ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF

SOME SIXTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH INFLUENCES ON THE LEYENDA NEGRA

by

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School, Marquette University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

Milwaukee, Wisconsin
July, 1954

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Preface

"The Spaniards had a name for it. They called it Black Legend," this blackening of their name and fame before the world by the English for their colonizing policy in the West Indies and their treatment of the Indians. Like most myths, its "truth content is in inverse ratio to its effectiveness as a fascinating story" while its origin is hazy and undetermined. "All of a sudden it appears full grown and vigorous," a record of "Spanish brutality, stupidity, cowardice, colonial mis-management, lust for gold, intolerance, despotism--add other ingredients at will, provided they are sufficiently uncomplimentary."[1]

The Black Legend became truth as England's envy of Spanish riches, her fury at Spanish Catholicism, her mistrust of Spain's political machinations and interventions grew. In many quarters it was accepted without questioning, and under this undeterred inspiration, the story of Spanish colonization has been told. "As a result, people have come to believe that the men of the Iberian Peninsula were everything which respectable and honorable natures seek to avoid."[2] The Brevissima of Bartholomew de las Casas fostered this belief. Julian Juderias, in his La Leyenda Negra, credits Antonio Perez, Philip's former secretary, with a further responsibility for it, saying:

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[1] John F. Bannon, S. J., and Peter M. Dunne, S. J., Latin America An Historical Survey, (Milwaukee, 1947), 235.

[2] Ibid., 235.

"Antonio Perez was a traitor to his country and his king . . . while Perez was in London he assumed the name Rafael Peregrino."[3]

Philip felt Perez' treason keenly, since Perez had been Philip's private secretary.

> Perez knew, as no other man had ever known, the innermost springs of Philip's policy...and in London as the friend and pensioner of Essex, Perez remained during the last years of Philip's life his bitterest foe...and was ever ready with his brilliant pen and subtle brain to wound his old master...it was a Spaniard who tipped with poison the keenest darts that pierced the armour of Spain.[4]

The purpose of this thesis is not to absolve Spain from all charges brought against her by her enemies, nor to refute The Leyenda Negra point by point. Chapter I is merely a presentation of the legend against the background of the times, showing the influences and conditions in England that were at work setting the stage for it. It gives the political, colonial and religious background of the sixteenth century and the reasons for England's hatred for Spain, with emphasis on the religious and commercial aspects, and following with Spain's colonial policy in the West Indies, the crux of English jealousy and rivalry. Here emphasis is laid on reasons for Spanish colonization, the encomienda, her method of colonial government, and England's counter movements to curtail Spanish power, the Elizabethan seadog and buccaneer raids.

Chapter II concerns the man mainly responsible for the

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[3]Julian Juderias, La Leyenda Negra, (Barcelona, 1914), 278.

[4]A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, Stanley Leathes (eds.), Cambridge Modern History, 3, (New York, 1905), 516.

impetus given to The Leyenda Negra, Bartholomew de las Casas, the Dominican monk who was so consumed burnt up with missionary zeal and fatherly love for the oppressed natives that his Brief Relation of their sufferings, exaggerated and melodramatically written in order to move Charles V to remedy abuses in the Indies, was avidly seized by Spain's enemies and used as propaganda against her. Chapter II also includes the political essayists, Hakluyt, Eden, and Raleigh with some mention of the tales told by the sea hawks concerning conditions in the Spanish colonies which they raided so often.

The attitude of sixteenth century England toward Spain in contemporary writing, drama, poetry, chronicles, letters, is the scope of Chapter III, seen against the background of the period.

My appreciation is due to the Library at Marquette University, the Newberry Library, the Chicago Public Library, the Milwaukee Public Library, and the library at the College of St. Francis, Joliet, Illinois for the courtesy in the use of their facilities.

I wish also to express sincere appreciation for all the help given to me in the compilation of this thesis, without which it would never have materialized: to my community for the opportunity for further study, to my Superiors, for their gracious allowance of time to work at it, to my Sisters, for their kind assistance, and to my advisor, Dr. George Boehrer, for his encouragement and interest in my problem and his gen-

erous sacrifice of time in the checking of it. Also I wish to thank Fathers Brennan, Hamilton and Murphy for their kind assistance.

Sister Anna Marie Becker, O. S. F.

July 10, 1954

Chapter I

Political, Colonial, and Religious Rivalry of England and Spain: Background for the Growth of The Leyenda Negra

For a proper understanding of the historical distortions circulated by the English with reference to the Spanish colonial system, one must understand the factors that went into the making of these prejudiced accounts, The Leyenda Negra, as it has been termed. Until recent years, religious ferver was generally regarded as the one great determining force which drove England, first into piracy and robbery of Spain on the high seas, and then into open war, so that the Elizabethan era took on, in the popular mind, the aspect of a crusade against Catholicism and idolatry.[1]

> The truth is, however, the causes were threefold, each having its special influence in the three great classes of the state. For the people it was mainly political; for the merchants it was mainly commercial. Each class was no doubt more or less conscious of all three motives for its attitude; but for the people it was the struggle of the Reformation against the Papacy; for the statesman it was a defence of the new idea of British nationality against the idea of a dominant Spanish empire; and for the merchants it was an aggressive determination to break down the barriers with which Spanish policy sought to enclose the New World and shut the way to the Indies.[2]

Since the three factors are inextricably bound, one with the other, it is difficult to treat them separately. However,

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[1] Julian S. Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy, (New York, 1899), 2:74-75.

[2] Ibid., 75.

to gain the proper perspective, the scholar must go back to the beginnings of the rivalry which originated with the first explorations of Spain and Portugal. These two countries took the lead in promoting the earliest voyages, making such rapid strides in the fifteenth century that they seemed destined to divide the heathen world between them, a fact which caused a dispute between them. Pope Alexander VI had to draw an imaginary line which divided the New World, giving to Portugal the western part of Brazil, Africa, India and the Spice Islands, and to Spain, North and South America. This division so much disturbed Francis I of France that he asked to see Adam's will.

England, too, had been thinking in terms of empire. As early as 1497, Henry VII had fitted out an expedition under the leadership of the Genoese captain, John Cabot, who succeeded in reaching North America, but beyond "furnishing England with a technical claim to this territory, his exploit was barren of tangibly concrete results."[3] The documents of the times, geographic and historical, do not mention the locality of John Cabot's landing; we can conjecture with great probability, though, that it was on some point north east of Labrador.[4] Henry VII, however, had not the necessary funds to foster more expeditions; besides, when Cabot returned to England, "he found great tumults

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[3]George L. Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System, (New York, 1908), 4.

[4]Henry Harrisse, John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America and Sebastian His Son, (London, 1896), 69.

among the people, and preparations for warres in Scotland, by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage."[5]

During the reign of Henry VIII, there were more attempts to pursue the north-western discovery. Even though he took a more active interest in discovery than Henry VII, his efforts yielded virtually no result. Henry VIII did build England a first-class fighting navy. But England wanted more: she desired an overseas enterprise similar to Spain's. The crisis between Spain and England was drawing closer because, added to English jealousy for Spain's growing wealth was Spain's resentment toward Henry VIII for his putting away of Catherine of Aragon to marry Anne Boleyn. When he refused to permit Catherine to see Francisco Felipe, Spanish Ambassador to England, more ill-feeling was engendered, climaxing with the death of Catherine and her burial as a princess rather than as a queen. Francisco Felipe, against the wishes of England, made haste to return to Spain with full details.[6]

Meanwhile, though Henry was too busy confiscating Church property and experimenting in marriage to extend his empire, others were aware of the lucrative lands he was overlooking.

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[5]Richard Hakluyt, Discourse concerning Western Planting, Charles Deane, (ed.), (Cambridge, 1877), 101.

[6]Martin A. Sharp Hume, (Trans.), Chronicles of King Henry VIII of England: Being a Contemporary Record of Some of the Principal Events of the Reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI Written in Spanish by an unknown hand, (London, 1889), 54.

Robert Thorne, a London merchant, long a resident of Seville, voiced the popular feeling:

> Most Excellent Prince:
>
> Experience proveth that naturally all Princes bee desirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdoms. Wherefore it is not to be marvelled, to see them every day procure fame not regarding the cost, perill and labour, that may thereby chaunce, but rather it is to bee marvelled if there by any prince content to live quiet with his owne dominions. For surely people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and spirit of all other. The worlde knoweth that the desires of Princes have been so fervent to obtaine their purpose, that they have adventured and proved things to man's coniecture impossible, the which they have made possible, and also difficult things have made facil, and thus to obtaine their purpose have in maner turned up and downe the whole worlde so many time that people inhabiting in the farthest region of the occident have pursued with great desires, labours, and perils to penetrate and enter into the farthest regions of the Anchient Orient.[7]

But Henry VIII did nothing about it, nor did Edward Seymour and John Dudley, the regents of his son Edward VI, who was left to carry on the religious discord left in England by his father. Henry had precipitated the rupture between England and Rome; under Edward VI (1547-1553) England became Protestant. The traditional Catholic services were changed and Protestant ritual and doctrine were substituted. Under the leadership of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, uncle of the ten year old king, and the power behind the throne the Parliament

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[7] Divers Voyages Touching the Discourie of America and the Iland adiacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons. (London, 1582), Fl. B.

of 1547 swept away the old laws against heresy. The Book of Common Prayer, the Act of Uniformity, the execution of Somerset and ascension of Dudley as king in all but name, followed in rapid succession, embroiling England ever deeper in religious controversy and distracting her mind from an over seas empire. The death of Edward, the setting up of Lady Jane Grey as Queen for nine days, were followed at once by the proclamation of Mary Tudor as Queen of England.

> Then they declaringe to the Lord Mayor and his brethern that he must ryde with them into Cheape to proclaime a new Queene, which was so joyfull news that for joy all the people present wept, and ere the Counsell had rydden up the hill to Pawles Churchyard the people scarse pass by: . . . and when the trumpet blewe, there was such a shoute of the people with castinge up of cappes and crying, God save Queene Mary, that the style of the proclamation coulde not be heard the people were so joyfull, both man, woman, and childe.[8]

But the "joyfulness" was not of long duration. Mary restored Catholicism to England, and attempted to stamp out the Protestantism that had gripped the country. However, her severe persecution of the Protestants strengthened them, gaining for her the title of "Bloody Mary" and the hatred of the people. Her marriage to Philip II of Spain was part of her attempt to ensure amicable relations with Rome, and the fact that "Mary was a mere puppet in the hands of the husband she idolized."[9]

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[8] Charles Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England During the Reign of The Tudors, 1485-1559, Lieut. General Lord Henry, H. M. Percy and William Douglas Hamilton, (eds.), Camden Society, 1857), 2:88-89.

[9] Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America, Edward John Payne, (ed.), from Principal Navigation of Spain, (Oxford, 1893), xxvii.

antagonized England yet more, especially when she aided Philip in his French war and lost Calais, her last French possession, the news of which she received on her death bed. Patriotism in England was touched to the quick. Spain and Rome were blamed. England was ready for Elizabeth, Protestantism, and the piracy of Spanish possessions which would lead to English overseas growth. Englishmen were beginning to realize that they were in the position of a hungry man who looks through the window at two gentlemen banqueting--while England stood aside and watched, Spain and Portugal were feasting on precious metals and spices.[10]

It was during Elizabeth's reign that affairs reached their climax. Protestantism had been restored with Elizabeth's ascension to the throne. She and England hated Spain which, "not content with open warfare, sought to gain her end by fostering internal dissension and stirring up hatred and rebellion among the class who, on religious or other grounds, were most in sympathy with Catholic nations."[11] The Pope's excommunication of the Queen in 1570 raised a ferment of anti-Spanish and anti-Papal hatred.[12]

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[10]Henry R. Wagner, Sir Francis Drake's Voyages Around the World, Its Aims And Achievements, (San Francisco, 1926), 1.

[11]H. R. Fox Bourne, Famous London Merchants, (London, 1868), 8-9.

[12]Philip Ainsworth Means, The Spanish Main, (Focus of Envy), 1492-1700, (New York, 1925), 83.

As England became more anti-Papal and anti-Spanish she began to sympathize with the Huguenots and other heretics, and like Francis I, to wonder why an immense New World should be nothing but a new Spain.[13] In ancient and medieval days, Britain had always been regarded as one of the outposts of Christendom, but with the New World discoveries, with the Atlantic becoming the great highway of the civilized world instead of the Mediterranean, she found herself almost the center of it. Since the British Isles lay between Spain's rich possession in America and the great commercial and industrial centers in the Netherlands and Germany, and since her harbours were better suited for Atlantic trade than any other country, England was not slow to perceive the advantages of her situation; her determination to acquire a share in the wealth and wonders of the new discoveries grew accordingly. She remembered the voyage of John Cabot, the Anglicized Venetian who reached America with a Bristol ship soon after Columbus, but religious discussions and the economic revolution caused by the seizure of Church property prevented any important English enterprise of discovery during the first half of the sixteenth century.[14]

England knew what the rest of Europe knew, that the

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[13]William Wood, Elizabethan Sea Dogs: A Chronicle of Drake and His Companions, (New Haven, 1918), 73.

[14]V. De Sola Pinto, The English Renaissance, 1510-1688, (New York, 1938), 57.

"Burgundian Ass," as Spanish treasure mules were callled from Charles' love for Burgundy, had enabled Spain to make conquests, impose her will on her neighbors, fill her coffers with gold and silver, and keep paid spies in every court, her own included. "Londoners had seen Spanish gold paraded through the streets when Philip married Mary--'27 chests of bullion, 99 horseloads of gold and silver coin, and 87 boxes of silver bars."[15] So greedy for Spanish gold and afire with zeal for Protestantism, Richard Hakluyt and others began to present numerous reasons for English acquisition of a Colonial empire.

Though South America was already colonized, valuable territory still lay fallow in North America, therefore, Martin Frobisher made several voyages, despoiling Spanish ships and touching on various parts of the New World, gaining much glory from the gold he brought back,[16] but angering the Spaniards, a fact which Elizabeth ignored.

Piracy soon became a national industry. De Sola Pinto, in The English Renaissance. relates how the fisheries were nearly ruined because of the change in religion, there being no longer a demand for fish on Catholic fast days. and it being almost a mark of a good Protestant to eat flesh meat on Fridays. The seamon found piratical attacks on Spanish ships

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[15]Wood, Elizabethan Sea Dogs, 74.

[16]State Papers, January 26, 1578 (Colonial, 132---Domestic Elizabeth, cxxix, No. 44, I) quoted in John Stow, Annales or a Generall Chronicle of England Continued and Augumented with Matters Foreign and Domestic, Ancient and Moderne, unto the end of the present year, 1631, (London, 1631), 709-10.

a more congenial and lucrative trade, bold and spirited leaders emerging from the young men of good birth, such as the Cobhams, the Killigrews, and the Carews. who put to sea with alacrity and embarked on a huge enterprise in which the majority of the nobility and even the Queen herself had a financial interest.[17]

As has been pointed out, matters of state and religion and commerce were inextricably mixed during the sixteenth century. In the 1570's, the so called Puritan party, headed by the Earl of Leicester and ably guided by Sir Francis Walsingham, became the party of English expansion, enlisting men like Drake, Gilbert, and Raleigh to help establish a foothold for Protestantism on the American mainland by fighting Spain on the high seas. Much of the talk of carrying salvation to the heathen and of saving the New World from Popery was doubtless sincere. Certainly it was an excellent item of propaganda in a country emotionally aroused against Spain and Catholics, especially when they insisted that God had reserved certain portions of North America for the English and hence had thwarted the Spanish and French in their efforts to push northward, and that it was the manifest destiny of the English to settle in the New World.[18]

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[17] De Sola Pinto, The English Renaissance, 1510-1688, 58-59.

[18] Louis B. Wright, Religion and Empire, the Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion. (University of North Carolina Press, 1954), vi.

To understand England's attacks on Spanish government in the colonies, attacks which she used to justify her plundering of Spanish ships on the high seas, it is necessary to know what Spain's colonial policy was and how she carried out that policy. No one who has read the documents, letters and exhortations sent by the Catholic kings of Spain to the Spanish colonists in the West Indies, can doubt their good intentions toward the natives whom they regarded from the outset as "subjects of the Crown of Castile." The greater part of every document was occupied with commands to be "kind and just to the Indian, and to bring them as soon as possible to the Christian faith."[19]

Isabella was interested in the welfare of the natives, but she was aware of the fact that labor on their part was a necessary requisite for the existence of the colonies, as the climate and inherited prejudices of the Spaniards would make them refuse to cultivate the plantations themselves. Furthermore, she realized that that to christianize them, she would permit them to be gathered into groups for instruction. Consequently, in 1503, she had ordered Ovando, who had at first been commissioned to let them go free, to gather them into villages near white settlements, to place each village under the protection of a Spanish colonist who would see that

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[19]Roger Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire, (New York, 1925), 2:230-31.

the Indians were instructed in the faith and who should be recompensed by the tribute the Indians would pay. Isabella thought the Indians could be compelled to work, but as free men and for wages. Thus was originated the encomienda system, which, up to the passage of the New Laws of 1542, was the delegation of the royal power to the colonists to collect tribute from, and to use the personal services of the Indians, the King's vassals.

But the encomienda, by its very nature, was open to abuses, which abuses made it fertile ground for The Leyenda Negra, especially when, in 1583, an English version of Bartolome de Las Casas' Brevissima, or Brief History of the Spanish Colonies, provided English controversialists with what they considered proof for their contention that common humanity required them to rescue the heathen Indians from the atrocities of their wicked oppressors.[20] English sea-dogs who had delighted in seeking out the Spanish gold ships, hailed the Brevissima with avidity. Flagrant piracy could be justified; England could be exonerated before the nations as she ran to the rescue of the Indians. This Dominican bishop, Bartolome de Las Casas, with his alleged revelations of the colonies, cannot be ignored in the treatment of the underlying factors for the growth of the Leyenda Negra in the sixteenth century, particularly for his treatment of the encomienda.

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[20]Wright, Religion and Empire, 85.

Born in Seville, descendant of a noble family, Las Casas, as a boy, was privileged to accompany Columbus on his third and fourth voyages to the New World. Resolving to return later as a missionary, he studied and prayed much; his great desire was realized when, in 1502, he was ordained priest by the first bishop of Hispaniola and had the great honor of being the first cleric ordained in the so-called Indies.[21]

In 1511 Father Antonio Montesino, another Dominican friar, had preached a number of sermons, informing the Spaniards that they were living in mortal sin because of their treatment of the Indians, averring that they were "destined to boiling pitch and eternal fire and brimstone, and not a monk in the West Indies should grant absolution to a mother's son of them."[22] Montesino went to Spain to plead for the Indians, but though the king discussed plans for reform, a stronger character than Montesino was needed.

Las Casas had listened to the sermons of Father Montesino and had been deeply stirred. It was not until the next year, however, when he followed Diego Valasquez to Cuba as a missionary, that preparing a sermon, he came upon a text in Ecclesiastes (34:25-26): "He that taketh away his neighbor's living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the laborer of his hire is a shedder of blood." He realized there must be no slavery; whether the slave was well-treated or ill-treated made no

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[21] Julian Hawthorne, Spanish America, (New York, 1899), 169.

[22] Ibid., 171.

difference. Las Casas gave up his own slaves, and began to preach the doctrine of emancipation to his congregation. Realizing that the harvest was ripe, he wrote to Charles V and begged for help, explaining

> that there was such a great need, and besides, other provisions ought to be made for the good administration and conservation of their religion in those parts, and consequently for the progress of the preaching and health is the souls of them in that world.[23]

Cardinal Ximenes sympathized with Las Casas, so more missionaries were sent to his assistance. Soon Las Casas was faced with another problem, the abuse of the encomiendas by the conquerors, to remedy which Las Casas appealed to Governor Velasquez to abolish them, which request the Governor refused. Consequently, in 1515 Las Casas went to Spain where he presented his case before Charles V who appointed him Protector of the Indians, decreeing that the Indians should be paid wages and treated as Christians.[24]

Las Casas returned to the New World where he labored in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru, constantly fighting against the abuses of the encomiendas, speaking and writing against the enslavement of his Indian children. At the end

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[23]Luis Torres de Mendoza, Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos, (Madrid, 1869), 10:88.
. . .que tan immensa necesidad hay, y sobre otras provisiones que deben de hacer para el buen regimiento y conservación de su religión en aquellas partes, y por consiguiente para el aprovechamiento de la predicación y salud de las animas de las aquel orbe. . .

[24]Arthur Helps, The Life of Las Casas, (London, 1873), 24.

of 1538 he again returned to Spain in a desperate endeavor to remedy conditions in the Indies. The Emperor was absent in Germany, contending against Luther and the German princes, so Las Casas employed his time writing the book which of all his works was to become the most celebrated, The Destruction of the Indies, commonly known as the Brevissima.[25] When he finally obtained his desired interview with Charles V and told him of the evils of the encomienda system, Charles was so impressed with the eloquence of the missionary that at last, by imperial Cédula, and by the code of the New Laws, remedies were established to prevent depopulation.[26] These New Laws limited the right of Spaniards to service and tribute only, and were calculated to place the Indians directly under the Crown. They fell like a bombshell on the astonished Spaniards who could not understand the emperor being influenced by a priest.[27]

The Spaniards in the New World were so discontented that the Royal Officials could not enforce the laws. Once again Las Casas returned to Spain where, determined to put the laws into effect, "the Council of the Indies felt that it would be

[25]Arthur Helps, The Spanish Conquest in America and its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of the Colonies, (London, 1800), 4:101.

[26]Justin Winsor, (ed.), Narrative and Critical History of America, (Boston, 1899), 8:191.

[27]Chester Lloyd Jones, "Indian Labor in Guatemala," in A. Curtis Wilgus, (ed.), Hispanic American Essays, (University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 303.

desirable to have a bishop who would look to the execution of the New Laws."[28] Las Casas, although he did not want the honor, finally accepted, and was consecrated Bishop of the diocese of Chiapa. True to his principles, he attempted to enforce the laws but was literally driven from Chiapa by the encomienderos, precipitating a crisis so drastic that it came close to destroying Spanish America.[29]

In 1549 Las Casas again returned to Spain, eloquently and dramatically pleading the case of the Indians before the court.

> Most powerful and most high lord and King: I am one of the oldest immigrants to the Indies, where I have spent many years and where, I have not read in histories, that sometimes lie, but saw with my own eyes, and, so to speak, came in contact with the cruelties more atrocious and unnatural than any recorded of untutored and savage barbarians. No other reason can be assigned to them than the greed and thirst for gold of our countrymen.[30]

Charles V, humane and christian, wanted to enforce the New Laws, but the Conquistadors in the New World bitterly opposed him. Neither Charles nor Philip II could combat their obstinacy and greed.

Las Casas devoted the rest of his life to treatises and tracts on the Indian problem.

> His writings were extraordinarily voluminous; and all he wrote treated of but one subject. He himself de-

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[28] Helps, Life of Las Casas, 237.

[29] Silvio Zavala, "La Encomienda Indiana," Hispanic American Historical Review, 16 (1936):49.

[30] Andrews Cleven, Readings in Hispanic American History, (Boston, 1927), 223.

> declared that his sole reason for writing more than two thousand pages in Latin and Spanish was to proclaim the truth concerning the American Indians, who were defamed, by being represented as devoid of human understanding and no better than brutes.[31]

Hanke, his main champion in this century, tells us:

> In this battle he employed all the weapons he could lay his hands to--including exaggerations, vituperations, and political manipulation. Scarcely anyone has visualized him as a quiet, scholarly monk, pursuing the truth in the solitude of a conventual cell. Indeed he was not that, and all his struggles and all his learning were always aimed at one object: the preservation of the Indian and their conversion to Christianity.[32]

Of all Las Casas' writing, the most celebrated is his short treatise, Brevissima Relación de La Destruyción de las Indias, which was published in Seville in 1552, presenting Las Casas' accusations against the conquistadores and his description of the Spaniards' atrocities against the Indian, to persuade the Emperor to decree the eventual abolition of the encomienda system.[33] Translated into the principal languages of western Europe, the book was welcomed as "an exact picture of the conditions and of the inherent qualities of the Spaniards," feeding as it did the hatred of the Protestant peoples of that day for the leading Catholic power, and the jealousy of the nations for the wealth and strength of Spain.

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[31] Francis MacNutt, Bartholomew de Las Casas, His Life, His Apostolate, and His Writings, (New York, 1909), 86.

[32] Lewis Hanke, Bartolome de Las Casas. Bookman, Scholar and Propagandist, (Philadelphia, 1952), 5.

[33] Ibid., 7.

"The answers to Las Casas, some of them by men who agreed with his anti-slavery principles but pointed out his mistakes and exaggerations, were overlooked.[34]

It is true that the encomienda, at least in the first fifty years of its existence, was looked upon by the Indians as a subterfuge for slavery,

> and it was only after half a century of furious agitation on the part of Las Casas and the reformers, and the active interest of the Crown in suppressing it, that it was shorn of its most profitable feature, the privilege of using the services of the Indians, and was reduced to some semblance of a social system,[35]

but viewed in the light of the sixteenth century, the encomienda was a logical and wholly justifiable organization, as feudalism was still in vogue throughout Europe.[36] Considering the serious problems which the system aimed to solve, it may be doubted whether any other large scale exploitation by a modern colonizing nation has been more successful than the encomienda, for economic relations between the Spaniards and the Indians were far less reprehensible than has been commonly accepted as historically correct.[37] The colonists felt that "since they had conquered the land at their own expense

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[34]Charles E. Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America: A History. (New York, 1938), 113.

[35]Lesley, Byrd Simpson, The Encomienda in New Spain, (Berkeley, 1950), xiii.

[36]Ibid., 189.

[37]Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., "Some Recent Trends and Findings in the History of the Spanish Colonial Empire," Catholic Historical Review, 28(April, 1942):26-27.

without cost to the Crown; and since they had been urged to marry and were now encumbered with families,"[38] they had a right to the services of the Indians. They looked upon it as a natural thing that savages or inferiors should be slaves. This was in conformity with the general views of the period.[39]

The Crown, fearful as it was of losing the loyalty of the settlers, did not refrain from exhorting and even demanding better treatment for the Indians. A Royal Cédula of 1542 stated:

> We order and command that henceforth, for no reason of war or any other, not even rebellion or purchase, no Indian whatsoever is to be made a slave. And we wish and command that they be treated as our vassals of the Crown of Castile, for so they are.[40]

When the pearl fisheries caused the death of five Indians and negroes, the bishops and judges of Venezuela were told that lives must be protected and deaths must cease. Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain, sent his own son to the mines of Potosí to try to ameliorate the harshness of the services required of the natives,[41] while Francisco de Toledo formulated a code to ensure the health and the safety of the workers.[42] Madariaga notes that these two men were in advance

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[38] Henry Charles Lee, "Indian Policy of Spain," The Yale Review, 8(May, 1899-Feb., 1900):144.

[39] Rafael Altamira, A History of Spanish Colonization, (London, 1930), 120.

[40] Salvador de Madariaga, The Rise of the Spanish American Empire, (New York, 1947), 19.

[41] Arthur S. Aiton, Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy to New Spain, (Durham, 1927), 19.

[42] Madariaga, The Rise of the Spanish Empire, 92.

of their times even by European standards, for the protection and health of miners was then in a rudimentary state in Europe.

But all exonerating factors were swept aside, and "the Brief Relation came as a veritable godsend to those most interested in believing it."[43] Here at last was an excuse for England to gain a foothold in the Indies to break Spain's strangle hold in the precious metals, the raw materials of the New World--to gain for herself an oversea empire so that she might monopolize the trade and add to her power and prestige. The resentment she felt over the papal line of demarcation, her jealousy over the growing wealth of Spain, her yearning for an empire, her religious zeal--all could be satisfied since Spain, because of her colonial policy, stood forth before the nations, a bloody horror.[44]

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[43]Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America, 114.

[44]Ibid., 114

Chapter II

Use and Extension of Anti-Spanish Propaganda in English Political Writings, Tracts Chronicles and Letters of the Sixteenth Century

The Elizabethan temper being what it was, a mixture of jingoistic patriotism, even fanatical zeal, and desire for empire, all anti-Spanish propaganda would be grist for the mills of political writers. Hakluyt, Raleigh, Drake and the other pamphleteers and tract writers seized every bit of evidence they could find to promote The Leyenda Negra and blacken the reputation of Spain while furthering the cause of England. One of their chief sources of information was the Brevissima of Las Casas.

> Thus when Spain was at the apogee [sic] of her political power, and all good Protestants were shuddering at the thought of the dungeons of the Inquisition, the Brief Relation came as a veritable godsend to those most interested in believing it. Better still, it was written by a Spaniard of unquestioned authority, by a bishop! Wherever the Spanish name was hated, the Brief Relation found a ready sale and a readier credence, and its numerous reprints show that the popular appetite for bloody horrors was fully as great then as Sabin's dictionary now lists, for in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were three Latin, four English, six French, eight German, and eighteen Dutch editions.[1]

The first English translation appeared in 1583. It was this one, The Spanish Colonie, which Hakluyt, Raleigh and the other

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[1]Charles Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America: A History, (New York, 1938), 113.

Elizabethans used so profusely. The Brevissima was published "with titles that did not always confine themselves to the original," but always the book was signed "the pen of a venerable Spanish missionary," so that all atrocities mentioned in the book seemed true.[2]

In England, the book was a best seller, and nobody thought of questioning its authenticity. Here, England claimed, was real evidence, the work of Las Casas, a Roman Catholic bishop who "was the first and most vehement in denouncing Spanish conquerors as bad patriots and worse Christians, whose acts outraged religion and disgraced Spain."[3] She read avidly Las Casas' description of the colonizing of the Isle of Hispaniola, where he said:

> In the Ile of Hispaniola, which was the first (as we have said) where the Spaniards arrived, began the great slaughters and spoyles of the people: the Spaniards having begun to take their wives and children of the Indies, for to serve their turne and to use them ill, and having begun to eat their victuals, gotten by their sweate and travill, not contenting themselves with that which the Indians gave them of their owne good will, every one after their owne abilitie. . . .
>
> Now after sundry other forces, violences, and torments, which they wrought against them: the Indians began to perceive that those were not men descended from heaven. Some of them therefore hid their victuals, others hid their wives and children, others fled into the Mountains, to separate them-

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[2]Romula D. Carbia, Historia de la Leyenda Negra Hispano-Americana, (Madrid, 1944), 69.

[3]Francis MacNutt, Bartholomew de Las Casas, His Life, His Apostolate, and His Writings, (New York, 1909), 86.

devised by the Spaniards was the training of hounds to tear their victims apart.

> . . . they taught their Houndes, fierce dogs, to tear them in pieces at the first view, and in the space that one may say a Credo, assailed and devoured an Indian as if it hadde been a Swine. These Dogges wrought great destructions and slaughters. And for such as sometimes, though seldome, when the Indian put to death some Spaniard upon good right and Law or due Justice, they made a Lawe between them, that for one Spaniard they had to slay an hundred Indians.
>
> . . .
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> . . . It happened that certene Spaniards, either of pittie or of covetousness, having taken and detained certene young striplings to make them their Pages; because they would not have them slaine, and setting them behind them on their horses backs; another Spaniard came behinde, which stabbed them through with a Speare. If so be any childe or boy tumbled downe to the ground, another Spaniard came and cut off his leges. Some certene of these Indians which passed over into a little Ile neere unto the other within an eight leagues. The Governeur condemned all those which had passed the water, to become slaves, because they had fled from their butcherie.[6]

Exaggeration was one of Las Casas' tools in building up his case for the Indians. When he insists that in twelve years "more than four million souls have been killed by the Spaniards with swords and lances, and by burning alive women and children,"[7] he has really doubled his numbers.[8] "It has been proved that the statistics of violent exterminations given by Padre Las

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[6]Ibid., Fl. 4v.

[7]MacNutt, Bartholomew de Las Casas, His Life, His Apostolate, His Writings, 342.

[8]John Fiske, Discovery of America, (Boston, 1892), 2:440-441.

Casas in the heat of his generous defense of the Indians were inexact."[9]

Today the problem of statistics is a difficult one to investigate since Las Casas' original manuscript has disappeared; however, a manuscript copy of 1548 has been located and alleged to have been written by Las Casas. Comparing it with the published version of 1552 shows discrepancies in figures.

> In 1548, Las Casas kills 10,000,000 Indians near Mexico City, in 1552 only 4,000,000; in 1548 Alvarado slew 1,000 youths in Mexico City, in 1552 he kills 2,000; in 1548, 12,000,000 Indians were slain in Naco and Honduras, in 1552 only 2,000,000; in 1548, more than 6,000,000 Indians were slain in Gutaemala, in 1552 only 4-5,000,000; in 1548 many Indians were enslaved in Nicaragua, in 1552 the number is exactly 500,000. These are a few examples of the many discrepancies regarding the number of victims of Spanish cruelty found in the two copies. Why did the bishop change his figures so radically?[10]

The question has been answered most logically. Las Casas simply selected a number at random as long as it was large enough to help him create the impression he desired.[11] England was more than ready to believe them all.

A contemporary opponent of Las Casas in the New World, Father Toribio de Benevente, O.F.M., better known to the Indians as Motolina, protested against what he called the misrepresentations of Las Casas. On January 2, 1555, Father

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[9]Rafael Altamira, A History of Spanish Colonization, (London, 1930), 121.

[10]Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., "Review of Lewis Hanke, Bartolome de las Casas, Bookman, Scholar, and Propagandist," (Philadelphia, 1952), Catholic Historical Review, 38 (January, 1953): 470-473.

[11]Ibid., 472.

Motolina wrote to Charles V regarding conditions in Mexico:

> The officers of the government, as well as the preaching friars and confessors--for from the beginning there have been Franciscans and afterward came those of other orders--always took special care to see that the Indian, the slaves above all, were well treated and taught in all doctrine and in Christianity and God, who is the principal doer of all good.[12]

He referred to Las Casas as a restless wanderer from colony to colony. Historians tell us that Motolina was a keen, unprejudiced observor, and that as far as Mexico was concerned, Motolina was manifestly better informed than Las Casas.[13] It has been proved that Las Casas falsified documents to prove his points, dying, however, before he could present evidence to supplement his accusations.[14]

Elizabethan England, however, was not interested in finding discrepancies in Las Casas. Indeed, the English translation of 1583 which appeared in London as part of The Spanish Colonie reveled in atrocities mentioned by Las Casas, occasionally improving on them. The English translator, in a section called "The New Realme of Granada," interpolated a paragraph Las Casas never even wrote:

> Another time that the Indians gave him a coffer full of golde, that this cruel captaine required them: he

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[12] Lesley Simpson, The Encomienda in New Spain, (Berkeley, 1950), 242.

[13] Francis B. Steck, O.F.M., (ed.), Motolina's History of the Indians of New Spain, (Washington, D.C., 1951), 40.

[14] Steck, "Some Recent Trends and Findings in the History of the Spanish Colonial Empire in America," Catholic Historical Review, 28(April, 1942):26-27.

> sent men to warre upon them: who cut off the hands and noses of men and women without number. They cast others before their dogs being hunger bitten and bled to the feate of feeding on flesh, the which dispatched and devoured them.[15]

In the chapter, "Del Nuevo Reyno de Granada," Las Casas states that the Spanish Captain decapitated "a treinta a quarenta"[16] Indians in order to show the other inhabitants the treatment they could expect if they did not give satisfactory service to the Spaniards. The English translator says: "He (the Spanish Captain) cauling a forty or fifty amongst them to have their heads cut off. . ."[17] Although the difference in number is minor, it is an indication of the subtle dissemination of La Leyenda Negra.

Again in The Spanish Colonie, the English translation reads: "They (the Spaniards) have slain unto this day in these same realmes (and yet dayly slay them) more than four millions of soules."[18] The translator fails to note that these four million Indians in Peru perished during a period of ten years.[19]

As Las Casas concludes his Brevissima, he mentions that he "observed cruelties for forty years,"[20] but the Spanish Colonie states that Las Casas witnessed cruelties for

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[15]Bartholomew de Las Casas, The Spanish Colonie, Fl. 44v.

[16]Bartolome de Las Casas, Breve Relaciónes de la Destrucción de las Indias Occicentales, (Sevilla, 1552), 123,"... venidos hace cortar las cabezas a treinta a quarenta de ellos..." 123.

[17]The Spanish Colonie, Fl. 45r.

[18]Ibid., Fl. 41r.

[19]Las Casas, Breve Relaciones, 113, "Mas faltan, y han muerto de aquellos Reynos hasta hoy (que hoy tambien los matan) en obra de diez anos, de quatro cuentos de animas."

[20]Bartolome de Las Casas, Breve Relacion, 124. "...cuarentas anos..."

for "forty-two years."[21]

It is evident that Las Casas, with his Brevissima, had a tremendous effect on England, excellent propagandist as he was.[22] The 1583 translation was timely. English sea-dogs needed exoneration; English morale had to be boosted to fever heat as a preparation for the inevitable open war that was in the offing. How better could England accomplish this than by Las Casas himself!

The chronicles, documents, letters of the period abound in anti-Spanish propaganda. Many of the chroniclers were sea-dogs themselves, national heroes, whose deeds and words alike were conned and worshiped by their fellow men, especially since they were filling English coffers with Spanish gold and bringing fame and glory to the nation. Raleigh, Drake, Gilbert, just three of the chivalric soldiers of the sea who used their great talents for the cause of England, were followed blindly by a hero-worshiping country in their campaign against Spain. It was through their united efforts that England was at last ready for the great struggle with Spain; and when open war followed and Spain made her last great effort to conquer the heretic islanders in 1588, she was defeated by these men who had served their apprenticeship in the guerilla warfare of the Spanish Main,[23] and who had helped build up

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[21] The Spanish Colonie, Fl. 45r.

[22] Francis J. Tschan, "Las Casas," quoted in Peter Guildar (ed.), Church Historians, (New York, 1926), 151.

[23] DeSola Pinto, The English Renaissance, 1510-1688, (New York, 1938), 59-60.

mental resistance through their writings.

In the chronicles can be found evidences of an appeal to all classes of people against Spain--the people, the government, the merchants. Because the people were interested mainly in religious motives for defeating Spain, the government in political, and the merchants in commercial, good propagandists would mix all three appeals. Richard Hayes, captain of the "Golden Hind," held out a rich reward, not just in the harvest of heathen souls, but in the wealthy mines and fat lands for those who colonized.[24] The poor pagan was pictured by Sir Humphrey Gilbert as thirsting for salvation. Smugly Gilbert reasoned that the infidels' deliverance from Satan would be "sufficient recompense for the loss of their tribal lands to godly Englishmen;" he continued saying that when "the heathen have been taught to dress in Christian apparel, English clothiers will find in America a vent for their goods, to the immense profit of artisans and merchants alike."[25]

> But if your highness will permit me, with my associates, eyther overtly or covertly to perfourme the aforesaid enterprise; then with the gayne thereof there may be easily such a competent com-

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[24] Richard Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, (Glasgow, 1904), 8:72.

[25] Sir Humphrey Gilbert, A True Reporte of the late discoveries, and possessions taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the Newfound Landes, (London, 1583), Fl. E, ii.

> panie transported to the W. I. as may be hable not only to dispossess the S. [Spaniards] but also to possess forever your Majestie and Realme therewith, and thereby not only to countervaile, but by farr to surmount with gaine, the aforesaid supposed losses.[26]

Raleigh, least religious of the sea-dogs, friend and patron of Richard Hakluyt, and assistant in compiling and publishing Hakluyt's collection of English voyages, realized the advantage of evangelizing the heathen, and insisted that the natives of Guinea could be made the most potent means of harrassing Spain if the English would make friends with them and bring them to the obedience of the gospel.

> . . . the Spaniards for theyr opposition and usurpation are detested and feared both by the Guinians and borderers, by the former, because the Spaniards forced them to fly from theyr country of Peru, and by the latter, by experience of the Spanish dealings towards themselves and theyr adjoining neighbors. . . . But it is like that all the countries of the continent who are not yet enthralled to the Spaniards and have heard of their outrage and especially to the Amazones in regards of theyr selfe, will be ready to ayd her Majestie against the Spaniard.[27]

Again Raleigh says:

> It is honorable, both for that by this means infinite nombres of soules may be brought from theyr idolatry, bloody sacrifices, ignoraunce, and incivility, to the worshipping of the true God aught to civill conversation, and also theyr bodyes freed

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[26] State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Spain 12 / 118 / 12 (i) November 6, 1577, quoted in David Beers Quinn, (ed.), The Voyages and Colonizing Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, (London, 1940), 1:173-74.

[27] Sir Walter Raleigh, The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guina with A Relation of the Great Golden City of Manoa, Robert H. Schomburgh, (ed.), (London, 1848), 135-36.

> from the intolerable tiranny of the Spaniards whereunto they are already or likely to be subjected.[28]

Raleigh first considered the project of a greater England across the seas which would welcome the surplus population of the mother country to industry and plenty and make England the great mart for its products. He and his brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, shared the dream of planting in savage lands, Englishmen who would be ruled by English laws, enjoy English liberty, and pledge allegiance to the English crown.

> Through all the stirring career of Raleigh . . . there ran like a golden thread, shining brightly amid the dross that surrounded it, the inextinguishable resolve that the arrogant claim of Philip to the exclusive possession of the western world, by virtue of the Pope's bull, should be resisted to the death, and that in order to make this resistance effective, England should be supreme on the sea. To this ruling principle he devoted his talents, his fortunes, and his life.[29]

The King of Spain was the target at which England aimed, so Raleigh and the other sea dogs dedicated themselves to his destruction.

The adventures of John Hawkins and the accounts of his adventures did much to promote The Leyenda Negra in England, because he was the first great sailor of the southern school of English adventurers, the hero who was later to be imitated by a host of merchants, slave traders, pirates and patriots. English authorities have stated that Hawkins' adventures were

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[28] Ibid., 135.

[29] Martin A. S. Hume, Sir Walter Raleigh, (London, 1897), ix-x.

based on "the freedom of the seas and the reciprocal trade rights enjoyed by Spaniards and Englishmen in each other's ports in virtue of the old commercial treaties between England and the House of Burgundy." In the documents of the sixteenth century, however, there is no evidence that the Spaniards considered that the English had any rights in their colonial ports except such as might be conceded to them individually by special license to pass the Indies.[30] The Elizabethans, though, considered it a business venture, "picking up negroes on the Guinea coast and selling them, . . . capturing any Spanish vessel met on the high seas," imprisoning the crew and confiscating the cargo. Indeed, the manuscript logs of the ships, The Red Dragon and The Clifford, for the 1586 voyage to South America reveal absolute piracy. The logs record "the capture of Spanish and Portuguese vessels and pitched battles . . . in the same matter-of-fact way that they record the weather.[31]

The "affair of San Juan de Ullua" was the trump card England played, involving as it did what the English called a breaking of faith on the part of the Spaniards when they fired on English ships to which they had promised safe conduct, and promoting, naturally, The Leyenda Negra. The incident has

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[30]Irene A. Wright, Spanish Documents Concerning English Voyages, (London, 1929), 10.

[31]Julian S. Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy, (New York, 1899), 1:394-95.

been recounted with bitter invectives by English chroniclers and with matter-of-fact narrative on the part of the Spaniards. The only excuse, Hawkins states, that the Spaniards offered was the Viceroy of the Spanish fleet believed Hawkins meant to break his word and fire on the Spanish. The Viceroy, according to Hawkins, neither denied the affair, nor had a shred of evidence to support his mistrust.[32]

The Fugger News Letters record Hawkins challenging any Spaniard to fight it out with him; with Queen Elizabeth behind him, his piracy and that of the other buccaneers became more flagrant than ever in retaliation for the "affair."[33] The whole account of the episode must be taken as an ex parte statement of the case of the English against Spain, but the main facts are true. It is only in omission that it puts the English case too high. The account of the affair, published in pamphlet form, was destined to stir up public opinion.[34]

Drake, too, embarked on the same sea of piracy. At heart a Puritan, he was inspired by the true Puritanic hatred for the superstitions of Rome which, to him, were epitomized in Spanish Catholicism. A staunch Englishman as well as a Puritan he was resolved to break the Spanish monopoly, and re-

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[32]Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy, 1:118-119.

[33]Von Klaarvill, (ed.), The Fugger News Letters: Being a Selection of Unpublished Letters from the Correspondence of the House of Fugger During the Years 1568-1605. Translated by Pauline de Chary, (London, 1929), 194.

[34]Philip Ainsworth Means, The Spanish Main, (Focus of Envy), 1492-1700, (New York, 1925), 71.

garded his buccaneering as the crusader once regarded his march into the Holy Land. He would be the avenger of all the English who had ever been treacherously slain, burned as heretics, or done to death in Mexican galleys, and his conquests became fabulous.[35] The Fugger News Letters of this period mention Drake, the letters being the chief organ for written communication of news at a time when the world was without telegraph or newspaper, and when it was imperative for the House of Fugger to be kept informed of the news in all cities--political, financial, religious, and even local.[36]

One of the first and greatest of the chroniclers and one of the most vehement in denunciation of Spain was Richard Hakluyt, who early advised Elizabeth to continue plundering Spanish ships coming from the Indies because "if you touch him in the Indies, you touch him in the apple of his eye." Continuing with reference to Philip, "for take away his treasure . . . his old bands of soldiers will soon be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strength diminished . . . and tyranie utterly suppressed."[37]

Richard Hakluyt (1534-1608) clearly saw that western discovery afforded England a great opportunity for dominion and

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[35]W. H. Adams, Davenport, Eminent Sailors: A Series of Biographies, (New York, n.d.), 8.

[36]Von Klaarvill, (ed.), The Fugger News Letters, 143.

[37]Richard Hakluyt, Discourse Concerning Western Planting, Charles Deane, (ed.), (Cambridge, 1877), 59.

power. The quality of his mind fitted him for a work that made him the repository of great information about various parts of the new world.[38] He was an active clergyman, conscious of the responsibility of his calling, and diligent in the performance of his religious duties, using his labors for exploration and colonization as a complementary part of his religious career and utilizing opportunities incidental to either profession for the mutual benefit of both.[39]

His first important ecclesiastical post was that of chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador to France. Hakluyt corresponded widely and thereby accumulated a pile of manuscripts which he supplemented with the maps of the best geographers of Europe and data from learned men, and cast into a coherent book. His work lay not only in collection but in arrangement, the writing of prefaces, and the editing of often unreadable material into a readable form. He was one of the earliest "scholar adventurers," extracting his material from merchants' letters, books of seamen's logs; he urged veterans to write him accounts of their doings, personally interviewing those who couldn't or wouldn't write, adding state papers and printed records for every source he could find.[40]

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[38]Henry S. Burrage, (ed.), Original Narratives of Early American History, (New York, 1906), xvii.

[39]Louis B. Wright, Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion 1558-1625, (University of North Carolina, 1943), 39.

[40]James Williamson, The Ocean in English History, "The Propagandists of the Tudor Period," (Oxford, 1929), 79.

After five years in France, Hakluyt returned to England where he took up a long residence in Suffolk as an earnest country parson, twelve years later becoming personal chaplain to Sir Robert Cecil. Although other appointments came his way, there is no indication that he shirked his ecclesiastical duties, or felt that his service to the state was more important than his service to the Church.[41] Though he was not a fanatic, he cast his lot with the Puritan party, a political group numbering Sir Philip Sidney, The Earl of Leicester. Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Walter Raleigh among its members; the party was more political than sectarian, since the chief concern was to establish the Protestant interest against the power of Catholicism was the greatest threat to the very existence of England, which belief helps explain the almost fanatical fervor with which he carried on his crusade for colonization in the New World.[42]

In the year of the Spanish Armada, Hakluyt made ready for the press the book of voyages of his nation. "The stalwart black-letter volume has taken its place with the classics of heroism. Its author has taken his with the epic chroniclers. It is his book that has kindled and more than kept alight the glow that illuminates the days of the great queen.[43] Tracts and adventures that before were scattered,

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[41]Wright, Religion and Empire, 41.

[42]Ibid., 40.

[43]Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, (London, 1662), 453.

Hakluyt brought together and brought glory to England. Always Hakluyt's work was directed to the guiding principle of his life, the awakening of England to the realization of her greatness and the defeat of Spain. He pointed out the peril to Europe if Spain was permitted to continue her career of conquest and monopoly, suggesting with shrewd cunning "that one Clerke, a pirate, might be induced to establish a stronghold at the Straits as if for himself, without the countenance of the English nation." Thus England would be in a strategic position, Hakluyt adding, "garrisoning the fort might also become a Christian and humanitarian enterprise."[44] The quality of Hakluyt's mind was peculiarly fitted for the work that makes him the repository of much of the information of the world.[45] He made many practical suggestions to the government. In "The Discourse of Western Planting" which reads like a sermon through its twenty-one chapters, Hakluyt gives good advice on how to harrass Spain, showing how on account of the western discoveries the nations have as opportunity to spread the gospel. Ever since Henry VIII's rule, the English sovereigns have had the title of defenders of the faith. Hence, Hakluyt insists:

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[44]Richard Hakluyt, the Younger, "A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus," Document 24 in E.G.R. Taylor, (ed.), The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, (London, 1935), 1:139-40.

[45]Barrage, (ed.), Original Narratives of Early American History, xvii.

> they are not onely chardged to maynetayne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to inlarge and advance the same. Neither ought this to be their laste work but rather the principall and chefe of all others.[46]

In his second chapter Hakluyt proceeds to ward his countrymen

> That all other Englishe trades are grown beggerly or daungerous especially daungerous in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayerbookes into the sea, and to farsweare and renounce their religion and conscience, and consequently their obedience to her Majesty.[47]

Hakluyt is provoked as he recalls how the English merchants have their liberties curtailed. According to Hakluyt "the necessity of trading with Spain, where merchants must risk the punishments of the Inquisition or endanger their immortal souls will be indeed when England gives her people a chance to build up their "Decayed trades." What an enticing picture he paints of these "Commodities of the Indies" which are ready for the English to grasp.[48] Indeed, Hakluyt points out that the instant English navies arrive in the Indies, the natives will join them in revolt against the Spaniards.

> The Spaniards govern in the Indies with all pride and tyranie; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye with one voice, Liberata, liberata, as desirous of liberata and freedome, so no doubt whensoever the Queen of Englande, a princess of such clemencie, shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalle be reported

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[46] E.G.R. Taylor, (ed.), The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, (London, 1935), 2:215.

[47] Ibid., 218.

[48] Ibid., 221.

> throughe oute all that tracte to use the naturall people there and all humanitie, curtesie, and freedome, they will yelde themselves to her government, and revolt cleane from the Spaniards and specially when they shall understande that she hathe a noble navie, and that she aboundeth with a people moste valiante for their defense.[49]

Again he insists that England is ripe for conquest;

> How easie a matter yt be to this Realme, swarming at this day with valiant youthes, rusting and hurtful by lacke of employment and having good makers of cable and of all sorts of cordage, and the best and most connynge ship-wrights of the worlde, to be lordes of all those seas, and to spoile Philip's navye, and to deprive him of yerely passage of his treasure into Europe and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the great Anti-Christ of Rome, and to pull him downe in equalities to his neighbor princes, and to all Europe by the peculiar abundance of his Indian treasure, and thisse without difficulties.[50]

One of the first steps Elizabeth ought to take, according to Hakluyt, ought to be the establishment of naval bases in the Florida territory; then she could intercept the Spanish treasure ships and deprive the Spanish Emperor of his means of conquest.

> And in very deede it is moste apparaunte that riches are the fittest instrumentes of conqueste, and that the Emperour turned them to that use.[51]

Hakluyt wanted to eliminate Spain's source of wealth since Spanish gold had corrupted all Europe. In order to obtain this gold, the Spaniards committed outrageous atrocities

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[49]Richard Hakluyt, "England's Title to North America," Old South Leaflets, No. 122, 5:12.

[50]Ibid., 10.

[52]Ibid., 244.

which Hakluyt takes time out to describe. Hakluyt informed Elizabeth

> We are able to kelde a goodd and perfecte accompte, that there is, within the space of forty yeres, by these said tyranies and devilish doinges of the Spaniardes, don to death unjustly and tyrannously more than twelve millions of soules, men, women, and children.[52]

Always, Hakluyt is the preacher, and always there is the religious motive for colonization.

> Now to the end it may appeare, that this voiage is not undertaken altogether for the peculiare Commoditie of ourselves, and our Countrie. [as generallie other trades and Journies be] it shall fall out in proofe, that the Savages shall heerby have just cause to blesse the hours when this enterprise was undertaken.
>
> First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tydings of the most gracious Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falsehood to truth, from darkness to lyght, from the hieway of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatry to sincere Christianity, from the devil to Christ, from hell to heaven.[53]

Hakluyt stands as one of the heroes, one of the directing minds, of the Elizabethan era, lending his voice to the expression of the new national spirit. The Discourse of Western Planting, written for Raleigh's Virginia, is the statement of a commercial and colonial policy[54] for it was Hakluyt's plan

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[52]Richard Hakluyt, "England's Title to North America," Old South Leaflets, No. 122, 5:259.

[53]Richard Hakluyt, The Third and Last Volume of His Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, and in some few places where they have not been, of strangers, performed within and before the times of these three hundred years, to all parts of the Newfound World of America, or West Indies, (London, 1600), 177.

[54]George Parks, Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages, (New York, 1928), 2.

that English Protestants should go forth and people the world, believing so firmly in his own words that apprentices, merchants, plain citizens, speculators, and noblemen were converted to his doctrine. After his time it was easier to persuade Englishmen that their destiny lay away from the narrow little island, while investors in colonial stock companies could take comfort "in the realization that, while they sought fat profits, they might also contribute to a high moral cause." Imbued with religious and patriotic zeal, Hakluyt was the first great and successful "Apostle of Empire".[55] Perhaps his greatest contribution to England was not geographical data, but the stimulation that Englishmen received from a recital of their own maritime progress, "confirming in the national consciousness the belief that England was by destiny the first seapower of the world,"[56] and advancing the doctrine that "England's future prosperity lay in colonial expansion and the subjection of alien races to English culture and religion."[57]

Richard Eden, 1541-1576, stands in English literary history in the same relation to Hakluyt as Richard Hakluyt does to Samuel Purchas, and Samuel Purchas to the present Hakluyt and Royal Geographical Societies. Hakluyt published Eden's

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[55]Wright, Religion and Empire, 55-56.

[56]Parks, Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages, 3.

[57]Wright, Religion and Empire, 53.

translations, as Eden "is the Pioneer of British geographic research, the Very First of our Naval Chronicles, and the Herald and Forerunner of our subsequent discoveries and victories at sea."[58] He had held offices in Henry VIII's court, having been called from the University of Cambridge where he studied under Sir Thomas Smyth, later Secretary of State.

His importance rests on A Treatyse of the New India, with other new founde landes and Florida, as well eastwards as westwards, as they are known and found in these oure dayes, after the description of Sebastian Mureter, and his booke of Universal Cosmographie. He translated Latin, Italian and Spanish works useful to the State such as Decades de Novo Orbe, and De Arte Navigande.[59] The substance of his works was novel to his public, and their accounts of the wealth of the tropics were the first detailed descriptions they had from the English press.[60]

Placed in the treasury of King Philip through the favor of certain Spanish nobles, Eden fell into disrepute under Queen Mary when he was accused of heresy and as a result was deprived of his office. However, like Hakluyt, he wanted only

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[58]Edward Arber (ed.), The First Three English Books on America, Being chiefly Translations, Compilations by Richard Eden from Writings of Pietro Martire of Anghiera, (Birmingham, 1885), xii.

[59]Ibid., xiv.

[60]Williamson, The Ocean in English History, 63.

a quiet life, suitable for study and was one of the great influences in fashioning the Elizabethan desire for empire and interest in the new world.[61] A treatment of the commercial rivalry of England and Spain would be incomplete without a reference to Richard Hakluyt and Richard Eden who did so much for the English cause.

In the story of the defeat of the Armada sent against England by Philip II, especially when the old manuscripts of the day are studied, one finds much of The Leyenda Negra. Many of them stated that Spain had parties within the English realm which the English feared would adhere to Philip, while others sent up witch cries that the "semi-narites had begun to blossom and send forth daily priests and professed men, who should by vow taken at shrift reconcile her subjects, yea, and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesty's person."[62] Other accounts state:

> . . . the Spanish fleet, after being hounded up Channel, had sustained a crushing feat from the English, a defeat in which they lost many ships and thousands of men before they fled north, a defeat so terrible that nothing could induce them to turn on their pursuers. . .[63]

while others account how they "with a howling and fearful outcry,

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[61] The First Three English Books on America, xiv.

[62] James Spedding, Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, (London, 1861), 1:99. (quoted from a letter to Monsieur Crotoy, Secretary of France, by Sir Francis Walsingham.)

[63] The State Papers Relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, Anno 1588, quoted in Publications of the Navy Records Society, John Knox Laughton, (ed.), (Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1894), 1:ii.

weyed anchor, cut their Cables, hoysed their sayles, cried out upon their rowers, and strooke with a horrible and pannique feare, betooke themselves to a confused flight."[64]

A copy of the letter that Pedro de Alva "did write from Roan, the first of September," is interesting from the Spanish point of view:

> . . . I do not write views of the Spanish armie, because they divers, and woulde gladly write the very trueth. Nowe by the newes which runneth from England, and other places; it is holden for certaine, that they have broken their heads, having sunke many of their shippes, and taken others; and the rest, which they say were twenty-seven shippes, returned, very much battered, to the river of London, which are all those that coulde escape.

No translator is named, but in the next column follows "A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

> This Pedro Alva could be content to send lyes, but he is more warie in the avowing of them; he reporteth lyes, as he saith, that came from other places. But, of all other places, none coulde make a truer report than Calleis, where the Governour, and all the inhabitants, saw the Spanish armie mightily beaten by the English; and it was affirmed, by men of great judgement, that never was seene, by any man living, such a battery. . .

The attack on Spain becomes scurrilous:

> Here followeth from the mountain of lyes, it is reason, that if there were lyers in London, they should send they to Mendoza: for so mendacia are of more price with him than true reports, and so was he

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[64] Darcie's Annales, The True and Royall History of the Famous Empresse Elizabeth, (London, 1625), 279.

> accustomed when he was ambassador in England to buy more lyes because he liked them better than truths.[65]

A copy of a letter sent from England to Bernadino Mendoza, Spanish Ambassador to France, and declaring England to be in opposition to Philip, was found in the Chambers of Richard Leigh, a priest who was lately executed for high treason, committed in the time the Spanish Armada was on the sea. The Appendix to the Letter states that after the defeat of the Armada, the Lord Admiral followed the Spanish navy as far as the 55th degree northwards and then returned, deciding the Spaniards had returned home.

> But within three or four days after this, suddenly there came report to the court that the Spanish navy had refreshed itself in the islands beyond the Orcades, both with water plentifully, and with bread, fish and flesh, as far as their money could get, and would return hither once again to attend on the Duke of Parma's army, to conduct it by sea to England.

Elizabeth and the Council were excited: England was half-mad with fear. The letter continues:

> And upon the return of these seamen to the city, there are spread such reports to move the noblemen, gentleman, ladies, gentlewoman, and all other vulgar persons . . . into a mortal hatred of Spaniards, as the poor Spanish prisoners were greatly afraid to have been massacred. For that it was published and of many believed, that the Lords of Spain, that were in the navy, had made a special division among

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65"A Packe of Spanish Lyes Sent Abroad in the World," Author Unknown, in the Harleian Miscellany, 3:388-389.

> themselves; and had determined of sundry manners of cruel death, both of the Nobility and the rest of the people. The ladies, women and maidens were also destined to all villainy; the rich merchants houses in London were put into a register, by their very names, and to increase more hatred, it was reported that there was a great number of halters brought on the Spanish nave, to strangle the vulgar people; and certain irons graven with marks, to be heated, for the marking of all children on their faces being under seven years of age; that they may be known hereafter to have been children of the conquered nation.[66]

The reports were rumours, however, because when Elizabeth sent the Lord Admiral to investigate, he

> . . . certified that they the Spaniards were beyond the Orcades sailing toward the west, in very evil case, having many of their people dead in those parts and in great distress for lack of masts and also of mariners; a new commandment was given to dissolve the navy, saying that which should attend on the Duke of Parma; and so the Lord Admiral returned with the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Henry Seymour, Lord Sheffield, Sir Francis Drake, with all the captains to the Court.[67]

And yet the rumours continued, adding to The Leyenda Negra, and stirring up English feeling against Spain.

The sermons of the clergymen during Elizabeth's reign were among most powerful factors in the instilling of patriotism and the engendering of enmity for Spain. They realized, especially men like Barlow, Jones, Hakluyt and Abbot, that England's destiny required expansion beyond the seas, and that an attack on Spain's colonial empire was the answer. Philip Jones, a

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[66]"The Copie of a Letter sent out of England to Don Bernardino Mendoza, Ambassador in France for King of Spaine, declaring the State of England, contrary to the opinion of Don Bernardino and of all his partizans, Spaniards and others", in the Harleian Miscellany, I: 160.

[67]Ibid., 160.

preacher from the seaport of Bristol, hoped Sir Francis Drake might by "the terror of Antichrist, the comfort of the Church, the renowne of our kingdom, and the immortality of his own name," while George Abbot, another clergyman and a geographer of Oxford on whom Hakluyt had considerable influence, wrote "An Exposition of the Prophet Jonas", a series of thirty sermons on the recalcitrant missionary to Nineveh in which Abbot revealed his bias against Spanish Catholicism, believing that the safety of England demanded the checking by Protestantism of Spain's imperial expansion.[68]

As rich prizes rolled into the English coffers, zeal for the spread of Protestantism and the extermination of Catholicism grew. "To men who went to their Bibles for their opinions as we go to the newspapers, the Papists easily became Egyptians to be spoiled, Amalekites to be destroyed. Naturally this creed came comfortable to a pirate, and yet to doubt at least some sincerity would be to misunderstand the times. Bishop Jewell informed Elizabeth that to exact reprisals from the Spaniards would be pleasing in the sight of God, while Drake's Chaplain solemnly told him it was lawful to recover his losses from the king of Spain.[69] Always, however, material gain for the English went hand in hand with religious zeal; as Hakluyt says, by fortifying bases to threaten

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[68]Albertus Meirus, Certaine briefs and speciall Instructions, quoted in Wright, Religion and Empire, 37-39.

[69]Julian S. Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy, (London, 1899), 1:154-55.

the West Indies and dangers of popery could be abolished, the cruelty of Spanish churchmen in the New World could be abated, and the Queen could win the sources of the vast wealth in gold and silver which had previously gone to enrich the coffers of Spain.[70]

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[70]Richard Hakluyt, Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 49, 155, 159.

Chapter III

Use and Extension of Anti-Spanish Propaganda in the Sixteenth Century Belles-Lettres of England

It is to the literature that one must go to trace the trends, to ferret out the thought, the policies, the prejudices of a nation because the poet, the dramatist, the singer can do more than anyone else to build a nation's glory or tear it down, to excite men to patriotic endeavor or to revolution. It is in the later Renaissance literature of England that one can read the hatred for Spain, the jealousy, the greed for Spanish wealth that comprised such an integral part of English thought. Patriotism flared brightly in the ballads, the drama; and always that patriotism was expressed in terms derogatory to Spain and Catholicism which, as has been noted earlier, were practically synonomous to the Elizabethan man. At times the Anti-Spanish Propaganda is blatant; at times it subtly masquerades under jingoism and adroit attacks on the Papacy. Always, however, it wielded a powerful influence over noble and commoner alike.

In moments of national crisis, singing does much to relieve tension, to boost morale. Elizabethan England knew this propaganda technique, and scores of balladists exhausted their vocabularies of phrases incandescent with hatred of foreign foes. Their ballads described the villainy of Spaniards, and "encouraged native sons to do battle against a foe reputed to have loaded a ship with strange whips and instruments of torture to persuade the English to return to the popish fold;"

while for years after the Armada, "the glory of the Queen, the nobility of the struggle of the English against the Spaniards at sea, the riches of captured prizes" were favorite themes that entertained tradesmen on London streets.[1]

One of the typical ballads hawked about the streets was "Elizabeth Lard Saue," written in 1588 by Richard Tarleton, well known jester and mounteband of the times. Stanzas illustrative of the general tenor of the ballad indicate the lengths to which the writers of the period went in order to stir up public feeling:

. . .

Gods word with sword, and eke her crowne
from foes she doth defend:
yet pagan pope, yt filthy sort of Rome,
ye devill doth legat send
To spoile s^r Juell braue.
But god will haue nosing ill don:
he teacheth england how to shonne,
and traitors to ye gallows runne--
Elizabeth lord saue,
and still defend her with thy hand,
her happie daies to pass ye sand,
so shall this be a blessed land.

The spanish spite, which made y^e papiste boast,
hath done them little good:
god dealt with them as w^th king Pharoes host,
who were drowned in y^e flood.
Elizabeth to saue.

The lord him selfe w^th stretched arme
did quell ther rage y^t sought o^r harme:
ther threatening brother y^e lord did charme--
Elizabeth so braue.
The lord did quite from tirant swaye,
and traitors lost ther hoped daye:
grant all her foes, lord, like decays.

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[1]Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, (Chapel Hill, 1935), 422-23.

The subtill engines y^{t} her foes prepared to
work o^{r} fatall fall,
are turned to snares wherew^{t} the, selves are snared,
Elizabeth so braue.[2]

A ballad, written by Thomas Ellis, in praise of Frobisher notes:

The glittering flece that he doth bringe,
In value suer is more
Than Jasons was, or Alcyds frute,
wher of was mad such store.
And cruell monster he doth tame,
and men of sauage kind,
And searcheth out the swellings seas,
and coutries straunge doth find

And brings fom treasu to his land,
And doth enrich the same---- [3]

Hundreds of anti-Spanish ballads now lost are recorded in The Stationer's Register, and many extolling the exploits of the sea dogs, have sunk into oblivion.[4] "Dick of Devonshire" was very popular, condoning every excess on the part of the buccaneers just because they were English

Spain's anger never blew hot coals indeed
Till in Queen Elizabeth's reign then (may I call him so)
That glory of his country and Spain's terror,
That wonder of the land and the sea's minion,
Drake, of eternal memory, harried the Indies.

Nombre de Dios, Cartagena, Hispaniola,
With Cuba and the rest of those fair sisters,
The Mermaids of the seas, whose golden strings
Gave him sweetest music, when they by Drake
And his brave ginges were ravished: when these red apples
Were gathered and brought hither to be pared,
Then the Castilian lion began to roar.

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[2]Richard Williams, (ed.), Ballads from Manuscripts, (Hertford, 1873), 2:93.

[3]Ibid., 283-2.

[4]Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, (Chapel Hill, 1935), 422-423.

When on ships
Carrying such fire-drakes in them that huge
Spanish galleasses, galleons, hulks and caracks,
Being great with gold, in labor with some fright,
Were all delivered of fine red-cheeked children
At Plymouth, Portsmouth, and other English havens,
And only by man-mid wives: had not Spain reason
To cry out, On Diables Ingless.[5]

"Brave War-like Song," although recounting the valor of Richard I and Edward I, has a stanza near the end which shows how balladists, with their fingers on the popular pulse, and their cognizance of the power of song, used sea-dog allusions freely. These allusions, although they are not The Leyenda Negra, acclimated the people for it and cannot be ignored in a study of it.

Cumberland and Essex,
Norris and brave Drake
I'th raigne of Queen Elizabeth
did many battles make.

Adventurous Martin Frobisher,
With Hawkins and some more,
From sea did bring great riches
unto our English shore.[6]

It is interesting to note that even in Edmund Spenser's great metrical allegory, The Faerie Queene, the legend abides. The story of Samient introduces the attempts of Philip to undermine the power of Elizabeth. She (Elizabeth) represents Ireland, and serves Mercilla, who represents gentleness and mercy . . . Mercilla is in danger from the mechanizations of a mighty man

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[5]Felix Schelling, Foreign Influences in Elizabethan Plays, (New York, 1923), 110-111.

[6]Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, 422.

That with fell despight and deadly hate
Seeks to subvert her crowne and dignity,
And all his power doth thereupon apply.
. . .
Ne him sufficeth all the wrongs and ill
Which he unter her people does each day:
But that he seeks by trayous traines to spill
Her person, and her sacred selfe to slay:
That, O ye Heavens, defend! and turn away
From her unto the miscreant himself:
That neither hate religion nor fay,
But makes his God of his ungodly pelfe
And idols serves: so let his Idols serve the Elfe.
(Stanzas 19, 20 Canto 8 Book 5)
. . .

Throughout this Canto is a picture of Philip, secretly plotting against England, trusting in his riches. There are allusions to the vast stores of gold secured from the American voyages, allusions to his "idolatry". The Saracens sent to destroy Samient represent the Spanish expeditions designed to wrest Ireland from England, one of which Grey destroyed at Smerwick. The triumph of Arthur over the Soldan is a prophecy of the end of Philip.[7] Another allegory has been traced in the Faerie Queen, Book IV.

> Britomart is fated to overthrow the new Achilles, Marinell. These parallels indicate that the fall of Marinell corresponds to the death of Turnus in historical significance, and represents the turning point of the war which was to establish the British Empire as the second Rome, the third Troy. The Achilles of Spenser's Troy was the seapower of Spain, guardian of the wealth of the Indies (the Rich Strond) Britomart's victory over Marinell symbolizes the passage of sea-power from Spain to England.[8]

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[7]Edwin Greenlaw, Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory, (Baltimore, 1932), 143-144.

[8]Isabel Rathbone, "The Political Allegory of Florimell-Marinell Story," English Literary History, 12(Dec. 1945): 280-281.

It is in the drama, more than in any other literary type, that The Leyenda Negra resides. A tract printed abroad in 1592 states: "And therefore as an introduction here-unto, to make him (the King of Spain) odious unto the people, certain players were suffered to scoffe and jest at upon their common stages; and the like was used in the contempt of his religion . . ."[9] One of the most vitriolic satires of the period was Midas written by John Lyly, a re-application of Ovid's Metamorphoses. The story can be briefly summarized.

> Bacchus, in return for the hospitality of Midas, King of Phrigia, offers to grant him anything he may desire. Eristur advises him to ask his mistress; Martius, the sovereignty of the world; but Midas prefers the advice of a third councillor, Mellacrites and asks that his touch may turn everything into gold. A brief exercise of this power, which operates on his food, wine, raiment, the god's advice he bathes in the Pactolus, and transfers to its waters the fatal gift. A mood of sullen discountent follows. As he is hunting in a wood on Mount Tmolus he comes upon the Gods Pan and Appollo about to engage in a musical competition, of which the Nymphs are to be the umpires. Associated with them in this function, Midas decides for Pan, and his crass judgment is punished by Apollo with asses' ears. For a time he contrives to conceal them beneath a tiara; but the Nymphs have spread the news of this disgrace, and the words 'Midas the king hath asses' ears,' spoken by shepherds, are reproduced by some reeds as they wave in the wind. This prodigy is reported to the king by his discreet and affectionate daughter Sophronia, by whose advice he seeks Apollo's oracle at Delphi. There on his acknowledgement of folly and profession of repentance the curse is removed, and he returns to Phrygia vowing to relinquish those designs of conquest, especially against the heroic islanders of Lesbos, his ill-success in which has supplied the undercurrent of his thoughts throughout the play.

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9 "A Declaration of the True Causes of the Great Troubles Supposed to be Intended Against the Realms of England," quoted in Warwick R. Bond, (ed.), The Complete Works of John Lyly, (Oxford, 1802), 2:111.

> Comic relief is sought in the relations between some Courtpages and the royal barber Motto, who, robbed by them of the golden beard he has cut from Midas' chin, recovers it by curing Petulus's toothache; but is afterwards entrapped into treasonable utterance of the secret of the asses' ears, and compelled to surrender the beard as the price of their silence.[10]

Lyly added a few comic elements, namely the Pages, Pipenetta and the Huntsman, and the contest between the pages and barber for the possession of the golden beard. He added, too, the characters of Sophronia and her ladies and the three councillors and credited Midas with ambitious designs on Lesbos to represent the Armada. The play was intended as a satire on Philip, so Lyly used the gift of changing everything into gold to symbolize the mines of South America. Halpin in Oberon's Vision (Shakespeare Soc. 1843, p. 104) gives the following key to the allegory:

Midas, king of Phrygia ...	Philip of Spain
Isles north of Phrygia ...	British Isles
Lesbos	England
Getulia, Lycaonia, Sola, etc.	Portugal, the Netherlands and other countries tyrannized over by Philip
Bacchus	the Genius of the Indies
The Golden gift	influx of precious metals into Spain
Pactolus (with golden sands)	The Tagus
The contest of music	controversy over the reformation

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[10]Warwick R. Bond, (ed.), The Complete Works of John Lyly, (Oxford, 1802), 3:107.

Pann (Catholic)	Papal Supremacy
Apollo	Protestant Sovereignty
Syrinx	the Roman Catholic Faith
Daphne	the Protestant Faith
Motte (who betrays the ears of Midas	Anthonio Perez, Philip' Secretary, banished for betraying secrets
Sophronia (daughter and successor of Midas)..	Isabella, Philip's daughter to whom, on her marrying the Archduke Albert, he resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands
Martius	The Dukes of Medina Sidonia and D'Alva: and Ruy Gomez de Libra. [sic]
The golden beard	the order of the Golden Fleece.

Bond points out that Halpin probably carries the allegory too far, especially since we may note that Philip's decision for Catholicism instead of Protestantism can hardly be represented as a secret that he conceals; but there can be little doubt about the identification of Martius, whose "councill hath shed as much blood as would make another sea" with the pitiless Alva. The play abounds with allusions to Philip's covetousness, treachery and tyranny and to current events, such as the bloodshed in the Netherlands, the defeat of the Armada, the expedition of Drake and Norreys, and others.[11] One can note the adroit use of anti-Spanish propaganda in Midas' lines in Act I Scene I as he speaks to his lords:

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[11] Ibid., 109-111.

> Come, my Lords, I wil with golde paue my Court, and deck with golde my turrets, these pretty ilands neer to Phrygia shal totter, and other kingdoms be turned topsie turuie. . . (11. 110-113)

Again in Act 3 Scene I his soliloquy teems with The Leyenda Negra:

> . . . Miserable Mydas, as vnaduised in thy wish, as in thy successe vnfortunat. O vnquenchable thirst of gold, which turneth mens heads to lead, and makest them blinde in vse. I that did possesse mynes of golde, coulde not bee contented till my mynde were also a myne. Could not the treasure of Phrygia, nor the tributes of Greence, nor mountains in the East, whose guts are gold, satisfie thy minde with golde? Ambition eateth golde, and drinketh bloode: climeth so high by other mens heads, that she breaketh her owne necke. What should I doo with a world of ground, whose bodie must be content with seuen foote of earth? Or why did I couet to get so many crownes, hauing my selfe but one head? Those that tooke smal vessels at the sea, I accompted Pyrates; an my selfe that suppressed whole Fleetes, a Conqueror: as though robberies of Mydas might masque vnder the names of triumphs, and the traffic of other Nations bee called treacherie. [Lyly was writing with an eye to Elizabeth and her sea dogs.] Thou has pampered vp thy selfe with slaughter as Diomede did his horse with blood; so vnsatiable thy thirst, so heauie thy sword. Two bookes haue I alwaies carried in my bosome, calling them the dagger, and the sword; in which the names of all Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen were dedicated to slaughter, or if not (which worse is) to slauerie. O my Lords, when I call to mind my cruelties in Lycaonia [the Netherlands], my vsurping in Getulia [Portugal] my oppression in Sola [the other lands over which Philip ruled] then do I finde neither mercies in my conquests, nor colour for my warres, nor measure in my taxes. I haue written my lawes in blood, and made my Gods of golde; I haue caused the mothers wombes to bee their childrens tombes, cradles to swimme in blood like boates, and the temples of the Gods a stewes for strumpets. Haue I not made the sea to groane vnder the number of my ships: and haue they not perished, that there was not left two to make a

> number? [The Spanish Armada] Haue I not thrust my subjects into a Camp, like oxen into a cart; whom hauing made slaues by vnust warres, I vse now as slaues for all wares? Haue I not entised the subjects of my neighbor Princes to destroy their natural Kings? Like woormes that consume the wood in which they were ingendered? To what kingdome haue not I pretended clayme? as though I had been by the Gods created herre apparent to the world, making eurie trifle a title; and all the territories about me, yraitours to me. Why did I wish that all might bee golde I touche, but that I thought all mens hearts would bee touched with golde, that what policies could not compasse, nor prowess, golde might haue commanded, and conquered? A bridge of golde did I mean to make in that Island where my nauie could not make a breach. Those Ilandes did I long to touch, that I might turne them to gold, and my selfe to glorie. But vnhappie Mydas, who by the same meanes perisheth himself, that he thought to conquer others: being now become a shame to the world, a scorne to that petie Prince, and to thy selfe a consumption.[12]

Thus does Lyly embody in Midas, 1589, the national sense of triumph over the aggression of Philip of Spain and the English hatred of all things Spanish.

Allusions, brief but definite, have been found to The Leyenda Negra in the three major plays of Christopher Marlowe. In Doctor Faustus, Faust begs Mephistopholes to help him. If he does he'll

> . . . levy soldiers
> And chase the Prince of Parma from our land
> And reign sole king of all our provinces . . . [13]

Hume points out that

> it has been so frequently asserted as to pass almost as an article of faith that Marlowe's Barabbas in

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[12] Ibid., 111.

[13] Hazelton Spencer, Elizabethan Plays (Boston, 1933), 43-44.

> "The Jew of Malta" if not his "Doctor Faustus" was a direct representation of the famous Portuguese Jew Court Physician, Dr. Lopez . . . when the "Jew of Malta" was written, Lopez was in high favor at court, and although doubtless his medical rivals and others looked askance at him as a poisoner, it would not have been safe for any playwright to hold him up too plainly to public execration upon the London stage.[14]

However, others state that the character Barabbas was supposed to represent the Protestant idea of Philip of Spain, and Abigail was said to be Philip's daughter, Isabelle of Valois.[15]

In Tamburlaine one cannot fail to note the lines:

> I will confute these blind geographers,
> That make a triple region of the world
> Excluding regions which I mean to trace
> And with this pen reduce them to a map.
> (Part I, Scene IV)

Here Marlowe is attacking the Spaniard and the Pope, and is counting on roars of approval from his audience; every Englishman knew that whatever land an English seaman might discover, the Spaniard or Portuguese had a prior claim thereto, backed by Papal sanction. "The diplomates of Spain, Portugal and the Vatican are the 'blind geographers' who made a triple region in the world when, June 7, 1497, they signed the Treaty of Tordesillas."[16] Scudder concludes by emphasizing the fact that "No Briton of Spirit could fail to respond to a Tamburlaine who proposed to re-draw such maps with a sword."[17]

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[14] Martin Hume, "Spanish Influences in English Literature," Transactions of the Royal Society of the United Kingdom, (London, 1909-10) 29:27.

[15] Eleanor G. Clark, Raleigh and Marlowe: A Study of Elizabethan Faustian, (Fordham University Press, 1941) Part 2, 452.

[16] Harold Scudder, "An Allusion in Tamburlaine," London Times Literary Supplement, No. 1622, (March 2, 1933):147.

[17] Ibid., 147.

It is interesting to note that the only allusion to The Leyenda Negra in Ben Jonson's sixteenth century plays is contained in Every Man in His Humour, (Act III, Scene I), and that merely refers to Drake's Golden Hind. The plays of Shakespeare, however, are subtly attuned to the public temper and in a number of the earlier plays adroit and timely handling of patriotism, nationalism, and West Indian references helped fan national fervor, while the very prevalence of chronicle plays and historical dramas among Shakespeare's plays can be attributed to this nationalism.[18] The speech of the dying John of Gaunt in the Play, Richard II, (Act II, Scene I), is imbued with this spirit.

The date of Shakespeare's King John may account for the fervid nationalism which pervades every scene and inspires the utterances of the dramatis personae, produced as it was eight years after the destruction of the Spanish Armada when all Englishmen were still thrilling with hatred for the foreigner and were bound to each other by ties of religious patriotism.[19] The dialogue between Pandulph, papal legate, and King John must have been "like sweet honey to the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth, to whom undoubtedly Shakespeare paid his court in writing them," for she had been through exactly such a papal struggle as was now to follow in the case of King John.

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[18]Beverly E. Warner, English History in Shakespeare's Plays, (New York, 1899), 6.

[19]Ibid., 19.

She felt the "supreme headship" of the Church as keenly as any one who preceded or followed her, and it was largely through her personality which epitomized the thought and the feeling of the day, that England was an armed camp of religious and patriotic soldiers;[20] always, as has been noted, the Papacy and Spain were linked in English minds. Thus, many of the speeches of King John are directed against the Papacy and, indirectly, against Spain, conditioning the audience for the acceptance of The Leyenda Negra. In Act IV, Scene VII, when King John boastfully exclaims

> Thus England never did, and never shall
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself.
> Now these her princes are come home again,
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.

Shakespeare, as a true Englishman, was flinging a challenge at Spain.

Spanish personages, of course, are scattered up and down the pages of the Elizabethan drama, and for the most part are caricatures and drawn with an unfriendly pen. Don Armado of Love's Labor's Lost is Shakespeare's outstanding burlesque of the Spanish braggart,[21] a type figure of Italian comedy and a phenomenon of Elizabethan England. Because the "Spanish nation loomed gigantic in the world of politics, finance, arms,

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[20] Ibid., 36.

[21] Schelling, Foreign Influences in Elizabethan Plays, 116.

literature, and the drama, dwarfing all other nations by its greatness, though that greatness was rapidly tottering, the character of its people, reflecting their national predominance and pride, was often represented . . . boastful, overbearing and presumptuous.[22] The Spanish braggart first grew to comic stature in popular Italian comedy. In Italy it was inevitable that the boastful soldier of Plautus and Terence should be a Spaniard because during most of the sixteenth century, parts of Italy were occupied by the Spanish army. Naturally the native population hated the soldiers, so dramatists employed the age-old stage figure as a means of satirizing the detested Spaniard, converting the Latin braggart into a Spanish swashbuckler, absurdly haughty and ceremonious and a master of grandiloquence.[23] From Italian drama it was but a step to English imitation.

Every writer of standing in the Renaissance era produced his collection of epigrammatic gems, either drawn from his work or steadily compiled; the polishing of these gems of wisdom in the form of proverbs, apothegms, or sentences for the instruction of sons or friends was a favorite literary occupation. At times the practice went to ridiculous lengths. The famous Antonio Perez "gave powerful impetus to this ten-

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[22]Martin Hume, "Spanish Influences in English Literature", 24.

[23]Oscar J. Campbell, Shakespeare's Satire, (New York, 1943), 37-38.

dency of sententious proverbial expression in English letters . . . outdoing Lyly himself in the affected obscurity and pompous allusiveness which was fashionable in Elizabeth's court."[24]

> Shakespeare's lines abound in clever hits at both the . . . pompous alliteration and allusiveness of Perez in the speeches of Falstaff, when in the roystering frolic at 'The Boar's Head' he represents the King and considers it necessary to use the court language in the first part of Henry IV. It is burlesqued again more broadly still in the characters of the two pedants in Love's Labor's Lost, and Armado of the same play, and in the conversation between Osric and Hamlet; whilst the admonition of youth by means of sage maxims, which were purely of Spanish origin, is immortalized in Polonius.[25]

Antonio Perez had been Secretary of State to Philip II of Spain and his most trusted friend. When hatred rose between the two men, Antonio Perez devoted his life to blackening Philip's reputation and serving his enemies in France and England. A man of vast ability and inordinate vanity, he was welcomed by the Earl of Essex and the Bacons. Subtle, witty, malicious, he betrayed everybody who trusted him. Though he was feared by the court, he was an object of ridicule because of his posturings and gesturings; he was over-dressed, extravagant, inflated in speech.[26]

In Love's Labor's Lost, Biron precipitates a description of Perez when he asks if there is any recreation at court. The

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[24]Hume, "Spanish Influences in English Literature", 14.

[25]Ibid., 14.

[26]Ibid., 27-30.

King answers:

> Ay, that there is. Our court, you know, is haunted
> With a refined traveler of Spain:
> A man in all the world's new fashions planted.
> That hath a mint of phrases in his brain;
> One whom the music of his own vain tongue
> Doth ravish like enchanting harmony;
> A man of complements, whom right and wrong
> Have chose as umpire of their mutiny:
> This child of fancy that Armado hight
> For interim in our studies shall relate
> In high born words the worth of many a knight
> From tawny Spain lost in the world's debate.
> How you delight, my lords, I know not, I:
> But I protest, I love to hear him lie
> And I will use him for my minstrelsy.
> (Act I, Scene II)

Later Boyet says:

> This Armado is a Spaniard, that keeps here in court:
> A phantasime, a Monarcho, and one that makes sport
> To the prince and his bookmates.
> (Act IV, Scene I)

The climax of the satire on the Spaniard is achieved when Holofernes states:

> Novi hominem tanquam te: his humor is lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestical and his general behaviour vain, ridiculous, and trasonical. He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were, too peregrinate . . .
> (Act V, Scene I)

The use of the word "peregrinate" is meaningless unless one realizes that Perez's favorite pseudonym was "Peregrino" meaning pilgrim. He signed his letters with that name and even wrote a book under it. The word "odd"also was significant. Standen, one of the Bacon-Essex secretaries, wrote of Perez: "Surely he is, as we may say, an odd man, and hath a full sight everywhere."[27]

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[27] Ibid., 33.

The characters of Bobadil, Captain Tucca, and Ancient Pistol have also been set forth as caricatures of the Spaniards.[28] Ancient or Ensign Pistol, in particular, "the swaggering soldier who had picked up Spanish expletives, is evidently a burlesque upon the boastful captain of the grandiose Spanish drama, ostentatious, presumptuous and grandiloquent, that so many Englishmen had met upon the fields of Flanders and elsewhere . . . and made a coward as well as a radamont."[29]

The writing of Titus Andronicus has been attributed to the massacre in Antwerp known to history as The Spanish Fury of Nov. 4, 1576. Eva Turner Clarke, one of the foremost advocates of the theory that the Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere, wrote the plays of Shakespeare, insists that "in writing Titus Andronicus the Earl of Oxford for the first time undertook to serve his Queen and his country by means of the drama," depicting "the horrors of the Spanish Fury, committed by Spanish Catholics, in the killing of the sons of Andronicus,." She believes that by suggesting other atrocities on the stage, the playwright was pointing out other dangers to contemporary Englishmen. The character of Saturninus she identifies with Philip of Spain.[30]

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[28]Shelling, Foreign Influences in Elizabethan Plays, 116.

[29]Hume,"Spanish Influences in English Literature," 25.

[30]Eva Turner Clarke, Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays, (New York, 1931), 45-50.

It is interesting to note that The Harleian Miscellany contains a report of an attempted poisoning of Elizabeth by Philip II, a report which, when it was published in 1594 climaxed English hatred for Spain, and which gives a new slant on one of Shakespeare's most fascinating characters.

> For he (Philip) did it by offering (through his tools or agents) Dr. Roderic Lopez, her majesty's physician, 50,000 crowns to poison her, but the money being delayed, and the matter detected, by one of her privy councellors, Dr. Lopez, and his accomplices, Stephen Ferara and Manuel Lewis, were, after due trial and conviction executed.[31]

A modern authority in analyzing this episode on Shakespeare states

> The Merchant of Venice was written when all England was shocked at this accusation that had brought Lopez to the gallows. The man who had (so it was untruly said) conspired with the national enemy, Spain, to poison his benefactress the Queen, and had appealed to Christ upon the gallows to prove his innocence, was beyond pity; and I have no doubt that the actor who first represented the part did manage to suggest to his audience the person of the unhappy Jew Lopez. That Shakespeare himself intended to suggest some resemblance between his typical Hebrew usurer and the man whom all England hated is more than probable. The name of Lopez suggests wolf, and wolf is again and again applied go Shylock as a characteristic term. The gallows, too, is frequently mentioned in connection with his fate, though Shylock in the play is of course allowed to go free; and Lopez's sanctimonious expression during his trial and execution would seem to suggest Antonio's words of Shylock, "The devill can cite Scripture for his purpose."[32]

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[31]"A True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies, of late time detected to have, by barbarous murders, taken away the life of the queen's most excelled majestie, whom Almighty God hath miraculously conserved, against the treacheries of her rebelles, and the violence of her most puissant enemies", in the Harleian Miscellany, 10:370-71

[32]Hume, "Spanish Influences in English Literature", 27.

Certainly Shakespeare's allusions to the Indies were premeditated. A further example, veiled but definite, of Shakespeare's use of anti-Spanish haughtiness and propaganda, can be noted in The Merchant of Venice. The pride of the hated Spaniard is alluded to in the casket choosing scene when the Prince of Aragon selects the silver one because he will not jump with the common spirit.

In Merry Wives of Windsor, Falstaff, referring to his intrigues with Mistress Ford and Mistress Page, exclaims:

> Here's another letter to her; she bears the purse, too; she is a region in Guinea, all gold and bounty. I will be cheater to them both, and they shall be exchequers to me; and they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade them both.
> (Act I, Scene IV)

In Comedy of Errors, Dromio of Syracuse, describing Nell, insists he could "find out countries in her," saying he could find Spain in the heat of her breath. When Antipholis asks where in her body he could find the Indies, he answers:

> Oh, sir, upon her nose, all o'er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain; who sent whole armadoes of caracks to be ballast at her nose.

Peele's Edward I, printed in 1593, is another example of the exultant nationalism rampant in England after the defeat of the Armada. To such a pitch does this spirit carry Peele that he presents Elinor of Castile as a cruel and adulterous Spaniard,[33] thereby outrageously transforming a charitable and estimable queen into a monster of craft and wickedness,

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[33]Thomas M. Parrott, Shakespearean Comedy, (New York, 1949), 70.

and giving literature an unjust perversion of historical truth.[34]

Robert Green, also a poet and dramatist of the era, relates in The Spanish Masquerade, published in 1589, how he "discovered his conscience in religion in England's conflict with Anti-Christ and her triumph over the Armada." Here he discovers "effectuallie, in certaine breefe Sentences and Mottoes, the pride and insolence of the Spanish estate . . . whereunto by the Author, for the better understanding of his device, is added a breefe glosse." The work is uninspired: Greene had probably picked up an anti-Catholic tract and translated it. The occasion was so ripe that any pamphlet with Spanish on its title page would find a ready market.[35]

Among lost plays mentioned by Henslowe in his diary, two plays are noted as clearly unhistorical historical plays, calculated to please an English crowd whose appetite for stories of English valor abroad craved more examples than even the defeat of the Spanish Armada could afford them: The Earl of Gloster, and The Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt.[36] Thus did the Elizabethan playwrights "besmirch both France and Spain. The shillings of the groundlings rolled in more merrily to such tunes.[37]

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[34]Schelling, Foreign Influences in Elizabethan Plays, 113.

[35]Quoted in John Clark Jordan, Robert Greene, (New York, 1915), 53.

[36]Ibid., 53.

[37]George Brandes, William Shakespeare, (New York, 1927), 158.

The literature of an age is always an index of the times. The subtle dissemination of propaganda via the song, the poem, the drama was a technique the Elizabethan dramatist and balladist was not slow in learning. From the belles lettres of the age, it is not difficult to conclude a determination on the part of England to let nothing stand in the way of empire and of domination over Spain and Rome. The conditioning of the people by blatant jingoism and attacks on Rome and the fostering of anti-Spanish prejudice by means of The Leyenda Negra were all part of the campaign. How well that campaign progressed can be seen by the fact that The Leyenda Negra endures till the present day.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has not been to refute The Leyenda Negra, but to present a panorama of the sixteenth century with emphasis on the political, religious, colonial, and commercial situation as all four were affected by Spain's domination of Europe and the West Indies. All four points were stressed as causes of hatred for Spain, with particular emphasis on the commercial aspect as Spanish control over the West Indies was an obstacle to England's imperial policy.

Spain and Catholicism were synonomous--so if protestant England was to destroy the power of Catholic Spain, she must attack the Church, as well as the nation. What better tool than the Brevissima of Bartholome de las Casas! Therefore, it was necessary to treat Bartholome de las Casas, in detail with emphasis on his work which was to serve as England's greatest excuse for her offensive against Spanish trade and commerce, for her piracy on the high seas, for her raids in the Indies. With the welfare of the Indians so much at heart, Las Casas eloquently and dramatically had pictured the abuses they were forced to endure. Although England was not concerned with the welfare of the Indians, and did not intend to intervene to halt the abuses they were forced to suffer, she pounced on the bloody horrors, the slavery, the rapacity of the Catholic Spaniards as pictured by Las Casas; she avidly seized upon his exaggerations, reprinting the more horrible

passages of The Brevissima, to stir the English to crusading zeal and patriotic plunder, even mistranslating some portions to serve this end.

The use and extension of the legend which grew out of The Brevissima formed the major part of this thesis. The English writers of the times made no effort to distill the truth from Las Casas' Brevissima but rather used and extended it to serve their purpose. The later Renaissance literature of England, permeated with sometimes subtle, sometimes blatant anti-Spanish propaganda, is an index of the popular temper. Greed, jealousy, religious fervor and patriotism are woven into Shakespeare's, Lyly's and Peele's dramas and Spenser's Faerie Queen.

The chronicles, the ballads and the sermons also give ample evidence that Elizabethan Englishmen understood the power of the pen. They realized that the buccaneering exploits of the sea dogs against Spain had to be explained and exonerated. There was no better way of doing so than to quote from the record of Spanish misdeeds as written by a Roman Catholic Bishop--himself a Spaniard.

England had no greater Apostle of Empire than Richard Hakluyt. It was necessary to expatiate on Hakluyt because in his Discourse Concerning Western Planting, he dwelt on the cruelties of Spain toward the Indians in his efforts to promote English colonization and conquest.

It is true that history cannot extenuate Spanish cruelty toward the Indians nor deny the truth of it. However, the price of exploitation of the weak by the strong has always been suffering, hatred, blood and brutality. It was not new in the sixteenth century. Certainly it is not rare in the twentieth. Distance has always hampered the most enlightened colonial measures; human greed will always try to by-pass just and wise laws. Spanish conquistadors were no exception, but Indo-China, Guinea Coast, the Congo and the United States could all furnish their Brevissima. Had the English not popularized The Leyenda Negra so widely, had they not exploited every sentence as propaganda, the work of Las Casas would probably be forgotten.

The Leyenda Negra, outgrowth of sixteenth century rivalry between England and Spain and political and religious differences, endures today primarily because English writers of the sixteenth century realized the importance of the written word and of propaganda as well as warfare on the high seas as a measure to bring about the defeat of the enemy.

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