BAPTISTA BOAZIO’S ENGRAVINGS
OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE’S GREAT VOYAGE:
ENGLISH LAW AND CONQUEST IN THE
ATLANTIC WORLD

by

Bryce Adam Gates

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in Art History with Distinction

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ABSTRACT

What can a map tell us? Can it merely be used to tell directions or supply geographical information about a locality? Or could it also explain legal tenets, or showcase military strategy? My Senior Thesis aims to uncover Sir Francis Drake’s achievements in his Atlantic raids as depicted in Baptista Boazio’s map engravings of the voyage. Through analysis of the maps I uncover Boazio’s attempt to illustrate English military and legal principles in the New World. Baptista Boazio, an elusive cartographer of the sixteenth century, challenges the traditional cartographic conventions by demonstrating not only geography and place, but also the ideology of a budding empire and the legacy of an English hero. Boazio’s engravings of the voyage to the West Indies represent English political power, military strategy, and legal authority.
INTRODUCTION

My object of study is a series of engravings created by the Italian cartographer Baptista Boazio in 1589. The five engravings, now located in the Library of Congress, measure forty-one centimeters by fifty-four centimeters, and are part of the Jay I. Kislak collection (Figures 1-5). The images’ subject-matter is Sir Francis Drake’s so-called Great Voyage from September 14th 1585 until July 27th 1586. Baptista Boazio’s engravings accompany the second English edition of *A Summarie and True Discovery of Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian Voyage*, written by Walter Bigges and his Lieutenant Croftes, and published in London in 1589. My research not only considers what Baptista Boazio’s maps and Bigges’s and Croftes text convey, based on the information that scholars have uncovered, but also determines whether the maps and the account meant to accompany them are fabricated or partially true. To that end, I consider the motivations for this voyage and outright English attack on the Spanish Main. I argue that the fabricated nature of the images discloses further insights into the ideology of a budding empire. The story of the voyage, along with the images, establishes a clear sense of geography and narrative that seems to have been created as propaganda against Spain, ultimately raising English morale. Additionally it is helpful to examine these large colored maps in relation to a smaller set of three Boazio prints that appear in the Latin first edition of Bigges’s text in 1588. Such a

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{ Two editions of this work were printed in 1589. One issue of the account contains maps by Baptista Boazio, the other appeared without them.}\]
comparison allows us to identify added features that further convey Boazio’s political and propagandistic goals in the larger versions.

Chapter one discusses why England was inching closer to war with the Spanish Empire in the late sixteenth century. Drake, an experienced sea captain and a superior military commander, was the English answer to Spanish supremacy in the Atlantic World. In 1585, Queen Elizabeth I granted Drake permission to sail across the Atlantic to raid Spanish settlements in the African West coast and the Caribbean. Chapter two describes in detail this campaign on the Spanish Main, which would lead Drake to Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, Santo Domingo in the Hispaniola Island, Cartagena in the coast of modern day Colombia, and St. Augustine in the Florida Peninsula. Drake’s actions in the Great Expedition seem to imply an informal English declaration of war, and his raids on Spanish settlements demonstrate English law, power, and audacity to challenge the opposing Spanish Empire. The West Indian voyage's trajectory connected England with the New World (both East and West), and this involvement is uniquely illustrated in the maps engraved by Boazio.

Chapter three breaks down the importance of cartography for European powers in the sixteenth century. Research on the background and contextual setting of Sir Francis Drake’s raids helps understand the situation, even though it also leads to unanswered questions. The following fourth chapter investigates Baptista Boazio’s engravings through an in-depth art historical analysis, discussing the artist and his work. My research pays particular attention to three of the five maps that Boazio created: the voyage map and the local maps of Santo Domingo and Cartagena. These maps demonstrate the English fleet's preconceived plan of attack on the Spanish Main,
highlighting the intended level of damage to be inflicted. They also provide insight to the English vantage point of law and power in the Atlantic World.

Chapter five explores the legal framework of the English under Queen Elizabeth I and the Spanish under King Philip II. The background information for this voyage and the increasing tensions over power and control of the Atlantic World allow for a consideration of Boazio’s artistic choices on the voyage map, a map that clearly demonstrates the voyage by Drake and his men. It is also possible that the map depicts Boazio’s view of the world up until this point. The color choices and flag representations offer a unique view of the diplomatic relations in the world during the late sixteenth century, suggesting a conceived geographical layout of the world and who owned certain parts of it.
Chapter 1

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: ENGLAND, SPAIN, AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Sir Francis Drake’s Great Voyage, and the subsequent maps and texts that depict the events, changed the course of history for the Atlantic World. In the mid-sixteenth century tensions grew high between many European countries. The story of Drake and his men on the Great Voyage, raiding important settlements of the Spanish Main, is a story of diplomatic relations, honor and power.

To further understand Queen Elizabeth’s policies and relationships with other European powers during this period, this chapter considers the social, political, and economic reasons that drove the Queen to give permission to Drake to wage war on the Spanish. Additionally, the political environment in both England and Spain could justify why England would want to publish details and images related to Drake’s Great Voyage and its impact on the Spanish empire.

Much of the documentation left behind demonstrates the tensions between the English and the Spanish in 1585.² English diplomatic policy started to shift drastically

after Queen Elizabeth I succeeded the throne. As the daughter of King Henry VIII, Elizabeth was motivated by the beliefs of her father. Once in control of the throne in 1559, Elizabeth imposed an Act of Supremacy. This act passed by the Parliament reestablished a revived version of an English anti-papal statute during the reign of King Henry VIII. The Act of Supremacy conceded the total power of England and the Church to Queen Elizabeth I. Additionally, the act also declared England to be Protestant under the control of Elizabeth I, placing England in direct conflict with Catholic Spain and the Papacy in Italy. After many years of English and Spanish diplomatic relations, as a result of the marriage of Queen Mary I of England and King Phillip II of Spain, Elizabeth now dissolved this connection.

England was particularly interested in protecting the Netherlands from Spanish Catholic intervention. Since 1555 much of Europe was under the Hapsburg possession including the Netherlands, Germanic lands, and parts of Italy. In an effort to keep a Protestant united England, Queen Elizabeth I sought to provide some economic stability to the Netherlands allowing English volunteers to take up arms in the Dutch rebellion against Spain. Elizabeth I was concerned about direct Spanish control of the Netherlands because of how close the Spanish would be to England. The support of the Protestant rebels in the Netherlands demonstrates the English change in diplomatic and religious affairs during Elizabeth’s I rule.
These Protestant politics, along with a relatively recent legal justification of the English claims to the New World, altered the dynamics between England and Spain in the mid sixteenth century. The scholarly literature about sixteenth-century English and Spanish relationships is vast. At any particular time, each diplomatic step or act of aggression is well documented during this period by the individual countries’ governments. Throughout the sixteenth century, diplomacy and international tensions over disputes in Europe and the New World reached a climax. England and Spain found themselves at war by the turn of the century. The match that ignited this growing powder-keg-situation was Sir Francis Drake’s Great Voyage of 1585.

In her book *Ceremonies of Possession*, historian Patricia Seed argues that the underlying tension between the English and the Spanish that lead up to Drake’s voyage was a dispute over land and territory in the New World. The New World was of principal interest for Spain since Columbus’s voyage in 1492 and the subsequent Papal grant of divine rule for the Spanish in the New World in 1493. Boazio’s maps are both legally and politically charged; it is crucial to understand the legal positioning of the English in the New World at this time, while reflecting on the political and

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economic landscape for England and Spain in the sixteenth century.  

Historian J. H. Elliott has outlined the political and economical situation that both empires went through these periods, offering important insights about these countries’ policies. Elliott prefaced his publication with an overview of what unfolded in the Atlantic World between the 1490s and the 1800s. He explains the very core of the colonization and confrontation of European powers in the New World. Each country’s formative influence shaped their emigrants and how their overseas settlements were constructed.

Elliott’s comparative study demonstrates that Spain was more interested in the principle of lordship over the people of the Americas, rather than in the land itself. The Spanish controlled the inhabitants of certain locations to exploit their labor in order to obtain wealth from the land. Contrastingly, the English were more concerned with land than people, and after the first successful venture of settlement in the New World the English sought to establish more communities. An interesting distinction that Elliot discusses is the differences between the Spanish ordained Catholic right to imperial rule over the New World, and the system of joint-stock companies and material investments in the English model of colonization of the Atlantic.

Furthermore, Elliott discusses the role of Richard Hakluyt, who from a young age gained the reputation as a principal promoter and propagandist of the expansion of English power in the Atlantic World. Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* was published in 1589, at the height of the Elizabethan era. In this book, Hakluyt commented on a plan of action for the English crown to expand into the Atlantic World. Part of this plan involved the settlement of Englishmen in parts of North America, including what would become the colony of Roanoke, off the coast of modern day North Carolina. Hakluyt’s original plan was to make Roanoke an outpost for trading but also an English base from which to raid areas throughout the Spanish Main, hindering thus Spanish wealth and power.

The concept of settling Englishmen in the New World started with attacks on the Spanish Main, but quickly transformed into England’s first attempt at colonization. Elliot also explains the English crown’s efforts to control Ireland, which made Queen Elizabeth believe that if the English were not using so many resources there they might have had the power to wage war against the Spanish. The English mindset of establishing tactical base locations in the Spanish Main, along with the political situation of Ireland, makes Drake’s Great Voyage context and motives become clearer.

The Queen of England decided to wage war on Spain through the great explorer and pirate Sir Francis Drake. At the time, English actions might not have
been acknowledged as an outright declaration of war, but further analysis of the unfolding diplomatic situation reveals a veiled declaration of war. As the events progressed, it became clear that the Spanish were unable to handle such an outright military force as Drake’s fleet, comprised of an impressive twenty-three ships. King Phillip II of Spain was unprepared for the rising power of England and could only warn the Spanish Main that Drake and his men were sailing out to raid the Atlantic World. He knew the impossibility of stopping the English, but hoped with warning that the most important cities and treasure ports in the Spanish Main could draw their supplies inland and avoid a devastating blow.

The Great Voyage did not come without precedent. Drake himself had more reason to fight the Spanish than perhaps most Englishmen at the time. In addition to the orders from the Queen herself, Drake had a long history of conflict with the Spanish. In 1566, Drake accompanied John Hawkins, another notorious English businessman, pirate, and explorer, on a slave-trading voyage into the Atlantic World. According to Spanish law, English presence in the New World was illegal, as the Spanish had achieved ownership of all territories located west of the thirty-eighth

\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\text{ R. Kenneth Andrews, } \textit{Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630} \text{ (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 280-9.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{ Keeler, } \textit{The Boazio Maps of 1585-86}, 72-3.\]
parallel marker as part of the Treaty of Tordesillas signed in 1494. Hawkins’ raid ended in disaster with the Spanish attacking and sinking some of the English ships, including Hawkins’ flagship. Drake and Hawkins were able to return to England after being separated out at sea. Since that point Drake sought revenge for the men and materials that he had lost on that incursion.

Between the years of this fatal raid and the Great Voyage, Drake set out on a series of reprisal missions granted by the Queen of England. Reprisal was an English system of law declaring it legal to wage private war in order to regain lost property or possession. Drake requested compensation from Spain for the Spanish attack on English ships in 1566. If the Spanish did not agree to compensate Drake for his loses, the English law of reprisal justified Drake’s actions against the Spanish Main. Drake’s series of reprisal raids can now be understood as reconnaissance missions to effectively plan for a larger attack on the Spanish empire. Drake used the information of many subsequent voyages to port locations and depictions of Spanish defenses to prepare a fleet and battle plan for the Great Raid of 1585.


9 Ibid, 35.
For Drake, his Great Raid was founded on his thirst for revenge, his commitment to the English crown, and his hunger for riches. Drake’s military campaign marks an interesting turning point in the history of the contestation of power between the English and the Spanish at a time when Spain was in control of the Atlantic World. Queen Elizabeth herself understood that such a raid and outright attack on the Spanish colonies could mean waging war against the Spanish Empire. She also understood that the key to English victory and assertion of power was in destabilizing the Spanish Atlantic World.

The Spanish, over previous decades, had gained a surplus of wealth and riches, from gold and silver mines in the New World and various other material treasures. Queen Elizabeth and Drake knew that if England could somehow discontinue this supply of wealth the Spanish would not have the resources to retaliate. The Great Voyage demonstrates thus the growing military power of the English during this time. Additionally, these raids brought about the conflict and unrest of European powers and their fight to control the Atlantic World. Conflicts, such as Drake’s raid, make visible

10 Seed, Ceremonies of Possession, 10-11.


the differences in politics and law between the two nations, prompting a seemingly never-ending chain of conflicts.

In 1581, Drake was knighted by Queen Elizabeth I, which stood as a change in English diplomacy and law. Making the privateer Drake into an official authority and military force of the English Crown marked the first English sanctioned act of what would become the Great Voyage. The English plan to attack the Spanish Main concentrated on weakening the trade routes connecting the Spanish colonies to Europe. English efforts to cut off the flow of material wealth to Spain, in addition to capturing or sacking Spanish ports in the Atlantic, would prevent Spain from retaliating against the English or from attacking the Dutch.

Drake’s voyage started out by docking right off the coast of Spain at the Port of Bayona. As requested by the Queen, he performed first an act of diplomacy. Drake requested ships and/or compensation for the English property lost during Spanish attacks, starting in effect an English act of reprisal. The Spanish denied this request. On behalf of England, Drake then waged war on the Spanish Main.

Along the voyage an Italian born Englishman, Baptista Boazio, who practiced cartography in brilliant geographical detail, documented Drake’s unprecedented raids and published them in 1589. Boazio’s engravings included hand colored maps illustrating the overall voyage route (Figure 1) and local views of each stop on Drake’s
raids. The raid points included Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands (Figure 2), Santo Domingo in the island of Hispaniola (Figure 3), Cartagena off the coast of modern day Colombia (Figure 4), and St. Augustine in the Florida Peninsula (Figure 5).  

The voyage map also depicts the preconceived plan to attack Cuba, which according to accounts from Drake and others did not happen. Cuba was the central point of power for the Spanish Main during the time of Drake’s raids, as Havana was located in a strategic geographical position. It had a large port that became a central location for shipping and trading, since it was relatively well protected on the northern side of Cuba. Havana was a planned stop on the Great Voyage, but according to Walter Bigges account, due to weather and lack of men and resources, Drake decided to sail up the coast and attack a smaller Spanish settlement: St Augustine. 

There may have been other strategic considerations in Drake’s change of plans. Drake and his ships left Plymouth with haste and did not finish gathering all the supplies they needed. This forced him to make stops to gather supplies, causing Drake to spend more time off the coast of Africa instead of heading directly towards the Spanish Main. This extra time in all likelihood gave King Phillip II of Spain more time to send messengers out to his empire, giving notice that Drake’s fleet was

\[\text{\textsuperscript{13} Walter Bigges and Lieutenant Croftes, } A \textit{Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian Voyage} (London: Roger Ward, 1589).\]
coming. A strategic enclave such as Havana may have been well prepared for the attack.

English law might have hindered the success of the raid too; since the Queen understood that this voyage could constitute as an act of war, Drake knew that she could pull the plug on the operation at any point if she decided that it would prove to risky to attack the Spanish. Since Drake was unable to fully prepare for his ships for the voyage, the raid success rate dropped, which is evident in Drake inability to attack Havana possible, one of the most important predetermined raid locations. This mission was the first act of a rising English power intentionally designed to disrupt the Spanish Empire.

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Chapter 2

THE GREAT VOYAGE

This chapter analyzes the specific events of Sir Francis Drake’s Great Voyage of 1585, breaking down each stop of the English fleet. Shortly following Sir Francis Drake’s circumnavigation of the globe in 1577-1580, he returned to England. There, he was taken under the wing of Queen Elizabeth I to be finally knighted later that year. This act consolidated the alliance between Drake and the Queen. In 1580 Phillip II invaded Portugal, driving out Don Antonio, the candidate for the Portuguese throne. With Don Antonio on the run, Elizabeth I was concerned about Spanish expansion in Europe. By 1584, Drake was eager to get back to the East India spice trade and wanted to sail under the English flag to the Far East to establish a line of trade. Queen Elizabeth granted Drake permission to sail there, and he prepared his ships right away.

Shifting circumstances in Europe ultimately changed Drake’s original plans, and instead he decided to attack the Spanish Main. In 1585, a Spanish agent assassinated William of Orange, the Netherlands rebellion leader. For some time the English had been supporting the Dutch financially, but with the death of a major leader England needed to get involved before Spanish control continued to increase.
Drake’s men would continue to prepare the fleet but, instead of trade, his new objective was to raid the Spanish settlements in the New World.\textsuperscript{15}

In 1585, the fleet was ready to sail towards the Spanish Main in order to raid the major port cities with the ultimate goal of weakening defenses, capturing Spanish goods, and severing the lush trade route that the Spanish Empire had running throughout the Atlantic World. The fleet consisted of two Naval Ships sent on behalf of the Queen and twenty-seven privately owned ships. In total, two thousand three hundred men left dock with Drake’s naval fleet, and among these men there were twelve companies of soldiers for land-based combat. Drake was both the admiral and the general of the expedition, followed by the vice-admiral Martin Frobisher and lieutenant general Christopher Carleill.

Even though the principal objectives of Drake and his fleet were to strike the hardest possible blow to the Spanish port cities in the New World and break the stream of colonial wealth, it is also believed that Drake planned to leave a garrison of men on one of the raided islands in hopes that England could send reinforcements to the location, and break the Spanish trade connections of the Atlantic World for a longer period of time. This plan appears to have been conceived by Drake alone, as there is no record of Queen Elizabeth or her Parliament approving any further English

settlements in the New World during this period (other than the exploration of Virginia and Roanoke in the North Atlantic).\textsuperscript{16}

In September 1585, Drake and his naval fleet left Plymouth and sailed for Vigo, a port city off of the Northwest coast of Spain. As explained in the previous chapter, this first stop of the Great Voyage campaign was politically motivated. In practical terms, stopping off of the coast after shortly leaving England gave Drake’s men time to prepare the ships for a voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. Yet, this stop could be understood as following the official protocols of the time, giving the English royal officer the opportunity of staring his opponent in the eye and warn them about what was going to happen to the Spanish Main. Drake, along with Queen Elizabeth, understood that this political stunt would have Europe talking about how great a military force England had. This demonstration of power would encourage the Netherlands’ confidence in England as an ally. It turns out that this stunt ultimately hindered Drake’s success in the New World because King Phillip II managed to send out warnings to port cities to hide the wealth and evacuate town areas.

The Cape Verde Islands under Spanish control was Drake’s next destination. Drake decided to destroy some of the towns in the area but understood that this was just a stop to rest and ease the travel period across the Atlantic. This stop’s main

objective was to gather the supplies that Drake’s men were unable to gather before leaving England. Unfortunately, for Drake and his men, the islands had been recently infected with disease. Many Englishmen contracted the disease and by the time the fleet left Cape Verde three hundred men were dead and many more ill. The ships pushed forward stopping briefly at the island of St. Christopher to cleanse the ships and give the men rest before setting sail to sack the first major Spanish settlement on the voyage: Santo Domingo.

Santo Domingo, the capital city located on the Island of Hispaniola, was at one time the center of the Spanish Main. In 1585, Santo Domingo was no longer the center of trade and wealth in the Atlantic World, but it was still an important location for Drake to raid, being the head of the Spanish government in the New World. Described as a city that was impossible to raid, Drake took full advantage of all the power at his disposal. Docking his ships outside of the harbor, he ordered his men to sail around the far west side of the city, which had fell under control of his vice admiral Frobisher.

Once there, they docked their ships on the coast, and marched regiments of soldiers on the far West flank of the city. Santo Domingo and its defenses were completely taken off guard. In Drake’s surprise attack the men breeched the city and soon the remaining ships invaded the harbor. Within a matter of hours Drake had taken a city that was never raided before. After gathering all the loot available in the city and negotiating with the Spanish for ransom money in return of top officials, Drake prepared for the next stop on the voyage. He briefly raided Rio de la Hacha,
although this is not indicated on Boazio’s voyage map or completely articulated in the account of the raid.\textsuperscript{17}

The next raid took place in Cartagena, a large port city off of the coast of modern day Colombia. Cartagena’s port city was a central deposit location for silver, gold and emeralds coming from lower parts of South America. Spain claimed most of South America in this period and, with the newly gained control of Portugal, it held legal rights to Brazil as well. Drake understood that Cartagena could be a location for a major payday, and wanted to send the fleet there while it was still in good spirits and at good strength. Similar to the attack on Santo Domingo, Drake ordered his men to flank the city while the other half of the fleet distracted the defenses in the port harbor. Cartagena took Drake one night to raid. In the morning, Drake was in control of the city and negotiating for its wealth. Unfortunately, the last major shipment of silver had already made it back to Spain and what was left was minimal compared to what was expected.

After taking what they could from the city, Drake and his fleet paused for six weeks. Drake wanted to set sail for Panama, a central location for the Spanish Main’s silver trade coming from the coast of South America. There he perhaps wanted to assist the Cimarons in a rebellion against the Spanish crown, taking all the wealth

\textsuperscript{17} Harry Kelsey, \textit{Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 263.
gained back from Spain. It seems that Drake did not sail for Panama because of lack of resources and men. By this point in the voyage Drake’s fleet was running out of steam and power. At least one third of the men were dead, and at half strength they could not take Panama or Havana, Cuba, which in addition to Panama had been marked as an important stop to make on The Great Voyage. Drake ran out of resources and had to make the decision to sail for Saint Augustine.\textsuperscript{18}

Since Drake needed the Florida Channel winds to get his fleet back to England, he decided to sail up the coast of modern day Florida and sack the Northern most Spanish settlement in the New World. Although Saint Augustine was in its infancy, it was still an important location for Spain’s claims of North America, and for protection of Spanish ships sailing back to Europe.

St Augustine did not stand a chance against Drake and his men. While raiding the city, Drake and his soldiers did not find much of value, as the city had been abandoned and its inhabitants fled further inland. After destroying the city and taking what was left, Drake’s fleet sailed for Roanoke, the only British settlement in the New World. The Roanoke settlement was part of a larger English claim of North America called Virginia. Roanoke (not in modern day Virginia at all) is located on a barrier island off the modern day coast of North Carolina. Drake found the colony in ruins under the leadership of Ralph Lane. Lane and the settlers requested a trip home to

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid, 240-279.
England. Drake took the Englishmen aboard on his return to England, abandoning the Roanoke English establishment in the New World.19

Drake’s Great Voyage fleet returned to Portsmouth England in July of 1586. The operation of raiding cities in the Spanish Main was successful in dismounting the defenses and stability of the Spanish empire in the New World. The raid did not prove lucrative for the English Queen, but instead sent a clear message to King Phillip II that England was a power of which to be aware. Drake successfully took two hundred and forty large guns from the Spanish Main, expensive military materials that the Spanish could not make themselves and had to have imported from Italy. While weakening the defenses of the Spanish Main, Drake and his fleet cost Phillip II a great amount of resources and money. The Great Raid almost caused the Spanish Empire bankruptcy, took pressure off of the Netherlands, as well as severely limited the Spanish ability to mount a naval force powerful enough to compete with the English.

Chapter 3

THE CARTOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE: THE IMPORTANCE OF CARTOGRAPHY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In the sixteenth century, cartography and map illustrations became important means to communicate a variety of political and social ideas. The multitude of map projections and atlases produced at this time emphasize the importance that these tools had for the English. Queen Elizabeth I understood that maps could support her political and diplomatic agenda, utilizing them as effective intellectual weapons. She commissioned maps to promote English ideas and serve as a symbol of her country’s power. This is evident in Christopher Saxton’s *Atlas of England and Wales* of 1579 in which Queen Elizabeth is the center focus of the frontispiece, described as the patron of geography and astronomy (Figure 6). This chapter discusses the importance of cartography for Queen Elizabeth I as well as several European countries increased interest in cartographic practices throughout the sixteenth century.

The Spanish empire since 1493 took initiative to chart and map much of the New World. When Christopher Columbus returned to Spain after his 1492 voyage, 20

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Queen Isabelle of Castile convinced Pope Alexander VI to approve a Papal ordained right to the New World. This approval became known as the line of demarcation, initially giving Spain most of the New World, leaving a very little portion of the eastern tip of South American for the Portuguese. In 1494, Spanish and Portuguese authorities agreed to sign the Treaty of Tordesillas that granted Portugal more land, effectively moving the line of demarcation further west. This demarcation line officially ordained in the Treaty of Tordesillas was the legal geography and landscape that the English and Queen Elizabeth I aimed to destroy towards the end of the sixteenth century.\(^{21}\)

Moreover, Portuguese cartographers had taken such legal boundaries one-step further by expanding the perceived relationship and borders of the New World. A Portuguese cartographer in 1502, drafting the Cantino World Map, extended the line of demarcation through newly found lands. This map included among the Portuguese possessions a section of land that the English under John Cabot had claimed in 1497. This is an early example of the contestations of power that existed between England, Spain and Portugal while claiming possessions in the New World. Such conflicts increased over decades of diplomatic and wartime aggression, culminating in Sir

Francis Drake’s mission to upset Spanish power in the Atlantic World in his Great Voyage of 1585.

What became crucial to the success in Queen Elizabeth’s and Drake’s plan against the Spanish Main is the exploitation of geographical information and military defenses. During Drake’s previous voyages he had collected information on Spanish settlements, which he later used to construct the voyage route. Boazio’s Great Voyage maps were, therefore, designed to publically display Spanish strategic information.

The Spanish empire kept most of the plans and maps of the New World confidential, sparking English interest to spread such information as propaganda to support future insurrections against Spain.

With new developments in cartography and artistic mapmaking strategies, it made sense for Queen Elizabeth to have an artist, draftsman, or cartographer on Sir Francis Drake's voyage. This artist, in a general sense, could record information about Spanish fortifications and port cities in the New World. From a less political or militaristic view, an artist appointed to the voyage could also visually illustrate the historical account of the powerful English fleet that managed to disturb Spanish rule in the New World. Moreover, an artist working in conjunction with a textual publication
could help shape what is known as the “eye of history”, or the visual account of a historical event according to the gaze of a public figure such as Sir Francis Drake.22

The summary of Sir Francis Drake’s Great Voyage written by Walter Bigges and Boazio’s accompanying maps were all published in 1589. According to the Walter Bigges, Christopher Carleill, Drake’s leading general of the campaign, had plans to publish information of the voyage before leaving in 1585. Carleill’s father, Secretary Walsingham, worked directly under Queen Elizabeth I. There are accounts of Carleill sending information regarding the voyage back to his father. Presumably, either Carleill or Walsingham would have selected an artist to join the raids in the Atlantic. It is unclear whether the images created by the artist would accompany the text Carleill was interested in publishing. It is certain that the engravings by Boazio are meant to accompany the Walter Bigges text, acting as pictorial narrative for the voyage and the events there recounted.23

After Drake’s voyage, Boazio was commissioned by the Earl of Essex Robert Cecil to draw a map of Cadiz. Along with the Great Voyage overview map and the locality maps of Santiago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena and Saint Augustine, Boazio

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23 Bigges and Croftes, A Summarie, Preface indicating the maps designed location in the text.
also published a unique five-view map of Ireland in Christopher Saxton’s *Atlas* and a drawing entitled *The Attack of Cadiz* in 1599. It is also very likely that Elizabeth I commissioned Boazio to create a map of Ireland published in 1600 (Figure 7). Although it is unclear why the Italian-born Giovanni Baptista Boazio would have been selected over other English artists in the 1580s, the respect and skill he held as a draftsman and cartographer became more apparent in the years following the Great Voyage.

After the Great Voyage, Boazio's presence in the realm of cartography established a precedent on how to depict the New World for other artists to follow. These artists included Theodore de Bry (1599), John Ogilby (1671), Allain Manesson Mallet (1683) and Pierre van der Aa (1729), who used noticeably similar patterns and geographical representations present in Boazio's maps. Understanding Boazio's one-hundred-forty year influence on the creation and publication of maps is imperative; for many countries in Europe, this was the first time outsiders saw the Spanish Main is such a geographical detail. Along with English military action, Boazio supplied useful geographic information to other European powers.

Scholars generally consider Boazio’s maps as geographically accurate based on the technology and the amount of information the mapmaker possessed. Yet, along with information of the geography, Boazio’s maps also display a historical account through the passage of time, a difficult task to undertake in a cartographic format. This is crucial information needed to understand how to read one of these maps. For instance, in the locality maps the ships and soldiers represent many different moments
happening over the course of an entire day rather than focusing on only one event.
Boazio is cautious of not losing the importance of the geographical setting while also conveying the story's sequence, creating engravings that blend cartography and narrative. The cartographers that most obviously used Boazio’s engraving in later texts do not focus so much on the specific nature of the locations or the narrative aspect of the images, but instead on reproducing a familiar image of the New World.
Chapter 4

BAPTISTA BOAZIO’S ENGRAVINGS: VIEWS OF THE SPANISH MAIN AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

The cartographic engravings published in 1589 by Baptista Boazio are the most telling documents about the power and legal dynamics of Sir Francis Drake’s Great Voyage. Very few scholars have dealt directly with Boazio’s images or the accompanying text. While demonstrating a unique view of the New World, unprecedented up until this point, the images also have a lot to say about English ideology, legal tenets and military strategy within the onset of the Anglo-Spanish war.

As previously discussed, the voyage map and the four additional maps provide views of the locations that Drake and his men raided in order to serve as English propaganda. These large, colored and elaborately decorated maps showcase the greatness of the established Spanish empire; at the same time, they help to communicate the entirety of Drake’s voyage in visual form by representing many parts of the narrative at once. Such a forceful narrative of the voyage visually promotes English political strength, military proficiency, and legal authority in the New World.

Mary Keeler, one of the few scholars who have worked on Boazio and his maps, discusses the five maps in relation to the artist’s life. She is mainly concerned with the geographic accuracy of the maps, and argues for the presence of Boazio on Drake’s voyage. She shows how this is an important characteristic of English
explorations in the New World, since a contemporary to Drake, Richard Hakluyt, made it very clear that the English should always bring an artist with them on explorations of the New World. Keeler believes this mostly based on the importance of the raid for the English, and the stakes that Queen Elizabeth took waging war on the Spanish Main. A precedent for enrolling artists in English expeditions was established with John White, the artist that traveled with the Roanoke Colony.

Keeler references in her article that Baptista Boazio took certain liberties in the final presentation of the maps. She speculates that in the different versions that remain Boazio made the decision to include the most important or “high points” of the Great voyage. To prove the geographic accuracy of the maps, Keeler traveled to the various locations depicted, and discovered that for the most part the maps display accurate depictions of the lands. Although she does mention that some of Boazio’s maps distort the configuration of certain locations, she concludes that overall they are accurate. Keeler further explains the maps’ distortions as a product of Boazio’s vantage point while drafting the map’s layout. Since the maps also aim to display a passage of time and a series of different events all in one composition, the massive amount of information could distort the image and shape the geography in a peculiar way.

Keeler, nonetheless, does not analyze the specifics of the overall voyage map within the historical context of the Great Voyage, which is perhaps one of the most
telling of Boazio’s representations of the political atmosphere of the mid sixteenth century. The voyage map clearly demonstrates through a dotted line the trajectory of Drake’s fleet departing from Plymouth on September 14, 1585, stopping at Bayona, the Canary Islands, Santiago in Cape Verde, an unnamed location across the Atlantic, Santo Domingo, Rio de la Hacha, Cartagena, Cape Saint Anthony (Cuba), Saint Augustine, Roanoke and returning to Portsmouth on July 27, 1586.

Boazio seems to have indicated the richest and most important Spanish settlements by coloring their locations in red in Bayona, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, Havana, Mexico, Lima and Saint Augustine. With the exception of Havana, Mexico and Lima, these distinguished locations became raid stops during the Great Voyage. According to the textual account of the voyage, Havana was a location that Drake sought to raid but was unable to do so successfully; so instead he turned towards St Augustine the last raiding stop on the voyage, as it has been previously discussed.

Particularly interesting are the red markings in Mexico City and Lima, Peru. It is unclear whether or not Drake and his fleet planned to raid these cities, well-known locations because of their control over some of the main Spanish-controlled silver mines. Yet Boazio places red marks making the viewer question the importance of these cities in the overall mission of the English attacks on the Spanish Main.

The flags placed throughout the Voyage map help orient the viewer. The map provides lines for states and countries, although during this period there were no clear geographical borders to separate different regions and interests. The flags serve as first steps to understand the geopolitical breakdown of the world in the late sixteenth century. Spanish flags are scattered across Central and South America—they dot the map across modern day Venezuela, Brazil and Peru. The placement of so many Spanish flags in South America and very few in North America may be Boazio’s way of emphasizing the English belief that they had control of, and authority to claim, North America.

Particularly telling is the fact that Boazio does not place a Spanish flag in the Caribbean. This may serve as a signifier of the English conviction on the lack of Spanish authority in the region, or the belief that the Caribbean was open for English control and colonization, asserting that the English had just as much right to the region as the Spanish. The English Standard, which bears tails and the cross of Saint George, is in fact the largest flag on the map, appearing in the voyage map located on North America. The tails almost invoke movement, may be conveying the idea of the changing winds of power that moved the English to attack Spanish authority in the New World.

The Royal Standard of England is also present on the voyage map centered in England. This flag is different from the English Standard, bearing the colors of red and blue: it is the flag of Queen Elizabeth I representing the royal authority of England. This flag also appears on the large ship that acts as a decorative element at the bottom
of the voyage map, since it is not depicted naturalistically but instead is captured larger than life. This distortion is perhaps meant to show both the English Standard and Royal standards of England, showing that Drake was under the command of England and sailing for Queen Elizabeth I. In addition, the French fleur-de-lis flag is located in Canada, as labeled on the voyage map. The importance of locating France in the great scheme of the world’s geographical and political context conveys Boazio’s understanding of different European countries’ interest in the Americas.

If the flags located on the map are meant to shape the political and geographically breakdown of the world, perhaps the coloring, although less historically accurate, may further the connotation of special and geographic political boundaries. The coloring of maps and engravings throughout history were not usually completed by the artists named on the work, but instead by workshop assistants. There may be no merit on trying to distinguish between the outlined patterns of colors found on the voyage map, but it can be acknowledged as a significant form of understanding a map’s meaning, as stated by P.D.A Harvey in his book Maps in Tudor England.\textsuperscript{25} It is important, however, to mention their appearance in supporting Boazio’s overall visualization of political power. Given the large and elaborately decorated maps in this

discussion, the coloring of these propaganda pieces may have helped the audience to understand better the geopolitical boundaries of this period.

At first glance, the coloring on the voyage map does not make any particular sense. The dominant colors scattered throughout the map are yellow, light and dark orange, and green. Out of the four dominant colors in the map, the yellow and the light orange boundaries communicate perhaps the strongest message in the map. The yellow boundaries trace the borders of Spain, the West coast of Africa, Hispaniola, Mexico, the “low countries” and most of South America. The light orange surrounds England, Brazil, Cuba, Florida and the northern coast of South America. It seems thus that through these two colors Boazio articulates the English and Spanish dynamics of land claims. The light orange colored regions could symbolize the areas of the Atlantic World in which the English questioned Spanish authority.

In addition to the voyage map, the site-specific engravings enhance Boazio’s political message. The specific maps of Santo Domingo and Cartagena, for example, demonstrate some of the key aspects to understand the function of these engravings. Of the four major raiding stops on the Great Voyage, Santo Domingo and Cartagena proved to be the most successful and potentially the most detrimental to the Spanish crown.

The Santo Domingo map is believed to be the third map in the chronological progression, following the main voyage map and the map of Santiago in Cape Verde. It illustrates the attack on the main Spanish port city of Santo Domingo. According to Mary Keeler, the Santo Domingo map presents the viewer with a plausible view of the
bay and the city. She points out that the ships seen further west of the city represents Drake’s military strategy of attacking the city from its most western flank, an emphasis that distorts the view of the harbor. As it has been discussed, Keeler justifies that distortion as resulting from Boazio’s attempt to fit the entire narrative into one image. Yet, most crucial to understand the propaganda qualities of the maps is an examination of the large escutcheon that appears on the right side of the engraving. This element may be Boazio’s method of demonstrating Drake’s overall success in the engagement of Santo Domingo. The enlarged escutcheon falls nothing short of a statement piece relating to the overall narrative of the raid (Figure 8). According to the *Summarie* of the voyage, Drake took this escutcheon or banner with the Spanish royal coat of arms as a trophy of his conquest over the great port city, which at the time was the Spanish seat of government in the Caribbean region.

One may question, however, why did Boazio not include in his illustration of the town the governmental building referred to in the *Summarie* as the Audiencia or government house? What seems to be the most plausible explanation to this omission is the lack of military engagement on that side of the town. Drake’s forces attacked the Western side of the city instead of the Eastern side, and Boazio perhaps wanted to focus the attention of the map to the section where the military action was taking place. Instead, by including the escutcheon as a map embellishment, Boazio drew further attention to the political statement of the English attack and anti-Spanish propaganda.
The Cartagena map also marks one of the most successful events during the Great Voyage. Like the Santo Domingo map, Cartagena’s cityscape illustrates the raid’s high points by focusing on a continuous narrative of all the attacks. This effect is best understood by relating Boazio’s maps to Walter Goffart’s analysis of John Speed’s map, *The Invasions of England and Ireland* dated 1601, depicting all of the English battles and their respective locations from the Norman conquest up through 1600 (Figure 9). Goffart explains that the narrative quality of English mapmaking became relevant at the turn of the century under the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Boazio, working in a related vein, may have derived a similar perspective of depicting a series of events all at one time.

The Great Voyage maps could be an example of Boazio’s cartographic development towards the emerging style of catalogue mapping. As it has been discussed, the engravings of the Great Voyage demonstrate the movement of Drake’s soldiers and ships as they attack the different Spanish settlements in the New World. This progression of attack becomes most clear when following and accounting for the number of ships illustrated in the images. For example, Drake left England with twenty-three ships. The Cartagena map depicts over fifty ships in the harbor. Although there is reference to Drake’s men capturing a few Spanish ships and commandeering them for their own use, this does not account for the sheer number of ships found in Boazio’s images. Boazio, therefore, is not depicting an increase of the number of ships in Drake’s fleet, but instead has decided to narrate each step of military engagement in a progressive fashion.
This strategy is even more clearly demonstrated in the view of Cartagena. Drake’s fleet enters the harbor on the far West side of the city, where bunches of ships move closer to the land. It is this narrative quality of the map that makes the text of the *Summarie* imperative to understand the map’s context. Without the step-by-step story of the Great Voyage the interpretation of the maps may be considerable different. It is the text that explains Boazio’s narrative elements, showing a progression of time. The experiment of this style of narrative map-making, which focuses on specific landmarks and locations, is also found in Boazio’s *Map of Ireland*, dating after the turn of the century (Figure 7). This later map is illustrated in a style most closely resembling that of Speed’s map.

Keeler has remarked on the importance of viewing the maps in conjunction with the text, confirming that the original text helps explain the imagery in the illustrations, connecting the story to the geography. This is a key element to consider how these artistic pieces would have been viewed, and why the English would want them published. Keeler, however, does not leave room to question the differences between the two versions of the maps that Boazio made. There exists another set of smaller prints created by Boazio, which were printed in 1588. These smaller prints are not as elaborately detailed or colored as the larger versions at the Library of Congress,

26 Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, 80-4.
but they provide important information to discuss the engravings purpose and audience. The smaller versions of the maps appear independently from the text just as the larger versions. As it will be shown later on, the colored engravings add and subtract features from the smaller prints.

Richard Kagan also asserts that for the most part the distortions to the views in Boazio’s maps are a consequence of the narrative elements. According to Kagan, Boazio was forced to include small figurative elements in the landscape to encompass the large narrative unfolding all at one time. The most accurate renderings of the Spanish port cities are the fortifications and military engagements of Drake’s forces, since capturing the details of Spanish fortifications (and specially their defense systems) was a way of promoting future attacks on the Spanish Main. Thus, Boazio’s focus on the military actions of Drake’s men serves a dual purpose: promoting the accomplishments of English forces, and illustrating fortifications for further military engagement (Figure 10).

These maps therefore represent not only political propaganda but also military documentation. Boazio’s representations of Spanish fortifications in the New World could demonstrate to other nations the vulnerability of the Spanish settlements, forcing the Spanish to spend time and resources in rebuilding and improving military

27 Keeler, The Boazio Maps, 70-1.
defenses, once considered to be not as important. According to Kagan, Spanish towns in the Iberian Peninsula were customarily walled and fortified, yet this was not the case for the construction of Spanish town’s plans in the Atlantic World. Instead, the Spanish perceived these towns to be “absent of an enemy lacking guns, walls seemed superfluous” with no threat to Spanish power arising until the mid sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{28} With the increased presence of pirates and armed Europeans entering the Spanish Main, more fortifications began to be constructed.

Boazio’s set of engravings that appeared in 1588 may have preceded the set of colored maps today at the Library of Congress, illustrating the artist’s focus on the Spanish fortifications as seen in 1585. Boazio’s map embellishments in the larger colored maps add more political content. Looking at the additions from the smaller engravings to the larger ones, key features provide clues of Boazio’s demonstration of English power, adding additional information to the political message that the maps promote.

The Santo Domingo map (Figure 11) and the Cartagena map (Figure 12) have the largest number of changes from the smaller version to the larger state (Figure 3,4). Elements of particular interest are the added cartouches, the transition of a numbered system to a lettered key and the added escutcheon (previously discussed). The added

cartouches to the Santo Domingo map and the Cartagena map include the same text that is printed at the bottom of the small engravings. Presumably Boazio added the cartouches to the final stage of the map to enhance its visual appeal. The text remains the same in both maps, describing the location and the scene that unfolds.

The imagery of the cartouches may be of significance, depicting two major characters in the Great Voyage narrative. The cartouche in the Santo Domingo map and the Cartagena map include a figure mounted at the top that Keeler thinks seems to resemble Drake. The bottom figure in both cartouches depicts a woman. Keeler thinks these figures may be a tribute to Elizabeth I (Figure 13).\footnote{Ibid, 77-80.} Although there is no clear indication that these images actually represent such central figures, there exist historical precedents for paying tribute to patrons for commissions of such a political nature.

The change from a numbered system to present the narrative to a lettered system in the second set of maps appears to be a change based on the subsequent pairing of the publication of the Summaire with the maps. The letter system changes to match the events described in the text denoted by a lettered key. The explanation as to why the identification system changed from one set of the maps to the other is difficult to determine because there are no surviving copies of the numbered key that

\footnote{Ibid, 77-80.}
accompanied the smaller version of the maps. Through analyzing the first maps in comparison to the colored engravings there are few additions and changes from what the numbered system presented compared to the lettered system.

One of the most interesting changes made to the maps from the smaller version to the larger finished products is the addition of many natural elements, in particular addition of a possible allegory of a sea monster chasing a flying fish, which appears in three out of the four engravings (Figures 14, 15). Just as the maps represent a passage of time through the visual display of the narrative, the images of a sea monster and the flying fish change their position throughout the images of the Santiago map, the Santo Domingo map, and finally the Cartagena map. Although not clearly articulated by any specific indicators in the text or on the maps, this possible allegory may represent the two competing powers in the Atlantic World, Spain and England. With the addition of these animal figures, Boazio perhaps wanted to communicate the underlying theme of English power and aggression, in this case the sea monster figure finally lurking ever closer to destroying the flying fish or the Spanish empire.

Boazio’s renderings of the New World as promoting English power and legal authority over a Spanish dominated landscape provided a precedent for a new mapping style. The image of Santo Domingo is a good case to understand the impact that Boazio’s images had on the visualization of the New World. According to Kagan, the Spanish took great lengths in securing the secrets of the Spanish port. At this moment in the sixteenth century the only available cartographic information regarding the Atlantic World was Abraham Ortelius’ Theatrum Orbis Terrarum of 1570.
Drake’s raids, and ultimately Boazio’s engravings, released these secrets out to the world. The result was a brand new understanding of the Atlantic World that up until this point only the Spanish had. The same birds eye view of the port city of Santo Domingo remained in the European visual language for presenting the New World for a decade and a half after the publication of Boazio’s maps. An almost identical view of Santo Domingo appears in Theodore de Bry’s Great Voyages of 1599 and later in Pierre van der Aa’s Galerie agreeable du monde 1729 (Figure 16). Boazio’s engraving helped establish the vision of the Spanish World by placing familiar European images of the gridded city structure in a remote savage land. These images were meant to demonstrate the Spanish weaknesses, and provided information that future explorers and privateers could use to attack the Spanish Atlantic World. Boazio’s images would go on to serve as the visual representation of European dominance of the New World.

Chapter 5

THE LEGAL CODE OF TERRA INCOGNITA: CLAIMING LAND POSSESSION IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD

This chapter considers the significance of 1585, which serves as a crucial year for England to start articulating a legal framework for territorial expansion, before physically obtaining the material and land possessions usually associated with an empire. The dual legal construction of both Roman and Common law is how the English claimed land in the sixteenth century. The underlying distinction of Spanish and English law is one of preemptive possession by the former as opposed to the dominative code of the latter. Preemptive law is established by discovery and visual illustration of New World territory, while dominative law is established by the physical occupation of the territory. In the sixteenth century the English believed that to own land in the New World European powers needed to be able to demonstrate their understanding of the landscape and physically occupy the land that they were claiming.

According to Ken MacMillan, the English and the Spanish were working in a time with no supranational code of law that controlled the legal rights and distinctions of competing powers.31 Instead, the English figured out that—although the Spanish had used their power to claim land based on discovery, papal authority and

symbolically planting of markers on the land—actual possession of the land was the ultimate authority. Conversely, the English monarchy understood that by utilizing themes from Roman law in combining methods of preemptive and dominative possession of the land the English could create a sense of supranational legal authority with England at its center.

In 1585 Queen Elizabeth I established precedents for preemptive law by approving Sir Francis Drake Great Voyage, and for dominative rule with the founding of the Roanoke colony of Virginia. The map engravings of Baptista Boazio represent the visual manifestation of a nascent overseas empire by politically representing English knowledge and claims over the New World. The Roanoke colony represents the physical possession of the land, which was key to the English legal justification of land in the Atlantic.

Patricia Seed’s book *Ceremonies of Possession* addresses the sixteenth and seventeenth century ceremonial practices of taking and claiming new land. Countries and empires in these centuries followed strict rules and regulations in the process of appropriating new lands. For example, many countries including Spain and England throughout this period planted crosses, standards and banners in the act of claiming land. Additionally, the act of drawing up maps, speaking certain words or phrases and engaging into military exercises were all part of the process of claiming land. This text is an important resource to consider the legal justification of claiming land in the New World.  

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32 Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 4-8.
In the context to Drake’s Great Voyage, however, Seed’s analysis of English ceremonial practices for claiming lands does not conform to the mission of Drake’s raid in 1585. Instead, as demonstrated on Baptista Boazio’s voyage overview map, the English settlement in North America that follows more closely Seed’s interpretation of England’s claims is Roanoke. According to Seed, throughout this period each European power that had interest in the New World acted following their country’s legal code. The contrasting legal codes created multiple problems due to differences in languages, translations and meanings. In each country their social and political organization, supported by their respective legal system, battled over imperial rights to control the New World. Seed further suggests that the social differences in establishing legitimate claims in the New World created the unstable battle for power in the Atlantic World.

An earlier example of legal theory and justification of ownership over territory in the New World is characterized by the dispute between the English and the Spanish in Drake’s voyage prior to his Great Raid. In 1580, Sir Francis Drake arrived back in England after completing his circumnavigation of the world. A Spanish ambassador complained about the English intrusion in Spanish claimed territory. In an official chronicle Queen Elizabeth I of England denounces the intrusion claim by stating,

\[\text{Ibid, 70.}\]
“Spaniards had touched here and there upon the coasts, Built Cottages, and given Names to a River or Cape which does not entitle them to ownership,” demonstrating that the English did not believe Spanish law of ceremony of possession constituted any legal authority.\textsuperscript{34} The Queen’s answer brought into effect the English belief and law that ownership did not come by sailing and discovering, but instead by landing and claiming. For Seed, this English concept of claiming land was pushed one step further when many countries began to record their legal claims in the New World as documental proof of ownership. Baptista Boazio’s maps could be the English form of documentation needed to support a claim of lands or areas over which the English claimed ownership. (Figure 17).

Scholars Ken MacMillan and Christopher Brooks agree with Seed and take the legal argument one step further, by claiming that Queen Elizabeth and her top officials were working on English legal theory to justify their rights to claim land in the New World. MacMillan and Brooks explain the background context as to why the English legal battle over power and diplomatic relationships is important to understanding the English position, and the underlying meaning behind attacking the Spanish by using Drake in the New World. This legal theory seems to be visually articulated in Boazio’s maps of Drake’s voyage published in 1589. In the main voyage map, depicting

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid,10.
Drake’s trajectory in its entirety, Boazio’s places English claims to a large section of North American under the banner of the English Flag.\textsuperscript{35}

Boazio’s engravings may have provided the legal precedent needed to understand the visualization of a new legal system. A later example of English legal symbolization through cartography appears with Theodore de Bry’s edition of Thomas Hariot’s \textit{Brief and True Report of the New Found land in Virginia} of 1590 (Figure 18). This publication included a reprint of a map by the artist and colonel governor John White entitled \textit{The Part of America Called Virginia, First Discovered by the English}. (Figure 19) The key differences between the original map by White and the De Bry’s map was, according to MacMillan, the additions of politically motivated cartouches and decorations communicating legal authority.\textsuperscript{36}

Another key change De Bry made to the map was the alteration of the landscape orientation. Instead of keeping the map in a North to South representation as White had done, De Bry made the map have a West to East orientation. This change allowed the central focus of the map to be the land. In this case, the engraver’s understanding of the land seems to be a step to legitimize legal authority over it. De

\begin{quote}

36 Ibid, 163-4.
\end{quote}
Bry took the concept of English effective control one step further by dotting the landscape with many details including trees, rivers, mountains and even depictions of Native Americans. These additions confirmed to the audience that England knew the land it was claiming, and could clearly demonstrate that through mapmaking. A further act of authority is presented with the coat of arms of Walter Raleigh and Queen Elizabeth I. The themes of these cartouches on the map further serve as projecting this visual representation as a legal document claiming for England the land of Virginia under the authority of the Queen.

The events that transpired during the same years of The Great Voyage, as well as the back-to-back publication of visual details about White’s and Drake’s travels allows us to estimate the possible legal implications of Boazio’s engravings. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Boazio was consciously adding new elements to his maps from the smaller scale image to the larger colored and decorated maps. Boazio’s additions of political propaganda by means of the escutcheon and the cartouches captioning each stop along the raiding voyage appear to serve similar interests of justifying English power and legal authority.

Boazio represents Virginia on his Voyage map in a similar manner that De Bry did in the following year. Each artist created a dialogue of the legal dynamic created in sixteenth-century England. De Bry’s volume is a testament to the legal visualization that Boazio set out to depict. Both engravers’s works circulated to a wide public in multiple languages and within different European powers. Publications such as these
perhaps provide a greater understanding of the sixteenth century establishment of English “ius gentium” or the founding of international law.\textsuperscript{37}

Boazio’s engravings and symbolism represent the culmination of Elizabeth’s I’s ideas of English union and further expansion. Projects such as Maurice Bouguereau Atlas of England and Whales 1579 are good examples of the Queen’s initiative to promoting legal authority and the use the power of cartography to unify and claim possession over new lands (Figure 6).\textsuperscript{38} Boazio’s engravings also represent English power spreading beyond the European states into the Atlantic World. Boazio’s politically charged engravings solidified Queen Elizabeth’s preemptive declaration of terra incognita or unknown land in the New World.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, 167-8

\textsuperscript{38} Monmonier, \textit{How to lie with maps}, 88-9.
CONCLUSION

QUEEN ELIZABETH I’S EXPANSION OF 1585: A LEGAL AND POLITICAL STATEMENT

1585 became a critical foundation of England’s eventual transformation, as it would start functioning legally as an empire. Although through the sixteenth century and up until this point the Spanish Empire was the only established power, 1585 and subsequent years help to establish the legal framework the English needed to challenge Spanish dominance in the New World. The English organization of the Roanoke colony, in conjunction with Sir Francis Drake’s Great Voyage, demonstrate Queen Elizabeth I’s interest to expand England’s power in the Atlantic World. Drake’s actions in the Great Voyage expedition seem to imply an informal English declaration of war; his raids on Spanish settlements demonstrate English law, power, and boldness to challenge the opposing Spanish Empire, effectively destabilizing Spanish power in the New World. This destabilization of power in turn benefited the political and social turmoil taking place in the Netherlands throughout the late sixteenth century, as Queen Elizabeth was concerned about Spanish control of the Netherlands.

Baptista Boazio’s engravings serve as a visualization of the destabilization of Spanish power as a result of Drake’s Great Voyage. Additionally, Boazio’s engravings exemplify the importance of cartography as political propaganda for Queen Elizabeth I to promote English legal and diplomatic authority in the New World. Boazio’s influence on the visualization of the New World is one that should not go undervalued. Scholars have effectively traced the influence (or at least Boazio’s images) for at least

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one hundred and forty years, when engravers were using Boazio’s images to shape and visualize the New World. Such a forceful narrative of the voyage visually promotes English political strength, military proficiency, and legal claim of the English in the New World. Boazio’s maps become symbols of English propaganda and serve as a legal document to English aspirations in the New World. Boazio’s impact after the Great Voyage is evident, as Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex, Rober Cecil, commissioned him additional works. Queen Elizabeth effectively used Drake and Boazio to communicate English diplomatic interest through military force and cartographic dissemination of political propaganda.
Figure 1  Boazio, Baptista, *Voyage*, Walter Bigges, Lieutenant Croftes, and Jay I. Kislak Collection. *Map and views illustrating Sir Francis Drake’s West Indian voyage, 1585–6*. The Library of Congress.
Figure 2  Boazio, Baptista, Santiago, Walter Bigges, Lieutenant Croftes, and Jay I. Kislak Collection. *Map and views illustrating Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage, 1585 6*. The Library of Congress.
Figure 3  Boazio, Baptista, *Santo Domingo*. Walter Bigges, Lieutenant Croftes, and Jay I. Kislak Collection. *Map and views illustrating Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage, 1585 6*. The Library of Congress
Figure 4  Boazio, Baptista, Cartagena Walter Bigges, Lieutenant Croftes, and Jay I. Kislak Collection. Map and views illustrating Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage, 1585 6. The Library of Congress
Figure 5  Boazio, Baptista, *St. Augustine*, Walter Bigges, Lieutenant Croftes, and Jay I. Kislak Collection. *Map and views illustrating Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage, 1585 6*. The Library of Congress.
Figure 7  Boazio, Baptista, Jan Baptista Vrients, and Abraham Ortelius. *Baptista Boazio's Irlandiae c. 1606 = Irlandiae accurata descriptio*. [Antwerp: A. Ortelius, 1606] The Library of Congress.
Figure 8  Detail of Figure 3. Baptista Boazio. *Santo Domingo.*
Figure 9  John Speed, *The Invasion of England and Ireland. 1601*. Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc.
Figure 10  Detail of Figure 3. Baptista Boazio, *Santo Domingo*. 
Figure 13  Detail from Figure 4. Baptista Boazio, *Cartagena*

Figure 14  Detail from Figure 3. Baptista Boazio. *Santiago*
Figure 15  Detail from Figure 4. Baptista Boazio. *Cartagena*

Figure 17  Detail of Baptista Boazio *Voyage* map
Figure 18  Theodore de Bry’s edition of Thomas Harriot’s *Brief and True Report of the New Found land of Virginia of 1590*. Revisions to John Whites *The part of America called Virginia, first discovered by the English*. 
Figure 19  John White’s Sketch of the Roanoke Area, 1585, The British Museum
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