

Who Was the Scribe of the Radisson Manuscript?*

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RÉSUMÉ Cet article reprend le sujet de mon texte précédent : “Radisson’s *Voyages and Their Manuscripts*” (*Archivaria* 48, Fall 1999) afin de tenter de résoudre un problème alors en suspens. Il s’agit de l’identification du scribe du seul manuscrit existant des quatre premiers récits de voyages de Pierre-Esprit Radisson (Oxford: Bodleian Rawlinson A329), un texte écrit vers 1668–69 et copié, ainsi que je l’ai fait valoir sur la base de l’analyse du papier, vers 1686–87. La nouvelle preuve paléographique présentée ici démontre que le scribe était Nicholas Hayward, un notaire professionnel et un membre habituel du Comité de Londres de la Compagnie de la Baie d’Hudson entre 1668 et 1690. Cet article examine la carrière de Hayward et ses relations avec Radisson, de même que les façons dont le Comité de Londres a pris en charge la gestion des archives de la nouvelle compagnie. L’expertise reconnue de Hayward dans la traduction française démontre que le manuscrit Bodleian ne peut être une traduction grossière, ainsi que l’avait suggéré Grace Lee Nute en 1943, mais a presque certainement été écrit directement en anglais par Radisson lui-même.

ABSTRACT This article returns to the subject of my “Radisson’s *Voyages and Their Manuscripts*” (*Archivaria* 48, Fall 1999) in pursuit of a problem unresolved there: identifying the scribe of the only extant manuscript (Oxford: Bodleian Rawlinson A329) of Pierre-Esprit Radisson’s first four travel narratives, a text written about 1668–9 and copied (as I argued on the basis of paper evidence) ca. 1686–7. The new palaeographical evidence described here shows that the scribe was Nicholas Hayward, a professional notary and a frequent member of the London Committee of the Hudson’s Bay Company between 1668 and 1690. The article examines Hayward’s career and his possible relationship with Radisson, but also considers the ways in which the London Committee handled the problem of archiving the papers of the new company.

* For valuable assistance in my search for the scribe of the Radisson manuscript I would like to thank Judith Hudson Beattie of the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives; Carolyn Podruchny of Western Michigan University; Richard Luckett, Pepys Librarian, Magdalene College, Cambridge; James Kelly, Worcester College, Oxford; Stephen Massil, Librarian of the Huguenot Society; Tony Dunford of The Notaries Society; Melanie Barber of Lambeth Palace Library; Nigel Ready of the Society of Scriveners’; Nicholas Halmi of the University of Washington, and my colleague Wallace McLeod. Most particularly I would like to thank Brian G.C. Brooks, of the Society of Scrivener Notaries, who set me on the road to the last piece in the puzzle. Funds provided by Victoria University in the University of Toronto made possible the inclusion of photographs.

Hayward's documented expertise in French translation shows the Bodleian manuscript cannot be a rough-hewn translation, as Grace Lee Nute suggested in 1943, but is almost certainly written in Radisson's own Francophone English.

"My dear Selena," I said, "to be always right is the claim of the charlatan, not of the Scholar. The mark of Scholarship is a fearless and unflinching readiness to modify theories in the light of new evidence."^{*}

In *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999),¹ I published the first fully detailed discussion of the manuscript problems associated with Oxford: Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson A329, a document of singular importance in Canadian history because it constitutes first-hand testimony to the lives and travels before 1660 of the explorers Médard Chouart des Groseilliers and Pierre-Esprit Radisson. The Bodleian manuscript is a fascinating one. It comprises the first four of Radisson's six extant narratives of his various adventures,² and it belonged at different times to the naval administrator and diarist Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) and the antiquarian Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755). Previously it had been argued that the Bodleian manuscript dated from about 1669, and that its rough-hewn English constituted a translation from Radisson's own French.³ I disagreed, arguing first that the English of the four narratives is much too idiosyncratic to be a translation, at least of the kind English mercantile companies, including the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), commissioned from the notaries who routinely did that kind of work, and second, that the material characteristics of the manuscript itself indicate that the date of its production was some time around 1686, and that it was copied out by a person or persons unknown who had access to the company papers of the HBC.

I also argued that the manuscript was the product possibly of two and perhaps of three different hands, though I noted that at least two of them were closely alike. With respect to the latter particular I was wrong, and take great pleasure in admitting it, because I have recently uncovered evidence that con-

* My cautionary epigraph comes from the last novel of that splendid writer of legal/academic mystery stories, the late Sarah Caudwell; see *The Sybil in Her Grave* (New York, 2000), p. 349.

1 Germaine Warkentin, "Radisson's *Voyages* and Their Manuscripts," *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999), pp. 199–222.

2 Radisson's six "Voyages" are as follows. I: his two-year captivity among the Mohawks 1652–1654; II: Fr. Paul Rageneau's mission to the Onondagas, in which Radisson took part, 1657–1658; III: the mysterious "Third Voyage" which purports to recount a journey with Groseilliers to the headwaters of the Mississippi in 1654–1656, though Radisson is documented as being in Quebec; IV: the great voyage to Lake Superior the two explorers made in 1659–1660. Voyages I–IV are recounted in the Bodleian manuscript. Voyage V describes events on Hudson's Bay in 1682–1683, and Voyage VI continues that narrative through 1684; both manuscripts are in the Hudson's Bay Company archives.

3 Grace Lee Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness: Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618–1710* (New York, 1943), pp. 29–30.

vincingly identifies the scribe. The Bodleian manuscript of Radisson's first four voyages is in the hand of Nicholas Hayward, a frequent member of the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company between 1681 and 1690, and a notary who is known to have translated documents from the French for its members when that was necessary. To know the identity of the scribe of the Bodleian manuscript not only carries us several steps towards filling out our picture of that extraordinary man Pierre-Esprit Radisson, but also casts fresh light on the internal activities of the Hudson's Bay Company during the fraught decade of the 1680s, when Radisson's transfer of allegiance from France to England posed a delicate political problem. It also gives near-final confirmation (failing the discovery of an autograph manuscript) of my contention that the four narratives are in Radisson's own fractured and colourful English.⁴ Finally, in illustrating the handling of a trading company's papers, it provides us with a small but by no means negligible contribution to archival history.

Nicholas Hayward was a notary operating in the Virginia Walk of London's Royal Exchange.⁵ The son of a London merchant of the same name, he received his Faculty (admission) to practice from the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1668.⁶ I have not been able to trace his activities after the early 1690s, but he may have died, as by 1697 the HBC was using another notary, a Mr. Scorey.⁷ As a notary he functioned both as a scrivener who copied business papers for his clients and as a notary in the modern sense of the meaning, that is, one who certifies the authenticity of copies and prepares legal instruments. Like many notaries of the time, Hayward also did translation work; his specialty was French, and he had contacts both in France and among the growing Huguenot population of late seventeenth-century London.⁸ Notaries and scriveners were the "Wall Street operatives" or "City men" of their day; Peter

4 For the linguistic features of Radisson's first four voyages, see Germaine Warkentin, "Discovering Radisson: A Renaissance Adventurer Between Two Worlds," in Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, eds., *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* (Peterborough, 1996), pp. 43–70; see also Warkentin, "Radisson's *Voyages* and Their Manuscripts," *Archivaria* 48 (noted above).

5 There is a brief biography of Hayward in E.E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679–1684. First Part, 1679–82* [hereafter, *Minutes 1679–82*] with an introduction by G.N. Clark (Toronto, 1945), p. 338.

6 The Archbishop of Canterbury's Faculty Office Muniment Book 1660–9 records Hayward's admission as a notary, 20 April 1668 (London: Lambeth Palace Library, FI/C, f. 233). According to Melanie Barber of Lambeth Palace Library the usual fiat signed by three notaries has not survived, if it ever existed. However, Lambeth Palace Library, F II/9/49 is a signed note in Hayward's hand asking that his admittance be delivered to "my fellow servant;" the date is 21 April 1668. See **Figure 1** and the discussion of Hayward's hand below.

7 Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (Winnipeg) [hereafter HBCA, PAM] A.1/19, f. 34.

8 One can only speculate on where Hayward learned French; possibly his mother was from France, though I have no evidence on that point. He wrote French capably (see below).

Beal's *In Praise of Scribes* records many satires on their aggressive financial dealings. "A London Scrivener is the deerest childe of his Mother Mony.... He is an excellent Mecannick and can with a parchments Chaine binde the strongest man & his Heyres too."⁹ Notaries who prospered often became investors; Sir Robert Clayton, the company's banker beginning in 1675, had begun his financial career as a scrivener.¹⁰ Hayward followed a similar course; he was involved early in the Royal African Company (RAC), formed in 1672 to seek and deal in gold, silver, and slaves, where like other members of a fairly small group of investors he bought and sold stock regularly to take advantage of short-term changes.¹¹ In 1687 James II, as part of his opposition to the penal laws, granted 30,000 acres in present-day Prince William County, Virginia, to George Brent of Woodstock and other persons, including "Nicholas Hayward of London, Notary Publick." The grant was intended for settlers who should be free to exercise "their Religion without being prosecuted or molested upon any penall laws or other account for the same...."¹² Because England's legal system is that of common law, not the civil law of other European countries, the legal scope of an English notary was chiefly confined to the ecclesiastical courts. However, England traded with civil law countries, and thus notaries were active in international trade and the law relating to it, as well as in matters involving the Admiralty.¹³ Given his evident interest in trade and colonization, we can assume that this is how Nicholas Hayward came to the attention of the Hudson's Bay Company – or perhaps the Hudson's Bay Company to him.

In 1677 Hayward began investing in the HBC, buying and selling company stock as it suited his purposes just as he had with the RAC. From 1681 he was several times a member of the London Committee, but sold his final holding of stock in September 1691. G.N. Clark describes him as "indispensable at the sales of beaver" during the period of his activity,¹⁴ and it is clear that his organizational skills were worth having. For example the minutes of 13 June 1682 record that "Mr. Cradock and Mr. Hayward be desired immediately to hire a

9 Anonymous, "Character of a London Scrivener" (ca. 1620–1630), in Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), p. 198.

10 E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870*. Volume I, 1670–1763 (London, 1958), p. 88.

11 K.G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1957), p. 72.

12 *Prince William: the Story of its People and Places*, Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, comp., (n.p., 1941), p. 19. See also the several references to Hayward, his merchant father, and his settler brother Samuel in Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William: A Study of Origins in Northern Virginia*, 2 vols. (Richmond, 1924, reprinted in one vol., 1964).

13 C.W. Brooks, R.H. Helmholz, and P.G. Stein, *Notaries Public in England Since the Reformation* (London, 1991), p. 13, p. 29.

14 *Minutes 1679–82*, p. xxiv.

Coach for Windsor and repaire to his Highness Prince Rupert and acquainte him that this Committee is certainly Informed that there is a certaine Interloper now intended for Hudson's Bay and what charges they are to place to the Compa. Acco."¹⁵ At an earlier committee (25 January 1681), it had been ordered "that Mr. Hayward be desired to bespeake 20 Dozen of Travelling Spectacles;"¹⁶ evidently Nicholas Hayward was a man of diverse gifts. The company minutes of the 1680s make frequent reference to Hayward carrying out tasks great and small for the London Committee.

What concerns us here, however, is Hayward's familiarity with the company's papers, arising in the fact that he was a scrivener as well as a notary.¹⁷ The minutes of 23 June 1680, record an order to pay "Mar.[Master] Hayward for severall small Disbursments and Writings drawne and Coppied." On 26 April 1681, Hayward drew up an instrument, and on the 29th was ordered to "prepare a copie." On 8 November 1681, he was at work "filling up bonds," on 8 May 1682, he prepared an order in writing, and on 11 May, subscribed a warrant.¹⁸ The minutes of 14 May 1686, record the reading of letters to the factors at Port Nelson and other posts on Hudson Bay; once approved they were "ordered to be writ in faire the care of which is recommended to Mr. Hayward."¹⁹ There are many other such entries.

Like other scrivener-notaries Hayward kept a shop, which is referred to at least twice in the HBC minutes,²⁰ and he had apprentices to help him. In April 1684, he was given 10 shillings to pay his servant, John Basford, "as a Gratuity for his Care in the Dispatch of Severall writtings for the Company."²¹ The minutes of 2 July 1686, report that "Mr. Haywards 2 young men haveing taken a great deale of paines the last expedition in writeing faire several letters Directed to the Compa. servants in Hudsons Bay etc. Ordered Mr. Hayward to give each of them halfe a Guynney which Mr. Hayward Delivered to the Deputy. G. & the Dept. Governor pd. them."²² Hayward also must have been

15 E.E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679-1684*. Second Part, 1682-84 [hereafter *Minutes* 1682-84], with an introduction by G.N. Clark (Toronto, 1946), p. 1. The interloper in this case was not Radisson, who would cause the company trouble later in the year, but an estranged member of the Committee, Thomas Phipps.

16 *Minutes* 1679-82, p. 176.

17 The Hudson's Bay Company had particularly close relationships with the scribes and their professional colleagues the notaries, because from 1682 the company occupied premises in Scriveners' Hall in Noble Street (*Minutes* 1679-82, p. xvi). In fact, Nicholas Hayward was one of the group who met with the Master and Warden of the Scriveners Company on 11 February 1681 to arrange the HBC's lease of their hall (*Minutes* 1679-82, p. 181).

18 *Minutes* 1679-82, pp. 86, 118, 119, 144, 212, 215.

19 HBCA, PAM, A.1/84, f. 31v, quoted in E.E. Rich, ed., *Copy-Book of Letters Outward &c. Begins 29th May, 1680 ends 5 July, 1687* [hereafter *Letters Outward* 1680-87] (Toronto, 1948), p. 176, note 1.

20 *Minutes* 1679-82, p. 169 (5 January 1682) and *Minutes* 1682-84 (17 March 1684), p. 213.

21 *Minutes* 1682-84, p. 227.

22 HBCA, PAM, A.1/84, fo. 35r, quoted in *Letters Outward* 1680-87, p. 176, note 1.

familiar with the print-shops of members of the Stationers' Company, for twice he is instructed to arrange for the printing of bonds and forms.²³ And like his fellow notaries, he translated documents. For example, the minutes of a committee meeting of 20 January 1686, record that "The answer to the Compa. Memoriall in French was also read, Mr. Hayward is desired to translate the same into Engenglish & to return them againe to the Committee."²⁴ His contacts in France were also of practical use; in January 1681, Hayward and his fellow committee member John Letten were ordered "to write to France to their correspondents for Samples of Blanketts that the so like might be made here for the Compa. use to send to Hudson Bay the next shipping."²⁵

A considerable body of documentary material accrued to the company as it became established: journals, letters, minutes, and legal instruments were generated by its activity. For example, on 17 April 1686, the committee "Ordered the Secretary Deliver Mr. Hayward Capt. Bonds last Journall to Port Nellson; as also Capt. Outlaw's, That so Capt. Portin may take such Notes out of them as may be serviceable to him for his Voyage to Port Nellson"²⁶ Such journals and papers were valuable, because the information they contained about trade would be useful to commercial rivals and disaffected partners in London, as well as to French plotters for hegemony in the Bay. Ensuring company control over its own papers thus became a matter of concern to the London Committee. This was not easy to accomplish; its members, like other seventeenth-century functionaries and office-holders, had a proprietary attitude to their own letters and journals. Thus it was that a committee meeting of 6 July 1683, for example, John Letten was "desired to call for the Comp. pattent and other papers and writeings belonging to the Compa. now in the Custody of Sr. Robt. Clayton" and that "all writeings that relate to Compa. Affaires Now in the hands of Mr. Nico. Hayward be delivered unto the Secretary." (Hayward had sold his holdings – temporarily, as it turned out – and was handing over the deeds, receipts, and bonds in his possession.) At the same meeting, it was "ordered that two padlocks and Keys be bought for the Iron Chest of wch. one Key shall be lodged with the Dept. Governr and the other wth. the Secretary."²⁷ On 16 September 1685, a sub-committee ordered the secretary to deliver to Sir Edward Dering of the London Committee "the two Journalls of Mr Radisons two last Expeditions to Port Nelson & he is ordered to desire S^r James Hayes to deliver up to the Committee, the Originalls of these Journalls

23 *Minutes 1679–82*, p. 63; *Minutes 1682–84*, p. 41.

24 HBCA, PAM, A.1/84, f. 12v, quoted in *Letters Outward 1680–87*, p.157, note 1.

25 *Minutes 1679–82* p. 177. In addition, there is some possibility that some of the minutes of the London Committee for 1689–1690 (HBCA, PAM, A. 1/12) are in Hayward's hand, but I am not certain of this, and in any case they cast no further light on the problem of the Bodleian manuscript.

26 HBCA, PAM, A.1/84, f. 27r, quoted in *Letters Outward 1680–87*, p. xvii, note 1.

27 *Minutes 1682–84*, pp. 120–21.

which are in French, that they may remaine in the Secretaries office.”²⁸ The “Journalls which are in French” have been securely identified with the scribal manuscripts of Radisson’s two accounts of events at Port Nelson in 1682–1684, and are still in the possession of the Company (HBCA, PAM, E. 1/1 and E. 1/2). When he returned to the London Committee in 1684, Hayward evidently assumed weighty responsibilities; at a committee of 28 June 1684, it was ordered that “By reason Sr. Edward Dering is Sick Ordered that the key of the Iron Chest be Delivered to Mr. Hayward wch. was now accordingly done.”²⁹ It is in just such a context that we encounter Hayward involved with a document produced by Radisson.

If Hayward had been connected with the HBC before 1675, when Radisson left the company’s service, he would undoubtedly have met the explorer in the narrow circle of its early committee members. By 1684, when Radisson so spectacularly returned to the HBC after outwitting its traders at Port Nelson only months before, Hayward was closely involved in its affairs, and indeed on 12 May 1684, it was he who witnessed the explorer’s oath of loyalty to the company.³⁰ The often-told story of Radisson’s escapades on Hudson Bay between 1682 and 1684, with its narrative colour and political implications, has somewhat obscured developments taking place behind the scenes at the same time. Sir James Hayes, closely involved in the HBC since its inception and latterly its deputy governor, was losing his grip on its affairs just at this point. His last great success seems to have been to negotiate, with some exasperation, the return of Radisson to the company, thus regaining for the HBC its precious foothold on Hudson’s Bay. During 1684–1685, however, suggests E.E. Rich, “Hayes’ influence appears to have been on the wane ... and a party on the Committee seems to have formed against him.”³¹ By the autumn of 1685, Sir James had been succeeded as Deputy Governor by Sir Edward Dering, a member of the London Committee since 1683. Over the next few years Hayward at least twice served as the company’s agent as it attempted to induce Hayes to return documents he had retained.

During this time Hayward makes regular appearances in the minutes, constantly at work on the Company’s business. In January 1688, he was assigned the last £100 of Hayes’ stock in the company, though a frustrating legal imbroglio resulted that saw Hayes on one side, contending with Hayward and (quite separately) the Company on the other.³² Viewed as a whole, these details would suggest that however well Hayward came to know Radisson after his return to the Company’s service, they cannot have been close. Radisson was an ambiguous figure whose two narratives of the 1680s are, despite their bold

28 HBCA, PAM, A.1/8 44v.

29 *Minutes 1682–84*, p. 260.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 241.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 324.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 325–6.

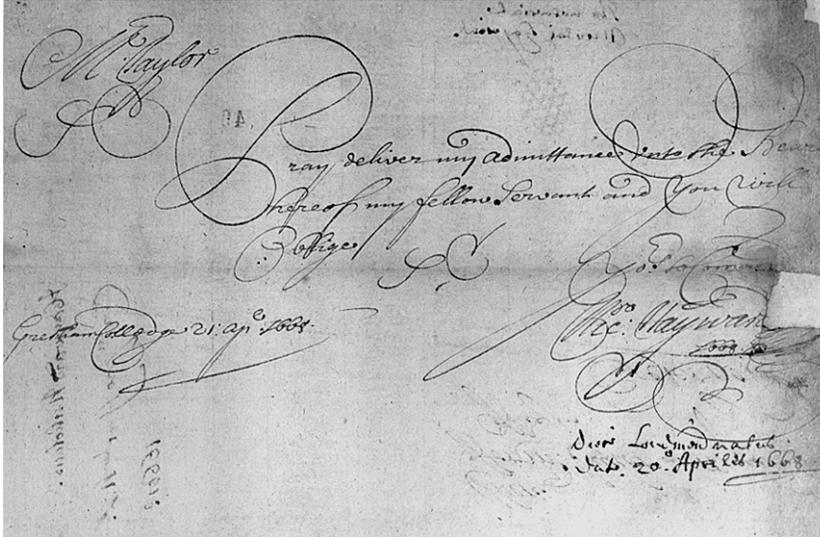


Figure 1 London: Lambeth Palace Library, Faculty Office Fiats FII/9/49. Nicholas Hayward's note of 21 April 1668 to "Mr. Taylor." With the permission of Lambeth Palace Library.

confidence, anxious efforts to justify his behaviour on Hudson Bay, and his mentor Hayes was increasingly being discredited. Busy Nicholas Hayward, by contrast, was active on behalf of Dering, the new master of affairs, who in the next decade, would prove no friend to Radisson.³³ How then could Hayward have come to copy out Radisson's narrative of events two decades earlier?

First, let us look at the palaeographical evidence, then trace the path of Radisson's manuscripts, and finally consider a possible context for Hayward's action. In 1999, I wrote of the Bodleian manuscript:

The text is written without interruption throughout, but close analysis suggests that it is chiefly in two very similar but distinguishable hands. Hand A appears up to the end of page 116; it is a clear and rather pretty late seventeenth-century script with few italic forms and infrequent use of secretary *e* or *s* (Figure 1). At page 117, which marks the beginning of a new gathering, a second hand (B) closely resembling but

³³ William Yonge wrote to the committee on 20 December 1692, about Radisson's financial plight, stating that "he never had any place given to him, yet Sr. Edw. Dering when Deputy Governr. had power to Influence the Comittee to take away the said £50 againe, & he hath not Received it the space of Two yeares & halfe Last past, soe that he hath at Present but £50 p. Ann. to maintaine him selfe; & wife & 4 or 5 Childeren and servants, & of which £50 £24 goeth for house Rent." See E.E. Rich, ed., *Hudson's Bay Copy Booke of Letters Commissions Instructions Outward 1688–1696*, assisted by A. M. Johnson with an introduction by K.G. Davies (London, 1957), p. 170. Yonge was an attorney, a former member of the London Committee, and a supporter of Radisson for three decades.

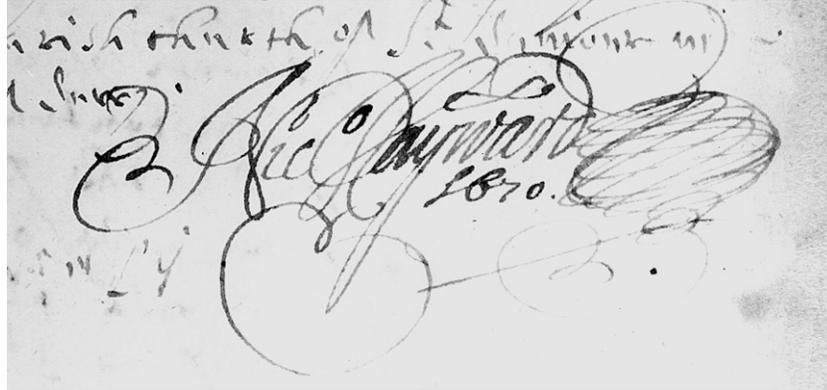


Figure 2 London: Lambeth Palace Library, FMI 1/7, f. 82. Marriage allegation of Nicholas Hayward, 1670. With the permission of Lambeth Palace Library.

not identical with Hand A takes over (Figure 2); secretary *e* and *s* appear more frequently, and descenders are markedly more pointed than the looped descenders of Hand A ... The manuscript is completed in hand B, except for the last folio (page 123, unpaginated) which contains a list of Native tribal names; this is in a third hand (C) devoid of any secretary characteristics, and in fact quite unlike the other two (Figure 3). On the same page Hand B has added some comments which are crowded in at the bottom.

The copying of a manuscript in two closely similar hands might have alerted me to the possibility that it was the product of one of the scribes, who generally wrote several hands and whose hands could change subtly even between stints. I dismissed this idea, however, because the page margins were not, perhaps, as even as they should have been, coming from the hand of a professional. The length of this particular document, however, would have been somewhat outside a notary's usual experience, though not of course the kind of scrivener familiar with literary texts.³⁴ Hayward was fundamentally a businessman; there is no evidence that he ever copied literary material. Finally, I might have added (though it didn't seem relevant at the time) that near the bottom edge of the paste-down endpaper, we find what looks like a pair of circular scrawls.³⁵ We will return to those scrawls.

The new evidence connecting Nicholas Hayward with the Radisson manu-

³⁴ For the activities of scribes specializing in longer literary texts, see Beal, *In Praise of Scribes* and H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996).

³⁵ For the record, there is also a line of Greek near the top edge of the rear pastedown endpaper. Translated, the letters read “I m n – a and o – joy.” The word “joy” (*chara*) may be in a different hand. The letters, apparently an allusion to Rev. 1.8, seem unrelated to the subject of the manuscript; they might have been written by Pepys, or (more likely) Rawlinson – or indeed by someone unknown. I am grateful to Wallace McLeod for assistance with this material.

374

Gentlemen

I have Received by way of France a Letter
 from my Brother at Canada who amongst other
 things advises that the french hath taken from
 the English Camp who were settled below Canada
 three forts & Shippes & a good quantity of Beaver, I
 suppose that this is not come to your Knowledge, but
 doe assure you of the truth of it, I give not my
 Name because some of my Countrymen may
 take it amiss that I should give this early Notice
 of a fact of this Nature, But have thought to doe
 it for your Better Government when Canada first
 arrives you will have Confirmation & had I not
 good grounds should not have given my selfe
 nor you this Trouble

January 26 1686

The Direction

To the Directors of the Hudsons Bay
 Company at their house in Noble Street
 near Goldsmiths Hall in
 London

True copy which I attest
 Nicholas Hayward

24

Figure 3 London: Public Record Office, CO 134/1, f. 24. "True copy which I attest" of a letter reporting news from Canada, 26 January 1685/6; text and signature in the hand of Nicholas Hayward. With the permission of the Public Record Office.

script is also paleographical. The documents in which we find his hand are as follows:

Lambeth Palace Library, FII/9/49. Note to “M^r Taylor” from Nicholas Hayward, Gresham College, 21 April 1668, requesting that the document admitting him to practice as a notary be delivered to Hayward’s “fellow servant” (presumably another notary). See **Figure 1**.

Lambeth Palace Library, FMI 1/7, f. 82. Marriage allegation (in another hand) of Nicholas Hayward, 6 September, 1670. Detail of Hayward’s signature. See **Figure 2**.

Public Record Office, CO 134/1, f. 24. “True copy” attested by Hayward of a letter from an unknown correspondent to the HBC directors; 26 January 1686/7. The copy appears to be entirely in the same hand as the main body of the Bodleian manuscript. See **Figure 3**.

Public Record Office, CO 134/1, f. 27. “True Translation” attested (in Latin) and signed by Nicholas Hayward; the hand of the main text, however, closely resembles that of Hand C of the Bodleian manuscript which appears on a single page at the end containing the names of a number of Native tribes. See **Figure 4**.

Bodleian Rawl. A329: detail from the pastedown endpaper of the Bodleian manuscript. See **Figure 5**.

Not reproduced here are two other documents in the PRO from the same period that also bear Hayward’s signature, with its characteristic concluding scroll (CO 134/1, f. 25, 17 January 1686/7, and CO 134/1, f. 26, 23 January 1686/7). The main texts of both documents are in hands superficially resembling Hayward’s, but may possibly be those of one of the “young men” in the notary’s shop imitating their master’s style.

First, there is no doubt that the Lambeth and PRO documents were written by the same man, though at a distance of twenty years. The signatures are virtually identical, and are individualized by Hayward’s inclusion, in every case, of the year, in small figures just below his name. Second, the *ductus* of the hand (its characteristic directional movement), on which I commented in 1999, appears identical in all the examples. To this might be added a tendency to produce flourishes on large capitals which also characterizes the few large capitals in the Bodleian manuscript. There is ample evidence of Hayward’s flourishes here, especially in those documents he attests are true copies, where his signature includes the elaborate, personalized scroll-like device or “paraph” that notaries began to attach to their signatures about 1440 (see **Figures 3 and 4**).³⁶

³⁶ The paraphs of generations of scribes (though not, unhappily, that of Hayward, who belongs to the late history of the craft) are recorded in the Common Paper of the Scriveners Company, held at the London’s Guildhall Library; see Francis W. Steer, ed., *Scriveners Company Common Paper 1357–1628 with a Continuation to 1678* (London, 1968). For the graphic

Translated out of French 43²⁷

The French of Quebec sent the last sitting
 to Hudson's Bay, by way of Montreal 70 men
 who went thither in canoes by rivers, they
 likewise sent by the river of Ontario 40 men
 who went to Hudson's Bay, and being joined
 together have destroyed three small English
 Posts all the Bottoms of the Bay, so that
 there remains no other than the Post Nelson
 in the said Bay belonging to the English, But
 the French may easily hinder the Indians
 from going to trade thither by the said
 Post Nelson by fixing in the passages of the
 Rivers, which come down to the said Post
 30. or 40 leagues distant within the woods.
 And so they have sent the English to
 Post Nelson which they took at the Bottom
 of the Bay.

Rochelle 13. Feb 1667.

Translatione nota quod a testat
 rogatus
 Nic Hayward
 Notarius

27

Figure 4 London: Public Record Office, CO 134/1, f. 27. Translation by Nicholas Hayward of a letter in French from Rochelle, 13 February 1686/7. "True translation" attested (in Latin) by Nicholas Hayward. Main text probably in another hand but signature is Hayward's. With the permission of the Public Record Office.

But is this the hand of the Bodleian manuscript? For the moment, let us preserve the distinction (though I now believe it to be false) between Hand A and Hand B in that manuscript. The general likeness of so many seventeenth-century bureaucratic hands (that graceful, backward-arching *d* can be particularly deceptive) alerts us to be cautious. However, the superficial graphic resemblances between the 1668 note (**Figure 1**) and the 1686/7 “true copy” (**Figure 3**) are very great, and in addition both of them show convincing specific resemblances to the hand of the Bodleian manuscript. The first is the absence of italic forms, which are infrequent in Hand A and do not occur in Hand B. None of the documents demonstrably in Hayward’s hand employs italic forms. Throughout Hand A we find occasional secretary *e* and *s*; in Hand B it is more frequent. The same variability occurs in the Lambeth and PRO examples. On the matter of the descenders, I have had to revise my opinion. In 1999, I suggested that Hand A exhibits looped descenders, but in hand B they are pointed. This is not the case; in both hands *f* and *g* tend to be looped, *p* and *y* pointed. The same pattern characterizes the Lambeth and PRO documents. In fact, this was the detail that finally persuaded me I had better give up the idea that there were two main hands, A and B, in the Bodleian manuscript. The text in **Figure 4**, however, somewhat resembles the problematic “Hand C” of the Bodleian manuscript; was it written out by one of Hayward’s “young men”? Hands A and B therefore appear to be the same hand after all, though Hand C still poses a problem.

A final, and to me persuasive, feature of Hayward’s hand is the nature of the decorative flourishes in his signature. I refer here not to the scroll-like paraph with its interlocking horizontal loops, visible in **Figures 3** and **4**, but to the consistent relationship between the descender of the *y* in Hayward and the circular flourishes surrounding it below the line (the right hand circle would provide the base-line for his paraph). Few things we write are more conventionalized than our signatures, and this is true even for persons of the early modern period, who often employed a signature very different from their habitual text hand.³⁷ Besides the inclusion of the date, already noted, one of the graphic conventions of Hayward’s signature is the addition of these two circular flourishes. It is at this point that we need to return to the paste-down endpaper of the Bodleian manuscript. There we find, without the signature itself but clearly inscribed, two similar flourishes (see **Figure 5**). The overall

features of the paraph, see E. Freshfield, “Some Notarial Marks in the ‘Common Paper’ of the Scriveners’ Company,” *Archaeologia* 54 (1895), pp. 239–54; Freshfield refers to the scroll as a “rubric” but the term paraph was used in the seventeenth century, as it is today (OED).

37 A good example is Robert Sidney, second earl of Leicester (1595–1677), whose boxy cursive signature, “Leycester,” is markedly different from the compact cursive italic that was his regular hand. His grandfather, Sir Henry Sidney (1529–86), had two signatures, one italic and one cursive, which don’t resemble each other in the least.

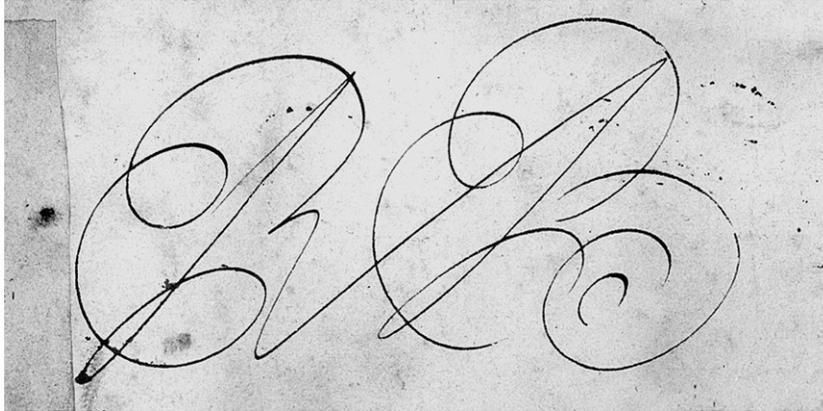


Figure 5 Oxford: Bodleian Ms. Rawl. A329, detail of pastedown on endpaper. With the permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

graphic likeness is very great, the *ductus* is consistent with other examples of Hayward's hand, and the first of the two flourishes almost exactly duplicates that in the signatures reproduced in **Figures 1** and **2** (in **Figures 3** and **4**, the paraph-like scroll creates a variation, though the similarity is still evident). Such a detail would offer little to go on without the further evidence of Hayward's signatures, which is why I ignored it in 1999. Were these marks a sign of some sort, or just a *probatus penna*, a "testing of the pen"? Whatever the case, the graphic evidence provided by the documents cited and illustrated above, combined with that of the hand in **Figures 1** and **3** and that of the six signatures of the documents I have described, convinces me that Nicholas Hayward was indeed the scribe who copied out all but one page of Radisson's four narratives of the 1660s. The question that still nettles me is this: why did he do so?

In trying to resolve this problem we have only circumstantial evidence to rely on, but it suggests, if it cannot prove, a shadowy continuity between Radisson, his reluctant patron Sir James Hayes, Nicholas Hayward, and Samuel Pepys. As we have already seen, in 1685 Hayes was requested by the London Committee to turn over Radisson's two journals in French to Sir Edward Dering, which he promptly did. As I noted above, these two documents can be confidently identified with the Radisson narratives of 1682–1683 and 1684, scribal manuscripts that have long been among the treasures of the HBC. (In 1685, Radisson presented fine copies of them, in the hand of an accomplished writing-master, to James II, the "Windsor" manuscripts.³⁸) However, there is a later note in the minutes of 27 April 1687, recording that "Mr. Hayward reported that Sr. James Hayes had delivered him Mr. Radisson's narrative and

38 Windsor Castle, The Royal Library, Ms. I.I. 6a, discussed in my article in *Archivaria* (1999), p. 213.

Captaine Benjamin Gillams Journall.”³⁹ On 22 May, the HBC presented a lengthy document, “A True State of the Case Betweene the Hudson’s Bay Company and the French of Canada in the West Indies,”⁴⁰ to the commissioners at Windsor who were considering the company’s claims against the French resulting from Radisson’s dealings of 1682–1684 on the Bay. Gillam’s journal was one of the proofs adduced in the argument, along with affidavits by others, though interestingly, not Radisson’s two journals in French covering his activities of the same period, which I referred to above. Hayward evidently handed the Gillam journal to the HBC to use as a proof, though it too has never been located.⁴¹ The “Mr. Radisson’s Narrative” referred to on 27 April 1687, must have been the “ample Narrative of the state of the Compas affaires ever since you have been in those parts,” submitted by Radisson in September 1686 and referred to in the committee’s letter to the explorer of 3 June 1687; this account too has never been found.⁴² It is worth considering whether the “narrative” that Sir James Hayes delivered to Hayward may have been Hayes’ copy – perhaps even the original – of the four narratives of the Bodleian manuscript, and that Hayward used it as his base text for the copy he made. We will probably never know, but the facts, as they stand, are that some time around 1687 the notary Nicholas Hayward copied the first four of Radisson’s narratives, and that when Samuel Pepys died in 1703, the manuscript Hayward copied was in his possession.

Pepys was a book-lover, and deeply learned in matters of travel and exploration. His exceptional position as Secretary of the Admiralty – Arthur Bryant argues that in 1687 he was the second most powerful man in the kingdom⁴³ – put him in daily touch with the English captains and merchant adventurers who were making exploration history, and he picked their brains constantly in order to build the rich documentation of his office in York Buildings, as well as to serve his own insatiable curiosity about the world. Pepys was a notorious borrower of manuscripts on every subject, and often forgot to return what he borrowed.⁴⁴ It is possible that he borrowed the Bodleian manuscript from Hayward to read, and never sent it back (though this would not explain why Hayward had made a copy of it in the first place). A second possibility is that Hayward was commissioned to copy it out for him.

39 HBCA, PAM, A. 1/9, and see *Letters Outward 1680–87*, p. 261, note 2.

40 London: Public Record Office [hereafter PRO], CO 134/1, pp. 169–70, reprinted in *Letters Outward 1680–87*, pp. 258–65.

41 *Letters Outward 1680–87*, p. 261, note 2.

42 For the committee’s letter of 3 June 1697, see Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, Appendix 9, pp. 330–31.

43 For Pepys’s reputation at this time, see Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys, The Saviour of the Navy* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 204–07 and p. 245.

44 For Pepys as a reader and borrower of manuscripts, see Bryant, *Ibid.*, p. 119 (the House of Commons Journals), p. 132 (James II offers him the loan of private religious writings by Charles II), p. 199 (the personal theological writings of Sir William Petty), p. 223 (his escape from a royal progress to the manuscript library in Worcester), and p. 224 (his own collections).

Though the notary is unmentioned in the famous *Diary* or in Pepys' extant correspondence, Pepys might have become acquainted with him through his Huguenot connections. The diarist's wife was the daughter of a Huguenot, his loyal copyist Paul Lorrain was Huguenot, his closest friend the merchant James Houblon was the son of an elder of the French Protestant church in London, and Pepys knew and worked with many Huguenots.⁴⁵ Hayward, who was professionally ready to translate French texts, is known to have had many Huguenot contacts and to have used his investment capital to help some of them settle in Virginia.⁴⁶ The only continuous text he is known to have been author of is the two-page "Propositions: Pour la Virginie" dated "Londres ce 30 May 1637" and appended to Durand de Dauphiné's *Voyages d'un François, exilé pour la religion, avec une description de la Virgine & Marilan dans l'Amérique* (La Haye, 1687); it describes with a notary's exactitude how the future Huguenot settlers to whom it is directed could go about obtaining land from the investors, of whom he was one.⁴⁷

Pepys and Hayward of course may not in fact have been acquainted, but Pepys certainly knew the men in the circle around the London Committee of the HBC; to consult the index of his *Diary* beside that of the published Hudson's Bay Company minutes and correspondence is to recognize how many names they have in common.⁴⁸ Indeed, as Douglas MacKay suggested many years ago, it may actually have been Pepys, in his earlier capacity of Clerk of the Acts for the Navy Board, who in 1668 signed the release of the ketch *Eaglet* to Sir James Hayes and others when the first tentative expedition to Hudson Bay was sent out even before the HBC was chartered.⁴⁹

Without further information, none of these speculations can be proved, and we must rest content with the identification of Nicholas Hayward's hand in the Bodleian manuscript. As for the original of "Radisson's narrative" itself, the material evidence of its existence has been lost, probably irretrievably. Radisson's autograph, from which Nicholas Hayward presumably copied the Bodle-

45 W.H. Manchée goes so far as to suggest Pepys may have been of Huguenot ancestry himself; whether or not this is so, the information assembled in his "Samuel Pepys and his Link with the Huguenots;" *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 15.2 (1935), pp. 317–37, shows how extensive was Pepys' acquaintanceship with the London Huguenots.

46 In addition to the information in *Prince William, The Story of its People and Places* (cited above), see *The French Church of London* (London, 1994), p. 279 and p. 290, where Nicholas Hayward is twice recorded as drawing up notarized statements. I am indebted for this information to Stephen Massil.

47 See Gilbert Chinard, ed., *Un Français en Virginie; Voyages d'un François Exilé pour la Religion*. Historical Documents, Institut Français de Washington, Cahier V (Paris and Baltimore, 1932), pp. 139–40 and p.147, note.

48 Indeed, in 1688 Sir Edward Dering applied to him for preferment to a Naval Commissionership; see Bryant, *Samuel Pepys, The Saviour of the Navy*, p. 245.

49 Douglas MacKay, *The Honourable Company* (Toronto, 1938), p. 22. MacKay mistakenly terms Pepys Secretary of the Admiralty, a grander office he did not take up until 1679.

ian manuscript, would likely have been destroyed after it was transcribed. Outside the strictly legal domain, the busy functionaries of the seventeenth century did not hold autograph manuscripts in awe; professional scribal practice was generally to score through pages or items copied, effectively making the original useless. But if we cannot with certainty trace the history of Radisson's original or Hayward's copy of it between 1687 and 1755 when Richard Rawlinson left the manuscript to the Bodleian Library, we can point to some of the implications of that history.

First, if I am right about Hayward's hand, it is no longer possible to argue that the Bodleian manuscript is a translation, at least by Hayward, who was professionally equipped to make and certify competent translations. As a notary, Hayward was professionally obliged to copy accurately what he saw before him, and when necessary to certify it as a "true copy." The Bodleian manuscript presents anything but a normalized text! The writing master who copied the "Windsor" manuscripts – the ones Radisson presented to James II – was under no such obligation, and did not hesitate to normalize their spelling and cut one duplicated passage. Second, learning more about Nicholas Hayward and his daily work gives us welcome insight into the personalities, the activities, and the political intrigues of the London Committee in the 1680s. Finally – and this is of special interest to me – unravelling the story of the Bodleian manuscript provides us with a new installment in our evolving understanding of seventeenth-century archival history. From it we gain an informative picture of a London merchant company's growing awareness of the need to manage its valuable documents, an archival skill already mastered by that talented administrator Samuel Pepys, who spent so many happy hours, as his famous *Diary* relates, arranging and re-arranging his papers. The result is that we now know more than we had thought possible about the production, wandering history, and eventual recognition of a document of powerful significance to the future of a distant wilderness, one described by Radisson – with his characteristic sense of grandeur – as "those great lakes that compose that Empire that can be named the greatest part of the knowne world."⁵⁰

50 Gideon Scull, ed., *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson* (Boston, 1885; reprinted New York, 1967), p. 124.