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Captaining Men's Souls: Richard Hakluyt's Ministerial Works

Emily Stevenson

Richard Hakluyt opened the first edition of his travel compendium *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589) with a tale from his childhood.[1] While a student at Westminster School, he wrote, he had paid a visit to a cousin in his rooms at the Middle Temple.[2] The cousin had apparently been in the midst of a discussion when Hakluyt arrived, and 'certain bookes of cosmographie, and a universall mappe' were spread out across the table. Hakluyt was drawn to them, and his cousin began instructing him in 'all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part [and] … of their special commodities, & particular wants'.[3] When this was complete he brought out a Bible and turned to Psalm 107, where Hakluyt 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'.[4] This story, recounted before any geographic material, established for the reader an intrinsic connection between travel and faith. Whether journeys were undertaken for reasons of trade, diplomacy or pleasure, by recording their experiences travellers could perform religious service by increasing future readers' knowledge of the 'works of the Lord and his woonders'. Likewise, merchants who worked to meet the 'particular wants' of the world were performing a similar spiritual service by filling those 'great waters' with trade routes and ships.

The rest of Hakluyt's life would be spent performing his own part in this great endeavour. His printed geographic work, including *Divers voyages* (1582) and the two editions of *Principal Navigations* (1589; 1598–1600), is well studied. Less clear are the details of his religious beliefs, though his profession

[1] The full title of the first edition is *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by Sea or Over Land to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500 Years*, and the second edition added a '*Traffiques*' after '*Voiages*'. In this article the work will be referred to as *Principal Navigations*, for ease of reading. Similarly, 'u' has been standardised as 'v' (and vice versa) throughout.

[2] The cousin, also named Richard Hakluyt, will be referred to here as 'Hakluyt the Elder'.

[3] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589), STC (2nd ed.)/12625, sig. *2r.

[4] *Ibid.*

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of faith was equally public. From his ordination in 1580 to his death in 1616, Hakluyt was nearly continuously employed in religious positions within the English church. This work took him across the country, and even further afield to Paris between 1583–88 when he worked as a chaplain to the English ambassador Edward Stafford, the only occasion on which he is known to have left England.

There is a gap, however, in our knowledge of his religious beliefs because despite his well-established connections to printing networks, Hakluyt did not print any of the religious texts which he must have produced. Critics of the nineteenth century tended to take this absence as evidence that Hakluyt broadly conformed to the Church of England in articles of religion and saw no need to engage in debates through print, with this in turn serving as further evidence of his exemplary Englishness.[5] More recent scholarship has examined Hakluyt's religious beliefs through analysis of his geographic work, but this too creates issues as it is difficult to ascertain with any certainty the niceties of personal belief from *Principal Navigations*, a text with a complex network of influences.[6] This lack of documentary material for Hakluyt's religious views remains a fundamental problem for any scholar attempting to identify his religious position, and so examine the function of religion within his geographic work.

This article will shed new light on the issue through analysis of a manuscript currently unexamined within Hakluyt scholarship, Bodleian Rawlinson MS D 273. This manuscript contains notes for a lecture and a sermon given by Hakluyt at Oxford after his ordination during the early 1580s. Analysis of these offers fresh evidence for his religious beliefs and their importance to his geographic work, while also situating Hakluyt within a wider network of European theological communities and concerns. The article will then move to consider Hakluyt's more famous geographic works and his editorial work in the light of these fresh contexts.

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Rawlinson MS D 273 is a theological commonplace book kept by a student named John Rogers, mostly written while he was studying at the University of Oxford between 1578 and 1590.[7] The manuscript offers enough information

[5] This attitude is exemplified best by J. A. Froude, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', *The Westminster Review*, 2 (1852), 32–67.

[6] See, for example, David Harris Sacks, 'Rebuilding Solomon's Temple: Richard Hakluyt's Great Instauration', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloë Houston (London: Routledge, 2010), 17–55; David A Boruchoff, 'Piety, Patriotism, and Empire: Lessons for England, Spain, and the New World in the Works of Richard Hakluyt', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62 (2009), 809–58; Matthew Dimmock, 'Hakluyt's Multiple Faiths', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 219–28.

[7] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D 273.

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to sketch a brief biography and lineage for Rogers. The dates of its composition suggest a birth date roughly between 1555–60, which would have made him between 13 and 18 on entry into the University. In around 1587 Rogers became minister of the church at Chacombe, a village in Northamptonshire, and Rawlinson D 273 contains several letters written to him during the early years of this post. While there Rogers married and had several children, including a son also named John Rogers. Rogers the Younger, who would become a well-known non-conformist, has commonly been identified in scholarship as having been a descendent of the Marian martyr (also named John Rogers) who died in 1555. The eldest of the martyr's children was born in 1538 and the last in 1555. It is therefore possible that John Rogers (the author) was his son, born near the end of his life. However, considering his patronym, it is more likely that he was a grandson, born to one of the elder sons of the martyr.[8]

This lineage suggests a connection between John Rogers and Richard Hakluyt which may have contributed to Rogers's decision to preserve the lecture and sermon notes. John Rogers (the martyr) had eleven children, the eldest of whom – Daniel Rogers – was a close personal friend of Hakluyt's. This friendship was well established by the 1580s: Daniel Rogers wrote a verse dedicated to Hakluyt titled '*Ad Juvenum Hacklitum* [To the Young Hakluyt]' around 1577, where he claimed that 'I can do without homeland and ancestral hearth, but not any longer without your company, my friend'.[9] The relationship between Daniel Rogers and Hakluyt was not the only connection between the two families: Daniel Rogers's mother, Adriana van der Weede (also known as Adrienne de Weyden) was a cousin of Emanuel Van Meteren, the Low Countries consul in London, and Abraham Ortelius, the Brabantian cartographer. Hakluyt the Elder had long standing epistolary relationships with both men, and the map in his rooms at the Middle Temple which so sparked young Hakluyt's interest had been commissioned by him from Ortelius.[10] If the lineage sketched out above is correct, John Rogers was attending a lecture and sermon given by both a member of the University, and a man already in close contact with multiple branches of his well-connected family.

[8] Stephen Wright, 'Rogers, John (1610–1680), Clergyman and Ejected Minister', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [*ODNB*] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23984> (accessed June 2020). This conclusion was also drawn by Joseph Lemuel Chester in *John Rogers: The Compiler of the First Authorised English Bible; the Pioneer of the English Reformation; and Its First Martyr* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 274.

[9] San Marino, Huntington Library, HM MSS 31188; the translation and date of composition are both taken from David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. David B. Quinn, Second Series, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), Vol. 1, 269–71.

[10] Evidenced by a letter from Hakluyt the Elder to Ortelius, printed in *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), Vol. 2, 396–7.

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Rogers kept this early commonplace book diligently. It was not his only such volume: a large quarto manuscript also survives which contains sermons, 'preparations' for communion, and notes on various prayers written between 1586 and 1601.[11] His annotations suggest that this quarto volume served as a key reference text, as he inserted an '*appendix superiori concioni* [appendix of the above sermons]' as well as cross references to another volume, 'my great sermon book', whose location is not currently known if it survives.[12] The Rawlinson commonplace book does not appear to have been this 'sermon book': it is an octavo volume, so not 'great', and while it contains some sermons, it is not exclusively dedicated to them. Rawlinson D 273 thus represents Rogers's early work within a model of information categorisation and storage which by 1601 would lead to at least 14,000 pages of reference material available and categorised for him to reference.[13] Rawlinson MS D 273 contains eighty-three separate texts over 413 pages, and references work from figures involved with the English universities including Tobie Matthews, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford from 1579 to 1583, and 'Nath[aniel] Baxter', a 'vociferous Calvinist' who signed a letter in 1577 censuring the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Outside the universities, Rogers also excerpted work from Thomas Gressop, an author of devotional poetry and preacher at St Pauls; 'Laur[ence] Humfredo', the leader of the anti-vestiarian movement; 'Roger Marbecci', a member of Gray's Inn and chief physician to Elizabeth I, and 'Mr Barebone', likely John Barebone the 'noted and zealous Ramist'.[14]

Amongst this wealth of material, there are two documents which record Rogers's involvement with Hakluyt: the first titled 'Note of a sermon by Mr Hacluite of Christchirche p[re]ched at St Maries 21 Septemb. (1582)' and the second 'Notes of Mr Hacluites lector upon this article of the belefe (that is) He descended into hell'.[15] The work of a minister in the period would have required a significant amount of text production, and though these notes were not written by Hakluyt himself, they represent the only currently known extant record of his contribution to this body of material. Though it is undated and appears later in the manuscript, it is likely that Rogers attended the lecture before the sermon. From analysis of the timeline laid out by David Quinn in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, there are three periods when the lecture could have been delivered: between May 1580 and

[11] Ian Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, eds. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 145.

[12] *Ibid.*, 146.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Andrew Hadfield, 'Baxter, Nathaniel (fl. 1569–1611), Church of England Clergyman and Author', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1733> (accessed November 2020); W. A. Greenhill and Sarah Bakewell, 'Marbeck, Roger (1536–1605), College Head and Physician', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18027> (accessed November 2020).

[15] Rawlinson MS D 273, fol. 194v, fol. 267r.

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July 1581, the beginning of September to 29 October 1581, or between November 1581 and March 1583.[16] Anthony Payne, in his analysis of Hakluyt's geographic lectures, notes that Hakluyt when Hakluyt was elected a censor at Christ Church on 21 December 1582 it seems likely he was already teaching: the lecture notes confirm this and, as Hakluyt was compiling material for *Divers Voyages* from the latter part of 1582 onwards, make an earlier date more likely.[17] This article will therefore address the lecture notes first.

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Hakluyt's lecture focuses on the third of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Agreed by the convocations of the Church of England in 1571, these articles, alongside the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal, contained the principal formularies of the doctrine, order, and worship of the Church of England.[18] Their *via media* approach was intended to reconcile a wide range of theological positions, but in practice often introduced a significant degree of confusion.[19] The third article is particularly ambiguous and, not coincidentally, by far the shortest. In the 1571 wording it read: 'Of the going down of Christ into Hell. As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed, that he went down into Hell'.[20] It was based on statements of belief in the Apostles' and Athanasian Creed, both of which contain the line '*descendit ad* <u>*inferos*</u>*, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis* [he descended into <u>hell</u>, and rose again the third day from the dead]'.[21] This belief developed out of several New Testament passages, and originally meant only that Christ went to the 'abode of the dead' before being resurrected.[22] There was, however, a distinct lack of clarity over the specific meaning of *inferos*, the 'abode of the dead'. In the original Latin translation of the Apostles' Creed it was a rendering of the Greek *hades*, implying simply a place people went when dead, but thanks to translation shifts this specificity was lost.[23] In English, both *hades* and *Gehenna* – which indicated a

[16] Quinn and Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', 263–337.

[17] Anthony Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt's Oxford Lectures', *The Journal of the Hakluyt Society* (November 2021), 5.

[18] Torrance Kirby, *The Elizabethan Church of England and the Origins of Anglicanism*, eds. Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 58; G. R. Elton, *The Parliament of England, 1559–1581* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 210–14.

[19] E. C. S. Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles Explained with an Introduction*, 6th edn (London: Routledge, 2018), 159; Torrance Kirby, 'The Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1563/71) commonly Called the Thirty-Nine Articles, Latin and English Versions Together with an Introduction and Annotations', ed. K. H. Faulenbach, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Reformierten Kirchen*, 2 (2009), 371–410.

[20] Gibson, 169.

[21] *Ibid.*, 159 (emphasis mine).

[22] Dewey D. Wallace, 'Puritan and Anglican: The Interpretation of Christ's Descent Into Hell in Elizabethan Theology', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte - Archive for Reformation History*, 69 (1978), 248–87.

[23] David Bagchi, 'Christ's Descent into Hell in Reformation Controversy', *Studies in Church History*, 45 (2009), 228–47.

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place of punishment, rather than a place for the dead – were commonly translated as 'hell'. The conception of 'hell' thus became more theologically complex, and the creedal lines referring to the *decensus* took on additional meaning: that when Christ died, he descended to a *Gehenna*-like place of punishment.[24]

Post-Reformation interpretations of the *decensus* ranged between viewing it as a literal or metaphorical event, corporeal or spiritual, a triumphant journey or an example of penitential suffering. Martin Luther made several conflicting statements on the subject, sometimes speaking of it in mythological terms as Christ vanquishing Satan in hell, but elsewhere discussing it primarily as an inner spiritual experience.[25] By contrast, Jean Calvin developed an interpretation of the *decensus* which explicitly denied its literalism, holding that the creedal article meant simply that Christ was in the grave and under the power of death, rather than actually being present in hell. The creedal '*descendit ad inferos*' thus referred to Christ's soul's experience of the pains of hell while hanging on the cross. For Calvin a literal descent was 'nothing but a story', and the *decensus* central to his theology of the atonement.[26] The 1571 formulation was deliberately short in recognition of this contested history. Whatever a clergy member's interpretation of the *decensus*, as long as they professed the Apostles' Creed they could not dispute that 'it [is] to be believed, that he went down into Hell'. What they thought that 'hell' was, whether the action of '[going] down' was physical or spiritual, and whether the journey was triumphant or penitential could be left open to personal interpretation.

In England, Christopher Carlile published his interpretation of the article in 1582 with *A discorse concerning two divine positions*, where he denied the literal interpretation.[27] He enthusiastically defended the Calvinist interpretation, writing that 'Whē[n] he [Christ] was dead they toke him downe, & laide him in his grave. From thence the third day he did ryse'.[28] Carlile's work was not, however, representative of contemporary English theological concerns. Fierce debates surrounding the *decensus* were taking place within continental European Protestant groups, with *A discourse* sparking a number of printed responses, but theological debates regarding the *decensus* would not peak in England until the 1590s.[29] When Hakluyt gave his lecture, he was therefore responding to Carlile and contemporary continental debates rather than presaging these intense pamphlet wars.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Wallace, 'Puritan and Anglican', 252.

[26] *Ibid.*, 254; Jean Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion* (London, 1562) STC (2nd ed.)/4416, 142.

[27] Bagchi, 235; Christopher Carlile, *A discorse concerning two diuine positions* (London, 1582) STC (2nd ed.)/4654; Stephen Wright, 'Carlile, Christopher (d. in or before 1588), Church of England Clergyman', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4682> (accessed October 2020).

[28] Carlile, 177.

[29] Bagchi, 237.

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Though Hakluyt may not have been engaging with English theological debates, the third article had a special place within English literary and spiritual tradition. Often referred to in this context as the 'harrowing of hell' – Christ 'harrowing' Satan of his right to human souls – it formed a key part of earlier medieval mystery cycles, with the moment of confrontation often accompanied by special effects.[30] The story's importance within English dramatic tradition continued even after the Reformation as its thematic and dramatic possibilities were appealing, and the pattern of the story deeply embedded into English dramatic history.[31] This background may also provide an additional reason for Hakluyt's decision to focus on the third article, as it enabled him to combine engagement with continental debates with analysis of a trope still contemporarily vital within the English cultural landscape, ensuring his lecture's relevance.

Such a lecture, containing detailed exegesis of an article of belief, served a specific purpose within the post-Reformation church. John Donne theorised that

> a Sermon intends *Exhortation* principally, and *Edification*, and a holy stirring of religious affections, and then *matters of Doctrine*, and points of *Divinity*, occasionally, secondarily, as the words of the text may invite them; But *Lectures* intend principally *Doctrinall points*, and matter of *Divinity*, and matter of *Exhortation* but *occasionally*, and as in a second place. (John Donne, 'A sermon preached at the Earl of Bridgewaters house at the marriage of his daughter, the Lady Mary … Novemb. 19 1627', *Fifty sermons. Preached by that learned and reverend divine, John Donne* (London, 1649) Wing/D1862, 2)

A sermon was intended to move its audience to spiritual betterment; a lecture was intended to set them on the correct doctrinal course to do so. Hakluyt began his lecture by reminding his audience that 'the holy scripture hathe in it milcke for children and … strong meate [for men]', a reference to 1 Corinthians 3: 2.[32] This verse was not part of his argument, but it reassured the reader of Hakluyt's Biblical knowledge while preparing them for the need for them to grapple with difficult concepts, presaging

[30] See Peter Stuart Macaulay, 'The Play of the Harrowing of Hell as a Climax in the English Mystery Cycles', *Studia Germanica Gandensia*, 1966, 115–34 and Karl Tambur, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007) for more detail.

[31] See Christina Romanelli, '"Dear Life Redeems You": The Winter's Tale and the Harrowing of Hell', *South Atlantic Review*, 81.I: Text as Memoir, Part II (2016), 8–29 and Alfred Thomas, '"Remember the Porter": Memorializing the Medieval Drama and the Gunpowder Plot in Macbeth', in *Shakespeare, Catholicism, and the Middle Ages* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 191–215 for examples of its continued relevance.

[32] Rawlinson MS D 273, fols. 267r-268v. The verse reads 'I gave you milke to drinke, and not meat: for ye were not yet able (to beare it,) nether yet now are ye able'. All Biblical quotations in this article are taken from Anonymous, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated According to the Ebrue and Greke,and Conferred with the Best Translations in Divers Languges* (Geneva, 1560) STC (2nd ed.)/2093, the Geneva Bible which Hakluyt and his contemporaries would most likely have been working with.

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potentially controversial views. Hakluyt then proceeded to define 'limbus' as 'a place for the dead which was not heaven nor hell … without joye or sorowe'. It contained 'severall places … for the infants not chrystened' and 'an other for the holy fathers which dyed before christe['s] incarnation' who, he noted, were 'not for now as yet redeemed therefore not worthy of heaven … nor of hell by reason of ther houly lyfe'. This conception of a deliberately bland hell maps to the concept of *Hades*, rather than the punishment filled *Gehenna*. The argument was bolstered with Biblical verses: Hakluyt referenced Lazarus's journey to 'Abrahams bosom' after his death in Luke 16: 22–3 as evidence of the existence of a place occupied by the 'holy fathers' before Christ's resurrection. This reference to 'Abrahams bosom' within the context of the *decensus* is the first indication that Hakluyt's argument was the result of sustained engagement with the work of continental theologians. Heinrich Bullinger, the Swiss reformer and successor of Huldrych Zwingli, had made exactly this point in his *Decades*, published thirty years earlier.[33]

Hakluyt then moved directly into stating his interpretation of the *decensus*. 'If Christe wente to hell he wente to conqere deathe', Rogers recorded him saying, 'but christe did conquer deathe on the crosse as hebr. 10.8.10 and to ye collo. 2.13.14 … if he descended unto hell he descended not to triumphe to suche a place but to ye hummiliatione of him selfe'.[34] In this version of the *decensus* Christ did not descend to hell in body, but rather lay in the grave 'as though death & all the kingdome of hell should triumph on him' which, according to Hakluyt, 'was muche more ignominiouse'. Hakluyt thus unequivocally refuted any concept of the *decensus* as being both simultaneously triumphant and penitential. For him, such a journey could have been nothing but a 'hummiliatione'. Hannah Dawson, in her study of shame in early modern England, has identified two distinct concepts at work in contemporary texts: guilt-shame, brought about by being seen to sin either by oneself or God, and reputation-shame, which came from being seen to do so by others.[35] The former of these, guilt-shame, Dawson refers to as 'red-hot' in the first half of the seventeenth century, drawing contemporarily from Calvinist and Augustinian theologies of original sin and election.[36] Hakluyt's use of the word 'hummiliatione' situates his work within these contemporary discussions, and his preoccupation with shame and

[33] Heinrich Bullinger, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5 vols, ed. Thomas Harding, trans. H. I. Parker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), Vol. 1, 137–9.

[34] The verses referenced are Hebrews 10: 8–10: 'By the which wil we are sanctified, (even) by the offring of the bodie of Iesus Christ once (made.)' and Colossians 2: 13–14: 'And ye whiche were dead in sinnes, and in the uncircumcision of your flesh, hathe he quickened together with hym, forgiving you all (your) trespaces. And putting out the hande writing of ordinances that was againste us, whiche was cō[n]trarie to us, he evē[n] toke it out of the way, and fastened it upon the crosse'.

[35] Hannah Dawson, 'Shame in Early Modern Thought: From Sin to Sociability', *History of European Ideas*, 45 (2019), 377–98.

[36] *Ibid.*, 379.

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salvation presages his yet more controversial – and explicitly Calvinist – points. Rogers records him as moving on to say that 'if Calvine saythe that Christe beinge on ye crosse in anguishe of bodye & sole was in hell he sayd well'. This spiritual and physical pain was ultimately vital to both Calvin and Hakluyt's theology of the atonement, and thus integral to their systems of religious belief.

Calvin's view was unusual, even amongst Reformed Protestants. As detailed above, he held that the creedal clause *descendit ad inferos* referred to Christ's soul's experience of the pains of hell while his body was on the cross, and thus involved no physical or spiritual descent. Hakluyt's approval of this belief, along with his interpretation of shame and salvation, may therefore indicate a deeper appreciation of Calvinist theology within his own religious identity than has previously been recognised.[37] This is furthered by Hakluyt's next point, which made a critique of the article based on its creedal origin: 'this Article was … nighther … mencioned of in thycene creeds neyther Augustine … maketh an mention on this place'. His ultimate conclusion was that 'he [Christ] descended unto hell that is lay in the shadow of death … as though death & all the kingdome of hell should triumph'. For Hakluyt, the *decensus* was thus not a physical event where Christ travelled to hell itself. Rather, the 'hell' to which Christ descended was the 'grave', with the 'shadow of death' over him while he lay there just as it had been over Jonah when he lay '3 dayes [in] the whales bely'. Rogers finished his lecture notes with an air of his lecturer's reflected triumph at a successful argument: 'so [Christ] sitteth on the righte hand of God the father almighty ec finis'.

While it is impossible to extrapolate all the niceties of Hakluyt's religious views from one lecture, what is notable in the details recorded by Rogers is his sustained engagement with continental theological debates, and particularly with the work of Calvin and Swiss reformed theologians. The lecture notes thus serve as clear evidence that Hakluyt was involved with and appreciative of continental reformed theology, and willing to express beliefs which were controversial within the Church of England. They thereby call into question any view of his religious work as an essentially dutiful occupation, and bring to light the influence of his extensive and significant European network.

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This argument is furthered by the second set of notes relating to Hakluyt in Rawlinson D 273, which record a sermon given by Hakluyt at the University church of St Mary the Virgin on 21 September 1582. They begin by

[37] See Wallace, 'Puritan and Anglican', 253–4.

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establishing the text of the sermon as 'Text. 2. Cor 4:1', which reads in the Geneva edition 'Therefore, seing that we ha[v]e this ministerie, as we ha[v]e mercie we fainte not'.[38] The sermon detailed Hakluyt's engagement with this single text, expanding understanding of it through scriptural quotation to demonstrate his belief in the importance of ministerial vocation. There are clear differences between the sermon and lecture. While lectures expressed detailed doctrinal exegesis sermons were intended, in Donne's words, for '*Exhortation* principally, and *Edification*, and a holy stirring of religious affections'.[39]

The instruction to Jesus's disciples to go out and preach was integral to the Gospel, but exactly how this was to be done was not detailed. The sermon as a ministerial response was formalised around 1200 and theorised as a *technê* or *ars*: a 'set of rules that provide a definite method and system of speaking'.[40] By the sixteenth century sermons were a rich textual and oral form, and in post-Reformation England they developed from a robust tradition of Roman Catholic preaching.[41] By the time Hakluyt began to give sermons this development had settled into roughly four principal forms: the homily, the thematic sermon, the classical oration, and the doctrine-use scheme which expressed complex exegesis in deliberately plain and simple language.[42] These forms were delineated in contemporary preaching manuals which outlined sermon theory and structure, as well as providing useful commentary for ministers.

These formal models represented the contemporary ideals, but in practice, sermons as delivered often recombined structural elements from across multiple forms.[43] Mary Morrissey considers this process of recombination to have created a new type, which she terms the English reformed sermon. Within this form, the preacher 'studied his text, derived doctrines from his explication of it, and decided on the uses to be made of the doctrines'. At its core, the English post-reformation sermon revolved around the explication and application of scriptural quotation.[44] It was a flexible form, depending on the needs of its audience, but one essentially rooted in concerns of English tradition and authority. Within universities such sermons emphasised language, rhetoric and style, developed on Greek and

[38] 2 Corinthians 4: 1.

[39] John Donne, 'A sermon preached at the Earl of Bridgewaters house', 2.

[40] Gregory Kneidel, 'Ars Prædicandi: Theories and Practice', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 74.

[41] Jeanne Shami, 'Sermons', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 187.

[42] *Ibid.*, 187; Kneidel, 'Ars Prædicandi', 72–8; Mary Morrissey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 686–706 (690); Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 58–9.

[43] Kneidel, 'Ars Prædicandi', 86.

[44] *Ibid.*, 57–8.

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rabbinic exegetical traditions, and provided moral teaching.[45] Hakluyt's sermon exemplifies this model, with Hakluyt deriving doctrines from a single text and explicating their spiritual importance and applications with great rhetorical force. Rogers's notes make it clear that he perceived a distinct formal and potentially aural difference between the lecture and the sermon. While for the lecture, Rogers recorded Hakluyt's oration apparently verbatim, in the sermon notes he repeatedly included formulas such as 'he sayd', 'he rep[re]hended', and 'he shewed'.[46] These serve to highlight precisely those techniques of language, rhetoric and style so important to the form, and may have provided stylistic tips for Rogers when he used the notes to write his own sermons.

Hakluyt's sermon, which revolved around his explication of 2 Corinthians 4: 1, began by setting out three priorities for those who would be disseminating spiritual ministry. Firstly, that they should 'be called' to the task; secondly, that they should 'attend to the flock', and thirdly, 'yt ye faynt not' at such a responsibility. This issue of responsibility was key, and for Hakluyt, epitomised in 'nomber 16. Cat. Ver 9', which reads:

> Semeth it a smal thing unto you that the God of Israél hathe separated you from the multitude of Israél, to take you nere to himself, to do the service of the Tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the Congregaciō[n] and to minister unto them? (Numbers 16: 9)

Those who were called to the task of ministry would be able to bear the weight of the task, while those 'yt presumed to that office not being called' would, according to Hakluyt, meet similar fates to Uzza and Uzziah.[47] These are depicted in 2 Samuel 6: 7 and 2 Chronicles 26: 16 respectively: Uzza touched the Ark of the Covenant when his oxen stumbled and was immediately struck down by God, while Uzziah usurped the role of the Temple priests in burning incense at the altar and was afflicted with *tzaraath* by God in response.[48]

As well as possessing a calling, Hakluyt argued that they should be 'learned and of good conversation' just like St Paul, who was 'brought uppe at Gamaliel[']s feete & passed all his fellowes in the law & in zeale' – Gamaliel being a pharisee doctor of Jewish law, referenced as the teacher of St Paul in Acts 22: 3. It is clear from this reference that the sermon was intended to impress the importance of scholarship on Hakluyt's largely student audience. He strengthened the point by noting that making 'the simplest schollers ministers' was a mistake, as '[making] prieste[s] of the

[45] Shami, 190.
[46] Rawlinson MS D 273, fol.194v.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Tzaraath* meaning a disfigurative condition of the skin, often taken in the case of Uzziah to refer to leprosy.

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loweste of ye people … was the cause of [Jeroboam's] destruction and of his house'.[46] He then moved to using the example of the 'whoman taken in adultery' as evidence of how 'diligente ye minsters ought to be'. This example comes from a passage from the Gospel of John 7: 53–8: 11, in which a woman found committing adultery was brought to Jesus. When asked if she should be stoned to death, he responded that 'Let him that is among you without sin, cast the first stone at her'. None of the present unsurprisingly being without sin, Jesus refused to condemn the woman. Within the context of the sermon, the tale was used by Hakluyt to remind his listeners of both the difficulties of remaining sinless within holy life, and the importance of ministerial mercy. He concluded this point by noting that just as 'yt did not become a captane … to sleepe all nighte how muche lesse ye captayne of mens soules'.

Hakluyt continued to emphasise the responsibility of this calling in the remainder of his sermon, calling to attention the example of Paul, who 'thought Agabus … tould him he should be bound at [Jerusalem] yet he went thyther', showing himself willing to die in the service of the church.[49] Rogers's notes end with the assertion that 'he [Hakluyt] repeated threatinge against false ministre', the speaker evidently driving the point home for his listeners. Analysis of the 1582 sermon ultimately demonstrates the overriding importance of vocation to Hakluyt. He was firm on his point: religious work as a minister was not something which should be considered lightly, nor undertaken without divine permission. Presuming such an office without a 'call' risked incurring divine wrath, an argument he reinforced with detailed Biblical exegesis. By 1582 Hakluyt had been ordained and it seems extremely unlikely, considering the content of this sermon, that he did not himself feel a vocation to ministry.[50]

Though it has long been acknowledged that religious work fed Hakluyt's geographic work, the lack of extant religious writing has led to an assumption that the passage was one way. This sermon, and the understanding it offers of Hakluyt's religious vocation, suggests that this was rather a deeply and necessarily reciprocal process. Hakluyt's perception of his vocation does not appear to have been limited solely to his work with immediate parishioners, but was instead figured by him within a global framework. Just as he dispensed ministry to the parishioners of Wetheringsett, Bristol, and London, so he recorded and dispersed the words of those who had '[gone] downe to the sea in ships' for English readers. The best ministers, for Hakluyt, were both deeply aware of their pastoral responsibilities and well educated: his work compiling and dispensing geographic material enabled him to fulfil both criteria.

49 *Ibid.*, noted by Rogers as Acts 21: 10.
50 Quinn and Quinn, 272.

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The final section of this article will reconsider Hakluyt's geographic writings in the light of this fresh context, beginning with an examination of the structural similarities between his theological and geographic writing. In both the lecture and sermon, Hakluyt constructed arguments while continually tying his analysis to proofs such as Biblical quotations, contemporary theology or his own ministerial vocation. Unless Rogers repeatedly failed to note it, Hakluyt included Biblical references without reading out the full verse just as would have been the case in a printed sermon, forcing the audience to either consult their own knowledge or trust his expertise. He would use a similar approach to effectively construct and consolidate his authority in his first printed work, *Divers Voyages*, whose preparation was likely underway when Hakluyt was writing and delivering the lecture and sermon. It begins, uniquely within Hakluyt's geographic works, with a list of authorities: 'the names of certaine late writers of geographie, with the yeere wherein they wrote'.[51] The list is presented with no paratextual material or explanations for why these were 'the' authorities, leaving a reader potentially curious as to the processes behind its composition. This list is followed by a similar list of 'the names of certaine later travaylers, both by sea and by lande, which also for the most part have written of their owne travayles and voyages'.[52] There is overlap between these two: Humphrey Gilbert, for example, was included in both. The differentiation does suggest that Hakluyt considered there to be a difference in authority gained through study and through travel. However, without further detail, such as the texts they had written or placed they had visited, the reasons for their authority were ultimately less important than the fact that they were viewed as authorities.

Ultimately these lists serve two purposes: they direct curious readers to other sources of information, and reassert Hakluyt's own claim to authority. With the absence of explanatory paratextual material, the lists appear structurally similar to his use of Biblical verses in the lecture and sermon in that they refer to wider textual histories and use them to construct an argument – in this case, that Hakluyt was a knowledgeable geographer – without needing to explicate the textual histories themselves. In both cases, Hakluyt drew information from multiple sources and synthesised it. This allowed him to pronounce on these questions with implied authority, whether his understanding of the Third article, his view on someone's suitability for ministry, or his judgement on who is an authoritative 'writer of geographie'.

After *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt's following publications were both distributed in manuscript, rather than print: these are the translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*,

[51] *Divers Voyages*, 3.
[52] *Ibid.*, 5.

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known as the 'Analysis', and the *Discourse of Western Planting*. The 'Analysis' today survives in two manuscripts, both in Hakluyt's hand. The first was intended for Elizabeth, and includes a dedication written at Christ Church in September 1583; the second does not include a dedication and was probably produced in connection with Hakluyt's teaching.[53] Though it is neither a geographic nor religious work, the influence of both fields can be seen in the 'Analysis'. Hakluyt drew from his geographic knowledge to describe Elizabeth as being honoured amongst 'the most mighty monarchs of the Muscovites, Turks and Persians', while using his religious position to claim his own endeavours were 'favoured by divine grace', showing his reading by citing Aquinas and his vocation referring to himself as a 'Minister of the word of God'.[54] The 'Analysis' drew from his experience within the University, and was written within the context of an Oxford syllabus which featured the *Poetics* heavily; it has been viewed critically as evidence of Hakluyt's strengths as an academic.[55] It is significant, therefore, that in the most academic of his works he chose to describe himself through a simple description of his religious vocation, rather than his new position as minister to an Ambassador, or his academic status within Oxford. This choice takes on greater significance in the context of the sermon, which shows the influence of his religious vocation on his conception of his academic role.

Discourse, by contrast, more explicitly shows the influence of Hakluyt's religious activity on his geographic writings and, in particular, his preoccupation with divine will and providence. Written in 1584, *Discourse* was intended to promote Walter Ralegh's plans for western expansion. It was divided into twenty one chapters, with the first focusing on spreading the 'swete and lively liquor of the gospel' and encouraging 'thinlargement of the gospel of Christe' to counteract the influence of the 'Kinge of Spaine'.[56] Hakluyt began this chapter with references to the work of Jacques Cartier, describing the idolatry of the Indigenous Americans before shifting focus to set out why English Protestants were particularly singled out by God for this evangelising mission. The crux of his argument was that evangelism should be at the heart of travel and colonial expansion. While both the Spanish and Portuguese had tried to evangelise, the Spanish had failed to properly train their ministers, leading to them being 'miserablye massacred'. The Portuguese, though more successful, had ultimately failed because as Catholics, they did not 'plant[] … the gospel of Christe purely'.[57] While their evangelism represented 'filthie lucre [and] … vaine

[53] *Hakluyt and Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. by Anthony Payne (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2017), 4.

[54] *Ibid.*, 29–30.

[55] *Ibid.*, 13.

[56] Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse on Western Planting Written in the Year 1584*, ed. by Leonard Woods and Charles Deane (Cambridge MA: Maine Historical Society, 1877), 3, 9.

[57] *Ibid.*, 9.

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ostentation', if tried by the English it would by contrast lead to 'the gayninig of the soules of millions of those wretched people, the reducinge of them from darkenes to lighte'.[58] To date, however, Hakluyt noted in a bracketed aside that this had so far not been the case, noting bitterly that 'I would I might say [we have travelled] to preache the gospell'.[59]

Hakluyt has also passed judgement on the past motivations of English travellers in the introduction to *Divers Voyages*, a moment notable for its tonal similarity to the sermon. Hakluyt wrote there that

> wee [have] forgotten that Godliness is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdome of God all other things will be given unto us, and that as the light accompanieth the Sunne, and the heate the fire, so lasting riches do waite upon them that are zealous. (*Divers Voyages*, 13–4)

The context of the sermon sheds fresh light on Hakluyt's expressed concern with evangelism, providence and divine will in both *Divers Voyages* and *Discourse*. Just as successful evangelisation required favourable divine will, so ministers needed a divine vocation if they were not to 'presum[e] to that office'. The question of how to interpret divine will was thus both absolutely vital and entirely unexplained, left up to the potential minister or traveller to decipher for themselves. Through this frame, interpreting divine will became the primary factor in determining the future success of travellers. Though the English were being called to convert Indigenous Americans, according to Hakluyt, undertaking such work at a time not divinely appointed had doomed it to failure. What made this the right time – the 'eleventh hour' – appears to be the fact that Hakluyt himself, as someone with a 'true' ministerial vocation, had been inspired to write the treatise.

Hakluyt offered some practical consideration of this process as well, writing that encouraging this process of conversion would necessitate transporting ministers overseas. He believed this would be a good thing as

> those of the clergye which by reason of idleness here at home are now always coyninge of newe opynions, having by this voyadge to set themselves on worke in reducing the savages to the chefe principles of our faith, will become less contentious, and be contented with the truthe in religion already established by authoritie. (*Discourse*, 12)

In the new light of the lecture given by Hakluyt on the *decensus*, this statement initially appears hypocritical. Clearly, he was no stranger to either 'contentious' issues or debating them. As before, Hakluyt's intentions are key. When he engaged in a raging continental debate over a point of belief, it was a matter of

[58] *Ibid.*, 10.
[59] *Ibid.*

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religious clarification; when others did it, it distracted them from 'the truthe in religion already established'. Notably, he continued that those who spread this truth 'shall shewe themselves worthye of their vocation'. The invisible but vital point across both these arguments – the now perfect timing of England's evangelical movement, and the current contentiousness of minsters – is divine purpose. Though unknowable to most, Hakluyt's implication was that as someone with a ministerial vocation, he was privileged to this knowledge.

Five years after the publication of *Discourse*, this question of divine will would play an important part in the material surrounding the voyages to Newfoundland in the 1589 edition of *Principal Navigations*. The structure of *Principal Navigations* is similar to that of *Divers Voyages*. Its chronological and geographic movement suggests a forward momentum: as the reader progresses through the work they discover more of the world, along with the English travellers whose accounts comprise the majority of *Principal Navigations*. This structure, along with Hakluyt's decision to translate the majority of his material into the vernacular, prioritised English experiences and interpretations. This nationalist structure was also used to further support Hakluyt's position, as stated in his earlier works, that English travel was divinely supported. It was particularly significant in the Newfoundland material, where the evangelising of America was an important framing concept: a key example in Edward Hayes' account of Humphrey Gilbert's 1583 voyage to the island. Hayes' opening paragraphs proposed that England had been divinely appointed to move west and evangelise America and that, once they had, it would mark the beginning of the end for human history: 'the revolution and course of Gods [sic] word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the East, towards & at last unto the West, where it is like to end'.[60] In Hayes' narrative, as in Hakluyt's structure, the western movement of the gospel was a divinely ordained plan. Intentions were also key here: he wrote that

> it behoveth every man of great calling … to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himself it commeth not of God, and therefore [they] can not have confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistible) both of sea and infinite perild upon the land … God yet may use [them as] an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation. (*The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1599-1600), STC (2nd ed.)/12626a, 144)

In short, a man who was tempted to travel to America by the prospect of riches could not be furthering God's cause, and therefore could not be under divine protection.[61] Hayes began the narrative with this claim, and thus estab-

[60] *Principal Navigations* (1600), 145.

[61] Philip Edwards, 'Edward Hayes Explains Away Sir Humphrey Gilbert', *Renaissance Studies*, 6.3–4 (1992), 270–86.

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lished from the start his implicit belief that Gilbert, since he died, could not have been under God's protection. This interpretation is buried within Hayes's typically – as Philip Edwards termed them, delphic sentences – and as such is easy to miss if one is reading the text looking to admire its protagonist. Within Hayes's framework, however, Gilbert's voyage was doomed from the beginning as his motivations were corrupt. Though Hakluyt and Gilbert were friends, Hakluyt also included Richard Clarke's narrative detailing the wreck of the *Delight*, which placed substantial blame on Gilbert. Hakluyt's choice of material seems to suggest that he agreed with Hayes in considering Gilbert's death a sign that his motivations were corrupt, and the voyage therefore not divinely supported. At the very least, he made no critique of this view: elsewhere in the work he noted in the margin referring to Christopher Columbus that 'God doth not alwayes begin his greatest works by the greatest persons', indicating an ongoing thought process as to the 'fitness' to begin such ventures.[62] This ongoing deliberation on the nature of divine will and ordination, with the fresh context of the sermon, can now be seen as a thread running through all of Hakluyt's work from his earliest days as a preacher, bringing his critique of Gilbert into stronger light. As Alexandra Walsham's study of early modern perceptions of providence has shown, Calvinist theology 'greatly enhanced awareness of God's providence' by 'enhancing the doctrine of a vigilant and interventionist deity'.[63] Considering the lecture notes demonstrate Hakluyt's agreement with certain principles of Calvinist theology, this thread may partly be a result of his religious leanings.

Another key point in *Principal Navigations* where Hakluyt's religious and national concerns converge is his reporting of the Spanish Armada in the second edition. While the Armada may technically be a 'voyage … of the English nation' it was in many other ways an anomaly. Hakluyt deliberately chose not to include such short-range trips within his work, but appears to have made an exception for the Armada, likely owing to the account's nationalistic potential. The account of 'the miraculous victory atchieved by the *English* Fleete' is placed within a global context, with the title describing 'the wofull and miserable successe of the said *Armada* afterward, upon the coasts of *Norway*, of the *Scottish* Westerne Isles, of *Ireland*, of *Spaine*, of *France*, and of *England*'.[64] The following account, Hakluyt informed the reader, was 'recorded in Latin by Emanuel van Meteran in the 15th booke of his history of the low countreys'. This textual history represented another connection between Hakluyt and the extended Van Meteren/Ortelius/Rogers family which may have contributed to the preservation of the lecture and sermon notes. It also served to place this English history within a global context, positioning the defeat of the Armada and their 'miraculous victory' as a spiritual triumph celebrated by the world.

[62] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1600), 167.
[63] Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 142, 225.
[64] *Ibid.*, 591.

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Van Meteren's account, though apparently written in Latin, was included in Hakluyt's text solely in translation rather than being included in both languages as certain other narratives were. It is clear to see from its opening lines why it would have appealed to Hakluyt. Van Meteren describes 'the strange and wonderfull events of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene so long time foretold by ancient prophesies', of which the defeat of the Armada was the 'most notable'. It resulted from the long held enmity of the '*Spanish* king' and the 'Pope', with their aim of 'reduc[ing] [England] unto his catholique Religion' after their previous attempt to 'enforce[] [England] to the Pope's obedience' had failed. The use of 'reduce' is particularly notable here, considering Hakluyt's previous use of the word in his description of successful evangelisation as 'reducinge [souls] from darkenes to lighte'.[65] As explored by David Harris Sacks, 'reducinge' referred to a restoration of a previous state, and these two uses reflect different aspects of that transformation: the positive evangelical one, the cyclical 'return to lost truth', and the negative heretical one, the move from Protestant light to Catholic darkness. This account, then, represents these disparate influences being brought together. It is a Latin text brought into the vernacular describing a moment of English history given a global context. Its use of religious language such as 'reducing' recalls Hakluyt's previous religious writings to present this conflict as a religiously necessary one, while its references to 'ancient prophesies' calls to mind Hayes' perception of English evangelism as the force which, once it reached the West, would lead to the end of the world.

As these examples demonstrate, Hakluyt's theological knowledge and vocation framed his geographic writing from the beginning of his career to its end. One of the earliest records of his extensive reading comes from the Clothworkers in September 1581, when they recorded loaning him eleven 'books of Saint Augustine's Works … for the furtherance of his study'. Hakluyt may even have consulted these volumes of Augustine to write his lecture, which noted that the Article was '[not] mencioned of in thycene creeds neyther Augustine'. Six years later, he drew on this reading in the dedication to Walter Ralegh included in his translation of Pietro Martire's *De Orbe Nouo decades* (1587). There, he wrote that the translation 'open[s] to us the till now secret shores and hidden straits of China; unfasten[s] the doors that have been closed … since the beginning of the world by the law of history'.[66] As David Boruchoff writes, by the 'law of history' here, Hakluyt was referring to the Augustinian scheme of providential history, and in particular the ending of the secular age.[67] His theological reading clearly played a significant part in how he interpreted his geographic reading.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] Taylor, 2: 361.

[67] David Boruchoff, 'The Politics of Providence: History and Empire in the Writings of Pietro Martire, Richard Eden, and Richard Hakluyt', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554–1604*, ed. by Anne J. Cruz (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 104–8; Boruchoff, 'Piety, Patriotism, and Empire', 824.

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Eighteen years later, in his dedication to the Virginia Company in *Virginia Richly Valued* (1609), a test he translated from Portuguese, he wrote of his hope that '[our] painfull Preachers shall be reverenced and cherished … the reputation of the Christians among the Salvages preserved, our most holy faith exalted, all Paganisme and Idolatrie by little and little utterly extinguished'. He ended by 'beseeching the Almightie to blesse this good work in your hands to the honour and glorie of his most holy name' and referring to himself as 'one publikely and anciently devoted to Gods service'.[68] As the fresh context of the lecture and sermon notes and this reassessment show, this was no exaggeration.

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The analysis of Rogers's manuscript notes offered in this article sheds new light on both Hakluyt's own religious beliefs and on the religious contexts and concerns of Hakluyt's geographic work. The lecture demonstrates his engagement with continental theologians, as well as evidencing his own theological positions and offering a counter to the critical assumption that he was a conformist Anglican. The sermon similarly offers fresh context, showing the importance of vocation to Hakluyt and his belief that, as a minister, he was particularly privileged to interpret divine will. Elements from both would be vital to the creation of his geographic texts, with the fresh context of his early religious works shedding new light on these concerns that ran throughout his work. For Hakluyt, these fields – the geographic and the religious – were inseparable.

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University of Oxford

[68] Anonymous, *Virginia richly valued*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (London, 1609), STC (2nd ed.)/22938, sig. A4v.

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