, 'La Expedición de Narborough a Chile: Nuevos Antecedentes'; Guarda, *Flandes Indiano: Las Fortificaciones Del Reino De Chile, 1541- 1826*.; Martinic Beros, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*; Urbina Carrasco, 'La Expedición de John Narborough a Chile, 1670'..

⁶ Vázquez de Acuña, *Historia naval del reino de Chile*, 221. Martinic also provides an overview of the voyage, Martinic Beros, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*.

⁷ Martinic and Moore, 'Las Exploraciones Inglesas En El Estrecho de Magallanes 1670-1671. El Mapa Manuscrito de John Narborough'.

communication and defence in the Spanish viceroyalty.⁸ In 2018, the Hakluyt Society published Narborough's manuscript accompanied by a lucid introductory study by Richard Campbell, Peter Bradley and Joyce Lorimer, showing the revalorisation of figures whose contribution to the empire did not necessarily come from a successful military performance.⁹ Katherine Parker analyses Narborough as an "explorer", questioning the traditional conception of the explorer as a nineteenth-century cultural phenomenon, whereas Georgina Rannard assesses Narborough's cartographic output within the growing demand for "useful knowledge" in seventeenth-century England.¹⁰

Looking closely at the observations recorded and the practices employed on the voyage, I argue that the information collected in Patagonia, specifically in San Julián and the Strait of Magellan, was the most significant in volume and in contribution to English knowledge of the region up to that time. Furthermore, I argue that the collection required an intensive application of labour and skill. Historians underestimate the political significance of Narborough's voyage because of the events at Valdivia, but the information he collected sparked wider interest in exploring the area, transforming England's view of Patagonia from a marginal region to an attractive space for colonial expansion. Details about the appearance of the landscape, the position of rocks, the depth of water and the location of trees and other resources indicate that Narborough recorded information intended to guide navigators through the harbours and straits, demonstrating England's intention to return to the area in the near future.

This chapter begins with an overview of the political context involving England's return to the South Sea. I then move to analyse Narborough's "internal techniques", which are in tandem with the following section concerning the Royal Society's "external endorsement". The final section of the chapter focuses on Narborough's depiction of the Patagonians as "savages", showing how ingrained ideas of savagery and marvellous discourse become entangled with a travel narrative that increasingly turned to a scientific description of extra-European peoples. From the perspective of the history of science, this chapter proposes revisiting a voyage that Chilean historiography has studied in depth, but mainly from a militaristic and naval

⁸ Clayton McCarl, 'The Aftermath of the John Narborough Expedition (1669-1671) in the Viceroyalty of Peru', *Colonial Latin American Review* 27(4) (2018): 507–21; Urbina Carrasco, 'Los «papeles de Londres» y alertas sobre ingleses. Chiloé y las costas de la Patagonia Occidental ante los conflictos entre España e Inglaterra'.

⁹ Peter Bradley and Joyce Lorimer (eds.), *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough to the Strait of Magellan and the South Sea in His Majesty's Ship Sweepstakes, 1669-1671* (New York: Routledge for the Hakluyt Society, 2018).

¹⁰ Parker, 'The Savant and the Engineer'; Rannard, 'Empire and Useful Knowledge: Mapping and Charting the British American World, 1660-1720'.

perspective. Analysing the intellectual context surrounding Narborough's scientific production contributes to an understanding of how science and imagination came together as an essential mechanism in England's colonial development.

2. Returning to Patagonia

Following Carlos Enríquez exploratory scheme, Narborough sailed in 1669 out of the Downs, a roadstead in the east of the Kent coast, and returned to England in June 1671. The expedition comprised two ships, the *Sweepstakes*, commanded by Narborough, and the *Batchelour*, commanded by Humphrey Fleming. Only the former made it Valdivia, for the latter returned to England after a storm, before touching America, and presumed the captain ship lost. The voyage took place in significantly different circumstances from those of the Elizabethan privateers. If Drake and Cavendish sailed at the height of Elizabethan expansion, Narborough sailed in the recently restored England. The 1650s had been particularly complex for the country, as Cromwell had to face opposition from the Quakers and Baptists, and the outbreak of uprisings and rebellions in Ireland and Scotland. Moreover, Cromwell's mercantilist policy restricted foreign trade, constraining significantly England's commercial activities.¹¹ The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 thus marked the beginning of a new era, putting an end to a period of political instability and social unrest. The early years of the decade witnessed the consolidation of the monarchy as a political regime and the renewal of imperial expansion but the atmosphere was still very fragile nonetheless.¹²

Likewise, if Drake and Cavendish had sailed at the height of Hispanophobia, Narborough sailed amidst the negotiations of the Treaty of Madrid, which sought "the settlement of all disputes in America" after turbulent years in the Caribbean. More than a deep sense of rejection towards anything Spanish, the atmosphere was governed by negotiation and a sense diplomacy.¹³ Thus, Charles II pursued a new approach to Patagonian navigation in the form of a full-scale

¹¹ Maurice Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate* (London: F. Cass, 1962); Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993); Benjamin Dew, *Commerce, Finance and Statecraft Histories of England, 1600-1780* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2018), 157–68; Schreuder, *Amsterdam's Sephardic Merchants and the Atlantic Sugar Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, 159–64.

¹² N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*, A History of Early Modern England (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 2.

¹³ 'Treaty between Great Britain and Spain for the Settlement of All Disputes in America, SP 108/470'. Translated from Latin into English in Frances Gardiner Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies (1650-1697)*, vol. II (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 187–96.

reconnaissance of the Strait of Magellan. The instructions stated clearly that the aim of this voyage was solely exploratory, so Narborough was to avoid all sorts of conflict with the Spanish, making sure “not to hurt nor intrude on any place where they are planted”.¹⁴ Any attack on Spain could compromise the ongoing negotiations, which, if settled, would greatly benefit England, as they forced Spain to recognise Jamaica as an English possession and accept the presence of English ships in the Caribbean Sea. Moreover, the treaty reversed the previous Spanish position that defined any English person in the Americas as an intruder and a pirate. Even though the seizure of Jamaica did not mark the end of Spanish dominance in the Americas, the undertaking proved transformative as it reshaped England’s maritime activity from then.¹⁵

As late as the 1640s, 80-90% of exports from London were woollen cloth, yet sixty years later, “English commerce had taken on a new character”, as Ralph Davis notes.¹⁶ English trade as a whole depended largely upon the extra-European world, bolstering the imports and re-exports of colonial commodities like sugar, tobacco and calicoes.¹⁷ At the same time, English merchants set their eyes on the alluring fortunes they believed could be made in the Americas as Spain’s weakening monopoly opened to inter-regional trading.¹⁸ From the outset of the Spanish empire in America, only Spanish vessels were legally allowed to enter American ports. After the Iberian Union in 1580, Portuguese vessels could enter these ports, but after the Union dissolved in 1640, Spanish American ports became open to traders from other European nations.¹⁹ This led to the emergence of what J. H. Elliott describes as a “partially autonomous Hispanic American economy”.²⁰ Similarly, Nuala Zahedieh has argued that “by the mid-seventeenth century, it appears that the bulk of Spanish American trade was in the hands of foreigners”.²¹

¹⁴ Narbrough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough to the Strait of Magellan and the South Sea in His Majesty’s Ship Sweepstakes, 1669-1671*, 373–74.

¹⁵ Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Conquest of Jamaica Oliver Cromwell’s Bid for Empire*, 2017, 185–89.

¹⁶ Ralph Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700’, *The Economic History Review* 7, no. 2 (1954): 150.

¹⁷ Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 27.

¹⁸ John Fisher, *The Economic Aspects of Spanish Imperialism in America, 1492-1810* (Liverpool: University Press, 1998), 65–71.

¹⁹ Alex Burocki, David Eltis and David Wheat ‘Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America’, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 120, No. 2 (2015), 448.

²⁰ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 277.

²¹ Nuala Zahedieh, ‘The Merchants of Port Royal, Jamaica, and the Spanish Contraband Trade, 1655-1692’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (1986), 572.

One of the main English interests in Spanish America was slavery, although other commodities, such as gold, silver and cash crops, also caught their attention.²² The slave trade in the early modern period articulated around the *asiento*, a monopoly contract granted by the Spanish Crown to “individual merchants or merchant houses to orchestrate the transportation of a fixed number of enslaved Africans to specific Spanish American ports over a set period of time”.²³ The *asiento* became the legal framework for supplying slaves to Spanish America, although contraband rapidly emerged as an alternative.²⁴ Alex Burocki et al. have calculated that between 1581 and 1640, most of the slave trade was conducted by Spanish ships, but from 1640 onwards their involvement diminished significantly, while French and British participation increased dramatically.²⁵ As David Eltis examines, inter-regional trade enabled the transportation of enslaved people to Spanish America, operating from three major branches: Dutch trade from Curaçao, English trade from Barbados and Jamaica, and a third from Brazil to Rio de la Plata.²⁶ In this context, England became increasingly interested in the *asiento* as it offered access to the Spanish-American markets, although Spain would not grant England the *asiento* until 1713.²⁷

The possibility of entering this trade was hinted at in the ninth point of the Treaty of Madrid:

If in the course of time either king shall deem it convenient to grant any general or special license or any privileges to the subjects of the other for navigating and trading in any places under the jurisdiction of the one who shall have granted the said licenses and privileges, the said navigation and commerce shall be practised and maintained according to the form, tenor, and effect of the permissions or

²² Lewis Hanke, *The Imperial City of Potosí: An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Spanish America* (The Hague: Nijhoff 1956); James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 146–52; Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 26–31; Yun-Casalilla, ‘The Spanish Empire, Globalization, and Cross-Cultural Consumption in a World Context, c. 1400-c. 1750’, 284–85.

²³ Borucki, Eltis, and Wheat, ‘Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America’, 438, n.12.

²⁴ On contraband, see Zahedieh, ‘The Merchants of Port Royal, Jamaica, and the Spanish Contraband Trade, 1655-1692’; Colin A. Palmer, ‘The Company Trade and the Numerical Distribution of Slaves to Spanish America, 1703–1739’, in *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade: Essays in Honor of Philip D. Curtin on the Occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of African Studies at the University of Wisconsin*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 27–42; Juan Bosco Amores, *Cuba En La Época de Ezpeleta, 1785-1790*, (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2000), 133.

²⁵ Borucki, Eltis, and Wheat, ‘Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America’, 440–43. For an interpretation of the figures given by Borucki *et.al*, see Rannard, 88.

²⁶ Eltis, ‘Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America’, 284; For an extended version of this paper see Borucki, Eltis, and Wheat, ‘Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America’.

²⁷ Robert Crowcroft and John Cannon, ‘Asiento’ (Oxford University Press, 2015).

privileges to be conferred, for whose authority the present treaty and its ratification will serve.²⁸

Thus, Charles II began to promote a more open and liberal economic policy in comparison to Cromwell's.²⁹ To maximize its benefits and participation, England had to refine its knowledge of Spanish American territory, which led to the production of what Rannard calls "useful knowledge".³⁰ Understanding the geography of Spanish America became essential to gain a foothold in these potential markets. In seventeenth-century England, the travel collections of Richard Eden and Richard Hakluyt were the main sources for Patagonian knowledge. However, first-hand knowledge had not been updated since the Elizabethan privateers (1578–1594). England's consolidation in the Caribbean had familiarised seafarers with the geography of the region and parts of the Atlantic Brazilian coast, but the geography of the southern part of the continent was still obscure to English seafarers. Added to this was Spanish cartographic secrecy, which sought to keep out of enemy hands any kind of geographical or nautical information that might be useful for the navigation of strategic areas of the empire.³¹ Therefore, the Royal Navy's participation in what was its first expedition to Patagonia suggests the Crown felt it needed information.

3. Internal techniques: Narborough's geographical observations in Patagonia

We do not have much information about John Narborough's early life but it would appear that his family was related to that of Sir Christopher Myngs, a naval officer with a renowned career at sea.³² Narborough's seafaring career began as Myngs' cabin boy, following him from ship to ship, from the West Indies to the Mediterranean, passing through St. Helena and Guinea.³³ Narborough's performance as Lieutenant in the *Victory* during the Four Days Battle (1666) in the context of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667) earned him the promotion from

²⁸ Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies (1650-1697)*, II:195.

²⁹ Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*; Dew, *Commerce, Finance and Statecraft Histories of England, 1600-1780*, 157–68; Schreuder, *Amsterdam's Sephardic Merchants and the Atlantic Sugar Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, 159–64.

³⁰ Rannard, 'Empire and Useful Knowledge: Mapping and Charting the British American World, 1660-1720', chap. 3.

³¹ Portuondo, *Secret Science*; Katherine Parker, 'Storing and Sharing Secrets: Management of Pacific Geographic Materials in Early Modern European Empires', *Viaggiatori* 1, no. 1 (2018): 165–85.

³² H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 'Sir Christopher Myngs', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³³ J. D. Davies, *Narborough, Sir John*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Lieutenant to Captain and a reputation as a valiant and skilful navigator.³⁴ There are no records about his education, but these two experiences must have had an impact on Narborough's future performance as a naval captain and his practice of geographical observations.

The instructions Narborough himself received are now lost but he included in his journal the instructions he gave to Humphrey Fleming, second captain in command of the voyage. Presumably, the instructions Narborough gave to Flemming were very similar if not the same to those himself received. The document stressed that Narborough had to "take observations with as much accuracy as you can".³⁵ This had to be done on "both of the Seas and Coasts of that part of the World", meaning the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. More specifically, he was to observe

Headlands, Islands, Bays, Havens, Roads, Mouths of Rivers, Rocks, Shoals, Soundings, Courses of Tides, Flowings and setting of Currents, where you come, both in the North and South Seas [...] also you are to take notice of all trade-winds you meet with, and especially to observe the Harbours in the Streights of Magellan. You are in all places where you land to observe the nature of the soil, and what fruits, Woods, Grain, Fowls, and Beasts it produces, and what Stones and Minerals and what Fish and Rivers the Sea doth abound with.³⁶

This information had to be recorded in a travel account and maps. "As much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism", J. B. Harley notes.³⁷ Measuring, taking notes and mapping were acts of power, intellectual appropriations of a territory that, albeit ruled by Spain, England was capable of including in its geographical archive of the globe, and perhaps later, in its overseas domains. The British flag in both of Narborough's maps is a clear sign of the latter, showing how Patagonia was entering England's colonial ambitions (Fig. 8 and 9).

³⁴ R. J. Campbell, Peter T. Bradley, and Joyce Lorimer, 'Introduction', in *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough to the Strait of Magellan and the South Sea in His Majesty's Ship Sweepstakes, 1669-1671* (Abingdon: Routledge 2018), 29–30.

³⁵ Narbrough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough to the Strait of Magellan and the South Sea in His Majesty's Ship Sweepstakes, 1669-1671*, 373–74; John Narborough et al., *An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 9–13.

³⁶ Narbrough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough*, 374.

³⁷ Harley and Andrews, *The New Nature of Maps*, 57.

Likewise, the instructions requested Narborough to “mark the temper and inclinations of the Indian inhabitants” and to assess the possibility “to lay foundation of a Trade there”.³⁸ The instructions evoked a significant amount of information. The geographical scope of the project, the assessment of commercial opportunities with the Indians, and the breakdown of geographical features into specific categories, such as Islands, Bays, Harbours, reflects the dual usefulness of the information. On the one hand, it would provide the Crown with an overview of Patagonia and the viability of the colonial enterprise there, while on the other hand providing navigators with small-scale information of specific use in navigating the passage. Narborough’s voyage was intertwined with the Restoration’s quest for political order, the ongoing negotiations of the Treaty of Madrid, the increasing chances of participating in Spanish-American inter-regional trade and the possibility of being granted the *asiento*. Hence, caution had to prevail.

Narborough was thus requested to “observe”. In modern science, observation is essential to any sort of inquiry. Observing through the microscope or the telescope, in the open field or in the laboratory, observing variations, patterns or sequences at a molecular or material level is at the centre of scientific research.³⁹ But observation is also a quotidian practice that most of the time we perform without much awareness. What did the term mean in the context of Narborough’s voyage? What did observation mean in seventeenth-century scientific culture? Before the early modern period, the study of nature relied almost entirely on the Aristotelian tradition of logical syllogisms.⁴⁰ Knowledge was pursued through “abstract reasoning, starting from a restricted range of presuppositions about the nature of the world, and its aim was to explain known phenomena in ways that were consistent with those presuppositions”.⁴¹ However, from the early-seventeenth century, a new method for understanding the natural world began to unfold. The Scientific Revolution, as historians have come to term this process, supposed a shift from

³⁸ Narbrough, 374.

³⁹ Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, ‘Observation Observed’, in *Histories of Scientific Observation*, eds. Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 1. For an overview on observation in the early modern period, see the chapters written by Katherine Parke, Gianna Pomata and Dastone contained in this same book: 15–44; 45–80; 81–113.

⁴⁰ Garber, ‘Physics and Foundations’. For the increasingly compelling role experience took in the Scientific Revolution, see: Dear, ‘The Meanings of Experience’, 106–7; Hall, *Promoting Experimental Learning*; Daston, ‘Baconian Facts, Academic Civility, and the Prehistory of Objectivity’;

⁴¹ John Henry, *Knowledge Is Power: Francis Bacon and the Method of Science* (Cambridge: Icon Books 2002), 14.

a more speculative and contemplative study of nature to a more inductive one, wherein first-hand observation and experience were the means for discovering truth.⁴²

In his famous *Novum Organum* (1620), Francis Bacon advocated for reconfiguring the scientific method in response to what he saw as the shortcomings of the prevailing epistemological foundations in England. He believed that the sciences had made “but little advancement”, that they were “nothing more than peculiar arrangements of matters already discovered...not methods for discovery of plans for new operations”.⁴³ He was emphatic in saying that “As the present sciences are useless for the discovery of effects...so the present system of logic is useless for the discovery of the sciences”. He thus asserted that “our only hope, then, is in genuine induction”.⁴⁴ Hence, eyewitness testimony became an integral aspect in Baconian science, as experimental methods became the most reliable way of acquiring and producing knowledge of the natural world.

As a statesman, Bacon wrote his *Novum Organum* with his nation’s interest in mind.⁴⁵ He strongly believed that the knowledge of nature should develop to the benefit of humankind: “the true lawful goal of the sciences is none other than this: that human life be endowed with new discoveries and powers”.⁴⁶ For this to happen, observation was essential and thus he developed an innovative system, which entailed not only attentive watching, but also the collection and organization of natural phenomena and experimental facts in tables, the evaluation of these lists, and the refinement of the initial results with the help of further

⁴² Questions about the chronology, origins, causes and battlegrounds revolving the scientific revolution vary from historian to historian although there are some characteristics that seem to be accepted across the board. A selection from the extensive literature about the scientific revolution includes I. Bernard Cohen, *Revolution in Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985); Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); David Wootton, *The Invention of Science: A New History of the Scientific Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 2015); Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams, ‘De-Centering the “Big Picture”: “The Origins of Modern Science” and the Modern Origins of Science’, *The British Journal for the History of Science* 26, no. 91 (1993): 407-432; Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Margaret J. Ostler, *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: University Press 2011); Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, eds., *The Cambridge History of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Mikuláš Teich, *The Scientific Revolution Revisited* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers 2015); Marcelo Dascal and Victor D. Boantz, eds., *Controversies within the Scientific Revolution* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Pub. Co, 2011).

⁴³ Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*, ed. Joseph Devey (New York: P.F. Collier and Son 1902), 58, 12.

⁴⁴ Bacon, 14.

⁴⁵ On Bacon’s political thought see John E. Leary, *Francis Bacon and the Politics of Science* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994); Kimberly Hurd Hale, *Francis Bacon’s New Atlantis in the Foundation of Modern Political Thought* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2013).

⁴⁶ Bacon, *Novum Organum*, 58–59.

experiments.⁴⁷ At the centre of this conceptualization, laid the relationship between the natural world, the human observer and power, as observation enabled acquiring knowledge that would grant the observer practical control, that is power, over natural processes. By understanding the geography of the Americas, the Crown could use it for its advantage, fashioning ambitious schemes for imperial expansion.

Bacon's framework quickly found a place in the process of European expansion, travelling from Europe to the far reaches of the world aboard ambitious voyages that sought to expand the frontiers of the geographical knowledge.⁴⁸ Navigators, such as Narborough, were thus compelled to make systematic measurements and to record them in a rigorous and orderly manner not only because a set of instructions said so, but also because the emerging Baconian framework provided the tools to understand the expanding overseas world. As Michael Robinson states: "the Age of Discovery became the geographical manifesto of the Scientific Revolution".⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the emergence of a Baconian framework suitable for geographical observation ran into a problem: in the scientific culture of the seventeenth century, travellers were not always well regarded. As Stephen Shapin has argued, truth, and more specifically who to trust as truthful, was a social issue.⁵⁰ Truth was defined more by social endorsement than by the truth itself. The reputation of travellers helped little in this scheme. As Juan Pimentel has studied, from antiquity until well into the eighteenth century, travellers faced an ingrained reputation as impostors and liars.⁵¹ To some extent, this prejudice was true. Travel was something few people did, and so there were few ways for readers to verify that travellers' information was truthful. Travel writing is, in fact, an unrealistic genre by definition.⁵² However, because of an increasingly scientific view of the natural world and the growing need of empires for accurate

⁴⁷ Lorraine Daston, 'Baconian Facts, Academic Civility, and the Prehistory of Objectivity', in *Rethinking Objectivity*, ed. Allan Megill (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 37–63.

⁴⁸ Barrera-Osorio, 'Knowledge and Empiricism in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish Atlantic World', 178; Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature*, 1.

⁴⁹ Robinson, 'Science and Exploration', 24. For further literature about the relationship between geography and the Scientific Revolution, see Charles W. J. Withers, 'Geography, Science, and the Scientific Revolution', in *Geography and Revolution*, ed. David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 75–105; Charles W. J. Withers, 'Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and in History', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no. 4 (2009): 637–58; Daston and Lunbeck, *Histories of Scientific Observation*; Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place*.

⁵⁰ Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, 3–43.

⁵¹ Pimentel, *Testigos Del Mundo*, 27–42.

⁵² Michael Kowalewski, *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 7.

and reliable information from overseas territories, the travel narrative began to become more and more detailed, precise and accurate.⁵³ In this regard, Daniel Carey has studied how travellers from the seventeenth century onwards employed a series of “internal techniques” to assert their authority as reliable observers of the world.⁵⁴ These techniques dealt with precise observation, repeated experimentation, measuring, attempts at accuracy and resorting previous information to encourage acceptance of their reports. In doing so, travellers left little room for doubt while challenging the narrow-mindedness of their doubters.⁵⁵

Narborough was aware of the importance of eyewitness testimony in creating reliable knowledge. Following his instructions, Narborough observed the coasts of Patagonia, looking at hills, bays, weather, winds, sea tides, animals and peoples. Doing this was not simply a matter of seeing, transcribing and drawing. Geographical observation entailed systematic note taking, measurements, repetition, description and synthesis, all practices that schooled accuracy.⁵⁶ Two clear examples of this are the maps of San Julian and the Strait of Magellan (Fig. 8 and 9). At sea, the maps show a number of figures, dots and anchors. The figures indicate the depth of the water in fathoms.⁵⁷ Close to the shore, small dots replace the figures to indicate the shallow depth of the site and therefore the inability of the ship to approach and measure due to the danger of running aground. Lastly, the anchors mark where the *Sweepstake* stopped, indicating safe anchoring places. The repetition of these signs across both maps evidence a systematic observation and recording of information. Narborough’s maps are filled with a language that establishes observational authority.

⁵³ Nigel Leask, ‘Eighteenth-Century Travel Writing’, in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.), 93–107.

⁵⁴ Carey, ‘The Problem of Credibility in Early Modern Travel’.

⁵⁵ Carey, 525–36.

⁵⁶ Daston, ‘The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800’, 93–101.

⁵⁷ A fathom of water is a unit for measuring the depth of water. One fathom equates to 1.80 metres or 5.8 feet.



Figure 8. A draught of Port S. Julyan in Patagonia in the South East coast of America (1670) by John Narborough © Copyright The British Library Board. Add MS 88980 B.



Figure 9. The Land of Patagona, etc The draught of Magellan Straits, drawn by Captain John Narborough, anno 1670.' © Copyright The British Library Board. Maps K.Top 124.84

Although observation has always been at the centre of navigation, the regularity of Narborough's observations is striking, constant and consistent during the entire voyage. While Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish measured the Strait of Magellan before, they did so with much less regularity, marking mostly what they considered landmarks within the Patagonian coast.⁵⁸ Moreover, their descriptions used terms such as "close", "deep" or "fast" to refer to distances, depth and speed, which in a territory so marked by harsh climatic conditions did not help navigation as much as specific figures. This is easier to notice when comparing Narborough's map with Francis Fletcher's map of Elizabeth Island on his voyage with Drake in 1578 (Fig. 10 and 11).⁵⁹ Fathom figures and anchors surround the island in Narborough's map, in contrast to Fletcher's, whose markings surrounding the island represent the sea rather than anything in particular. The green colouring in Narborough's map conveys information relative to vegetation, whereas Fletcher's does not say anything about this.

⁵⁸ Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 295, 297, 298; Fletcher, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, 87–89.

⁵⁹ Drake named two islands Elizabeth during his navigation, one inside the Strait of Magella and another outside of it, close to Cape Horn. The island depicted in the map is the latter. Drake's "second" Elizabeth Island was never sighted again by any sailor, but it seems it would have been located southwards the Islands Diego Ramirez, close to Cape Horn. Historians and geologists have sought an explanation for its disappearance by looking at geological transformations in the earth's crust. The "first" Elizabeth Island, which is the one Narborough drew in the map, still exists and during the early modern period was acknowledged by seafarers as useful landmark when crossing the passage. Drake's Elizabeth Island, see Mateo Martinic, 'Entre El Mito y La Realidad. La Situación de La Misteriosa Isla Elizabeth de Francis Drake', *Magallania* 47, no. 1 (2019): 5–14.

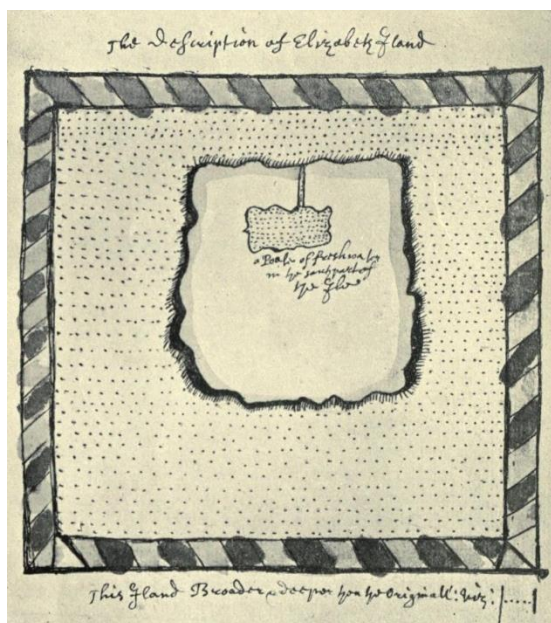


Figure 10. John Conyer's copy of Francis Fletcher's map of Elizabeth Island, 1677. Sloane Manuscript 61, British Library



Figure 11. Detail of Elizabeth Island in John Narborough's map, 1670.

Narborough's map shows a movement towards increasingly specific and focussed observations, which in turn is reflected in the signs depicting figures, soundings and anchorages. Moreover, his measurements proved to be accurate. He claimed that "the whole length of the Streights of Magellan, from Cape Virgin Mary to Cape Desseada, with every reach and turning, to be one hundred and sixteen Leagues".⁶⁰ The real length of the passage, from cape to cape, is 565 kilometres, 115 leagues. Navigators and cosmographers had attempted to estimate this number in the past, but their calculations were far from the actual length. Cavendish said in 1588 that the total length was 90 leagues, Mercator's *Atlas* of 1635 said it was 40 leagues, and English cosmographer, Peter Heylyn, estimated in 1652 that the length of the Strait was 400 leagues.⁶¹ Though these were valuable references for navigation in the sixteenth century, Narborough developed a much more precise recording measurement of longitude and latitude, anticipating the work that hydrographers would begin to develop in the

⁶⁰ Narborough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narborough*, 485.

⁶¹ Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Bookes.*, 159; *Historia Mundi: Or Mercator's Atlas Containing His Cosmographicall Description of the Fabricke and Figure of the World*, 925.

eighteenth century.⁶² In turn, this shows how the natural world was no longer only describable, but something observable, measurable and therefore knowable.⁶³

Drawings of animals, inhabitants and geographical features such as hills, rocks and trees also show the employment of observational practices. In this sense, the drawings represent an enormous effort of synthesis, in which months of observation condense into a sign. The shading on the guanaco, the texture of the feathers of the ostrich, the smoke and fire from the campfires and the folds of the inhabitants' clothing are all indicative of the observer's pretence for accuracy (Fig. 12). Systematic observation, measuring, description and drawing required a significant amount of time, labour and skill. If in the past navigators had seen the Strait of Magellan as a space of passage, Narborough ascribed to it a sense of arrival. In this regard, Narborough used Patagonia became a "venue of science", in David Livingstone terms, a space where knowledge of the natural world was sought and produced.⁶⁴

Notwithstanding the above, there is a danger in thinking of emerging scientific research in disconnection to imagination. Percy G. Adam's study of the legend of the Patagonians shows how, rather than being separated, imagination and science reconfigured their relationship in the early modern period.⁶⁵ Tracing accounts ranging from Magellan's voyage to eighteenth-century newspapers, including Narborough's account, Adams shows how travellers and writers provided measurements regarding the height of the Patagonians that endorsed the belief in giants. Such was the case of Charles Clarke, officer aboard the *Dolphin* with John Byron in his second navigation to Patagonia in 1764. In a letter Clarke wrote at the request of Matthew Maty, doctor and secretary to the Royal Society, he claimed that men were "certainly of 9 feet if they don't exceed it. The commodore who is very near six feet could but just reach the top of one of their heads (...) there was hardly a man amongst them less than 8 feet, most of them considerably more. The women, I believe run from 7½ to 8".⁶⁶ Clarke's account was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, showing that even institutions committed to the pursuit of

⁶² E.G.R. Taylor, *The Haven-Finding Art: A History of Navigation from Odysseus to Captain Cook* (London: Hollis and Carter for the Institute of Navigation, 1971), 245–263.

⁶³ Marie-Noëlle Bourguet, Christian Licoppe, and Heinz Otto Sibum, *Instruments, Travel and Science: Itineraries of Precision from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 2002).

⁶⁴ Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place*, 17.

⁶⁵ Adams, *Travelers and Liars*, 19–43.

⁶⁶ Charles Clarke, 'VIII. An account of the very tall men, seen near the Streights of Magellan, in the Year 1764, by the Equipage of the Dolphin Man of War, under the command of the Hon. Commodore Byron; in a letter from Mr. Charles Clarke, Officer on board the said Ship, to M. Maty, M. D. Sec. R. S, in *Philosophical Transactions* 1767, Vol.57. London: The Royal Society, 77–78.

truthful knowledge, engaged with the legend. Clarke's account was also published in two popular newspapers of the time, the *London Chronicle* and the *Gentleman's magazine*, etching even further into the consciousness Europeans.⁶⁷ The publication of Clarke's account demonstrates that eye witnessing and measuring did not dismiss the legend of the gigantic Patagonians. On the contrary, these techniques provided figures so that the legend could be understood as fact. Furthermore, it shows that the construction of knowledge involved both the use of internal techniques in tandem with external endorsement.

4. External endorsement: John Narborough and the Royal Society

That travellers like Narborough employed "internal techniques" to bolster their credibility did not necessarily make them reliable for the wider readership. As Carey argues, "assertions of this kind were obviously insufficient to shield texts from doubt. External authorities played an important part in shoring up credibility".⁶⁸ To use Carey's terminology, "external endorsement" was the final complement of "internal techniques". The publication of Narborough's diary by the Royal Society is an example of how internal strategies and external validation interacted to shape knowledge that inwardly and outwardly appealed to truth.

⁶⁷ *The London Chronicle*, XXIV, July 5, 1768, 15; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVIII, July, 1768, 321-322.

⁶⁸ Carey, 'The Problem of Credibility in Early Modern Travel', 529.



“A Guianaco” (guanaco) in the Strait of Magellan



“A ostorage” (ñandú, type of ostrich) in San Julián



Campfires sighted in Tierra del Fuego



Inhabitants of the Strait of Magellan

Figure 12. Detail of the animals, campfires and people from John Narborough’s map of the Strait of Magellan.

On 14 June 1671, Narborough anchored at the Downes, from where he had sailed two years earlier for Patagonia. Four days later, Lord Digby, Earl of Bristol, went on board the *Sweepstakes* to see Narborough's maps and journal and to discuss the navigation across the Strait of Magellan.⁶⁹ In 28 June, Narborough showed his material to Matthew Wren and King Charles II.⁷⁰ It appears that Narborough's observations did not catch the attention of his contemporaries, remaining unpublished during his lifetime. In a letter to John Evelyn, Samuel Pepys, claimed that Narborough's maps were "rude" representations of the Strait of Magellan and represented the poor state of English nautical knowledge.⁷¹ Despite the little attention and Pepys' criticism, by the turn of the seventeenth century, some would see value in Narborough's observations and his maps and the account would receive social and scientific endorsement.

In 1694, the Royal Society published the journal in *An Account of Several Late Voyages to the South and North*, a collection of four travel narratives to the extreme north and south directed by Hans Sloane.⁷² The collection included Narborough's account in the South Sea in 1669-1671, an extract from Abel Tasman's voyage to present-day New Zealand in 1642, John Wood's account of his failed attempt to find the Northeast Passage in 1676, and Friderich Marten's diary to Spitsbergen and the northern seas of Russia in 1671. Altogether, they form a collection of the most recent discoveries in the extreme north and south at the time.⁷³ As G. R. Crone and R. A. Skelton note, the collection was "evidently designed to illustrate current knowledge of the two outstanding geographical mysteries, the northern sea passages to East Asia and the existence of the supposed Southern Continent, and may be regarded as an epitaph to the first and a prologue to the second problem".⁷⁴ Hence, understanding the geography of

⁶⁹ 'BL Add MS 88980 A' 230.

⁷⁰ 'BL Add MS 88980 A', 232.

⁷¹ Samuel Pepys and Joseph Robson Tanner, *Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes* (London: Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1926), 391.

⁷² John Narborough et al., *An account of several late voyages & discoveries to the south and north towards the Streights of Magellan, the South Seas, the vast tracts of land beyond Hollandia Nova &c. : also towards Nova Zembla, Greenland or Spitsberg, Groyndland or Engrondland, &c./ by Sir John Narborough, Captain Jasmen Tasman, Captain John Wood, and Frederick Marten of Hamburgh ; to which are annexed a large introduction and supplement, giving an account of other navigations to those regions of the globe, the whole illustrated with charts and figures*. London: Printed for Sam. Smith & Benj. Waldorf. Printers to the Royal Society at the Prince Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1694. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 9-13.

⁷³ Jacob Pollock, 'The Voyage Account, the Royal Society and Textual Production, 1687-1707', *Studies in Travel Writing* 17, no. 3 (2013): 288-89.

⁷⁴ G.R. Crone and R.A. Skelton, 'English Collections of Voyages and Travels. 1625-1846', in *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors: A Volume Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society* (London: Routledge, 2016), 71-72.

the Strait of Magellan did not happen in a vacuum, but “with reference to the concerns of an expanding commercial empire”.⁷⁵

Katherine Parker has argued that while “the Admiralty focused on discovering trade routes and ports, the Royal Society was interested in collecting and cataloguing a more complete understanding of the globe”.⁷⁶ Founded in 1660, the Royal Society represented the embodiment of the Scientific Revolution, promoting the advancement of natural knowledge through experimental and empirical methods.⁷⁷ At the centre of their agenda was the pursuit for truthful knowledge.⁷⁸ The origins of the Royal Society go back to the 1640s, when a small group of natural philosophers and physicists, mostly from Gresham College in London and Oxford, started to meet regularly to conduct experiments and discuss new forms of scientific inquiry.⁷⁹ The Royal Society, as well as all learned societies that came afterwards, was a very exclusive entity designed for the social and intellectual elite of the time.⁸⁰ As Michael Hunter has argued, such exclusiveness did not come so much from class consciousness as from the fact that the possibility of having access to formal education was mainly opened to the wealthy and the titled.⁸¹ For Steven Shapin, the Royal Society Fellow was the embodiment of the “gentleman”, and in the social system of trust, the gentleman was a truth-holder.⁸² The elite composition thus invested the Royal Society with a sense of authority and reliability.

From its outset, the Royal Society demonstrated a keen interest in travel as a means to expand natural knowledge. In 1667, Thomas Sprat said that the Society ought to have “eyes in all parts” and stressed that in order to “receive information from every quarter of the earth they ought

⁷⁵ Katherine A Parker, ‘Contentious Waters: The Creation of Pacific Geographic Knowledge in Britain, 1669-1768’, PhD diss., (University of Pittsburgh, 2016), 127.

⁷⁶ Katherine Parker, ‘The Savant and the Engineer: Exploration Personnel in the Narbrough and Anson Voyage Accounts’, *Terrae Incognitae* 49, no. 1 (2017): 12.

⁷⁷ Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 48.

⁷⁸ Hunter, 18.

⁷⁹ Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626-1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 56–57; Charles Webster, ‘New Light on the Invisible College the Social Relations of English Science in the Mid-Seventeenth Century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (1974): 19–42.

⁸⁰ Roger Hahn, *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 15. On learned societies that followed the Royal Society, see Hahn, 2. Roger Hahn, ‘The Age of Academies’, in *Solomon’s House Revisited: The Organization and Institutionalization of Science*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Canton: Science History Publications, 1990), 3–12; James E. McClellan III, *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Bruce T. Moran, ‘Courts and Academies’, in *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 251–71.

⁸¹ Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England*, 15–20.

⁸² Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, 42–64.

have a constant universal intelligence”.⁸³ Moreover, travel, like experimental philosophy, inherently involved an inductive and experimental dimension. As a result, the Royal Society, as Ann Talbot has argued, “made a serious attempt to make a systematic study of travel literature and to encourage travellers to send first hand reports to the Society”.⁸⁴ By documenting their observations of plants, animals, minerals, and other natural phenomena, travelers contributed to a growing body of scientific knowledge.

In this context, the Royal Society became increasingly involved in the production of travel accounts. One of the earliest and also one of the most popular travel accounts produced by the Royal Society was *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, in the East Indies*, written by the merchant and writer Robert Knox.⁸⁵ The account was published in 1681, and in the preface, renowned polymath and Fellow, Robert Hooke, expressed his high regard for Knox’s work.⁸⁶ Hooke praised the book for its accuracy, detailed observations, and the firsthand account. He emphasized the significance of the book as a reliable source of information about Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), highlighting Knox’s personal experiences and meticulous recording of the island’s geography, culture, and customs. Knox’s account enjoyed great popularity even outside the Society during the author’s lifetime, becoming translated into German (1689), Dutch (1692) and French (1693). Another example of the Society’s keen interest in getting involved in the production of travel accounts was the publication of John Fryer’s *A New Account of East-India and Persia, in eight letters being nine years travels begun 1672 and finished 1681: containing observations made of the moral, natural and artificial estate of those countries*, published in 1698 – same year he was elected as Fellow of the Society.⁸⁷ In 1672, Fryer sailed as a surgeon in an expedition of the East India Company to India and Persia. Fryer ended up spending nearly a decade there, where collected information of various kinds. As a physician, his narrative is abundant in details of local medical practices, although he also includes observations about climate, geology, flora, fauna and minerals, among others. Although Fryer’s narrative was not

⁸³ Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: Martyn and Allestry, 1667), 20.

⁸⁴ Anne Talbot, *The Great Ocean of Knowledge: The Influence of Travel Literature on the Work of John Locke* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 205.

⁸⁵ Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, in the East Indies* (London: Printed by Richard Chiswell, Printer to the Royal Society, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul’s Church-yard, 1681).

⁸⁶ The account was published by Richard Chiswell, printer of the Royal Society, in collaboration with the East India Company. To see further connections between these actors, see Anne Winterbottom, ‘Producing and using the Historical Relation of Ceylon: Robert Knox, the East India Company and the Royal Society’, *BJHS* 42, 4, (2009): 515-538.

⁸⁷ John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia, in eight letters being nine years travels begun 1672 and finished 1681: containing observations made of the moral, natural and artificial estate of those countries* (London: Printed by R.R. for Ri. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul’s Church-yard, 1698).

translated into as many languages as Knox's, *A New Account of East-India and Persia*... was translated into Dutch in 1700. The publication of these accounts by the Royal Society underscores the intricate relationship it saw between travel and knowledge.

There was, however, a significant problem with travel accounts. Although they contained first-hand observations, they did not necessarily appeal truthful or reliable to the eyes of the Royal Society. Not all Fellows could travel, and those who did usually visited official English possessions, not the South Sea and much less Patagonia. In the culture of the Royal Society, publishing the word of a non-Fellow was a complicated matter. The desire for global knowledge often clashed with the reduced travelling capacity of its early years. For such remote places, the Royal Society was forced to rely on the information brought by those who sailed those regions, but this raised among Fellows methodological concerns regarding the way seafarers collected data. In contrast to the gentleman scholar, seafarers were far outside the system of trust both figuratively and literally, raising the one of the Society's greatest fears: the compromise of truth by falsehood.

To cope with the lack of Fellows in seventeenth-century navigation, the Royal Society employed collection and editorial strategies to ensure that navigators met its requirements. Collection strategies were pre-voyage and aimed to ensure that the collection of material was done correctly, while editorial strategies were post-voyage and involved an editorial process in which the material collected was modified to suit the Society's objectives and style. One of the most widespread collecting strategies was the *Directions for Sea-Men, Bound for Far Voyages*, issued in 1665. The *Directions* was a list of nine measuring and observational tasks that all navigators should perform on their voyage. Navigators were requested to: 1) observe at the declination of the compass, marking the latitude and longitude of the place wherever the observation was made, 2) observe the inclination of dipping needles, 3) remark the variations of the tides and river flows in many places as they could, 4) make plots and draughts of prospect of coasts, promontories, islands and ports, marking their bearings and distances as near as they could, 5) mark the depths of coasts and ports, 6) note the nature of the grounds at the bottom of the sea, distinguishing clay from sand, rock or other, 7) register all the changes of wind and weathers, in day and night, 8) observe and record all extraordinary meteors, lightening,

thunders, comets, etc., and 9) carry good scales and glass viols to be filled with sea-water in different degrees of latitude.⁸⁸

Inspired by the Baconian idea that direct and empirical observation of natural phenomena was the main method of scientific inquiry, the *Directions* promoted the study of “nature rather than books”.⁸⁹ Similar instruments predated the *Directions*, such as the *Relaciones Geograficas* of Philip II or the printed questionnaires distributed to officials and learned societies in the British Isles.⁹⁰ Models for observing and reporting on distant places were common in early modern Europe.⁹¹ The purpose of these devices was to collect data in an orderly manner so that would enable bureaucrats to organise the territory. Nevertheless, the unpredictable character of travel meant that the collection of information not always could be done in such an orderly manner. As Carey has argued, “it was not the Royal Society that directed travel, but rather travel that directed the Royal Society”.⁹² Scientific inquiry, even in the height of the Scientific Revolution, thrived on ready curiosity and thus was open to change, in the sense that not always unfolded as a planned activity based on prediction and rational expectation.⁹³ This was particularly important on voyages to places where there was little nautical expertise, such as Patagonia, as captains often had to change the course and purpose of the expedition.

Precisely because of the miscellaneous character of information conveyed in travel accounts, the *Directions* stipulated that navigators upon their return had to give a copy of their observations to the Royal Society and another to the Admiralty. The double recipient of these observations, one intellectual and the other militaristic-political, show that the observations conducted while travelling were of different nature. Furthermore, it underscores the intricate relationship between science and power. The information brought back to England allowed the Society to enlarge the natural knowledge of the world, while providing useful and reliable information to expand the empire’s economic and political frontiers. We do not know whether

⁸⁸ ‘Directions for Sea-Men, Bound for Far Voyages’, in *Philosophical Transactions (1665-1678)*, by Royal Society, vol. 1, 140–42.

⁸⁹ ‘Directions for Sea-Men, Bound for Far Voyages’, 140.

⁹⁰ Howard F. Cline, ‘The Relaciones Geograficas of the Spanish Indies, 1577-1586’, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 44(3) (1964): 341–74; Adam Fox, ‘Printed Questionnaires, Research Networks, and the Discovery of the British Isles, 1650–1800’, *The Historical Journal* 53, no. 3 (2010): 593–621.

⁹¹ Joan-Pau Rubies, ‘Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See’, *History and Anthropology* 9, no. 2–3 (1996): 139–90; Daniel Carey, ‘Inquiries, Heads, and Directions: Orienting Early Modern Travel’, in *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 37–64.

⁹² Daniel Carey, ‘Compiling Nature’s History: Travellers and Travel Narratives in the Early Royal Society’, *Annals of Science* 54, (1997): 276.

⁹³ Carey, ‘Compiling Nature’s History’, 276.

Narborough took the *Directions* with him on his voyage to Patagonia. Neither the voyage's instructions nor the travel account refers to them. Though the Royal Society was founded under the auspices of the Crown, it was an independent entity from it, so Fellows had no legal or political power to compel seafarers to carry the *Directions*, let alone comply with them. Nevertheless, Narborough's systematic and accurate observations suggest he could have been familiar with the document or at least shared the Royal Society's concerns.

Science and social status worked in tandem for the Royal Society. Narborough was not a gentleman as Thomas Sprat or Hans Sloane were, but his reputation as a skilful navigator and loyal servant of the Crown preceded him, enhancing his authority. The publication of Narborough's account is thus an act of intellectual validation and endorsement, and so Samuel Smith and Benjamin Waldorf stated this in their introduction to the printed volume: "his observations and draughts are the most judicious and exact of any that went before him".⁹⁴ The printed version is an abridged but relatively fair copy of Narborough's manuscript journal. The editorial modifications relate more to the organisation of the information than to the information itself. In the manuscript, Narborough made entries almost daily, whereas in the printed version, one or more days are sometimes merged into a single one. For example, during the month of October (1670) Narborough registered 21 entries, while the print version recorded seven.⁹⁵ The events recorded remain mostly the same in both accounts. The difference is that the printed version retains the dates on which Narborough collected information about natural phenomena and modifies the dates of those days on which he commented on other matters, such as encounters with Indians, arguments among the crew, problems with the ship, and so on. By keeping the chronological record of natural phenomena, the printed version allowed Fellows to use the information gathered by Narborough for further research without altering the original purpose of the diary: to guide the navigators in their voyage through the Strait of Magellan. George Anson and later John Byron confirmed this when they claimed to have used the printed narrative to navigate the Strait of Magellan in the eighteenth century.⁹⁶

The most noticeable modification revolves around Narborough's map of Patagonia. Parker sustains that Narborough was trained in sketching maps but "he was not schooled in creating

⁹⁴ Narborough et al., *An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North*, xii.

⁹⁵ 'BL Add MS 88980 A', 93–111; Narborough et al., *An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North*, 59–66.

⁹⁶ Byron in Jose Pedro Broussain, ed., *Cuatro relatos para un naufragio: los protagonistas de la Wager en el golfo de Penas en 1741* (Santiago: Septiembre Ediciones, 2012), 539.

luxurious cartographic manuscripts fit for display”.⁹⁷ In 1673, mapmaker John Thornton made a print copy of Narborough’s chart (Fig.13), which later the Royal Society reissued in *An Account of Several Late Voyages*. The Royal Society map barely includes a few of the drawings. The same happens with the margins of the manuscript diary, where Narborough made small drawing of the things he observed, such as navigational instruments, parts of the ship, animals and plants. Some drawing-less captions suggest he might have intended to make more drawings later. None of these is included in the print version. If Thornton had kept Narborough’s drawing of the Indians, animals and huts, the Society only retained measurements and soundings (Fig.14). The only drawing this version includes is a large decorated dedicatory to Samuel Pepys, who ironically had criticised Narborough’s mapping skills when he saw his maps in 1671. A later version of the map from 1711 changed the dedicatory to Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.⁹⁸

The reason for this change was related to the emergence of new opportunities for exploration in the South Sea. In 1711, the South Sea Company, a public-private partnership created to reduce the cost of the national debt, was founded.⁹⁹ To generate revenue, in 1713 the Company was granted the *asiento* right to supply African slaves to the South Sea islands and South America. Patagonia began to take prominence in this scheme when Harley began to design a possible expedition to the Pacific. He suggested that the port of Valdivia was the most desirable location for a much-needed port of call and even as a base for a permanent British settlement.¹⁰⁰ From 1711 onwards, Daniel Defoe proposed to Harley a similar plan, although in addition to Valdivia, Defoe envisaged the establishment of a second British settlement on the eastern Patagonian coast, which would be connected to the first one by the Strait of Magellan.¹⁰¹ Parker has argued that with Pepys’ demise in 1703, Smith and Walford sought to draw attention to the Pacific Ocean by re-dedicating the map to Harley.¹⁰² Like Hakluyt’s project for a colony in the Strait of Magellan, neither of these projects came to fruition, although they were given special

⁹⁷ Katie Parker, ‘The Ship, the Map, the Chart, and the Book: The Role of the Royal Navy in the Publication of Pacific Geographic Knowledge in the Long-Eighteenth Century’, *XVII-XVIII*, no. 78 (2021): 8.

⁹⁸ For the map, see https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/25340/Straits_of_Magellan_Patagonia_To_the_Honble_Robert_Earl_of_Oxford_and/Narbrough.html

⁹⁹ John Patrick Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (London: Cresset Press, 1960); Helen Paul, *The South Sea Bubble: An Economic History of Its Origins and Consequences* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010); Williams, *Great South Sea*, 161–64.

¹⁰⁰ Helen Wallis, ‘English Enterprise in the Region of the Strait of Magellan’, in *Merchants and Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade Collected in Memory of James Ford Bell*, ed. John Parker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), 216.

¹⁰¹ John R. Moore, ‘Defoe and the South Sea Company’, *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, no. V (1953): 175–88.

¹⁰² Parker, ‘Contentious Waters: The Creation of Pacific Geographic Knowledge in Britain, 1669-1768’, 125.

consideration by commentators interested in the exploitation of the southern Pacific, unlike Hakluyt's scheme. If Hakluyt "only cared about what he saw on the maps" – to paraphrase Mancall's claim – the difference now was that maps had changed to a much more accurate representation of Patagonia. In this regard, imagination continued to play a key role in fuelling imperial projects, albeit now forged in a much more detailed knowledge of the world.



Figure 13. A new mapp of Magellan Straights: discovered by Capt. John Narbrough (Commander then of His Majesties ship the Sweepstakes) as he sayled through the sade straights by John Thornton, hidrographer [i.e. hydrographer] at the Platt in the Minories, London. Sold by James Atkinson at Cherry-Garden-staires on Rotherhith wall, 1670? <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231178953/view>

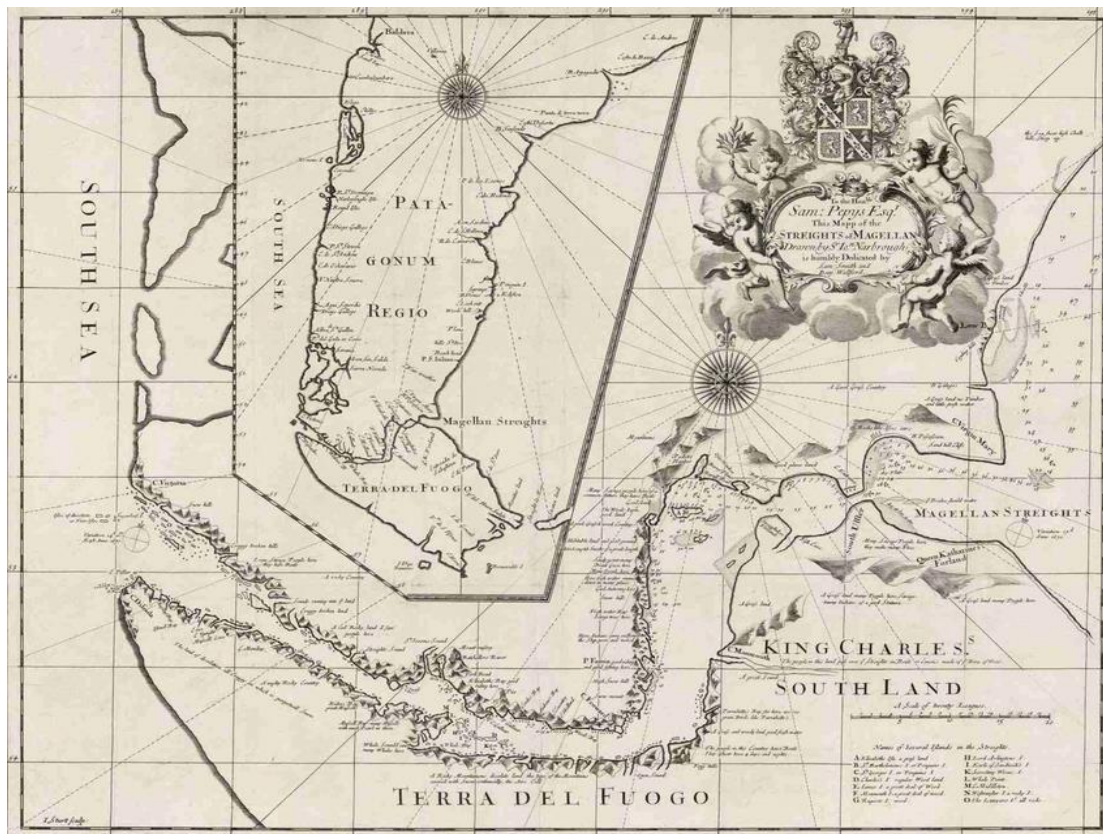


Figure 14. Map of Patagonia printed in the Royal Society's print version of Narborough's voyage. Narborough et al. *An account of several late voyages & discoveries to the south and north*, xxxvii-xxxviii.

[https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/23297/To the Honble Sam Pepys Esqr This Mapp of the Streights of Magellan/Narborough.html](https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/23297/To_the_Honble_Sam_Pepys_Esqr_This_Mapp_of_the_Streights_of_Magellan/Narborough.html)

5. New Science, Savage People: towards a scientific ethnography of the marvellous

Observing was as much a practice as it was a discourse. Despite the traveller's internal techniques for reliability and the external endorsement given by prestigious institutions, travel writing often intersected with geographical preconceptions and cultural stereotypes. This is because travel sources not only worked as records of the experience of travelling, but also as rhetorical devices capable of (re)producing powerful cultural discourses about selfhood and otherness.¹⁰³ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the imagination of the Americas was invested by a sense of marvel and fascination. Chronicles and histories narrated stories about

¹⁰³ Todorov, *The Conquest of America*; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*; Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*; Valencia Suárez, *Los Aztecas y la conquista de México en las ambiciones inglesas, 1519-1713*; Joan Pau Rubiés, 'Travel Writing and Ethnography', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989).

endless sources of gold, indomitable Amazons, wondrous creatures and fearsome giants, while engravings, prints and maps consolidated a visual narrative of the marvellous that would linger until the nineteenth century in the European imagination.¹⁰⁴

The search for extraordinary things continued fuelling the curiosity and colonial ambitions of seventeenth-century Europeans.¹⁰⁵ If during the time of the first encounters, the main objective of chroniclers and historians was to place the Americas in categories comprehensible to the European reader, at the end of the seventeenth century the main objective was to reproduce the novelty of foreign lands and peoples yet unknown or undescribed. Accordingly, travellers developed a plain-style, detailed discourse that appealed to truthful language, expressed in the form of concrete measures, emphasis on eye witnessing, search for singular truths, and systematization and organisation of data.¹⁰⁶ But even in this increasingly scientific agenda, imagination remained crucial in interpreting and conceptualizing the natural world. Therefore, along with these increasingly scientific descriptions, we see the use of terms such as “savage” or “primitive”, actually evoking a classic trope in European ethnography rather than a reality. These terms were not only evocative, but deeply functional, as they allowed peoples of science, as well as navigators, merchants and political authorities, to envision new possibilities of expansion and create frameworks for interpreting indigenous people beyond immediate empirical evidence. Thus, the scientific inquiry, ethnography and imagination coexisted, each informing and expanding the other.

In the second half of seventeenth-century, imagination did not only function in the sense of marvel or wonder as it had done in the previous century, but also with respect to the possibilities offered by the new measurable and knowable world. As navigators narrated, organised and classified the natural world, they spoke about the ways in which they themselves conceived their own.¹⁰⁷ Mary Louise Pratt has argued that when the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus established a classificatory system in his *Systema Naturae* (1736), not only he was making an intellectual claim about a new categorisation of all plant forms on the planet, but also a philosophical statement about the European imagination of themselves and their relations to

¹⁰⁴ Magasich-Airola and Beer, *America Magica*; Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*.

¹⁰⁵ Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Christine Rees, *Eighteenth-Century Utopian Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2014); Sarah Tindal Kareem, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Reinvention of Wonder* (Oxford: University Press, 2014).

¹⁰⁶ Pimentel, *Testigos Del Mundo*, 14–15; Rubiés, ‘Travel Writing as a Genre’; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 17–35; Leask, ‘Eighteenth-Century Travel Writing’.

¹⁰⁷ Pimentel, *Testigos Del Mundo*, 64.

the rest of the globe.¹⁰⁸ In this regard, Anne Thell argues that eighteenth-century travel writing “functions as an epistemological playing field where authors test empiricist models of engagement with the world while simultaneously seeking out the role of the self and the imagination in producing knowledge”.¹⁰⁹ The previous section on geographical observations and cartography aimed to show how Patagonia became a space of scientific enquiry through the implementation of emerging ways of recording the natural world. Acknowledging that, this section analyses how in the exercise of recording Patagonia scientifically, there was also an exercise of self-identification, where the detailed and sustained observation of an “other” as a barbarian and savage allowed the English to imagine themselves in the map of imperialism.

Observing the Indians was part of Narborough’s instructions but the aim was neither scientific nor ethnographic, or at least not explicitly. Narborough was to “make them sensible to the great power and wealth the Prince and Nation to whom you belong, and that you are sent on purpose to set on foot a Trade and to make Friendship with them”, so his observations were designed to satisfy colonial ambitions rather than scientific purposes.¹¹⁰ The relationship between ethnography and trade predates the early modern period. Information on the appearance, customs and language of other peoples was essential for shaping trading encounters.¹¹¹ In the end of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo described the Brahmins remarking their abstinent life: “They eat no meat, and drink no wine. They lead a very chaste life, in accordance with their customs. They lie with no woman except their wives”.¹¹² These characteristics made the Brahmins, in the eyes of Marco Polo, “among the best and most trustworthy merchants in the world; for nothing on earth would they tell a lie, and all that they say is true”.¹¹³ Other’s encounters, in contrast, disregarded outsiders as suitable for trade, as Elias Heckerman did in Valdivia when he attributed the Mapuche’s lack of interest in gold to laziness.¹¹⁴ Such different appreciations show, as Guido van Meersbergen has argued, that “cultural assumptions, prejudice and anxieties about outsiders were just as important in shaping approaches to

¹⁰⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 15–36.

¹⁰⁹ Anne M. Thell, *Minds in Motion: Imagining Empiricism in Eighteenth-Century British Travel Literature* (Lanham: Bucknell University Press, 2017), 3.

¹¹⁰ Narbrough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough*, 374.

¹¹¹ Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, 1; Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Harry Liebersohn, *The Return of the Gift: European History of a Global Idea* (Cambridge: University Press, 2010).

¹¹² Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Milton Rugoff (New York: Signet Classics, 2004), 313.

¹¹³ Polo, 313. For more on Marco Polo and ethnographic descriptions for trade, see John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 8–30, 116–32; Amilcare A. Iannucci, Suzanne Conklin Akbari, and John Tulk, *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

¹¹⁴ See Chapter 3.

overseas trade, as was economic rationality”.¹¹⁵ Narborough’s instructions went in this direction: to gather information about the customs of the Patagonian Indians and their readiness for future trade with England.

Narborough described various features of their physical appearance. He said that these “people are of a middle stature...and well-limbed”. Moreover, they “are full breasted, they are tawney olive-coloured, and redded all over their bodies with earth and grease; their faces dawbed in spots down their cheeks with white clay, and some black streaks with smut with no method. Their arms and feet the like; they have small heads and short fingers. They are active in body and nimble in going and running”. As for their faces, they were “low-fore-headed” but “roundish” and “well-shaped”. They had “small ears” and both their noses and eyes were of “mean size”. Their teeth were “even”, “smooth” and “very white”, and their hair “smooth...very black and harsh on the fore part”.¹¹⁶ Narborough’s predecessors had described the Patagonians, but never with so many features of their body and face. Every feature is accompanied with an adjective that refers to either size or shape. Although these are qualitative measures, taken together they give a fairly detailed picture of what a Patagonian Indian could have looked like.

It is still striking that Narborough says nothing about the Indians’ height, given that in the seventeenth century the legend of the Patagonian giants was well entrenched in European imagination. He acknowledged the Indians as “well-limbed” but he does not say or suggest any form of high stature or large size whatsoever. In 1578, Drake also viewed them as a corpulent people, but he explicitly claimed that the alleged gigantic height was a Spanish invention to keep enemies away from their domains.¹¹⁷ Narborough, instead, avoids any form of scepticism in this respect, perhaps in an attempt to distance himself from the ontological polemics of the period or perhaps to approach a more scientific description rather than a marvellous one. Instead, Narborough’s descriptions concerning weaponry and clothing did include quantitative measures. For example, Narborough noted that their bows were “about an Ell long”,¹¹⁸ arrows “near eighteen inches long”, and spears “sixteen feet long”. He said that the Patagonians’ clothing were only “pieces of Skins of Seals, and Guianacoes, and Otters skins sewed

¹¹⁵ van Meersbergen, ‘Dutch and English Approaches to Cross-Cultural Trade in Mughal India and the Problem of Trust, 1600– 1630’, 71.

¹¹⁶ Narbrough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough*, 466.

¹¹⁷ Fletcher, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, 1628.

¹¹⁸ The Ell was an ancient measure of length mostly used for measuring cloth. It came from the Latin for arm “ulnia” and was assumed to be the average length of a person’s arm. There are Flemish, Polish Danish, English and Scottish Ells and they were all of different sizes. The Scottish Ell was standardised in 1661 to 37 inches.

together...their Garment is in form of a Carpet, of about five feet square, or according to the largeness of the Person”.¹¹⁹ It is very likely that Narborough, or one of his crew, held some of these objects in their hands at some point, as apposed as measuring a native, which would have been much more difficult to approach and take such precise measurements.

Narborough rendered all this information in his map of the Strait of Magellan. He depicted eleven natives, including men, women and a child, according to the characteristics he described in his journal. The note below the drawing synthesise the observations: semi-nakedness, painted bodies, clothes made with animal skins, canoes with fire inside, bows, arrows and spears, used both for warfare and collecting food, as the fish and fowl in the Indian's hands show. In general, cartographic depictions of Patagonia showed a single Indian or a just a handful of them. Never before had so many Patagonians been drawn on a single map as on this one (Fig. 15). Moreover, the map included children, indicating that they were not isolated individuals, but a population of Patagonians.¹²⁰ Narborough claimed that he drew them “as they were presented to him” but the arrangement of the Indians side by side, motionless and looking at the viewer of the map, reveals the overriding concern of arranging the Indians in some classification system that simulates an ethnographic exhibition of the inhabitants of the extreme south of the Americas.

The emergence of modern ways of recording the natural world by Europeans did not imply the development of a view of the natives of the Americas as “modern” people. On the contrary, seventeenth-century descriptions represented the Patagonians as barbaric and savage. In Western discourse, bows, stone-arrows, spears, animal-skin clothing and semi-nudity were all marks of a barbaric life.¹²¹ In the Ancient world, the term “barbarian” was used to designate anyone who was not “civilised” – Greek or Roman – , such as Scythians, Persians and Celts, among others. Customs, laws and religion were signs of civilisation or barbarism, so in reality the term “barbarian” highlighted the otherness between two human groups, so they were deeply ethnocentric concepts.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Narbrough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough*, 466.

¹²⁰ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*; Martínez, ‘Patagonia En La Edad de Oro de La Cartografía Holandesa’.

¹²¹ For a broader discussion about barbarity in the West, see section 1 of chapter 1.

¹²² Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Thomas Harrison, *Greeks and Barbarians* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2001).



Patagonian Indians in the Strait of Magellan



Indians and a child, and the first line of the inscription “the Natives of this Land as they appeared unto me”



Indians carrying weapons and food

Figure 15. Detail of the inhabitants of Patagonia taken from John Narborough’s map of the Strait of Magellan.

Likewise, there existed more than one kind of barbarian and, in that regard, there were levels of barbarism according to the cultural distance from civilisation.¹²³ There was also a spatial element around barbarism: the farther away from civilization, the more barbaric. In extreme peripheral regions, more than barbarians what existed were “savages” or “primitives”, people who seemed to live in a primordial state of life. For the European eye, living in “empty” spaces, such as Patagonia, reflected “absence of domesticity, settlement, and civil structures”.¹²⁴ This vision of the savage led to its placement in a “liminal space between the human and the animal”, invoking a “sense of wilderness...and spaces beyond human control”.¹²⁵ Therefore, the term “savage” takes the “barbarian” discourse to an extreme, appealing for cultural but also historical distance regarding the “civilised”.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Europe’s view of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas as “savages” had profound colonial implications. In this regard, Narborough claimed that “they are under no government but every man doth as he thinks fit, for they had no respect to anyone, no under any obedience of any of this company...Neither did they make any shew of worshipping anything, either sun or moon”.¹²⁶ To the English eye, semi-nudity, stone weapons – in contrast to European firearms – hunting, gathering and nomadism were signs of no material progress and thus an opportunity for domesticating wilderness.¹²⁷ Narborough’s description betrayed an alleged lack of self-governance and control over their own territory, which, on the one hand, legitimised colonisation as the means to overcome savagery, and on the other, supposed an asymmetrical position of power, in which Indians were powerless and Europeans powerful.¹²⁸ Narborough took the borderland discourse to an extreme, converting geographical distance into historical distance convenient enough to legitimise the English bringing the Patagonians out of savagery by including them in England’s commercial scheme in South America.

¹²³ For a discussion on the scale of barbarism, see Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 2-5, 180-205.

¹²⁴ Nandini Das et al., ‘Savage/Barbarian’, in *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 220.

¹²⁵ Das, 217. Early modern writing often overlaps savagery with barbarism, making it hard to see differences between the two notions. More generally, barbarism carries a negative connotation as opposed to the idea of the “good savage”. Nevertheless, they are closely related concepts. For a broader discussion see Hartog, ‘Barbarians: From the Ancient to the New World’; Boletsi and Moser, *Barbarism Revisited*; Weber, *Bárbaros*; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984);

¹²⁶ Narborough, *The Voyage of Captain John Narbrough 1*, 465–66.

¹²⁷ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 254; Also, Slack, *The Invention of Improvement*.

¹²⁸ Boletsi and Moser, *Barbarism Revisited*, 18.

6. Conclusions

After seven decades of absence, England resumed sailing in Patagonia in 1669. The Crown placed the expedition in the hands of the Royal Navy, as the prevailing political climate called for prudence. Nevertheless, the author of the voyage was the Sephardic merchant Carlos Enríquez. Although there were no attacks, Narborough's appearance in Valdivia awakened among the Valdivia settlers a distrust towards the English sailors. Both the design and political aftermath of the voyage show how this voyage was entangled in cross-cultural relations that involved the Sephardic community in London, the Royal Navy in representation of the English state, and the Spanish Empire.

England gained no material rewards from this voyage, for the major contribution was in the field of geographical knowledge of Patagonia, particularly of the Strait of Magellan. Narborough's Baconian framework show how science and expansion were interrelated essential activities in England's colonial expansion. Narborough expanded England's knowledge of Patagonia by employing systematically emerging practices of scientific observation, such as note-taking, measurement, repetition and synthesis. Favoured by the intellectual environment of the time and the growing value of first-hand knowledge, Narborough used Patagonia as a venue of science, transforming England's view of the region from a place of passage to a space for stopover and scientific research.

Narborough's observations were expressed in a clear and seemingly objective language, where numbers and measurements gave way to an increasingly scientific narrative, distancing himself from the more vague descriptions that his predecessors had made. The value of Narborough's observations was recognised by the prestigious Royal Society, which gave him its social and intellectual endorsement by publishing a copy of his journal along with one of his maps. Narborough's information also had political implications. Commentators in England accelerated their talk of exploiting the southern Pacific region for English benefit, as reflected in the maps dedicated to Pepys and Harley. By the end of the seventeenth century, Patagonia figured in the maritime archives of England as a territory explored, studied and published. The latter was the result of collective efforts, which involved cartographers and natural philosophers developing stylistic and editorial strategies to meet the maritime and scientific needs of the period.

At the same time, Narborough's material shows how, despite pretensions to objectivity and scientific knowledge, the frontier lands and the savage imagination continued to play a role in seventeenth-century ethnography. The vision of Patagonia as a space of savagery favoured England's expansionist agenda, as it legitimised colonisation as a means of overcoming such a state. These sources are therefore valuable for understanding how the English saw the Patagonians, but also how they perceived themselves on the wider map of humanity. In this regard, this chapter shows that science and imagination reshaped their relationship in a time often regarded as scientifically centred.

Chapter 5

A “Biopirate” Atlas: Buccaneers and Mapmakers (1682-1685)

1. Introduction

In the early 1680s, a band of buccaneers led by Bartholomew Sharp entered into the South Sea from Panama. After eighteen months of plundering, the buccaneers decided to return to England via the Strait of Magellan, although they ended up crossing Cape Horn, becoming the first English navigators to sail the southernmost passage into the South Sea. A number of buccaneers produced maps and accounts, and manuscript and printed copies of them were published in London in the 1680s and 1690s. This chapter looks at the material produced by some of the buccaneers of this voyage, analysing the production of ethnographical and geographical knowledge about Patagonia. I argue that the buccaneers of Sharp’s voyage acted as “biopirates”, a concept inspired in the work of Londa Schiebinger.¹ A “biopirate” was any navigator engaged in piratical activities. This included traditional pirates, privateers, buccaneers and filibusters. Biopirates used various methods and tools, both physical and intellectual, to exploit and profit from the knowledge and resources they plundered from the natural world.² In particular, I argue that the buccaneers acted as biopirates in two ways. Firstly, along with material booty, they plundered knowledge. Among the prizes that the buccaneers seized in their South Sea raids, Sharp obtained a Spanish *derrotero*, a navigation book containing crucial information – knowledge – for navigating the South Sea. Secondly, buccaneer Basil Ringrose made his own copy of the stolen *derrotero*, which he complemented with personal observations, creating *The South Sea Waggoner*, the first English-made book of South Sea routes.

Bartholomew Sharp’s buccaneering raid has long figured in South Sea histories. Two issues dominate the discussion. First, that it was the first buccaneer incursion into the South Sea, opening a new theatre of operations different from the Caribbean. Bradley and Williams have examined the motivations for this voyage, arguing that although Caribbean buccaneering – particularly Henry Morgan’s raids – heavily influenced buccaneering in the South Sea, the

¹ Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Hauppauge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 35–44.

² For an alternative definition of biopiracy, see Jesse Alfred Cavalari, ‘Pirates, Science and Empire: English Privateering and Knowledge Creation in the Early Modern Atlantic World’, PhD diss., (Northern Arizona University, 2018), 11–12.

latter had a different imprint due to the thirst for silver above all other commodities.³ In turn, Spanish scholars have analysed the resurgence of the “English fear”.⁴ While it is true that Narborough had raised alarms of fear in the previous decade, his voyage did not cause any material damage, while Sharp raided the South Sea for eighteen months, recalling the experience of the Elizabethan privateers in the previous century. Ximena Urbina has analysed how Sharp’s voyage raised fear even in the metropolis, as reports from Lima arrived in Madrid claiming that there was a secret English colony on the island Madre de Dios, Western Patagonia.⁵ Montañez has argued that by entering into the South Sea by the Isthmus of Panama and not the Strait of Magellan or Cape Horn, buccaneers opened the South Sea’s “northern lock”, revealing a new vulnerable area of the Spanish Empire.⁶

The second issue dominating the discussion about Sharp’s voyage is the capture of the Spanish *derrotero*. Historians have commented in detail on the daring attitude buccaneers had at the seizure of the book but few have analysed the intellectual and nautical significance of it. In 1992, Derek Howse, Norman Thrower and Arnold Bauer published a print edition of Ringrose’s *South Sea Waggoner*. The volume contains a comprehensive introductory study describing the circumstances of Sharp’s voyage and the value of the captured *derrotero* to the English authorities. It also includes documentation relating to the trial of the buccaneers.⁷ The authors argue that Ringrose’s *South Sea Waggoner* is testimony to the way in which empires expanded their knowledge of the world through official and unofficial capacities. In a similar vein, Guadalupe Pinzón has studied the representation of the coasts of New Spain in both Ringrose’s and Hack’s works, arguing that their maps were a synthesis of previous knowledge and recent experience that gave a novel account of the scope of English navigations in New Spain, while serving as propaganda to generate greater interest in the region.⁸

Both Howse et al. and Pinzón see Ringrose as a producer of geographical knowledge. However, a more traditional scholarship considered the buccaneers’ accounts of little geographical significance. Chilean historian Diego Barros Arana said that Sharp’s various accounts were of

³ Bradley, *British Maritime Enterprise in the New World*, 452–57; Williams, *Great South Sea*, 82–91.

⁴ Vazquez de Acuña, *Historia naval del reino de Chile*, 227–30; Guarda, *Flandes Indiano: Las Fortificaciones Del Reino De Chile, 1541- 1826.*; Martinic Beros, *Historia de La Región Magallánica*, I:252.

⁵ Urbina Carrasco, ‘La isla Madre de Dios (costa del Pacífico austral) en los siglos XVII y XVIII’.

⁶ Elizabeth Montañez Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire: Pirates in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1570-1750’, 104–22.

⁷ Howse, Thrower, and Bauer, *A Buccaneer’s Atlas*.

⁸ Guadalupe Pinzón Ríos, ‘Las Costas de La Nueva España En La Cartografía Náutica Inglesa: Del Viaje de Basil Ringrose al Atlas de William Hack (1680-1698)’, *Investigaciones Geográficas*, no. 95 (2018): 1–15.

little “scientific rigour” and that the knowledge they produced was “imperfect” and “flawed”.⁹ In a similar vein, Martinic regards Ringrose’s maps in *The South Sea Waggoner* as “rough and sloppy”, showing a “decline in the geographical image of the Magellanic Region at the end of the seventeenth century”.¹⁰ It is true that Ringrose’s output is not as accurate as that of Narborough, yet geographical knowledge not only lies in accuracy but also in the capacity to map uncharted lands.

Recent studies have revisited the relationship between buccaneers and the production of geographical knowledge. James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew analyse buccaneers as central actors in the establishment of global connections and trans-imperial networks of communication.¹¹ Similarly, Tim Beattie described buccaneering as enterprises that participated actively in the construction of geographical knowledge of the South Sea through different means: “through observation, captured Spanish ‘waggoners’, and published journals”. He adds that the buccaneers output “was to prove vital, despite qualms about its accuracy, to the cruising voyages of the South Sea”.¹² In particular, the figure of William Dampier – who initially formed part of Sharp’s voyage but left him at some point in the South Sea – has caught the attention of a number of historians for his sharp sense of curiosity about the natural world and his quasi gentlemanly interest in science.¹³

Building on this scholarship, I see Sharp’s buccaneers as “biopirates”, although with some modifications from Cavalari’s definition.¹⁴ For Cavalari, biopirates “created knowledge for themselves, first and foremost”, as it was not part of their intention to produce knowledge for the empire.¹⁵ While I concur with this view, Ringrose’s *South Sea Waggoner* is an example that not all knowledge produced by buccaneers was actually used by fellow buccaneers. Ringrose’s *South Sea Waggoner* followed a different path. As soon as the buccaneers returned

⁹ Diego Barros Arana, *Historia general de Chile*, 2. ed, vol. 5 (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universitaria, 2000), 158–59.

¹⁰ Martinic Beros, *Cartografía Magallánica 1523-1945*, 103–4.

¹¹ James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, eds., *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

¹² Tim Beattie, *British Privateering Voyages of the Early Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, Incorporated, 2015), 42.

¹³ Geraldine Barnes and Adrian Mitchell, ‘Measuring the Marvelous: Science and the Exotic in William Dampier’, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26, no. 3 (2002): 45–57; Anna Neill, ‘Buccaneer Ethnography: Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 2 (2000): 165–80; Diana Preston and Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind: Explorer, Naturalist, and Buccaneer: The Life of William Dampier* (New York: Walker & Company, 2004).

¹⁴ Cavalari, ‘Pirates, Science and Empire’, 11. On biopiracy, see Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire*, 34–45.

¹⁵ Cavalari, ‘Pirates, Science and Empire’, 14.

to England, the Spanish ambassador demanded a trial, as they had breached the Treaty of Madrid. The trial took place but despite the increasing pressure of the ambassador and the compelling testimony of two witnesses, the buccaneers were acquitted. We do not have the reasons for the acquittal, but as I will demonstrate, the stolen *derrotero* seemed have to played a crucial part in this. It appears that *The South Sea Waggoner* remained on land and never went to sea with other buccaneers. Instead, mapmaker William Hack made lavishly decorated copies dedicated to prominent members of the English court, stripping the book of its original navigational purpose. In this sense, *The South Sea Waggoner* became a symbolic tool of power that satisfied the imperial need for knowledge of a lesser known area rather than the nautical needs of the buccaneers.

Several members of the crew documented Sharp's ventures in the South Sea.¹⁶ For Williams, the various journals form "a puzzling, sometimes contradictory, mass of evidence".¹⁷ Although this chapter focuses on Basil Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* (1682) and the copies that mapmaker William Hack made later of this book (1684–1685), I also use sources of the voyage to see how buccaneers observed and described Patagonia. I list here the ones I draw on in order of publication. The first is John Cox's *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp And others, in the South Sea*, published in 1684 by Philip Ayres.¹⁸ The second one is William Dick's account, published under the initials "W. D." in May 1684 in the second English edition of *Bucaniers of America* by the French, Dutch or Flemish writer Alexandre Oliver Exquemelin. We then have two manuscript copies of Basil Ringrose's travel account – these are not to be confused with the *South Sea Waggoner*. One account is Ringrose's own hand and contains twelve charts drawn by him.¹⁹ This account is undated but was probably written before 1683. The other account, also undated, is an edited copy in another hand with some additions in Sharp's favour including twelve charts drawn by Hack and dedicated to Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle.²⁰ Ringrose's second version of the account was published with further

¹⁶ For a review of all the sources, editions and whereabouts, see Derek Howse, Norman J. W. Thrower, and Arnold Bauer, eds., *A Buccaneer's Atlas: Basil Ringrose's South Sea Waggoner: A Sea Atlas and Sailing Directions of the Pacific Coast of the Americas, 1682* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 261–75.

¹⁷ Williams, *Great South Sea*, 89.

¹⁸ Philip Ayres, ed., *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and Others, in the South Sea: : Being a Journal of the Same, Also Capt. Van Horn with His Buccanieres Surprizing of La Vera Cruz to Which Is Added The True Relation of Sir Henry Morgan, His Expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and His Taking Panama. Together with The President of Panama's Account of the Same Expedition: Translated out of Spanish. And Col. Beeston's Adjustment of the Peace between the Spaniards and English in the West Indies* (London: Printed by B.W. for R.H. and S.T., 1684).

¹⁹ Sloane MS 3820. For an overview on all the sources relating the voyage, see Howse, Thrower, and Bauer, *A Buccaneer's Atlas*, 261–62.

²⁰ Sloane MS 48.

additions in a 1685 volume of Exquemelin's *Bucaniers of America*.²¹ Finally, there is Bartholomew Sharp's own undated travel account. Many copies of this journal survive but I use one with eleven charts by Hack.²²

To understand the presence of buccaneers in the South Sea I will first contextualise buccaneering as a specific form of seventeenth-century navigation. I then move to the buccaneers' search for the Strait of Magellan and the consequent crossing of Cape Horn. In a similar fashion to chapter 4, I analyse the tension between a more scientific-like description and the marvellous tradition of the Renaissance. I focus on a captive Indian whom the buccaneers named Orson to show how wonder and science continued to feature in travel writing. The chapter then moves to an analysis of Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* and the political circumstances revolving around the creation of this pirate atlas. In the final section, I analyse the mapmaker William Hack and his involvement in the Thames School, a cartographic stylistic movement developed in England between 1590 and 1720. The Thames School is an elusive entity, scantily studied by Anglophone scholarship and completely overlooked by Spanish literature. Therefore, I take some time to explain its origins, development and features. I then move to analyse Hack's work and the maps concerning Patagonia.

This chapter aims to understand the context in which both the *South Sea Waggoner* and the *Atlas* were produced. I examine the way in which these works were both instruments of geographical knowledge and propaganda, showing the growing English merit in the South Sea. This chapter aims to contribute to an understanding of the confluence between buccaneers, science and empire. Although buccaneers are commonly associated with plunder and attack, I engage with a persuasive literature in the history of science wherein pirates and buccaneers are seen as agents of science. I propose, thus, to look at buccaneers as key parts in the state's colonial machinery.

2. Buccaneers in the South Sea and their geographical observations of Patagonia

In the early modern period, piracy, privateering, buccaneering and filibustering evoked a clear sense of pillaging and sacking. Pirates were equated with sea-robbers, as they preyed on the ships of other nations as well as their own. Thus, they were seen as "stateless" by definition.²³

²¹ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, chap. XXIII, XXIV.

²² Sloane MS 46 A

²³ Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations*, 2012.

Privateers, on the other hand, enjoyed a position of legality that pirates did not, since monarchs and trading companies granted letters of marque to attack their enemies in times of war. Privateering did not include, at least in theory, assaulting populations, but in practice, these were very frequent. Filibuster derived from the Dutch *vrijbouter*, or freebooter, and referred to French pirates established in the Antilles during the seventeenth century.²⁴ In addition, the growing national identities of the recent early modern nation-states imbued these terms with a sense rivalry coming not only from their actions at sea but also from their nationality. An example of this is the definition of pirates by the Spanish bureaucrat in the Americas, Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera: “Protestant foreigners who attacked and robbed its coastal settlements”.²⁵ Consequently, privateers, buccaneers and filibusters were included under the definition although technically they were not. Until recently, Anglophone and Spanish scholarship echoed such quarrels, blurring the line between these terms.²⁶

Strictly speaking, buccaneering was a form of privateering that emerged in the first half of the seventeenth century in the Caribbean. Buccaneers first appeared in the west and north-west of Hispaniola, where herds of cattle, hogs and horses ran wild after their abandonment by Spanish settlers who crossed to the mainland of Mexico, Central and South America seeking the treasures of conquest. These animals provided a means of sustenance and income for what Bradley describes as “a motley collection of individuals” – refugees from shipwrecks, stranded marooned seamen, runaway Black enslaved people, disillusioned settlers from failed colonies nearby, adventurers and a variety of rogues seeking to escape from justice.²⁷ Buccaneers’ living came to be based on the selling of cured meat, hides and tallow to passing foreign interlopers. Originally referred to as “cow killers”, they were eventually designated “buccaneers” from their manner of curing strips of meat, Indian style, on a *boucan*, French spelling of a Tupi, Karib, or Arawak word to refer to cooked and smoked meat.²⁸

The buccaneers’ theatre of operations was mainly the Caribbean, where the Atlantic powers, namely Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and England, were at permanent war.²⁹ The lucrative

²⁴ Elizabeth Montañez Sanabria, ‘Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire: Pirates in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1570-1750’, 17–18.

²⁵ Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera, *Piratería y Agresiones de Los Ingleses y de Otros Pueblos de Europa En La América Española Desde El Siglo XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1883), 1.

²⁶ Bradley, *The Lure of Peru*, 9–29. Manuel Lucena Salmoral, *Piratas, bucaneros, filibusteros y corsarios en América: perros, mendigos y otros malditos del mar*, 2. ed, Colecciones MAPFRE 1492 3, Colección Mar y América 8 (Madrid: Ed. MAPFRE, 1994), 106–18.

²⁷ Bradley, *British Maritime Enterprise in the New World*, 156.

²⁸ Philip Gosse, *The History of Piracy* (Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, 1932), 141–75.

²⁹ Rediker, *Villains of All Nations*, 19–22.

trade in gold, silver, fish, furs, slaves, sugar, tobacco and manufactured goods that developed there made the region a prime target for pirates attentive to vacuums of power that empires left, which for them were valuable opportunities to plunder goods and accumulate wealth.³⁰ In some occasions, buccaneers worked under private or royal commission, although this was a rare occurrence. Typically, buccaneers were driven by personal profit, raiding and looting nations indiscriminately, which often blurred the lines between their actions and traditional piracy.³¹ Janice Thomson's classical study on forms of non-state violence analyses how buccaneers played an essential role in gaining a foothold in territories outside Europe.³² In this regard, Anna Neill asserts that in the Caribbean, "buccaneers were regularly preying on Spanish ships and hence were perceived by the Jamaican colonists... as invaluable allies", as their recent arrival on the island and dangerous closeness to Spanish possessions made them worried for their safety and protection.³³ However, as Thomson argues, relying on buccaneers led to disastrous "unintended consequences" for the empire, as privateers often became pirates at their convenience, showing shifting loyalties to the government while deepening distrust between states.³⁴ Although buccaneers reported revenues to their countries, the relationship of buccaneers with the state was often complicated, so that contemporaries regarded them in ambivalent terms that oscillated between criminality and bravery.³⁵

Although buccaneering first developed in the Caribbean, it did not take long for them to find new spaces for their activities. Lured by the silver of Peru, English buccaneers entered the South Sea in 1680 with Bartholomew Sharp. They did so using a different route from that of the Elizabethan privateers and Narborough. Instead of entering from the south by crossing the

³⁰ Rannard, 120. Gosse, *The History of Piracy*; David Marley, *Pirates and Privateers of the Americas* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1994); Kris E. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500-1750* (Armonk, N.Y. ; M.E. Sharpe, 1998); Lucena Salmoral, *Piratas, bucaneros, filibusteros y corsarios en América*; Rediker, *Villains of All Nations*; Jon Latimer, *Buccaneers of the Caribbean: How Piracy Forged an Empire* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2009); Richard Frohock, *Buccaneers and Privateers: The Story of the English Sea Rover, 1675-1725* (Cranbury: University of Delaware Press, 2012); Cruz Apestegui, *Los Ladrones Del Mar, Piratas En El Caribe: Corsariosm Filibusteros y Bucaneros. 1493-1700* (Barcelona: Lunwerk, 2000); Angus Konstam, *Scourge of the Seas: Buccaneers, Pirates and Privateers* (Oxford: Osprey, 2007); Bradley, *The Lure of Peru*.

³¹ Elizabeth Montañez Sanabria, 'Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire: Pirates in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1570-1750', 17–18; Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns*, 22–26.

³² Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns*, 41.

³³ Neill, 'Buccaneer Ethnography', 169.

³⁴ Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns*, 43–68.

³⁵ For further reading on the relationship between buccaneers and the state, see Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*, Repr., 15. print (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010); Rediker, *Villains of All Nations*; David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life among the Pirates*, 2006 Random House trade pbk. ed (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2006).

Strait of Magellan, Sharp entered the South Sea by crossing the Isthmus of Panama. Much like Patagonia, the landscape of Tierra Firme, as the Isthmus was known by then, was geographically challenging with swampy terrain and dense jungle, crossed by long ranges of high, rugged mountains and valleys.³⁶ The temperatures were less hostile than in the extreme south, but in contrast to the Patagonian passages, the Tierra Firme was located at the heart of the Spanish Empire, making access difficult to go unnoticed.³⁷

Nothing is known about Sharp's early life, except that he was born in Wapping and that by the time he raided the South Sea he was about thirty.³⁸ On 5 April 1680, under the command of John Coxon, Sharp and some other 330 buccaneers landed on the coast of Darien with the objective of crossing the Isthmus and sacking Panama for a second time. The first time had been nearly ten years before, when Henry Morgan attacked Panama with around 2,000 men.³⁹ In that occasion, the buccaneers occupied the city for a month and then returned it to Spanish authorities. Morgan's raids on Panama in 1668-71 show the amount of resources buccaneers could mobilise, the geographical access they gained by acting in a liminal space between legality and illegality, and the disruption buccaneers could cause for both the home and foreign empires. Morgan's plunder marked a before and after for buccaneering activity. As James Burney argued, since the sack of Panama, buccaneers' imagination had not ceased to project voyages to the South Sea.⁴⁰

Coxon and the buccaneers successfully attacked Panama, seizing five ships, including the four-hundred-ton *Santisima Trinidad*, which they took as their flagship under the name *Trinity*. The buccaneers continued raiding the South Sea but disputes about the distribution of the booty and

³⁶ Pike, 'Black Rebels', 244.

³⁷ Elizabeth Montañez Sanabria, 'Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire: Pirates in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1570-1750', 86-87; Paolo Vignolo and José Virgilio Becerra, *Tierra firme: el Darién en el imaginario de los conquistadores*, Biblioteca abierta 396 (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Sede Bogotá, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Departamento de Historia, 2014).

³⁸ James William Kelly, *Sharpe, Bartholomew*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³⁹ In December of 1670 Morgan - with a privateer's licence from the governor of Jamaica - commanded a fleet of 36 ships and about 2,000 men, attacked and took Panama. For an overview of Morgan's raids, see Elizabeth Montañez Sanabria, 'Challenging the Pacific Spanish Empire: Pirates in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1570-1750', 121-22; O. H. K. Spate, *Monopolists and Freebooters*, The Pacific since Magellan; Vol. 2 (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 35-138; Martha de Jármy Chapa, *Un Eslabón Perdido En La Historia: Piratería En El Caribe, Siglos XVI y XVII*, 1a ed, Nuestra América 6 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Coordinación de Humanidades, Centro Coordinador y Difusor de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 1983), 229-38.

⁴⁰ James Burney, *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean.*, vol. 4, Cambridge Library Collection. Maritime Exploration (London: Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons ... for Payne and Foss ... and John Murray, 1816), 75.

deaths among the captains divided the crew.⁴¹ After two large-scale defections, Sharp was elected overall commander of the voyage on 28 May 1681. With a force reduced to 140 men, and on board a single vessel, the *Trinity*, Sharp spent the next eighteen months searching for more prizes. Sharp managed to capture three more ships and assault two cities before he returned to England. All this put at risk the Treaty of Madrid, signed ten years earlier by England and Spain in an attempt to cease hostilities in the Americas.

On 31 August 1681, the buccaneers were at 6° latitude south, from where they began to sail southwards aiming to cross the Strait of Magellan during the summer. Because of the strong winds and lack of experience in Patagonian waters, the buccaneers ended up crossing Cape Horn, from where they headed for the Caribbean, and then, in different ships, to London, arriving in March 1682. Their navigation from the coasts of Ecuador to Cape Horn gave them the opportunity to record coasts English navigators had not visited since Elizabethan times. Narborough had entered the South Sea in 1669, yet his navigation focused on the Strait of Magellan and did not go any further north than Valdivia.

This gave the buccaneers the opportunity to update the knowledge about the coasts and bays of the South Sea. Although geographical observation was not their first aim, buccaneering narratives are filled with observations concerning the weather, winds, tides and currents. In this regard, buccaneers made clear their epistemological intention in their narratives by describing their role as knowledge creators and emphasising their capacity for observational science. Thus, buccaneers were aware of the importance of their eyewitness testimony in creating knowledge. In this manner, their geographical remarks are accompanied by a language that establishes authority using the word “observe” in two ways, referring to observation as a practice and to the use of navigational instruments in determining global position. For instance, Cox emphasised that they took several observations of the sun’s altitude: “we wear very exact in taking amplitudes to be yet more satisfied”, and later he said “we observed with our astrolabes latitude 50 Degr. 37 Min”.⁴²

In October 1681, at 49° 59’ latitude south, Ringrose described the land they saw as “high and towering, and there appeared to be many islands scattered up and down”, highlighting the

⁴¹ Captain John Coxon should not be confused with crewmember John Cox. In April 1681, John Coxon along with other buccaneers - Dampier was one them - navigated to the Gulf of San Miguel, Panama, from where they crossed the Isthmus again in direction to the Caribbean. John Cox, instead, stayed with Sharp and crossed the Cape Horn.

⁴² Ayres, *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and Others, in the South Sea*, 99.

archipelagic nature of Western Patagonia.⁴³ They anchored in one of the islands and named it “Duke of York”, another expression of England’s symbolic occupation of Patagonia. The buccaneers “supposed them to be a knot of islands like that of Bermudas”, Cox said.⁴⁴ By referencing the Caribbean island, he was pointing out Western Patagonia as a new area for colonial power, as Bermuda was for England in the Caribbean. Furthermore, weather was “pretty fair”, and winds were “calmed”.⁴⁵ Thus, they spent most of October at Duke of York Island, where they found plenty of supplies – “six or eight brave geese, besides some small fowl... [and] many hundreds of muscle banks, all which were very plentifully stocked with that kind of fish”.⁴⁶ This kind of information was essential for navigation in Patagonia, as it pointed out a place for supply just before (or after, depending on the sailing direction) the crossing of the interoceanic passage. The island’s relevance was rendered in the edited copy of Ringrose’s travel account, where the volume includes twelve charts drawn by William Hack, one of them corresponding to Duke of York Island (Fig.16).⁴⁷

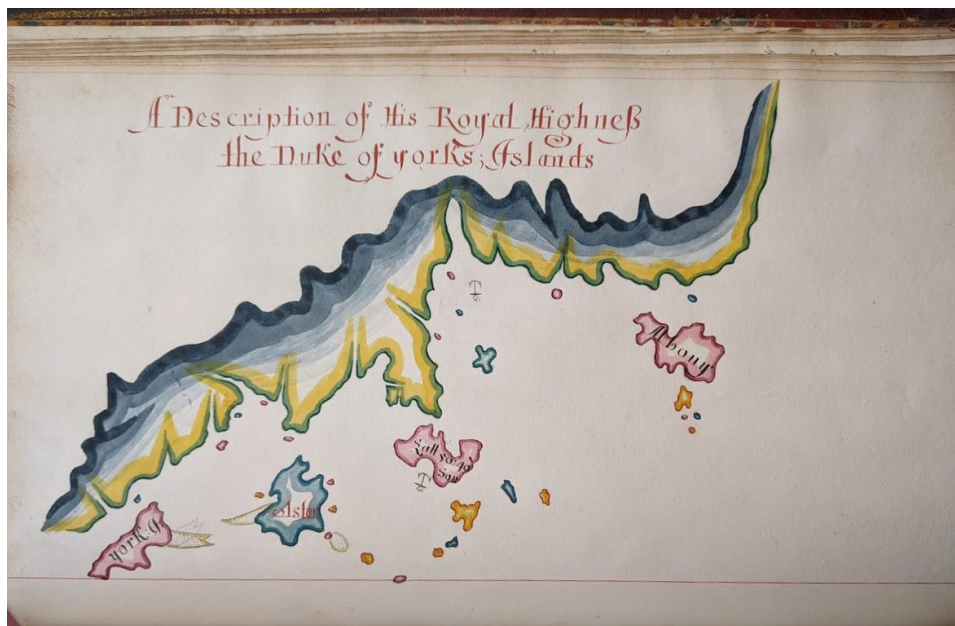


Figure 16. Map of Duke of York Island in *Voyages and Travels: Journal by B. Ringrose of the voyages of Capt. B. Sharp in the South Seas: 1680-1682*. MS Sloane 48, British Library.

⁴³ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 288.

⁴⁴ Ayres, *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and Others, in the South Sea*, 100–101.

⁴⁵ Ayres, 99–100.

⁴⁶ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 290.

⁴⁷ Sloane MS 48

Discrepancies across the sources make it hard to trace a specific route after Duke of York. After several attempts trying to find the entrance to the Strait of Magellan, the buccaneers decided to navigate further south. Moreover, due to the weather conditions of the extreme south, the buccaneers tried to pass between the two oceans as quickly as possible, which appears to have given them minimal opportunity to record information about Cape Horn apart from measuring the location. Nevertheless, they mention the main features of Patagonia. Despite having sailed during the summer, the weather in the extreme latitudes of Tierra del Fuego complicated the navigation. On 11 November, Ringrose said that “all night past had furious, windy and tempestuous weather, from the points of NW and NNW together with seas higher and higher”. At least the summer season favoured geographical observations as it barely got dark at night: there was “no night at all, though the weather was dark”.⁴⁸ In this regard, Cox emphasised that they took several observations of the sun’s altitude: “we wear very exact in taking amplitudes to be yet more satisfied”. He claimed that they “observed with our astrolabes latitudes 50. Degr. 37 Min.”.⁴⁹ The southernmost point registered in these sources is Ringrose’s observation at 58° 23’ latitude south, around 300 kilometres (186 miles) from the southernmost tip of Tierra del Fuego. From then onwards, latitudes decrease, showing that the ship began to sail further north.

Ringrose’s and Cox’s general observations of Patagonia fell short compared to Narborough’s practices of measurement, repetition and accuracy. Nevertheless, Alexandre Exquemelin praised the buccaneers’ observational skills in the preface to his *Bucaniers of America* (1685). He stated that Ringrose fought with both his “sword” and “pen”, opening new doors to the South Sea for navigators, referring to Cape Horn. He regarded “This Discovery alone, as hugely beneficial to Mankind, so may it seem sufficient of itself to recommend this present piece unto the publick, even as extremely necessary to all such as Navigate the Ocean; and no less delightful unto those persons whose studys are directed to the search of Nature, to the Arts of Mathematicks or Navigation”.⁵⁰ Similarly, Philip Ayres recognised the value of the buccaneers’ observations when he published Cox’s narrative in his *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and Others, in the South Sea* (1684): “I finding it to be a plain journal, not unpleasant, and much of the same kind, writ by a seaman, though not lerned and accurate in his stile; yet one that certainly was very skilful and industrious in the art of

⁴⁸ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 290–91.

⁴⁹ Ayres, *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and Others, in the South Sea*, 99.

⁵⁰ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 2.

sailing, who seems to have given a true and just relation of what befell them in that expedition”.⁵¹

Cox and Ringrose did not follow any sort of geographical or political agenda. Rather, their observations depended on the route they followed and on what they encountered during the navigation. It is true that rounding Cape Horn was unintentional, and that the information they collected was less comprehensive and systematic than Narborough’s observations, but it gave them the opportunity to produce valuable observations that offered a comparison of the suitability of the two passages between the Pacific and Atlantic. Resulting from an accidental navigation, the buccaneers included Cape Horn in the English geographical archive of the world, reaffirming the country’s capacity to sail even the furthest reaches of the Americas. Likewise, they paved a new gateway for those who would venture into the South Sea in the following century, such as privateers William Dampier (1703–1707), Woodes Rogers (1708–1711), George Shelvocke (1718–1722) and naval captain George Anson (1739–1741).

3. From Patagón to Orson: continuities in the discourse of Patagonians as “savages”

During their stay at York Island, the buccaneers registered what appears to be the only encounter they had with Patagonian Indians. The information they provide is fragmentary and much less detailed than that of Narborough. Nevertheless, it shows continuities in the ways in which English navigators, privateers, naval captains or buccaneers in this case, described the inhabitants of the extreme South Sea. Ringrose said:

In the evening, our canoe, which was gone to search the adjacent places for Indians, or what else they could find, returned to the ship with a doree⁵² at her stern... In it were three Indians, who perceiving themselves nigh being taken, leaped overboard to make their escape. Our men in pursuing them did unadvisedly shoot one of them dead; a second, being a woman, escaped their hands; but a third, who was a lusty boy about eighteen years of age, was taken, whom they brought on board the ship.⁵³

Given the location of the encounter, and the pointed ends of the canoe, it is likely that the Indians were Kawesqar. The Indian “was covered only with a seal’s skin, having no other

⁵¹ Ayres, *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and Others, in the South Sea*, 2.

⁵² A dory is a small, shallow-draft boat commonly used for fishing, both in coastal waters and in the open sea.

⁵³ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 292.

clothing about him: his eyes were squinted, and his hair pretty short”. The buccaneers tried to communicate with him but “His language we could not understand”, Ringrose claimed.⁵⁴ Cox perceived that “he used to eat raw flesh and fish”.⁵⁵ Like all their predecessors, the buccaneers inserted the Patagonian Indian in the long-standing ethnographic tradition of the “savage”, a figure from a distant historical and material past that portrayed the English by default as civilised. Perhaps the most powerful claim in this regard is the name Ringrose gave to the captive Indian: “we kept him prisoner, and called him Orson”.⁵⁶ It is likely that the name came from a Carolingian romance well known in seventeenth-century England, which told the story of twin brothers, Valentine and Orson who were abandoned in the woods as toddlers. Valentine grew up as a knight in the court of Pepin, while Orson grew up as a wild man in the woods.⁵⁷ By naming the Indian “Orson”, Ringrose was ascribing his own interpretation of civilised life onto the Indian, shaping a savage imagination of Patagonia. Naming objects, peoples and nature was a powerful tool in colonial encounters. In this regard, historians have looked at the role of baptism as an act of power in which the assignment of a Catholic name to the Indians worked as a way of inclusion and subjection into Spanish rule and more generally to Western European civilisation.⁵⁸ In Ringrose’s case naming the Indian “Orson” marked an act of exclusion, a sign of othering and marvelling that located the Indian outside the borders of civilised life and thus only a fictitious name could be given in such case. Magellan had done the same in 1520 when he named the inhabitants of San Julián Patagonians after “Patagón”, the giant from the romance *Primaleón*. Othering and marvelling persisted as discursive strategies even in the increasingly scientific atmosphere of the late-seventeenth century. As Nandini Das has argued, it is crucial to think of cross-cultural encounters not as singular events but as extended processes coming from a previous and complex intertwining of “knowledge,

⁵⁴ Exquemelin, 292.

⁵⁵ Ayres, *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and Others, in the South Sea*, 100.

⁵⁶ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 292–94.

⁵⁷ Henry Watson, *Valentine and Orson. Translated from the French by Henry Watson*, ed. Arthur Dickson, Early English Text Society. Original Series, No. 204 (London: Oxford University Press, 1937); Helen Cooper, ‘The Strange History of Valentine and Orson’, in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. Rosalind Field (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1999), 153–68; Cyrus Mulready, *Romance on the Early Modern Stage. English Expansion Before and After Shakespeare* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2013), 195–99.

⁵⁸ On Catholic baptism as an act of power in the New World, see: Juan Bautista Olaechea, ‘De cómo, dónde y cuándo fueron bautizados los primeros indios’, *Hispania sacra* 50, no. 102 (2018): 611–36; Gregorio Salinero and Casa de Velázquez, eds., *Mezclado y sospechoso: movilidad e identidades, España y América (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, vol. no. 90 (Coloquio Internacional Mezclado y sospechoso: movilidad e identidades, España y América (siglos XVI-XVIII), Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2005); Xochitl Inostroza Ponce, ‘Bautizar, Nombrar, Legitimar, Apadrinar. El Bautizo Cristiano En Poblaciones Indígenas. Altos de Arica, 1763-1833’, *Estudios Atacameños*, (2019).

memory, texts, and preconceptions that often begins long before the actual moment of encounter “made” by the traveler”.⁵⁹

The dichotomy civilisation-barbarism might give the impression that the concentration and exercise of power lays on the “civilised” part. However, as Pratt has argued, borderlands were “contact zones”, which continuously reshaped dynamics of power.⁶⁰ Rather than representing spaces of European power, contact zones reveal dynamics of “co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and cross-cultural practices”.⁶¹ Furthermore, they shift the concentration of power away from the traditional centre, placing it in this case in the Kawesqar Indians. The ways buccaneers and the Kawesqar interacted with the Patagonian landscape is testimony of this. Ringrose noted that the canoe of the Kawesqar was “sharp at both ends and flat-bottomed”.⁶² The Kawesqar used what archaeologists have identified as a Patagonian-Fuegian “bark canoe”, a canoe made from planks of bark from the Magellanic coigüe tree. This wood was ideal for this type of craft because of its large, light and straight trunks, making it very light and agile, essential characteristics for the exploitation of marine resources and for the incessant mobility of the nomadic peoples of Patagonia.⁶³ The vessel seemed rudimentary to the buccaneers, but was in fact essential for anyone who aimed at establishing a settlement there.

In the following days, the buccaneers made further voyages around the adjacent islands to Duke of York in search of more Indians. Cox reported that they “found several of their houses, but the inhabitants were all fled, and their goods with them if they had any, so we came on board without any further discovery”.⁶⁴ It is possible that the Indians noticed the arrival of the English and fled with their belongings, but it was also customary for the nomadic Indians of Patagonia to transport their possessions from one place to another. In this respect, Ringrose observed in the capture of the Kawesqar Indian that the boat had “fire burning, either for dressing of victuals, or some other use”. Ringrose noted as well that they carried “a net to catch penguins, and a club like our bandies⁶⁵... [also] darts to throw against an enemy, pointed with wood”.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Nandini Das, ‘Encounter as Process: England and Japan in the Late Sixteenth Century’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (2016): 1346.

⁶⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

⁶¹ Pratt, 8.

⁶² Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 292.

⁶³ Lira and Legopouil, ‘Los Canoeros Del Fin Del Mundo’; Lira and Legopouil, ‘Navegantes del Sur y de las Regiones Australes’.

⁶⁴ Ayres, *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and Others, in the South Sea*, 100.

⁶⁵ A bandy stick is similar to a hockey stick.

⁶⁶ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 292.

In this sense, what Cox saw may not have been a reaction to the arrival of the English, but the putting into practice of a body of local knowledge. Further examples stress the Kawesqar local material appropriation of Patagonia. Ringrose said that the Indians “could open the mussels with their fingers, which our men could not so readily do with their knives”.⁶⁷ The technique was rudimentary, but effective. In a similar fashion, Ringrose praised the Indians’ endurance of low temperatures, “they are very hardy People to endure cold”.⁶⁸ Again, the Patagonians’ clothing seemed basic, but they could tolerate cold in a way the English could not.

The constant navigation in a type of canoe fit for the territory, the transport of tools for collecting food, the manual techniques for opening mussels and the sparse clothing were all trademarks of centuries of interaction with the Patagonian landscape that gave rise to a local culture that left the English at a great disadvantage. From this point of view, the buccaneers’ landing on Duke of York Island shows the symbolic and material power tensions at the contact zone. On the one hand, the naming of the island was an act of symbolic occupation, in which the English buccaneers portray themselves as takers of lands. On the other hand, however, the interaction with the Indians reversed the power position regarding the dominance of the place. What the English saw as a seize-able island in the periphery of the Southern Empire, in reality was an island under the control and dominion of the Kawesqar Indians rather than Spain or any other European power. This in turn reverses the traditional order in the centre-periphery dichotomy, as what was then the periphery for the English was the centre for the Indians.

We do not know what happened to Orson after his capture. In December 1681, the buccaneers were in the Atlantic Ocean and in January of the following year, they landed on Antigua Island, from where they split and boarded different ships that would take them back to England in March 1682. Neither Ringrose’s nor Cox’s journals indicate if Orson managed to escape or if the buccaneers released him, killed him or took him with them to England. The silence about Orson’s whereabouts after his capture suggests that the English did not attach much more importance to him. If the Indian died or escaped, the buccaneers did not seem to have missed him; if the Indian piloted the navigation around Cape Horn, the English did not recognise it. Like the Patagonians in Hakluyt’s project, Orson was also erased from Patagonia. By silencing these scenarios, the buccaneers stress their view of Orson as a “savage”. In the eyes of the

⁶⁷ Exquemelin, 182.

⁶⁸ Exquemelin, 182.

English, Orson's cultural distance from the English buccaneers accentuated the peripherality that Patagonia still had in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

4. The creation of a pirate atlas

In July 1681, Sharp seized the Spanish vessel *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* near the Ecuadorian coast. Buccaneer William Dick said that the ship was loaded with “Brandy and Oyl, Wine and Fruits besides good store of other provisions”. More importantly, the ship carried “a book full of Sea-Charts... [with] very accurate and exact descriptions of all the Ports, Soundings, Creeks, Rivers, Capes, and Coasts belonging to the South Sea, and all the Navigations usually performed by the Spaniards in that Ocean”.⁶⁹ In the Spanish nautical cartographic tradition, these books were known as *derroteros*, route-books or pilot-books, and they were specifically designed for coastal navigation.⁷⁰ *Derroteros* synthesised the knowledge accumulated by generations of navigators and described a specific route and recorded the geographical features of the coastline in sight: headlands, inlets, beaches, watering places, places for supplies of food and wood, distance between known points, direction of winds and currents. They were essentially craft-made objects, so unlike the maps that were printed on the circulating cosmographies of early modern Europe, the charts did not have lines of latitude and longitude. Instead, coloured lines singled out features of navigational interest.⁷¹ They were simply indispensable instruments for navigation. Moreover, *derroteros* of the Americas were extremely valuable for military intelligence, as they contained information about fortifications, ports and cities. Just as the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville kept and stored the *Padrón Real* in secret, local navigators were meant to do the same with *derroteros*.⁷²

The buccaneers rapidly noticed the book's “Prodigious Value”, as “The Spaniards cried when I [Sharp] gott the book”. Indeed, they were “goeing to throw it over board but by good luck I saved it”, Sharp claimed.⁷³ Moreover, Dick stressed that “if the *Spaniards* did not attempt to throw this Book into the Sea, at least they ought to have done it for the reasons that are obvious

⁶⁹ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 80.

⁷⁰ Carolina Puertas Mosquera, ‘La cartografía y la navegación cartas náuticas y derroteros’, in *Cartografía histórica en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla*, ed. Patricio Peñalver Gómez and J. Carlos Posada Simeón (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2010), 17.

⁷¹ Puertas Mosquera, 17–21; Schilder and van Egmond, ‘Maritime Cartography in the Low Countries during the Renaissance’, 1384–85.

⁷² The *Padrón Real* was the master map Spanish cartographers used as template for all navigations in the New World. Parker, ‘Storing and Sharing Secrets’; Portuondo, *Secret Science*.

⁷³ Sloane 46 A

to every mans understanding and are hinted at before”.⁷⁴ The *derrotero* the buccaneers stole was comprised of 140 drawn maps of the West coast of the Americas, from California to Tierra del Fuego. Never before had the English been in possession of so much information about the South Sea coastline. Although the voyages of Francis Drake (1578–1580) and Thomas Cavendish (1587–1588) described the passage to the South Sea, their accounts provide little cartographic information. The Dutch cycle served to gather diverse information and even used the Strait of Lemaire as an alternative to the Strait of Magellan to pass from the North Sea to the South Sea. Although the hydrographic office in Amsterdam compiled the reports obtained by the East India Company, the maps produced of the Pacific were not very accurate, as they were used (both in atlas and wall format) as instructional tools, to show the extent of their empire and even to decorate public places as a demonstration of their power.⁷⁵ Thus, the captured *derrotero* provided the English with unusual knowledge of the South Sea and its inter-oceanic passages.

On 26 March 1682, Ringrose arrived to England after eighteenth months of South Sea incursions. In October of the following year, he sailed again searching for new adventures, but in the meantime, he made a full copy of the *derrotero* that he complemented with personal observations. Ringrose titled his book *The South Sea Waggoner* (Fig.17), although the geographical scope was larger than the South Sea itself, extending from California to Tierra del Fuego. The term “Waggoner” came from the Dutch cartographer Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer (c.1533–1606), author of the abovementioned *De Spieghel der Zeevaerdt*. Waghenaer’s *Spiegel* was the first printed nautical atlas in history and a milestone in the development of early modern cartography.⁷⁶ The atlas was a pioneering synthesis of information from manuscript charts, route-books and ships’ logs, all of which he illustrated with informative and beautifully engraved charts that included compass roses, lines of navigational direction and soundings. Waghenaer’s atlas became an indispensable instrument for early modern navigators, so shortly after its publication it was translated into Latin, English

⁷⁴ Exquemelin, 80–81.

⁷⁵ Buisseret, *The Mapmaker’s Quest*, 49–70.

⁷⁶ *Spiegel der Zeevaerdt, vande navigatie der Westersche Zee, Innehoudende alle de Custe va Vranckrijck, Spaignen en t’principaelste deel van Engelandt, in diversche Zee Caerte begrepe, met den gebruijcke van dien, nu met grooter naersticheijt jij ee vergadert en ghe practizeert* is the full title of this work first published in 1584 (first part) by Christoffel Plantijn (1520-1589) in Leiden. Further editions, translations and enlargements of Waghenaer’s work were carried out until 1615. Literature on this work include: Skelton, ‘Bibliographical Note on the Facsimile Edition Lucas Jansz Waghenaer’; Schilder, ‘A Dutch Manuscript Rutter’; Koeman, ‘Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer’; Schilder and van Egmond, ‘Maritime Cartography in the Low Countries during the Renaissance’.

French and German.⁷⁷ The charts became so universally popular that his name, Waghenaeer, anglicized as “Waggoner”, came to be used as a generic term for route-books from the late sixteenth century onwards.⁷⁸

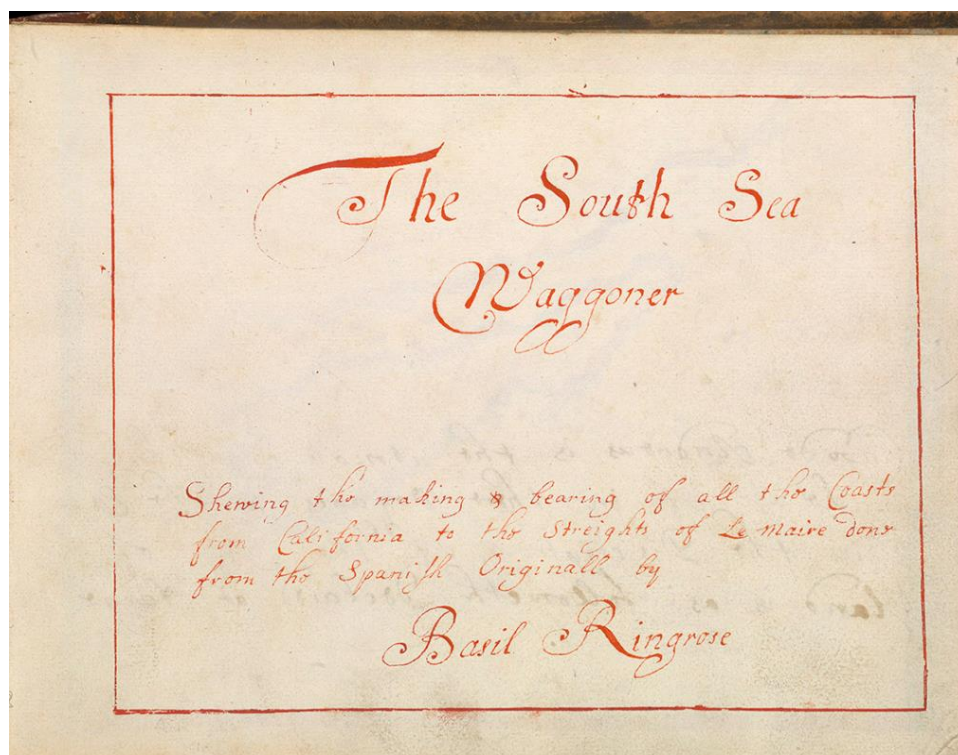


Figure 17. Front cover of Basil Ringrose’s wagoner (ca. 1682). “The South Sea Waggoner. Shewing the making & bearing of all the coast from California to the Streights of Le Maire, done from the Spanish Original by Basil Ringrose”. National Maritime Museum, London. Object ID: P/32 <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-492506>

Ringrose’s maps showed that along the Pacific coastline there were different types of settlements. To illustrate, in the map of Lima (Fig. 18), Ringrose depicted the Lima river (today Rimac), flowing into the sea. Very close to the mouth of the river he pointed out “montetrigo”, and on the other side Pitipiti, a historical Indigenous coastal settlement, indicating two landmarks of the port. Next to the Castillo Real Felipe, built just after Francis Drake’s attack

⁷⁷ In 1588, the *Spiegel* was published in London with the title *The Mariners Mirrour*.

⁷⁸ Howse, Thrower, and Bauer, *A Buccaneer’s Atlas*, 3.

in February 1579, he depicts an *aguada*, where sailors could stock up on fresh water.⁷⁹ Ciudad de los Reyes was comprised of two regions, “Calao” (Callao), the port, and Lima, the city centre.⁸⁰ From the fortress, Ringrose drew “the way” leading to the town, represented by houses and churches. These buildings located far from the sea to protect themselves from foreign attacks. Drawings like this are repeated in the *South Sea Waggoner*, like San Miguel (El Salvador), Guayaquil (Ecuador) or Concepción (Chile). Instead, Tierra del Fuego (Fig. 19) appears as an empty space. The map includes Tierra del Fuego’s coastline, a few toponyms and some measurements, but no signs of population or settlement. However, the textual descriptions that accompany the map of Patagonia do not always match the image. Next to this map, Ringrose described an Indian they encountered (most likely, Orson): he was “a very well sort and strong boy... [of] very dark colour [and] carried only with a seals skin thrown over his shoulders”. He also said that that the coast there was “full of deep bayes and dangerous shoals and with Indians”, and that the crew fed almost every day from fish, wild duck and mussels “some 6 inches long”.⁸¹ In contrast to Narborough’s drawings of peoples and animals, the representation of Patagonia in the *South Sea Waggoner* is that of an empty land. Drawings of cities, churches, fortifications and harbours pointed out political and trading centres, while “empty” spaces signalled the peripheries. Nevertheless, Patagonia was a “vital periphery”, and as such necessary to chart.

⁷⁹ Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Las Defensas Militares de Lima y Callao* (Lima: Academia Nacional de la Historia del Perú, 1964); Peter T Bradley, *Spain and the Defence of Peru 1579-1700. Royal Reluctance and Colonial Self-Reliance* (Morrisville (N.C.): Lulu, 2009), 7–29.

⁸⁰ Today Callao and Lima form part of the same continuous city.

⁸¹ Ringrose, Basil. *The South Sea Waggoner. Shewing the making & bearing of all the coast from California to the Streights of Le Maire, done from the Spanish Original by Basil Ringrose*, p. 105r - 106r.



Figure 18. Map of Ciudad de los Reyes. "The South Sea Waggoner. Shewing the making & bearing of all the coast from California to the Streights of Le Maire, done from the Spanish Original by Basil Ringrose", p. 74 (ca.1682). National Maritime Museum, London. Object ID: P/32 <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-492506>

after our return into *England*. It hath been since translated into English, as I hear, by his Majesties Order, and the Copy of the Translation, made by a Jew, I have seen at *Wapping*; but withal, the Printing thereof is severely prohibited, lest other Nations should get into those Seas and make use thereof, which is wished may be reserved only for *England* against its due time.⁸³

As soon as the Spanish ambassador in London, Pedro de Ronquillo, heard the news about the buccaneers' return, he demanded that Sharp and the other two crewmembers be tried for piracy and murder.⁸⁴ Despite the buccaneer's violation of the Treaty of Madrid, the jury ended up acquitting them. The reasons for this are not recorded, but neither the growing diplomatic pressure exerted by Ronquillo nor the incriminating evidence provided by two witnesses at the trial seems to have been enough.⁸⁵ Surviving correspondence between two English secretaries of state shows that the acquittal related directly to the captured *derrotero*. On 25 May 1682, the Earl of Conway wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins:

The Spanish Ambassador told me he had delivered you the books lately taken from Capt. Sharpe, containing a description of the South Sea and Spanish seaports in cartes. His Majesty desires you to bring them with you, when you come next, with all the privacy you can and his Majesty, having received copies of those drafts, which are at present imperfect, will deliver them to you to get them perfected by that original with the secrecy that may be.⁸⁶

The carefulness in Conway's words is testimony to the high value English authorities ascribed to the Spanish *derrotero*. Ringrose's charts provided valuable information for the English authorities to become aware of the defence system of some of Spain's richest dominions. Therefore, the data provided after the Sharp expedition, and Ringrose's maps in particular, laid the foundations for a new phase of expansion, where the recording of the American coasts, and especially of a new passage through Tierra del Fuego, played a major role. Ringrose's observations of Patagonia failed to meet Narborough's practices of measurement, repetition and accuracy. Nevertheless, the value of maps was not only their exactitude, but also in their

⁸³ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 81.

⁸⁴ The two other buccaneers were William Dick and John Cox. At the time, court proceedings were recorded in Latin; translations of the indictments, charges and verdict are reproduced in Appendix B in Howse, Thrower, and Bauer, *A Buccaneer's Atlas*, 283–86.

⁸⁵ Howse, Thrower, and Bauer, *A Buccaneer's Atlas*, 27–28.

⁸⁶ Conway in Howse, Thrower, and Bauer, 27. PRO, SP Dom/29, 419, no. 80

ability to depict uncharted lands. From this point of view, Ringrose achieved mapping a maritime passage never crossed by English seafarers before. He was even regarded as an “ingenious Gentleman” although not in the same fashion as the Royal Society regarded John Narborough. Ringrose’s authority did not come from a remarkable performance at a war against a contesting power. Indeed, the buccaneers’ raids in the South Sea compromised England’s agreement to the Treaty of Madrid. Nor did Ringrose’s authority come from systematic measurements. It came, as Exquemelin stated, from his experience of opening the second southern lock of the South Sea.

5. Mapmaking in seventeenth-century England: The Thames School and William Hack’s *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America*

Ringrose sailed again for the South Sea on 1 October 1683, so presumably he produced the *South Sea Waggoner* during those nineteenth months in England.⁸⁷ Mapmaker William Hack copied Ringrose’s *South Sea Waggoner* at least fourteen times under different titles over the next twenty years, although they are generally referred as *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America*. Hack’s prolific output of manuscript charts surpassed that of any other member of the Thames School or seventeenth-century mapmaker, marking a turning point in the history of English cartography.⁸⁸ Furthermore, his copies were noticeably different from the other maps. Sponsored by Christopher Monk, second Duke of Albemarle, and John, Lord Somers, Chancellor of England, Hack dedicated his 1684 copy to King Charles II. The following year he would dedicate another copy to the then Duke of York, who was soon to become King James II.⁸⁹

Alistair Maer has argued that the English came late to nautical cartography.⁹⁰ Although England emerged as a maritime power in the late sixteenth century, it was not until the second

⁸⁷ This time, he navigated on board of the *Cygnnet*, captained by Ambrose Cowley.

⁸⁸ Thomas R. Smith, ‘Manuscripts and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth century London’, in *The Compleat Plattmaker*, ed. Norman J. W. Thrower, 1978, 83. For complete listing of Hack’s atlases, see Thomas R. Adams, ‘William Hack’s Manuscript Atlases of “The Great South Sea of America” (Reprint)’, *John Carter Brown Library Annual Report*, 1966 1965, 1–8.

⁸⁹ Smith, ‘Manuscripts and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth century London’; Sarah Tyacke, *English Map Making, 1500-1650: Historical Essays* (London: British Library, 1983); Tyacke, *London Map-Sellers, 1660-1720: A Collection of Advertisements for Maps Placed in the ‘London Gazette’ 1668-1719, with Biographical Notes on the Map-Sellers*.

⁹⁰ Alistair Simon Maer, ‘The Cartography of Commerce: The Thames School of Nautical Cartography and England’s Seventeenth Century Overseas Expansion’ (College of Liberal Arts. University of Texas at Arlington., 2006), 16.

half of the following century that they elaborated maps on their own.⁹¹ There were noticeable national contributions before, such as Robert Thorne's world map (1527) or Edward Wright's world map (1599), the first map published following Gerardus Mercator's projection.⁹² However, for the most part England's maritime expansion, navigators relied on Dutch cartography.⁹³ In turn, ongoing political rivalries revealed the compelling necessity of a local, national production of maps and sea charts. In the context of the second Anglo-Dutch war (1665–1667), Dutch material, like Joan Blaeu's famous *Atlas Maiorum* (1662–1667), stopped being available for purchase.⁹⁴ Furthermore, the growing expansion along the East coast of North America revealed an increasing demand for specialised, updated cartography.⁹⁵ These circumstances gave the opportunity to industrious mapmakers to develop a cartographic tradition of their own, different from the maps made in the rest of Europe at the time.⁹⁶ Thus, as Jeanette Black has argued, mapmaking in England resulted from a necessity.⁹⁷

Hack's *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America* was a manuscript, lavishly decorated version of Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* that he dedicated to influential characters of the time. Its manuscript nature made it both an object of luxury as well as a selectively popularised book.⁹⁸ Little is known about Hack's early life, but Thomas R. Smith and Anthony Campbell regard him as a prolific mapmaker of the "Thames School", a cartographic movement comprised of London mapmakers who developed and sustained a particular stylistic tradition roughly between 1590 and 1720. The Thames School is an elusive entity, mainly because it was never established as one. It never had the structure, governance or institutional ethos of the Royal Society. Unlike the *Casa de India* and *Casa de Contratación*, the Thames School was not a

⁹¹ Sarah Tyacke, 'Chartmaking in England and Its Context, 1500–1660', in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward, The History of Cartography, v. 3, pts 1 & 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1722–56; Robert C. D. Baldwin, 'Colonial Cartography under the Tudor and Early Stuart Monarchies, ca. 1480–ca. 1640', in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward, The History of Cartography, v. 3, pts 1 & 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1754–79; Puertas Mosquera, 'La cartografía y la navegación cartas náuticas y derroteros', 11.

⁹² Garry D. Gitzen, 'Edward Wright's World Chart of 1599', *Terrae Incognitae* 46, no. 1 (2014): 3–15.

⁹³ Jeannette D Black, 'Mapping the English Colonies in North America: The Beginnings', in *The Compleat Plattmaker*, ed. Norman J. W. Thrower, 1978, 105–6.

⁹⁴ Helen M. Wallis, 'Geographie Is Better than Divinitie: Maps, Globes and Geography in the Days of Samuel Pepys.', in *The Compleat Plattmaker*, ed. Norman J. W. Thrower (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 3.

⁹⁵ Rannard, 'Empire and Useful Knowledge: Mapping and Charting the British American World, 1660–1720'.

⁹⁶ Maeer, 'The Cartography of Commerce', 15–22.

⁹⁷ Black, 'Mapping the English Colonies in North America: The Beginnings', 104.

⁹⁸ For a list of the existing versions and the location of the *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America*, see Adams, 'William Hack's Manuscript Atlases of "The Great South Sea of America" (Reprint)'.

corporate or Crown affair, rather it was a group of mapmakers trained by other mapmakers in the same style.⁹⁹

The first to notice these commonalities were Ernesto García-Camarero and E. G. R. Taylor in 1954, but neither of them explored the possibility of a cartographic school.¹⁰⁰ While studying Portuguese portolan charts, García-Camarero noticed that a number of English maps were drawn in the same style.¹⁰¹ Portolan maps are a type of navigational chart that originated in the thirteenth century in the Mediterranean region. These maps were hand-drawn on vellum or parchment and depicted coastlines, ports, islands and other geographical features. Thames School maps were easily identifiable from other English maps for developing fine-line and bold colours to depict coastlines. With time, the Thames School maps became increasingly more ornamented, developing complex-designed rose winds, careful handwriting and lavish decorations (Fig. 20). García-Camarero also noticed that the English portolan maps included the inscription “at the sign of the Platt”. In early modern England, “platts” were signboards hung outside shops in representation of the trade that was sold there, so they did not signal a specific school.¹⁰² García-Camarero interpreted the maps’ stylistic commonalities and the “platt” inscription as an indication of a coordinated production, although he did not specify anything else about this matter. Taylor discovered that more mapmakers also used the platt inscription in their works.¹⁰³ She located them in a map of London, noting that the “platt” mapmakers were not located at one single address but in various places along the river Thames.¹⁰⁴ Following the studies of García-Camarero and Taylor, Thomas R. Smith and Thomas Campbell demonstrated that the Thames School developed within a formal space,

⁹⁹ Antonio Acosta Rodríguez, Adolfo Luis González Rodríguez, and Enriqueta Vila Vilar, eds., *La Casa de La Contratación y La Navegación Entre España y Las Indias* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla : Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas : Fundación El Monte, 2003); Portuondo, ‘Cosmography at the Casa, Consejo, and Corte During the Century of Discovery’.

¹⁰⁰ Ernesto Camarero, *La Escuela Cartográfica Inglesa ‘At the Signe of the Platt.’*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Real Sociedad Geográfica. ser. B. no. 399., 1959); E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge: For the Institute of Navigation at the University Press, 1954).

¹⁰¹ For the origins and evolution of portolan cartography, see Stevenson, *Portolan Charts; Their Origin and Characteristics, with a Descriptive List of Those Belonging to the Hispanic Society of America*; Randles, ‘From the Mediterranean Portulan Chart to the Marine World Chart of the Great Discoveries’; Campbell, ‘Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century To 1500’.

¹⁰² “Platts” were signboards hung outside shops in representation of the trade that was sold there, so they did not signal a specific school. Smith, ‘Manuscripts and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth century London’, 53; Tony Campbell, ‘The Drapers’ Company and Its School of Seventeenth Century Chart-Makers’, in *My Head Is a Map : Essays & Memoirs in Honour of R.V. Tooley*, ed. Helen Wallis and Sarah Tyacke (London: Francis Edwards and Carta Press, 1973), 98.

¹⁰³ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England*, 162–310.

¹⁰⁴ Specifically, north side of the river Thames and to the East of the Tower of London For the map, see Taylor, opposite to p. 162.

although not a school *per se*. This was the Drapers' Company, one of the twelve Great Companies of the City of London.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, Smith and Campbell discovered a seven-generation cartographic network operating within the Drapers' Company.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ For an overview specifically on the Drapers', see William Archer-Thomson, *Draper's Company: History of the Company's Properties and Trusts*. (London: The company, 1942); Sarah Milne, 'Merchants of the City: Situating the London Estate of the Drapers' Company, c. 1540-1640' (University of Westminster, 2016); Arthur Henry Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914); Percival Boyd, *Roll of the Drapers' Company of London: Collected from the Company's Records and Other Sources* (Croydon: J.A. Gordon at the Andress Press; London: for the Worshipful Company of Drapers,, 1934).

¹⁰⁶ Both authors made master-apprentice trees showing the network. Smith, 'Manuscripts and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth century London', 97; Campbell, 'The Drapers' Company and Its School of Seventeenth Century Chart-Makers', 100.

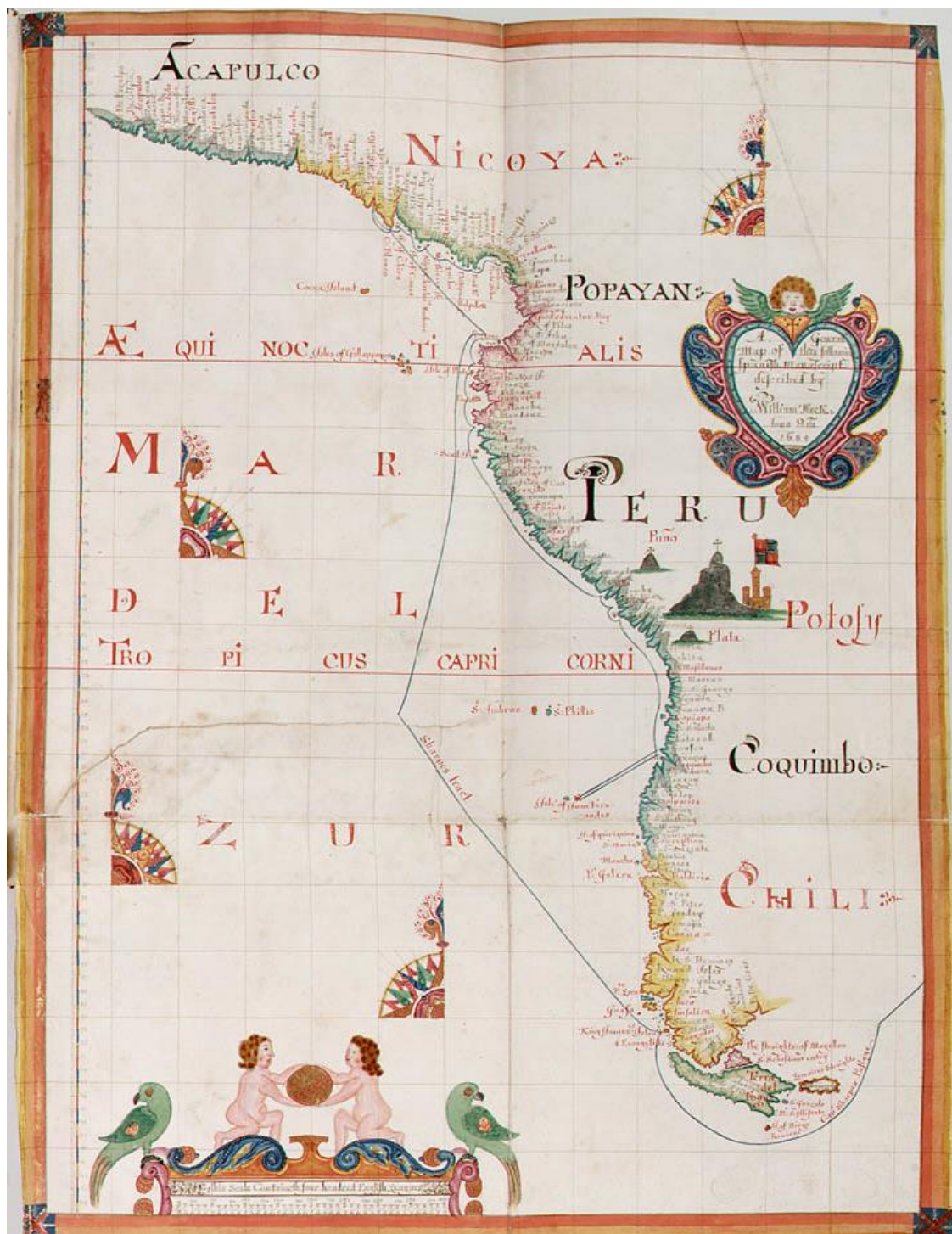


Figure 20. General map of South America from Hack's *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America* (1685). National Maritime Museum P/33(1).

Why would cartographers be members of a livery company and of the Drapers' in particular? There is no specific answer to this question because there is little evidence of the mapmakers' lives and backgrounds. Moreover, the records of the Company are imprecise and incomplete.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, a few considerations may clarify the question. In Elizabethan England, mapmaking was a developing craft and was too small for mapmakers to establish any sort of formal association.¹⁰⁸ Two elements, characteristic of the livery companies, probably favoured the development of a school in such a space: craft-based work and the apprenticeship system. Livery companies were a form of trade association inherited from the medieval guild system that secured the transmission of specific trades through master-apprentice relations. Apprenticeship offered many unique advantages for livery companies to develop as central spaces for artisan knowledge. The system guaranteed each master a source of cheap labour for a minimum of seven years while offering the apprentice the promise of becoming a fully qualified practitioner at the end of the period. No other basis for the transmission of skills offered the same guarantees or could create the same mutual confidence.¹⁰⁹ Apprenticeship secured the trade, workforce and tradition upon which companies built. For Campbell, apprenticeship was the reason why the Thames School developed as a "school", as it allowed its development as a self-contained and exclusive entity with craft and stylistic cohesion. "They, and only they, were the product of one particular master-apprentice progression", Campbell argues.¹¹⁰

Why the Drapers' Company and not another? One reason has to do with the relation between exploration and livery companies. Merchants Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow were members of the Merchant Taylors' Company, while Richard Hakluyt's father was a member of the Skinners' Company. Drapers clearly also engaged in navigational affairs.¹¹¹ In the sixteenth century, Drapers had taken part in voyages across the Atlantic, Russia and West Africa.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Smith, 'Manuscripts and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth century London', 55; Campbell, 'The Drapers' Company and Its School of Seventeenth Century Chart-Makers'; Maeer, 'The Cartography of Commerce'.

¹⁰⁸ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England*; Ifor M. Evans and Heather Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton, Elizabethan Map Maker* (Wakefield: Historical Publications, 1979).

¹⁰⁹ John Blair and Nigel Ramsay, *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991); William F. Kahl, *The Development of London Livery Companies: An Historical Essay and a Select Bibliography*, Publications / Harvard University Kress Library of Business and Economics ; No. 15 (Boston: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1960); David Palfreyman, *London's Livery Companies: History, Law, and Customs*, Palfreyman's London Series (Olney: Oracle Publishing, 2010).

¹¹⁰ Campbell, 'The Drapers' Company and Its School of Seventeenth Century Chart-Makers', 99. Also see Smith, 'Manuscripts and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth century London', 55.

¹¹¹ See chapters 1 and 2.

¹¹² Lydia Towns, 'Merchants, Monarchs, and Sixteenth-Century Atlantic Exploration: New Insight into Henry VIII's Planned Voyage of 1521', *Terrae Incognitae* 52, no. 2 (2020): 214–28; P. EH Hair, 'The Experience of

More specifically, James Walsh¹¹³ and John Daniell, noted by Smith and Campbell as part of the Thames School, navigated twice to Guinea between 1588 and 1591.¹¹⁴ Another reason relates to an emerging trade-openness within the companies. Originally, livery companies were very hermetic spaces, defined almost solely by the trade they learned. However, because of the expansion of the mercantile economy, the craft monopoly system declined, breaking down their original impenetrability and consequently opening them up to other trades.¹¹⁵ Arthur Henry Johnson argues in his history of the Drapers' Company that "one of the most unmistakeable signs of this phenomenon is to be found in the number of Drapers who are no longer pursuing the mystery of Drapery at all".¹¹⁶ Therefore, nothing prevented a mapmaker from becoming a Draper, or a Grocer, or Fishmonger. The incipient state of mapmaking in Elizabethan England, the Drapers' closeness to commercial voyages and the possibility of mapmakers to develop within any livery company, does not fully explain why a school of cartography developed precisely within the Drapers. Rather, it seems to have been an occurrence, favoured by a well-established and powerful company with extensive mercantile and maritime interests, unconstrained by craft restrictions.

The last decades of the seventeenth century constituted a particularly active period for the Thames School. Not only had the tree of master-apprentices expanded significantly from its origins in the Elizabethan period, but also cartography began to move from manuscripts to printed charts and maps, accelerating the circulation of maps in the English milieu. The Thames School never established as a formal institution, but the extent of the master-apprentice relationships, the increasing output around 1670 and the consistency in the style of the maps suggest that there was at least some level of coordination between masters and apprentices. Towards the eighteenth century, England had developed its own cartographical tradition, different from that of the Dutch and increasingly competitive in the European map trade.¹¹⁷ I

Sixteenth-Century English Voyages to Guinea', *Mariner's Mirror* 83, no. 1 (1997): 3–13. Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, 2:184–89.

¹¹³ Also recorded as "Welsh"

¹¹⁴ Richard Hakluyt, 'A Voyage to Benin beyond the Countrey of Guinea Made by Master James Welsh, Who Set Foorth in the Yeere 1588', in *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 450–58; Richard Hakluyt, 'The Second Voyage Made by M. James Welsh to Benin in Africa, An. 1590', in *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 461–67.

¹¹⁵ Michael Berlin, 'Guilds in Decline? London Livery Companies and the Rise of a Liberal Economy, 1600–1800', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400–1800*, ed. S. R. Epstein and Maarten Prak, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 316–42

¹¹⁶ Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, 2:163.

¹¹⁷ Tyacke, *London Map-Sellers, 1660-1720: A Collection of Advertisements for Maps Placed in the 'London Gazette' 1668-1719, with Biographical Notes on the Map-Sellers.*

see thus the Thames School as a proto-institution of science that developed collective working strategies aimed at meeting the empire's demand for cartographic material. In this manner, the Thames School anticipated what would later be officially taken over by the Hydrographic Office (1795), the official maritime cartographic institution of the British Empire.¹¹⁸

The secrecy surrounding the handover of the stolen *derrotero* to Ringrose also surrounded the handover of the *South Sea Waggoner* to Hack, as it is unknown how the *South Sea Waggoner* ended up in his hands specifically and not in those of another mapmaker of the Thames School. The only reference to these connections is in Dick's journal, where he said that Ringrose

kept an exact and very curious Journal of all our Voyage, from our first setting out to the very last day, took also all the observations we made, and likewise an accurate description of all the Ports, Towns and Lands we came to. His Papers, or rather his Diary, with all his Drafts, are now in the hands of a person of my acquaintance at Wapping next hit in London, and, as he telleth me, are very nigh being printed.¹¹⁹

It is very likely that Dick was referring to Hack, who signed his maps with the address "At the Signe of Great Britain and Ireland near new stairs in Wapping" (Fig.25).¹²⁰ Hack mostly worked on producing charts of large areas of coastline that then were bound into atlases. The majority of his maps focused on the Indian Ocean and South and East Asia, followed by North America, the Caribbean and South America.¹²¹ Hack's *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America* copied each of the maps Ringrose depicted. However, copying does not always result in a replica. Despite the commonalities between Ringrose and Hack, their works have clear visual and material differences that ended up transforming the usage of the *South Sea Waggoner*.

¹¹⁸ James Davey, 'The Advancement of Nautical Knowledge: The Hydrographical Office, the Royal Navy and the Charting of the Baltic Sea, 1795-1815', *Journal for Maritime Research* 13, no. 2 (2011): 81–103.

¹¹⁹ Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, 79.

¹²⁰ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England*, 275.

¹²¹ Smith gave an account of the material produced by Hack on each of these zones, see Smith, 'Manuscripts and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth century London', 99–100.

There is no information about Ringrose's life before his ventures in the South Sea. The same may be said of Hack, as we know nothing of his life before his apprenticeship as a Draper. What we do know is that Hack was trained as a mapmaker and that had an impact on the way he mapped Patagonia. In the *South Sea Waggoner*, Patagonia takes up most part of the page. In the *Atlas*, Hack draws Patagonia in a smaller size and puts it at the centre of the page, leaving a space in the margins to include more elements of the map, such as the wind rose and the legend. Ringrose's map, on the other hand, looks more crowded despite containing less information (Fig. 19 and 21). Hack's map also looks tidier because of the way he arranges the information. In noticeably careful handwriting, Hack arranges the toponyms vertically, horizontally or fitting in the orientation of the map, while Ringrose arranges the toponyms without much order or style. In a similar fashion to Narborough's manuscript map, Hack puts text and image altogether in the same folio. Hack's description of Patagonia is an abridged copy of Ringrose, fitting text and image together in the same page. Ringrose, instead, separates these two things, creating a double narrative, one textual and another visual, which did not always match one another. For example, next to the map of Patagonia, the reader can find observations of territories located further north. Hack's result is thus a visually clearer and orderly map.

Style is another prominent feature of Hack's map. In the fashion of the Thames School, Hack used green, yellow, red, black and blue to single out the different geographical features of the same space. To illustrate, in Fig.21 different shades of green indicate the height of hills and mountains, while red and yellow differentiate the lands northwards the Strait of Magellan from Tierra del Fuego. Decoration is another noticeable difference. Hack's handwriting is careful as well as ornamental, and the wind rose, drawn in an intricate design and decorated with gold, was a sign of extravagance. Hack's bold colourful style and sophisticated materials, set him clearly apart from Ringrose's work. While these were stylistic decisions, they suggest planning, design and, indeed, skill, which is precisely what the apprenticeship system of the Thames School sought in the establishment of a cartographic style.



Figure 21. Tierra del Fuego and the Strait of Magellan in Hack's *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America* (1685). National Maritime Museum, London. Object ID: P/33(147), <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-492507>

In addition, Hack elaborated his own toponymy, different in language and names from that of Ringrose. In the *South Sea Waggoner*, the toponyms are in Spanish, suggesting that he copied them as they were from the captured *derrotero*, but Hack translated them into English. In some cases, the translation had a minor impact but in others, it reveals an ambitious sense of power through a symbolic appropriation of territories belonging to the Spanish Empire. For example, Hack translated “Estrecho de Magellan” as “Straights of Magellan” but “Estrecho de San Vicente” was translated as “Straights of Lemaire”, as it was commonly known in seventeenth-century Europe. The difference in names had to do with ongoing geopolitical claims between Spain and the Netherlands due to Jacob Lemaire’s navigation across Cape Horn in 1616. It is very likely that because of the great influence Dutch cartography had in seventeenth-century England, Hack used the Dutch name instead of the Spanish. England was not part of the dispute, and I do not believe Hack was trying to contest Spain’s dominion by siding with the Dutch. Rather, it shows how empires used cartography as instruments of propaganda, claiming dominion and possession over territories legally belonging to other nations.

The most striking example of Hack’s toponymy is Albemarle Isle, located eastwards of the so-called Strait of Lemaire. In the early modern period – and currently – the island was known as Staten Island, after the Netherlands States-General. The name was one of the many toponyms that Lemaire created during his navigation around Cape Horn.¹²² In Ringrose’s *Waggoner*, the island has no name, although the toponyms around it – Cabo de San Esteban, Estrecho de San Vicente and Cabo de San Bartolomé – suggest that the original *derrotero* would have probably used a Spanish name for it (Fig.23). However, in Hack’s map the island is neither Spanish-named nor “Staten”, but “Albemarle Isle” after Christopher Monck, second duke of Albemarle (1653–88), close confidant of King Charles II, and apparently Hack’s earliest patron (Fig.22).¹²³ Albemarle Isle appears again in the frontispiece of the *Atlas* where it says “A Waggoner of the South Sea. From Acapulco to Albemarle” (Fig.24). While toponyms such as “Straights of Magellan” and “Straights of Lemaire” matched standardised cartographic nomenclatures, Albemarle Island was Hack’s personal invention, which attributed to the Earl of Albemarle and, by extension to England, a false sense of possession of the southernmost corner of America.

¹²² Moreno Jeria, ‘El Estrecho de Magallanes Como Antesala Del Pacífico’.

¹²³ Howse, Thrower, and Bauer, *A Buccaneer’s Atlas*, 261.

Moreover, Hack's toponymy was not static or fixed, but evolved according to new patrons and commissions. Later versions of the *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America* show that the volumes Hack produced after 1685 were dedicated to John, Lord Somers (1651–1715), who became Lord High Chancellor in 1698.¹²⁴ On the one hand, the changing toponymy shows how patronage was one of the many influences involved in the production of imperial spaces. On the other, it speaks to the map-making industry itself during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, for although Hack was primarily a copyist, his astute manipulation of patronage enabled him to stay afloat throughout the period when manuscript charts were displaced by printed ones.¹²⁵

Finally, Hack's stylistic, editorial and material decisions took the *South Sea Waggoner* out of its original place in two ways. First, he took it out of the sea. Instead of a useful book that sailors could use to navigate the American coasts, Hack created an object of pleasure aimed at the aristocracy. Second, he took it out of illegality. As an atlas dedicated to leading political figures he removed it from the piratic world of buccaneers.

6. Conclusions

The buccaneers from 1680–1682 demonstrated two vulnerable areas in the alleged Spanish Lake. One in the north, in Panama, and the other in the south, in Cape Horn. Unlocking these two gateways confirmed the importance of keeping borders protected. This was particularly important in the context of the heyday of buccaneering, as the notorious activities of buccaneers in the Caribbean were now also a reality on the other side of the Spanish Main.

¹²⁴ To see to whom Hack dedicated each atlas, see Adams, 'William Hack's Manuscript Atlases of "The Great South Sea of America" (Reprint)'.

¹²⁵ Smith, 'Manuscripts and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth century London', 79.



Figure 22. Detail of Albemarle Isle in Hack's *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America*



Figure 23. Detail of Isle in Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner*



Figure 24. Frontispiece of Hack's *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America* (1685) from Acapulco to "Albemarle", dedicated to King James II.

Buccaneers took the opportunity to plunder various ports, but also to make geographical observations. In this sense, they acted as "biopirates", plundering knowledge and creating their own. The buccaneers' observations were essentially geographical. In particular, they paid special attention to the coasts of the South Sea, indicating bays, beaches and harbours where ships could stop and resupply. However, they also took the opportunity to describe the peoples they encountered. Much like Narborough, the buccaneers maintained a view of the Patagonian Indian as "savage" and "primitive", as the name "Orson" reflected. This demonstrates continuities in the representation of the Patagonian Indian through strategies of othering and marvelling. Furthermore, it shows how at a time increasingly closer to the scientific ethnography that would rise in the Enlightenment, marvelling still featured as a means for representing extra-European people.

Buccaneering was a legal form of navigation but it often developed as a disguised form of piracy. This posed many complications for England and its relation to the other imperial powers. However, buccaneering also allowed the empire to gain a foothold in regions far from the metropolis. Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* embodies the tension between illegality and utility underlying buccaneering. On the one hand, the seizure of a Spanish vessel was in breach of the Treaty of Madrid, but on the other, Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* provided useful knowledge for the navigation of a region little charted by the British.

In turn, Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* gave the opportunity for industrious mapmakers to chart the South Sea. In this regard, Hack's *Atlas* is not a mere compilation of maps, but a synthesis of geographic information and instrument of propaganda regarding England's most recent navigations. Moreover, Hack's alterations to Ringrose's *Waggoner* and the subsequent dedications he made, show that atlases were structured according to a geographic scheme and a purpose defined by him rather than the navigator. This was done with a novel narrative and style of their own, independent of the Dutch. Hack's atlases were based on experiences and records of recent navigation in the South Sea, at the same time he included lavish decorations that signalled out the Thames School style in particular. Nevertheless, in copying the *South Sea Waggoner* in a Thames School style dedicated to prominent members of the English court, Hack stripped the maps of their original purpose, turning them from useful navigational maps to objects of luxury. In this regard, Hack's dedications show that mapmaking in seventeenth-century England was adjustable to new patrons and commissions.

By analysing the buccaneers as "biopirates" and analysing Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* in tandem with Hack's *Atlas of the Great South Sea of America*, this chapter has aimed to contribute to a novel understanding of the importance of the South Sea and Patagonia in the English imagination. Furthermore, this chapter contributes to a deeper understanding of the connections between navigators, mapmaking, the empire and science.

Conclusion

The exploration and colonization of extra-European territories during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were driven by a complex interplay of factors, wherein the power of imagination played a crucial role. The case of Patagonia serves as a lens through which to analyse how English perceptions and imaginings of a distant land were intertwined with their broader ambitions of colonial expansion and empire building. The main objective of this thesis was to analyse how England imagined Patagonia in the early modern period, a territory located on the far reaches of the geographical and cultural map but central to their geography of expansion. I have done this by gathering both primary sources and secondary literature from the Spanish and Anglophone world, for historical and historiographical reasons.

As Patagonia was not part of the English Empire in the Americas, nor was it a region with colonial allure, it has been ignored in the histories of English expansion. Historians acknowledge Patagonia's geopolitical value for its connectivity, but the focus of analysis is normally on the South Sea and the Pacific Ocean. This also means that scholars have addressed Patagonia when it was sailed and we know that in the early modern period it was sailed very little compared to the Caribbean and North America. The navigation-centric approach thus generated the perception among historians that Patagonia had little relevance on the English world map. Thus, scholars fell into what Hadfield called the "teleological danger": knowing that Patagonia had no concrete importance for the history of the empire, they passed it by. This thesis reverses such vision by showing that, although Patagonia was not a space of colonial activity *per se*, it was a fruitful space for the English imagination and imperial ambitions.

Spanish scholarship is situated at the other extreme. As Patagonia was part of the Spanish Empire in the Americas and was indeed a geostrategic place for the defence of the empire, historians have studied it in great detail, although mostly from a military and naval perspective. Only recently have historians such as Ximena Urbina, Natalia Gándara-Chacana, as well as Surekha Davies and Carolina Martínez, incorporated emerging frameworks and perspectives, specifically global history and cultural history. Their studies have allowed rethinking of Patagonia as the subject of historical research. My thesis is a contribution to this line of analysis. By combining cultural maritime history with global history from a borderland perspective, I examine how the English imagination of Patagonia evolved and how it influenced imperial aspirations.

More specifically, I have achieved four noteworthy findings. First, Patagonia was a (dis)connected place in the world map of early modern Europe. Second, England elaborated a powerful discourse about expansion and nationhood based on Patagonia's peripherality. Third, the English imagination of Patagonia gathered voices from a wide range of worlds: merchant, political, scholarly, and scientific. In turn, these voices show a shift from a marvellous vision of Patagonia to an increasingly scientific one, developing from the sixteenth towards the eighteenth century. Lastly, Patagonia was embedded in various layers of peripherality, not just geographically and culturally but also socially, as news and information of Patagonia normally came from people outside the "centre".

Patagonia as a (dis)connected place

In the early modern period, Patagonia was, using Biedermann's term, a "(dis)connected" place. Its disconnection came chiefly from the peripherality England ascribed to it. For the English, Patagonia was geographically far, economically empty and culturally backwards. This reflects in the numerous times merchants and political authorities ruled it out as a suitable place for colonial expansion and settlement. In 1527, Robert Thorne disregarded the Strait of Magellan as a useful route to the East on the basis that the Northwest Passage was, according to his calculations, shorter and more efficient. In 1579-80, Queen Elizabeth I disregarded the project for a colony in the Strait of Magellan presumably for its lack of economic value. The perception of Patagonia as a useless space for colonial activity was compounded by the descriptions Richard Eden introduced into England through his translations, painting a negative image based on the inhospitable climate and alleged gigantic population.

At the same time, (dis)connections involve connections. From this point of view, Patagonia was indeed connected to a global network of trade routes and cultural exchanges. The circumnavigations of Francis Drake (1578-1580) and Thomas Cavendish (1587-1588) demonstrated as early as Elizabethan times that Patagonia was a geographical hinge between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. However, it took some time for England to resume navigation in the extreme south of the Americas. In the mid-seventeenth century, two Sephardic merchants embedded in a complex trading network that entailed the Netherlands, Portugal and Brazil, proposed to the rulers of the time to pay attention to the South Sea, emphasising the importance of the Strait of Magellan in this scheme. In 1669, King Charles II accepted Carlos Enríquez's proposal but not the one for a settlement in the Strait of Magellan but the one for a reconnaissance voyage. If England was going to participate in Spanish-American inter-regional

trade, understanding the geography of the passage that would open access to the South Sea markets was a pressing matter. King Charles' II attitude demonstrates that although Patagonia was in many ways "disconnected", it was an essential connecting space, a "vital periphery".

Narborough returned from his voyage in 1671, and although his contemporaries did not value the material he brought back, in 1711 the Royal Society dedicated one of Narborough's maps to Robert Harley hoping to get his support in ongoing debates surrounding the South Sea Company and a possible expedition to the Pacific, reinforcing the connecting nature of Patagonia. England's interest in the South Seas increased in 1684 when buccaneer Bartholomew Sharp brought back with him the stolen Spanish *derrotero*. The value of the book was such that the English authorities acquitted the buccaneers even though they had broken the Treaty of Madrid. Basil Ringrose quickly copied the *derrotero* before the Spanish authorities claimed it. Shortly after, mapmaker William Hack made various copies of Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* and called them *Atlas of the Great South Sea*. This was the first atlas in English cartographic production specifically focused on the South Sea. Patagonia was depicted in terms of its maritime passages: Tierra del Fuego at the centre, the Strait of Magellan to the north and Cape Horn to the south. By dedicating versions of the atlases to prominent figures in the political sphere and by transforming the toponyms of Patagonia at his choice and convenience, Hack encouraged his readers to look at Patagonia with the eyes of transpacific expansion. Thus, Patagonia did not appear in the English imagination in isolation but in relation to an expanding colonial geography that entailed England, South America and the Pacific Ocean.

Although Patagonia evoked a sense of (dis)connection in the early modern period, connection and disconnection not always maintained a perfect balance. In the early sixteenth century, England did not yet have the confidence in transatlantic navigation that it would have at the end of the century. Indeed it had just started to engage with continental debates and writing genres emerging from American exploration. Thus, the news introduced by Thorne, Barlow, and Eden were small, scattered pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Similarly, the 'Discourse...' for a colony in the Strait of Magellan was an isolated piece of writing within a larger production of promotional literature focused greatly on North America. Moreover, these works had little connection with each other, demonstrating the early state of English knowledge about Patagonia. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Patagonia began to be seen as a platform for commercial expansion, favoured by emerging commercial opportunities. Thus, policy makers, merchants and mapmakers began to highlight the connecting nature of

Patagonia. They did this by creating more detailed knowledge, by producing updated cartography, and by putting this knowledge into wider circulation by the printing of Narborough's travel account and Hack's multiple copies of the *Great Atlas of the South Sea*. If the sixteenth century developed a more disconnected view of Patagonia, towards the late seventeenth century the view had changed turning to an increasingly connected one related to emerging opportunities across the Pacific Ocean.

Expansion and nationhood in the periphery

As we already know, Patagonia was far from England. Navigating there implied crossing from 50° latitude north to 50° latitude south, nearly the whole longitudinal extension of the globe. However, seafarers and promotional writers saw in Patagonia's geographical distance from the metropolis, a cultural distance from civilisation. England's view of the Patagonian Indians went beyond the barbarian to that of a "savage" people trapped in a primordial age. The Tehuelche and Kawesqar the English encountered through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were nomadic, pagan peoples, organized in tribes of around 30 to 40 individuals. They lacked everything that had defined the lifestyle of Europeans for centuries: sedentariness as a way of life, Christianity as a cultural framework, the modern-state as a model of organization of society and mercantilism as a model of economic expansion, among other things. For the English, Patagonia symbolised a direct correlation between geographical distance and cultural development. The further away from civilization geographically, the further away culturally. That is probably why the anonymous author of the 'Discourse...' "erased" the Patagonians from his scheme and advocated for the transfer of the Maroons from Tierra Firme. In their view, because of their previous direct experience under Spanish rule, the Maroons understood first-hand the implications of colonialism and thus England's pretensions. A similar thing happened with the Sephardic merchants, who projected their Hispanophobia onto the Mapuche of Valdivia and not onto the Patagonians. Presumably, because the Mapuche's closeness to the Spanish made them understand better the issues at stake, unlike the Patagonians who seemed unaware of them.

Patagonia's cultural peripherality was also expressed in a representation of the region as an empty space. Written sources and maps often depicted Patagonia empty of resources. Narborough's map is a notable exception, showing the variety of resources that existed in the Strait of Magellan: guanacos, ducks, hares, ostriches, fish and birds, as well as water springs and timber sites. Cavendish's encounter with the few survivors of Rey Don Felipe in 1587 is

perhaps the most evocative example of the trope of emptiness. Nevertheless, the settlers' problem was not so much lack of food and shelter as lack of technical and material mastery of the territory, for the existence of Indians living there long before the arrival of the Europeans is testimony to the fact that Patagonia was indeed habitable. To live there, however, Europeans would have to adapt to a radically different way of life. The agile bark-canoe, the fire the Indians lit inside it, their marine-based diet and the Indian's manual technique for opening mussels are some examples of practices that the Patagonians developed after centuries of direct interaction with the landscape. The Spanish colonies in the Strait of Magellan show how the metropolis devised to transfer a scheme that, although in theory it made sense, in reality it was impractical because they lacked local knowledge. In this regard, Patagonia was a contact zone, a space where the relationships between foreign navigators and indigenous people were constantly redefined. Rather than being a space where English seafarers exercised power vertically, Patagonia revealed horizontal dynamics of co-presence, interlocking understandings and cross-cultural practices.

England found in Patagonia's peripherality a convenient justification for colonialism. The English imagination about Patagonia played a pivotal role in shaping the motives behind empire building. Imaginings of uncharted lands with untapped resources, wild landscapes, and hidden treasures sparked a sense of wonder and aspiration among English adventurers. These imaginative narratives provided a sense of justification for imperial expansion, framing overseas conquests as ventures into the unknown that promised riches and glory. Moreover, portrayals of Patagonians as "savages" in early accounts depicted them as non-human or inferior, thus justifying the English presence and actions in the region. This distorted image of the native inhabitants not only eased the conscience of English colonizers but also rationalized the imposition of their culture, religion, and authority.

Studying the English imagination of Patagonia reveals in turn how the English perceived themselves in the early modern period. By marginalising Patagonia, England put itself at the centre; by depicting the Indians as "savages", it defined itself as civilised; by describing its landscape and mapping its coastline, it appropriated intellectually and symbolically a region legally belonging to Spain; by highlighting its ability to navigate dangerous waters and developing projects for colonies and settlements, it crafted a powerful discourse of seafaring mastery. More than facts, these were claims, and they formed part of a powerful self-perception that portrayed England as a prominent overseas power, with agency over distant territories and

their peoples. English images of Patagonia thus became embedded in the broader discourse regarding the empire. As the English state sought to expand its influence and secure its position in the world, stories of untamed lands and strange inhabitants served as powerful propaganda tools for empire building. Travel narratives, accounts of discovery, and visual representations of Patagonia fuelled the public's imagination, stirring nationalistic support for further colonial endeavours. Moreover, the English imagination also influenced the geopolitical and diplomatic strategies of the empire. The lure of unexplored territories, depicted as promising new sources of wealth, motivated the English Crown and private investors to sponsor expeditions and establish footholds in Patagonia and beyond. These ventures aimed not only to secure territorial claims but also to outmanoeuvre rival European powers and expand English influence on a global scale.

Various voices imagining Patagonia

The English imagination of Patagonia gathered a wide variety of voices, ranging from adventurous privateers, respectable naval captains and notorious buccaneers, to merchants, promotional writers, mapmakers and scientists. This shows that geographical imaginaries developed both at sea and at land. In analysing the representation of territories, there is a tendency to focus on travel accounts and cartography. By paying attention to these worlds and their cultures, this dissertation has shown that a number of different voices fantasised about Patagonia. While the latter might appear as an obvious conclusion, the navigation-centric approach overshadowed the voice of those not directly related to navigation and, thus, one the conclusions I remark has to do with the various people involved in this process. The imagination of Patagonia was embedded in intertwined global networks of trade, communication and knowledge and so I examined the cultures of these worlds and how this influenced the imagining process as a whole.

Consequently, a number of images about Patagonia coexisted in early modern England. Like most early modern knowledge about distant places, these overlapped and sometimes contradict one another. The most common discrepancy is between the images created at land and those created at sea. The most illustrative example is the 1579–1580 proposal for a colony in the Strait of Magellan as opposed to Thomas Cavendish's navigation across "Port Famine". A similar case is Richard Eden's claim about the Patagonians as giants as opposed to John Narborough's description as people of regular height. However, discrepancies not only

emerged from the land-sea dichotomy, but also between merchants and promotional writers themselves. Robert Thorne and the author of the 'Discourse...' together with Carlos Enríquez had opposing views about the value of the Strait of Magellan. While Thorne disregarded it as a useful space for colonial expansion, the anonymous author and Cáceres argued that it was substantial for any scheme regarding the Americas and the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, there was not a single image of Patagonia, but images; nor were they static, but changing over time. Thus, England's imagination of Patagonia was not linear and univocal but rather muddled and with multiple meanings.

Moreover, these images show a shift from a marvellous vision to a gradually scientific one. In the early stages of English encounters with Patagonia, the unfamiliarity and mystery surrounding the region led to the formation of imaginative narratives often rooted in myth and hearsay. Richard Eden's translations of the journal of Antonio Pigafetta brought into England an account on giants and exaggerated geographical features about the extreme south that fuelled the imagination of English explorers, writers, and the general readership. However, as exploration and knowledge increased, these mythical elements slowly gave way to more accurate descriptions. Narborough's observation show a new ways of recording the natural world, related to first-hand observation, experimentation, and attempts at accuracy. These practices did not eliminate imagination from the construction of knowledge, as traces of fantastical elements persisted in popular consciousness. The frontispiece of the 1766 poem by David Lloyd (Fig.1) and the frontispiece of John Byron of 1767 (Fig.4) are examples of how Patagonia in the middle of the eighteenth century continued to activate the imagination of Europeans. Hence, rather than establishing a conflictive connection, imagination and science reshaped their relationship by accommodating the marvellous within a textual and visual narrative that became increasingly scientific in form and substance.

A qualitative and quantitative increase in the production of geographical information shows the shift towards a more scientific view of the natural world. While Eden placed Patagonia in Renaissance discussions of human diversity, Narborough situated his observations at the centre of an increasing scientific interest coming from a Baconian framework. In this context, Bacon's "new science" offered an ideal methodological framework for navigators, since eyewitness testimony was at the centre of knowledge production. At the same time, the necessity for improved knowledge came from the empire's need to refine its knowledge of the Americas in the face of emergent colonial opportunities in the South Sea. Thus, the production of

geographical material experienced a significant growth from the second half of the seventeenth century. The establishment of the Royal Society in 1660 and the expansion of the Thames School accompanied this expansion around those years contributed greatly to the enlargement of geographic and cartographic material on the Americas. Cartography of Patagonia benefited greatly from these two spaces, as the publication of Narborough's map and the several copies Hack made of the Atlas of the *Great South Sea*, increased the circulation of images of Patagonia which, in the sixteenth century, was limited mainly to the Thorne map published by Hakluyt. Furthermore, it shows how information about Patagonia enlarged throughout time, from loose fragments of information to detailed geographic descriptions and full-blown beautifully decorated atlases.

Voices and news from outside the centre

Likewise, the different voices I collected in this dissertation came from "peripheral" spaces. They were peripheral not in the sense of an extremely distant place, but in the sense of a marginal and borderline space located outside the centre. The merchants from Bristol, Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow, and the Sephardic merchants, Simón de Cáceres and Carlos Enríquez, acted as emissaries introducing information from "outside", Seville and Amsterdam, into England. Thorne and Barlow lived in what was Europe's commercial heart in the early sixteenth century and certainly their residency in Seville gave them an edge over merchants living in London, as they heard from first-hand the opportunities of transatlantic navigation. However, to find any type of support, they had to make this information get to England, thus, Thorne addressed the English ambassador in Madrid, hoping to get the attention of King Henry VIII. Although Thorne and Barlow lived in a commercial centre, they touched on peripherality by living outside from their own national centre, England.

As with Thorne and Barlow's connections to Spanish trade, Cáceres and Enríquez's connections to Amsterdam and ultimately to Dutch Brazil gave them an advantage over other merchants. However, the diasporic nature of the Sephardic merchants makes it more difficult to fix their national centre on the map. Cáceres and Enríquez arrived to England in the context of Jewish readmission, but they themselves were not returning to a place where they had originally lived, since the expulsion took place in the thirteenth century. We know, in fact, that they came from the Netherlands. Cáceres and Enríquez moved within an extremely active and fluid transnational trade network involving partners from the host society and other existing networks. Moreover, merchants usually changed their relationships according to the

commercial opportunities and geopolitical conditions of the moment. In the case of Cáceres and Enríquez, their working centre is not so much related to their political centre, but to where commercial discussions were developing. Thus, these merchants operated across nation-states and empires. Their borderland nature was increased by the fact that Jewish people, while readmitted in England after 1655, located in the borders of society and often their activities were viewed with some suspicion by English traders.

In contrast to Cáceres and Enríquez, the author of the 'Discourse...' seemed to have been someone located at the very heart of the English society, with key connections to prominent figures of the political, commercial and cultural sphere. Thus, peripherality comes not from the author himself but from the way they devised the project for a colony in the Strait of Magellan. Instead of leading figures, the 'Discourse...' advocated for transferring convicts and Maroons from Tierra Firme to Patagonia. By using people from the margins of English and Spanish colonial society, the author reinforced the vision of Patagonia's as a far distant place, establishing a correlation between geographical peripherality and social marginality. The project never materialised and so we cannot know if the colony would have a happier ending than the Spanish colonies established by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa. However, the "erasure" of any sort of obstacles and complications shows the project was in danger of being far from reality.

The expedition of John Narborough shows another type of peripherality, now related to the Royal Society's knowledge production and intellectual culture. The Royal Society found in transoceanic navigation a valuable opportunity to study the world. However, this was constrained by its capacity to navigate to distant lands at such an early stage, as navigators located far from the Royal Society's social trust system. When the Society published *An Account of Several Late Voyages to the South and North* in 1694, they had no other choice but to look for information outside their records. Narborough was not a Fellow, nor was he alive when they published his account. Nevertheless, Narborough complied with many items of the Society's reliability checklist: he was a first-hand witness who had undertaken rigorous geographical observations. Also important was the fact he had reputation as a skilful navigator of the Royal Navy and as a loyal servant of the Crown. In the eyes of the Royal Society, Narborough's connection to the centre of England's political power enhanced his authority. Narborough himself did not cross any borders between centre and periphery, but the Royal

Society, acknowledging his intellectual peripherality, transferred his work to a central space of scientific production in the seventeenth century.

Bartholomew Sharp and Basil Ringrose were, in a sense, doubly marginal. As buccaneers, they were seen as outlaws and therefore lived on the margins of society. As outlaws, they were even further away from Narborough in the social system of trust. However, their dual marginality was not a fixed matter. When the judge acquitted Sharp and his companions of all the crimes the Spanish ambassador charged them with, he removed them from a state of criminality. Despite the tangles with illegality, buccaneers were useful to empires seeking to enlarge and improve their knowledge of territories outside their legal reach and thus operated between legality and illegality. In this sense, Sharp's captured *derrotero* was one of the most valuable pieces aboard the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century society, the buccaneers' geographical contribution was a technical matter as buccaneering symbolised a degradation of civic values and thus still lived in the margins of society. In this regard, William Hack's copies of the *Great Atlas of the South Sea* were an attempt of separating these two worlds. To do that, Hack transformed Ringrose's *South Sea Waggoner* from a book visually messy into a sumptuous atlas dedicated to leading figures of the political sphere, and although he himself did not change the social status of buccaneers, his *Great Atlas of the South Sea* crossed the border from a space steeped in illegality to a space of legality.

A sense of peripherality surrounded the English imaginary of Patagonia. Paying attention to the different ways someone or something can be "outside the centre" shows that peripherality is a multi-layered concept. Moreover, it allows us to rethink the relationship between centres and peripheries and the types of connections and disconnections they established in the construction of geographical imaginaries.

In conclusion, the English imagination of Patagonia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was far more than mere ideas of fancy. It was a dynamic force that shaped and propelled the empire-building endeavours of the English nation. In the centuries after the early modern period, Britain continued to navigate Patagonia and a clear scientific interest, deepened by the ideas of the Enlightenment and modern science, prevailed among these sailors. Yet Patagonia continued to evoke a space of wonder. These imaginings have their roots here, in the early modern images of remoteness and peripherality. They influenced public sentiment, justified colonization, and contributed to the broader discourse of empire. As the English gazed beyond

the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, their imaginations gave rise to a myriad of possibilities that merged with their aspirations of territorial expansion, economic dominance, and global influence. The case of Patagonia stands as a vivid example of how imperial imagination and ambition were inextricably intertwined during this transformative time of history.

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