Women of the Northeast and Northwest Passage Ventures: Discourses and Counter-Discourses on the “British Empire” in the Sixteenth Century

Attending to Early Modern Women: It’s About Time
(18-20 June 2014)

Organizers:
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Description of Workshop:
This workshop examines renderings of native girls and women introduced into the emerging English discourse of empire as a result of the inaugural voyages in search of the northeast and the northwest passages from the mid-1550s through the 1580s. It also addresses the involvement of English women in these ventures as investors and otherwise. It focuses on the records related to the voyages of Anthony Jenkinson (Russia, Central Asia, Persia), Martin Frobisher (Labrador and Arctic regions), and Humphrey Gilbert (Newfoundland), which have been neglected in relation to the subsequent Virginia colony records. Drawing on a wide range of documentary, literary, and visual sources, this workshop seeks to articulate a methodology to register these girls and women’s survival and resistance – and therefore their agency – as a constitutive aspect of the anglocentric discourse of empire.

Bernadette Andrea will introduce the primary documents related to the “Tartar girl” from Central Asia who was brought to Queen Elizabeth’s court as a result of the Muscovy Company merchants’ attempts to forge a trade route across Central Asia to Safavid Persia and ultimately to find the elusive Northeast Passage to the markets of China and India. As a subaltern subject on multiple levels, this Tartar girl receives a fleeting reference in “A letter of Master Anthonie Jenkinson upon his returne from Boghar [Bukhara] to the worshipful Master Henry Lane, agent for the Moscovie Companie, written in the Mosco [Moscow] the 18. of September 1559”; this letter was published in Richard Hakluyt’s The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation forty years later. Hakluyt’s marginal note – “[t]his was a young Tartar girle which he gave to the Queene afterwarde” – complicates the patriarchal circuit of this exchange by incorporating women privileged by class. Evidence from the inventories of Queen Elizabeth’s wardrobe suggest that this “Tartar girl” was renamed – likely during her baptism – as “Ipolita the Tartarian” and proclaimed the Queen’s “wel-beloved woman.” Her historical imprint helped shape the perceptions of Martin Frobisher and his men as they sought the equally elusive Northwest Passage in the 1570s; on these ventures, they encountered Inuit women on Baffin Island, one of whom they abducted and brought back to England. Her image proliferated as part of the emerging English discourse of empire, which focused on the northern regions.

Nate Probasco will open discussion of interactions among Englishmen and Amerindian women by broaching sources related to Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s voyages. He encountered only Europeans during his 1583 voyage to North America, but his circle...
researched the inhabitants of the Americas and published their findings. Their interview of sailor David Ingram highlights the English interest in the “otherness” of Amerindian women. Their lack of clothing and polygamous relationships shocked Europeans, but such unions benefitted women who otherwise would have lacked marital support. John Florio translated accounts of Jacques Cartier’s voyages into English to promote Gilbert’s venture, and his report likewise focused on female nakedness and their allurement by simple trinkets. A group of Iroquois women even traded to the Frenchmen all they owned until “they had nothing but their naked bodies.” What the Frenchmen gained from these interactions “was but of small value,” while the Iroquois attained valuables not found in North America, such as tin, glass, and even iron knives. English explorers used travel accounts like Cartier’s to typecast Amerindian women as under-clothed, hyper-sexualized (but paradoxically untouchable), and childlike, paving the way for later proselytizing and “civilizing.” Such a simple characterization does not account for Amerindian women who, despite trading their clothing and touching the Europeans in wonder, apparently rebuffed the sexual advances of their guests. They gained more from these exchanges than their trade partners and often dictated trading negotiations.

Together, we will facilitate a discussion of these sources and the methodological questions they raise for the emerging English discourse of empire in the latter half of the sixteenth century. How can we understand these native girls and women’s presence in the margins of the archive as constitutive of this discourse? How can we assess their own agency – registered as “the union of active survival and resistance to cultural dominance” or “survivance” (Vizenor, Native Liberty, 24) – in a documentary record compiled by English men? What does a focus on material culture – visual artifacts, archeological remains, oral culture, and so on – add to our understanding of these women’s agency? What pre-conceived notions of Central Asian and North American women did English explorers take with them? How did these stereotypes affect English actions towards these women and their colonizing agenda in general? In what ways did Amerindian women dictate trade relationships with the English? What strategies did Amerindian women use to resist aggressive English colonizers? And how do we assess the role of English women, who were investors in the Muscovy Company and in the Frobisher voyages (with Queen Elizabeth the primary investor in the latter), in the articulation of this imperial project?

List of Readings for Workshop (transcriptions included below):
Best, George. *A True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya by the Northwest, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall*, 3 vols. (London, 1578), 2: 21-27; 3: 61, 63. (7 pages)
Cartier, Jacques. *A shorte and brieve narration of the two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northwest partes called Newe Fraunce: First translated out of French into Italian, by that famous learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and now turned into English by John Florio: Worthy the reading of all Venturers, Travellers, and Discoverers* (London, 1580), 18, 20, 41, 52, 59. (5 pages)
Hakluyt, Richard. *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the Ilands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons: And certaine notes of advertisements for observations, necessarie for such as shall heereafter make the like attempt, With two mappes*
annexed heereunto for the plainer understanding of the whole matter (London, 1582), 2: A3v, B1r. (2 leaves)

Peckham, George. *A True Reporte, Of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the Newfound Landes: By that valiaunt and worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight*. Wherein is also briefly sette downe, her highnesse lawfull Tytle thereunto, and the great and manifold Commodities, that is likely to grow thereby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Adventurers in particular. Together with the easines and shortnes of the Voyage. Seene and allowed (London, 1583), E2v-E3r. (2 leaves)

“The Relation of David Ingram of Barking, in the Countie of Essex Sayler, of sundry things which he with others did see, in travelling by land from the most Northerly partes of the Baie of Mexico (where he with many others were set on shoare by Master Hawkins) through a great part of America, untill he came within fiftie leagues or there abouts of Cape Britton” in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres* (London, 1589), 558, 561. (2 pages)

“The voyage of M. Anthony Jenkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yere 1558: written by himself to the Merchants of London of the Moscouie companie,” in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres* (London, 1589), 349-50. (2 pages)

“A letter of Master Anthonie Jenkinson vpon his returne from Boghar to the worshipful Master Henry Lane, agent for the Moscouie Companie, written in the Mosco the 18. of September 1559,” in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiqves and Discoueries of the English Nation, made by Sea or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600. yeres*, 3 vols. (1599-1600), 1: 305. (1 page)

Additional Suggested Readings:


Smith, Cassander L. “‘For They are Naturally Born’: Quandaries of Racial Representation in George Best’s *A True Discourse*.” *Studies in Travel Writing* 17.3 (2013): 233-49.


Best, George. *A True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya by the Northwest, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall*, 3 vols. (London, 1578). (7 pages)


**Page 21:** The morning following, being the first of August, Captaine Yorke with the Michaell came into lackmans sound, and declared vnto the company there, that the laste nights past, he came to anker in a certaine baye (whiche sithens [since] was named Yorkes Sounde,) [in margin: Yorkes sound] aboute foure leagues distant from lackmans sound, being putte to lewarde of that place for lacke of winde, where he discouered certaine tents of the Countrie people, where going with his companye ashoare, he entred into them, but founde the people departed, as it shoulde seeme, for feare of their comming. But amongst sundrie straunge things, whiche these tentes they founde, there was rawe and newe killed fleshe of vnknown sortes, with dead carcasses and bones of dogs, and I know not what. [in margin: The apparel found againe of oure Englishmen whiche the yeare before were taken captive] They also beheld (to their greatest maruaile) a dublet of Canuas made after the Englishe fashion, a shirt, a girdle, thrée shoes for contrarie féete, and of vnequall bignesse, whiche they well coniectured to be the apparel of our fiue poore countriemen, whiche were intercepted the laste yeare by these Countrie people, aboute fifyte leagues from this place, further within the straightes. Wherevpon, our men being in good hope, that some of them might be here, and yet liuing, the Captaine deuising for the best, lefte his mind behind him in writing, with pen, yncke, and paper also, whereby our poore captiue countriemen if it mighte come to their handes, mighte knowe their friendes mindes, and of their arriuall, and likewise retourne their aunswere. [in margin: A good deuice of Captaine Yorke] And so without taking any thing away in their

**Page 22:** tentes, leauing there also looking glasses, pointes, & other of our toyes (the better to allure the[m] by such friendly means,) [in margin: A good deuice of Captaine Yorke] departed aboorde hys Barke [a small ship], wyth intent to make haste to the Ayde, to giue notice vnto the companye, of all suche things as he had there discovered: and so ment to returne to these tents againe, hoping, that he might by force or policie, entrappe or entice the people to some friendly confere[n]ce. Which things, when he had deliuered to the company there, they determined forthwith to goe in hande with the matter. Herevpon Captain Yorke of the Ayde & his mate (who the night before had bin at the tents, and came ouer from the other side in the Michael with him) being accompanied with diuers of the Gentlemen & souldiors, to the number of .30 or .40. persons in two small rowing pynnesses [pinnaces or boats], made towards the place, where the night before they discouered the tents of those people, and setting Charles Lackman, being the Master-mate, ashoare with a conuenient nu[m]ber, for that he coulde best guide them to the place, they marched ouer land, mening to co[m]passe the[m] on the one side, whilst the Captain with his boates might entrappe them on the other side. But landing at last at yᵉ [the] place where the night before they left them, they found them with their te[n]ts remoued. Notwithsta[n]ding, our me[n] which marched vp into yᵉ cou[n]trie, passing
ouer two or three tedious moun[tains], by chance espied certaine tentes in a valley
vnderneath the[m] neare vnto a crekke by the Sea side, whiche, bycause it was not the
place where the guide had bin the night before, they judged them to be another company,
and besetting them about, determined to take them if they could. [in margin: The Sauages
haue Boate of sundry bignesse.] But they hauing quickly descried our companie, lanched
one great, & another small boate, being about .16. or .18. persons, & very narrowly
escaping, put themslues to sea. [in margin: The English men pursue those people of that
countrey] Wherevpon our soldiours discharged their Caliuers ["A light kind of musket or
harquebus . . . introduced during the 16th c." (OED)], and followed them, thinking the
noise therof being hearde to our boats at sea, our men there woulde make what speede
they mighte to that place. And

Page 23: thervpon indede our men whiche were in the boates (crossing vppon them in
the mouth of the sounde, whereby their passage was let from getting sea roome, wherein
it had bin impossible for vs to ouertake them by rowing) [in margin: The swift rowing of
those people] forced them to put themselues ashoare vpon a point of lande within the said
sound (which vpon the occasion of the slaughter there, was since named the Bloudie
point) [in margin: The bloudy point] wherevnto our men so speedlyly followed, that they
hadde little leysure lefte them to make any escape. But so soone as they landed, ech of
them brake his Oare, [in margin: Yorkes sound] thinking by that meanes to preuent vs, in
carying awaye their boates for want of Oares. And desperately returning vpon our men,
resisted them manfullye in their landing, so long as theyr arrows and dartes lasted, [in
margin: A hote skirmish between the Englishe and them of that countryle] & after
gathering vp those arrows which our me[n] shot at the[m], yea, and plucking our arrowes
out of their bodies, encountred afresh againe, and maintained their cause, vntil both
weapons & life ytterly failed them. And when they founde they were mortally wounded,
being ignorant what mercy meaneth, [in margin: The desperat nature of those people.] with
deadly furie they cast themselues headlong from off the rocks into the sea, least
perhaps their enimies should receiue glorie or praye of their dead carcasses, for they
supposed vs be like to be Canibales, or eaters of mans flesh. In this conflict one of our
men was dangerouslie hurt in the bellie with one of their arrowes, and of them were
slaye fyue or sixe. The rest by flight escaped among the Rockes, sauing two women,
whereof the one being old and ougly, oure men thought she had bin a Diuell or some
Witch, & therefore let hir go: the other being yong, & combred with a suckling childe at
hir backe, hiding hirselfe behinde the rocks, was espied by one of oure men, [in margin:
The taking of the woman and her child.] who supposing she had bin a man, shot through
the heare [hair] of hir head, & pierced through the childs arme, wherevpon she cried out,
& was take[n], [in margin: A prettie kind of Surgerie, whyche nature teacheth.] & our
Surgeo[n] meaning to heale hir childs arme, applyed salues thervnto. But she not
acquainted with such kinde of surgerie, plucked those salues away, & by co[n]tinuall
licking

Page 24: with hir owne tongue, not muche vnlike oure dogges, healed vppe the childes
arme. And bycause the daye was well neare spent, oure menne made haste vnto the reste
of oure companie, which on the other side of the water remained at the tentes, where they
founde by the apparell, letter, and other Englishe furniture [supplies], that they were the
same companye whiche Capitaine Yorke discouered the night before, hauing remoued the[m]selues fro[m] the place where he left the[m].

And now considering their sodaine flying from our men, and their desperate manner of fighting, we beganne to suspecte, that we hadde already hearde the laste newes of our men, whiche the laste yeare were betrayed of these people. And considering also their rauennesse and bloudy disposition, in eating anye kinde of rawe fleshe or carrion, howsoever stincking, it is to be thoughte, that they had slaine and deuoured oure men. For the doublet whiche was founde in their tents had many holes therein, being made with their arrowes and dartes.

But nowe the night being at hande, our men with their captiues and suche poore stuffe as they founde in their tentes, returned towards their shippes, when being at Sea, there arose a sodaine flawe [rush] of winde, whiche was not a little daungerous for their small boates. But as God would, they came all safely aboorde. And with these good newes they retourned (as before mentioned) into the Countesse of Warwicks sound, vnto vs. And betwene Jackmans sounde, from whence they came, and the Countesse of Warwicke sound, betwene land & land, being thoughte the narrowest place of the straights, were iudged nine leagues ouer at leaste: and Jackmans sounde being vppon the Southerlande, lyeth directlye almoste ouer againste the Countesses sound, as is reckned, scarce thirty leagues within the straights from the Queenes Cape, whiche is the entrance of the straights of Southerland, being the supposed continent of America. This Cape béeing named Queene

Page 25: Elizabethes Cape, [in margin: The Quenes Cape.] standeth in the Latitude of [gap in text] degresses and a halfe to the Northwardes of Newe found lande, and vpon the same continent, for any thing that is yet knowen to the contrarie.

Hauing now got a woman captiue for the comforte of our man, we broughte them both togither, [in margins: The manner of the meeting of y² two Captiues, and their entertaynement] and euery man with silence desired to beholde the manner of their meeting and entertaynement, the whiche was more worth the beholding, than can be well expressed by writing. A theyr first encountering, they behelde each the other very wistly [“With close attention; intently” (OED)] a good space, withoute spéeche or worde vttered, with greate change of coloure and countenaunce, as though it seemed, the gréefe and disdeyne of their captiuitie had taken away the vse of their tongs and vterance: the woman at the first verie suddaynely, as though she disdeyned or regarded not the man, turned away, and beganne to sing, as though she minded another matter: but being agayne broughte togither, the man brake vp the silence first, and with sterne and stayed countenaunce, beganne to tell a long solemne tale to the woman, whervnto she gaue good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finished, & afterwards, being grown into more familiar acquayntance by spéech, were turned togither, so that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued, without the comfort of the other. And, for so muche as we coulde perceiue, albeit they liued continually togither, yet did they neuer vse as man and wife, though the woman spared not to do all necessarie things that apperteyned to a good huswife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and euery other thing that apperteyned to his ease: for when hée was Seasicke, shee would make him cleane, she would kill and flea [flay] y² Dogges for their eating, and dresse his meate. Only I thinke it worth the noting, [in margin: The shamefastnesse and castitie of those
Page 26: most shamefast, least anye of their priuie parts should bée discovered, eyther of
themselves, or any other body.

From “A generall and brief Description of all the Countrey, and condition of the people,
which are found in Meta Incognita,” in “The third voyage of Captayne Frobisher,
pretended for the discouerie of Cataya, by Meta Incognita. Anno Do. 1578,” 61, 63.

Page 61: Thee people I iudge to be a kinde of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samowey
[Samoyed], of the same sort & co[n]ditio[n] of life y¹ [that] the Samoweides be to the
Northeastwards, beyond Moscouy, who are called Samoweydes, which is as much to say
in the Moscouy tong, as eaters of themselues, and so the Russians their borderers doe
name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whome I dyd sometime
trauell in the parts of Moscouy) who hath great experience of those Somoweides & people
of y² Northeast, I finde, that in all their maner of liuing, those people of the Northeast,
and these of the Northeast, are like. They are of the couloure of a ripe Oliue, which how
it may come to passe, being borne in so cold a climate, I referre to y³ iudge|ment of
others, for they are naturally borne children of the same couloure & complexio[n] as all
the Americans are, which dwell vnder the Equinoctiall line.

They are men very actiue and nimble. They are a strong people, and very warlike,
for in our sighte, vppon the toppes of the hilles, they would often muster the[m]selues,
and after the maner of a skirmish, trace their ground very nimbly, and mannage their
bowes and dartes with greate dexteritie. They goe clad in coates made of the skinnes of
beastes, as of Ceales [Seals], Dere, Beares, Foxes, and Hares. They haue also some
garments of feathers, being made of the cases of Foules [skin of birds], finely sowed and
compact togither. Of all which sortes, we broughte home some with vs into England,
whiche we found in their tents.

Page 63: For their weapons, to offende their enemies, or kill their pray withal, they haue
Dartes, slings, bowes, and arrows headed with sharp stones, bones, and some with yron.
They are exceeding friendly and kinde harted, one to the other, & mourne greatly at the
losse or harme of their fellowes, and expresse their griefe of minde, when they part one
from an other, with a mournefull song, and Dirges. They are very shamefast in bewraying
the secretes of nature, and verye chaste in y⁴ maner of their liuing: for whe[n] the ma[n]
which we brought fro[m] thence into England (y⁵ last voyage) should put of[f] his coat,
or discover his whole body for cha[n]ge, he would not suffer the woma[n] to be present,
but put hir forth of hys Cabyn. And in all the space of two or thre[e] monethes, while the
man liued in companie of the woman, there was neuer any thing séene or perceiued
betwéene them, more than might haue passed betwéene brother and sister: but the woman
was in all things very seruiceable for the man, attending him carefully, when he was
sicke, and he likewise in all the meates which they did eate toegither, would carue vnto
hir of the swéetest, fattest, and best morsels they had. They wondred muche at all our
things, and were afraide of our horses, and other beastes, out of measure. They beganne
to growe more ciuill, familiar, pleaesaunt, and docible [“Apt to be taught; teachable, docile” (OED)] amongst vs in a verye shorte time.

Cartier, Jacques. *A shorte and briefe narration of the two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northwest partes called Newe Fraunce: First translated out of French into Italian, by that famous learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and now turned into English by John Florio: Worthy the reading of all Venturers, Travellers, and Discoverers* (London, 1580), 18, 20, 41, 52, 59. (5 pages)

Page 18: (They) came to the shore where we wer with their boates, bringing with them skinnes, and other such things as they had, to haue of our wares. They were more than three hundred men, women, and children: some of the women which came not ouer, we might see them stande vp to the knees in water, singing and dauncing, the other that had passed the riuere where we were, came verye friendlye to vs, rubbingoure armes with their owne handes, then woulde they lifte them vppe towarde heauen, shewing manye signes of gladnesse: and in such wise were we assured one of another, that we very familiarly beganne to trafficke of whatsoeuer they had, till they had nothing but their naked bodies, for they gaue vs al whatsoeuer they had, and that was but of small value. We perceiued that this people might verie easily be converted to our religion. They go from place to place. They liue only with fishes. They haue an ordinarie time to fish for their prouision. The Countrey is hotter, than the Countrey of Spaine, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogither smooth, and leauel. There is no place, be it neuer so little, but it hathe some trees (yea albeit it be sandie) or else is ful of wilde corn, that hath an eare like vnto Rie: the corn is like Oates, small Peason as thicke as if they had bin sown & plowed, white & red gooseberies, strawberries, blackberies, white & red Roses, with many other floures, of very sweete and pleasant smel. Ther be also many goodly medowes ful of grasse, & Lakes where gret plentie of Salmons be. They cal a Hatchet in their tong Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The Bay of Heate.

¶Of another nation of wilde men: of their maners, liuing and clothing.

WE being certified that there was no passage through the said Bay, we hoised saile, & went from *S. Martines Creeke* vpon Sunday being the twelfth of Iuly, to go & discouer further in the said Baie. and went along the sea coast Estward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of *Prato*, where we found the tide very greate, but shallow, and the sea …

Page 20: Neyther in nature nor in language, do they any whit agree with them we found first: Their heads be altogither shauen, except one bush of haire, they suffer to grow vpon the toppe of their crowne, as long as a horsse taile, and then with certaine leather strings binde it in a knot vpon their heads. They haue no other dwelling but their boates, which they tourne vpside down, and vnder them they lay themselves al along vpon the bare ground. They eate their fleshe almooste rawe, onely that they heate it a little vpon imbers of coles, so doe they theyr fishe. Vpon Magdalens day we with our boates wentes to the bancke of the riuere, and freelye went on shore among them, whereat they made many signes of gladnesse, and al their men in two or three companies began to sing and daunce,
seeming to be very glad of our comming. They had caused all the yong women to flee into
the wood, two or three excepted, that stayed with them, to each of which we gave a
combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our
Captaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with theyr handes. When the men saw vs giue
something vnto those that had stayde, it caused all the rest to come out of the wood, to the
ende they should haue as muche as the others: These women were about twentie, who
al togither in a knot fell vpon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands,
according to their manner of cherishing and making muche of one, who gaue to eache of
them a little Tinne bell: then sodainely they began to daunce, and sing many songs. There
we founde great store of Mackrels, that they had taken vpon the shore, with certaine
nettes that they make to fishe, of a kinde of hempe that groweth in that place where
ordinarilye they abide, for they neuer come to the sea, but onlye in fishing time. As farre
as I vnderstand, ther groweth likewise a kinde of Millet as bigge as small Peason, like
vnto that which groweth in Bresil, which they eat in stead of bread. They had greate store
of it. They call it in theyr toung RAPAIGE. They haue also Primes, (that is to saye
Damsins) which they dry for winter as we do, they cal them HONESTA.

Page 41: … he shoulde be very wel entertained, beside that, he should haue such a gifte
giuen him, as he shoulde wel content himselfe: for hee shoulde doe nothing else but goe
with hym to Hocelaga, and come againe. To whome Taignoagny aunswered, that he
woulde not by any meanes go, and therevpon sodainely returned to their houses. The
nexte day beyng the 17. of September, Donnacona retourned euen as at the firste, and
brought with him many Eeles, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take greate
store in the sayde Riuer, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soone as they
were come to our Shippes, according to their wonted use beganne to sing and daunce.
This done, Donnacona caused all his people to be sette of one side, then making a rounde
circle vpon the Sand, caused our Captaine with al his people to enter therein, then he
beganne to make a long Oration: holding in one of his handes a Maiden child 10. or 12.
yeares olde, whych he presented vnto our Captaine: then sodainely beganne his people to
sende out three shreekes or howles, in signe of ioy and league of friendshippe, presently
vpon that he did present vnto him two other yong Male children one after another, but
yonger than the other, at the gyuing of whyche, euen as before, they gaue oute shreekes
and howles very lowde, with other ceremonies: for whyche presents, our Capitaine gaue
the saide Lorde greate and hearty thankes. The Lord tolde our Captaine then, that one of
the children was his owne brother, and that the Maiden childe was daughter vnto his
owne sister, and these presents were onely giuen him, to the end he should not goe to
Hocelaga at all, to whome our Captaine answered, that if they were onely giuen hym to
that intent, if so he would he should take them againe, for that by no meanes he woulde
leaue hiss goyng off, for as much as he was commaunded of his King. But concerning
this, Domagaia tolde oure Capitaine, that their Lorde had gyuen him those children as a
signe and token of goodwill and friendshippe, and that he was contented to goe wyth him
to Hocelaga, vppon whyche talke greate

Page 52: ¶ How we came to the Towne of Hocelaga, and the entertaynemente there
we had, and of certayne giftes oure Captayne gaue them, with diuers other things.
CHAP. 8.
SO soone as we were come neere the Towne, a greate number of the inhabitoures thereof came to presente themselues before vs after their fashion, making very much of vs: we were by our guides brought into the midst of the Towne. They haue in the middlemost parte of their houses a large square place, beeing from side to side a good stones cast, where we were brought, and there with signes were commaunded to stay: then suddainely all the Women and Maydens of the Towne gathered themselues togethther, parte of which had their armes full of yong Children, and as manie as could, came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what parte of the bodye soeuer they could touch, weeping for verye ioy that they saw vs, shewing vs the best countenance that possible was, desiring vs with theyr signes, that it woulde please vs to touche theyr Children. That done, the menne caused the Women to withdrawe themselues backe, then they every one late downe on the ground round about vs, as if they would haue shewn and rehearsed some Comedie, or other shew: then presently came the Women agayne, every one bringing a fouresquare Matte in manner of Carpettes, and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place: then they caused vs to sit vpon them. That done, the Lord & King of the country was brought vpon nine or ten mens shoulders, (whome in theyr young they call *AGOVHANNA*) sitting vpon a great Stagges Skinne, and they layde him downe vpon the forsayde mattes neere to our Captayne, euery one beckning vnto vs that he was theyr Lord and King. This *Agouhanna* was a manne aboute fiftie yeares olde: he was no whitte better apparellled than any of the rest, onely excepted, ...

Page 59: ... many children baptised in Brytain while they were there. Whiche promise when they heard, they seemed to be very gladde. They liue in common togethger, and of such commodities as their Countrey yeeldeth they are indifferentlye well stoared, the inhabittours of the Towne of cloath themselues with the skinnes of certaine wilde beasts, but verie miserably. In Winter they weare hosen and shoes made of wilde beastes skinnes, and in Sommer they goe barefooted. They keepe and obserue the rytes of matrimony, sauing that euerye one weddeth two or three wiues, whiche (theyr husbandes being deade) doe neuer marrye agayne, but for the death of theyr husbandes weare a certayne blacke weede all the dayes of their life, besmearing all their faces with cole duste and grease mingled togyther alastle halfe a quarter of an inche thickke, and by that they are knoewn to be Widowes. They haue a filthye and detestable vse in marrying of their maydens, and that is thys, they putte them all (after they are of lawfull age to marrie) in a common place, as harlots free for euerie manne that will haue to doe wyth them, vntill such tyme as they finde a matche. Thys I saye, bycause I haue seene by experience manye housen full of those Damosels, euuen as our scholes are full of children in *Fraunce* to learne to reade. Moreouer, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses is verie greate, for verie want onely they sporte and dallye togethger, shewing what soeuer God hathe sent them. They are no men of greate labour. They ploughe theyr groundes with certaine peeces of wood, as big as halfe a sworde, on whiche grounde groweth theyr corne, The call it *Offici:* it is as bigge as our small Peason there is great quantitie of it growing in *Brasil*. They haue also great store of muske Milions, Pompons, Gourdes, Cowcombers, Peason, and Beanes of euerye colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth also a certain kind of Herb, wherof in Sommer they make greate prouision for all the yeare ...
Leaf A3v: … shining of meane stature, handsome visag, and dilicate limmes and of verie little strength: but of prompt witte, farther wee obserued not.

Departing from hence following the shore which trended somewhat towards the North in 50. leagues space, wee came to another lande which shewed much more faire and full of woods, being very great, where we rode at Ancker, and that wee might haue some knowledge thereof, wee sent 20. men a lande, which entred into the countrey about two leagues, and they founde that the people were fledde to the woods for feare, they sawe onely one olde woman with a young maide of 18. or 20. yeeres olde, which seeing our companie hid them selues in the grasse for feare, the olde woman carried two Infantes on her shoulders, and behinde her necke a childe of 8. yeeres olde : the yong woman was laden likewise with as many: but when our men came unto them, the women cried out, the olde woman made signes that the men were fled unto the woods, as soone as they sawe us to quiet them and to winne their fauour, our men gaue them suche victuals as they had with them to eate, which the old woman receiued thankfully: but the yong woman disdained them all, and threw them disdainefullly on the grounde, they took a childe from the olde woman to bring into Fraunce, and going about to take the young woman which was very beawtiful & of tal stature, they could not possibly for the great outcries that shee made bring her to the sea, and especially hauing great woods to passe through, and being farre from the shippe, wee purposed to leaue her behinde bearing away the childe onely. We found those folkes to bee more white than those that we founde before, being clad with certaine leaues that hang on boughs of trees, which they sowe together with thredes of wilde hempe, their heads were trussed up after the same manner as the former were, their ordinarie foode is of pulse, whereof they haue great store, differing in colour & taste from ours, of good & plasant taste. Moreouer they liue by fishing & fouling which they take with ginnenes, and bowes made of hard woode the arrowes of Canes, being …

Leaf B1r: And wee came to another lande being 15. leagues distant from the Ilande, where wee founde a passing good hauen, wherein being entred we founde about 20. small boates of (in margin: The Countrey of Sir H.G. voyage.) the people which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our shippe, comming no nerer then 50. paces towards vs, they stayed and beheld the artificialnesse of our ship, our shape & apparel, that they al made a loud showte together declaring that they reioyced: when we had something animated them vsing their geastes, they came so neere vs that wee cast them certaine bells and glasses and many toyes, whiche when they had receiued they looke on them with laughing & came without feare aborde our ship. There were amongst these people 2. kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare, the eldest was about 40. yeeres of ag, the second was a yong man of 20. yeeres old. Their apparell was on this
maner, the elder had upon his naked body a harts skin wrought artificialie with divers braunches like Damaske, his head was bare with the haire tyed vp behind with divers knottes: About his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with divers stones of sundrie colours the young man was almost appareled after the same manner. This is the goodliest people and of the fairest conditions that wee haue found in this our voyage. They exceed vs in bignes, they are of colour of brasse, some of them encline more to whitness: others are of yellowe colour, of comely visage with long & blacke heire which they are very carefull to trim and decke up, they are blacke and quicke eyed. I write not to your Maiestie, of the other parte of their bodie, hauing all suche proportion as appertayneth to anye handsome man. The women are of the like conformitie and Beawtifie, verie handsome and well fauoured, they are as well mannered and continente as anye women, of good education, they are all naked saue their priuie partes whiche they couer with a Deares skinne braunched or embroidered as the men use: there are also of them which weare on their armes verie riche skinnes of leopardes, they adorne their heads with divers ornamentes made of their owne heire, whiche hang downe …

Peckham, George. *A True Reporte, Of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the Newfound Landes: By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.* Wherein is also briefly sette downe, her highnesse lawfull Tytle thereunto, and the great and manifold Commodities, that is likely to grow thereby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Adventurers in particular. Together with the easines and shortnes of the Voyage. Seene and allowed (London, 1583), E2v-E3r. (2 leaves)

Leaf E2v: And questionles hereby it will also come to passe, (in margin: Drapers. Clothiers. Cappers Hatters. &c. And many decayed townes repayred) that all such Townes and Villages, as bothe haue bee and nowe are utterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof beeing not sette a worke by reason of the transportation of rawe VVooll of late dayes, more excessively then in tymes past) shall by this meanes be restored to theyr pristinate wealth and estate, all which doo likewise tende to the enlargment of our Nauie and mayntenaunce of our nauigation.

To what ende neede I endeuour my selfe by arguments to prooue, that by this voyage, our nauie and nauigation shall be enlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest and late example of the neere Neighbours to this Realme, the Kings of Spayne, and Portingall who since the first discouery of the Indias, haue not onelye mightily enlarged theyr dominions, greatly enriched themselues and theyr subiectes: but haue also by iust account trebbled the number of theyr Shippes, Maysters and Marriners, a matter of no small moment & importaunce.

Besides this, (in margin: The yidle persons of this Realm shall by occasion of this journey be wel employed and sette on worke) it will prooue a generall benefite vnto our Country, that through this occasion, not onely a greate number of men which doo nowe liue ydlely at home, and are burdenous, chargable, & vnprofitable to this Realme, shall hereby be sette on worke, but also children of 12. or 14. yeeres of age or vnder, may bee kept from ydlenes, in making of a thousand kindes of trifeling thinges, which will be good Marchandize for that Country. And moreouer, our ydle women, (which the Realme may
well spare) shal also bee imployed on plucking, drying, and sorting of Feathers, in pulling, beating, & working of Hempe, & in gathering of Cotten, & dyuers things right necessary for dying. All which thinges are to bee found in those Countries …

Leaf E3r: … most plentifully. (in margin: Hempe doth growe neere Saint Lawrence Riuue naturally). And the men may imploy themselues in draging for Pearle, working for Mynes, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the VVhale for traine, and making Caskes to put the same in: besides, in fishing for Codde, Salmon and Herring, drying, salting & barrelling the same, and felling of Trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons as are no men of arte or science.

Many other thinges may be founde to the greate reliefe and good emploiemnts of no small number, of the naturall subiectes of this Realme, which doo nowe liue heere ydlelie to the common annoy of the whole state. (in margin: Reade the beginning of the boke intituled, diuers voyages touching the discouery of America) Neither may I heere omitte the great hope and likely hoode of a passage by the Graunde bay, into the South Seas, confirmed by sundrie Aucthors to be founde leading to Cataia, the Moluccos and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as general a benefite to the Realme or greater, then yet hath beene spoken off, without eyther such charges, or other inconueniences, as by the redious tract of time & perrill, which the ordinarie passage to those partes at this day doth minister. And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowne to all men of sounde judgement, that this voyage is of greater importaunce, and will be founde more beneficiall to our Countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vse and trade amongst vs.

“The Relation of David Ingram of Barking, in the Countie of Essex Sayler, of sundry things which he with others did see, in travelling by land from the most Northerly partes of the Baie of Mexico (where he with many others were set on shoare by Master Hawkins) through a great part of America, untill he came within fiftie leagues or there abouts of Cape Britton” in Richard Hakluyt, The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres (London, 1589), 558, 561. (2 pages)

Page 558: … of there armes, and the like on the small of eche of their legs, whereof commonly one is golde and two siluer.

And many of the women also doe weare plates of golde, couering their bodies in maner of a payre of curets, and many bracelets and chaines of great pearle. (in margin: Curets of golde.) The people commonly are of good fauour, feuter & shape of body, of growth aboue fiue foote (in margin: The fauour and shape of the people.) high, somewhat thicke, with their faces and skins of colour like an oliefe, and toward the North somewhat tawnie, but some of them are painted with diuers colours , they are very swift of foote, the haire of their heads is shauen in sundry spots, and the rest of their head is traced.
In the South partes of these countreys they go all naked, sauing that the Noble mens priuities (in margin: Naked people) are couered with the necke of a goorde, and the womens priuities with the hayre or leafe of the palme tree. But in the North partes they are clothed with beasts skins, the hayrie side being next to their bodies in winter.

They are so brutish & beastly, that they wil not forbeare the vse of their wiues in open presence. (in margin: Brutish behauiour).

They are naturally very courteous, if you do not abuse them, either in their persons or goods, (in margin: People courteous) but vse them courteously. The killing or taking of their beasts, birds, fishes, or fruiites cannot offende them, except it be of their cattell which they keepe about their houses, as Kine, Guinne hennes, or such like.

If any of them doe holde up both their hands at length together, and kisse the backs of them (in margin: A sure token of friendship) on both sides, then you may undoubtedly trust them, for it is the greatest token of friendship that may be.

If any of them that come vnto you with a horsetaile in his hand, then you may assure your selfe (in margin: Messengers from the king) that hee is a Messenger from the King, and to him you may safely commit your person, or go to the king, or any where els, or by him send any thing or message to the king. For these men are alwayes either Ensigne bearers in the warres, or the kings messengers, who wil neuer betray you.

If you will haue any of the people come aborde your ship, hang out some white cloth upon a (in margin: To allure the people to speach) staffe, for that is a signe of amitie.

If you will bargaine for ware with them, leaue the thing that you will sell uppon the ground, (in margin: The maner of trafique and dealing with them) and go from it a prettie way of: then wil they come and take it, and set downe such wares as they will giue for it in the place: And if you thinke it not sufficient, leaue the wares with signes that you like it not, and they will bring more, vntill either they or you be satisfied, or will giue not more. Otherwise you may hang your wares vpon a long poles end, and so put more or lesse on it, vntill you haue agreed on the bargaine.

When they goe to the warres, they march in battell aray two and three in a ranck. (in margin: Howe they march in battell.)

Their Trumpets they doe make of cermayne beasts teeth, they haue a kinde of Drum which they make of beastskins, they make shields and Targets of the skins of beasts, compassed (in margin: Their weapons and instruments for warre) with willowe twigs, and being dried, they are strong and defensible.

Their weapons are dartes, headed with yron, the heads are two fingers broad, and halfe a foot long, which are fastened within a socket.
They haue also short bowes, strung with the barke of trees, being halfe an ynch broad, & the arrowes are of bone, a yarde long, nocked and headed with siluer & bone, and their arrowes are of small force within a stones cast of them, and you may put them by with a staffe a pretie way off. 

They haue short broad swords of blacke yron of the length of a yarde, or very neere an elle, bearing edges thicker then backs of kniues, somewhat like the foyles in our fence schools.

They haue crooked kniues of yron, somewhat like a woodknife, or hanger, wherewith they will carue excellently both in wood and bone.

Their Ensigne is a horse taile, with glasse or Christall in some of them being dyed in sundry colours, as red, yellow, greene, &c.

The people in those Countreys are professed enemies to the Canibals or men eaters : The (in margin: Canibals.) Canibals doe most inhabite betweene Norumbega, & Bariniah, they haue teeth like dogs teeth, and thereby you may know them. In the warres they doe pitch their campe as neere as they may vnto some wood of Palme tree, which yeeleth them meate, drinke, and present remedy against poysoned arrowes.

Their buildings are weake and of small force, their houses are made rounde like Doue houses, (in margin: Their houses and buildings) and they doe dwell together in Townes and Uillages. And some of them haue banqueting houses in the top of them, made like the loouer of a hall, builded with pillars of massie siluer, and chrystall, framed square: whereof many of them are as big as a boyes leg of fifteene yeeres of age, and some lesse.

This Ingram did also see diuers Townes and Uillages, as Gunda, a Towne a slight shoote (in margin: Townes and Uillages.) …

Page 561: … of Whirlewindes.

(In margin: Their maner of Religion.) Touching their Religion, he saith that they honor for their God a Deuil, which they call Colluchio, who speaketh vnto them sometimes in the likenesse of a blacke Dogge, and sometimes in the likenesse of a blacke Calfe.

And some doe honor the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres.

(in margin: Adulterie punished with death.) He saith that the people in those Countries are allowed many Wiues, some fiue, some tenne, & a king sometimes an hundred: And that Adulterie is very seuerely punished in maner following, that is to say: The woman taken in adulterie, must with her owne hands cut the throte of the Adulterer, and the next of his kindred doth likewise cut the throte of the Adulteresse, And being
asked in what manner they take their executions, he saith: That they are brought to
execution by certaine Magistrates, who do deliuer vnto the woman the knife, wherewith
she cutteth the throte of the Adulterer.

Then appeareth th their Colluchio or Deuil, in the likenesse aforesaid, and speaketh
vnto them, and to that deuil the parties brought to execution doe great reuerence, and with
many prayers to it doe take their death.

(in margin: Their maner of Burials.) He saith that such persons as are put to death
in such sort, haue not any of their friends buried with them: but such as die naturally,
haue alwayes buried quicke with them one of their dearest friendes to keepe them
companie, and to prouide necessaries and victual for them, who doe willingly consent
thereto, being thereto perswaded by their Colluchio or Deuil, whom they do worship.

(in margin: The Deuil fled away at the name of the holy Trinitie.) He saith further,
that he & his two fellowes, namely, Richard Browne, and Richard Twide, went into a
poore mans house, & there they did see the said Colluchio or Deuil, with very great eyes
like a blacke Calfe: Upon the sight whereof, Browne saide, there is the Deuil, and
therevpon he blessed himself: In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the
holy Ghost. And Twide said very vehemently, I defie thee and all thy works. And
presently the Colluchio shrancke away in a stealing maner forth of the doors, and was
scene no more vnto them.

(in margin: Great Riuers.) Also they passed ouer many great Riuers in those
Countries, in Canoes or Boates: some foure, some sixe, some eight, some tenne miles
ouver: whereof one was so large, that they could scarce crosse the same in foure and
twente houres.

(in margin: Musickall instruments.) Also he saith, that in the same Countrie, the
people haue instruments of Musicke made of a piece of a Cane, almost a foote long,
being open at both endes: which sitting downe, they smite vpon their thighs and one of
their hands, making a pleasant kind of sound.

And they do vse an other kind of instrument like a Taber, couered with a white
skinne somewhat like Parchment.

This Examinate can very well describe their gestures, dauncing, and songs.

After long trauaile, the aforesaide Dauid Ingram with his two companions Browne
and Twide, came to the head of a riuer called Garinda, which is 60. Leagues West from
Cape Britton: where they understood by the people of that Countrey of the arriuall of a
Christian. Wherevpon they made their reipaire to the Sea side, and there found a French
Captaine named Monsieur Champaigne, who tooke them into his Shippe and brought
them vnto Newhauen, & from thence they were transported into England, Anno. Dom.
1569.
This Monsieur Campagne, with diuers of his companie was brought into the Villlage of Bariniah, about twentie miles up into the Countrie by the said Examinate and his two Companions, by whose meanes he had a trade with the people of diuers sortes of fine furres, & of great redde leaues of trees almost a yard long, & about a foote broad, which he thinketh are good for dying.

Also the said Monsieur Champaigne, had there for exchange of trifling wares, a good quantitie of rude, and wrought siluer.

He saith further, that diuers of the said Frenchmen which were in the said Shippe called the Gargarine, are yet liuing in Homflewre vpon the coast of France, as he thinketh, for he did speake with some of them within these three yeeres.

About a fourtnight after their comming from Newhauen into England, this saide Examinate and his two companions came to master Iohn Hawkins, who had set them on shore vpon the Baie of Mexico, and vnto eche of them he gaue a reward.

Richard Browne his companion was slaine about fiue yeeres past in the Elizabeth of master Cockins of London : And Richard Twide his other companion died at Ratcliffe in Iohn Sherewoods house there, about three yeeres past.

(in margin: The language of some of the Countries.)
Gwando. Is a worde of Salutation, as among vs: Good morrow, Good euen, God saue you or such like.
Caricona. A King.
Caraccona. A Lord.

“The voyage of M. Anthony Jenkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yere 1558: written by himself to the Merchants of London of the Moscouie companie,” in Richard Hakluyt, The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres (London, 1589), 349-50.

Page 349: All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer against the riuer Cama vnto the towne of Astracan, is the land of Crimme, whose inhabitants be also of the lawe of Mahomet, and liue for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, hauing continual wars with the Emperour of Russia, and are valiant in the fielde, hauing countenance, and support from the great Turke.

The 16. day of Iune we passed by certaine fishermens houses called Petowse twenty leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fishing for sturgeon, so continuing our way vntill the 22. day, and passing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforesaide countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the saide riuer of Volga. The 28. day wee came vnto a great hill, where was in times past a castle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iust midway betweene the sayd Cazan and
Astrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minutes. [in margins: Licorish in great plenty.] Upon all this shore growth abundance of Licorish, whose root runneth within the ground like a vine.

Thus going forward the sixt day of Iulie we came to a place called Perouolog, so named because in times past the Tartarres carryed their boates from Volga vnto the rier Tanais, otherwise called Don, by land, when they would robbe such as passed downe the sayd Volga to Astracan, and also such as passed downe by the rier Tanais, to Asophe, Caffa, or any other towne situated vpon Mare Euxinum [the Black Sea], into which sea Tanais falleth, who hath his springes in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of Perouolog from the one rier to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not so euill as it hath bene, by reason of the Emperor of Russia his conquests.

Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wildernesse on both sides, wee sawe a great heard of Nagayans [the Nogai people], pasturing, as is abouesaid, by estimation aboue a thousand cammels drawing of cartes with houses vpon them like tentes, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee a farre off a towne: that Hord was belonging to a great Murse [prince] called Smille, the greatest prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and driuen away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperor of Russia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone, so that now the Russes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to haue mortall warres together.

The 14. day of Iuly passing by an olde castle, which was Olde Astracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Astracan, [in margins: Astracan] which this Emperor of Russia conquered sixe yeeres past, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Mosco vnto Astracan sixe hundreth leagues, or thereabout. The towne of Astracan is situated in an Island vpon a hill side, hauing a castle within the same, walled about with earth and timber, neither fayre nor strong, the towne is also walled about with earth: the buildings and houses (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) most base and simple. The Island is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no corne: the aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgion, by which onely the inhabitants liue, hauing great scarsitie of flesh and bread. They hang vp their fish in their streets and houses to dry for their prouision, which causeth such abundance of flies to increase there, as the like was neuer seen in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the sayd Astracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and specially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render the[m]selues to the Russes their enemies, & to seeke succour at their hands, their countrey being destroyed, as I said before: butt they were but ill entertained or relieued; for there dyed a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Island through in heapes dead, and like to beasts vnburyed, very pittifull to behold: many of

Page 350: them were also sold by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Island. At that time it haue bene an easie thing to haue converted that wicked Nation to the Christian faith, if the Russes themselues had bene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne? At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thousand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to say, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread woorth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals [“food or provisions of
any kind” (OED)] at that time then of any such merchandise. This Astracan is the furthest hold that this Emperour of Russia hath conquered of the Tartars towards the Caspian sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither euery yere provision of men, and victualles, and timber to build the castle.

“A letter of Master Anthonie Jenkinson vpon his returne from Boghar to the worshipful Master Henry Lane, agent for the Moscouie Companie, written in the Mosco the 18. of September 1559,” in Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiqves and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or ouer-land, to the remote and furthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600. yeres, 3 vols. (1599-1600), 1: 305.

Worshipfull Sir, after my heartie commendations premised with most desire to God of your welfare and prosperous successe in all your affaires. It may please you to bee advertised that the fourth of this present I arriued with Richard Johnson and Robert Johnson all in health, thankes bee to God. Wee haue bene as farre as Boghar, and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, [in margin: Master Jenkinsons voyage intended for Cathay] had it not bene for the vncessant and continuall warres, which are in all these brutall and wilde countreys, that it is at this present impossible to passe, neither went there any Carauan of people from Boghar that way these three yeeres. And although our journey hath bene so miserable, dangerous, and chargeable with losses, charges and expenses, as my penne is not able to expresse the same: yet shall wee bee able to satisfie the worshipfull Companies mindes, as touching the discoverie of The Caspian Sea, [in margin: The Discovery of the Caspian sea] with the trade of merchandise to bee had in such landes and counteys as bee thereabout adiacent, and haue brought of the wares and commodities of those Countries able to answere the principall with profite: wishing that there were utterance for as great a quantitie of kersies [“A kind of coarse narrow clot, woven from long wool and usually ribbed” (OED)] and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the sales of a small quantitie, (all such euill fortunes beeing escaped as to vs haue chaunced this present voyage,) for then it woulde be a trade woorthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I trust you will be here shortly (which I much desire) I will deferre the discourse with you at large vntill your comming, as well touching my trauel, as of other things. Sir, John Lucke departed from hence toward England the seuenth of this present, and intendeth to passe by the way of Sweden, [in margin: Passage to and from Moscouia by Sweden] by whom I sent a letter to the worshipfull Companie, and haue written that I intend to come downe vnto Colmogro to be readie there at the next shipping to imbarke my selfe for England, declaring that my seruice shal not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to serue their worships in greater affaires then they haue heere to doe, so farre as I perceiue. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudsons letters, for that I am but newly arriued. Hauing here but little businesse to doe, I send you Richard Johnson to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giuing you most heartie thanks for my wench Aura Soltana,[in margin: This was a yong Tartar girle which he gaue to the Queene afterward] I commend you to the tuition of God, who send you health with hearts desire. Your assured to command, Anthonie lenkinson.