

Richard Hakluyt's Oxford Lectures

Anthony Payne

Introduction

Richard Hakluyt, famous later for his great collection of voyages, the *Principal Navigations*,¹ taught and lectured at Oxford in the late 1570s and early 1580s.² The most substantial record of this aspect of Hakluyt's early career is his 'Analysis' of the *Politics* of Aristotle, extant in two manuscripts,³ which has been judged as 'Perhaps the most significant of all the manuscript materials relating to Aristotle coming from Oxford for the

¹ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, deputies to Christopher Barker, 1589); second edition, enlarged, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 3 vols (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1598–1600).

² For the university in the sixteenth century, see Andrew Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, 4 pts (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1887–89); Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1924); James McConica, ed., *The Collegiate University*, vol. 3 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). For wider background, see L. W. B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-industrial Britain 1500–1700* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970); Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, vol. 2 of *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. Walter Rüegg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For Hakluyt's college, Christ Church, in the sixteenth century, see Judith Curthoys, *The Cardinal's College: Christ Church, Chapter and Verse* (London: Profile, 2012), pp. 4–21, 40–82; Henry L. Thompson, *Christ Church* (London: F. E. Robinson, 1900), pp. 1–45. Hakluyt's sometime affiliation to 'Christ-Church in Oxford' is given on the title-pages of both editions of the *Principal Navigations*.

³ British Library Royal MS 12 G. XIII ('Analysis, seu resolutio perpetua in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis', dedication dated 1583) and Sloane MS 1982 ('Analysis sive resolutio methodica in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis. Authore Richardo Hackluito Oxoniense. 1588'). The royal manuscript was presented by Hakluyt to Queen Elizabeth I at an audience in October 1584. For detailed discussions, see Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), pp. 1–33; Anthony Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography 1580–88' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2019), chapter 3; Lawrence V. Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 73–83.

period'.⁴ Going back to the thirteenth century,⁵ the study of Aristotle at Oxford remained central to the university's teaching programme, and was indeed reinvigorated during the final quarter of the sixteenth century,⁶ actively supported by the court among various measures to improve standards at the university.⁷ The *Politics* was among the prescribed texts in the university's statutes and by the 1580s it appears to have become even more firmly embedded in the course of studies.⁸ Hakluyt's 'Analysis', composed within the regular parameters of the university's curriculum and very much a product of Oxford's institutional pedagogical environment, was little noticed by historians until the late twentieth century, when a reappraisal of early modern Aristotelianism and a better understanding of intellectual life at the Tudor universities developed.⁹ By contrast

⁴ Charles B. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), pp. 57–8 (n.164). See also David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 73.

⁵ J. I. Catto, ed., *The Early Oxford Schools*, vol. 1 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 460–1.

⁶ McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 172, 174, 177–9, 195, 427, 705–8, 721; James McConica, 'Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford', *English Historical Review*, vol. 94, no. 371 (April 1979), pp. 291–317; Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England*, pp. 26–9, 41–3, 52–7. For the wider context, see Luca Bianchi, 'Continuity and Change in the Aristotelian Tradition', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 49–71; Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for Oberlin College, 1983); Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler and Jill Kray, eds, *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). For discussions of Giordano Bruno at Oxford in 1583, his hostile reception there, and his jibes against the supposedly pedantic, grammarian academic regime of the university, see Mordechai Feingold, 'Giordano Bruno in England, Revisited', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 67, no. 3 (September 2004), pp. 329–46; Hilary Gatti, *Essays on Giordano Bruno* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 17–39 ('Between Magic and Magnetism: Bruno's Cosmology at Oxford'). For the possibility that Hakluyt met Bruno at this time, see E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), p. 30.

⁷ One of the provisions of the reforming statute of 1584, introduced after the Queen had complained to Oxford's chancellor, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, about laxness at the university, was to tighten up instruction in Aristotle who, it was claimed, had become 'read very unprofitably' under the old statutes. Strickland Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 431. The chancellor was effectively a royal nominee. For this, Leicester's chancellorship (1564–88), and the relationship between the Elizabethan state and the university, see McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 397–440. For Leicester and Christ Church, see Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, pp. 73–4.

⁸ Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, pp. xcii (n.1), xciv–xcvi, 33, 235, 344, 358, 390; Jonathan Woolfson, 'Between Bruni and Hobbes: Aristotle's *Politics* in Tudor Intellectual Culture', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 198–200. For the encouragement of the study of Aristotle's *Politics* by Lord Burghley (William Cecil) and other privy councillors, and Hakluyt's part in this development at Oxford, see Noah Dauber, *State and Commonwealth: The Theory of the State in Early Modern England, 1549–1640* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 114–15, 119. Apart from Leicester, Burghley's was the greatest influence from court in the affairs of the university. McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, p. 435.

⁹ Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 74 (n.4), refers especially to the work of James McConica and Charles Schmitt in this respect.

Hakluyt's innovative geographical lectures at Oxford have long attracted much attention despite their scant contemporary documentation. These lectures are the primary focus of this essay, which attempts to clarify their nature and dispel confusion in existing references about their context, especially in relation to the traditional university and the newer collegiate means of instruction at Oxford in Hakluyt's time.

Hakluyt at Oxford

Hakluyt was elected as a Queen's Scholar at Westminster School in 1564 and to Christ Church, Oxford, as a Westminster Student in 1570.¹⁰ Westminster School had been refounded by Queen Elizabeth I in 1560, while the creation of Westminster Studentships for Queen's Scholars at Christ Church (founded by her father, Henry VIII, in 1546) had been at the Queen's behest in 1561;¹¹ this indirect royal fostering of his education was indicated by Hakluyt in the dedication of the presentation manuscript of the 'Analysis' to the Queen, in which he also referred to Christ Church as her college in Oxford.¹² Although the archives at Christ Church lack the list of elections for 1570, there is no reason to doubt, and no documentation to the contrary, that Hakluyt was nominated for a Studentship at Christ Church in the summer of 1570, came up that year, and was formally elected as a Student in December; the battels book for 1570/1 shows he was certainly paying his battels

¹⁰ G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminster: A Biographical List of All Those Who Are Known to Have Been Educated at Westminster School from the Earliest Times to 1927*, vol. 1 (London: Chiswick Press, 1927), p. 411; Joseph Welch, *The List of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, Admitted on that Foundation since 1663; and of Such as Have Been Thence Elected to Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, from the Foundation by Queen Elizabeth, 1561, to the Present Time*, new edition (London: G. W. Ginger, 1852), p. 48. For Hakluyt at Westminster, see also D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), pp. 265–6.

¹¹ Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, pp. 40–1; 71–2; John Field, *The King's Nurseries: The Story of Westminster School* (London: James & James, 1987), pp. 21–3; Thompson, *Christ Church*, pp. 11, 25–6. There was a corresponding assignment of Queen's Scholars to Trinity College, Cambridge, also founded by Henry VIII in 1546. For an extensive account of the school in Elizabeth's reign, see John Sargeant, *Annals of Westminster School* (London: Methuen, 1898), pp. 9–62.

¹² 'Quod ipsum quoniam a vestra Maiestate quodammodo profectum esse videtur, (cum et olim in Collegio Westmonasteriensi, et postea in florentissima æde Christi Oxoniæ per multos iam annos alumnus vester fuerim . . .', 'in Collegio vestro ædis Christi Oxoniæ'. British Library Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 2^r. A modern translation of the complete dedication is given below, item B in the Documentary Appendix. As visitor of the college, the Queen had wide powers if she chose to issue injunctions and otherwise intervene in its affairs. McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, p. 404.

bill as a Student by the second week of January 1571.¹³ (Before 1858 a Student of Christ Church, now the equivalent of a fellow, was a stipendiary member of its academic establishment, whether graduate or undergraduate.)¹⁴

Hakluyt took his BA in 1574 and proceeded to MA in 1577.¹⁵ He was supported by an exhibition from the Skinners' Company from 1573 to 1575,¹⁶ as well as a disbursement from the executors of Robert Nowell in 1575.¹⁷ In August 1577 the Clothworkers' Company, which had previously maintained scholars in divinity at Oxford, awarded Hakluyt an exhibition (with the proviso that he continue to study divinity), making its first payment to him in 1578, and, at the request of the Lord Treasurer, Lord Burghley (William Cecil), it carried on with its remittances after Hakluyt left for France in 1583 as chaplain to the ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford, and until he finally vacated his Studentship at Christ Church in 1586.¹⁸ At some point, probably in the second half of 1580, Hakluyt was

¹³ With thanks to Judith Curthoys, Christ Church Archivist, for this information and help with other points, as well as for verifying some of the archival references to Hakluyt at Christ Church given in Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 266–8, 272–4, 276, 278, 280–1, 289–90. For the college's sixteenth-century establishment, see Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, pp. 43–7; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 35–40; Thompson, *Christ Church*, pp. 34–6.

¹⁴ Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, p. 45.

¹⁵ Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, pt 3, *Degrees*, p. 39; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714: Their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of Birth, with a Record of Their Degrees. Being the Matriculation Register of the University, Alphabetically Arranged, Revised, and Annotated*, vol. 2 (Oxford: James Parker, 1891), p. 627; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 266–7.

¹⁶ Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 266–7, citing John Lambert, ed., *Records of the Skinners of London: Edward I to James I* (London: The Worshipful Company of Skinners, 1933), pp. 373–5. Hakluyt's father was a Skinner.

¹⁷ Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Towneley Hall MSS. The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell of Reade Hall, Lancashire: Brother of Dean Alexander Nowell. 1568–1580. Edited from the Original MSS. at Towneley Hall, Lancashire* (Manchester: Charles E. Simms for private circulation, 1877), pp. xxii–xxiii, 226–9; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Part I. Report and Appendix* (London: HMSO, 1874), pp. 407, 411–12, 613–4; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 267. Two payments are recorded, one, in May 1575, to Hakluyt Bachelor of Arts, the second to plain Hakluyt in June 1575. The first would be to Richard, the second would be to Oliver Hakluyt, one of Richard's younger brothers, elected as a Westminster Student to Christ Church in 1573 (BA 1577, MA 1580, later Bachelor of Medicine). For Oliver Hakluyt, see Barker & Stenning, *Record of Old Westminsters*, vol. 1, p. 411; George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, second edition (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961), pp. 243–4. The brothers had previously benefited from Nowell's estate, which had paid for their gowns at Westminster. Grosart, ed., *Towneley Hall MSS*, p. 30 (itemised to 'hackluyte schollers [plural] of Westm. schole'). For Robert Nowell (d. 1569) and his will, see also Grosart, ed., *Towneley Hall MSS*, pp. xxiv–xxvi, xxxv–xxxviii, xlv–lii; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 724–5. Other scholars to receive benefactions from Nowell's estate were Richard Hooker (at Oxford) and Lancelot Andrewes and Edmund Spenser (at Cambridge).

¹⁸ Thomas Girtin, 'Mr. Hakluyt, Scholar at Oxford', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 119, no. 2 (June 1953), pp. 208–12; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 268–9, 280, 292–3; G. D. Ramsay, 'Clothworkers, Merchants Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *English Historical Review*, vol. 92, no. 364 (July 1977), pp.

ordained,¹⁹ because in December 1580 he was admitted as one of the twenty Theologi, who were the most senior of the Students of Christ Church and intended to be in priest's orders.²⁰ He was one of the two censors (college officers responsible for supervising studies) elected at Christ Church on 21 December 1582,²¹ which, as Hakluyt told the Queen, required him to lecture on Aristotle's *Politics* and to preside over related disputations.²² It is clear from this statement that the teaching responsibilities Hakluyt was referring to in his dedication were within Christ Church, linked directly to his official position at the college since 1582, and were not under the auspices of the university. Although there is no record of when he

514–20. The earliest Clothworkers' exhibition known to Ramsay was to John Field, a Christ Church BA, in 1566. Thomas Girtin, *The Golden Ram: A Narrative History of the Clothworkers' Company, 1528–1958* (London: The Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, 1958), p. 53, states that the company had set aside funds to support a university scholar in divinity since 1551, but does not name any beneficiaries prior to Hakluyt and his immediate predecessor William Wilson, fellow of Merton.

¹⁹ Girtin, 'Mr. Hakluyt, Scholar at Oxford', p. 209, thought Hakluyt must have been ordained by 1 August 1580, because he preached to the Clothworkers in London on that date, the company's election day, quoting (without giving a proper citation) from the Clothworkers' records as evidence: '*Item: paid to Mr. Hakluyt our Scholar for charges of coming from Oxford and going back again to make a sermon for the Company on the Election Day . . . 13.4*'. The exact citation for this source is Clothworkers' Company Archive, CL/D/5/3, Quarter and Renter Wardens' Accounts (1578–1598), Accounts of Roger Willcocks, Quarter Warden, midsummer [August] 1580–midsummer [August] 1581, f. 7^r. It is, however, undated and might refer to election day August 1581. With thanks to Jessica Collins, Head of Collections and Archives, The Clothworkers' Company, for this information. (Girtin, *Golden Ram*, does not repeat this quotation or that Hakluyt preached on 1 August 1580, but says, p. 55, he preached on election day 1581, which evidently confused Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 273.) More clearly recorded is Hakluyt's sermon to the Clothworkers on Lady Day, 25 March 1581. Girtin, *Golden Ram*, p. 55; Girtin, 'Mr. Hakluyt, Scholar at Oxford', p. 210; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 273.

²⁰ Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, 272. For the Theologi, and the Philosophi and Discipuli, the lower ranking Students of Christ Church, see Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, pp. 45–6; Thompson, *Christ Church*, pp. 12, 35, 273–6. There were a few members, known as 'faculty Students', intending to graduate in law or medicine who were not obliged to enter holy orders.

²¹ Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 276. The disbursement books in the college archives record (xii.b.25, f. 75^v) that Hakluyt was the Censor of Natural Philosophy, and the other was Thomas Weltden (or Weldon), the Censor of Moral Philosophy. Thanks to Judith Curthoys for this information. For Weltden, a Student of Christ Church 1577–83, see Andrew Hegarty, *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford 1555–1660* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 2011), p. 467. For the censors, see McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 36–7, 39–41; Thompson, *Christ Church*, p. 36.

²² 'id est, ut Politicorum Aristotelis libros prælectionibus meis illustrarem, et disputationes politicas censura et iudicio meo dirimerem'. British Library Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 2^r. For disputations, an integral part of the Oxford curriculum and academic life, and the sort of questions debated, see Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, pt 1, *Introductions*, pp. 21–7, 66–7, 73–6, 170–2; Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, p. 119; Lawrence D. Green, ed., *John Rainolds's Oxford Lectures on Aristotle's Rhetoric* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), pp. 27–8; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 168–71, 181–3, 190–3, 709–10; Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', pp. 76–7. More generally, see also Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, pp. 88–93; Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 58–65.

was appointed as a tutor,²³ Hakluyt would (presumably) have been teaching within Christ Church prior to becoming a censor.²⁴ In the university context, he could have been lecturing during his time as a regent master, that is for a period of about two years after achieving his MA.²⁵

Hakluyt and Geographical Studies at Oxford

In 1589, in dedicating the *Principall Navigations* to Sir Francis Walsingham, Hakluyt referred to his ‘publike lectures’ on ‘Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles’ at Oxford, which he said were well received, ‘to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory’.²⁶ The references to these lectures being ‘public’, that is open to all members of the university,²⁷ and conducted in the ‘schools’, that is on university premises,²⁸ indicates they took place under the auspices of the university, not Hakluyt’s college.²⁹ Under the statutes of the

²³ Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 267. For the tutorial system as it was developing in early modern Oxford, see Brockliss, *University of Oxford*, pp. 138, 249–52.

²⁴ For collegiate instruction, see Brockliss, *University of Oxford*, pp. 147, 240–1; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 167–8, 693. Hakluyt is named as a possible tutor for Gabriel Bowman, a Clothworkers’ exhibitor at Magdalen, in the company’s records for May 1580. Girtin, ‘Mr. Hakluyt, Scholar at Oxford’, p. 209; Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 272. This did not apparently materialise, but was presumably considered as a private arrangement, unrelated to Hakluyt’s position at Christ Church.

²⁵ Having obtained his MA, the new ‘regent master’ was traditionally expected to remain at the university for about two years giving lectures to the arts students and performing other university duties, although by the Elizabethan period the system was changing and by no means all masters gave lectures, only those deputed to do so. University regulations required resident MAs on finishing their regency to enter one of the higher faculties (theology, law or medicine). For these points and the regency system generally, see Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, pt 1, *Introductions*, pp. 14, 27–9, 90–101, 107–10; Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, pp. 18–20, 101–2, 125; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 117–18, 163–5, 185–7, 197–8, 295–8, 305.

²⁶ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, *2^f. Besides this reference, Hakluyt gave Walsingham a brief account of his education and his introduction to geographical studies, quoted in full below, item A in the Documentary Appendix. For Walsingham and Oxford, see McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 436–7.

²⁷ ‘Public’ in the sense, ‘With reference to the older British universities: belonging to, authorized by, or acting for the university as a whole (as opposed to a constituent college or an individual member); open or common to all members of a university’. *Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021) (cited hereafter as *OED*).

²⁸ ‘Schools’ as in the sense, ‘In certain of the older universities: a building containing rooms used originally for lectures in the various faculties, and later chiefly for the disputations and exercises undertaken to obtain degrees, and for meetings of (part of) the academic body; *now historical*’. *OED*.

²⁹ Lectures given in colleges might well but not necessarily be open to all members of the university (see Brockliss, *University of Oxford*, pp. 240–1), but Hakluyt’s reference to the ‘common schooles’ cannot mean his college. Despite Hakluyt’s unambiguous statement, J. N. L. Baker, *The History of Geography: Papers by J. N. L. Baker* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), p. 120 (in ‘The History of Geography at Oxford’, pp. 119–

university, bachelors were expected to deliver lectures for the benefit of undergraduates in arts, but these tended to be of the ‘cursory’ type, centred on a brief exposition of a text with minimum commentary.³⁰ Rather than as a bachelor (1574–77), it is more generally thought that Hakluyt gave these public lectures sometime during 1577–79, when a regent master.³¹ If so, they would have been part of the ‘ordinary’ lectures on the obligatory set texts in the university’s arts course,³² but this requirement would not necessarily have precluded innovative consideration of recent developments in learning, as can be seen in the lectures given (on astronomy) by Henry Savile as a regent master after achieving his MA in 1570, which, for example, discussed Copernicus besides standard classical authorities such as Ptolemy.³³ There is little documentation for the regent masters’ lectures in general, and Savile’s ‘ordinaries’ are exceptional not only because of Savile’s remarkable intellectual range but also for the survival of his manuscript lecture notes in the Bodleian,³⁴ yet they do ‘demonstrate the often neglected fact that new wine can be poured into old bottles’, and that it need not be assumed that other lecturers did not attempt up-to-date treatment of their

29), thought it probable that the lectures were given to members of Christ Church. Similarly Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580–1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 30, 59, and Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematicians’ Apprenticeship: Science, Universities and Society in England, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 39, both state the lectures were in Christ Church. De Ridder-Symoens, ed., *Universities in Early Modern Europe*, p. 21, says Hakluyt ‘taught geography at Christ Church’.

³⁰ Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, pt 1, *Introductions*, pp. 76–9; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 188–90. In medieval universities, a cursory lecture was a ‘lecture of a less formal and exhaustive character delivered, especially by bachelors, as additional to the “ordinary” lectures of the authorized teachers in a faculty, and at hours not reserved for these prescribed lectures’. *OED*.

³¹ Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, pp. 234–5; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, p. 716; Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 60; William Poole, ‘Richard Hakluyt: From Oxford to the Moon’, in *Hakluyt & Oxford*, ed. Payne, p. 57; John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 59–60.

³² Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, pt 1, *Introductions*, pp. 95–7; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, p. 185. An ‘ordinary’ was a ‘lecture read at regular or stated times’. *OED*.

³³ See Feingold, *Mathematicians’ Apprenticeship*, p. 47; Robert Goulding, *Defending Hypatia: Ramus, Savile, and the Renaissance Rediscovery of Mathematical History* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), pp. 75–116, 187–9; Robert Goulding, ‘Testimonia humanitatis: The Early Lectures of Sir Henry Savile’, in *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College: Studies in the Intellectual History of London in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 125–45. For Savile, see also *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021) (cited hereafter as *ODNB*). His copy of the first volume of the *Principal Navigations* (1598) is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Savile X 12).

³⁴ Goulding, ‘Testimonia humanitatis’, pp. 126–8. Goulding, *Defending Hypatia*, p. 75, remarks that Savile’s lectures were ‘“ordinary” because they were structured around the orderly reading of a text, but in every other respect quite out of the ordinary’.

chosen subject within the framework of the university's curriculum.³⁵ Given the apparent disinclination of many to lecture, as well as the trend towards delegating the duty of lecturing to selected regent masters and exempting the others,³⁶ it could also be suggested that some at least of those who did lecture might have been among the more genuinely interested and motivated masters. Savile, for example, spoke of his passionate love for geometry, of how his 'soul was flooded with intense pleasure' and how he sought 'nothing else in the way of utility or diversion' when he experienced a sudden insight into the beauty and harmony of theoretical mathematics,³⁷ while Hakluyt's enthusiasm is readily apparent from the often quoted account he gave in 1589 of his boyhood visit to his cousin's chambers in the Middle Temple, where he saw 'lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an Universall Mappe',³⁸ and underwent what has been aptly described as 'a mystical conversion to the science of geography'.³⁹

Hakluyt's 'publicke lectures' would be unknown today were it not for his brief mention of them in the *Principall Navigations* in 1589 and he does not name them by their subject. They are often loosely classified as being on geography,⁴⁰ and, although it should

³⁵ Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, p. 48. See also Francis R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), pp. 11–13.

³⁶ Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, pt 1, *Introductions*, p. 95; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 185–6.

³⁷ Goulding, 'Testimonia humanitatis', p. 129.

³⁸ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, *2^r.

³⁹ Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion 1558–1625* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp. 34–5.

⁴⁰ e.g., Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, p. 30; G. R. Crone, 'Richard Hakluyt, Geographer', in Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 9; Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England*, pp. 11 (n.9), 196; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, p. 716. John Fauvel and Robert Goulding, 'Renaissance Oxford', in *Oxford Figures: Eight Centuries of the Mathematical Sciences*, second edition, ed. John Fauvel, Raymond Flood and Robin Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 69, call them 'lectures on cosmography and geography'. Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, p. 39, says 'cosmographical lectures'. Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution Revisited* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 271, also says the subject Hakluyt lectured on was cosmography. Although closely related (and sometimes an almost interchangeable term), cosmography, an older field of study than geography, concerned itself with the globe and its relationship with the heavens as a whole, whereas geography focused on the earth itself. See Jim Bennett, 'Instruments and Practical Mathematics in the Commonwealth of Richard Hakluyt,' in *Hakluyt & Oxford*, ed. Payne, pp. 37–40; Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 18, 116, 132. For a contemporary definition of each term, see John Dee, 'Mathematicall Præface', in *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara. Faithfully (Now First) Translated into the English Tongue*, by H. Billingsley (London: John Day, 1570), a4^r (geography), b3^r (cosmography).

be remembered that geography was not yet a distinct, formal discipline at Oxford,⁴¹ it was a generally recognised field of study. As Richard Willes explained in 1577:

Who but Geographers doe teach us what partes of the earth be cold, warme, or temperate? Of whom doe we learne howe to divyde the world into partes, the partes into provinces, the provinces into shyres? of Geographers. unto whom have wee to make recourse for Mappes, Globes, tables, and Cardes, wherein the dyvers countreys of the worlde are set downe? unto Geographers. Set Geographie asyde, you shal neyther be able to get intelligences of the situation and strength of any citie, nor of the limites and boundes of any countrey, nor of the rule and governement of any kingdome, nor be able wel to travayle out of your owne doores. wil you see what wise and experte traveylers, skilful in geometry and Astronomy, (for that is to bee a Geographer in deede) be able to doe?⁴²

Willes went on to say he knew of ‘no place, no preferment, no publike chayre, no ordinarie lecture, no commune stipende, no special reward due unto the studentes in Geography . . . in this realme, where yt never more florished’.⁴³ But if there were no official university lecturers in geography at Oxford, Willes’s reference to geometry and astronomy points to the established disciplines under which it might in practice be taught, these being two of the seven liberal arts in the traditional division of knowledge still observed at Oxford (it

⁴¹ Baker, *History of Geography*, p. 119. See also D. I. Scargill, ‘The RGS and the Foundations of Geography at Oxford’, *Geographical Journal*, vol. 142, no. 3 (November 1976), pp. 438–61. A readership and a school were established in 1887 and 1899 respectively, and finally a chair in geography in 1932.

⁴² Richard Willes, *The History of Travayle* (London: Richard Jugge, 1577), (.).3^v–4^r (dedication to Bridget, countess of Bedford). For Willes as a geographer, see A. D. S. Fowler, ed., *De re poetica by Richard Wills* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Luttrell Society, 1958), pp. 16–20; E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485–1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), pp. 38–41. In an autobiographical note of 1567 Willes wrote that he had attended Winchester school and New College, Oxford, and that in his leisure moments he had studied the maps of Johannes Honter and Sebastian Münster (this document, printed by Fowler, ed., *De re poetica*, p. 144, was drawn up by Willes for his superiors in the Society of Jesus, which he had entered in 1565 and later left); for Honter’s and Münster’s maps, see Robert W. Karrow Jr. *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570 Based on Leo Bagrow’s A. Ortelii catalogus cartographorum* (Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press for the Newberry Library, 1993), pp. 302–15, 410–34. Willes held MAs from Mainz, Oxford and (in 1578) Cambridge, and had taught at Perugia as professor of rhetoric. See also *ODNB*.

⁴³ Willes, *History of Travayle*, 80^v.

was more or less abandoned elsewhere by the 1570s).⁴⁴ In this context the type of geography Hakluyt was lecturing on is that called ‘mathematical’, essentially a form of applied mathematics intended to explain maps, globes and other such instruments that would enable the measuring of the earth.⁴⁵

It would, therefore, have been possible for Hakluyt to accommodate his chosen subject without departing from the formal lecturing regime of the university. Hakluyt’s claim that he ‘was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed . . . instruments of this Art for demonstration’⁴⁶ has been qualified on the grounds that geography had been taught at Oxford at a much earlier date, with, for example, the appointment by Magdalen of Baldwin Norton as a (college) lecturer in geography in 1540–41,⁴⁷ and that Hakluyt was certainly not the only Oxonian interested in such matters in the 1570s.⁴⁸ Yet the instances given are of individual enthusiasts or of college tuition, not, as Hakluyt’s lectures were, before the university;⁴⁹ it might also be added that Hakluyt says he was the first to produce instruments for practical demonstrations in his lectures, not that he was the first to lecture in geography (a word which he does not in fact use in referring to his lectures). The growth and importance of teaching, of both

⁴⁴ McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 172–4. See also Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 27–34. The liberal arts were grammar, rhetoric and logic (the trivium), and geometry, arithmetic, music and astronomy (the quadrivium). ‘Mathematics’ was originally the collective term for ‘geometry, arithmetic, and certain physical sciences involving geometrical reasoning, such as astronomy’; specifically ‘the disciplines of the quadrivium collectively’. *OED*. For music as one of the mathematical arts, see McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 201–2.

⁴⁵ Mathematical geography (not a sixteenth-century term) is discussed at length by Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 15, 90–128. Cormack identifies two other branches of geographical study in this period, descriptive geography and chorography (or local history), discussed by her at pp. 129–62 and 163–202 respectively. The earliest use of the compound ‘mathematical geography’ recorded by *OED* is 1740. For maps based on geometrical projections as ‘a species of mathematical instrument’, see Bennett, ‘Instruments and Practical Mathematics in the Commonwealth of Richard Hakluyt’, p. 42: ‘A Mercator chart, for example – an example very relevant to Hakluyt – is used in the manner of a mathematical instrument, with routines involving rule and compass (we would say “dividers”). A map or chart epitomised cosmographical and geographical information systematically and rigorously, using a particular projection, and navigational information was extracted from it through mathematical procedures’.

⁴⁶ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, *2^r.

⁴⁷ Baker, *History of Geography*, pp. 15, 120. For Norton, see William Dunn Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford from the Foundation of the College New Series Vol. II Fellows; 1522–75* (London: Henry Frowde, 1897), pp. 68–9. His lectureship does not appear to have been renewed after 1541.

⁴⁸ Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, pp. 234–6. Curtis wonders whether Hakluyt’s ‘vanity’ is partly responsible for distracting attention from this wider milieu (p. 234).

⁴⁹ Crone, ‘Richard Hakluyt, Geographer’, p. 9, somewhat ducks the issue to suggest, ‘Perhaps they were an informal and personal venture, in an attempt to bring geographical teaching outside the walls of the colleges’.

traditional and new studies, within the colleges is a prominent development in university life in sixteenth-century Oxford,⁵⁰ and there is no reason why Hakluyt might not have also given intramural lectures on or otherwise taught geography, officially or privately,⁵¹ during his time at Christ Church, but it should be stressed there is no documentary evidence for this and Hakluyt was not referring to such collegiate activities in the *Principall Navigations*.

Hakluyt's Reputation

One of the earliest appreciations of Hakluyt at Christ Church, is by William Gager, another Westminster Student (1574), in a series of Latin verses addressed to various members of the college composed in 1583, in which Hakluyt is lauded for his contemplation of new lands in the Indies and his instruction on distant passages to Cathay.⁵² Such geographical expertise was to be Hakluyt's enduring reputation, and it was for this, in particular his contribution to voyage literature and naval or maritime history, above all for the *Principal Navigations*, that he came to be remembered at Christ Church (as elsewhere).⁵³ An instance of this typical association is Christ Church's annual gaudy in May 1856, when the dean, Henry George Liddell, chose Hakluyt as the subject of the oration to commemorate an eminent old member to be given that year by the recently appointed lecturer in mathematics at Christ Church, Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll). Dodgson began,

Foremost in the ranks of those who have aided the progress of science and civilisation by their writings, and have earned for themselves an imperishable

⁵⁰ Cormack, *Charting and Empire*, pp. 29–31; Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, pp. 101–8, 120; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 64–8, 188, 198–9, 730–1.

⁵¹ For private instruction, see Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 21–3; Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, pp. 83–4.

⁵² 'Tu terras, Haklete, novas meditaris, et Indos, | Cataiaequae vias per freta longa doces', quoted by Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. viii. Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, p. 280. These manuscript verses are in British Library Add. MS 22583, printed in William Gager, *The Complete Works*, ed. and trans. Dana F. Sutton, vol. 3 (New York: Garland, 1994). C. F. Tucker Brooke, 'The Life and Times of William Gager (1555–1622)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 95, no. 4 (August 1951), pp. 405–27, is informative on life and the procedures of academia generally during the final quarter of the sixteenth century at Christ Church (where Gager remained until the 1590s). For Gager, see also *ODNB*.

⁵³ A broad survey of Hakluyt's reputation is given in Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 133–52.

name in the records of History, stand original writers, inventors, and projectors: second to these, and second only so far as their genius is less brilliant, and their names less widely known, are those who have recorded the advance of those before them, who have mapped out the landmarks of the fields of Science already in possession, and from which future investigators are to begin their labours.

It is among this latter class that the name of Richard Hakluyt, sometime Student of Ch: Ch: deserves an honourable mention: the few facts which history has recorded of him all bear testimony to the care and unremitting diligence with which he cultivated Science, and to the success with which his labours were crowned⁵⁴

Dodgson's address (which was of course intended as no more than an occasional piece) drew on 'the learned Anthony Wood'⁵⁵ and material found in the two editions of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*,⁵⁶ the book 'on which his claim to celebrity as a writer chiefly rests', and duly recorded that Hakluyt 'delivered public lectures on cosmography and its kindred sciences', being apparently 'the first lecturer in this subject',⁵⁷ but making no mention of

⁵⁴ C. L. Dodgson, 'Life of Richard Hakluyt' (manuscript), Christ Church, Lewis Carroll Collection, Carroll-MS 1, pp. 1–2. For the 'Life', see Roger Lancelyn Green, ed., *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll*, vol. 1 (London: Cassell, 1953), pp. 84, 86; 'Richard Hakluyt and Geography in Oxford 1550–1650', the Christ Church exhibition catalogue in *Hakluyt & Oxford*, ed. Payne, pp. 69–70. It was printed in *The Lewis Carroll Circular*, no. 2 (November 1974), pp. 22–8. Sidney Herbert Williams and Falconer Madan, *The Lewis Carroll Handbook: Being a New Version of a Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson*, rev. Roger Lancelyn Green and Denis Crutch (Folkestone: Dawson, 1979), pp. 11, 230.

⁵⁵ Dodgson, 'Life of Richard Hakluyt', p. 2. Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses. An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford*, new edition, with additions, by Philip Bliss, vol. 2 (London: F. C. & J. Rivington [and others], 1815), pp. 186–7. Although by no means extensive (nor always accurate) this edition provides a little more detail on Hakluyt than the original *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. 1 (London: Thomas Bennet, 1691), col. 350. Neither edition gives the 'Analysis' among Hakluyt's writings. Wood considered the *Principal Navigations* 'cannot but be an honour to the realm of England'.

⁵⁶ If Dodgson consulted the original 1589 *Principall Navigations* in the college library, then it would have been Robert Burton's, bequeathed to Christ Church in 1640, now Special Collections: f.1.34. Nicolas K. Kiessling, *The Library of Robert Burton* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1988), item 742 (p. 141). There is also a copy of the *Principal Navigations* (1599–1600) in the library (Special Collections: e.2.9), but its acquisition date is unclear. The Bodleian had obtained a set of the *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600) by 1605. *The First Printed Catalogue of the Bodleian Library 1605: A Facsimile [of] Catalogus librorum bibliothecæ publicæ quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleius eques auratus in academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 335.

⁵⁷ Dodgson, 'Life of Richard Hakluyt', pp. 3, 6. Dodgson was under the impression that Hakluyt gave these lectures as 'Professor of Naval History' and was somewhat hazy on other details of Hakluyt's life.

Hakluyt's time as a censor or of his lecturing on Aristotle in that capacity at Christ Church. In 1900 the college history similarly noted Hakluyt as a man of letters and the 'famous author of the "Collection of English Voyages . . . and Discoveries"'.⁵⁸ In 1960, the professional Christ Church historian Keith Feiling published a volume of urbane non-specialist biographical essays on various old members of the college, the first being on Hakluyt. This does refer to Hakluyt as censor and his Aristotelian lectures, but merely as part of the 'usual University routine' Hakluyt passed through on the way to his 'greater work'.⁵⁹ It is only since the 1980s that historians have begun to consider Hakluyt's academic career and his teaching of Aristotle at Oxford as of interest in their own right, not merely as a stepping stone to his later achievement,⁶⁰ some going further to explore the intellectual links between Hakluyt's Aristotelian scholarship and his subsequent writings.⁶¹ This deeper understanding of the institutional foundations of Hakluyt's enterprise is important, for if Hakluyt's interest in geography went back to his boyhood, it was Oxford that provided the formal structure of his adult learning, and, within the traditional syllabus of the university, enabled him to lecture on the latest developments in geographical science. In the latter context, it is of further interest, as this essay has suggested, that Hakluyt's platform in this instance was the public or university lecture, whereas the trend towards instruction within the colleges and the flexibility of the more informal collegiate system in encouraging novel fields of study is more usually emphasised by historians of sixteenth-century Oxford.⁶²

⁵⁸ Thompson, *Christ Church*, pp. 44, 222. The standard early twentieth-century history of the university, Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 49, notices Hakluyt, 'already distinguished for his love of voyages', as one of Oxford's 'group of brilliant young Elizabethans' comprising Sir Philip Sidney and others.

⁵⁹ Keith Feiling, *In Christ Church Hall* (London: Macmillan, 1960), pp. 3, 5.

⁶⁰ Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', published in 1981, is the first detailed examination of the 'Analysis' in terms of academic history. Earlier, Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, was aware of Royal MS 12 G. XIII, but had probably not seen it as he refers to it as 'an Oxford public lecture' (p. 87), whereas the text as it stands is not that of a lecture and, as already noted, it is clear from the dedication that the 'Analysis' related directly to Hakluyt's teaching duties within Christ Church, not to the wider university. Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, vol. 1, pp. 30, 203, gave only a passing reference to Hakluyt lecturing on the *Politics* and an extract from the dedication of the royal manuscript.

⁶¹ The discussion in Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 72–6, was the first extensive consideration of the 'Analysis' in the context of the history of ideas and Hakluyt's colonial thinking, notably as complementary to his manuscript *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584). Previously Wright, *Religion and Empire*, p. 49, believed erroneously that 'the document has perished', but surmised that Hakluyt would have 'invoked the authority of Aristotle' to support the colonial ideas proposed in the *Discourse of Western Planting*.

⁶² See n.50 above.

Documentary Appendix

Hakluyt's References to His Education and Lectures

(A) Hakluyt's account of his education, his introduction to geographical studies, and his lectures on the subject at Oxford, from the dedicatory epistle to Sir Francis Walsingham in the *Principall Navigations* (1589):⁶³

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM
Knight, Principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Chancellor
*of the Duchie of Lancaster, and one of her Maiesties
most honourable Privie Councill.*

RIGHT Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiesties scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. *Richard Hakluyt* my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you,⁶⁴ at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mapped: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more:⁶⁵ he pointed with

⁶³ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, *2^r.

⁶⁴ Hakluyt's parents died when he was young and he and his brothers came under the care of their cousin, Richard Hakluyt the elder (d. 1591), a lawyer at the Middle Temple and MP for Leominster (1558), much interested in the mercantile applications of geography and with close connections to those (Walsingham among them) involved in developing overseas trade. S. T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol. 2 (London: Secker & Warburg for the History of Parliament Trust, 1982), p. 273; Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, pp. 25–55, 233–41; Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, vol. 1, pp. ix–xi, 1–10, 13–16, 19–21. For a broad consideration of the elder Hakluyt's economic thought, see David Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People: Popular Politics and England's Long Social Revolution, 1066–1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 326–9, 339–40, 358–84.

⁶⁵ The 'universall Mapped' may have been the cordiform map of the world published in 1564 by Abraham Ortelius, to whom the elder Hakluyt sent advice c.1567–68 on the construction of a large world map. R. A. Skelton, 'Hakluyt's Maps', in Quinn, ed., *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 48–9; Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, vol. 1, pp. 77–83. Among the 'bookes of Cosmographie'

his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, 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.⁶⁶ 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, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.⁶⁷

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was removed to Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed,⁶⁸ I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian,

may have been that of Sebastian Münster, whose cosmography went through numerous editions, first appearing in German, *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544), and then in Latin, *Cosmographiae universalis* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550). Münster provided a Ptolemaic map of the world, showing the three parts (Africa, Asia, Europe) known of old, as well as a modern one expanded to show lands ('America' among them) unknown to the ancients. See also Bennett, 'Instruments and Practical Mathematics in the Commonwealth of Richard Hakluyt', pp. 40–3. For Münster's world maps and Ortelius's of 1564, see Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700* (London: Holland Press, 1983), pp. 86–7, 129–31, 133.

⁶⁶ For discussion of this passage in the context of Christian thought and contemporary beliefs that the discovery of new worlds fulfilled God's divine purpose in revealing the secrets of His Creation to mankind, see 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 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 24–6.

⁶⁷ This episode probably occurred in 1568, because in December 1594 Hakluyt told Emanuel van Meteren that he had been engaged in geographical studies for at least twenty-six years. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 245; Taylor, ed., *Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, vol. 2, p. 419.

⁶⁸ Perhaps a punning allusion to Cicero's *De officiis* (*On Duties*), a key text for undergraduates to study at Oxford. Roger Kuin, 'Querre-Muhau: Sir Philip Sidney and the New World', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Summer 1998), p. 553.

Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages,⁶⁹ and, in my publike lectures⁷⁰ was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles,⁷¹ to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation

(B) Hakluyt's dedication to Queen Elizabeth I of the presentation manuscript of his 'Analysis, seu resolutio perpetua in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis' (1583),⁷² referring to his teaching duties and lectures on Aristotle at Christ Church, Oxford, translated from the Latin:⁷³

To the most serene and mighty divine
sovereign Elizabeth, Queen of England, France
and Ireland, defender of the orthodox faith &c.

It is now the third year (most serene Queen) since, elected by unanimous agreement, I have presided in the office of censor (as it is called) in your college of Christ Church in Oxford: this required me to expound the books of

⁶⁹ Hakluyt knew Greek and Latin from his formal education at Westminster, but he would have had to master modern languages on an extra-curricular basis, perhaps with instruction by a college or private tutor, as modern languages were not part of the curriculum in Elizabethan Oxford. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, pp. 137–40; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 172–3, 181, 188, 196; Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 2–3.

⁷⁰ See above, n.27.

⁷¹ See above, nn. 28, 29.

⁷² British Library Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 2^r.

⁷³ This translation, by Barbara Scalvini, was first published in Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 28–31, where annotations, a transcript of the original Latin, and an illustration of the manuscript can also be found.

Aristotle's *Politics* in lectures, and to use my judgement and discernment in refereeing the political disputations.

I considered that the best course of action would be to study all the most learned interpreters, Greek, Latin, ancient, modern, polished and rough, to produce an Analysis of the eight books of Aristotle's *Politics*.

At last, as my enterprise was favoured by divine grace, I have brought this manifold and in many ways complex work to its long-desired conclusion. Since it seems that in a certain sense it ought to be attributed to your Majesty (because for many years I have been fostered by you, formerly at Westminster School, and then at the most excellent college of Christ Church in Oxford, and now I am appointed to the position of minister to the most honourable and trusty Master Edward Stafford, your ambassador to the King of the French), I recognise that it should be justly credited to your most Serene Majesty, and wish to dedicate it in your auspicious name.

And, to be sure, works on this subject could not be more fittingly dedicated than to you, your Majesty, among all Christian princes, your Majesty whose prudence and preternatural felicity in the government of the commonwealth is not only admired and respected by the princes of neighbouring commonwealths, but also marvelled at and honoured by the most mighty monarchs of the Muscovites, Turks and Persians.

Therefore accept, O most sagacious Sovereign, this Analysis of the most distinguished work of the most excellent philosopher, in truth born in the shades of academe, put together over a period of time, and by no means polished from experience at Court.

The illustrious, most useful, perfect and indeed highly commendable efforts of many did not deter or discourage me any more than the divine genius of Plato or the almost incredible eloquence of Aristotle deterred others from writing. Those works have informed us in an entirely satisfactory manner; nevertheless another writer could perhaps adequately supply a few things that had been omitted, both because reflections that come later are often wiser, and because it is not so difficult to add to what has been said already.

Nobody could in any way hope that I or anyone else might think of anything in which Your Majesty would not already be entirely knowledgeable.

So with my composition, which is at least well intentioned if less than absolutely perfect, I wish only to record and offer a sign of my respect and obedience.

May almighty God safely preserve Your Majesty, the defender and glory of the everlasting world, of the Church, of the Commonwealth, and of scholarship and scholars, forever. From Christ Church, Oxford, the Kalends [1st] of September, AD 1583.

Your Majesty's
Devoted subject
Richard Hackluyt
Minister of the word of God.