

## *Robert Hayman and the Plantation of Newfoundland*

THE main purpose of this paper is to put into print a remarkable appeal to King Charles I which has hitherto remained in manuscript, but it may be permissible also to give an account of the author, partly because a fuller account can be given than has yet seen the light,<sup>1</sup> and partly because Robert Hayman had such a single-minded and unquenchable enthusiasm for the cause of British colonization that he deserves to be more than the shadow of a name to later generations who have entered into the fruit of his labours.

Robert Hayman was baptized at Wolborough, Devon (near Newton Abbot), on 14 August 1575, as the son of Nicholas Hayman. Nicholas was the eldest son of Robert Hayman, who was apparently a substantial yeoman there and had a number of other sons who mostly married and remained in the parish of Wolborough. Not so Nicholas. He had married Amis, an illegitimate daughter (apparently) of John Raleigh of Ford, Newton Abbot, elder half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. Four children were baptized at Wolborough, between September 1574 and March 1578. After this Nicholas removed from Newton Abbot to Totnes, where he became secretary of the Merchants' Company. Five more children were born to him and his wife at Totnes, the baptism of the last being followed a month later by the death of its mother, Amis Hayman (buried 15 May 1586).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The life of Robert Hayman in the 1908 reprint of the *Dictionary of National Biography* contained additional matter taken from a communication made by me to *Notes and Queries*, 10th ser., x. 23-4. Mr. W. P. Courtney supplied a missing link, 11th ser., ii. 206, and a further communication from me appeared on p. 270. Lately, by help of wills and registers, I have cleared up further points in Hayman's family history. My friend Mr. J. H. Sleeman, late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, kindly consulted the Wolborough registers for me.

<sup>2</sup> The children baptized at Wolborough were Mary, 12 September 1574, Robert, 14 August 1575, Anna, 5 September 1576, Richard, 28 March 1578; those baptized at Totnes, Margaret, 6 November 1579, Richard, 21 November 1580, Amis, 7 August 1582, Jenni, 18 September 1583, and a daughter unnamed, 16 April 1586. The name of Hayman's wife is given only in the Totnes register, but the children followed each other so closely that there can be little doubt that Amis was mother of them all. If so, she was a daughter of John Raleigh of Ford. For Robert Hayman, Nicholas's father, by his will (at Somerset House, 12 Daughtry) made 21 January 1576/7 (proved

Nicholas Hayman was an active and influential man at Totnes. He was one of a deputation of Totnes merchants who went to confer with the merchants of Exeter on 11 June 1583, and on 25 April 1586 we find him contributing £25 towards the defences of the country. He represented Totnes in the parliament of October 1586–March 1587, and was mayor in 1589. He subsequently removed to Dartmouth, and represented Dartmouth, Clifton, and Hardness in the parliament of February–April 1593. He died at Dartmouth between January and May 1606.<sup>3</sup>

He may have provided for his elder son, Robert, some time before. When he made his will, 3 January 1605/6,<sup>4</sup> he makes only these references to him :

I give and bequeath unto Robert Hayman my sonne my sea-chest wherein my writings are and all writings therein which unto him shalbe appertaininge and also all my bookes. Item I give and bequeath unto the said Robert Hayman two guilte gobletts and a guilte salter hertofore given unto him by his grandfather Rawleigh and his grandfather Hayman by theire Wills. Item I give and bequeath unto the said Robert Hayman my best guilte goblet having a picture engraven in him, and also my signett of gold. Robert Hayman was to be one of three overseers of the will, the others being Mr. Thomas Holland of Dartmouth and William Niel, the town clerk.

We get some impression of Nicholas Hayman from the facts recorded of him. He belonged to the new merchant class sprung of yeoman ancestry. He could not write himself 'armigero', but he possessed land and carried on different businesses; he had been a mayor and twice a member of parliament, and he had sent his son to Oxford. Above all, he was a Devonshire man of the age of the Armada, closely connected with the Raleighs and Gilberts, and one who could call Sir Francis Drake his friend.

4 April 1577), divided his landed property among his sons, leaving the residue to his son Nicholas. He left further 'To Robert Hayman the sonne of Nicholas Hayman [then eighteen months old], my best Goblett gilte and my best silver Salte gilte'. John Raleigh of Ford, by will (54 Rutland) of 28 October 1585 (proved 1 August 1588), bequeathed 'unto Robert Hayman the sonne of Nicholas Hayman one goblett of silver which I bought of Robert Hayman deceased'. Finally, Nicholas Hayman, by will (now in the Probate Registry, Exeter) made 3 January 1605/6 and proved 23 May 1606, bequeathed to his son Robert 'two guilte gobletts and a guilte salter hertofore given unto him by his grandfather Rawleigh and his grandfather Hayman by theire Wills'.

<sup>3</sup> By his will he left 40s. to the poor people of Newton Abbot, Dartmouth, and Totnes respectively, and to his daughter Amice 'the shopp sellar and courteladge over against my house wherein I now dwell in Dartmouth w<sup>ch</sup> I have and hold of the Ffeoffees of Dartmouth for a certaine tearme of yeeres not yet expired', and 'all my timber in the salteseller by the Guildhale of Dartmouth and all my sealinge timber in the farther shopp in the house where I dwell'. To his son Richard he left a tenement called Staplehill in the parish of Hieweeke (Highweek) and three tenements in Newton Abbot which he had purchased of his brother Roger [and which had formerly belonged to their father]. His residuary legatee was his second wife, Joyce.

<sup>4</sup> Proved 23 May 1606.

Robert Hayman's boyhood was spent at Totnes. He was a lad of 13 at the great victory of 1588. He was himself half a Raleigh. It is easy to understand that the spirit of those stirring times, the spirit of the great Devonshire navigators and adventurers, entered into his blood and remained there to the end. In the most charming lines he ever wrote he tells how, as a child, he had seen and been kissed by Sir Francis Drake :

*Of the Great and Famous, euer to bee honoured Knight, Sir Francis Drake,  
and of my little-little selfe.*

The *Dragon*, that our Seas did raise his Crest,  
And brought back heapes of gold vnto his nest,  
Vnto his Foes more terrible then *Thunder*,  
Glory of his age, After-ages *wonder*,  
Excelling all those that excell'd before ;  
It's fear'd we shall haue none such any more ;  
Effecting all, he sole did vndertake,  
Valiant, iust, wise, milde, honest, godly *Drake*.  
This man when I was little, I did meete,  
As he was walking vp *Totnes* long Street,  
He ask'd me whose I was ? I answer'd him.  
He ask'd me if his good friend were within ?  
A faire red *Orange* in his hand he had,  
He gaue it me, whereof I was right glad,  
Takes and kist me, and prayes, *God blesse my boy* :  
Which I record *with comfort* to this day.  
Could he on me haue breathed with his breath,  
His gifts *Elias-like*, after his death,  
Then had I beene enabled for to doe  
Many braue things I haue a heart vnto.  
I haue as great desire, as e're had *hes*  
To ioy ; annoy ; friends ; foes ; but 'twill not be.<sup>5</sup>

In 1586, as we have seen, Robert and his brother and sisters lost their mother. On 15 October 1590 he was matriculated from Exeter College, Oxford, the college which was the special resort of Devonshire men. The university records give his age at this time as '11', but he was in fact 15. He took his B.A. degree on 11 July 1596, so that he remained for more than five years at the university. His disposition was modest, generous, and affectionate, and he made friends at Oxford whom he was proud to remember afterwards, among them George Hakewill, author of *An Apologie of the Power and Providence of God*, William Noy, afterwards attorney-general, Charles FitzGeffrey, the young poet from Cornwall, Thomas Winniffe, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, Robert Vilvaine, who became a famous Exeter physician, a benefactor of his city and college, as well as a very

<sup>5</sup> *Quodlibets*, book iv, no. 7.

quaint writer; there is even among them 'Father Taylor, Jesuite, sometimes my familiar friend in Oxford'.

In his application for the B.A. degree, Robert stated that he was going abroad, and in a letter written by his father to Sir Robert Cecil in 1600, it was mentioned that Robert, besides being a bachelor of Oxford, had studied at Poitiers. If he proceeded to Poitiers in July 1596, after taking his degree, he can only have stayed there a very short time, as on 16 October of the same year, 1596, he was admitted as a law-student of Lincoln's Inn. Here he had among his contemporaries the famous John Donne, William Noy, his friend of Exeter College, William Hakewill, brother of the theologian, and destined to be a great legal antiquary, and Nicholas Duck,<sup>6</sup> afterwards recorder of Exeter. Hayman was perhaps not a plodding student: his name never occurs in the records of Lincoln's Inn after his admission. But it is clear that he spent some years about London ('I knew the Court well in the old Queen's days,' he says)—perhaps varied by a sojourn at the university of Poitiers. It is doubtful if he actually knew Jonson, but, now or later, he became a friend of Drayton, and he knew John Owen, whose epigrams he was to translate, and another Devonshire law-student of a literary turn, Edward Sharpham. Sharpham, in 1606, dedicated his play, *Cupid's Whirligig*, to 'his much beloved, respected, and judicial friend Master Robert Hayman', and wrote, 'Since our travailes I have been pregnant with desire to bring forth something whereto you may be witness'. Unless then the word 'travailes' merely means 'common labours', at some time or other Sharpham and Hayman had travelled together.

Hayman's disposition probably tended more towards travel and adventure than to the pursuit of the law. Hence his father's letter of 1 July 1600, in which he solicited from Sir Robert Cecil public employment for him. He was now nearly twenty-five. It may be gathered that there was no response to Nicholas Hayman's appeal, and Robert determined to become a merchant. Already probably he had connexions in Bristol, the great port and trading centre of the west. A few years later one of his sisters became the wife of John Barker, one of Bristol's most active and rising citizens, and a poem of Hayman's, addressed to 'my honest bedfellow Master Edward Payne Merchant of Bristol', suggests that Hayman had found employment at Bristol while still a bachelor. However, on 21 May 1604 he was married at St. Petrock's, Exeter, to Grace, daughter of Mr. Thomas Spicer, whose family was of importance in that city, and who had died nearly four years before. She had been born about October

<sup>6</sup> Duck was Hayman's first cousin, Duck's mother being Joan, Nicholas Hayman's only sister.

1579, and was therefore more than four years younger than her husband. She seems to have died in the early years of wedlock. We hear nothing of her or of any children in Hayman's later writings or in his will, the only exception being a few words in the dedication of his translated epigrams to the Beauties of England—'the grace and love which I received sometime from one of your sex'. But he remained attached to his wife's family, and addressed poems to various members of it.

Hayman's association with Bristol must have rekindled the spirit of mercantile adventure which had been lighted within him in Devonshire. The consequence was his co-operation in a Bristol scheme for the colonization of Newfoundland. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had claimed Newfoundland for the English crown in 1583, and in 1606 the foundation of two colonies in 'Virginia' having been authorized by royal charter, a ship was equipped and a careful survey of a line of coast was made by the navigator Pring.<sup>7</sup> In 1607 two more ships sailed from Bristol to establish a settlement, but the emigrants returned to England in the following year. However, in 1610 a number of London and Bristol merchant-adventurers, along with a few courtiers, including Sir Francis Bacon, obtained a patent for the plantation of a settlement in Newfoundland. John Guy, a young and able Bristol man, who had made the two previous voyages, was appointed governor of the incorporation, and turned to his task with energy. Three ships having been equipped with provisions, live cattle, poultry, &c., the governor, with his brother Philip, his brother-in-law William Colston, and thirty-nine emigrants, set sail from Kingroad in May 1610, and reached the island in twenty-three days. The party forthwith set about the erection of a fort and stockade, dwellings, and storehouses, and Guy built himself a residence called Sea Forest House. He returned to England in 1611 on the business of the colony, but set out again in 1612 with a minister of religion, Erasmus Stourton, and more emigrants. When, after this visit, Guy finally returned to Bristol, William Colston became deputy-governor for two years. In 1615 a new governor was found in Captain John Mason of Magdalen College, Oxford, but this strong and able ruler was lost to the colony in 1621 on being appointed treasurer to the royal navy. Meanwhile, another local effort had been made. A note in one of the books of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol states that during the mastership of Alderman Barker, Hayman's brother-in-law, in 1617-18, 'divers merchants of this Society did forward the plantation of land in Newfoundland called Bristol Hope', a district acquired from the adventurers

<sup>7</sup> For the following facts, see John Latimer, *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol* (1903), p. 148, &c.

of whom Guy was governor. It consisted of the promontory running north-east between Trinity Bay and Conception Bay, its chief settlement being at Harbour Grace.

Perhaps Robert Hayman, now a childless widower, was from the first, i. e. from 1617, governor of this plantation.<sup>8</sup> At any rate he was governor for a series of years till 1628. On first going out he stayed fifteen months in the country, afterwards he seems to have spent only the summers there. In the earlier years good progress was made. Captain R. Whitbourne, in *A Discourse of Newfoundland* (1622), writes :

Divers Worshipful Citizens of the City of Bristol have undertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Country, and they have maintained a Colony of his Majesties subjects there any time these five years who have builded there faire houses, and done many other good services, who live there very pleasantly, and they are well pleased to entertaine upon fit conditions such as wilbe Adventurers with them.

And he includes in his book a letter from Captain Wynne of 17 August 1622 :

At the Bristow Plantation there is as goodly Rye now growing as can be in any part of England ; they are also well furnished with Swine, and a large breed of Goates, fairer by farre then those that were sent over at the first.

But our main source of information about Bristol's Hope is the collection of little poems or epigrams which Hayman wrote in his exile and published when he was in London in 1628. The book, which is now extraordinarily rare, is a quarto, thus entitled :

Q V O D L I B E T S,

Lately Come Over From New Britaniola,  
Old Newfound-Land.

Epigrams and other small parcels, both *Morall and Divine*.

The first foure Bookes being the Authors owne : the rest translated out of that Excellent Epigrammatist, Mr. *John Owen* and other rare Authors.

With two Epistles of that excellently wittie Doctor,  
*Francis Rablais* : Translated out of his French at large.

*All of them*

Composed and done at *Harbor-Grace* in *Britaniola*,  
anciently called *Newfound-Land*.

By R. H.

Sometimes Gouvernour of the Plantation there.

London,

Printed by *Elizabeth All-de*, for *Roger  
Michell*, dwelling in *Pauls Church-yard*,  
at the signe of the Bulls-head. 1628.

<sup>8</sup> There were a number of other ventures for the colonization of Newfoundland ;

Hayman, in many epigrams, commemorates the relatives and friends with whom he had been associated at Exeter, Oxford, London, and Bristol. Many of these, while he had been labouring across the ocean, had risen to great positions—but he will not repine :

*A little of my unworthy Selfe.*

Many of these were my familiars,  
 Much good, and goods hath fal'n vnto their shares,  
 They haue gone fairely on in their affaires :  
     Good God, why haue I not so much good lent ?  
     It is thy will, I am obedient :  
     What thou hast, what thou wilt, I am content,  
 Only this breeds in me much heauines,  
 My loue to this Land I cannot expresse,  
 Lord grant me power vnto my willingnesse.<sup>9</sup>

He refused to flatter the great : all his praises were reserved for colonizers :

I knew the Court well in the old *Queenes* dayes,  
 I then knew *Worthies* worthy of great praise :  
 But now I am there such a stranger growne,  
 That none doe know me there, there I know none.  
*Those few* I here observe with commendation  
 Are *Famous Starres* in our *New Constellation*.<sup>10</sup>

All the great promoters of North American colonization receive a tribute from him : John Slany, treasurer to the Newfoundland company, Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, Dr. Vaughan, Sir Richard Whitborne, Lord Falkland, Sir William Alexander, 'the prime planter in New Scotland', and many more. He is unwearied in proclaiming the advantages offered by the new colony :

*To the Worshipfull Captaine John Mason, who did wisely and worthily gouerne there diuers yeeres.*

The Aire in *Newfound-land* is wholesome, good ;  
 The Fire, as sweet as any made of wood ;  
 The Waters, very rich, both salt and fresh ;  
 The Earth more rich, you know it is no lesse.  
 Where all are good, *Fire, Water, Earth, and Aire*,  
 What man made of these foure would not liue there ?<sup>11</sup>

that of the eccentric Welshman, Dr. William Vaughan (who had been Hayman's contemporary at Oxford) ; that of Viscount Falkland (father of Lucius Lord Falkland, who fell at Newbury) ; and that of Sir G. Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who is praised by Hayman for having personally visited his colony in 1627. All these seem to have purchased parts of the island from the original company.

<sup>9</sup> Book i, no. 116.

<sup>10</sup> Book ii, no. 106.

<sup>11</sup> Book ii, no. 79.

To all those worthy Women, who haue any desire to liue in *Newfound-Land*, specially to the modest & discreet Gentlewoman Mistris Mason, wife to Captaine Mason, who liued there diuers yeeres.

Sweet Creatures, did you truly vnderstand  
The pleasant life you'd liue in *Newfound-land*,  
You would with *teares* desire to be brought thither :  
I wish you, when you goe, faire wind, faire weather :  
For if you with the passage can dispence,<sup>12</sup>  
When you are there, I know you'll ne'r come thence.<sup>13</sup>

To a worthy Friend, who often objects the coldnesse of the Winter in *Newfound-Land*, and may serue for all those that haue the like conceit.

You say that you would liue in *Newfound-land*,  
Did not this one thing your conceit withstand ;  
You feare the *Winters* cold, sharp, piercing ayre.  
They loue it best, that haue once winterd there.  
Winter is there, short, wholesome, constant, cleare,  
Not thicke, vnwholesome, shuffling, as 'tis here.<sup>14</sup>

[Of the *Newfound-Land Company*.]

Diuers well-minded men, wise, rich, and able,  
Did vndertake a plot inestimable,  
The hopefull'st, easiest, healthi'st, iust plantation,  
That ere was vndertaken by our *Nation*.  
When they had wisely, worthily begunne,  
For a few errors that athwart did runne,  
(As enery action first is full of errors)  
They fell off flat, retir'd at the first terrors.  
As it is lamentably *strange* to me :  
In the next age *incredible* 't will be.<sup>15</sup>

A *Skeltonicall continued ryme, in praise of my New-found-Land*.

Although in cloaths, company, buildings faire,  
With *England*, *New-found-land* cannot compare :  
Did some know what contentment I found there,  
Alwayes enough, most times somewhat to spare,  
With little paines, lesse toyle, and lesser care,  
Exempt from taxings, ill newes, Lawing, feare,  
If cleane, and warme, no matter what you weare,  
Healthy, and wealthy, if men carefull are,  
With much—much more, then I will now declare,  
(I say) if some wise men knew what this were,  
(I doe beleeeue) they'd liue no other where.<sup>16</sup>

To the first Planters of *Newfound-land*.

What ayme you at in your *Plantation* ?  
Sought you the *Honour* of our *Nation* ?  
Or did you hope to raise your owne *renouue* ?  
Or else to adde a Kingdome to a *Crowne* ?

<sup>12</sup> i. e. 'put up'.

<sup>13</sup> Book ii, no. 80.

<sup>14</sup> Book ii, no. 81.

<sup>15</sup> Book ii, no. 83.

<sup>16</sup> Book i, no. 117.



Or *Christs true Doctrine* for to prepagate ?  
 Or drawe *Saluages* to a blessed state ?  
 Or our o're peopled *Kingdome* to relieve ?  
 Or shew *poore men where they may richly liue* ?  
 Or *poore mens children* godly to maintaine ?  
 Or aym'd *you at your owne sweete priuate gaine* ?  
 All these you had *atchiu'd* before this day,  
 And all these you haue balk't by your delay.<sup>17</sup>

*To some discreet people, who thinke any body good enough for a Plantation.*

When you doe see an *idle, lewd,* young man,  
 You say hee's fit for our *Plantation*.  
 Knowing your selfe to be *riche, sober, wise*  
 You set your owne worth at an higher price.  
 I say, such men as you are, were more fit,  
 And most conuenient for first peopling it :  
 Such men as you would quickly profit here :  
*Lewd, lazy Lubbers,* want wit, grace, and care.<sup>18</sup>

*To the famous, wise and learned Sisters, the two Vniuersities of England, Oxford and Cambridge.*

Send forth your sons vnto our *New Plantation* ;  
 Yet send such as are *Holy, wise, and able*.<sup>19</sup>

Hayman dedicated his *Quodlibets* to King Charles I in terms which showed that to him England was already Greater Britain, and the king of England required a wider title :

To the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie, CHARLES, by Gods especiall mercy King of *Great-Britaine, France, and Ireland &c.*, Emperour of South, and North *Virginia*, King of *Britaniola, or Newfoundland*, and the Iles adjacent, Father, Fauourer, and Furtherer of all his loyall Subjects right Honourable and worthie Plantations.

May it please your most Excellent Maiestie, this last right worthy attribute of yours (no way insinuated, but iustly affixed to your more ancient stile) perswades these vnworthy papers to presume (with your gracious leane and permission) to take the hardines to kisse your sacred hands ; hoping of the like successe, that some vnripe eares of corn, brought by me from the cold Country of *Newfound-land*, receiued from some honest, well-minded louers of that action, when they saw them : who with much-affected ioy often beholding them, took much comfort in what they saw : but more, when they suppos'd it might be better'd, by industry, care and honestie. These few bad vnripe Rimes of mine (comming from thence) are in all humility presented with the like intendiment to your Maiestie, to testifie that the Aire there is not so dull, or maleuolent, but that if better wits were transplanted thither, neither the Summers heat would dilate them, nor the Winters cold benumme them, but that they might in full vigour flourish to good purpose. For if I now growne dull and aged,<sup>20</sup> could doe some what, what will not sharper, younger, freer

<sup>17</sup> Book ii, no. 101.

<sup>18</sup> Book ii, no. 104.

<sup>19</sup> Book ii, no. 105.

<sup>20</sup> He was fifty-three.

inventions performe there? . . . I suppose it not fit at this time (but attending the successe of this presumption) in some larger manner to make knowne vnto your Maiestie, the inestimable riches of the *Seas* circuling that *Land*: The hopefull improuements of the maine Land thereof: The more then probable, vnualueable hidden treasures therein: The infinite aboundance of combustibile fierie materials fit for such an employment. . . .

[Of his poems] Meane and vnworthy though they are, yet because some of them were borne, and the rest did first speake *English* in that Land . . . and being the first fruits of this kind, that euer visited this Land, out of that Dominion of yours: I thought it my duty, to present and to prostrate these with my selfe at your Royall feete, . . . vnfeinedly beseeching God to blesse your Maiesty with aboundance of all Earthly and Heauenly blessings. And that you may see an happy successe of all your Forraigne Plantations, especially of that of *Newfound-land*,

I remaine

Your Maiesties well meaning and loyall Subiect

ROBERT HAYMAN.

A manuscript in the British Museum<sup>21</sup> shows that Hayman when in England in 1628 made one more bold effort through the duke of Buckingham to induce Charles to take an active hand in the colonization of Newfoundland.

*To the Duke of Buckingham his Grace.*

May it please your Grace,

As I owe the best part of my endeavours to my Soueraigne, and the Countrie wherein I was borne: So haue I allwaies endeavored to expresse it in that station wherein God hath at severall tymes seated me. I humbly beseech your Grace therefore to afford me your fauour, and to giue me Leave to make knowne vnto your Grace: That haueing bene employed for severall yeares in A Newe Plantation I haue seryously studied which way that yet imperfect busines might be improved to his maiesties and his subiectes best advantage. After severall serious ruminations, I haue at last digested somewhat, and I haue an humble desire, an holy hunger to acquaint his maiestie with it: But knowing how much his maiestie is repleated with such kind of propositions, I dare not presume to present myne, without his espetiall Leave, protection and Commaund. Besides the grace, and place you worthily hold vnder his maiestie vindicates in discretion thus much from me, That I first acquaint your Grace with it. It is A Maryne busynes of great Consequence: And therefore as it is within your peculyar, soe your Wisdome will supply it, wherein it is defectiue. As it is (if your Grace will be pleased to read it, and in your wisdome graciously to weighe it) you shall finde it A busines honorable, profitable, feisable, facill, and oportune; of great aduantage to his Maiestie, and all his Loyall subiectes, and disaduantagious to those his

<sup>21</sup> Egerton MS. 2541, fo. 163. The manuscript was originally endorsed 'proposition . . . A° 1630 Conc'. Newfoundland', and it is accordingly indexed as of 1630. As Buckingham was assassinated on 23 August 1628, Hayman's appeal must be of that year at latest. My attention was called to the paper by a reference to it in Prowse's *History of Newfoundland*. The 'Proposition' in the original document is not broken into paragraphs.

neighbours, who are nowe his enymies, A meane to crye quittance with both of them at once, and to be done with Little Charge, with the certainty of a large returne. I could easily enlarge my selfe heerevpon. But knoweing your wisdome, goodnes and honorable desires for your Countries good, I forbear, being ready at your Graces commaund copiously, and humbly to dilate, what by you shalbe required, And in the meane space, and at all tymes I will in all humillitye rest

Your Graces humble deuoted

ROBERT HAYMAN.

*A Proposition of Profit and Honor Proposed to my Dread, and Gracious Soueraigne Lord, King Charles, By his humble subiect Robert Hayman.*

Most Gracious and Dread Soueraigne !

When wise, blessed, happie *Columbus* proposed the proiect of his supposed Westerne Neweland to the Princes, and States of his tyme, He deliuered them Plattes to demonstrate, and proue his supposition. In like sort (with your Gracious Leaue, and fauour) doe I heere present vnto your sacred viewe A Platt of all your Kingdomes, both possest, pretended, and intended. To shewe your maiestie howe conueniently they are seated by God, for the mutuall supportation each of other ; haeing noe impediment ; but an easie Navigable sea interposed. But amongst the many seuerall parcells, which God in his mercy hath made you Lord ouer, I recommend to your maiesties spetiall viewe, and consideration, A Land of yours, first found by your wise Ancestor Henrie the seauenthes direction, and charge. A worke reserued for you to finish, and to furnish with Millions of your subiectes to their good, and your honor. It is the Iland called by vs your subiectes *Newe found land*. In this Iland at one tyme I Liued fifteene Monethes together, and since I haue spent allmost euery sommer in it : Where haeing onely had the ouerseing others hard Labour to distract me, I had tyme to see, to confer, to enquire, to obserue, and to discouer ; by this meanes furnisheing my selfe, with something more then many that haue bene oftner their, and fully knoweing howe beneficiall the knoweledge thereof would be, to all your Loyall subiectes, I haue had a longe longing intendiment to write somewhat, for their benefitt, and this Countries good : But seeing to my greife the poore successe of diuers of these well meant generall treatises, redd ouer by many, liked by some, deryded by others, neglected in their practize by allmost all, and those fewe that haue endeauored to doe somewhat, either they haue insufficiently begunne, or haue bene deluded or wronged by those they haue imployed, or mistaken their good meaning, or haue not been able to proceede, or out of hart with poore short vnexpected returnes, or demaundes of newe supplies : That, vnlesse your maiestie suddainely assist, this worthie busines is like to vanishe Lamentably and ridiculously.

My longe acquaintance hereof bredd A knowledge in me of the goodnes, and greatnes of it, My certaine knoweledge a zealous, and holy Loue therevnto, and my Loue drewe me, to a sadd, and serious studie how it could be, that soe many seuerall endeauours, by discreet and able vndertakers, should bee to soe little purpose, where there was

matter in abundance to make it otherwise. Your famous, and wise father granted A Pattennt of this Iland to certaine Noblemen, gentlemen, and Marchantes ; These Noblemen were but onely named, or aduentured very little : These gentlemen were soone made weary : These Marchantes acquainted with more speedie gaine, first falling out amonge themselues, by reason whereof the principall vndertaker, A Man of their qualitie wise, yet vnconstant, falling of, they concluded to deuyde the Land into seuerall shares, since when, some haue done a little to noe purpose, and the most nothing. I confesse since that time, diuers noble gentlemen haue endeauored somewhat in this Land. First Sir Parcivall *Willoughbie*, then *Doctor Vaughan*, and haue bene wronged by vn honest, idle, vnfitt men their employed by them, and my Lord of *Falkeland* worse. Onely my Lord of *Baltamore* hath after much iniurie done him, aduentured happily thither himselfe, where seeing howe to mend it, and the goodnes of the Action, resolues wisely to see his busines done himselfe, and *Doctor Vaughan* (as he tells me) intendes to followe his course.

But experience both of former, and these tymes, makes me ielous<sup>22</sup> of their successe, vnlesse your maiestie wilbe pleased to stepp in, to backe them, and by your royall example drawe on others ; For if wee looke backe into former tymes, wee shall perceiue that *Wales* aduentured first vpon (by chance, by one allmost of both my names<sup>23</sup>) with some valliant followers, had bene their Confusion, if the kinges of *England* themselues, had not taken the busines vpon them. Our next Conquest, and Plantation *Ireland*, was to noe purpose, vntill our kinges of those tymes did mannage it themselues. And I belieue the *West Indies* (howsoever aboundinge with rich returnes) had not soe easily, or soe speedily bene possess, but that they might haue bene preuented, had not the kinges of *Spaine* vnder-taken it themselues. I humblie beseech your Maiestie not to conceiue amisse of my insinuation herein, but to respitt your iudgment, vntill I haue shewed you all my honest meaninge, As I haue reason to beleine that this *Plantation* will neuer proceed to purpose, but be subiect to interruption, dispossession, disgrace, and losse, vnlesse your maiestie doe particularly mannage some busines there. Soe I doubt not to proue that it wilbe an action worthie of soe highe a Maiestie, infinitely gainefull to your selfe, and heires, and to your subiectes, such, soe easie, and soe great an aduantage, that the whole earth affordes not the like. I confesse that the Commodities as yett brought from thence are in their particulers base, and meane : yet they honestly employe many people, and make more seamen, then all our sea-trades els, mainetained the one halfe of the yeare, with halfe the allowance, which either they should haue at home, or in other voyages. And I darr averr, and proue, that this trade hath furnished *England* for these many yeares, with more money, then all our forraigne trades els, and it hath brought from *Spaine*, siluer, and gold, more cheapely, and conueniently, then the *Spaniards* haue had it, from their *Indies*. Yet doe wee hitherto possesse, not a third of that busines, and might easily haue all. If this Land were peopled I darr proue vnto your Maiestie that A thowsand good shippes, might easily be employed in the businesse about that land, for that one Comoditie of

<sup>22</sup> i. e. doubtful, suspicious.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Fitz Hamon, earl of Gloucester, c. 1060.

fishes, and many other for other businesses, that would by that *Plantation* followe.

But it may be thought, that as nowe wee stand with *France*, and *Spaine*,<sup>24</sup> this great quantatie of fishes, will haue small vent. And I knowe that the *Mallawyns*<sup>25</sup> haue promissed their king, and the *Biskans* theirs, to furnishe them with this Commodity, wherevpon they haue not onely proclaimed forfeiture of importation thereof taken by vs, but I heare in *Spaine* *Hamburghers* were this yeare denounced for doeing it. But your maiestie might easily amend this, in preuenting theirs, and forcing them to be gladd of ours, for without this Commodity, their people cannot conueniently subsist. Hunger (they say) will breake stone walles, and it will easily enforce the alteration of inconuenient Lawes. And experience in the raigne of famous *Queene Elizabeth* teacheth me soe much, when they were willing to haue it from vs, and brought vnto them, by their veryest enimies the *Hollanders*. I darr not for feare of offendinge your Maiestie enlarge my selfe, herevpon omitting many particulers, at your Commaund to be related: As those other knowne Comodities of tarr, and pitch, mastes, and other timber, furies and many others, fitt for your home kingdomes, and nowe brought at hard rates from other partes. The temperature of the ayre, the wholesomenes of hearbes, and simples, and the more then probable hidden treasures of rich mettalles, and other myenes: For all which I could giue manifest reasons, that this Land is richely worth the possessing, whereof your maiestie neuer had a more fitter oportunitie, then nowe, for these reasons; There is a rich fisheing very neere this land called the *Banke*, where there doe yearely fishe at least 400 *French* shippes, and from whence your subiectes haue neuer reaped any Commodity. Your maiestie may nowe be maister, both of the greatest part of those shippes, and absolutely Dispossesse them thereof.

And if your maiestie would be pleased, to yeild to an humble request of myne, I should intreate that your Maiestie would build, or beginn at least A Cittie in that part of this Iland, where I haue placed your *Carolinople*, and to priuiledge that towne, with that fisheing: your maiestie might likewise make it A *Mart*, or free *Markett* for fishes; It hath two goodly harbours, one in the one bay, and another in the other, being but three myles distant one from the other; It would quickly growe stronge, populous and riche, and be the *Emporium* of this newe kingdome, and yeild your maiestie a great Reuenue, which if your maiestie would like, I would humbly pray that this Iland might be called *Britaniola*, being in her forme much like your *Britania*. I haue before touched a second reason of the present oportunitie. The *French* and *Biskans* doe yearely in great numbers fishes at the Mayne, and in harbours; These your maiestie may likewise possesse yourselfe of, and quickly make them wearie, and prenent those feared daingers, of either hindringe our shippes, in their fisheing, or our selues and markettes at their homes. These thinges being both feazable, and conuenient, I hope your maiestie

<sup>24</sup> There was war with Spain from 1624 to 1629, with France from 1627 to 1629. The latter fact helps to date this document.

<sup>25</sup> The Bretons of St. Malo.

will not onely consider it, but effect it. These things I doe but point at, knoweing the inconueniencie of tediousnes, to a Judgement wise, and Angelicall, yet I humblie beseech your maiestie that I may annex this : That vnlesse your maiestie speedily preuent it, the *French*, and *Biskans* are likely to doe the like to vs, and vtterly to dispossesse vs, of that rich trade.

There is one thinge more I desire to make knowne to your maiestie, And I humblie intreate you to weighe it seriously ; Salt is both at this tyme very deare, and is like to be soe, vntill your enemies shall doe your maiestie right. And when *Peace* shall heereafter be requested at your handes, yet your fisheing kingdomes of *Britaniola*, *Neue England*, and *Neue Scotland* with your home kingdomes, may be prouided from A land which nowe may easily be your maiesties. There are certaine Ilands, called the Ilands of *Cape de Verd*, whereof the Isles of *May*, and *Sal* are either not peopled, or meanely possess. If your maiestie would be pleased to send people to take it, and possesse it, it would not onely yeild your kingdomes an abundant plentie of salt, but *May* would be made A conuenient *Mart*, for the rich trade of that part of *Africa*, to the quicke enricheing of our inhabitantes there, and your maiesties invaluable gaine, both by salt, and that other rich trade. And by peopleing of these Ilands, those others their neigheighbours (seuerall tymes allreadie taken) may the easier be possess by vs, and the better kept, your maiestie shall likewise thereby preuent the Indian fleetes refreshing themselves, in the outgoing, and cutt them offe from their fisheing at *Cape de Verd*, and possesse your subiectes thereof likewise. I doe but dictate<sup>26</sup> this neither, because Circumstances, and obiections, may better be dilated, and answered, by discourse then writinge. Of *Newfoundland* the personall present profit thereof, you may easily in your wisdom collect it heerehence, And time hereafter will [giue] fitt oportunitie of larger improuement.

There is but one thinge more conuenient to be thought on, *Shippes*, *Money* and *Men*, to doe this worthie busines. As there shall not neede many shippes, Soe God be blessed your Maiestie is well prouided of your owne, and of your subiectes, and men there are enoughe, and if your maiestie be pleased to like the rest, I doubt not but money maye quickly be had for such a busines, honorably, religiously, and Conueniently. The willing helpe you shall haue from your subiectes, The easie Conuenient and cheape transporting thither of people, and all other necessaries, with lesse then halfe the charge, to any other *Plantation*, the rectiefying of present disorders in that trade, your maiesties priuate, your subiectes publique vnexpressible profit, the Lawfullnes, the necessitie of this oportune Action, the Inconueniences, and daingers if omitted, I omitt for feare of offending. And if my breuitie hath heerein caused any obscuritie, I am readie at your Maiesties Commaund at all tymes to expresse my meaning, Referring all to your maiesties wise determination, with this humble request ; That as *Alcybiades* tooke the space of repeating the fower, and twentie Letters for his ordinarie answers : So your maiestie would be pleased to lett the like number of houres respect<sup>27</sup> your

<sup>26</sup> So manuscript ; perhaps for ' I doe not dilate '.

<sup>27</sup> i. e. respite.

determination herevnto. And thus beseeching God to blesse your maiestie with the blessings of this world, and in the world to come, I will euer remaine

Your Maiesties

Well meaning though the meanest  
of all your Loyall subiectes

ROBERT HAYMAN.

Neither of Hayman's appeals had any success. Charles was occupied in quarrels with his parliaments and at his wit's end to raise money for ordinary purposes, and on 23 August 1628 Buckingham was assassinated in the house of that Captain John Mason whose government of Newfoundland had been so highly praised by Hayman. Apparently Hayman now realized that there was no hope at present for Newfoundland, and as a matter of fact about this time all the colonizing enterprises there were abandoned.

But Hayman was a Ulysses who could not rest in Ithaca, and he at once entered on a new quest. In 1620 James I had granted by letters patent to a company of adventurers, headed by the duke of Buckingham, the territory of Guiana and the royal river of Amazon. It was to Guiana that Hayman now turned his eyes. He formed a little company with a capital consisting of twenty-six shares, of which he held twelve, and he made preparations to take out a new batch of colonists to help to found an England in South America. Before he started he made his will.<sup>23</sup> It was dated 17 November 1628.

In the name of God Amen. I Robert Hayman being by Gods mercy in perfect health both of bodie and minde, doe make this my last will and Testament in maner and forme following being bound by Gods leave to Guiane in Ameryca to setle a plantation there Imprimis my Soule I bequeath to God my Creator and Redeemer, My bodie to be buried as it shall please those who shalbe with mee at the tyme of my decease, whatsoever I have to give of any worldly wealth whether it be in England or where-soever beyond the seas I give and bequeath and leave wholly and totallie to my loving Cosin and Nephew Thomas Muchell of Longaston in the Countie of Somersett whom I make my whole and onelie Executor of this my last will and Testament And whereas I have left in the hands of Doctor Ducke Chauncellor of London two pollicies of insurance the one of one hundred pounds for the safe arivall of our Shipp in Guiana which is in mine owne name, if wee miscarry by the waie (which God forbid) I bequeath the advantage thereof to my said Cosin Thomas Muchell and make him my whole assigne for recovery thereof to his owne proper vse Item whereas there is an other insurance of one hundred pounds assured by the said Doctor Arthur Ducke on my life for one yeare if I chance to die within that tyme I entreat the said doctor Ducke to make it over to the

<sup>23</sup> At Somerset House, 1 Russell.

said Thomas Muchell his kinsman and to help him in the recovery thereof if need require Item Whereas there is a Charter party betwixt me Robert Hayman and one Francis Core Mathew Brett Robert Hunt and divers for continuing a plantation in Guiana in America aforesaid and wherein of all partes it is conditioned that the whole provenence and profit thereof shalbe divided into Twentie sixe partes whereof twelve partes thereof are to be to me Robert Hayman my executours Administratours and assignes as by the deed Indented more plainely maie appeare being like wise left in trust in the hands of the aforesaid doctor Arthure Ducke I whollie bequeath it to my said Cosen Thomas Muchell and make him my Executor administrator and assigne thereof to take thereof what profit soever shalbe made thereby to his owne vse he havinge adventured sixty pounds of the said money with mee in this voyage yet my will is and I desire him to see it performed that those other of my friends who hath likewise adventured severall sommes of money as he well knowes be there out paid three tymes their adventure according to agreement which he likewise knowes Thus prayinge God to blesse both him and mee beseeching the divine providence to send vs a ioyfull meetinge in this world or in the world to come I ratife and confirme this as my last will & testament having written this with mine owne hand and sealed it with my seale and signed it, the seaventeenth daie of November One thousand sixe hundred twentie eight being the fowerth yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Charles By me Robart Hayman

In the witnes of theis vnderwritten

William Herne John Luxe

Vicesimo quarto die mensis Ianuarij Anno domini . . . Millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo secundo emat.<sup>29</sup> Commissio Richardo Peter vni Creditorum dicti defuncti Ad administranda bona iura et credita dicti defuncti iuxta tenorem et effectum Testamenti huiusmodi eo quod Thoma[s] Muchell Executor . . . mortem obiit ante testatorem. . . .

What befell Hayman and his fellow colonists in Guiana, we know not. The records of that country, so far as I have seen them, are ignorant of his name. All we do know is that his will was proved on 24 January 1632/3. Some months before this, we must suppose, the brave single-hearted pioneer of British empire had fallen a victim to a deadly climate or treacherous savages, and had found his last rest under the shade of the tropical forest.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

<sup>29</sup> Apparently for 'emanavit'.