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Assembling a Cosmography The *Divers Voyages* of Richard Hakluyt

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Abstract

The article explores the sources from which Richard Hakluyt assembled his *Divers Voyages* (1582) and the circumstances of the book's publication. It then places Hakluyt's work in the context of his religious cosmography and his belief that histories of the discovery of the world should be those of eyewitnesses and unmediated, contrary to the practice of certain other cosmographers.

Keywords: *Book History, Cosmography, Geography, Hakluyt, Religion*

1. Introduction: *The Contents and Sources of Divers Voyages*

Richard Hakluyt's first printed work, *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America, and the Ilands Adiacent unto the Same, Made First of All by Our Englishmen, and Afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons: And Certaine Notes of Advertisements for Observations, Necessarie for Such as Shall Heereafter Make the Like Attempt, with Two Mappes Annexed Heereunto for the Plainer Understanding of the Whole Matter* (1582), is a collection of material concerning North America, assembled and edited by Hakluyt from various manuscript, printed and personal sources.¹ At the time of compiling and publishing *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt was a senior member of Christ Church, Oxford, and a priest in the Church

¹ The book has no page or folio numerals, and references are, therefore, by signature. A quarto of sixty leaves, it collates π^2 , ¶⁴, A-D⁴, ²A-G⁴, H², I-K⁴ (¶⁴ is signed ¶⁴; ²B3 is mis-signed B5; G⁴ is blank), with two maps on separate sheets inserted. For bibliographical accounts, see Quinn 1967; Payne 2019, vol. I, 37-114. For Hakluyt (1552-1616) and his works generally, see Taylor 1935; Parks 1961; Quinn 1974b; Mancall 2007; Payne 2008. For critiques of Mancall, see Payne 2009; Sacks 2009. The usage of u/v has been modernised and contractions silently expanded when quoting in this article from early printed material.

of England (Quinn 1974b, vol. I, 267-274).² He had already, in 1580, been instrumental in the publication of John Florio's translation of *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northwest Partes Called Neve Fraunce* of Jacques Cartier.³

Hakluyt's authorship is not given on the book's title-page, but his initials 'R.H.' appear at the end of the dedication to Philip Sidney (¶4r). Immediately after the title-page are printed chronological lists 'of certaine late writers of Geographie, with the yeere wherein they wrote' (π1v),⁴ and 'of certaine late travaylers, both by sea and by lande, which also for the most part have written of their owne travayles and voyages' (π2r).⁵ These indicate the authors whose works Hakluyt knew of and considered significant, although it seems likely that he derived much from the inclusion of many in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi*, which 'gathered many notable things' (π1v), rather than from direct familiarity with the original texts; indeed, as Taylor notes, Ramusio's volumes 'formed the foundation of his cosmographical studies' (1935, vol. I, 171, note 1),⁶ and we know that Hakluyt not only frequently referred to them but also possessed a set.⁷ Following the lists is a note on 'A verie late and great probabilitie of a passage, by the Northwest part of America', in which Hakluyt gives his source as a personal informant, an 'excellent learned man of portingale' (π2v), 'most privie to all the discoveries of his nation', with whom he had recently 'had great conference in matters of Cosmographie', learning also about João de Barros, 'their chiefe Cosmographer', and the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil (¶1v). Unnamed in *Divers Voyages*, he was later identified by Hakluyt in his (manuscript) *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584) as Antonio de Castillo (Castilho), the former Portuguese ambassador in London (Quinn 1974b, vol. I, 274-275; Hakluyt 1993, 84).⁸ Another personal source was Rumold Mercator, London factor of the Cologne booksellers Birckmann (Worman 1906, 3-5 and 40-41;

² Hakluyt proceeded MA in 1577 and was ordained c. 1580. For his time at Oxford, see Payne 2021b.

³ Cartier 1580, which in *Divers Voyages* Hakluyt said was undertaken 'at my charges, and other of my friendes by my exhortation' (¶3v). For Cartier, see Yates 1934, 55-60; Quinn 1967, 6-7; Payne 2019, vol. I, 1-36; Probasco 2020, 59-65.

⁴ Beginning in 1300 and ending in 1580, these are Abulfida Ismael, Sir John Mandeville, Albert Krantz, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, Robert Thorne (the younger), Girolamo Fracastoro, Gemma Frisius, Antonio de Mendoza, Gerard Mercator, Giovan Battista Guicciardini, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Sebastian Münster, Tommaso Giunti, Clement Adams, Oronce Fine, Abraham Ortelius, Jerónimo Osório, André Thevet, François de Belleforest, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Dionyse Settle, George Best and Nicholas Chancellor.

⁵ Beginning in 1178 and ending in 1582, these are Benjamin of Tudela, Marco Polo, Hetoum, Sir John Mandeville, Nicolò Zeno, Antonio Zeno, Nicolò de' Conti, Christopher Columbus, Sebastian Cabot, Robert Thorne (the elder), Hugh Eliot, Vasco da Gama, Gaspar Corte-Real, Duarte Barbosa, Ferdinand Magellan, João de Barros, Jacques Cartier, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Juan Gaetano, Francis Xavier, Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, António Galvão, Stephen Borough, William Borough, Anthony Jenkinson, Jean Ribault, André Thevet, Martin Frobisher, Sir Francis Drake, Arthur Pet, Charles Jackman, Edward Fenton, Luke Ward, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Edward Hayes and Anthony Brigham.

⁶ The writer's or traveller's inclusion in Ramusio is recorded when applicable in the annotated transcriptions of Hakluyt's lists in Payne 2019, vol. I, 81-97. Editions available by 1582 were Ramusio 1550, 1554, 1563 (the first volume), 1559, 1574 (the second volume), 1556, 1565 (the third volume). Parks 1955 gives a detailed guide to their contents. For Ramusio, see Lejosne 2021.

⁷ Ownership can be inferred from Hakluyt's remark in *Divers Voyages* that 'I caused Iaques Cartiers two voyages ... to bee translated out of my Volumes' (¶3v), i.e., Cartier 1580, translated by Florio from Ramusio 1556 or 1565. For discussions of Hakluyt and Ramusio, see Parks 1961, 124-126 and 161; Small 2012.

⁸ Castillo acknowledged the succession of Philip II of Spain as ruler of Portugal in 1580 and was trusted by Philip and the Spanish ambassador in London, Bernardino de Mendoza. Although the English supported the exiled Don Antonio (prior of Crato) as rightful claimant to the Portuguese crown, Castillo was allowed to continue to represent Portuguese interests in England and did not depart until April 1582. Hume 1896, 25, 37, 47-48, 68, 72, 87, 113, 162-163, 284-285, 303, 310 and 344-345.

Barnard and McKenzie 2002, 153-156),⁹ who showed Hakluyt letters from his father, ‘the excellent Geographer Gerardus Mercator’, discussing the possibility of a north-west passage:

You write (saith hee to his sonne) great matters though very briefly of the newe discoverie of Frobisher, which I wonder was never these many yeeres heeretofore attempted. For there is no doubt, but that there is a straight and short way open into the West even unto Cathay.¹⁰ Into which kingdome, if they take their course aright, they shall gather the most noble merchandise of all the worlde, and shall make the name of Christe to bee knowne unto many idolatrous and Heathen people. (¶2r-v)¹¹

After the dedication, the text proper of *Divers Voyages* opens with ‘A latine copy of the letters patentes’ given by Henry VII on 5 March 1496 to John Cabot and his three sons ‘for the discovering of newe and unknowen landes’, accompanied by an English translation (A1r-A2v).¹² Next is ‘A note of Sebastian Gabotes voyage of discoverie’, taken, Hakluyt states, from ‘an old Chronicle’ by Robert Fabyan in ‘the custodie’ of John Stow (A3r).¹³ This is followed by Ramusio’s record of Sebastian Cabot’s voyage northwards along the Atlantic coast of North America in search of a passage leading to Asia (A3v-A4r), translated from ‘his Preface to the thirde volume of the navigations’ (A3v), that is, Ramusio’s *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*.¹⁴ Hakluyt adds at the end, ‘This much concerning Sebastian Gabotes discoverie may suffice for a present tast: but shortly, God willing, shall come out in print all his owne mappes & discourses drawne and written by himselfe’, and that these were in the care of William Worthington, who was willing to allow them to be ‘published in as good order as may bee, to the encouragement and benefite of our Countriemen’ (A4r).¹⁵

⁹ Birckmann’s London branch, operating wholesale and retail, was one of the largest importers of books in England until wound up by Rumold Mercator after 1581. Among its customers was John Dee.

¹⁰ Although Cathay and China became synonymous, there was still uncertainty in the sixteenth century about whether they were separate countries in east Asia or not. See Payne 2019, vol. I, 29.

¹¹ Hakluyt and Gerard Mercator (then living in Duisburg) corresponded with each other directly in 1580 on the supposed north-east passage. Hakluyt 1589, 483-485; Quinn 1974b, vol. I, 272. For Gerard Mercator’s interest in Martin Frobisher’s attempts to find a north-west passage and other English ventures, and the interest of English geographers, including Hakluyt, John Dee and William Camden, in Mercator’s cartography, see Crane 2002, 240-249. For Frobisher’s three north-western voyages (1576-1578), see Andrews 1984, 168-178.

¹² Hakluyt’s side-note gives the year as ‘1495’ in the Latin text (A1v), but mistakenly prints ‘1594’ in the translation (A2v). In modern reckoning, with the year beginning on 1 January (rather than 25 March), it is 1496. For the manuscripts and various printings (first in *Divers Voyages*) of the patent, see Biggar 1911, 7-10.

¹³ In repeating this excerpt in 1589, Hakluyt’s heading added that the ‘latter part of Robert Fabians Chronicle’ from which it was taken was ‘not hitherto printed’ (515). Fabyan’s text itself, as printed by Hakluyt in 1582, concerns a voyage in 1498 under the auspices of an unnamed ‘Venetian’ (A3r). In 1589 Hakluyt altered this to ‘one Iohn Cabot a Venetian’, but, as in 1582, named Sebastian Cabot in the heading (515). Hakluyt 1600 similarly retains Sebastian Cabot in the heading and follows 1589 in naming ‘Iohn Cabot a Venetian’ in the text (9). The matter has been much debated, but Fabyan might well have been referring to the 1498 expedition of Sebastian’s father, John Cabot (Sebastian was born c. 1484, d. 1557). See Williamson 1962, 35-37, 91-98 and 221-222. For John Stow, historian and collector of historical records, see Beer 2004. For the chronicles of Robert Fabyan (d. 1513), which circulated in manuscript and print, see Boffey 2012, 162-204.

¹⁴ Ramusio 1556 or 1565. These two editions are the same in content. For this, and Ramusio’s other references to Sebastian Cabot and his northern voyage, see Ramusio 1550, 402v-403r, or 1554, 413r-415r, or 1563, 373r-374v; Ramusio 1556, 4r (in the preface), 35v-36r, 417r, or 1565, A4v (in the preface), 35v-36r, 417r; Winship 1900, 84-89; Williamson 1962, 152-154 and 270-273. The year and other details of this expedition were, and remain, confused, but it was taken by Hakluyt and his contemporaries as demonstrating that a north-west passage existed and was an attainable objective (Andrews 1984, 50-52).

¹⁵ Nothing came of this and Sebastian Cabot’s papers are now lost. Worthington was the associate with whom Sebastian Cabot shared his pension from the crown and to whom, as the surviving beneficiary, it reverted upon

Then, printed from a manuscript copy, are Robert Thorne's two reports on the Moluccas and the spice trade, one, 'A declaration of the Indies and landes discovered, and subdued unto the Emperour, and the king of Portugale' addressed to Henry VIII (B1r-B3r), the other 'being an information of the parts of the world' discovered by the Spanish and Portuguese and 'also of the way to the Moluccaes by the north', submitted to Edward Lee (Ley), English ambassador in Spain, in 1527 (B3v-D4r), which is accompanied by 'a little Mapped or Carde of the worlde' referred to in the text (B4v).¹⁶ These documents, Hakluyt records, were 'preserved by one master Emmanuel Lucar executour to master Robert Thorne, and was friendly imparted unto mee by master Cyprian Lucar his sonne' (D4r)¹⁷ (although other manuscript copies are extant, Thorne's original does not survive, nor does the copy supplied to Hakluyt by Cyprian Lucar).¹⁸ Thorne, a merchant in the Seville and Bristol trade, urged English exploration for a northern sea-passage to the East and its rich mercantile opportunities, which would be shorter than the southerly oceanic routes via the east and west used by the Portuguese and Spanish respectively. Preparations for such an expedition lapsed after Thorne's death in 1532, but his associate, Roger Barlow, continued to consider it and it was on occasions discussed in official circles (Taylor 1930, 48-52; Andrews 1984, 52-54).¹⁹ That Thorne himself was advocating northern exploration only as a means to facilitate English trade with Asia via an advantageous route was a point not dwelt upon in *Divers Voyages*, where Hakluyt placed Thorne's proposals in a far more ambitious framework pressing English claims to North America and its colonisation (Dalton 2016, 197-199). To indicate English rights by early discovery, Hakluyt drew attention with a side-note ('M. Thorne and M. Eliot discoverers of New found land') to Thorne's remarks that his father (also named Robert, d. 1519) and another Bristol merchant, Hugh Eliot, 'were the discoverers of the newe found lands, of which there is no doubt, as now plainly appeareth, if the marriners woulde then have been ruled, and folowed their pilots mind, the lands of the west Indies, from whence all the gold commeth, had beene ours' (D2v).²⁰ The next side-note flags 'The cause why the west Indies were not ours: which also Sebastian Gabot writeth in an epistle to Baptist Ramusius' (*ibid.*), an allusion to Ramusio's record, translated earlier in *Divers Voyages*, of Cabot's similar explanation for his failure to find a northern passage to 'Cathao', because 'the mutinie of the shipmaster and mariners ... made him to returne homewardes' (A3v-A4r).

The next section of the book (²A1r-E1r), with the running title 'The discoverie of Morum bega',²¹ was taken from Ramusio and ends with the acknowledgement that 'This discourse was collected by Ramusio Secretarie to the state of Venice, (or by the Printer Tho. Giunti.) Iohn

Cabot's death in 1557. He evidently assumed custody of Cabot's 'mappes & discourses' at the same time. HARRISSE 1896, 368-370, 373-374 and 457-460; QUINN 1974a, 157-158; DALTON 2016, 183-184 and 214.

¹⁶ For Thorne's map see QUINN 1967, 17-19.

¹⁷ For the passing of Thorne's papers to Emmanuel Lucar (d. 1574), his former factor, and their provision by Cyprian Lucar to John Dee and Hakluyt, see DALTON 2016, 202-204.

¹⁸ See TAYLOR 1932, xxvi-xxvii; WILLIAMSON 1962, 27-28. Known manuscripts are Hatfield House CP 245/5 (Cecil Papers) (c. 1535-1539), British Library Cotton MS Vitellius C. VII, 329r-345r (John Dee's, c. 1577) and British Library Lansdowne MS 100 (Burghley Papers), 65r-80v (c. 1580).

¹⁹ For the commercial activities of Thorne the younger in Andalusia, including the procurement and use of slaves in the soap industry, as well as his investment in Sebastian Cabot's expedition of 1526, see UNGERER 2008, 22-26, 62-69 and 113-120; DALTON 2016, 46-62, 72-77 and 80-83.

²⁰ The date and nature of this venture to the Atlantic coast of North America are uncertain (WILLIAMSON 1962, 26-29 and 201-202; DALTON 2016, 31).

²¹ More usually 'Norumbega', a land believed to lie somewhere on the north-east coast of America. It was thought to be that reported by Verrazzano in 1524, although not so-named in his own relation of his discoveries (see BAKER *et al.* 1994, xxv-xxxii, 61-62 and 82-85).

Baptista Ramusio, died in Padua in July, 1557' (E1r). It comprises two narratives, first Giovanni da Verrazzano's relation of 'the lande by him discovered' on the Atlantic coast of North America sent on his return in 1524 to Francis I, 'the most Christian king of Fraunce' (²A1r), which was translated from Ramusio's *Terzo volume delle navigationi*,²² and second, 'The discoverie of the Isles of Frisland, Iseland, Engroveland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria, made by M. Nicolas Zeno, Knight, and M. Antonio his brother' (²B4v), translated from the second edition (1574) of Ramusio's *Secondo volume delle navigationi* (it is not found in the first edition, 1559).²³ To assist or direct the reader to particular information, Hakluyt's translation provided various side-notes for both these accounts (there are none in Ramusio's originals).

The longest text in *Divers Voyages* (E2r-G3v), 'The true and last discoverie of Florida' by Jean Ribault in 1562, 'translated into Englishe by one Thomas Hacket' (E2r), was taken from *The Whole and True Discoverie of Terra Florida* published by Thomas Hacket in 1563 (Ribault 1563), a rarity which, Hakluyt informed Philip Sidney, was 'not nowe to be had, unlesse I had caused it to be printed againe' (¶3v-¶4r).²⁴ This account appeared after Ribault, the Huguenot commander of the French exploratory mission to Florida, had returned to find France embroiled in civil war and, with the surrender of Huguenot forces defending Dieppe, had fled to England to seek support for an expedition to follow up this reconnaissance and to relieve the small garrison he had left at Charlesfort on the coast of present-day South Carolina (see Parker 1965, 57-60; McGrath 2000, 50-56 and 67-93).²⁵ The book was possibly intended to promote such a venture, although Hacket might have been motivated more by the general newsworthiness and entertainment value of New World discoveries in deciding to publish it (Tromans 2015b, 114-122 and 129).²⁶ In reprinting it Hakluyt made some minor textual corrections,²⁷ and added numerous side-notes (there are none in the original) to guide the reader to informative points (e.g., 'Sevola within xx.daies travailing by boate of the river of May', 'Golde, silver, and copper in Florida', F2v and F3v),²⁸ providing a paratextual apparatus which Philip Tromans has suggested effectively repackaged the original book as a promotional tract (2015b, 122-123). In 1584 Hakluyt referred to Ribault's account as being 'in printe bothe in frenche and englishe' (Hakluyt 1993, 16), but no copy of a French edition, if one was published, is extant today (135 [note to lines 312-313]).²⁹ It cannot be said, therefore, whether Hacket produced his translation from a manuscript or a printed original.

Divers Voyages continues with two sets of 'Notes' for prospective voyagers drawn up by 'a Gentleman', headed respectively,

Notes in writing besides more privie by mouth that were given by a Gentleman, Anno. 1580. to M. Arthure Pette and to M. Charles Iackman, sent by the marchants of the Muscovie companie for the discoverie of the northeast strayte,³⁰ not altogether unfit for some other enterprises of discoverie, hereafter to bee taken in hande (H1r),

²² Ramusio 1556 or 1565, 420r-422v. For this account see also Parks 1955, 310-311; Quinn 1967, 9. For Giovanni da Verrazzano (c. 1485-c. 1528), see Wroth 1970.

²³ Ramusio 1574, 222r-225v. For the publication of this account in the mid-sixteenth century, and for the Zeni and their supposed discoveries in the North Atlantic in the late fourteenth century, see Parks 1955, 300; Horodowich 2018, 143-164; Payne 2019, vol. I, 105-106.

²⁴ Only two copies are known today (British Library and Lambeth Palace).

²⁵ Ribault had English connections going back to the 1540s.

²⁶ For Hacket, see also Melnikoff 2009.

²⁷ Detailed by Quinn 1967, 38-39.

²⁸ Quinn 1967, 39-40, gives further examples.

²⁹ For possible traces of the lost French version, see Cairns 2009, 431-438.

³⁰ For Pet and Jackman's voyage, see Andrews 1984, 72-75.

and,

Notes framed by a Gentleman heretofore to bee given to one that prepared for a discoverie, and went not: And not unfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre up considerations of these and of such other thinges, not unmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter. (K1r)

When reprinted by Hakluyt in *The Principall Navigations* (1589), these 'Notes' were attributed to Richard Hakluyt the elder,³¹ who moved and advised in circles interested in overseas ventures, the Muscovy (Russia) Company among them.³² His guidance and expertise, it is reasonable to suppose, were available to his young cousin, who, orphaned, had grown up under the elder Hakluyt's care, and were an invaluable indirect source in assembling *Divers Voyages* (Quinn 1967, 13-14).

The concluding list of 'The names of certaine commodities growing in part of America, not presently inhabited by any Christians from Florida Northward, gathered out of the discourses, of Verarzanus, Thorne, Cartier, Ribalt, Thevet, & Best' (K4r) is unattributed, but may have been compiled by the elder Hakluyt or, more likely, the younger Hakluyt himself (Quinn 1967, 12-13).

2. *The Framing of Divers Voyages*

Hakluyt dedicated *Divers Voyages* to Philip Sidney, courtier, poet and soldier, remembered by his friend Fulke Greville as 'a man fit for conquest, plantation, reformation or what action soever is greatest and hardest among men' (1986, 21).³³ Sidney had been an undergraduate contemporary of Hakluyt's at Christ Church (Stewart 2000, 53-56 and 66-67),³⁴ and was close to Edward Dyer, another courtier and poet, who shared Sidney's enthusiasm in investing in Martin Frobisher's voyages of north-western exploration in the 1570s and was to encourage Hakluyt's work on *The Principall Navigations* (Sargent 1968, 41-46 and 56-71).³⁵ In July 1582, soon after publication of *Divers Voyages*, Sidney received an assignment of three million acres in North America from Sir Humphrey Gilbert in recognition of Sidney's promise to do all he could to obtain goodwill towards Gilbert's colonial project at court (Quinn 1940, vol. II, 260-265; Kuin 1998, 573-574; Stewart 2000, 267-269). He was, therefore, a thoroughly appropriate dedicatee, both in terms of personal connections and the book's content.³⁶

Hakluyt's dedicatory address to Sidney places the various texts collected in the book into a coherent framework (¶1r-¶4r).³⁷ He begins by saying that while the Spanish and Por-

³¹ 'Notes in writing ... that were given by M. Richard Hakluyt, of Eiton in the countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580: To M. Arthur Pet, and to M. Charles Iackman, sent ... for the discoverie of the Northeast straight', and 'Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluit of the middle Temple Esquire, given to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discoverie' (Hakluyt 1589, 460 and 636).

³² For Richard Hakluyt the elder (d. 1591), a lawyer at the Middle Temple and MP for Leominster (1558), see Taylor 1935, vol. I, 1-10, 13-16 and 19-21; Parks 1961, 25-55, 233-241 and 247; Bindoff 1982, vol. II, 273; Rollison 2010, 361-384. For his 'Notes' and other travel advice, see also Carey 2009, 174-179.

³³ For Sidney's interest in the New World, see Kuin 1998.

³⁴ Sidney left Christ Church in 1571. Hakluyt arrived in 1570.

³⁵ 'In respect of a generall incouragement ... it were grosse ingratitude in mee to forget ... Master Edward Dier' (Hakluyt 1589, *4v).

³⁶ Sidney was much interested in the English colonisation of Ireland, where his father, Sir Henry Sidney, had been lord deputy, and under whom Humphrey Gilbert had served as a soldier and colonial projector. See Quinn 1940, vol. I, 12-19; Duncan-Jones and Van Dorsten 1973, 3-12 and 175-177. Hakluyt, however, makes no mention of Ireland in his dedication, and, aside from its formulaic inclusion in the style of Henry VII (A1r and A2r), there are but two insignificant geographical references to Ireland in the text of *Divers Voyages* (C2r and ²C1v).

³⁷ Transcribed and annotated in Payne 2019, vol. I, 99-113.

tuguese had achieved ‘great conquests and plantings ... there is a time for all men’ (echoing Eccles. 3:1), and now ‘we of England may share’ with them ‘in part of America, and other regions as yet undiscovered’, in taking possession ‘of those landes, whiche of equitie and right appertaine unto us, as by the discourses that followe shall appeare most plainly’, and establishing ‘Colonies of our superfluous people’ (including minor criminals, ‘able men’, who would otherwise be hanged yet able ‘to serve their Countrie’) (§1r). Allied to taking ‘possession of that good land’ he also expressed the hope that the ‘shorte and easie passage by the Northwest ... so long desired’, might soon be found (§1v). He then presents a series of geographical reasons for supposing this, referring to material published in the book as well as evidence from elsewhere (§1v-§2v). A higher purpose is sounded, that, ‘in our owne discoveries’, the ‘desire of seeking rather gaine then Gods glorie’ would be detrimental to success and it should not be forgotten ‘that Godlinesse is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdome of God, al other things will be given unto us’, while ‘lasting riches do waite upon them that are zealous for the advauncement of the kingdome of Christ, and the enlargement of his glorious Gospell: as it is sayde, I will honour them that honour mee’ (§2v, alluding to 1 Tim. 6:6, Matt. 6:33 and 1 Sam. 2:30).³⁸ The need for proper training and the creation of a lectureship in the ‘art of Navigation’, as in Spain, was stressed (§3r-v).³⁹ He concludes by offering a summary of the work’s contents, beginning with ‘the title which we have to that part of America which is from Florida to 67. degrees northwarde’ by virtue of the letters patent granted to John Cabot and his sons, including Sebastian, and their discoveries (§3v), which were fundamental to English claims in North America deriving from historical precedent and prior discovery (Fitzmaurice 2003, 153-154). Hakluyt’s final reference is to the book’s map of North America provided by Michael Lok, ‘a man, for his knowledge in divers languages and especially in Cosmographie, able to doe his cuntry good’ (§4r), apparently putting in a good word for an individual accused of misconduct as treasurer of the funds invested in Frobisher’s north-western expeditions and not long released from debtors’ prison (McDermott 1999, 132-135).⁴⁰

3. *The Producers of the Book*

Before further consideration of *Divers Voyages* and the nature of Hakluyt’s work, the processes by which it reached the public need to be described, for, ‘Whatever they may do, authors do not write books. Books are not written at all. They are manufactured by scribes and other artisans, by mechanics and other engineers, and by printing presses and other machines’ (Stoddard 2002, 33).

Divers Voyages was licensed to Thomas Woodcock by the bishop of London and the two wardens of the Stationers’ Company for the usual fee of sixpence on 21 May 1582 (Arber 1875, 411). Sir Edmund Brudenell’s acquisition of a copy the next day reveals that the book was immediately available (Payne 2019, vol. I, 60 and 67),⁴¹ although news of

³⁸ For comments on this passage, see Helgerson 1992, 167-168; Armitage 2000, 75; Fitzmaurice 2003, 49; Sacks 2007, 418.

³⁹ For Hakluyt’s idealised view of such theoretical instruction in Spain, see Sandman and Ash 2004, 813-814.

⁴⁰ For Lok, see also McDermott 2004. For his map, see Wagner 1937, vol. I, 79-80; Quinn 1967, 22-24 and 26; Wroth 1970, 195 and 211-212.

⁴¹ For Brudenell (1521-1585), see Wake 1953, 51-84; Finch 1956, 143-152. His copy is now in the Free Library of Philadelphia. Its title-page with Brudenell’s dated ownership inscription and price is illustrated in Quinn 1967,

its publication may not have reached all of Hakluyt's circle, for instance Thomas Savile in Oxford, until later.⁴²

Under Elizabethan measures to regulate the press, the bishop of London was among the several ecclesiastical and civil officers with authority to give official approval of a work before it could be printed (Blayney 1997, 396-397; Clegg 1997, 36-40 and 43-44); such pre-publication approval was no guarantee against censorship of an edition after it had been printed, and although no disapproval arose from *Divers Voyages*, both editions of *The Principal Navigations* were subject to some post-publication interference.⁴³ The two wardens of the Stationers' Company, next in seniority to its master, were routinely responsible for granting the Stationers' licence to print (Blagden 1960, 38, 43-44 and 53-54). The Stationers' licence (as opposed to the authorisation of the ecclesiastical or civil authorities) was not in itself an instrument of censorship, but the means whereby the company expressed and regulated its monopoly control, conferred by royal charter, of printing. It was mandatory, and its evasion punished by the company when detected, but the licensee thereby established his exclusive right to print the work licensed to him and gained the protection of the company against any attempts to infringe his ownership of the 'copy', which he could later sell or assign to another party if desired. Entrance in the Stationers' Register was not a strict requirement, but it could not be obtained without the prior granting of the company's licence and it was the surest way of proving rights in a book should a dispute or other need for documentary confirmation arise. There was no comparable protection or recognition in the Stationers' regulations of any rights of authors or others in a work (Blagden 1960, 20-21, 31-33 and 40-45; Blayney 1997, 394-395 and 398-405; Clegg 1997, 15-19).

Publishing was not generally thought of or described as a distinct profession in sixteenth-century England and a publisher (that is, the individual who financed a book's printing and to whom any profits accrued) was typically either a printer or a bookseller. Booksellers were increasingly common as publishers, engaging trade printers to produce their books, while the trend among printers was towards some choosing to farm out the actual printing of their books to concentrate on publishing with its greater risks and outlays yet potentially greater returns, and others preferring simply to undertake trade printing, with its more assured, if modest, earnings (Blagden 1960, 24-25, 39-41 and 74; Blayney 1997, 391 and 2003, 35-37; Lesser 2004, 26-34; Melnikoff 2018, 6, 11 and 16-19).

Divers Voyages was published by the bookseller Thomas Woodcock (d. 1594), whose shop was at the Sign of the Black Bear in Paul's Churchyard. He became a freeman of the Stationers' Company in 1570, was admitted to the livery in May 1582, and was under warden at the time of his death (McKerrow 1910, 300; Pantzer 1991, 187 and 245). Among Woodcock's previous publications were William Bourne's *A Booke Called the Treasure for Traveilers* (Bourne 1578),⁴⁴

20 (figure 2a). The price is unclear. It is apparently written 'x/l' (i.e. £10), which Probasco suggests is a mistake for 'what should have been ten shillings' (2020, 73). This would still place it among the more highly-priced books at this time. If 10*d* was meant, it seems low if the maps, which would add considerably to the book's production costs, were reflected in the price. For a range of book-prices (scarcely any above £1, most substantially below), see Johnson 1950, 94-112. See also Turner 2012 for John Whitgift's purchases in 1582, the cheapest at 2*d*, the most expensive 9*s*.

⁴² On 27 June Savile told William Camden that a work by Hakluyt was rumoured in Oxford to be in the press, but he feared it might not be forthcoming as nothing had yet emerged (Quinn 1974b, vol. I, 275).

⁴³ See Payne 2021c, which is the most extensive discussion of censorship in relation to Hakluyt.

⁴⁴ This is primarily a manual on surveying and navigation, but the final chapter discusses the peopling of America in relation to scriptural teaching concerning the descent of all men from Adam.

and the *Firste Fruites* of John Florio (1578),⁴⁵ but he seems to have had no special connection with Hakluyt or particular interest in navigational or travel books.

The printing of *Divers Voyages* was undertaken for Woodcock by Thomas Dawson (d. 1620), who is named as printer in the colophon (K4v). Dawson became a freeman of the Stationers' Company in 1568 and was eventually to be its master. Working near Three-Crane Wharf in the Vintry, his was a large business, and he printed more than twenty other books in 1582 (McKerrow 1910, 86; Pantzer 1991, 51 and 255). Although chiefly a trade printer, Dawson also published on his own account (Adams 1992, 215), and in 1587 he was to issue Hakluyt's translation of René de Goulaine de Laudonnière's *Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages ... unto Florida*.⁴⁶ Dawson regularly printed for Woodcock, taking twenty or so different jobs to him by the mid-1580s, which indicate a degree of collaboration in publishing projects closer than a simple bookseller-publisher and trade-printer relationship (Melnikoff 2018, 13).

To protect the employment of journeymen compositors, the rules of the Stationers' Company from c. 1587 restricted editions (excepting certain categories, such as almanacs or government publications) to a maximum of 1250 or 1500 copies. Similar limitations may well have applied earlier on a customary basis, and whatever the restrictions before and after 1587, print runs in practice would usually have been no more than a 1000 or so copies, quite possibly fewer, to be viable (McKerrow 1928, 130-133 and 214; Gaskell 1974, 160-162; Plant 1974, 92-94 and 153-154). *Divers Voyages* is known today in only twenty-two extant copies,⁴⁷ in contrast to the two editions of *The Principal Navigations* which survive in a combined total of well over 350 (Neville-Sington and Payne 1997, 32-76; Payne 2019, vol. I, xi), so it was possibly printed in a much smaller run than the 500 to 750 copies suggested for the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* (Payne 2008, 75). It should be noted, however, that it is difficult to extrapolate the number of copies originally printed from the number extant because of the considerable variables determining survival. Large books, for example, tend to survive better than small ones (compare *The Principal Navigations*, a substantial folio, to *Divers Voyages*, a slim quarto), while utilitarian works printed in large quantities might survive in few copies because discarded when worn out or obsolete, whereas much of a small, high-quality edition might survive because prized but little used (Willard 1943, 172-175; Gaskell 1974, 162-163; Barnard and McKenzie 2002, 555-560). Lastly, any consideration of the contemporary circulation of books in Hakluyt's day should bear in mind that early modern England was a partially literate society, and perhaps roughly eighty per cent of the male and over ninety per cent of the female population were illiterate in the second half of the sixteenth century, during which the total population rose from about 3 to 4.1 million (Cressy 1980, 17-18, 167-170 and 176-177; Thomas 1986; Wrigley and Schofield 1989, 207-210; Brayman Hackel 2005, 55-68). Cost might also limit accessibility, certainly to more expensive books such as Hakluyt's, with, for example, prices of 9s (unbound) and 11s 11d (bound) known for his 1589 *Principal Navigations*, beyond the means of much of the population at a time when a labourer might earn less than a shilling a day (Johnson 1950, 92 and 103; Watt 1991, 260-263).

⁴⁵ Florio translated Cartier 1580, referred to above.

⁴⁶ Laudonnière 1587, translated from Laudonnière 1586, which Hakluyt had 'caused ... at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris' (1599, *3r). For these two editions, see Payne 2019, vol. I, 235-285 and vol. II, 359-398.

⁴⁷ Described by Payne 2019, vol. I, 50-61. Not all are complete.

4. *The Intentions and Distribution of Divers Voyages*

The contents of *Divers Voyages*, outlined in the introduction to this article, were intended to provide information on the prospects for colonisation in North America and for finding a navigable north-western passage to Asia. At the time of the book's publication in the summer of 1582, the particular colonial enterprise in hand was that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who had been granted exclusive royal authorisation in 1578 to undertake such ventures over a six-year term; after a failed attempt in 1578, Gilbert was now planning a new scheme to establish an American colony (Quinn 1940, vol. I, 35-62; Andrews 1984, 187-193). While it can only be said circumstantially that Hakluyt was directly employed to gather pertinent documentary material on America to assist Gilbert's project (Quinn 1940, vol. I, 62-64), he was certainly known to Gilbert by late 1581 or early 1582 when he introduced Gilbert to his Oxford room-mate, Stephen Parmenius. Parmenius subsequently sailed with Gilbert in 1583 and it has been conjectured that besides assisting Hakluyt in compiling *Divers Voyages*, he accompanied the expedition as its chronicler instead of Hakluyt, who had commitments and potential opportunities elsewhere (Quinn 1967, 33-34; Quinn and Cheshire 1972, 8-9, 19-22, 44-45, 76-79, 108 and 168-177).⁴⁸ Whatever Gilbert's role, the publication of *Divers Voyages* nevertheless had immediate promotional value: 'Indeed the appearance of *Divers Voyages* seems to have been the signal to Gilbert and his friends to take up the pursuit of subscribers in a big way, and June is the month which sees the major land-grants made to associates in the enterprise' (Quinn 1967, 33).⁴⁹ Against this background, an especially notable copy, already referred to, is that purchased in May 1582 by the Northamptonshire landowner Sir Edmund Brudenell, who in June agreed to invest in the subsidiary colonial settlement of Gilbert's assignees, Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard.⁵⁰ Another supporter of Gilbert's programme was, as we have seen, the book's dedicatee, Philip Sidney, whose copy of *Divers Voyages* is possibly the one at St John's College, Oxford (Warkentin, Black and Bowen 2013, 371; Payne 2019, vol. I, 47-48).⁵¹ That at Longleat House, Wiltshire, might have played a part in encouraging the interest of John Thynne the younger, having perhaps reached Longleat via his associate, Maurice Browne, who successfully obtained Thynne's financial support while preparing for Gilbert's expedition during 1582 and was one of its captains when it finally sailed in June 1583 (Quinn and Cheshire 1972, 38-41, 45-47 and 195-199).⁵² In March 1583 Hakluyt himself was enrolled by the Queen's principal secretary (and future father-in-law of Philip Sidney), Sir Francis Walsingham, a consistent favourer of Gilbert's undertaking (Cooper 2011, 259), to promote it by visiting Bristol, where the merchant community responded favourably after Walsingham's written endorsements were read out and 'some good light given by M. Hakluyt unto them that were ignorant of the country and enterprise' (Hakluyt 1589, 718).⁵³ More generally, Peckham's *True Reporte* of

⁴⁸ Parmenius 1582 is a neo-Latin epic poem marking the imminent departure of Gilbert's expedition.

⁴⁹ For the promotional literature of Gilbert's enterprise, see Probasco 2020, 53-102.

⁵⁰ Quinn 1940, vol. I, 58-60, 71-76 and vol. II, 257-260; Wake 1953, 65-67. This scheme did not in the event materialise.

⁵¹ It is bound together with Cartier 1580. The central ornament on the covers is flanked with the initials 'P' and 'S'. The volume came to St John's in the bequest of Nathaniel Crynes (1686-1745).

⁵² Browne, Gilbert and Parmenius all perished on this voyage.

⁵³ For this visit, see Quinn 1940, vol. I, 76-80; Parks 1961, 81-83 and 247. For Hakluyt and Walsingham, see Cooper 2011, 270-275. Their association is thought to date back to late 1579 or early 1580, although it may be suggested that Hakluyt first came to Walsingham's serious attention after publishing *Divers Voyages* in 1582 (see Payne 2019, vol. I, 183-184).

Gilbert's discoveries, published later in 1583, included the advice to 'Reade the beginning of the booke intituled, divers voyages touching the discovery of America' for further information on the 'likelyhoode of a passage by the Graunde bay, into the South Seas' (E3r).⁵⁴

The make-up of *Divers Voyages*, with two signature-sequences, neither of the complete alphabet (A-D and ²A-K) and differing in the number of lines to a page, and no foliation or pagination, suggests it was printed in a hurry, and indeed Hakluyt refers to the book as 'this hastie worke' (¶3v). He was also evidently keen to provide the latest information on 'A verie late and great probabilitie of a passage, by the Northwest part of America in 58.degrees of Northerly latitude', a 'report' that 'may bee well annexed unto the other eight reasons mentioned in my epistle dedicatorie, for prooffe of the likelihood of this passage' (π2v), and it was possible to accommodate this in the preliminaries, which were usually the last sheets of a book to be printed (Gaskell 1974, 7-8 and 52). D.B. Quinn, while considering haste the more likely explanation, has proposed the alternative possibility that the book's three basic sections (A-D, the Cabot and Thorne material; ²A-G, the Verrazzano, Zeno and Ribault voyages; H-K, the advisory notes) were envisaged as instalments, and were either printed at different times and initially issued separately as the promotional campaign for Sir Humphrey Gilbert's venture developed, or, if published together, were designed for individual circulation if required. There is, however, no contemporary evidence for such distribution and, as Quinn acknowledges, it cannot be conclusively demonstrated (Quinn 1967, 30-32 and 1974b, vol. II, 461-462). Philip Tromans, who gives tentative consideration to the disassembly of the book into its three component parts by contemporary users, judges it unlikely that the printer, Thomas Dawson, shared the printing of *Divers Voyages* with another establishment, or that the various parts were printed at different times, but suggests that two or more compositors working from separate cases were used by Dawson to rush through the book's production (Tromans 2015a, 191-195).

If it is reasonable to say that *Divers Voyages* assembled encouraging geographical and other useful background information for potential venturers, and that its publication was occasioned and hastened by Gilbert's plans (Quinn 1940, vol. I, 63-64; Probasco 2020, 67), it may still be observed that Gilbert is only mentioned three times in the book, in the lists of geographical writers and travellers ('Humphrey Gilbert knight') (π1v and π2r) and in a side-note identifying land described in Verrazzano's relation as 'The Country of Sir H.G. voyage' (²B1r).⁵⁵ While helpful and pertinent to Gilbert's enterprise, *Divers Voyages* was not, therefore, explicitly focused as propaganda for it, and the range of the book's content, and the elaborations in Hakluyt's dedication, indicate a broader application and interest that did not necessarily tie it to a specific colonial scheme. Hakluyt, certainly, must have thought this, since nearly all the texts published by him in *Divers Voyages* were later reprinted in the two editions of *The Principal Navigations* (Hakluyt 1589, 250-251, 252-258, 460-466, 509-511, 513, 515 and 636-638; Hakluyt 1598, 212-220; Hakluyt 1600, 4-5, 7-10 and 45-47),⁵⁶ and the book's subject matter (including points expressed in the dedication, the documents relating to the Cabots, Thorne's proposals for northern exploration, and the Zeno, Verrazzano and Ribault voyages) was relevant to and

⁵⁴ For Peckham 1583, see Parker 1965, 112-114; Probasco 2020, 97-100.

⁵⁵ For Gilbert's use of the topographical information found in Verrazzano's relation, see Quinn 1940, vol. I, 63 and vol. II, 343.

⁵⁶ See also Payne 2019, vol. I, 74-75. The major item not reprinted was Ribault's 'discoverie of Florida', but this was superseded by Laudonnière 1587, narrating all four French voyages to Florida, which was reprinted in Hakluyt 1600, 301-360.

discussed in his *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584),⁵⁷ which was designed to promote English colonisation in North America generally and was occasioned specifically by the Virginia venture of Walter Raleigh, at whose behest it was written (Hakluyt 1993, xv, xxi–xxii).⁵⁸

5. *Towards a Cosmography*

The practical gathering of documentary geographical material in *Divers Voyages* and the focusing framework provided by Hakluyt in his dedication to Philip Sidney might at first sight categorise it as no more than a promotional handbook for colonial ventures and discoveries. Yet, by looking at Hakluyt's later remarks about his endeavour, we can perhaps discern a cosmography that placed these in God's plan for the world and mankind.⁵⁹

Much of *Divers Voyages* was, as mentioned above, reprinted in *The Principal Navigations*, a far more extensive and ambitious collection of voyages, where Hakluyt's methods, wider purpose and interests become apparent, most notably regarding how he first 'found his calling in cosmography' (Sacks 2012, 214) and underwent what has been aptly called 'a mystical conversion to the science of geography' (Wright 1943, 34–35).⁶⁰ This is described in Hakluyt's dedicatory address to Sir Francis Walsingham in the original edition (1589), in which he recalls his boyhood visit to 'the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you', where he saw 'lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mapped' (*2r).⁶¹ Responding to his curiosity, the elder Hakluyt 'pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories' of each part of the earth and spoke of 'their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied', and then, bringing him from the map to a Bible, directed the young Hakluyt to verses 23 and 24 in Psalm 107,

where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University ... I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me. (*2r)

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Hakluyt 1993, 16, 19–20, 28, 31–32, 75–76, 83, 95, 120, 135–138, 145, 173, 177 and 181–182.

⁵⁸ For the *Discourse*, see further Payne 2019, vol. I, 145–192.

⁵⁹ On ordination Hakluyt would have been required to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles, the formal declaration of the doctrine and practices of the Church of England (see Hampton 2017, 212–223). He left no sermons or other writings that might provide an insight into his personal religious inclinations, but for his thinking on evangelisation overseas and the duty of the English monarch as head of a true missionary church to advance the gospel, see Hakluyt 1993, 8–12 and 131–133.

⁶⁰ As Cormack points out, the terms 'cosmography' and 'geography' were sometimes used interchangeably in sixteenth-century England, but the latter was coming to be distinguished by a narrower focus on the earth itself, in contrast to the wider concerns of cosmography in 'the globe and its relationship with the heavens as a whole' (1997, 18). Given Hakluyt's 'godly mission' (Sacks 2012), 'geography' is, therefore, perhaps too prosaic a word to convey the nature of his calling.

⁶¹ Possibly the cordiform map of the world published in 1564 by Abraham Ortelius, whom the elder Hakluyt advised on the construction of a large world map in c. 1567–1568 (Taylor 1935, vol. I, 77–83). Among the 'bookes of Cosmographie' was perhaps that of Sebastian Münster, which went through numerous editions, first in German (1544), and then in Latin (1550) (see McLean 2007, 173–188).

Hakluyt's reference to these verses in the Psalms, that could be read as signifying God's care for mankind and the promise of salvation, indicates the profoundly Christian cosmography underlying his work, especially in the context of the belief that God's providential design would see the reunion of the scattered peoples of the earth in one faith and the uncovering of the truths of His Creation lying concealed since the Fall (Sacks 2007, 432-436).

Hakluyt went on to tell Walsingham that at Oxford in accordance with 'my resolution', he 'read over whatsoever printed or written [manuscript] discoveries and voyages' he could find 'in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages', and lectured on 'Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments',⁶² and, 'by reason principally of my insight in this study', became in due course 'familiarily acquainted with the chieffest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation' (*2r). Towards the end of his dedication, Hakluyt drew attention to the encouraging prospects for 'commerce & traffike' with the peoples of distant Asia, saying

For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further favour both unto us and them: to them especially, unto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the truth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants. (*3r)

Hakluyt's dedication to Walsingham in 1589 is followed by an address to the 'favourable Reader', in which he outlines 'the Methode and order which I have used' in compiling the work:

Whatsoever testimonie I have found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I have recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoever els, and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and iust commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answere for himselfe, iustifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I have referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that *Peregrinationis historia*, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published as their owne, beyng in deed most untruly and unprofitable ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world. (*3v)

Hakluyt is not objecting to cosmography itself, and indeed he referred to himself, and was referred to, as a student of cosmography,⁶³ but rather to the indiscriminate methods of some of its practitioners in, he intimates, piling up and concocting information, disregarding the integrity of their sources, and assuming an omniscience which effectively smothered the truth, obscuring, not revealing, the secrets of the world (*La cosmographie universelle* by the French royal cosmographer, André Thevet, was particularly in his mind) (Thevet 1575).⁶⁴ By contrast,

⁶² For these lectures, see Payne 2021b, 6-11.

⁶³ See, e.g., Hakluyt 1598, *2r, and 1600, 181, quoted below in the Conclusion of this article. For the meaning of 'cosmography', see Bennett 2017, 37-40, and n. 60 above.

⁶⁴ For Thevet's cosmography, see Lestringant 1991b. Although unnamed, there is little doubt that the principal target of Hakluyt's strictures is Thevet, whom Hakluyt met soon after joining the English embassy in Paris in 1583. For this, and their epistemological differences (and personal falling-out), see Lestringant 2004, 254-263, 325-330, 344-346 and 519-521. Other contemporaries shared Hakluyt's disdain for Thevet. See Schlesinger and Stabler

in assembling his work, Hakluyt strove in *The Principal Navigations*, as he had earlier in *Divers Voyages*, to present eyewitness accounts and documentary matter with as little mediation as possible,⁶⁵ identifying their origin or author, following the dictum of Ptolemy (*Geography* 1.2)⁶⁶ that, as Richard Willes put it, the ‘first principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome saith, is the history of travell, that is, reports made by travellers skilfull in Geometrie and Astronomie’, and ‘*Peregrinationis historia*, that is, true reportes of skilful travailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in such controversies of Geographie must put us out of doubt’ (Hakluyt 1589, 613 and 615).⁶⁷

6. Conclusion: Hakluyt’s Labour

In 1589 Hakluyt referred to his ‘laborious travaile’ (*4v), and on publishing the first volume of the enlarged edition of *The Principal Navigations* in 1598, he spoke of ‘so much traveile and cost’,

what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long & chargeable iourneys I have traveiled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, &c. I have redeemed from obscuritie. (*4r)

As he ‘waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie’, Hakluyt’s work (or travail) can be understood as a literary reconnaissance, seeking via the reports of credible witnesses a textual revelation of the ‘unknown quarters of the world’, and a labour in its own way as demanding as the hardship of travel to ‘strange, remote, and farre distant countreys’ (*2r).⁶⁸

If Hakluyt was not a traveller himself, and nothing came of his willingness to join an expedition to America expressed in a letter to Walsingham in January 1584 (Taylor 1935, vol. I, 32 and 206),⁶⁹ this need not be taken to mean that his work in collecting and publishing ‘discoveries and voyages’ and that ‘kinde of literature’ (1589, *2r) was regarded as somehow passive. In the tradition of classical rhetoric, a central component of the Renaissance humanist curriculum, words were themselves acts (and equally deserving of respect), and speech, including its written and printed manifestations, was conceived as a powerful means for the citizen to pursue the active life essential to the well-being of the commonwealth; reading, too, was positively regarded, and undertaken, as an active, goal-oriented pursuit.⁷⁰ When in early March 1583, for instance, Walsingham urged Hakluyt to continue his commendable ‘study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoveries, &c.’, he stressed Hakluyt’s ‘travell in these’ would not only be ‘to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite

1986, xxiii and xxxiii-xxxv; Lestringant 1991a, 230-251, and for his reception generally, McLean 2007, 119-123; Lestringant 2021, 505-566.

⁶⁵ This is not to say he did not edit his texts. See Helfers 1997, 177-179 and 183-185.

⁶⁶ For modern translations, see Stevenson 1932, 26; Berggren and Jones 2000, 59.

⁶⁷ These references to Ptolemy are in the treatise on Frobisher and the north-west passage reprinted by Hakluyt from Willes 1577 (where they are at 233r and 235v-236r).

⁶⁸ For the idea of ‘textual reconnaissance’, see Sherman 1995, 151-152. For the association of travel with travail (the two words have common origins), see Legassie 2017, 2-3.

⁶⁹ Hakluyt was writing from the embassy in Paris.

⁷⁰ See Jardine and Grafton 1990; Jardine and Sherman 1994; Fitzmaurice 2003, 4-9 and 102-111. For rhetoric in Elizabethan England (including Hakluyt’s Oxford), see Mack 2002.

of this Realme' (Hakluyt 1600, 181),⁷¹ that Hakluyt's efforts, therefore, had political as well as private value, which Hakluyt echoed when he referred to the labour of compiling *The Principal Navigations* as 'zealously bestowed' for 'the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I live' (1598, *4r). Elsewhere Hakluyt wrote that those who chronicled the noble deeds of the discoverers were worthy of 'no less honour, and must be no less esteemed' (Taylor 1935, vol. II, 362).⁷²

It is possible in this light to discount religion in shaping Hakluyt's corpus, emphasising instead his classicism and the debt of his intellectual projects to the Aristotelianism studied and taught by him at Oxford, yet Hakluyt's Christianity seems fundamental (if not always explicit) to his work and the light in which he not only read the classics but also formed a cosmography to frame the world and the history of mankind (Sacks 2007, 416-418).⁷³ If Hakluyt's personal interest in the records of travels, discoveries, trade and settlement overseas was undoubtedly assisted in material terms by his emoluments as a cleric (Lehmberg 1996, 135; Payne 2017, 16-17), it was complementary to the belief, as has been suggested in this article, that knowledge of these discoveries would fulfil God's purpose in revealing the secrets of His Creation and the bringing together of the peoples of the world. It is evident, however, that by 1600 Hakluyt felt his efforts in gathering this material were largely complete, for he signed off the final volume of *The Principal Navigations* by saying that for some time he had realised 'that my profession of divinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kinde of endeavours' and 'studies of Cosmographie and forren histories' ((A)3v).⁷⁴ Although Hakluyt continued to publish and advise on such matters, nothing after 1600 compared to his earlier work in scope or ambition, while from 1602 his prebend at Westminster Abbey added considerably to his income, obligations and standing as a churchman (Payne 2017, 18-20).⁷⁵

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⁷¹ Walsingham's letter to Hakluyt printed here is dated '1582' old style. See also Taylor 1935, vol. I, 196-197.

⁷² Translated from the dedication to Raleigh in Hakluyt 1587, a2r.

⁷³ For further discussion and varying perspectives, see Wright 1943, 33-56; Zakai 1992, 95-100; Helfers 1997, 168-173; Tuck 1999, 110-111 (but note the documents Tuck cites, nn. 2-3, as by Hakluyt are actually ascribed in Taylor 1935, vol. II, 327 and 339, to the elder Hakluyt); Armitage 2000, 63-85; Boruchoff 2009; Sacks 2010, 21-47; Payne 2017, 1-14 and 21-24.

⁷⁴ For the essentially ecclesiastical nature of Hakluyt's career, see Sacks 2007, 427-432.

⁷⁵ For Hakluyt's work after 1600, including his duties at Westminster Abbey, see Quinn 1974b, vol. I, 314-331. For his connection with the East India Company (chartered in 1600), see also Payne 2021a.

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