



PRE-1650 PRINTED LITERATURE IN ENGLISH  
ON THE ATLANTIC ISLANDS  
P. E. H. HAIR

«If sack and sugar be a fault, God help the wicked!»  
W. Shakespeare, *Henry IV part I*

Original literature on the Atlantic islands published in English in the period before 1650 was meagre in amount and limited in range, though increasing over the period. English readers could however turn to translated literature which for most of the period provided fuller references to the islands than did the original literature. As for English imaginative literature, this contained few direct references to the islands; but after 1550 noticed with increasing regularity certain of their commodities.. All in all, it must be said that the literature and literary references, while they document a developing British interest in the islands, do so very inadequately.

One element of recent British interest was of course lacking before 1650. Much of the present-day literature in English on the Atlantic islands is tourist literature. But tourism, «wintering», and ultimately retirement residence in the sunnier South, did not come about until the steamboat era<sup>1</sup>. A related point is that the English-speaking Irish Catholics, whose descendants played such a large part in the later history of some of the islands, did not generally seek refuge and residence in them until after 1650. Thus, before 1650 British interest was essentially economic, not social.

Nevertheless there were many strands and layers to the economic interest. One of these was a geopolitical interest in the islands on account of their vital place in the widening network of British economic interests in both the North and the South Atlantic. British interest in the islands expanded with global economic developments, not least because the technology of carriage and communication in the period made small strategically-placed islands as important as large distant continents- a point often evident in the design of maps. By 1650, British (in practice, as

1. But the tourist approach was perhaps signalled by an 1813 English description of the Azores whose chapters included a «Tour through St. Michaels» and whose author justified his work by explaining that «for want of other employment in these islands I have bestowed much of my time in exploring their conditions and circumstances»: T.A., *A History of the Azores... containing an account of the Manners and Character of the Inhabitants*, London, 1813.

hereafter, *English*) interest in the Atlantic islands had broadened and deepened over a period of two centuries, and had grown from being very slight to being modestly substantial.

Because it developed within the wider «western enterprise» of the English, and within the much more intense and involved interest of Spain and Portugal in the Atlantic islands, the English connection has tended to surface in both Iberian and British historiography and literature only in relation to its more dramatic moments- wars, assaults, persecutions. (Tennyson's line, «At Flores in the Azores Sir Richard Grenville lay», probably remains the only historical reference to the islands known to the late twentieth-century British schoolboy). It will therefore be useful to sketch briefly the development of the English connection, in order to note what the contemporary literature reflected, and also what it failed to reflect.

#### THE ENGLISH CONNECTION 1400-1650

With the discovery and settlement (or re-settlement) of the islands the English connection was negligible historically, though not historiographically. Despite the medieval link between England and Normandy, the Norman conquest of the Canaries was attributed by Hakluyt and Purchas to Frenchmen, correctly<sup>2</sup>; but these later English publicists added that the Franco-Spanish activity was inspired by a desire to emulate the earlier discovery of Madeira by an Englishman, Machan. The legend of Machan, though almost certainly without historical foundation (despite Armando Cortesão's cautious defence of its historicity as recently as 1973), was highlighted by Hakluyt in 1589 in his documentation of English marine

2. A tenuous connection between England and the Norman conquerors of the Canaries was allowed by an eighteenth century Canarian historian: Joseph de Viera y Clavijo, *Noticias de la Historia general de la Isla de Canaria* (1782-3), ed. Elías Serra Rafols, Tenerife, 1950, p. 259. But the only real connection was negativa: when there was a lull in the Anglo-French War, Norman military men turned their energies from fighting the English to conquering the Canaries: see Elías Serra and Alejandro Cioranescu, ed., *Le Canarien*, La Laguna, 1959, vol. 1, chaps. 3-5. The sixteenth century Englishman, Thomas Nichols, incorrectly claimed that «the Spaniards first conquered these (Canary) islands, with divers English gentlemen in their companies»: Cioranescu, Alejandro, *Thomas Nichols: mercader de azúcar, hispanista y bereje*, La Laguna, 1963, p. 105. There is more substance in the view that «isolated individuals of English, Scottish and Irish extraction lived in Madeira from the fifteenth century», since an inquiry from the island in 1519 about a Scottish ancestor is documented: Duncan, T. Bentley, *Atlantic islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in seventeenth-century commerce and navigation*, Chicago, 1972, p. 55.

enterprise<sup>3</sup>. The Machan legend does not form part of English traditional literature but instead appears to have been invented in Portuguese circles in the later fifteenth century and to have spread into Spanish literature. While the invention may testify primarily to Anglo-Portuguese amity and the desire to flatter the dynasty descended from Philippa of Lancaster, it must surely indicate that even before 1500 Iberians took a view of English marine enterprise which made it not implausible that Englishmen should sail and explore to the South.

My predecessor at Liverpool, Professor David Quinn, has convincingly expounded the history of the early development of English enterprise *westward* in the Atlantic, a development sufficiently understood in the period to lead Columbus at one stage to offer his services to the English king<sup>4</sup>. In the light of our growing knowledge of this westward enterprise before 1500, English enterprise to the South before 1500 should not be under-estimated merely because, as yet, the very fragmentary surviving evidence has not been gathered together and woven into a measured assessment<sup>5</sup>. It can be argued that, given the fairly close links between latemedieval England and Portugal, including the dynastic connection (even if we admit that Victorian historians created «Henry the Navigator» in order to exaggerate the significance of his English ancestry), it would have been odd if fifteenth-century Englishmen had been unaware of, or had failed to cast sideways glances at, Portuguese enterprise in the Atlantic. Similarly the long history and accepted usefulness of Anglo-Castilian trade must have aroused in some Englishmen a desire to pursue an economic interest in the wake of the Spanish exploitation of the Canaries<sup>6</sup>.

3. R. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, London, 1589, reprinted Cambridge 1965 (hereafter cited as *Hakluyt* 1589), p. 80; A. Cortesao, *The story of Robert Machin's discovery of the Madeira Islands late in the XIV century*, Série Separatas 85, Agrupamento de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Coimbra, 1973 (Portuguese version in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, 23).

4. Quinn, D.B., *England and the discovery of America 1418-1620*, London, 1974, especially Part. 1.

5. The insularity of the English before the sixteenth century can be exaggerated. King Henry IV (1399-1413) who, before reaching the throne visited Jerusalem and considered participating in a Barbary crusade, was the first ruler in western Europe to correspond with Ethiopia: and (as Hakluyt inferred) the real or imaginary travels of Mandeville circulated and were received in western Europe as the activities of an Englishman. On the marine connections of late-medieval England, see Scammell, G.V., *The world encompassed*, London, 1981, p. 460.

6. See Childs, Wendy R., *Anglo-Castilian trade in the later Middle Ages*, Manchester, 1978, especially pp. 107, 125.

Evidence of pre-1500 English interest in the Central and South Atlantic can indeed be found. Of doubtful significance is «the ayde and assistance given to John the first of Portugale by certaine English merchants for the winning of Ceut in Barbary, anno 1415» which Hakluyt noted and with which he led off his documentation of English enterprise in Africa and to the South; and the fact that the earliest map showing the whole Saharan coast, as well as the islands (except the Cape Verdes), was drawn in 1448 when the Italian mapmaker was passing through London is in the same category<sup>7</sup>. However the extension of English interest to the islands was certainly signalled by the movement of English commodities, particularly woollen cloth. Some of the cloth taken by the Portuguese to Arguin in the 1440s and to Senegal in the 1450s may well have been English cloth: the cloth brought back from Mina in 1480 and sent up the Gambia in 1493 certainly was<sup>8</sup>. We cannot therefore doubt that from an early date English cloth reached the settlers on those islands en route to Guinea. In the opposite direction, export commodities from the islands reached Britain, also from an early date. The earliest record of export of sugar from Madeira relates to its arrival at Bristol in 1456: the dye, orchil, procured in Madeira, the Canaries and Cape Verdes, and used for dyeing cloth, was in demand in England before 1500<sup>9</sup>. English involvement in the international market in the products of the new world to the South was shown by the distribution monopoly for malagueta pepper obtained c.1480 by the Anglo-Portuguese adventurer, Sir Edward Brampton, alias Duarte Brandão<sup>10</sup>. English shippers

7. Hakluyt 1589, p. 80; Cortesao, A., *History of Portuguese castography*, 1971, vol. 2, pp. 142-148.

8. Gomes, D., *De la première découverte de la Guinée*, Bissau, 1959, p. 23 (f. 272) (the named cloths were probably Moroccan and the ship-owner, Robert Kerey, may have been a Breton rather than one of the London Careys or Kerys); Cadamosto, Luis de, *Viagens*, Lisbon, 1948, p. 34; Fosse, E. de la, «Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique... 1479-1480», *Revue Hispanique*, 4, 1879, p. 187, «drap de Londres»; Marques, J.M. da Silva, *Descobrimientos portugueses*, vol. 3, Lisbon, 1971, p. 397 «hua fradilha de brystall». Note also the royal monopoly in the 1490s on the export to Guinea of «cloths from Ireland and England»: J. Münzer, «Itinerario», *O Instituto*, 83, 1932, p. 157. For Bristol and London cloth in the Canary Islands, c. 1500, see Fernández-Armesto, F., *The Canary Islands after the Conquest*, Oxford, 1982, pp. 158-9.

9. Magalhaes Godinho, *op. cit.*, p. 437, and for later references to sugar reaching England pp. 438, 440; A. Baiao, *O manuscrito «Valentim Fernandes»*, Lisbon, 1940, f. 158v., f. 287; Fernández Armesto, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

10. C. Roth, «Sir Edward Brampton, alias Duarte Brandao», *La Société Guernesiaise: Reports and Transactions of the Guernsey Society of Natural Science*, 1956, p. 164; in 1489 Brandao was trading London cloth for pepper, Blake, J.W., *Europeans in West Africa 1450-1560*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1942, p. 89.

considered the new possibilities: we know of a voyage from Bristol to Madeira in 1480<sup>11</sup>. The names of newly-discovered islands, the Cape Verdes and the off-shore islands of western Guinea, as well as the names of the earlier-discovered islands, were communicated to an English savant c.1480, presumably from a Bristol source; and we know that ships from Madeira were reaching Bristol. In 1481 an English voyage to Guinea was prepared but not pursued, allegedly because of Portuguese protest: the episode was later noted by Hakluyt<sup>12</sup>. English merchants were establishing links with Morocco as early as the 1460s<sup>13</sup>. Thus, though there appears to be no evidence of English traders operating in or resident in the Atlantic islands before 1500, it is clear that commercial links were drawing English attention to the islands<sup>14</sup>.

After 1500 English interest quickened and hence produced firmer evidence. In 1501, a contact was established between Bristol men and a party of Azoreans who were exploring the North America coast –and this may indicate earlier commercial intercourse between England and the Azores<sup>15</sup>. But Anglo-Portuguese contracts were not always friendly. According to a Portuguese complaint in the 1560s, over the last twenty-five years some 80 Portuguese vessels had been seized by English pirates, mainly in the Channel; and some 40 of these were carrying sugar, from S. Tomé, Madeira, or Brazil<sup>16</sup>. Portuguese complaints about English pirates went back much further than the development of the Atlantic sugar trade, but it is easy to see how stolen sugar not only helped to give the English a sweet tooth but encouraged them both to maraud nearer the centres of sugar production and to develop an economic interest in this commodity. In fact, at least two English merchants were active in sugar production in the Canaries by the 1510s, predating Hakluyt's discovery in «an old ligier booke of M. Nicholas Thorne the elder... of Bristol» that in 1526 the English had resident agents

11. Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

12. Hakluyt, 1589, p. 81; for this and a possible later attempt in 1488, see Blake, J.W., *West Africa: quest for God and Gold*, 1977 (enlarged edition of European beginnings in West Africa, 1937, same pagination), pp. 60-63; Russell, P.E., «Fontes documentais Castelhanas para a historia da expansao portuguesa na Guiné nos ultimos anos de D. Afonso V», *De Tempo e da Historia*, 4, 1971, pp. 30-31.

13. Quinn, D.B., «Edward IV and exploration», *Mariners Mirror*, 21, 1935, p. 277.

14. On Portuguese and Spanish vessels travelling to the islands there may well have been a number of English sailors, but there is no evidence of that either.

15. Quinn, *England*, pp. 113-116.

16. Public Record Office, London, State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, 70, vol. 95, my analysis.

at Tenerife who traded cloth for orchil, sugar and hides<sup>10</sup>. In the 1520s, Roger Barlow, the Anglo-Spanish trader who helped Sebastian Cabot to explore the River Plate, visited the Canaries and the Azores, where it is likely that he already had agents<sup>18</sup>. (Unfortunately his extended translation of a Spanish geographer, which included references to his Atlantic activities, remained in manuscript after he presented it to Henry VIII). The English trading presence in the Canaries, once established, persisted; it is fairly well-documented and need not here be described in detail. By 1650, English traders had resided in these islands for nearly a century and a half, continuity only being broken during the period of Philippine religious persecution.

The historical sequence, English commodities -English shippers-English resident traders, also applied to the other Atlantic islands, but not all completed the sequence before 1650. Although stolen S. Tomé sugar helped to draw the English to the South Atlantic, Portugal's equatorial islands remained outside direct British interest. As far as is known, no Englishman ever lived on S. Tomé, Príncipe or Annobom; no Englishman ever traded to them; and no English assaults on them were ever mounted<sup>19</sup>. English knowledge of them probably only derived from translations, particularly a 1600 translation from Italian (Pory) and post 1600 translation from Dutch voyage-accounts recounting assaults. The Cape Verde Islands also seem to have lacked any English residents and up to 1650 the Portuguese authorities kept away regular English shippers and traders. Since English commodities certainly reached these islands, and also passed through them en route to the Guinea coast, where the Portuguese residents from the 1560s accepted trade with the English as inevitable and profitable

17. Fernández-Armesto, *op. cit.*, p. 168; R. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, London, 1598-1600 (hereafter *Hakluyt 1598*), vol. 2, second pagination, p. 2.

18. R. Barlow, *A briefe summe of geographie*, ed. E.G.R. Taylor, Hakluyt Society, 1932, pp. 101, 103; Barlow complained that the Portuguese had damaged the prosperity of Southampton, and hence presumably of England, by centring their spice trade at Antwerp, which perhaps implied that the English should retaliate, p. 46.

19. Exceptionally, in 1589 the crews of two English pinnaces burned a village on Ilheo das Rólas, off S. Tomé, and were in turn attacked and were driven off when they tried to water on the main island; Purchas, *S. Purchas his Pilgrimes*, London, 1625, part. 1, book 7, chap. 3, p. 970. It may be noted here that the Atlantic islands discussed in this paper do not include those South of the equator (only St. Helena had substantial English contacts, and this only after 1600) or the island of Fernando Po off Guinea (which was virtually unvisited by Europeans).

(though to be represented in more sinister terms to the authorities)<sup>20</sup>, it is curious that the Cape Verde islanders, suffering the disadvantages of the crown and metropolitan control of trade in much the same way as did the Canary islanders, were more passive than their Spanish neighbours<sup>21</sup>. We do not hear of smuggling of English goods, or of commercial allies of the English on the islands, as happened in the Canaries. The English helped themselves to salt from the almost deserted salt islands, but otherwise the only direct contact between the English and the Cape Verdes was negative, that is, in the 1580s and 1590s English fleets regularly raided the islands, causing some of the destruction and decline which led the islanders to consider evacuating themselves to the mainland<sup>22</sup>.

But if the equatorial islands and the Cape Verdes experienced little or no development of contact with the English over the period, Madeira and the Azores fell midway between that experience and the lengthy and eventually close contact with the English experienced by the Canaries. English merchants began settlement in Madeira in 1590, in the 1620s there were half a dozen of them, and by 1650 «the English merchant community of Funchal [was gaining the] pivotal position it was to occupy until the twentieth century»<sup>23</sup>. English merchant settlement in the Azores began only a little later and between the 1620s and 1650 the English held the major share of the main export trade, in woad (though thereafter this trade collapsed)<sup>24</sup>. Many of the pioneers in both groups of islands were Roman Catholics, but later merchants were Protestant: their exports of wine and woad linked them to West of England textile communities and to English settlements in the Caribbean and North America. The post-1600 history of English enterprise in both groups has been depicted in the excellent history of the Portuguese Atlantic islands by the Anglophone historian, Bentley Duncan, and no more need be said here.

20. For some comment on the unofficial realities of Anglo-Portuguese contacts on the Guinea coast, see Hair, P.E.H., «*Protestants as pirates, slavers and proto-missionaries: Sierra Leone, 1568 and 1582*», *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 21, 1970, pp. 203-224; «*Sierra Leone and the Portuguese Book of Complaint 1507-1508*», *Sierra Leone Studies*, 26, 1970, pp. 2-10; «*Sources on early Sierra Leone: (14) English accounts of 1582*», *African Research Bulletin*, 9/1-2, 1978, pp. 67-99.

21. For discussion of the conflict of economic interests between the Canaries and the Spanish crown, see Morales Padrón, F. *El comercio Canario-Americano*, Seville, 1955, and Chauu, P., *Seville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650)*, VIII (1), Paris, 1959.

22. Almada, A. Alvares de, *Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné*, Lisbon, 1946, chap. 19.

23. Duncan, Bentley, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 88.



One negative aspect of pre-1650 English contacts with the islands, that is, the English naval assaults on them, often as part of a wider Atlantic strategy directed against Spain, has been, in the case of the Canaries, exhaustively described by Rumeu de Armas, with great scholarship (although it is necessary to demur from his setting the assaults within the framework of an international Protestant-Jewish conspiracy directed against the Catholic kings)<sup>25</sup>. But the history of English assaults on the Portuguese islands is much more complex and is as yet lacking an historian. Paradoxically, whereas the Portuguese islands resisted English economic pressure more rigidly than did the Spanish, they were much more ambiguous in their attitude to English «piracy» and assaults, since after 1582 the English were acting partly in the name of the Portuguese pretender, D. Antonio, and hence of on-going resistance to Spanish over-rule. It is true that after Spain beat off the first Franco-Anglo-Antonine attempt to seize the Azores and the Cape Verdes, the Portuguese inhabitants lay low and effusively proclaimed their loyalty to King Philip and his descendants; but the popular rebellion of the 1640s suggests that the English were not entirely hypocritical in their expressed belief that assaults on the islands would enable anti-Philippine elements to emerge.

Finally, another negative aspect, that of religious persecution, is difficult to evaluate. Were English merchants in the Canaries persecuted primarily as heretics or because of commercial jealousy?<sup>26</sup> The terminology of religious concern was on everyone's lips in the period, but not necessarily in everyone's hearts. It was apparently not only «New Christians» who had trading contacts in the Canaries with John Hawkins and other English traders. Nor was it only Jews who fled the Cape Verdes to trade with heretics and marry the heathen on the mainland. As for English religious persecution, this may have worked the opposite way, to strengthen contacts. It is doubtful if any of the English resident traders in the islands were genuine religious refugees from Protestant England; but a number found it beneficial in gaining acceptance into Iberian communities to proclaim their Catholicism.

25. Rumeu de Armas, Antonio, *Piraterías y ataques navales contra las Islas Canarias*, 3 vols.-in-4, Madrid, n.d. (1945). The earliest assaults on the Canaries were on behalf of the Catholic Kings of France: regular English voyages to Guinea began in the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary; and the later English assaults were at least partly in the name of the Catholic pretender to the throne of Portugal.

26. See Alberti, L. de and Chapman, A.B., *English merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries*, London, 1912.

To sum up this sketch of English pre-1650 contacts with the Atlantic islands. English commodities reached all inhabited islands from at least 1500 and Englishmen set foot on all except the equatorial islands of the Gulf of Guinea, in the case of Madeira and the Canaries from at least 1500 but elsewhere only after 1550. Sixteenth century contacts with the Azores and Cape Verdes were mainly in terms of warfare, but after 1600 Madeira and the Azores joined the Canaries in having English commercial contacts which were developing and important, and which entailed not only visits of English shippers but the long-term residence of English merchants, admittedly few in number yet influential in the economy of the islands<sup>27</sup>. In the middle of our period, during the later sixteenth-century, warfare on the islands and in the seas around them, as well as religious persecution, provided dramatic scenes which highlighted, at the same time as they presumably retarded, the steady growth of the English connection.

#### PRINTED LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

The earliest printed reference in print to the Atlantic islands seems to be a very brief reference, apparently to the Canaries, in an Antwerp-printed pamphlet, a translation of an account, previously published in German, Dutch and Latin, of the 1505 Portuguese voyage to the East Indies: the English publication probably dates from c.1510. The reference is to Gran Canaria and two islands «before it which produce goats» cheese, fish and sugar. A reference in the other versions to Madeira and its wives was omitted in the English version. Three English publications of c.1510-c1520 which list parts of the world, including «the new-found land» in America, do

27. For a general view of English commercial connections up to 1650, see Morales Lezcano, V., *Relaciones mercantiles entre Inglaterra y los archipiélagos del Atlántico Ibérico: su estructura y su historia (1503-1783)*, La Laguna, 1970, pp. 50-71.

28. «Of the newe landes», reprinted in Arber, E., *The first three English books on America*, Birmingham, 1885; see also Kronenberg, M.E., *De Novo Mondo*, The Hague, 1927. Parker John, *Books to build an empire*, Amsterdam, 1965, pp. 21-2. A reference to «the Fortunate Islands» and «Canaria» appeared in the 1482 Caxton print of the English translation of the fourteenth century universal history, Ranulf Higden's *Polichronicon*, as pointed out by Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 15. But this reference was traditional, being wholly derived, as Higden states, from Pliny and Isidore of Seville; it was not a reference to the contemporary discovery of the Canary Islands.

not mention the Atlantic islands<sup>29</sup>. English translations of Portuguese and Spanish accounts of Atlantic and other discoveries were generally lacking before the 1550s<sup>30</sup>. However this almost total lack of publications in English before 1550 does not testify to a totality of either disinterest or ignorance on the part of the English, for educated Englishmen simply read the material available, at first in Italian and Latin, then later in Portuguese and Spanish, for instance, Cadamosto's account of Madeira and the Canaries and the discovery of the Cape Verdes.

The first works to draw the attention of English readers to the Portuguese and Spanish discoveries were the translations and compilations of Richard Eden. His 1553 translation of Münster's *Cosmography* included a passage on Madeira and the Canaries: his 1555 translation of various sources on America included passages on the conquest of the Canaries and on the Cape Verde Islands (from Peter Martyr) and on S. Tomé (from Ramusio): each work had several passing references to the islands<sup>31</sup>. But his *The Decades of the Newe Worlde*, the 1555 translation, also contained accounts of two English voyages to Guinea<sup>32</sup>. An introductory sketch of Africa mentioned «the Ilands of Canarie cauled in owlde time the fortunate Ilandes»

29. *Hyckescorner*, London, c. 1510; *The ship of folys*, London, 1509, Rastell, John, *Interlude of the Four Elements*, London, c. 1520 the relevant sections reprinted in Quinn, New American World, pp. 128-129, 168-171. A poem of c. 1510 by the Scottish writer, William Dunbar, referred to «the Ylis of Aphircane», but the poem remained unpublished: *ibid*, p. 131.

30. The earliest translation from Portuguese was an account of the 1513 Ethiopian embassy to Portugal, published in English in 1533; Thomas, M. «English translations of Portuguese books before 1640», *The Library*, 7, 1920, pp. 1-30. The translator and publisher belonged to the More-Rastell circle which had earlier shown interest in American discoveries (see Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America*, pp. 161-162): it is hard to say whether Sir Thomas More's «Utopia» (1515-1516) drew any of its inspiration from the discovery of islands in the Atlantic.

31. Eden, R., *A treatise of the Newe India*, London, 1553, reprinted Arber, E., *The first English books on America*, Birmingham, 1885, pp. 40-1; *Decades* (see next note), in the same, pp. 65, 66, 68, 87, 210.

32. *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India... written in the Latine toungue by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englishe by Richarde Eden*, London, 1555, ff. 344, 345 v., 346, 350 v., 351, 353, 353 v. But there were complexities not represented in the printed account. Windham, the leader of the 1553 voyage, on a voyage to Barbary the previous year, had visited the Canaries and had an affray with the Spaniards: this was reported by Hakluyt but only in his second edition: *Hakluyt* 1598, vol. 2/2, pp. 8-9. And when Windham visited Madeira in 1553, after a discussion with the suspicious Portuguese authorities on the main island, the English had an affray on a small island: the report from the Captain of Madeira is printed in Blake, *Europeans in West Africa*, pp. 320-324.

(throughout our period educated men in England, as elsewhere, knew and puzzled about the ancients «Fortunate Islands» and «Hesperides»). The 1553 English voyage called at Madeira to load wine and slip by a suspicious Portuguese warship; it passed the Canaries; and it loaded goats» meat at S. Nicolau and other «deserte Ilandes» in the Cape Verdes. The 1554 voyage passed Madeira and the Canaries, and the account described both groups of islands as seen from the sea, in some detail, including a reference to «a great hyghe picke lyke a suger lofe» at Teneriffe; and it returned by the Azores, without sighting them. An Azorean, Francisco Rodrigues, acted as pilot on both English voyages<sup>33</sup>.

In 1568 a work appeared which, although only a translation, was to influence later English writing. This was *The New found worlde, or Antarctike*, a translation of André Thevet's. *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique* of 1558. No less than nine chapters of this curious work purport to deal with the Atlantic islands: two chapters each on the Canaries, including mention of sugar and orchil, on Madeira and its wine, and on the Cape Verdes, including a reference to the volcano on Fogo Island and a further reference to orchil: one chapter each on «Saint Homer», i.e. S.Tomé, and the Azores. The information in these chapters is substantial but badly arranged, often inaccurate or out-of-date, and almost always derivative, for although Thevet and sailed within sight of the Canaries in 1555 close examination of his text suggests that he no more set foot on these than he did on the other islands he discussed<sup>34</sup>. The work was read by Englishmen<sup>35</sup> (and by others in the period, so that it deserves more detailed study than it has so far had), but its major influence in England may well have been the one which is well known. It was read by Thomas Nichols, a merchant who had lived in the Canaries in the later 1550s, on his return to England in the 1570s after a prolonged brush with the Inquisition. Shocked by the «great untruths» of

33. Blake, *Europeans*, p. 321.

34. *The New found worlde, or Antarctike... by that excellent learned man, master Andrew Thevet...*, London (1568): Thevet, André, *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: et de plusieurs Terres et Isles decouvertes de nostre temps*, Paris, 1558, reprinted, ed., Gaffarel, P., Paris, 1878 (the reprint omits an illustration, f. 28, crudely showing the volcano on Fogo with men climbing up it, including what looks like a man in contemporary French secular dress - if so, is it Thevet, and is it a claim to have landed?): cf. Rumeu de Armas, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 196-7.

35. E. Story Donno, ed., *An Elizabethan in 1582*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1976, pp. 228-231 (the diarist notes Thevet's information on the Canaries and Madeira); Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-1.

Thevet's work, written as Nichols said «by hearsay», Nichols produced his own short account of the Canaries and Madeira, and this was published anonymously in 1583. *A description of the Fortunate Ilandes* has received the respectful attention of Canarian historians, and in 1963 Cioranescu published a useful reprint and translation, with details of Nichols' heresy trials<sup>36</sup>.

Nichols' account was brief and limited in details, and not comparable with that of a laken foreign resident, Leonardo Torriani (c.1590), though this remained unpublished. Perhaps the publication of Nichols' account, exiguous though it was, testifies to how little on the Atlantic islands had appeared in English before. The account concentrates on the economic products of the islands, but includes references to the former inhabitants, the Guanche, and a description of the Peak. Little is said about the export trade or the English contribution to it, but we learn that John Hill of Taunton had a «vineyard» on Hierro Island. The Inquisition is mentioned but no details of Nichols' encounter with it. All in all, the work is disappointing, considering that Nichols must have had much fuller information, and that he was an educated man. Nichols' account seems to have been produced hastily, to meet the growing public interest in Atlantic strategy aroused by the dramatic events of the late 1570s and early 1580s.

Nichols was one of a handful of Englishman who from the 1570s began to produce translations from Portuguese and Spanish. A 1578 translation of the Spanish Indies section of Enciso's geography (by John Frampton, another former Inquisition captive) contained a reference to the Canaries<sup>37</sup>. Several later relevant translations were organised by, and in one instance prepared by, Richar Hakluyt.

36. *A Pleasant description of the fortunate Ilandes called the Ilands of Canaria... Composed by the poore Pilgrime*, London, 1583; reprinted in Cioranescu, *Thomas Nichols*. Cioranescu refers to the earlier work on Nichols by Bonnet Reveron and by Rumeu de Armas. There is scope for a further annotated edition of Nichols' text, and a study of its relationship to Thevet's material. Nichols went on to publish a series of translations from Spanish. These translations tended to direct the attention of the English both to the wealth of the Spanish empire and to the «Black Legen» side of Spanish enterprise, thus giving the English economic and moral encouragement to challenge Spain: so too did the English translations of another victim of the Inquisition, John Frampton; hence, Spanish religious persecution produced, indirectly, English reaction. Coincidentally, the Canarian inquisition provided personnel for the newly-established inquisition in New Spain, at Mexico City, whose campaign in 1572 against English prisoners from Hawkins' third voyage, when publicised in England, further fuelled anti-Spanish feeling.

37. Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 116.

Between the late 1550s and 1580 there were both routine and dramatic English contacts with the islands, but none of these was publicised until Hakluyt collected (and in some cases had encouraged the writing of) a number of accounts which he published in his *Principall Navigations* of 1589<sup>38</sup>. These accounts gave only a partial view of English activities. Furthermore, as shown by his earlier compilation, *Divers Voyages* of 1582, Hakluyt was mainly concerned with the «westward enterprise» to North America; and voyages to the South that is, to Morocco, the Atlantic islands apart from the Azores, and to Guinea -received less attention. In 1589, Hakluyt published nothing specific on the islands apart from the passage relating the conquest of the Canaries to the Machan legend, and references to the islands were only incidental features of voyages elsewhere. Hakluyt even failed to include Nichols' 1583 account. Nevertheless, in the accounts of Tomson's voyage to New Spain in 1555, of Towerson's voyage to Guinea in 1557-8, and of John Hawkins' first voyage to Guinea and America in 1562, there are significant references to English merchants living in the Canaries and to English trade with these islands. The account of the 1562 voyage is introduced by Hakluyt with a pregnant statement; «Master John Haukins having made divers voyages to the yles of the Canaries, and there by his good and upright dealing being growne in love and favour with the people, informed himself amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof he had received some knowledge by the instuitions of his father...»<sup>39</sup> The statement may be coloured by the fact that almost certainly it derived from things written or said to Hakluyt by Hawkins himself, as may the account of Hawkins' father's voyages to Guinea and Brazil c.1530, an account first published in 1589<sup>40</sup>. However, since the account of John Hawkins' second voyage not only included a brief description of the Canaries but referred openly to the assistance Hawkins received from the Canarian merchant, Pedro de Ponte, it is plausible that the Hawkins family did in fact have a long connection with the Canaries. Indeed Hawkins' father may very well have called at the Canaries on his

38. An exception to the statement in the text was Hawkins' own account of his third voyage which he published in 1569. But this merely mentioned the Canaries.

39. *Hakluyt* 1589, pp. 122, 524-5, 580-2. I repeat an argument to be found in my contribution to Quinn, D.B., *The Hakluyt handbook*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1974, pp. 190-196. On Hawkins' visit to the Canaries in 1560, see Rumeu de Armas, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 336-341; and on English commercial and piratical contact, before 1560, *ibid.*, chap. 8.

40. *Hakluyt* 1589, pp. 520-1.

trans-Atlantic voyages c.1530, although his son's very brief account gives no indication of this.

In 1589 Hakluyt also included incidental references to less friendly contacts between the English and the Portuguese and Spanish. He reprinted the English voyages to Guinea originally in Eden, which only hinted at Iberian hostility; and added Towerson's three Guinea voyages of 1555-8, which included a visit to Grand Canary in 1557 and a fairly polite encounter with a Spanish fleet in harbour -this was in the period when Philip of Spain was consort of Mary of England<sup>41</sup>. But the accounts of English voyages of the 1560s document increasingly hostile relations, in Guinea, in America, and therefore in the islands between. In 1562 and 1564 Hawkins received «friendly entertainment» in the Canaries, at least from his commercial allies; but in 1567 his own account (published 1569, reprinted by Hakluyt) spoke only of watering in the Canaries and omitted to mention his commercial contacts and the barely-concealed hostility of the Spanish authorities<sup>42</sup>. The account of Fenner's voyage of 1566-1567 records a Portuguese attack on an English ship off Marocco, very cautious and suspicious English contacts with a Spanish governor on Teneriffe, and sea-fights with the Portuguese off the Cape Verdes and Azores<sup>43</sup>. Yet despite the changing international climate, and despite the religious persecution in the Canaries, English traders continued to maintain a measure of commercial relations: Hakluyt records that in 1568 an Anglo-Spanish merchant travelled to America via the Canaries and that in 1578 an Anglo-Portuguese merchant in Brazil was sending goods through these islands<sup>44</sup>. More neutrally, in 1583 an English vessel was instructed to load salt in the Cape Verdes<sup>45</sup>.

However, in 1580 the elder Hakluyt, offering advice to voyagers to the North, drew on experience in the southern oceans: «Wheras the Portingalles have in theyr course to theyr Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way... so you are to see what Islandes and what portes you had need to have in your course to the Northeast»<sup>46</sup>. It

41. *ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

42. *ibid.*, pp. 522-524, 553; Williamson, J.A., *Hawkins of Plymouth*, London, 1949, pp. 112-3; Rumeu de Armas, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 425-440.

43. *Hakluyt* 1589, pp. 143, 146-9.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 588, 639; see also *Hakluyt* 1598, vol. 3, p. 528 (English traders in the Canaries, 1574).

45. *Hakluyt* 1589, p. 187.

46. R. Hakluyt, *Divers voyages*, 1582, sig. Hi, reprinted Hakluyt 1589, p. 460.



might be inferred that Atlantic islands under Iberian rule were an obstacle to English expansion; and certainly in the 1580s the English made attempts to bring them under their own military and naval influence. In 1577 Drake sailed through the Cape Verdes, capturing a Portuguese vessel, exchanging shots with the land, and searching for provisions on the lesser islands; hence the account of his circumnavigation, inserted by Hakluyt just before publication in 1589, included some details about the islands. Eight years later, in 1585, after abandoning an attempt to land on the Canaries, Drake made a massive assault on the Cape Verdes, holding for a short period the capital, Santiago: for reasons that are not entirely clear, Hakluyt did not document this in 1589 but only in his second edition<sup>47</sup>.

In the early 1580s England was plunged into Atlantic adventures in the wake of a call for assistance from elements in the Portuguese empire hostile to the union of the crown of Portugal with that of Spain. Anglo-Franco-Antoine forces landed on the Cape Verde Islands in 1582-3, without success—perhaps this is why the episode is almost entirely unrecorded in English sources. But the Azores was the focus for Portuguese resistance to Philip, and for Anglo-French intervention in support of D. António: the English effort was slight but not negligible<sup>48</sup>. Enough interest was generated at home for the publication, probably in 1583, of translations into English of two short Spanish accounts of the conquest of the Azores.<sup>49</sup> After the Spanish successes, both the Azores and the Cape Verdes became targets for English assault. A news ballad of 1587 and a semiofficial account published in English in 1589 referred to Drake's activities in the Canaries and Cape Verdes; and Hakluyt in 1589 noted that three years earlier Grenville had landed in the Azores «and spoyled the Townes of all such thinges as were worth cariage»<sup>50</sup>.

47. Hakluyt 1589, p. 643 (Mmm 4, 4v); Hakluyt 1598, vol. 3, p. 750; M.F. Keeler, *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage 1585-1586*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1981, pp. 27-28, Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-161, 166-7.

48. See D.B. Quinn, *England and the Azores 1581-1582: three letters*, Série separatas 123, Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Lisbon, 1979 (also *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, 27, 1979, pp. 205-217).

49. *Relation of the expoygnable attempt and conquest of the Ylande of Tercera, and all the Ylands thereto adioyn'ing: don by Don Albaro de Bacan, Marques of Santa Cruz... Done in An. 1583*. At London, Printed by Thomas Purfoote: *A discourse of that which happened in the battell fought between the two Navies of Spaine and Port'ugall, at the Ilands of Azores. Anno Dom. 1582*, Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoote. The British Library has a copy of each.

50. Keeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 225-8; Hakluyt 1589, p. 748.



It was perhaps a recognition of the widening strategy of English expansion that led Hakluyt, when preparing his second edition (published 1598-1600), to pay more attention to the early stages of English Southward expansion, and hence to the Atlantic islands, than he had in his first edition. In his 1599 «Epistle Dedicatorie» he proudly announced; «I have here set downe the very original and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands» and to Morocco. He now included Nichols account of the *Canaries and Madeira* c.1560, supplying the author's name; he documented the earliest English voyages to Barbary, in the 1550s; and he prefaced Nichols' account with a note on English trade to the Canaries in the 1520s, based on Bristol business records searched apparently by Hakluyt himself<sup>51</sup>. Thus the long-term economic aspect of English contact with the islands was emphasised.

But on the Cape Verdes and Azores Hakluyt could still offer nothing specific; and references to these islands in his newer material only strengthened the record of hostility, dramatic episodes and bloodshed. He reprinted the account of Drake's 1585 assault on the Cape Verdes and published for the first time an account of Sir Anthony Shirley's voyage which set out in 1598 intending to sack Madeira and then sail to S. Tomé but instead sacked Santiago in the Cape Verdes, in imitation of Drake<sup>52</sup>. The Azores was the scene of raids in 1586 and 1589 and of the fight of the «Revenge» in 1591: Hakluyt reprinted accounts of the latter episodes published in 1591 and 1599<sup>53</sup>. Puerto Santo in the Madeira group was raided in 1596<sup>54</sup>. Finally, the unsuccessful attack on the Canaries by Drake and Hawkins in 1595, widely reported in instant Spanish printed sources, went almost un-noticed in England at the time, but was briefly referred to in the account published by Hakluyt<sup>55</sup>. It cannot be said that from this war material we learn much about the Atlantic islands.

51. *Hakluyt* 1598, vol. 2, second numeration, p. 2.

52. *Hakluyt* 1598, vol. 3, pp. 599-600.

53. *Hakluyt* 1598, vol. 2, second numeration, p. 120: the account of the 1589 Cumberland voyage to the Azores first appeared in E.W(right)., *Certain Errors in Navigation...*, London 1599 (reprinted Amsterdam, 1974): the «Revenge» story first appeared in Sir Walter Raleigh, *A report of the truth of the fight about the iles of Acores*, London, 1591.

54. *Hakluyt* 1598, vol. 3, p. 578. Many other English naval contacts with Madeira, the Canaries and particularly the Azores were recorded in sources unpublished at the time: see K.R. Andrews, *English privateering voyages to the West Indies 1588-95*, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1959.

55. See K.R. Andrews, *The last voyage of Drake and Hawkins*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1972, pp. 125-148; *Hakluyt* 1598, vol. 3, p. 583.

Four translations which Hakluyt organised also contained material on the islands. Abraham Hartwell's immediate translation of Pigafetta's 1591 account of the Congo, published in 1597, contained short descriptions of the Cape Verdes and S. Tomé. John Pory's *A Geographical Histoire of Africa* published in 1600, was basically a translation of Leo Africanus' work on North and West Africa, but the translator added a long section on the other parts of Africa, compiled from various sources. This included descriptions, mainly from Ramusio, of the Canaries, Madeira, the Cape Verdes and the Equatorial islands (S. Tomé, Príncipe, Annobon and Fernando Po). Pory added brief references to recent English and Dutch assaults, the latter on Príncipe in 1598 and on the Canaries and S. Tomé in 1599. The third translation, «corrected» by Hakluyt, and published in 1601, was of Antonio Galvão's *Tratado* (originally published 1563) and included references to the discovery of the various islands. Finally, the 1598 instant translation from Dutch of Linschoten's invaluable *Itinerario* presented much information on the islands, including a very full section on the Azores later reprinted by Purchas<sup>56</sup>. Meanwhile interest c.1600 in contemporary events in the Atlantic was shown by the instant translation and publication of a Dutch printed account of *The Conquest of the Grand Canaries* in 1599 by a Dutch fleet<sup>57</sup>.

Though Hakluyt had swept into his two editions most of the material referring to the Atlantic islands which became available before 1600, more material surfaced during the next two decades and (partly due to Hakluyt's own efforts) became available to his successor, Samuel Purchas, particularly for his 1625 compilation, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. Apart from translations of more foreign sources and additional accounts of voyages already documented by Hakluyt, Purchas printed or reprinted accounts of additional English voyages to the islands. The account of Cumberland's 1596 voyage included an original description of Lanzarote in the Canaries, by the chaplain; and the accounts of Essex «Islands voyage» of 1597 included a fair amount of original material on the Azores. Sir Richard Hawkins' generous *Observations* (published 1662, reprinted by Purchas), describing a 1590s voyage, included unusually lengthy passages on Madeira, the Canaries and

56. For these translations organised by Hakluyt, see Quinn, *Hakluyt handbook*, pp. 40-41; R. Brown, ed., *The history and description of Africa... done into English... by John Pory*, vol. 1, Hakluyt Society, London, 1896, pp. 93-102.

57. *The Conquest of the Grand Canaries... with the taking of a towne in the Ile of Gome- ra...* London, 1599.

Cape Verdes, with particular attention paid to exotic items of natural history<sup>58</sup>. All in all, however, the new material on the islands in this work does not amount to very much, and it derived from the 1590s, a very well documented decade. After 1600, partly because the wars fell off, partly because routine contacts expended and helped to limit more exciting episodes, and partly because the islands were now more familiar to the English, the original material becomes sparser, but more specialised and detailed.

As the seventeenth century advanced, compilations on the general geography or ethnography of the world began to appear with increasing regularity (e.g. Abbot's *Description of the World*, 1599, 1600, 1605, etc; D'Avity's *Estates of the World*, a translation, 1615; Heylin's *Microcosmos*, 1621); but the information on the islands in such works was wholly unoriginal, being generally borrowed from Hakluyt or Purchase. We shall therefore disregard the dispersal after 1600 of unoriginal information, and confine our attention to original information. In 1613, in his *Pilgrimage*, Purchase published extracts from an account of Teneriffe written c.1600, and this opened up a new theme by providing instructions for climbing the Peak<sup>59</sup>. Thomas Herbert's account of his travels in the East, published 1634 (and then re-issued at later dates with added derived material), made reference to his sailing through the Canaries in 1626 and commented grandiloquently on the Peak. The work was illustrated with original drawings, three of them relating to the Canaries, and the drawing of the Peak seems to have been the earliest representation of this curious natural feature in an English printed source<sup>60</sup>. Mere curiosity was the historical progenitor of scientific interest. In 1652 a party of English traders climbed the Peak and the account of their ascent was thought significant enough to appear in Thomas Sprat's seminal *History of the Royal Society of 1667*<sup>61</sup>. Another aspect of the run-in to the Age of Science was the development of navigational techniques. In 1599 the author of a work entitled *Certain Errors in Navigation* wrote: «I was...

58. S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, London, 1625, part. 2, book 1, pp. 1935-74; book 6, pp. 1155-56, book 7, pp. 1369-73.

59. S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, London, 1613, pp. 785-9.

60. T.H., *A Relation of some yeares Travaile, begunne Anno 1626*, London, 1634, pp. 3-4. Earlier English drawings of the Canaries and Azores were made on the 1595 Drake and Hawkins voyage: see Andrews, *Last voyage*, p. 264.

61. Sprat, Thomas, *History of the Royal Society*, London, 1667, pp. 200-202: cf. R. Davies, ed., *The life of Marmaaduke Rawdo of York*, London, 1863, pp. 48-52.

moved... to divert my mathematicall studies, from a theoretical speculation in the Universities, to the practicall demonstration thereof in Navigation, by experience at sea and this especially in the voyage to the Azores, happily performed in the year 1589». The writer, Edmund Wright, published a map of the voyage to the Azores, to demonstrate the cartographical application of his theoretical knowledge<sup>62</sup>.

«...And in the Iles which wee  
Seeke, when wee can move, our ships rooted bee».

Like the mathematician, Edmund Wright, his contemporary, the poet John Donne, sailed to the Azores, in his case in 1597 on the famous «Islands Voyage». En route, Donne wrote the poems entitled «The Storme» and «The Calme» -though these are more metaphysical in content than nautical or geographical. Other references to the islands can be found in English imaginative literature. «As the Canary Isles were thine...» sang the poet Herrick, for instance. Shakespeare referred to the wild dance known as a «canary»-«Make you dance canary». But the vast majority of references were not to the islands by name but to their principal export commodities. «If sack and sugar be a fault, God help the wicked!» said Falstaff. References to «sack», the wine procured increasingly from the Canaries, abound in Shakespeare and in other Elizabethan and early seventeenth century dramatists<sup>63</sup>. And «sugar» too was frequently mentioned.

Thus, imaginative literature to some extent reflected reality better than did factual literature. It is significant that our survey of the latter ends with resident English merchants climbing the Peak of Teneriffe, partly as recreation (pointing forward to «tourism») partly out of curiosity (pointing

62. Wright, *op. cit.*, introduction and map. The map is entitled «A Particular Platt for sailing to the Isles of Azores». In 1645 Peter Stento of London printed another Azores map, «A particular sea chart for the Islands Azores». Otherwise there appear to have been no English pre-1650 printed maps specifically devoted to any of the islands: cf. C. Broekema, *Maps of the Canary Islands published before 1850: a checklist*, London, 1971. However a map illustrating Drake's 1585 assault on Santiago in the Cape Verdes appeared in accounts of 1588 and 1589 (see Keeler, *op. cit.*, p. 313 and Plate IIIb), and this was the first map to show the Santiago region in such detail. Mota, A. Teixeira da, *Cinco séculos de cartografia das ilhas de Cabo Verde*, Lisbon, 1961, offprint from *García de Orta*, 9, 1961).

63. See Andres de Lorenzo-Cáceres, *Malvasía y Falstaff*, Instituto de Estudios Canarios, La Laguna, 1941, pp. 11, 37-8; and on Canary wines, J. Rodríguez Rodríguez, *La vid y los vinos de Canarias*, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, (1973). The former work I was unable to locate in Britain and I am much indebted to the Librarian of the Casa de Colon, Las Palmas, for carrying out a search for the work and allowing me to consult it.



forward to scientific inquiry). But the factual literature we have cited deals very little with the central circumstance of pre-1650 English connection with the islands, economic interest. It tells us little about commodities, shippers and traders (for these we must turn to the archives), and it concentrates on dramatic episodes, mainly within a few decades, illustrating the arts of war, not the arts of peace.

Few of the works we have cited have been edited by modern historians and their material on the Atlantic islands carefully assessed: it is therefore difficult to say precisely what contribution the English descriptions of the islands make to their historical documentation. However it would seem that in general, while English printed literature made a not insignificant contribution to the contemporary view of the islands, partly because contemporary printed material in Portuguese and Spanish was limited, it is doubtful if it was read and had much influence outside Britain. As a contribution to our modern understanding of the history of the islands, the English printed literature is useful at only a few points: the opening of the archives of Portugal, Spain and Britain has shown how fragmentary and sometimes inaccurate contemporary printed references could be. Thus it is arguable that the pre-1650 English printed literature on the Atlantic islands is more valuable for the history of Britain, its expansion and earlier world attitudes, than it is for the history of the Atlantic islands.

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#### HISTORIOGRAPHY

In tailpiece, a word about British historiographical interest. In the 1780s Viera y Clavijo cited some 20 English authors in his history of the Canaries, some of them general works on the classics, theology and geography but the remainder historical sources, including Nichols, Hakluyt, Purchas and Sprat. Viera y Clavijo also cited the remarkable contribution to Canarian historiography of Georges Glas, an English trader who in 1764 translated an early Spanish source and published it with other material in his *Account of the Discovery and History of the Canaries*. At the end of the next century, the Marquis of Bute, wintering in the Canaries, became interested in the historical documentation of the Guanche languages, and to further his work purchased and removed to Britain a substantial quantity of the records of the Canaries Inquisition. The catalogue of these records, published in



1903 by W. de Gray Birch, brought home to scholars the great value of Inquisition documents for the study of social relations in the islands -for instance, the social relations of the later sixteenth century English traders. The Inquisition records, now happily reassembled in the Canaries, provided a major source for Rumeu de Armas' discussion of English naval attacks; and they inspired earlier a most significant study, L.B. Wolf's *Jews in the Canary Islands* (1926). Finally, the most recent monograph on the history of the Canaries, Dr. Felipe Fernández-Armesto's brilliant study of *The Canary Islands after the Conquest* (1982), testifies to continuing British-based and English-language interest<sup>64</sup>. However the Portuguese islands have received much less specific attention from English-language historians<sup>65</sup>: indeed almost total neglect of their pre-1650 history has only been redeemed by Bentley Duncan's comprehensive 1972 work.

64. It is worth noting that under a scheme for allocating among British university libraries priorities in the purchase of material on Africa, the library of the University of Liverpool was between 1965 and 1980 responsible for assembling material on Spanish Africa, which was taken to include the Canaries. See J.C. Talbot, «*The acquisition of library materials of Spanish-speaking Africa by Liverpool University Library*», *Africana Research and Documentation*, 7, 1975, pp. 7-8. Despite recent economies affecting purchases, this library continues to build up a collection of Canariana.

65. I mention here my own contribution to the Portuguese/English edition of the 1625 account of western Guinea by the Cape Verde Islands, writer, André Donelha: the edition was published in 1977, the principal editor being the late Avelino Teixeira da Mota. At the time of his death earlier this year (1982), Teixeira da Mota was preparing, in collaboration with myself, an edition of the 1594 account of western Guinea by another Cape Verde Islands writer, André Alvares de Almada.