Time and Tide: Sixteenth-Century Expressions of Temporality in the Writings of Richard Hakluyt

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TIME AND TIDE: SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EXPRESSIONS OF TEMPORALITY IN THE WRITINGS OF RICHARD HAKLUYT

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of History

by

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B.A., Ball State University, 2012
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To my parents…

for your love and unwavering faith

in me and my dreams.
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Abstract

Richard Hakluyt the Younger (c. 1553-1616) was the most famous English promoter of overseas expansion of his age and in English history. His most renowned publication, *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600), a massive three-volume series, detailed English exploration, expansion, and trade history. With a focus on inciting the English to act in order to achieve their Providential Empire, Hakluyt’s works carry in them the expressions of time and temporality permeating the late-1500s. In a period of history where new learning, discoveries, and technologies began to transform life, time was called into question. Concerns about how the perception and acceleration of time and temporality altered and transformed in this period influenced Hakluyt’s writings. He drew on the shifting tides of time to promote the English people to action. Hakluyt interwove his writings with Providence, the Protestant’s emphasis on active reading, English chivalry, political, domestic, and foreign concerns. In doing so, Hakluyt’s writings reflect the shifting and transforming conceptions and perceptions of time and temporality that took place in early modern England. In this dissertation, I argue that Hakluyt’s writings reveal the transforming expressions of time and temporality swirling around early modern England and Europe. Hakluyt himself did not set out to employ time and temporality as part of his promotional literature, but he understood the changes occurring and how those changes could impact England’s Providential empire. Hakluyt developed a linear sense of temporal progression towards a Providential foretold English empire by calling for a unified English nation to act as one untied social body for the advancement of England’s empire.
Introduction: Hakluyt… the Man, the Myth, the Editor

The advent of printing enabled a wider spectrum of society to consume information, granted an outlet for nascent ideas percolating throughout Europe, and offered the means to promote overseas expansion, exploits, and empire.¹ In English promotional works, Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s (c.1553-1616) works stand as a pinnacle of early modern overseas literature. In his writings, Hakluyt presented his readers with informational guides to overseas trade and markets, treatises on foreign customs and manners, geographical surveys of the known world, warnings of abuses and torments by Roman Catholics and non-Christian peoples, the glorious maritime history of the English people, and instructions for building a prosperous overseas empire of trade and plantations. I argue that Hakluyt’s writings—published and unpublished—are a snapshot of the changing and shifting understandings and conceptions of time(s) and temporality in early modern England. Hakluyt’s works embraced and cultivated cyclical patterns of daily life and invoked a linear progression of constantly increasing English successes and prestige overseas that would culminate in a divinely preordained English empire. In doing so, Hakluyt constructed a literary and linear temporality uniting the whole of the English nation in the common cause of achieving England’s Providential empire.

Hakluyt

“The lesser landed gentry of Tudor England had no history,” writes E. G. R. Tayler in her introduction of her edited two-volume series, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys (1935). Taylor’s publication remains a standard for information regarding Richard Hakluyt’s biography. Historians like David Beers Quinn, Peter Mancall, Claire Jowitt, and Daniel Carey continue to cite her scholarship as a leading Hakluyt biographical authority. The most recent biographical scholarship on Hakluyt is Peter Mancall’s Hakluyt’s Promise (2007), in which he tracks Hakluyt’s life by following the events occurring during Hakluyt’s lifetime. Mancall’s work is similar to Natalie Zemon Davis’s Women on the Margins (1995), in which Davis follows the lives of three women as she reconstructs their lives by placing them within the context of the events occurring around them.² Despite the lack of sources and the fact “[his family] lived quietly and obscurely in the shires,” Taylor and Mancall provide a historical context for Hakluyt’s personal life.³

Born circa 1553 in Hereford, our Hakluyt had three brothers (Thomas, Oliver, and Edmond), of whom our Hakluyt was the second eldest.⁴ Both elder (the cousin) and younger (our)

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⁴ Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys, vol. I, 3.
Richard Hakluyt “sprang from a younger branch of an old-established Herefordshire family.”

His father was Richard, and his mother was Margery Hakluyt. He had three uncles, all his father’s elder brothers: Ralph (died in 1514), Thomas, whose first wife gave birth to our Hakluyt’s elder cousin Richard, and Walter, who attended Oxford and was a priest and “obtained a country living in Norfolk.” Hakluyt’s father died around 1557, well after his brothers passed. The date of his mother’s death is unknown, but two of his brothers (Thomas, d. 1591, and Edmond, d. 1593) predeceased Hakluyt, leaving Oliver to outlive them when he died in 1623, and Hakluyt died in 1616.

Hakluyt married Douglas Cavendish, a paternal cousin of Sir Thomas Cavendish, sometime in or around 1587. Together the couple had one son, Edmond. Aside from his name being Edmond and that he was born around 1593, not much is known about Hakluyt’s son other than Edmond “sold his two inherited shares in the [Virginia] Company” in 1621, and the year of his death is unknown. As for Hakluyt’s marital life, Douglas Cavendish Hakluyt died in 1597, and Hakluyt married Frances Smithe Hakluyt (a widow) on March 30, 1604, to whom he either remained married until his death in 1616 or she predeceased him.

Hakluyt’s early life consisted of schooling at Westminster School, where “he received his bent towards the study of books of travel.” The visit to his cousin’s office at Middle Temple was a memory Hakluyt recounted to his reader in “The Letter to the Reader” in his 1589 *Principal Navigations* and gave praise and thanks to both his cousin and God for opening his mind. In the 1570s, Hakluyt attended Christ Church, Oxford, “where he soon acquired some five or six languages to help him in his study.” During his Oxford tenure, Hakluyt consumed vast quantities of literature and knowledge about the world. “He read all the books of Voyages, and all the mariners’ journals, to be obtained at Oxford” while also “stud[ying] the arts of map-making and navigation.” During this time, Hakluyt started to compile what would become his first publication, *Divers Voyages* (1582). He graduated from Christ Church sometime prior to *Divers Voyages*’ publication.

Hakluyt traveled between Hereford, London, Oxford, and had one venture across the Channel to Paris, where he was the chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford for five years, returning to England for good in 1587. Although Hakluyt sought to sail on Gilbert’s 1583 voyage, he instead remained in Paris that same year with Sir Edward Stafford. After Hakluyt’s graduation and first publication, the waters of Hakluyt’s personal life become murky, with only the most minor mentions of his private happenings, such as marriages and the birth of his son. Hakluyt’s presence within the historical record as a person with a private life might have all but disappeared from it.

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5 Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys*, vol. I, 1.
6 Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys*, vol. I, 1.
8 John Masefield, “Introduction” in *The Principal Navigations, voyages, traffiques & discoveries of the English nation: made by sea or overland to the remote & farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compass of these 1600 years, vol. 1* (London: J.M. Dent, 1907), xiii.
11 Hakluyt received patronage to publish *Divers Voyage* from the Gilberts to drum up support for Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s 1583 voyage.
but his authoritative works are Hakluyt’s vision in the printed word. Hakluyt as an individual, never vanished from the historical record entirely. His life’s work simply overshadowed his private life. The numerous tracts, pamphlets, and volumes Hakluyt edited and wrote characterized him as devoted to securing a successful beginning of England’s empire. After 1580, recounting Hakluyt’s life becomes bound with parsing through his personal, professional, and patronage connections through England and Europe.

When Hakluyt died in 1616, he passed on his expansive collection of travel literature to Samuel Purchas, whom historians generally agree was “a bad, [where] Hakluyt [was] an almost perfect, editor.”12 The massive collection Hakluyt amassed over the course of his life and his publications testify to Hakluyt’s tireless nature and devotion to his vision for England. His vision was a vision that other states too desired: empire. Hakluyt differed from the other European promotional literature because his vision for England, as presented in all his published and unpublished works, rested on a unified English social body. Every English person from every social rank had to act to secure England’s Providential empire. Where other states published treatises calling for imperial expansion, blackened Spain’s character, and cried they had God’s Providence, Hakluyt argued for a unified England wholly dedicated to an English empire.

**Defining Providence**

Studying Hakluyt’s writings requires examining the reordered English calendar and a definition of Providence because each influenced Hakluyt’s vision for an English empire. Both the revised Protestant English calendar and Providence in early modern England require an explanation to fully appreciate Hakluyt’s arguments for an English empire and how Hakluyt’s writings differed from other promotional literature. Hakluyt’s use of both the calendar and Providence and his singular focus on expanding England’s empire aided him in gaining patrons and supporters in Elizabeth’s court and his connections throughout England and Europe. Before examining Hakluyt’s professional life and his network of connections, definitions and analyses of the English calendar and the popular and revered belief in Providence is necessary because both helped shape the English nationalism found in Hakluyt’s writings.

Providence, God’s active “sublime overriding force” underpinned more than religion, but also, as David Cressy shows, certain monumental celebrations in the English Protestant calendar, like Elizabeth I’s Accession Day, where her accession to the throne saved England from a Catholic monarch.13 God’s active, never idle, ministrations in the lives of the English people continuously protected and carried them through trials and tribulations. God’s Providence also set England apart from Europe, but so did England’s national calendar. Being “set [...] apart from the rest of early modern Europe” as both an island and by refusing to use the Gregorian calendar, the English calendar underwent considerable alterations from 1533 until the later part of the sixteenth century under Elizabeth I.14 During these decades, the Book of Common Prayer “established a national...

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12 Masefield, “Introduction,” *Principal Navigations*, xiv. Masefield further notes that Purchas’s publications (in which he used Hakluyt’s collection) “were mutilated and garbled, foolishly contracted, and then published, with much foolish editorial comment.”


devotional framework for the passage of the seasons, firmly centered on commemoration of the life of Christ” and fewer saints’ days celebrated. In the 1570s, another layer of the calendar began to develop with the “growth of the cult of Elizabeth and the observance of 17 November as Eliza’s sacred day.” By the close of the sixteenth century, the English calendar “after weathering a burst of puritan criticism” emerged “as the venerable and customary framework” for the English calendar year. The sixteenth-century changes to the national calendar set the general calendric rubric for inserting highly significant and nationalistic, Protestant, and royal holidays in yearly celebrations. This practice continued into the seventeenth century by adding layers of Protestant holidays like November 5, Royal Oak Day (May 29), and January 30 in commemoration of Charles I to the English calendar and reinforced a sense of English nationalism and history.

Events like the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and the “fortunes of the Stuart kings” “formed landmarks in the development of the English Protestant calendar, and cumulative elements of the national memory.” As Richard Helgerson demonstrates in his work, *Forms of Nationhood*, an English identity, wholly unique and separate from the continent, began to form over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through literature, theater, holidays, and calendars. Kevin Sharpe’s analysis of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs’ ability to “sell” their images also shows how the English national identity began to morph and settle into an image that was undeniably English. A unified English identity, Providence’s surety, and a codified annual calendar stabilized a seemingly rapidly changing world.

A sense of England’s Providence and Providential time rose during Elizabeth I’s reign, first with her being the Protestant savior to her sister’s Catholic tyranny in 1558, and then with England’s deliverance from the jaws of Spanish cruelty and tyranny in 1588. England’s delivery from a Catholic monarch and the accession of a Protestant one appeared to herald England’s prosperous and godly future. For late sixteenth-century English Protestants, November 17 “represented more than the accession day of a monarch” to the English throne. November 17 symbolized “the turning point in England’s religious history, a providential divide between the nightmare of popery and the promise of the development of God’s true church.” In turn, became “a providential moment, a signal event, a triumph of English Protestantism” for which sermons and prayers during and after the Spanish Armada’s threat pointed to God’s Providence as England’s saving grace.

In *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999), Alexandra Walsham demonstrates the “indelible mark which the Reformation left upon English society and suggests that providentialism played a pivotal role in forging a collective Protestant consciousness” from the 1560s into the Civil War. Providence was the “belief in the ultimate ordering of the universe by a supreme supernatural being or sublime overriding force [and] was, of course, firmly entrenched in

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15 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, xii.
16 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 50.
17 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 34.
18 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, xiii.
19 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 53.
20 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 53.
21 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 110, 117.
traditional Judeo-Christian thinking” with traces also found in Classical philosophy from Plato and the Stoics and into the medieval Church.²³ David Randell expands on this definition:

Providence […] referred to God’s foreknowledge, beneficent care, and government; to his divine direction and guidance; to God himself in his providential aspects to a person who acts or appears in the character of Providence; to an act of divine intervention or an event witnessing God’s will; and to a disaster or accident caused by an act of God.²⁴

In early modern Europe, England included, Providence provided a powerful tool that “united theories of causation and of moral judgment.”²⁵ In essence, “humans could not know all God’s ways; uncertainty persisted within the world, as did human agency and worldly causes; but behind these qualifications, fundamentally, God’s will ordained and gave more value to every vicissitude of life.”²⁶ Providence, the cornerstone of faith, transcended doctrinal divides in theology. “A true understanding and ‘an holy acknowledging’ of Providence was the foundation and essence of faith, asserted the famous preacher fellow of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, William Pem­ble” (1591-1623).²⁷

If England did not have Providence, England would not have an empire. Only God’s divine blessing could grant England a prosperous and faithful empire. England’s empire could not succumb to greed or tyranny like the Protestant Black Legend propaganda painted Spain’s New World Empire. For Hakluyt, Providence was uniquely English because God blessed England. The other Protestant nations who sought an overseas empire also claimed God’s Providence, but, in England, Hakluyt argued that Providence was for the whole of England, from the Crown to the farm laborer. The German states, the Dutch, the French, and the Spanish, too, all cited God’s Providence as a reason for their actual or fictive empires, but their Providence encompassed the Crown, government, or elites in each state, not the whole state. As Hakluyt employed it, England’s Providence differed from other European states because England’s Providence was nationalistic. Hakluyt’s Providence—England’s Providence—encompassed the whole of England, not just a select few, and, as such, Hakluyt’s conception of Providence became one fused with events celebrated in the English calendar, English history, empire, and the English people. As Walsham argues, Providence was “a flexible and permeable conceptual framework within which some older and ostensibly incompatible habits of thought could be absorbed with relative ease,” making it malleable and able to fit almost any context, including Hakluyt’s vision of an empire.²⁸ Providence resided on a sliding scale in Reformed England, where it could mean many different things to different people. For Hakluyt, Providence became God’s blessing for an English empire. But only if the English followed the path so clearly set for them in their history: building an English empire.

²³ Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 8.
²⁴ David Randall, “Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa, 1570-1637,” The Sixteenth Century Journal vol. 35, no. 4 (Winter, 2004): 1058. He goes on to argue that news writers employed the use of ‘providence’ in cases of victory and ‘fortune’ in cases of disaster or loss. The two words held distinct connotations for the news writers with providence being God’s favor and ‘fortune’ lacking God’s favor.
²⁷ Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 8.
²⁸ Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 328.
Hakluyt in European Context

English exploration and colonization literature was not the lone creation of Hakluyt. Richard Eden (1520-1576) preceded Hakluyt with his partial translation of Sebastian Münster’s work, Cosomographia, in 1553, which Eden titled A treatyse of the newe India. Published in the first year of Mary I’s reign, Eden’s translation upheld the Spanish as the ideal colonizers, the example the English should emulate as best as they could. Eden stated, “It is therefore apparent that the herioical factes of the Spaniardes of these days deserve to greate prayse [that this] booke […] doth woorthely extolle […].” Thirty years prior to Hakluyt’s first publication, Eden foresaw England being indebted to the brilliant Spanish example of exploration and colonization in the New World, since the Spanish, in Eden’s and, hopefully, his intended audiences’ minds, had “not only subdued these lands and seas, but also had with “lyke diligence commytted [these events] to wrytinge.” For Eden, the Spanish provided the example to follow, but for Hakluyt, as Joan-Pau Rubiés argues, the Spanish were the rival. Rubiés argues, “the contrast between Eden’s subjection to the example of Spain and Hakluyt’s confident assertion of a rival project […] is revealing of the fact that what had changed was not England’s national character, but political circumstances.”

Rubiés assertion and focus on the changing political climate overlooks the cultural and social anxiety and fear of Catholics in England that truly began to proliferate under Mary I’s reign and became a part of the national identity under Elizabeth I and well into the Stuart monarchy. But Rubiés does state that Hakluyt understood that in order to rival the Spanish and Portuguese, the English needed to “develop their own imperial project, one [that] would emulate the Iberian spirit of risk-taking and dedication to navigation, but also be distinctively Protestant.” This vision of empire was the one Hakluyt established in his first publication.

In the larger context of European history and the early modern push for imperial expansion, Hakluyt’s arguments relied on Providence (a uniquely English Providence), spreading the Christian Word to non-Christians, saving the Americas from the evils and cruelty of Spain and did not appear too different from other promotional publications. Like the English, the Dutch promoted the Black Legend of Spain to degrade Spain’s reputation, as did most Protestants in Europe. Others,

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29 Hakluyt also upheld Spanish navigational practices as ideals the English should strive to achieve in his Discourse Concerning Western Planting (1584), 1589 Principal Navigations, and various correspondents with patrons like Robert Cecil and the Lord High Admiral Charles Howard. When Eden published his work in 1553, Mary I was preparing to marry Philip of Spain and Eden mostly likely sought to gain favor from the Crown by flattering Spain’s achievements as well.

30 Sebastian Münster, A treatyse of the newe India with other new founde landes and islandes, aswell eastwarde as westwarde, as they are knowne and found in these oure dayes, after the description of Sebastian Munster in his boke of universall cosmographie: wherein the diligent reader may see the good successe and rewarde of noble and honeste enterpryses, by the which not only worldly ryches are obtayned, but also God is glorified, [and] the Christian faythe enlarged. Translated out of Latin into Englishe. By Rycharde Eden, trans., Richard Eden (London: In Lombard street by Edward Sutton, 1553), unnumbered page.

31 Münster, A treatyse of the newe India, unnumbered page.


33 Londoners erected a monument (the Monument to the Great Fire of London, 1677) to commemorate the Great Fire of London of 1666 and the plaque named the Catholics as the culprits. This was later removed.

34 Rubiés, “From the ‘History of Travayle’ to the History of Travel Collections,” 31.
too, claimed that Providence lay heavy on them and that God ordered them to venture forth and establish their empires. In this context, sixteenth-century England did not appear different. If anything, England appeared bent on the same imperial course as the rest of Europe. In Frankfurt, the de Bry family produced the *Occidental Voyages* and *Oriental Voyages* during 1590-1634. Levinus Hulsius produced a “series of 26 Schiffahrten (navigations) [that he] edited” and, later, “his successors in Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Oppenheim [published] between 1598-1660.” Each publication argued for imperial expansion and the Providential blessing to expand. Like Hakluyt’s works, these publications lambasted the Spanish and promoted spreading the Christian Word to non-Christians. These European publications shared “the generic context in which geography and travel, history and religion came together in a single narrative.”

Where Hakluyt diverged from the other European promotional authors and editors was in his source material. In keeping true with Hakluyt’s goal of an English empire predicated on a Providential English history and divine blessing, the majority of the sources Hakluyt included in *Principal Navigations* were English. Sven Trakulhun writes,

> In the early years of the seventeenth century de Bry’s successors derived new material for their travel series mostly from the Netherlands and were also more willing to print travel accounts from Catholic authors. One principal difference was that the German collections were generally based on sources from a wide range of backgrounds, while both editions of *The Principal Navigations* had a strong (though not exclusive) focus on English travels. And since there was no German nation that could have served them as a point of reference, German publishers could not easily assume an intrinsic connection between nation and colonialism.

Other promotional authors could not draw on a newly forming nationalism like Hakluyt could and did in his works. Helgerson and Sharpe demonstrate that a growing sense of Englishness and English nationalism contributed to the burgeoning English nation and Hakluyt’s writings. Hakluyt argued for a unified English social body, a social body in which every social rank, from lowest to highest in the land, acted together to achieve an English empire. France sent voyages to the New World and produced literature on the Americas as well as promotional literature, which Hakluyt dug through in the government libraries and archives during his tenure in Paris.

The difference between England and the other European states was not in the arguments promoting overseas expansion but in the nascent nationhood emerging in England. Whether through the arts, ire towards Catholics (and foreigners in general), or Queen Elizabeth’s own self-promotion as the Virgin Queen and Mother of England, England’s identity as a nation began to form during the late sixteenth century, a formation that the transforming tides of time(s) aided. The (supposedly) universal use of a national calendar and national holidays focused on the nation/monarch as a whole, the transformation of time from a stagnant and divine force to an active one, and the rising of merchant time all merged to create an environment in which an English

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36 Trakulhun, “Three Tales of the New World,” 57.

37 Trakulhun, “Three Tales of the New World,” 65.
identity began to emerge. Hakluyt’s writings revealed the fusion and transformations taking place in late sixteenth-century England’s time(s) and how time(s) influenced English identity and imperial expansion.

**Hakluyt’s Connections and Publications**

Hakluyt was a chaplain in the Church of England. “[Robert] Cecil heard that Hakluyt would get the next vacant chaplaincy at London’s Hospital of the Savoy. Six months later, the Privy Council (with Cecil as its secretary) wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury recommending Hakluyt for the expected vacancy at Great All Hallows on Thames Street.”³⁸ In the letter the council wrote, they noted “Hakluyt had ‘taken great paynes in his callinge’ […] having served under Strafford in France ‘in a dangerous tyme’ and had also spent time and labor ‘in matter of navigacion and dyscoveryes, a labor of great desert and use’” to England.³⁹ Hakluyt had patrons and relationships with several individuals highly placed at Elizabeth’s court. He dedicated most of his publications to them. He dedicated his translation of Rene Goulaine de Laudonnière’s *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages made by Certaine French Captayne unto Florida* (1587) to Sir Walter Ralegh, and dedicated his first edition of *Principal Navigations* (1589) to Sir Francis Walsingham. The first volume of the second edition of *Principal Navigations* (1598) Hakluyt dedicated to Lord Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral (1585-1619) and the last two to Sir Robert Cecil (1599-1600). Many circles of patronage, like Ralegh’s, included Hakluyt and linked him with individuals like Thomas Harriot and Theodore de Bry, who visited Hakluyt in London in 1586/7.⁴⁰

Hakluyt’s connections to court came from both familial ties and from those invested in expanding England’s empire like Walsingham, Howard, and Cecil. Hakluyt also had links with the second Englishman to circumnavigate the world, Thomas Cavendish. Hakluyt’s first wife was Cavendish’s cousin through her father’s side of the family. Hakluyt also had his contacts and circle of friends at Oxford, one of whom was Hungarian poet Stephen Parmenius. However, Hakluyt’s connections go back further to his elder cousin and namesake, Richard Hakluyt the Elder, a lawyer at Middle Temple. Through his cousin, Hakluyt the Younger had connections to the Hawkeses, Michael Lok, John Dee, Edward Dyer (Dyer’s Company in Persia), Abraham Ortelius (Flemish and known for *Thetrum Obris Terrarum*, 1570), and the Gilberts. The elder Hakluyt began to reside in rooms at Middle Temple from the late 1550s until the late 1580s or his death in 1591 (the records are unclear) and corresponded with numerous individuals and even, on occasion, “examined the spy […] on [the spy’s] arrival in London and subsequently communicated with Burghley” his findings.⁴¹ What made this seemingly typical situation “of greater significance, however, [was] that a chamber close at hand was occupied between 1562-1566 by Adrian Gilbert, for this provides an obvious link with Sir Humfrey [Gilbert].”⁴² Adrian Gilbert was Humphrey Gilbert’s older brother, and Humphrey Gilbert’s half-brother was Sir Walter Ralegh.

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³⁸ Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise*, 228-229.
³⁹ Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise*, 229.
⁴¹ Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, vol. I*, 7. The Elder Hakluyt’s reputation as an authority on cosmography and trade was a well-known one in court circles as E. G. R. Taylor reveals.
Through these neighborly and familial connections (both the elder and younger Hakluyt) and others conducted through the correspondence, reports, narratives, and eyewitness accountings Hakluyt collected granted Hakluyt a wide circle of contacts and patrons. Hakluyt’s connections were on parade in 1584, when, after a year in Paris, Hakluyt made a specific voyage back to London to place his *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* into the Queen’s (or someone near her) hands. For all the support, patronage, and connections Hakluyt developed and maintained, he and all his connections required the Queen’s consent to act. Hakluyt sought Queen Elizabeth I’s support for England’s overseas expansion and empire because England could not expand without her consent. He wrote with the intent of gaining her consent, particularly in *Discourse*.

The *Discourse*, commissioned by Ralegh, was a work specifically geared towards the Queen and the court. The work remained unpublished but circulated around the court. Whether or not Elizabeth ever read the work is debatable, but Hakluyt’s *Discourse* was unique from his other works. Hakluyt penned the work himself. *Discourse* was not a translation or a compilation of faraway accounts. *Discourse* was a promotional work intended to secure support and advance Ralegh’s cause to the court and Queen.\(^{43}\) In *Discourse*, Hakluyt painted the fictive Spanish legend at its blackest. In chapter eleven of *Discourse*, Hakluyt detailed the “so many and so monstrous […] Spanishe cruelties, suche strange slaughters and murders of those peaceable, lowly, milde, and gentle people […] in the West Indies.”\(^{44}\) Unlike his published works, Hakluyt freely called out the Spanish and their kings for their offenses overseas while also setting the stage for the “peaceable” natives in the Americas, much like Ralegh did in his *Discoverie of Guiana* (1595).

Through his connections at court, with fellow scholars at Oxford, and his own family’s neighbors, Hakluyt’s circle of patronage and contacts was vast. E. G. R Taylor demonstrates this in her *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys* (1935). Where modern scholarship generally mentions but does not delve into the elder Hakluyt, Taylor reveals how the elder Hakluyt’s connections and fascination with “mercantile aspects of cosmography” facilitated the younger Hakluyt’s interest and his career, a career that enabled Hakluyt to publish his magnum opus, *Principal Navigations*.\(^{45}\)

Hailed as “the Prose Epic of the modern English nation” by J. A. Froude in the nineteenth century, Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* (both editions, 1589, 1598-1600) are massive tomes filled with copious knowledge and information for any English person to read and from which to learn.\(^{46}\) The first publication of *Principal Navigations* Hakluyt divided into three sections in one volume. The first section covered “Indeah [sic], Syria, Arabia, the river Euphrates, Babylon, Balsara, the Persian Gulfe, Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, India, and many Islands adjoyning [sic] to the South parts of Asia.” The second section covered “the North and Northeast by Sea,” and the final section covered “the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and

\(^{43}\) For more on Ralegh’s role with Hakluyt’s *Discourse* see Walter Ralegh, “Introduction: Ralegh’s Courteous Conquest,” in *The Discovery of Guiana by Sir Walter Ralegh with Related Documents*, ed. Benjamin Schmidt (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2008), 1-44.


\(^{45}\) Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys*, vol. I, 5.

new world of America.” In each section, Hakluyt presented his reader with chronologically ordered histories, eyewitness accounts, captain’s reports, and narratives detailing England’s quest to expand its empire.

The second edition of Principal Navigations was an expansion of the first edition with new sources and older, less relevant sources being removed, such as the Travels of John Mandeville. The plethora of sources Hakluyt included provided a variety of knowledge, from captain’s journals to cargo lists, trade goods, descriptions of lands and peoples, the length of the voyages, and a host of other useful narratives and eyewitnesses accounts. Hakluyt intended his publications to provide the English access to overseas knowledge and experiences as well as proof of England’s Providence and why the English must act as one nation. Divers Voyages (1582) strove to do the same, but it was in the mature and well-edited second edition of Principal Navigations that Hakluyt’s mastery and vision truly shone.

Where Discourse (1584) had an intended audience of Queen and court, with the tract most likely circulating among merchants as well, the Principal Navigations was a work intended for the whole of the English nation. Hakluyt explicitly stated that his work was for “our English Nation” throughout both editions of Principal Navigations. He sought to drum up support for English expansion not because England’s future empire was a question that required propaganda but because England’s empire would happen. God’s Providence decreed England’s empire. Hakluyt’s mission was to motivate the English to act and seize their Providential empire.

Hakluyt’s Mission

What little is known about Hakluyt and why he sought to devote his life to English overseas expansion comes from his dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham in Principal Navigations (1589). In the 1589 and 1599-1600 editions of his seminal work, Principal Navigations, Hakluyt credited his cousin and namesake, Richard Hakluyt (the elder), for his unyielding interest in and dedication to the promotion of England’s empire. The elder Hakluyt “began to instruct [his] ignorance” by teaching the younger “the division of the earth into three parts after the old account,” showing him this with maps, trading goods, and, finally, a passage from Psalm 107. Opening with this story signified England’s dawning Providence and that the time was now for England to act with God’s favor and grace and set the tone for the work as Hakluyt demonstrated how England’s history led England to this moment for active expansion.

In these experiences, Hakluyt found “the words of the prophet together with my cousin’s discourse” “took in me so deep an impression, that I constantly resolved […] I would by God’s

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47 Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea and Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeares. (London: George Bishop, 1589), unnumbered title page.

48 Why Hakluyt removed Mandeville from the second edition of Principal Navigations is further discussed in chapter two, “Fame’s Sweet Trumpeter” and chapter four, “Knighthly Prowess, Merchant’s Trade.”

49 For more on Divers Voyages and its purpose and organization see chapter two.

50 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, voyages, traffiques & discoveries of the English nation: made by sea or overland to the remote & farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 years, volumes 1 (London: J.M. Dent, 1907), 1.
Hakluyt’s unwavering faith and his zeal in ensuring the spread of the Gospel to the natives were paramount to the themes and reasons he employed in his writings. For Hakluyt, faith, pure and uncorrupted by greed and cruelty, would carry the English through to their Providential empire. The English would carry out God’s work not by giving way to corruption, greed, and temporal power as the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Roman Catholic Pope did in carving up the New World for themselves rather than spiritually ministering to the people there.

Hakluyt’s spiritualized mission justified English expansion into North America while further developing the themes of struggles and suffering. The struggles and suffering the English would endure, unlike the Spanish and Portuguese, were what would spur the English to build their empire slowly and with care. Hakluyt’s voice rang clear and true, revealing the depth of Hakluyt’s own spiritual devotion. Like Sir Francis Drake, he truly believed in the righteousness of England’s (at this point fictive) empire because he believed that God sanctioned this empire due to England’s spiritual piety.

As with all writing, including the editing of various written and verbal sources, the works speak volumes about the author as an individual. Hakluyt’s major works included the published and circulated Diverse Voyages (1582), Discourse Concerning Western Planting (1584), and the two editions of Principal Navigations (1589, 1598-1600) published during Hakluyt’s life. These works provide the best insight into the man who devoted his life to furthering and keeping the “idea of colonization alive in the face of repeated English disappointments” in the course of the late sixteenth century. Through his written works, his life’s ambition, Hakluyt became synonymous with the beginning of England’s Providential empire, firmly establishing the means by which the English would achieve their empire and the paramount importance of trade for an English empire.

Hakluyt’s lifelong goal of securing the start of English expansion began in his cousin’s office at the Temple. Continuing through his education at Christ Church, Oxford, where he “fell to [his] intended course, and by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages [he] found.” While his “public lectures was [sic] the first, that produced and showed both the old imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed maps, globes, spheres, and other instruments of this art,” which greatly pleased his audience.

Hakluyt’s fame and reputation continued to grow during his life. He befriended captains, sailors, and merchants as well as drew the attention of Elizabethan officials like Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Ralegh, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley. But in the course of collecting and editing his first publication, Hakluyt, David Beers Quinn argues, “was struck by how little was known or was available about

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51 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 1.
52 A later chapter, “Hakluyt’s Active Time,” explores Hakluyt’s use of pain and suffering and Providence.
53 Other explorers, like Walter Ralegh or Thomas Cavendish, did not have as spiritually motivated intentions towards expansion, but some, like Francis Drake, believed themselves to be the operatives of Providence.
54 Mancall, Hakluyt’s Promise, 4.
55 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 2.
56 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 2.
English enterprises to North America or indeed about English travel.” Quinn argues that as a result of this ignorance, Hakluyt spent his time before going to France as chaplain to the English ambassador, collecting any and all information he could “beyond the narrow bounds of European trade and journeyings.”

Coupled with Hakluyt’s obsession for the world beyond Europe was his fear of Roman Catholicism, which he shared with the general English populace alongside his apparent devotion to England’s Virgin Queen. Hakluyt “loathed [sic]” what he considered to be the poisonous teachings of Rome persisting still throughout Western Europe, and he felt considerable annoyance towards the Papal Bull issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 that divided the world between the Spanish and Portuguese. Hakluyt’s annoyance, as well as resentment toward the Spanish and Portuguese, revolved around their established empires in the New World, Africa, and their Asian wealth and their Catholicism. Along with general sentiment in Europe, Hakluyt helped to perpetuate the Black Legend of Spain through his writings, often equating Spanish actions in the New World to rape and casting England in the role of protector. Sir Walter Raleigh personified this role in his Discoverie of Guiana (1596).

In emphasizing the importance of Providence and trade in English overseas activities and expansion, Hakluyt’s writings reveal changing expressions and conceptions of time(s). Rather than upholding martial expansion (like the Spanish expansion) as the way England should expand its empire, Hakluyt’s focus on trade illustrated the rising importance of trade over military conquest and demonstrated the decline of chivalric time and the rise of merchant’s time. Chivalric time—a time governed by knightly deeds and a more cyclical time in which the present was an extension of the past—began to decline over the course of the sixteenth century as merchant’s time—a time governed by the need for greater regulation of time for trade and profit and the present became a separate time from the past—rose in prominence. The expressions of time(s), like the decline of chivalric time, the rise of merchant’s time, and the temporal significance of Protestant Providence, in Hakluyt’s writings reflected the changes in Hakluyt’s contemporary world and how those expressions shaped Hakluyt’s promotion and justification of English overseas activities.

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58 Quinn, *Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt*, xv.
59 Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise*, 4. Hakluyt’s annoyance with the Papal Bull became clear in the XIX chapter of the *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, in which Hakluyt denounced Pope Alexander VI’s willingness to grant the Western world to Spain and stated that the Pope only gave the west to Spanish because Alexander VI was, himself, Spanish. For Hakluyt, Alexander VI’s donation was a blatant act of nepotism and violation of God’s divine authority. This is further explored in “Hakluyt’s Active Time.”
61 This in no way diminished the need for martial support, which Hakluyt argued in his writings (particularly when advocating the plantation of settlements as sources of protection for English trade routes), but it did demonstrate that Hakluyt saw English prosperity would stem from trade—not from spending money on conquests (like Spain did in both the new and old worlds).
62 Chivalric time and Merchant’s time are exploded in “Knightly Prowess, Merchant’s Time,” and Providence further exploded in “Hakluyt’s Active” and “Our English Nation.”
Hakluyt’s religious convictions, however, did not completely translate to his writings. Like other humanists in the sixteenth century, Hakluyt examined ancient Greek and Roman texts through the lens of his Christianity, “not in opposition” to it. Andrew Fitzmaurice argues that “the tracts promoting colonization were an extended discourse on the best form of commonwealth.” Fitzmaurice focuses on the connections between Hakluyt’s translation of Aristotle’s *Politics* (1583) and the *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (1584). He sees each work as establishing an ideal version of the English commonwealth and fixes Hakluyt’s promotions as part of the *longue durée* of English overseas promotional literature. For Hakluyt and other overseas promotional authors, the goal was not the greater wealth of a single entity within society, like the Crown or individual investors; the goal was to construct a greater commonwealth. This New Commonwealth, a New England, had its roots in the Protestant Church of England but grew to new heights of glory and honor with the nutrients of humanist learning.

Most scholars view Hakluyt as the grand editor of “the Prose Epic of the modern English nation,” the meticulous and deliberate chronological, geographical, and informational ordering Hakluyt employed demonstrates that he was more than just an editor. Too often, it is assumed that Hakluyt’s own voice and agency were somehow lost or muted in his major works, but as Mary Fuller argues, “Hakluyt’s agency as the conceiver and originator of *Principal Navigations* is not no agency.” Rather Hakluyt’s agency was that of the mastermind who saw the overarching frameworks and themes running throughout the narratives he collected, edited, and published.

Hakluyt speaks directly to his audience in these “Epistles” and “Letters.” Hakluyt’s words set the stage for the reports, narratives, and eyewitness accounts that follow. Without Hakluyt’s own words helping to shape how he wished these sources to be understood, the reader would gain knowledge, yes, but would that reader have felt the same pull, the same zeal or pride for English overseas expansion as Hakluyt intended? Would reading a book lacking a central argument be worth reading, or would it merely be some neat and tidy information? Hakluyt’s words influenced and dictated how he saw England’s part in European overseas expansion, how he regarded the significance of England’s role, and why this opportunity could not be wasted or ignored.

Both editions of *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1598-1600) are compendiums of English overseas religious, martial, and economic glories, triumphs, and successes. Hakluyt began each edition with a series of historical narratives demonstrating England’s succession of overseas victories. He described these histories as a process by which he rescued and “restored” important narratives for the benefit of the Commonwealth: with “the helpe of Geography and Chronologie...”

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67 Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Narratives of Travel to America 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143.
The chronological ordering of Divers Voyages (1582) and both editions of Principal Navigations demonstrate the mundane (cyclical) nature of daily life and the linear procession of progress. In the 1589 edition of Principal Navigations, Hakluyt set the tone and established the purpose of this volume wherein he described the proselytizing endeavors and adventures of Helena of Britain and her son, Constantine. Published a year after the Armada’s defeat, Hakluyt affirmed England’s status as a beacon of Protestant power and hope by revealing the once “scattered and hidden” truth and precedent of England’s glory that “[has] excelled all the nations and people of the earth.”

Recounting these histories also established Britain’s connection with the Classical Christian world, demonstrating its superiority over Rome. In Hakluyt’s mind, this precursor proved England’s virtuous character and justified the actions required to renew its overseas expansion.

The chronological organization of these histories and later documents, patents, and first-hand accounts, established Hakluyt’s belief in linear progress and continually increasing prosperity. However, to illustrate the consistent gains expected from overseas trade and plantations required another temporal layer. Using “this history” composed of Arthur, Constantine, previous English kings, and English explorers and merchants, Hakluyt established a precedent for an English empire as well as the temporality within which the Principal Navigations took place.

But he also created a distinct space in which all English people, no matter their social status, contributed to securing England’s success. By simply being conscientious and productive in their daily lives, using their time for the benefit of the Commonwealth, all English men and women mimicked the contributions of their imperial forebears.

Hakluyt Historiography

Recent Hakluyt scholarship generally tends to pick apart Hakluyt’s edited volumes, mainly Principal Navigations, dissecting them for how or why Hakluyt edited them the way he did or why he included that particular source at all. Mandeville’s Travel’s placement in Hakluyt’s Principal Navigations is an example of this debate since Hakluyt included Travel’s in the 1589 Principal Navigations, but not in the 1598-1600 edition. In more recent scholarship, Hakluyt, as an individual, garners more attention from historians. Attempts to understand Hakluyt as more than an editor culminate in works by Peter Mancall, Hakluyt’s Promise (2007), and a collection of essays edited by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt entitled Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe (2012). Mancall’s biography of Hakluyt presents a man shaped by his time(s), who also, through his compendiums, shaped an English empire and expansion both during and after his life. Carey’s and Jowitt’s collection of original scholarship attempts to establish a portrait of Hakluyt, the man, through careful examination of Hakluyt’s various published and unpublished works as well as the few letters and personal sources that remain. Unfortunately,

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69 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 1.
70 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 3.
71 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 6.
72 A. J. Froude’s commemorative comment “the Prose Epic of the modern English language” regarding Hakluyt’s Principal Navigations springs to mind from his “England’s Forgotten Worthies” (Westminster Review, 1852).
with few sources existing or known to scholars, Hakluyt, the man, remains a bit of a mystery even as his works best deciphered his vision and his hopes for England’s overseas expectations and future.

Some scholars like David Harris Sacks and David Boruchoff examine the role of Providence in Hakluyt’s writings. Sacks argues that Hakluyt’s employment of Providence indicates that his “works should be seen in this light:” as an ecclesiastical history. “An ecclesiastical history is necessarily a universal history, since all of God’s actions, whether or not directly concerned with the development of religious institutions, contribute to the ultimate triumph of the divine truth embodied in his church.” However, Sacks argues that Hakluyt “emphasizes the relevance of religious faith in Hakluyt’s works, suggesting that Hakluyt was neither a conventional Calvinist nor a conventional millenarian, but rather adopted an ‘avant garde conformity’ in matters of religion.” For Sacks, Hakluyt’s use of Providence demonstrated that Hakluyt’s writings were more akin to ecclesiastical histories and Hakluyt’s more “‘avant garde conformity’ in matters of religion.” Hakluyt, Sacks argues, exemplified Elizabeth I’s media via approach to religious matters. Aside from his loathing of Roman Catholicism, Hakluyt’s most significant religious exercise was spreading Christianity to non-Christians. Sacks demonstrates that Hakluyt’s approach to religion was what the Church of England set out in its doctrine and that Providence, like the ecclesiastical histories, revealed itself through the course of English history.

Boruchoff takes a different approach to Providence in Hakluyt’s writings. Providence, as Boruchoff articulates it amounts to the “patriotic conceits, such as the claim to God’s favor and protection, [that] were used in a more complex and circumspect way: as an encouragement and a corrective to national endeavor, and as a yardstick against which to measure what was actually done.” Boruchoff’s Providence is a rhetorical tool used to connect the national endeavor to a spiritual cause and promote good behavior for the English.

The significance of Providence in Hakluyt’s writings cannot be overstated as it is a crucial element comprising his argument justifying and legitimizing English expansion. What was significant about Hakluyt’s Providence was in how Hakluyt employed it. Richard Helergson demonstrates that religion and other themes operated as unifying forces in Hakluyt’s writings. Helergson argues that Hakluyt’s Principal Navigations played an important role in the emergence of ideas about an English ‘nation’ by articulating a sense of overseas national achievement proleptically, and by stressing the significance of mercantile, as well as aristocratic actors in the theatre of empire.” Helergson, Boruchoff, and Sacks argue that religion and Providence established a sense of national unity—an Englishness that was nascent in its form but continued to

75 Sacks, “Richard Hakluyt’s Navigations in Time,” 58.
76 Sacks, “Richard Hakluyt’s Navigations in Time,” 42.
77 This is examined more fully in “Times in Early Modern English History.”
grow over the centuries. Providence, God’s blessing on England, however, was more than a rhetorical tool to unite the English under a common banner or the recovery of the English ‘body’ through its history, as Boruchoff argues. Hakluyt’s Providence was one that was active within a defined present time, not the past, but a present that was flying by as the English stood idle. None of these scholars examined the role of the shifting time(s) in Hakluyt’s England and how the time(s) affected Hakluyt’s writings. Overlooking how the changing perceptions and conceptions of time(s) influenced Hakluyt’s writing diminishes the ways in which Hakluyt advocated for an English empire and how he intended his audience to read and participate in building England’s empire.

Why Time? A Historiography

There is a quasi-divide in histories of time and temporality. Scholars either focus on the more intellectual and philosophical understandings of time and temporality or on the social and mechanical history of clock time and temporality. Histories geared towards more philosophical understandings of time, like Ricardo Quinones, Peter Burke, Daniel Woolf, and Kristen Poole and Owen Williams’ publications, focus on literary and religious sources to support their arguments. Histories focusing on clock time (mechanical or social time and temporality) tend to examine the sources from towns and other urban centers as well as monastic records to reveal how clock time influenced the regulation and transformation of time and temporality in and by society like Jacques le Goff does. Histories of time do not examine promotional literature. Sixteenth-century English promotional literature falls outside the bounds of religious sources and the sources for clock history. However, I will show that promotional literature, specifically Richard Hakluyt’s writings, offers a snapshot of expressions of time(s) and temporality—both philosophical and clock—and how they operated in late sixteenth-century England.

In his *Time, Work, & Culture in the Middle Ages* (1982), Jacques Le Goff examines the rise of what he dubs merchant’s time, writing, “I believe that control of time and power over time are essential components in the functioning of societies.” He argues that during the Middle Ages, a collective conception of time emerged in urban areas began to grow more regulated and consistently measured. Prior to the fourteenth-century urban centers’ regulation of time, the telling of time followed the canonical hours that followed the cycle of daily prayers (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline). The growth of trade and merchant activities in urban centers created a need for stricter regulation of time in these areas, which brought them into direct contention with Church time (the canonical hours). Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum and Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift focus on these developments and contentions and demonstrate that through the advances made in mechanical clocks and their prominent placement in urban centers that hours shifted from canonical hours to clock hours. David Cressy also reveals the growing influence of mechanical clocks and their usurpation of Church time when describing how bells were used in early modern England, in addition to demonstrating how calendar time changed in

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early modern England. In *North/South* (2016), Ricardo Quinones argues increasing trade to Northern Europe coupled with time growing more regimented in the same area contributed to Northern Europe’s prosperity and the decline of Southern Europe’s trading activities.

More philosophically bent histories of time typically focus on religion, writings on religion, literature (poems mostly), and physical remnants of time counting as the medium for studying time and temporality. This is understandable given that religion generally tends to focus on time as a divine element. In her article “‘My Name Engrav’d Herein’: John Donne’s Sacramental Temporality” (2011), Hilary Binda argues that the “rift between human and divine” caused by the Reformation is what fractured time between the past (when Christ was alive) and the present (what the world then faced without Christ). Kristen Poole and Owen Williams’ recent edited volume, *Early Modern Histories of Time* (2019) also examines religion, literature, and some material remains as they and the contributing authors analyze how modern conceptions of periodization have obscured how people in the past understood the world in which they lived. Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift’s *Shaping the Day* (2011) and Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum’s *History of the Hour* (1996) both examine the physical means of counting and determining time and demonstrate how these changed in relation to society, culture, and technology.

In the more philosophical histories, there are studies of time focusing on the Renaissance and how the humanist learning stemming from its rediscovery of Classical learning influenced time(s) and temporality. Ricardo J. Quinones’s *Renaissance Discovery of Time* (1972) illuminates that “[f]or the men of the Renaissance, time is a great discovery—the antagonist against which they plan and plot and war, and over which they hope to triumph.” Quinones reveals how legacy became a pressing concern for the individual—how he or she left his or her mark on the world after their death and how future generations would remember that person. Focusing on literary sources like Dante and Shakespeare, Quinones demonstrates how the quest for legacy grew out of the Renaissance discovery of time. The time of the Renaissance was not the stagnant time of the Middle Ages, in which time remained exclusive to God and Church. Time became an element of life to defeat by doing as much in life as possible to secure a lasting legacy. However, the sense that time required management and measure was not a lesson learned by humanists alone.

In his article, “The Renaissance Sense of the Past Revisited” (1994), Peter Burke continues this thread of thought—examining how the Renaissance influenced time. He argues that as humanists “defined their own age as the Renaissance,” they began to create a sense of distance from the past. Using Lorenzo Valla’s *Donation of Constantine*, Burke demonstrates that Valla proved the document was a forgery by parsing out the individual words and placing them within their linguistic and temporal roots. Burke argues that a sense of “cultural distance” as much as a

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desire for Renaissance scholars to identify themselves as different from the Middle Ages (the Other) brokered an increasing sense of the past being a distant place. Building on this, Daniel Woolf argues that the “shadows of the past” continued to linger. From “natural shadows, cast by trees that for generations had marked out boundaries and thus became sites of customary knowledge and practice” to “the shadows of ancestors” that survived in art or in household furnishings to the “shadows of speech and language, conscious or unconscious throwbacks to an ‘antick’ style,” Woolf argues that “the past […] provided an illusion of stability, a sense of order, and a set of standards […] by which events in the present could be measured.” Burke and Woolf demonstrate that the past continued to influence the present, but there was also a distance developing between the two spaces of time and that the histories produced during the early modern period helped facilitate this separation between past and present.

I focus on Richard Hakluyt’s writings because his writings teem with a variety of expressions of time and temporality that go beyond the general categories for histories of time. Hakluyt’s writings were designed to promote an overseas English empire. As such, he drew on histories, eyewitness accounts, merchants’ and captains’ records, and from his Protestant faith and the Bible to support his vision for empire. These sources were wide and varied, and each provided a different level of life and experiences found in early modern England. The times expressed in Hakluyt’s writings were the time(s) in which the nobility and Crown, merchants, sailors, and individuals like Hakluyt and his colleagues across England and Europe operated and lived. Each of these different social ranks interacted with time in different ways, but Hakluyt joined them all together with his invocation of “our English nation.” Operating in disjointed but still harmonic ways, the times and temporality of late sixteenth-century England are on display in Hakluyt’s writings.

The purpose of this dissertation is not to articulate a new idea of time or temporality. The purpose is to exhibit how Hakluyt’s writings reflected the changes and shifts and transitions time and temporality underwent during the early modern period, specifically the late sixteenth century England when humanist learning, overseas expansion, and the blossoming ideas that culminated in the Enlightenment began to take shape. I argue that Hakluyt’s writings revealed the changing expressions of time(s) and temporality circulating in sixteenth-century England at this time. The New World’s discovery rocked the foundation of Europe, as Joyce Appleby describes in Shores of Knowledge (2013). When coupled with the Renaissance, the Reformation, the centralizing of secular authorities, and the continuing rise of print culture, the New World’s sudden appearance added to the mystery and curiosity of the world while also unsettling how people saw themselves and the world, culture, and society swirling around them.

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Chapter Organization

“Times in Early Modern England” explores the various types of times and temporalities at work in early modern England. These times—Renaissance time (legacy), merchant’s time, active time, and Providence—all connect and overlap. This chapter defines and provides explanations for the various types of times expressed in Hakluyt’s writings and gives an overview of these times while also defining them. Temporality is how people have a relationship or interact with/within time. Temporality and time are the human perception, participation, and ordering of time in society, culture, religion, economics, and philosophy. For the purposes of this project, time or time(s) are the words employed to describe how people viewed or understood measuring, participating, and their perception of time(s). I do this because Hakluyt used the word “tyme” in his writings and because his focus was on time as legacy, Providence, and action. The expressions of time(s) coloring Hakluyt’s writings were interwoven—one cannot be teased completely away from the others. Merchant time and chivalric time act in concert, one rising, the other shifting to the background, while active time encompassed every action from a knight’s to a merchant’s. However, Providence was the impetus for active time. Providence was a passive blessing from God, but achieving Providence’s fruition required active labors by the English. Without Providence, the English would not have God’s blessing to act.

While the concept of temporality did exist in early modern England, with the word tracing back to Latin (temporalis), Hakluyt did not directly engage with any discussions denoting the changes temporality or time(s) underwent during the late sixteenth century. Rather, Hakluyt drew on the swirling sense of change(s) drummed up from the Renaissance, the English Reformation, and the discovery of a new world to build his argument for why England must expand and why England had to do so now. In the following chapters, Hakluyt’s vision for an English empire testified to his belief in English Providence and the importance of English action and legacy.

“Fame’s Sweet Trumpeter” considers the means by which Hakluyt used his first large projects, Divers Voyages (1582) and Discourse Concerning Western Planting (1584), to establish his vision for an English Empire and to reveal Providence’s guiding hand in England’s past, present, and future. Hakluyt’s ultimate vision for an English empire did not confine itself to the New World. Hakluyt argued that England’s Providential empire was one that expanded from England to Cathay with a specific interest in securing the Northwest Passage for swifter, more secure trade and, thus, greater prosperity for England. As with Principal Navigations (1589, 1598-1600), Hakluyt opened his texts with why England had to expand and the Providential path of English expansion. Establishing the primacy of trade with Cathay and the relevancy of the Northwest Passage were key elements to Hakluyt’s writings. Hakluyt presented the search for a viable northwards passage to Cathay in the first (published 1598) of the three volumes of Principal Navigations. However, Hakluyt established the primacy of a northward passage, particularly the Northwest Passage, in Divers Voyages and Discourse. From these first two major works, Hakluyt explicitly expressed England’s need to discover a navigable passage that, in Principal Navigations, only gained more relevance as Spain’s influence grew and English plantations failed to take root. This chapter argues that Hakluyt argued the need for a northward passage because England’s Providential empire was one predicated on trade for the perpetual prosperity of England. Understanding Hakluyt’s perspective of empire helped reveal the expressions of time(s) and the
context in which Hakluyt argued for empire. The *Principal Navigations* only built and expanded upon what Hakluyt argued and achieved with *Divers Voyages* and *Discourse*.

In “Hakluyt’s Active Time,” the ‘activeness’ of the English that Hakluyt continued to cite and the role of Providence in his writings are more fully explored and examined within the context of temporality. Active time was the time in which people acted to shape their own legacies. Rather than time being something that “happen[s] to people,” time was now a space in which “people do things” that contribute—for Hakluyt’s purposes—to the expansion and eventual culmination of England’s Providential empire. Action was the key to England’s success but required God’s Providential blessing to be fully attained. England, unlike the Spanish, had God’s Providence and the proper perspective (a godly one) that would allow an English empire to flourish (eventually). Unlike the Spanish, England’s endeavors for its empire would be steeped in travails and labors. But these hardships and toils only further revealed God’s Providence and served to demonstrate why the English had to act, despite such adversity.

The power of Providence Hakluyt articulated in his writings rested on the actions of the English people from the Crown down to the idle persons languishing in prisons, useless to the Commonwealth. For Hakluyt, England could only proceed to continue its Providential path if every English person was active in pursuing an English empire. However, throughout his writings, Hakluyt placed greater emphasis on trade, merchants, and sailors than he did on knightly deeds, save for those triumphing over Spain and the Roman Catholic Church. In “Knightly Prowess, Merchant’s Time,” I demonstrate how Hakluyt’s expressions of time(s)—chivalric and merchant’s time—revealed the shifting of importance from the knight’s shiny example to the merchant’s and trade’s rising prominence. Using Sir Walter Ralegh’s *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596), I argue we can trace the increasing significance of merchant’s time—as articulated by Jacques le Goff in *Time, Work, & Culture in the Middle Ages* (1980)—in Hakluyt’s writings. Secular authority centralized into the figure of the monarch, which rendered the monarch one and the same with the physical state. In doing so, the monarch’s authority nominally and officially superseded the nobility’s authority in state matters.

The merchant ranks, however, continued to grow in importance and relevance as trade increased throughout Northern Europe and time, from the Middle Ages on, “became an object of measurement” and “becoming […] the orderly conduct of business.” Time(s) was not the property of the state or the Church. Time ordered the whole of society from the top-down and bottom-up. No one could escape from time(s) or from how time(s) began to undergo changes during the early modern period that gave way to our contemporary conceptions of time(s). For Ralegh, the lures of legacy, of fame and renown, outshined the ordered, almost banal ordering of merchant’s time—the rising time. This chapter reveals how Providential history, as Hakluyt compiled them, and the increasingly utilized merchant’s time began to overtake the Renaissance ideal of individual legacy and sounded the tolling of the bell for Elizabethan chivalry.

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93 For more on the Tudor monarchs becoming synonymous with the state see Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
The final chapter, “Expressing Time(s) in Hakluyt’s Writing,” brings together the expressions of time explored in the preceding chapters and demonstrates how these times wove together to form a singular invocation for the whole of “our English nation.” Each expression of time operated independently yet wholly integrated with the other expressions of time. One expression of time might dominate the others, but each remained a constant presence in Hakluyt’s writings. Transforming and changing conceptions of time(s) and temporality were a muddled affair in early modern England—as time(s) and temporality continue to be through our present day. This chapter demonstrates how these times came together to present the reader with a unified English narrative of an eventual (if then fictive) empire. From the first expansion of an English empire under King Arthur to England’s current blessed push for expansion, Hakluyt consistently referred to “our English nation.” Every English person had a role to play, a skill to contribute to the cultivation and eventual completion of England’s Providential empire.

Conclusion

What, then, of England’s future endeavors and riches? Hakluyt imparted to his readers distant and recent histories, contemporary letters, travel accounts, and instructions detailing what they need to do to attain prosperity for the Commonwealth. He fused England’s Providential time and overseas exploits into one space connecting every English person to the task of benefitting the Commonwealth. The cyclical time of regular routine fueled the linear process and progress of expanding and enriching England. The linear progression of time existed in Christian doctrine and gave shape to English (and European) conceptions of time. Hakluyt, however, diverged from the traditional Christian linear time, resulting in a more secular linear progression of continual progress. Rather than linear time leading to an inevitable end, English linear time, as Hakluyt abstractly articulated it, led to perpetual glory and prosperity. For Hakluyt, there was no end to this temporality. If Hakluyt were to identify an end to prosperity, that would inevitably require the downfall and decay of England and its overseas trade and plantations. This would then raise the question of why risk expanding when it could all vanish and corrupt? To compensate for this, Hakluyt did not predict exactly when England would achieve its glories and prosperity. He merely explained and described what England needed to do so as to achieve these rewards for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

In Hakluyt’s writings, the co-existence of cyclical and linear times did not detract from the strength or validity of England’s cause. Rather they each enhanced Hakluyt’s main objective: to promote and “preserve certain memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation achieved, from the greedy and devouring iaws [jaws] of oblivion.” Using the Elizabethan rhetoric of nationhood and ‘Englishness,’ Hakluyt connected his readers to both mundane deeds and grand adventures by placing these narratives within the unifying scope of English history and daily life.

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98 Just how far removed is the past from the present? The past and present both overlap in Hakluyt’s works but were also quite separate entities and yet the past lived beside and inside the present providing justification, precedent, continuity, and community. All various, independent threads of different temporalities culminated into a single, overarching temporality. Burke and Woolf argue the same. See: Peter Burke, “The Renaissance Sense of the
Hakluyt’s writings contain both the ordinary and fantastical aspects of life, from the cyclical daily time to the demands, excitements, and fears of overseas adventures, to connect readers and accrue their support for this grand endeavor.

Time(s) in Early Modern English History: A Brief Overview and Defining of the Times Explored in Hakluyt’s Writings

In this chapter, the history of time and the definitions for the expressions of time(s) articulate how the English understood and interacted with time(s). Time(s) was messy and fluid and lived both within and outside of society at large, influencing society while also being influenced by society. This chapter focuses on providing a brief historical overview of time(s) (mostly Medieval and early modern) and defining the expressions of time(s) found in Hakluyt’s writings.

Early modern conceptions of time and temporality were simultaneously straightforward and an utterly complex interwoven matrix of cohesive and conflicting times. Imagine a glass tray layered with different colors of sand. Each layer is a different color representing a different concept, construction, development, or expression of time and temporality from the cultural to the social to the commercial to the religious and so forth. Now imagine taking a thin stick and sinking it into the sand, shifting the sand, so the layers begin to mix, but each individual color remains recognizable as all the colors mix together, creating hues of varying degrees of vibrancy. Some brighter, some fainter hints of the colors fade betwixt and between each layer until the colors appear to bleed together, and one color cannot be extracted from the others without disrupting the entirety of the sand-covered tray. The colors are messy and bleed together while retaining their unique hues. Time(s) in early modern England worked much the same way.

The past touched the present, the present the past. The future, from a medieval, pre-Renaissance perspective, remained constant, leading to that same inescapable end: the Last Judgment. The future was merely a repetition of the past to come, whether the next day, next month, or next year. Certain calamities required adjustment, but, ultimately, the Christian path remained unchanged. The past and present paved the way towards the Last Judgment, the end of the world. “The future only exists as a present future, the past only as a present past.”1 How then could the present in and of itself be described? Looking back to St. Augustine’s De anima, “[t]he three dimensions of time are bundled in the presentness of human experience [...] Time is only present in its constant withdrawal: in the expectatio futurorum [expectation of things to come], the future [and] in the memoria praeteritorum [memory of things past] the past.”2

The early modern European and English world was a world in which time(s) moved in a cyclical motion with a single linear line leading directly to the Second Coming. A constant loop of seasons and agriculture guiding and dictating a society’s actions while the Roman Catholic Church’s liturgical calendar overlaid nature’s steady cycle. At times, there were climatic fluctuations in nature’s patterns that the Church’s liturgical calendar acquiesced to, from time to time, such as war, bad storms, unseasonable weather, or droughts. Church history also presented the numerous reforms pushed through, such as one contemporary to Elizabethan England (that did not take hold in England): the Gregorian calendar introduced in 1582 that took the place of the Julian calendar of the early Church.3 The argument could be made that during the course of the

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2 Koselleck, Sediments of Time, 102. The present time is attention (the presences of the present).
3 England did not switch over to the Gregorian calendar until September 2, 1752.
sixteenth century, people—both clerical and lay—noticed a shifting in the conception of time(s), hence the attention paid to it. “When man addresses time most vividly, the fact of change becomes most pressing.”

Time, a touchy and taciturn facet of human experience, was as elusive as it was constant in the world. From the Renaissance to the French Revolution, early modern conceptions of time(s) began to realign and reconfigure into new conceptions of temporality.

Early modern Europe’s (and England’s) reimagining and re-understanding of time, however, remained a slow process with subtle signs of temporality’s acceleration. Reinhart Koselleck provides our definition of acceleration: “If we may characterize progress as the first genuinely historical category of time—which it is, despite its historical-theological implications—then acceleration is a specific variety of this progress.” For our purposes, acceleration in the sixteenth century was a sense of time picking up pace towards some endpoint, like the Second Coming or, for Hakluyt, the perpetuation of an English empire. The sense of standing still or idle rather than acting and moving became a pervasive fear in early modern England. Fears of idleness and the assured arrival of the Second Coming coupled with the Reformation, the Renaissance, the news from the New World, and increasing secular authority fed into an escalating sense that the end of the world approached quicker than it ever had before with events and calamities seeming to occur on a daily basis.

For some contemporaries, “the anticipation of Christ’s return was heightened by the religious conflicts of the period: for Protestants and Catholics alike, the division of the church was itself a sign that the end was drawing near.” The nearness of the end of the world spurred a sense of time’s acceleration, as did the changes occurring in both Church and State.

Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a centralization of power took place in Western Europe. In England, Henry VII began this process in order to secure his rule. Secular rulers began to wield more authority both politically and religiously, as Henry VII and VIII did. Converting to Protestantism took spiritual authority away from the Church. Where the Roman Catholic Church was once the only means of finding salvation, various Protestant sects now claimed the same. The confluence between the centralization of secular authority and Protestantism brought Protestant rulers, like Henry VIII, into “a sporadic struggle against all manner of religious and political predictions,” typically regarding the monarch’s death or the Second Coming.

Rather than the Roman Catholic Church reigning as the sole arbiter on spiritual matters, Henry VIII, Head of the Church of England, now held authority over determining England’s path to salvation. When he broke from Rome, Henry VIII’s state and church took on the mantel of spiritual authority the Church once held. In doing so, the English church created another path to salvation—to the Second Coming—than the one the Roman Church predicted. The Church of England became an arbiter of the future as it—not Rome—now controlled the path to the Last Judgment. In England, “[t]he state enforced a monopoly on the control of the future by suppressing apocalyptic readings of the future,” which the Crown typically achieved by arresting

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4 Quinones, *The Renaissance Discovery of Time*, 16.
5 Koselleck, *Sediments of Time*, 89.
“[d]isobedient prophets” and leaving them to either burn as heretics or languish in prison for life. By doing so, the Protestant Tudor monarchs “assumed a function of the old Church for anti-Church objectives” in that they controlled England’s future “and proscribed in strong terms any prediction of this nature.” The future and the Second Coming now rested in the monarch’s authority as Head of the Church of England. From the monarch’s death to the Second Coming, predicting the future rested within the state and the state church, not in Rome, and to try and predict the future was an attack on the Crown’s authority.

The growing sense of movement towards an ending gained traction in the sixteenth century. Koselleck defines two distinct variations of acceleration: political crises and technological innovations. He applies both of these variations of acceleration to modern history but offers a “new perspective” by examining “the criteria for acceleration in use prior” to the modern period. Koselleck argues that the Christian Judgment Day, the day when Christ would descend from Heaven again, was an acceleration in the early modern period. “The apocalyptic texts of the Judeo-Christian tradition repeatedly take up the foreshortening of time” in that the texts foretell the coming end through a series of events that God controls. Or,

One might define temporal foreshortening as a concept of religious experiences, but it draws its meaning from Christian expectation, by which temporal foreshortening is a favor of God, who does not want to suffer us to wait so long for the end of the world […] The end should [thus] come about sooner than it otherwise would. The standard of this temporal foreshortening is the prophesized overcoming of time itself.

Time(s) in this sense—the end of the world—moved with either considerable haste or “great delay,” with each being “an indication of God’s grace.” For contemporaries, the Apocalypse seemed to either approach too quickly or not quickly enough. Both senses of movement, dawdling towards the end or hastening towards the end, worked together to heighten the sense that time moved in a single direction: linear, not cyclical. A direction that either swiftly moved towards the end of the world or slowed down until time seemed to stand still. In the sixteenth century, this sense of apocalyptic timing(s) gradually began to diminish, however, in part, because of the Reformation. With the Reformation, time(s), like those in Christianity, became more worldly-based, living within the secular world, not separate from it in a monastery. This did not mean time(s) lost all spiritual meaning(s) or Church/liturgical times, but that time began to move outside

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10 Koselleck, Futures Past, 16.
12 Koselleck, Sediments of Time, 93-94.
13 Koselleck, Sediments of Time, 94.
the limits of an Apocalyptic end and into a secular world towards a future not predicated on the Second Coming.\textsuperscript{14}

New discoveries in the New World, new technologies, new religious sectarianism, and the shifting of political power from scattered to centralized placed time in a new space of historical realities. New realities that “time was being foreshorted that did not invoke the Apocalypse […],

The notion of self-foreshortening spaces of time still remained enclosed within a horizon of expectation (namely, that in the future ever-faster progress will ensue), but the notion is also enriched by other, new kinds of experience that were not interpreted in a [strictly] Christian sense. The discoveries and inventions of the emerging natural sciences constituted the hard kernel of experience from which it initially derived. Here we can note a general tendency for the time span between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries; the hopes and expectations, initially stimulated by Christianity, enriched by utopianism, and then applied to the history of inventions and discoveries, were increasingly overtaken by principles of experience from the natural sciences.\textsuperscript{15}

To this, Hakluyt’s and other promotional authors, like Sir Humphrey Gilbert as well as the writings of John Dee and Sir Walter Ralegh’s \textit{History of the World} (1614), could be included. Time, as Hakluyt lived it, remained a time alive with spiritual times, ritual times, merchant times, and chivalric times. As Koselleck describes it above, the shifting of time was a slow, tedious movement that grew in scope and space alongside a sense of Christianity being more firmly rooted in the world as never before.\textsuperscript{16}

In Hakluyt’s writings, acceleration and the causes and changes humans wrought under the auspices of Providence manifest in a sense of urgency. From the \textit{Divers Voyages} (1582) to the \textit{Principal Navigation} (1598-1600), Hakluyt called for England to seize this moment to act. God’s Providence was in this moment of time. God chose this present time to bless the English and grant their overseas empire Providential success. In calling for action, Hakluyt imbued his writings with a sense of urgency—that time, a divinely appointed time, required immediate action by the English, and if the English instead remained idle and, thus, ignored Providence, the English would lose their opportunity to carry out the will of God and build their empire. English history, as Hakluyt demonstrated, revealed the Providential path England walked through the experiences and actions of those “in all former ages, [that] they have bene men full of activity.”\textsuperscript{17} The urgency Hakluyt infused into his writings was not necessarily an acceleration but gave voice to the growing sense that the present was no longer an extension of the past and the world appeared to move at a quicker pace. Hakluyt sought to push the Crown—the state—to act.


\textsuperscript{15} Koselleck, \textit{Sediments of Time}, 95-96.


\textsuperscript{17} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations, vol. 1}, 3.
The state, in the body of the monarch, gained new authority over England’s Providential future. No longer was God’s Providence an outside force, doled out by the Roman Catholic Church, directing the machinations of England. Now God and the English Crown controlled the future. As such, England’s time became a strictly English phenomenon in which Hakluyt, like others, saw the workings of Providence and the changing time(s). The manner in which people interacted with time (temporality) became an active force rather than a passive one, from how people read to how Hakluyt called for the English to preserve and build their empire.\(^\text{18}\) Time no longer simply carried on in people’s lives. Time was a force in which people could act and change it via their actions, so long as those actions were in accordance with England’s Providential future.

**Ancient and Chronicle Time**

In the ancient world, Aristotle, whose philosophies influenced Western learning, understood the universe as revolving in perfect spheres around a motionless Earth while the stars remained anchored in permanent heavenly positions. With the Earth at the center of the universe, the universe beyond the moon continued in unchanging paths. Planets, composed of a fifth element, ether (a celestial element that existed above the clouds), not the four elements (air, earth, water, and fire), orbited around the Earth in perfect circles all at the same speed and everything in the universe remained everlasting except for comets and meteors. They existed between the stationary Earth and the moon since they did cause alterations in the night sky, unlike the universe beyond the moon.

There were changes on Earth since the elements of fire, water, air, and earth required changes as organic substances and were completely different from the ether, which constituted the rest of the universe. Changes on Earth told of a cycle: of seasons, of the ages, of people being born, and of people dying. Aristotle’s idea of time was a reflection of these changes. For Aristotle, time was cyclical. Time was “an eternal, uniform, and cyclical motion susceptible to the enumerating activity of the mind.”\(^\text{19}\) Time’s steady motion never altered its course or shifted in some way to speed up or slow down. The world was steady; the heavens were steady; time was steady. Peoples’ own use of time (temporality) was what distorted time. Marking out gradations of time by attaching time to a particular event, person, place, or age was what made time “susceptible” and seeming to change. Time, itself, was an absolute, according to Aristotle; people’s observations and need to order time were what caused the idea of time to change.

After the fall of Rome in the West, histories like those composed by Herodotus and Tacitus gave way to chronicles. Chronicles were accounts of what “happened to people” during the yearly cycle, where histories provided by Ancient scholars read more as ethnographies.\(^\text{20}\) Time remained an unchanging entity in these chronicles because, in the Middle Ages, time remained cyclical, with the only forward movement being the progression towards the Second Coming. The present was

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\(^{18}\) This is further examined in “Hakluyt’s Active Time.”


only an extension of the past leading to the Last Judgment. The chronicle was a historical record that restarted every year—a cycle of events that come and go, the experiences codified within the expectation of what would, could, and did occur in a given year. Hayden White argues that “[t]he Annals of St. Gall […] vividly figure a world of scarcity and violence, a world in which ‘forces of disorder’ occupy the forefront of attention, ‘in which things happen to people rather than one in which people do things.’”21 In medieval Europe, the chronicle recorded what happened to the people living in that year and provided proof of the Second Coming.

The events recorded in the medieval and into the early modern period were both singular and uniform. They typically did not record the mundane, everyday routine of life. In 1649, Johann Heinrich Alsted described history as “a chronicle, a representation along a chronological order, for history, after all, manifests itself in times.”22 Attempting to divorce history from the conceptions of time during these centuries, from medieval to early modern, was not only impossible but blindly ignorant. The present was an extension of the past, of experience. The future, too, was an element of the present in that the future was the expectation, as St. Augustine described the present.

Chronicles, however, captured a singularly significant feature of history: chronology. Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, “History, indeed [became] the Body, but Chronologie the Soul of Historical Knowledge; for History with Chronologie, or a Relation of things past, without mentioning the Times in which they were Acted, is like a Lump or Embryo without articulation, or a Carcass without Life.”23 Without precise chronology, history was only words. With chronology, history became a means of seeing Providence unfold. The medieval chronicles recorded the passing of years and the nearing of the Second Coming. Chronicles followed the cyclical patterns of the seasons and the linear markers indicating the progression towards the Last Judgment. “[U]ntil the mid-eighteenth-century, the Eusebian model—a simple matrix with kingdoms listed across the top of the page and years listed down the left- or right-hand columns—was dominant.”24 The temporal organization provided by chronicles, ordered the world year by year, was the means by which early modern scholars then curated and made sense of history. Without seeing how events flowed chronologically, they could not see Providence at work. Hakluyt employed this structure in his Divers Voyages (1582) and Principal Navigations (1589, 1598-1600).

The Renaissance’s Quest for Legacy

Renaissance humanists distanced themselves from the Medieval past.25 They sought to bring the Classical world closer by putting space between them and what they considered the Middle Ages. Peter Burke argues that in the fifteenth century, Western Europe experienced a shift in distancing the present from the past, specifically between what Renaissance scholars dubbed the backwardness they saw in the Medieval period and the lauded achievements of the Ancient world. 500 BCE-500 CE was the golden age of Classical culture, and the duration of time that

21 Rosenberg, Cartographies of Time, 12.
22 Koselleck, Sediments of Time, 101.
23 Rosenberg, Cartographies of Time, 19.
24 Rosenberg, Cartographies of Time, 16. For more on Eusebius, see pp. 45-46.
humanists decided was where the Latin language and Classical philosophy and culture reached their zenith. In this thousand-year stretch, the Classical world saw the pinnacle of art, language, philosophy, citizenship, and, most notably, the early Church in its purest, truest form.

Creating separation between the past and present required Renaissance scholars to develop a sense of the present. By distancing themselves from the Middle Ages, the scholars sought to reconnect, or reestablish, a connection with the Classical age. These scholars all but deleted the Middle Ages from their histories, focusing on the learning and culture of those one thousand years in which society and culture reached a pinnacle. Creating a division between the Classical age, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, broke with the traditional conception of the present manifesting merely as an extension of the past. There was no expectation that the present would look different from the past or that the present would result in a different future beyond the Second Coming. Emphasizing one particular age over another and the growing school of humanism helped spur the development of an individual age in which society could strive to attain the high standards set by those ancient paragons.

The Classical World, as humanists heralded it, revealed itself as a long-lost golden age filled with the idealized structures of societies and the ancients’ invaluable wisdom. This became a time when people lived their best, society and culture marched along at their peaks, and the early Church was pure and unblemished. The past, that long-vanished golden age, provided the example for the present to strive to achieve, as Petrarch argued. For Petrarch, time was “the antagonist he would overcome in his pursuit of the laurel of fame and beauty,” which he constantly demonstrated in his many works and letters. In Petrarch’s writings, time’s central role emphasized time as a driving force behind his works and compelled him to “look outside of time” in his “quest for permanence” for fame and legacy. Legacy and fame were “civilization’s triumph over time.” In the Renaissance, legacy and fame became the means of achieving lasting renown and defeating one’s mortal time. Legacy and fame were how an individual or a society would be remembered through the ages like the Romans and Greeks were remembered. Within his limited, mortal time, Petrarch struggled and worked to develop an immortal fame and legacy that would keep him—his legacy—alive for future generations to emulate as he sought to do with the Classical World.

Concerns about living a life worthy of legacy, of how someone would be remembered after he or she died, began to rise as ideas of legacies formed. As the present and the past developed into individual spaces of time, people desired to preserve their legacies for future generations to study and emulate—like Renaissance scholars did the Ancients. One’s actions in the present now carried over into the future because the present was a distinct time from both the past and future. In the present, an individual or a society could distinguish him/her/itself from the past through memorable and good actions that benefitted self or society. The past continued to linger as a shadow in the present, but that shadow no longer defined how the present would operate or what would happen during the present. “Victory over time is the measure of their heroism; a need for special distinction, one which rises above the anonymity of the everyday, compels them to seek the arduous, the unusual.” Through the Renaissance’s new conceptions about time, humanists

28 Quinones, The Renaissance Discovery of Time, 108.
29 Quinones, The Renaissance Discovery of Time, 3.
sought to establish themselves through their and their great contemporaries’ heroic and vigorous actions as utterly different from the Middle Ages.

However, “[...] the actual description of the process of time in the Renaissance represented nothing new, although there is increased sense of urgency and a different emphasis on termination and final nothingness.”\textsuperscript{30} While the Renaissance focus on legacy and fame certainly directed some attention from the present as repetition of the past to a desire to secure a legacy for future generations to observe and praise, the Renaissance did not overhaul the whole of the temporal structures and conceptions of time in early modern Europe. The themes and ideas surrounding time as a means of directing past and present changed little within the Renaissance itself. Dante and Shakespeare both imitated Ovid’s imagery of time when the Ancient author “compares [time] to the movements of the waves:

\begin{quote}
The tyme itself continually is fleeting like a brooke/ For neyther brooke nor lygthsomme tyme can tarrye still. But looke As every wave dryves other foorth, and that that comes behind Bothe thrusteth and is thrust itself: Even so the tymes by kind Doo fly and follow bothe at once, and evermore renew. For that that was before is left, and streyght there dooth ensew Anoother that was never erst.\textsuperscript{31}
\end{quote}

Time remained a constant flow, one that washed away and made new but left traces of what came before all around. Legacy, an immortal legacy, was what would remain once the past washed away from the present.

The Renaissance brought about the idea that legacy would become the lasting marks people left for future generations in order to keep their memories alive. These lasting marks were the summation of their lives, proof of a life well-lived as was Petrarch and his successors’ concern. With the civic humanist school of learning, time became a matter of how the individual could make their world better than it was before. How to be the ideal citizen, ruler, and Christian provided the governing instructions for a life well-lived, thus ensuring a lasting legacy. “Fame, be it remembered, as a fundamentally natural impulse toward self-continuation and time transcendence is not necessarily alien to a Christian setting.”\textsuperscript{32} Fame and legacy revolved around the desire to be a good citizen and Christian, thus building a reputation that would provide an example to future generations just as the Renaissance lauded classical heroes achieved. The conception of exemplar figures who represented idealized behavior was not new to the Renaissance.

\textbf{Urban and Rural}

Urban centers and rural areas revolved around different concepts and structures of time(s). Some of the times overlapped, like liturgical time, but, for the most part, time(s) operated differently in each space since each space had different rhythms guiding the varying elements of life and society. For the urban area, time acted as a means of regulating a space in which merchant’s

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[\textsuperscript{30}] Quinones, \textit{The Renaissance Discovery of Time}, 13.
\item[\textsuperscript{31}] Quinones, \textit{The Renaissance Discovery of Time}, 13.
\item[\textsuperscript{32}] Quinones, \textit{The Renaissance Discovery of Time}, 45.
\end{itemize}
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time was a higher priority than was the day-by-day minute of agricultural time. An urban space, with its generally larger populations, also developed a more structured sense of time. From the fourteenth century on, cities began to organize daily life via clocks, like the one installed at London’s Westminster Palace in 1396, and through the employment of modern hours.\(^{33}\) With larger populations and increasing commercial and trade growth, cities required a more secure sense of organization for labor and government and to maintain order within the city’s walls, unlike what those living in rural spaces experienced.

Trade and commerce required clocks and timing, as Le Goff argues, while Cressy demonstrates how the English state revamped the English calendar for its organization and regulation of politicking business.\(^{34}\) The rapidity of urbanized commercial activities alongside the increasing transition from political power being spread throughout a state to a centralized point, like the Tudors achieved, revealed how the innovations of time reflected changes in society at large. With the arrival and dissemination of the news regarding Columbus’s discovery and the subsequent developments and discoveries, time began to shift in the sense of possibilities but also promoted increasing trade and competition for this freshly discovered new world across the ocean. As Koselleck demonstrates, a new development of time(s) occurred from the sixteenth century into our present day: acceleration. Whereas Koselleck examines this acceleration through the lens of “the foreshortening of time already envisioned by apocalyptic thought,” the writings surrounding and promoting overseas ventures, particularly in England, took on a sense of acceleration—of necessary quick action and fortitude rather than idle hands.\(^{35}\) The shifting tides of time(s) as social, economic, and political needs changed into a sense of quickening, but not one perceptible in everyday life. These shifting senses of time—as with all times—were gradual and unevenly influenced each social level differently and at different points.

From the fourteenth century on, city spaces began to shift towards being commercial and trade centers and hubs for political power in the form of centralized rule. These spaces became less reliant on agricultural time unless food shortages or famine struck or supply chains dissolved for their sense of time(s). And with increasing trade in Europe as well as from farther afield, a merchant’s (or city dweller’s) direct income, sense of time(s), measuring and utilizing time, became a significant factor in not only business but daily life. For business, the shifting tides of time(s) moved in coordination both by chance and conscious manipulations as trade increased. The overarching significance of merchant’s time readily revealed itself in Hakluyt’s *magnum opus*, two editions of *Principal Navigations*. Within these works, the most recent reports and accounts Hakluyt collected, edited, and published, pertain to trade and its surrounding activities more so than the grand deeds of valiant kings and knights exploring uncharted lands that filled the first part of his volumes.

One factor both spurring and guiding the rising importance of merchant’s time came in the form of the mechanical clock. From the fourteenth century onwards, clocks—mechanical clocks—in commercial areas like northern Italy, England, the German states in the Holy Roman Empire, and northern France were “an indication [of] strong forward movement, the dynamic element” of

\(^{33}\) Dohrn-van Rossum, “Time,” 150.

\(^{34}\) When referring to time in discussing trade, I will use Le Goff’s term “merchant’s time” to identify this expression of time.

\(^{35}\) Koselleck, *Sediments of Time*, 82.
time. \textsuperscript{36} These were also the areas where trade and commerce, once the purview of Southern Europe, shifted to during the sixteenth century.

For example, an aphorism attributed to Charles V was “portae, pulsus, pueri” (“gates, bell strokes, children”). \textsuperscript{37} “Solid and guarded walls and gates, proper schools, and orderly bell strokes would thus have been for the emperor characteristics of a well-governed city.” \textsuperscript{38} Time, physical time as told by a clock, equaled order, the Renaissance ideal of a godly city and citizen. The clock provided a rigid schedule to daily life in which every person residing in a city space had set places and expectations of labor throughout the day. Clock time bred social order, thus maintaining peace within the city space and allowing for increased business and its resulting wealth.

Charles V was not alone in his admiration of clocks as an instrument for upholding social order in cities, as evidenced by the Westminster clock. London was a city with numerous merchants whose own time was profit, as Jacques Le Goff reveals. The corralling of people’s time did not remain exclusive to city spaces but extended into rural areas as well. Henry VII and Henry VIII of England both passed labor laws for rural laborers. Starting with the statute of 1495, rural laborers, like their urban counterparts, had a specific organization of their time. In the summer, laborers (“workmen, servants, husbandmen, and agricultural workers”) would begin their labors at five in the morning and continue, with regulated breaks lasting no longer than two and a half hours, until seven or eight at night. \textsuperscript{39} In the winter, the hours of labor changed since the hours of daylight varied. These limits were less stringent than summer hours of labor since people were to “be at their work in the springing of the day and depart not until the night of the same day.” \textsuperscript{40} These times stated in the 1495 statute were repeated in later statutes in 1514 and the Statute of Artificers of 1563 and would remain the times of rural labor until the eighteenth century. Ordering time ordered society, both for urban and rural spaces, which aided in promoting an ordered, overall peaceable governance of the state.

City and rural time(s), however, did begin to drift apart from the late fifteenth century on due to the differing temporal needs of urban and rural spaces. In rural areas where agriculture remained the majority of work, time continued along the same—or similar—trajectory as it always had, an annual cycle of seasons and rhythms. The Renaissance and Reformation had little impact on the rural structure of time(s) aside from the occlusion of saints’ days afforded them by the Church of England after 1536. \textsuperscript{41} The reasons the government of Henry VIII passed this injunction dramatically decreasing the number of holy days were a medley of both social secular and spiritual concerns. The reasoning centered on order and protecting that order “to preserve the moral and economic order,” resulting in the number of holy days being slashed to ensure a decrease in idle pursuits. \textsuperscript{42} England, however, did not act in solitude. In the various regions of France during the sixteenth century, “public clocks and their running in the care of the territorial administration”

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{36} Quinones, \textit{The Renaissance Discovery of Time}, 5.
  \item \textsuperscript{38} Dohrn-van Rossum, \textit{History of the Hour}, 155.
  \item \textsuperscript{39} Dohrn-van Rossum, “Time,” 153.
  \item \textsuperscript{40} Donald Woodman, \textit{Men at Work: Labours and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450-1750} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 123.
  \item \textsuperscript{41} Cressy, \textit{Bonfires and Bells}, 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{42} Cressy, \textit{Bonfires and Bells}, 4.
\end{itemize}
grew in importance for the local and state governments and their orderly operations. Ordering and mechanizing time(s) served to instill an order across society that underpinned and smoothly guided the state’s operations and calendar as well as local city/merchant’s time.

With the greater inclusion of mechanical clocks into urban spaces, city time developed into hourly time, with hourly time beginning to replace the traditional system of time derived from canonical hours. Matins, Prima, Tertia, Sexta, Nona, Vespers, and Compline gave way to hourly time as ticked away by a clock from the fourteenth century onwards. Benjamin Franklin’s words ‘time is money’ would have rung true in early modern cities as merchants and traders and city laborers kept track of time with more precision than ever before in order to raise their profits. Part of this increasing trend towards precision owed to the advent of mechanical clocks during the 1300s, but another part owed more to trade and commerce finding its way into Northern Europe, as Ricardo J. Quinones demonstrates. In examining the various events and trends of early modern Europe, he reveals how the shifting sands of time(s) and how northern Europe versus southern Europe ordered their times differently, with the North placing greater focus on merchant’s time allowed for a shift in trade from south to north.

Quinones and Le Goff demonstrate how trade, commerce, and time intertwined to develop a new culture of time keeping, reckoning, and ordering. In ordering social time, “the clock became an image for orderly political life” while it also served merchant’s time in tracking trade and, thus, profits. Profits and pricing required knowledge of how long it took to travel across an ocean, and that required a better account of time. Without accurate time and an ordering of that time, business and political life would fall to chaos resulting in disorder and mercantile loss for the whole of society. Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum vividly illustrates this in describing the rising significance and profound influence of the mechanical clock and the development of a new modern recounting of time. Continuous improvements to clocks and the creativity of clock makers saw clocks’ accuracy grow along with the addition of the minute and second hands in following centuries as well as clocks that could go to sea. Clocks and time(s) no longer stood alone in the town square but traveled with the trade, ensuring a sense of order and consistency. Whether time was the physical presence of a mechanical clock, a business/labor requirement, or an abstract erudition (temporality), time and the order it provided were a forefront issue in the early modern period.

**English Reformation Time(s)**

Time(s) and temporality, a defining element of Renaissance thinking, were also components of the Reformation. With the Reformation, the objections and questions from the...

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43 Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 156.
47 Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 156.
Renaissance regarding certain aspects of the Roman Catholic Church came into play. The greatest of these challenges that wrought changes in Western European time(s) and temporality was the questioning of long-standing rituals and traditions instituted by the Church. Rituals connected people to a different time, a different space. The Raising of the Host, accompanied by smoke and bells, was as much pageantry as it was reverence for those witnessing the transubstantiation. Rituals helped to stamp the Church’s authority over not only faith but time itself. Rituals took place at certain times, required a certain amount of time, and could also promise more or less time in Purgatory. Rituals also helped regulate the calendar and kept a steady rhythm to people’s lives, with the ultimate end to this calendar being the Last Judgment. Advent, Ash Wednesday, and Lent followed the cycle of Christ and helped to control the pace of life during a time of the year when growing crops was not occurring and helped to establish a sense of linear living until the return of Christ.

When the Reformation called rituals and other Church practices into question, the Church lost control over time, not only of the liturgical calendar but also over the secular and agricultural calendars. As Le Goff and Quinones demonstrate, distinctions grew between church time and secular time. Whereas the Church and secular time moved together under the direction of the ubiquitous Roman Catholic Church, during the Reformation, the Church’s hold over both church and secular time began to wane as spiritual/Church time entered into secular spaces and became the purview of secular powers and society.

Prior to the Reformation, spiritual time existed in specific, cloistered spaces in which spiritual time—moving alongside secular time—remained quasi-separate from the secular world. These cloistered spaces were physical structures (such as monasteries, abbeys, cathedrals, or shrines) separating the holy from the secular. Spiritual time did not act devoid of secular time, just as secular time did not act without influence from spiritual time. Rather the two times interwove certain threads together in a fusion of both times in the secular world. “[T]he Church itself was divided between the so-called secular and regular clergy, those who lived within time and sought to mitigate the sins of a corrupt world, and those who sought as far as possible to live outside of time.”

The division of clergy was an old one in the Church that Peter Brown explored in *The Body & Society* (1988) when examining how ascetics sought to separate themselves from the world. Brown shows that these ancient ascetics’ practices carried into the early Church and continued in practice with the same goal: separation from the secular (corrupt) world. Spaces like monasteries, abbeys, or cathedrals were repositories for spiritual time, spaces in which time moved beyond the worries of daily life or of politicking.

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49 The Church’s Holy Sacraments were also a part of the tradition. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, the focus and emphasis resided on rituals, not the theological debates surrounding the sacraments.


While these distinctions and separations existed, they were transitory and fuzzy in practice. Ethan Shagan states, “this notion of a sharp line between temporal and spiritual authority was a fantasy.” Spiritual and Church times acted within the same sphere and scope as secular time(s), but each of these times also had individual spaces wherein one time dominated the others. Spiritual time’s space was in those areas that sought to shut out the corruptions of the secular world. Church time’s space was more liminal in that this time functioned in spaces that could qualify as both spiritual and secular such as physical church buildings where people came and went without necessarily carrying wholly spiritually inclined intentions. Secular time’s space was generally not within the bounds of physical structures designed for spiritual or Church times. Specific spaces dedicated to specific sections of Christian life and faith was an element of pre-Reformation England that disappeared in the wake of the English Reformation. “[T]he real import of the English Reformation, and what made it an epochal event, was that it placed Christianity resolutely and unapologetically in the world.” The English Reformation literally broke the physical barriers separating the distinct times of spiritual, Church, and secular with the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII and Cromwell, casting what, traditionally, was spiritual time—ascetics practices—into the secular world.

As the aftermath of the Reformation continued into the seventeenth century, the distinct spaces of spiritual, Church, and secular times began to meld into an English time, as with the English calendar produced in the mid-sixteenth century and refined during the reign of Elizabeth I demonstrated. Times, spiritual, Church, or secular, fell under the same umbrella of being English times. Each of these times remained a distinct element of time but was no longer separated by physical barriers. Instead, each resided in the world, interacting and mingling with the others. Spiritual time now existed within the same space as a secular time. An example of spiritual time’s dwelling now in the secular world came in the form of the radical Protestants popularly known as Puritans. Ascetic, spiritual practices mingled among secular (as well as politicking) practices forming their own brand of politics and ideology that went head-to-head with the Church of England and the state. God did not reside inside the physical church alone or in the Eucharist; God now lived everywhere in the temporal world, and, for Protestants, prayers did not require the intercession of the Church or its saints to reach God. Prayers could go directly to God from any place, at any time. These various conceptions of times, spiritual time that looked towards the end, Church/liturgical time, and secular/state time, were abstractions with far-reaching effects, one being the diminishing of the Church’s authority.

The English Reformation demolished the physical barriers between time(s) while also giving rise to new, more abstract concepts of time. Clock time retained its significance in trade and overseas travels (culminating in merchant’s time), but spiritual time took on a new scope within the space of overseas expansion and English imperial ambitions. No longer sequestered

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53 Shagan, “Periodization and the Secular,” 76.
54 Shagan, “Periodization and the Secular,” 77.
within purely spiritual spaces, English spiritual time entered a space in which “the workings of providence stemmed in large part from their expulsion of all intermediaries between God and the individual soul.”

Spiritual time focused on the world’s progression towards an end time, an apocalyptic time in which Christ would return. “Many if not most people believed that not too much time remained until the Second Coming and the end of history.” The Apocalypse was not a question of if but when. However, starting in the sixteenth century, there was a shift in the rhetoric about the Apocalypse. Rather than signifying an end time, apocalyptic rhetoric and thought began to focus on “a foreshortening of the time of history, an anticipated end of the world” rather than “a historical foreshortening of temporal processes.” Linear time began to wind down as the Second Coming neared. Soon, there would be less recent history to write because the time between history and the Second Coming became shorter and shorter. There would be less history, but the duration of time until the Second Coming remained the same. The accumulation of recent histories would dwindle as the end of the world neared. History, however, retained its purpose: to reveal God’s Providence. For Hakluyt, God’s Providence was England’s Providence—the promise of England’s empire.

Within Hakluyt’s distinctly English-oriented writings, the Second Coming was not overtly noted or mentioned, nor did it need to be when people understood it was coming. Hakluyt focused on England’s Providential/spiritual time(s)—times tempered by secular corruptions that required pious actions and intentions. The English Reformation, in breaking down the walls separating spiritual time and removing the intermediaries from between the faithful and God, brought England onto a direct Providential path God established for England’s overseas imperial expansion, which Hakluyt articulated in his plain prose. Providence, as Walsham demonstrates, had “a dual definition: it comprised both knowledge and power.” Knowledge referred to “the immutability of the Lord’s eternal and unchangeable decree” that “wove together the past, present, and future, the blueprint for human history drawn up in the beginning.” God’s plan included every potential happening and event, all of which “accomplished predetermined ends.” Power “pertained to the Lord’s ‘operating hands’ no less than His ‘observing eyes.’” God and now time (remaining a feature of God’s domain) were active forces within the world. He not only watched the workings of the world but actively guided them, altered them in accordance with His will. As Walsham states, “[f]oreknowledge was linked with perpetual, purposeful action, with direct and dynamic government of the terrestrial realm.” Action was a defining factor in Providence and in

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56 Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 9.
59 Koselleck, Sediments of Time, 94.
60 Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 9.
61 Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 9.
63 Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 10.
64 Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 10.
England’s quest to establish its preordained empire. God was active in shaping the world, while the pious had to be active in their faith and in seeking to act according to God’s will.\textsuperscript{65}

The English Reformation brought considerable changes from breaking with the Roman Catholic Church to changing the very physical landscape of England. Time(s) also began to shift with the changes wrought by the Reformation. Spiritual time, the bulwark against the corruptions of the world, entered into the secular world in a manner that helped give rise to English Providential rhetoric found in Hakluyt’s writings while also providing further impetus to the need for increased and improved English maritime and overseas endeavors. Rather than allow Catholic Spain to rule the seas and trade, England, Hakluyt argued, must seize the opportunity God’s Providence granted the English with pious and dedicated action to build England’s empire. The confluence of spiritual time into the secular world, the removal of intermediaries between the faithful and God, and the growing threat of Spain worked together to reveal a sense of urgency in Hakluyt’s works that prompted a sense of finite time in which to act. There was an end, and the time to act was now even as the end drew closer and closer with each passing moment. Hakluyt believed that England would trade with Japan and the Philippines, “[f]or mine owne part,”

\begin{quote}
I take it as a pledge of Gods [sic] further favour both unto us [the English] and them [the non-Christian people the English will encounter across the world]: to them especially, unto whose doors I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the truth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their merchants.\textsuperscript{66}
\end{quote}

Protestants’ Active Time

Distinctions of lower body and upper body time(s) followed similar lines as the distinctions between Roman Catholic perceptions versus Protestant perceptions in Elizabethan England.\textsuperscript{67} Contemporaries associated the lower body with baser human instincts and actions that represented the Seven Deadly sins. The lower body was self-indulgence and no self-restraint, while the upper body represented control and piety. Pieter Brueghel the Elder’s \textit{Battle between Carnival and Lent} (1559), distinguished the difference between the upper and lower bodies. Carnival represented the lower body—a time of sinning and frivolity—while Lent represented the upper body—a time of spiritual reflection and self-restraint.\textsuperscript{68} Within this vein, the assumptions of time(s) traveled, too. As Protestants understood time, it afforded them the chance to read and actively study the Scriptures to become better Christians. In England, Protestants often associated Roman Catholics with lower body pursuits and foolish, hollow rituals clouded in corruption and smoke and idleness. The idle nature of more passive traditional rituals continued throughout early modern Europe, but

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{65}{Action will be more closely examined in following chapters.}
\footnote{66}{Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 4.}
\footnote{67}{Elizabeth Heale, “‘Accidentall Restraints’: Straits and passages in Richard Hakluyt’s \textit{The Principal Navigations},” in \textit{Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe}, eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 279.}
\footnote{68}{Seemingly, Protestants experienced the accruement of wealth and labor differently from Roman Catholics, an argument Max Weber made in 1905.}
\end{footnotes}
as the sense of an active, faithful, good citizen importance increased, especially with the introduction and reformation of the Christian Humanist school of thought and learning.69

The onus for an individual’s spiritual life shifted from the priest (the Roman Catholic Church) to the layperson (akin to Luther’s famous ‘priesthood of all believers’). As such, the individual now held responsibility for his or her active exercise and deepening of his or her faith within the context of the transforming ritual spiritual practices. The active sense of movement—both the physical movement of information and knowledge and the spiritual climate’s fluctuations—provided an environment in which activity and activeness dominated how individuals encountered religion, news, goods, politics, and everyday life. In Tudor England, a sense of idleness continued to prevail among the social ranks throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century. One such facet causing considerable anxiety and fear of idleness was the Holy Days peppering the English calendar.

Many of the English holy days and festivals taking place in May and June “took on the characteristics of Carnival behavior,” which “historical demographers of England can demonstrate […] the months of May and June produced more conceptions than any other time of year.”70 These two months contain some of the most popular and lasting festivals in the British Isles, including Corpus Christi and May Day—a day that the Tudor government sought to curtail in various legislation and in redesigning the state’s (official English) calendar. May Day, as well as Corpus Christi (a moveable festival that occurred during May or June), were days of carnivalesque activities and pastimes for people in all social ranks. From the lowest farm laborer to the royal courts, May Day and festival days akin to it were “notorious for sexual license, although perhaps more notorious in puritan polemic than in general social conduct.”71 Even after 1536 in England, the legal calendar continued to follow the popish calendar for its liturgical and legal sessions. “It was ironic,” Cressy notes, “that the ecclesiastical courts, whose task included enforcing the discipline of the reformed religion, should adhere to the pre-Reformation calendar and perpetuate the memory of saints whose days had ceased to be festivals.”72

Reconciling the festivities that—to serious Protestants—appeared steeped in Roman Catholic traditions and lecherous behavior fitting the Carnival themes of disorder and misrule with the now Protestant England was not a facet of thought most, like William Harrison, sought to preserve. Changing the English calendar, as discussed above, rooted out the Roman Catholic and non-Englishness from the passage of a year. At least, the calendar achieved this in an official sense as local customs tended to carry on through the years with varying success. What these changes to the calendar and increasing Protestant rhetoric did succeed in perpetuating, however, was a sense of English Providence.

English Protestantism’s Providential rhetoric, being a “saved people” from the corruption and hollow rituals of popery, extended into the promotional literature, particularly in Arctic

69 For more on upper and lower bodies and rituals in the Roman Catholic Church and in Protestantism see Edward Muir, “Part II: Rituals of the body,” Ritual in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 89-154.
70 Muir, Ritual in Early Modern Europe, 101.
71 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 21-22.
72 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 11.
narratives. “[I]t is not surprising that English voyages frequently called for aid from the grace of God [where] grace is repeatedly described as manifesting itself as a response to the mariner’s own devoutness and heroic efforts.” Providence was a guiding light that would see the devout and those who toil and labor for England to prosperity—a theme Hakluyt included in his writings. The gradual shift from the rhetoric of the Second Coming to an almost utopian sense of future fulfillment then coupled with the Protestant rhetoric of Providence produced a powerful sense of English destiny that included “providential protection” and providential blessings on England. “This rhetoric of divinely blessed heroism and piety casts the mariners as agents of the virtuous expansionism and exploration envisaged in the writings of Hakluyt” and other travel account authors like John Davies.

Providence and Protestantism both required action as their driving force for piety and for protection. Providence and Protestant elements appeared to be missing in the various Carnivalesque escapades and festivals filling the English yearly calendar until after the reformation of the English calendar of 1536. Changing the calendar to exclude frivolous days that smacked of popish frivolity and idleness fed into the Protestant and Providential sense of movement and action as the defining themes for English life and work. These two themes were imbued within the writings of Hakluyt and other promotional authors and in the works of poets like Edmund Spenser’s The Fairie Queene (1590). Action and cause were catalysts for Providence and demonstrated a shifting sense from, as Hayden White argues, “a world in which ‘forces of disorder’ occupy the forefront of attention, ‘in which things happen to people rather than one in which people do things.” Rather than have “things happen to people,” Providence prompted actions by people to “do things.” This, however, did not distract from the continuing threat of disorder pervasive through the early modern period. What happened was that fear of disorder took on the face of idleness and of the corruptive popish festivals that invited misrule and disorder in the guise of frivolity. A Providential sense of time(s) required action to reach its fulfillment and, thus, required devout individuals to act without being waylaid by inane traditions or festivals celebrating idleness.

Marking English Time(s)

In 1892, Gustav Bilfinger argued that in order to understand the “transition from medieval to modern times,” social and cultural histories should be consulted. “For the transition is not merely a passage from the ancient to the modern hour, but also from an ecclesiastical division of time to a secular division.” The Church owned time as much as it owned magic. Both were divine manifestations of God’s power. Time, like magic, could be stolen or abused by people. Magic could be used to hurt other people, like a midwife causing a child to be stillborn in order to steal its soul or in signing a contract with the Devil. Each was a heresy against God and the Church.

73 Heale, “‘Accidentall Restraints,’” 278.
74 Heale, “‘Accidentall Restraints,’” 278.
75 Heale, “‘Accidentall Restraints,’” 279.
76 Rosenberg, Cartographies of Time, 12.
77 Le Goff, Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages, 43.
78 Le Goff, Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages, 43.
Time could also be stolen or wrongly owned by people. Into the early modern period, usury was the principal means by which time could be stolen because time could not be either sold or bought as it was “the common possession of all creatures.” Since time was divine, people could not borrow time or charge for time when time was not theirs to give or take. Time belonged to God and the Church. “Wasting one’s time became a serious sin, a spiritual scandal.” Time was a finite resource (still is) for Christians and the Renaissance humanists who needed to use their mortal time-limit to live as good and godly a life as possible in order to gain entry into Heaven while also establishing their legacy for generations to come. As humanist learning grew and spread, time no longer belonged solely to the Church and God. Rather, time became “the property of man” in which humanists and merchants alike, divided out their days in equal hours for their own business and pursuits.

Renaissance learning, however, was not the sole catalyst for transforming ideas of time and temporality. Merchant time, as Le Goff demonstrates, was the measuring of time in trade and business and money. Mostly contained in urban centers, like London or Bristol and cities of the kind, merchant time became the standard time from which businesses made decisions and ships’ captains kept their records and books. Pragmatic merchant time followed the flow of the seasons, depending as much upon the weather as agricultural communities did as weather determined the length of travel and time spent in port or making repairs or a loss of profits when a ship sank. Transport could not as easily move over muddy roads or in low-running rivers as it could through good roads and reliable waterways. In this, times—merchant and agricultural—overlapped. Hakluyt demonstrated this overlap through the reports and narratives of the eyewitness accounts and histories he included in his writings.

Multiple layers of time(s) existed in England, and not every layer affected every person the same across the country. Geographical location, as much as religious division, influenced which times held the most sway in a given space. Not all the variations of times affected all people living in England in the same manner. Time in the countryside was not the time found in an urban center, just as both country time(s) and urban(s) were not all found within Church time(s). In England, as Cressy demonstrates, the national calendar altered time, adding or taking away certain holy days or saints’ days, but local customs typically won out over the official yearly calendar.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the English calendar underwent several revisions, with the Elizabethan calendar (based upon the Edwardian calendar) becoming the official calendar. English statesmen drafting new calendars understood the influence time held over people.  

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79 Le Goff, Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages, 289. “The usurer acts in contravention to universal natural law, because he sells time, which is the common possession of all creatures. Augustine says that every creature is obliged to give of itself; the sun is obliged to give of itself in order to shine; in the same way, the earth is obliged to give all that it can produce, as is the water. But nothing gives of itself in a way more in conformity with nature than time; like it or not, everything has time. Since, therefore, the usurer sells what necessarily belongs to all creatures, he injures all creatures in general, even stones. Thus even if men remain silent in the face of usurers, the stones would cry out if they could; and this is one reason why the Church persecutes usury. This is why it was especially against the usurers that God said: ‘When I take back possession of time, when time is in my hands so that no usurer can sell it, then I will judge in accord with justice.’” John T. Noonan, The Scholastic Analysis of Usury (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 43-44.

80 Le Goff, Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages, 50.

81 Le Goff, Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages, 51.

82 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 15.
was the guiding function of life. Whether or not time(s) could be defined was a non-issue when time continued to march along at its steady or haphazard or accelerating or decelerating pace. Time was many definitions, ideas, conceptions, and feelings. The various conceptions and understandings and definitions of time were more or less valid than the next because time flowed differently from person to person, place to place, and era to era. Even within the same city, time worked on a multiplicity of levels. In medieval and early modern Bristol, layers of time operated to keep social order, trade, and daily life functioning for centuries. “Narratives of Bristol as a civic community also involved foundational times” from both Bristol’s local history and borrowing from national and religious histories and times.\(^8^3\) Bristol’s charter alone incorporated both local and national senses of time from establishing Bristol’s history—dating it back to the Normans—which required the inclusion of “wider national or religious narratives [for] Bristol’s civic identity.”\(^8^4\) Where Bristol’s “foundational time” invoked wide swaths of time, as national time did, “economic and political [times] dwelt on yet shorter periods” dependent upon both agricultural time and liturgical times.\(^8^5\) Agricultural time and liturgical time functioned in shorter bursts of time because trade continued to shift and alter as markets and ports of call changed. In Bristol, historical time, merchant’s time, liturgical, and agricultural times all comingled and mixed, with each time operating on a different level. Each level of Bristol’s society worked and lived within these times, but not every level affected each person on each level the same from day-to-day and year-to-year. Yet, there was a rhythm to time and its flow. One that an annual calendar could alter just as the one established over the course of the sixteenth century sought to do and did do in England.

The calendar reform in England hinged as much on removing Rome’s corrupting hold from England as it did “in the interest of seemly manners and social discipline.”\(^8^6\) Mostly committed to dissolving Rome’s influence of England, Henry VIII also took the chance to use the calendar reforms to strengthen the Crown’s position and make a statement about attempting to revolt against the Crown. Under Henry VIII, “the government […] degraded Thomas Becket from saint to upstart priest, and saw to the destruction of his shrine.”\(^8^7\) In 1536, the pageants celebrating Thomas Beckett’s martyrdom ceased only to be brought back under Mary I and continued until 1564 under Elizabeth I. Beckett, in the eyes of Henry VIII, sought to overrule a king via Rome’s authority. Removing Beckett’s legacy from the calendar proved the fallacy of attempting to usurp the Crown’s authority.

From Henry VIII on, the state—with the English church subsumed within it—appeared to own the official time of the realm. David Cressy shows that “distinctively in England they [bonfires and bells] were harnessed to the need of the state, to be deployed on its significant moments and anniversaries.”\(^8^8\) These bonfires and bells mark specific celebrations in the official state calendar of England. These celebrations officially ranged from certain saints, like England’s patron, St. George, to the anniversary of Elizabeth I’s accession on November 17. The Elizabethan calendar continued to reign as the official calendar into the eighteenth century, with new commemorations

\(^8^3\) Glennie, *Shaping the Day*, 103.
\(^8^4\) Glennie, *Shaping the Day*, 103.
\(^8^5\) Glennie, *Shaping the Day*, 103.
\(^8^6\) Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 5.
\(^8^7\) Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 5.
\(^8^8\) Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 67.
included and others falling by the wayside. But some elements of the calendar remained constant: the state directed the annual calendar time and that “the calendar was a lesson in history and a reminder of the duties, both secular and sacred” for the people living within this calendric time to learn, remember, and live.

The official calendar, however, was not the only calendar the English used to acknowledge the passage of time or mark events. Local areas kept their own calendars in tracking or commemorating seasonal, agricultural, ritual, and local traditions. As with the English Reformation, people continued to hold fast to certain elements that represented or carried within them particular values (or stubbornness) various local areas sought to celebrate. Some of these celebrations became lasting holidays still on the calendar, and others disappeared after a long time of coming and going year to year. Post-Reformation England, “[a]dvanced Protestants found fault with the Christian feast days but their push for reform had little immediate effect” and “[f]estive emphasis remained a local option.” From feast days celebrating St. Luke to the “superfluous ringing [of bells] on All Saints’ day” to pagan rooted May Day celebrations, local areas continued to pick and choose their holidays regardless of the state’s official calendar. Corpus Christi and its plays met their final end during Elizabeth I’s rule. The suppression of Corpus Christi began under Henry VIII, but various regions and towns throughout England kept the holiday alive, ignoring the official state calendar, like the city of York. Either way, the calendar and its marking of time permeated people’s lives and could be traced in their private reckonings and community observances.

Who, or what, then could claim an ownership of time? The English church could claim authority over time since time was divine, but the English state made and continued to change the official calendar. The English calendar’s national themes and observances separated the English calendar of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from calendars on the Continent, especially after 1582. The English calendar concerned itself with the English memory and state, not with the Church in Rome or with other European states like France and Spain. In this sense, the English owned their time, and as the calendar was “a lesson in history,” the calendar was English at its core. The national characteristics of the calendar, however, were not what dictated all times operating in England. The layers of time, overlapping, bleeding through, and conflicting all played active roles in English time. All of these times were found in Hakluyt’s writings, along with the complex layering and movements of these various times.

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89 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 7.
90 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 1.
91 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 9.
92 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 9.
93 For more see Clifford Davidson, “York Guilds and the Corpus Christi Plays: Unwilling Participants?” Early Theatre vol. 9, no. 2 (December 2006); and Bing D. Bills, “The ‘Suppression Theory’ and the English Corpus Christi Play: A Re-Examination,” Theatre Journal vol. 32, no. 2 (May 1980).
94 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 13.
95 Pope Gregory XIII altered the calendar by removing ten days (October 4th jumped to October 15th) and changing the new year to January 1 rather than March 25 (the feast of the Annunciation).
96 Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, 1.
Fusion of Times in Overseas Narratives

Hakluyt did not set forth to develop or impart new conceptions or expressions of time, but his writings were a time capsule for how time(s) transformed, changed, and shifted in Elizabethan England. At the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth I’s court employed chivalric language as a means of legitimizing a female monarch. This chivalric language had its roots in the romanticized Burgundian renaissance of chivalry of the fifteenth century that spread throughout Europe. Coupled with the Renaissance discovery of time (building a legacy to outlast one’s mortal life), chivalric language and Renaissance legacy fused into what I call chivalric time, exemplified by Sir Walter Ralegh. Chivalric time, however, reached its peak during Elizabeth’s reign, already fading from prominence by the 1590s as an increasing need for trade took precedence over knightly deeds. As state interest turned more to trade, the significance of chivalric time dimmed but remained a necessity as those knightly deeds remained essential for the advancement of trade. This was a transition captured in Hakluyt’s writings, specifically in his inclusion of Ralegh’s Discoverie of Guiana in which Ralegh sought to establish his legacy through his knightly actions while Hakluyt focused on trade. Successful and protected trade required protection granted by the Raleghs of England, but those individuals were second to English trade. The more fluid chivalric time began to give way to the regulated and ordered merchant time as trade grew in significance and knights/soldiers became necessary to protect English trade.

Chivalric time and merchant time enabled merchants and investors to factor profit and for captains and navigators to figure the best times to set out on their voyages and provided context of what to expect along the way. “[B]ut the Almighty God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the sixteenth of February, the ordinary breeze, which is the northwest wind, which never left us, till we came to an island of the cannibals, called Dominica, where we arrived the ninth of March, upon a Saturday.” Religion, commerce, and adventure all fused together in this passage by John Hawkins to provide the reader with timing, direction, information, and promise of success if the reader was faithful. In this one passage, the reader learned travel time, the winds, and about the ever-feared cannibals that they believed resided on certain islands in the West Indies. All of this information Hawkins wrapped with the secure knowledge that God “sent” them the winds they needed as well as the English crew’s status as God’s “elect.”

Marking the duration of the passage through the Strait of Magellan and along the west coast of South America gave prospective and a tentative timetable for sailing this route again. Whether or not the route proved a viable one depended on what the English could trade for or plunder along the way. Despite the less than wholly accurate, even vague, articulation surrounding Drake’s route, the copy of Drake’s “famous voyage” in the second edition of Principal Navigations’ provided an illuminating insight into the role time played in validating the account. Like the majority of merchant trade and raiding ventures the English carried out, Drake’s voyage included dates and times. From when they left England to how long it took to reach vague points on the map, dates and times instilled a sense of realness and authority in the writer’s account and of the actions that took place therein. “The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea” from 1577 regaled the reader with a report of woe and trials, “but it pleased God to preserve us from that extremity[s].” From the start of Drake’s voyage, trials and tribulations seemed to plague the

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venture from “the wind falling contrary” to the Pelican’s mast being damaged by a storm and the Marigold being pushed ashore.99 All of that happened before they were even away from Cornwall’s coast. When they finally left England on December 13, the reader could follow Drake’s voyage through precisely given dates and locations, allowing the reader to have a sense of participating in the voyage’s and England’s glory.

Along with the dates when the ships stopped at certain islands, the narrative Hakluyt included in The Principal Navigations, most likely coming from the chaplain, Francis Fletcher, also offered the readers details about the lands visited.100 The report also provided details about the climate and the seasons: “it may seeme strange that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being, between the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twise in the yeere […] whereof they have two Summers.”101 For captains and sailors, knowledge like this helped contextualize and prepare people for what they could expect to encounter in strange and distant seas and lands. Information about good ports and the people on the islands and how Drake handled these encounters provided relevant details for other ventures while reinforcing either English tenacity in the face of suffering or English honor in victories. The inclusion of the arrivals and departure times and length of time sailing from place to place further aided in contextualizing what merchants and sailors alike could expect along the way, allowing them to plan accordingly.

Dictating specific times also included degrees of commonality. The light may be different, the climate warmer, and the food strange, but they all existed within English expressions and experience of time(s). Ships ventured forth and returned with the English calendar regulating their hours, days, weeks, months, and years and following the Church of England’s liturgical calendar. While not as consistent as the mechanical clocks regulating cities, the rhythm of time(s) and temporality brought a sense of certainty to an otherwise uncertain venture, though not necessarily for those doing the actual voyaging into perilous waters. The description of sailing through the “streight or freat of Magellan going into the South see” provided both timing and information on victuals as well as reassurances of God’s divine blessing on English overseas ventures.102 Despite the storms and contrary winds, “often against us,” that interrupted their forward progress through the strait, the author included information on “many faire harbors, with store of fresh water” but also warned of “extrem blasts or contrary winds [that] carry with it no small danger.”103 As the author described all of the “monstrous and wonderful” sights passage through the strait and into the South Sea offered, he kept track of the progress through various dates and times and celestial events.104

The ships finally made it through the strait, even with the contrary winds and deep waters, but they were still not safe. On “the seventh day [of September] wee were driven by a great strome [sic] from the entering into the South sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree Southward of the Streight.” Then, on “the fifteenth day of September,” with the storm still

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102 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 8, 56.
103 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 8, 56.
104 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 8, 56.
raging, “fell out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the clocke at night.”105 Unfortunately for the voyage, the eclipse did not help or hinder it since “the sea continued in his force.”106 Finally, though, the ships were able to travel northwest and out of the straight to sail along the coast of Chile where they encountered “people whom the cruel and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine” to the security of an island.107

Despite the lack of accurate geographical locations, Drake’s account did provide the dates for which the ships encountered these peoples, when they found the islands, as well as providing the quantity and quality of victuals they procured. Intertwined within this narrative—supplying relevant information and the surety of food and clean water—Hakluyt edited it to present how feared and hated the Spanish are by the people who lived in these areas.108 He also made note that the island Drake’s ships stopped at was an island not yet claimed by the Spanish. This was significant because the writer provided evidence and placement for a permanent plantation along England’s route to Cathay. The English now had a commonality with the people in these islands: distrust and hatred of the Spanish and the desire to see England flourish.

While Drake’s voyage left quite a few of its details to the imagination, such as precise locations and his exact route, the dates and times provided lend the account the authority necessary to prove its credibility as well as nautical and travel information about England’s first circumnavigation. The trials and storms Drake weathered also infused the account with credibility. But it was the combination of time and tribulations that gripped the audience and created a sense of rightness to English overseas expansion projects. Rather than one time alone centering the narrative, multiple times interacted to provide not only a tale but also a report of what future sailors and merchants could expect when sailing in these waters.

As with Hawkins’ report, Drake’s, edited by Hakluyt from chaplain Francis Fletcher, contained the idea of divine protection and Providence within their successes. If God did not wish England to succeed, England would not sail and trade as Hawkins and Drake did. Both utilized a sense of time, clock time, calendar time, and Providence—in its two-part definition of “knowledge and power”—to add weightier authority to their accounts.

Oversea success depended on every English persons’ devotion and faithfulness, a quality these authors articulated and demonstrated through their own actions. Providence guided the English. The histories Hakluyt published all revealed this guiding hand of Providence. Editing histories in this fashion—to demonstrate Providence—was not new or unique to Hakluyt. Hakluyt constructed his Principal Navigations in a similar manner to the chronology fourth-century Christian theologian Eusebius of Caesarea laid out in his Chronicle. In the Chronicle, “Eusebius laid out [Jewish, pagan, and Christian] chronologies in parallel columns [allowing] the reader [to] move through Eusebius’s history, page by page” and witness the “empires and kingdoms rise and fall, until all of them—even the kingdom of the Jews—came under Rome’s universal rule, just in

105 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 8, 57.
106 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 8, 57.
107 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 8, 58.
108 Jowitt, “The Hero and the Sea: Sea Captains and Their Discontents.”

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time to make the Savior’s message accessible to all of humanity.” In structuring his work this way, Eusebius revealed the intertwining of Jewish, pagan, and Christian histories in the birth of Christ. “By comparing individual histories to one another and the uniform progress of the years, the reader could see the hand of providence at work.” Hakluyt did not place his histories into columns for comparison, but his histories, like those before his, all demonstrated a chronological progression towards England’s Providential empire.

Hakluyt’s published works, *Divers Voyages* and both editions of *The Principal Navigations*, were meticulous in following a strict chronological ordering first and foremost, then they followed by geographical ordering. Like today, chronology was a defining feature of understanding the past and looking to what the future might hold. “[F]rom the classical period to the Renaissance in Europe, chronology was among the most revered of scholarly pursuits. Indeed, in some respects, it held a status higher than the study of history itself.” Chronology established the order of events, delineating a line between what occurred and when, while also establishing “the key to many practical matters” like when Easter falls or calculating the arrival of the Apocalypse. “While history dealt in stories, chronology dealt in facts.” The narratives Hakluyt collected and edited were the stories that provided information regarding the experiences and expectations others could expect while also recounting exciting tales like Miles Philips’ tale of capture and escape. Chronology, however, was what revealed England’s Providential path towards its empire. “By comparing individual histories to one another and the uniform progress of the year, the reader could see the hand of providence at work.” Hakluyt’s dedication to England’s imperial goal shone through as each narrative he included demonstrated how England, through both trial and error, success and failure, brought England closer and closer to its Providential empire.

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112 Rosenberg, *Cartographies of Time*, 11.
“Fame’s Sweet Trumpeter”: *Divers Voyages, Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, and Richard Hakluyt’s Foundation for England’s Empire

Thy Voyages attend,  
Industrious Hackluit  
Whose Reading shall inflame  
Men to seeke Fame  
And much commend  
To after-Times thy Wit.¹

Michael Drayton wrote this poem, “To the Virginia Voyage” in 1606, to celebrate an undaunted Englishman, Richard Hakluyt the Younger (1552-1616), whose devotion to promoting English overseas expansion in the form of empire never appeared to waver in the face of near-constant failures. With a reputation predicated upon his dedication and continual efforts to promote overseas expansion along with his wide array of knowledge and sources, Hakluyt’s impressive, long-standing repute won him considerable renown and involvement in English overseas expansion and settlement endeavors. Hakluyt constantly strove to establish contacts, collect, and organize travel narratives, exploration accounts, and government documents in order to stimulate support for England’s overseas expansion. In the late sixteenth century, however, a general sense developed among merchants and some of the nobility “that England and her economy were in a desperate plight” and that the Queen was more focused on England’s internal affairs rather than continental affairs or overseas expansion.² But despite worries about the economy and the Queen’s domestic attentions, Hakluyt, as Drayton wrote, continued the fan the flames of English overseas expansion.

The focus of this chapter is Hakluyt’s first two widely known and acclaimed works: *Divers Voyages Touching on the Discoverie of America* (1582) and *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (1584). Published prior to Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s final and, ultimately, disastrous 1583 voyage and presented to the Queen a year before Sir Walter Ralegh’s 1585 attempted and aborted Roanoke colony, these works were some of Hakluyt’s earliest endeavors to engender support and, thus, reveal his burgeoning themes that later come to fruition in the *Principal Navigations* (both editions).³ Though some historians devote only cursory glances and fleeting sections to *Divers Voyages*, most treat the work as a simple compilation of records carefully arranged to act as a

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³ David Beers Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1977), 388. Gilbert set sail in June 1583 with five ships, but by August 20, only three ships (the Delight, the Squirrel, and the Golden Hind) remained. After the Delight sank in August, Gilbert ordered the two ships to return to England due to low supplies and the loss of three of the five ships. But Gilbert’s ship, Squirrel, sank on September 9, 1583, off the Northern American coast, taking all her crew with her. The only one of the five original ships safely returned to England: Golden Hind captained by Edward Hays, who supplied Hakluyt with an account of the voyage.
brochure for Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s 1583 voyage to Newfoundland.⁴ James Helfers glosses over *Divers Voyages* by stating that it “collected information in English for a wide audience of his countrymen.”⁵ Helfers describes *Divers Voyages* as a work intended to provide English explorers with “information which might be useful in their attempts to circumvent the American continent.”⁶ While he does acknowledge Hakluyt’s purpose, Helfers fails to expand on the more significant importance of *Divers Voyages* as a foundational text in which Hakluyt began shaping his overarching goal for his audience.

In his numerous publications, David Beers Quinn establishes Hakluyt as a central figure in English overseas expansion endeavors but does not fully appreciate the implications of *Divers Voyages* beyond its purpose in supporting Humphrey Gilbert’s venture to establish a plantation in North America.⁷ Mary Fuller argues that Hakluyt’s works, including *Divers Voyages*, presented English expansion and its various failures as “recuperated by rhetoric, a rhetoric which in some ways even predicted failure.”⁸ In this, Hakluyt’s works as well as other promotional authors supported English expansion with a language of failure to emphasize the struggles and difficulties they endured while demonstrating the purity and divinity of England’s overseas expansion. This rhetoric of struggle and danger came directly from Protestant rhetoric, in which the struggle and hardships of pursuing their faith acted as testimony to their righteousness and the strength of their faith. Tropes and themes, such as failure and suffering, Francisco Borge argues, appeared in Hakluyt’s work from *Divers Voyages* to *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1599-1600) as well as in other promotional works to help give a tangible context to the perceived reality and Providential nature of English experience in the New World.⁹

In the two works considered here, Hakluyt focused on the ultimate goal of English overseas exploration and expansion: the creation of an English empire. This vision of empire included the establishment of colonies in North America, particularly along the reported Northwest Passage leading to Cathay. Hakluyt’s proposed settlements acted as a means of establishing a populated route from England to Cathay, expanding England’s empire eastward into a rich, prosperous trade.

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⁴ David Beers Quinn refers only briefly to *Divers Voyages* in his many and seminal works on English exploration. Francisco Borge, whom we encounter later in this chapter, presents *Divers Voyages* as a source of justification for English overseas expansion. Shannon Miller in *Invested with Meaning* (1998) proposes that, in *Divers Voyages*, “the landscape’s distinguishing characteristics are replaced by [categories of commodities], projecting an image of uniform, productive abundance” (103).


⁶ Helfers, “The Explorer or the Pilgrim?,” 162.


⁸ Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, 13.

These settlements, then, would advance his long-term goal: to establish an English empire stretching to the East, an empire that would ensure England’s flourishing future. Hakluyt carefully shaped his ideas and goals specifically to flatter the Crown, merchants, and adventurers while demonstrating that English overseas expansion was not a political or social disruption—it was Providence. Providence would culminate in an English empire predicated on proselytizing and trade and would bring prosperity to England. England’s Providential empire was an empire that required an active English people, willingness to labor and endure suffering, English piety, and the propagation of England’s growing trade rather than wholly martial overseas conquests. This secure future was predicated on past endeavors but only fulfilled through Hakluyt’s contemporaries’ actions. To promote this image of English expansion, Hakluyt presented the end of his vision before attempting to articulate or demonstrate the methods of building an empire, resulting in his celebrating the end that would justify the means.

The organization of this chapter mimics the structure and chronology of Divers Voyages and the Discourse. In Divers Voyages, Hakluyt presented his audience with an idealized and completed image of an English Empire that stretched from London to Cathay, routing through the Northwest Passage. In this work, Hakluyt presented his hope and primary goal for an English empire to his audience as a forgone conclusion first; then, he provided the details and knowledge necessary to perform and polish the actual practice of expansion. In presenting the end result before the method, Hakluyt dazzled his audience with the spectacle and glory of empire, but most significantly, Hakluyt demonstrated Providence’s guiding hand in forming an English empire. This, in turn, (hopefully) built support and enthusiasm for the project among adventurers and investors alike. In hooking his audience with the grand finale of an established, profitable, Providential empire, Hakluyt then slowly presented the more practical and mundane methods and functions that were required to expand England’s commercial and expansionist borders, which he did through A Discourse Concerning Western Planting (1584). The Discourse, like Divers Voyages, included the more spectacular aspects of and reasons for expansion but also provided explicit requirements for the English. He articulated the sacrifices as well as spiritual and moral elements the English would endure in order to establish a worthy empire. The first part of the chapter, then, focuses on the idealized vision Hakluyt presented. The second part focuses on the political, economic, and material matters that both hindered and aided Hakluyt’s expansionist endeavor.

“Divers Voyages”

Hakluyt’s first published work, Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the Ilands adjacent printed in 1582, offered its readers a glimpse into the vast, unknown world beyond England’s and Europe’s borders. Beginning the compilation of this work in the 1570s and finding patronage for it in the early 1580s, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert began organizing a voyage to colonize North America, Hakluyt marveled at the lack of English exploration during the ninety years that had passed since Columbus’s arrival in the West Indies. In his “Dedicatorie Epistle,” Hakluyt declared that he “conceives great hope that the time approacheth now is [for the English to] part stakes […] both with the Spaniarde and the Portingale in part of America, and other regions

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10 Mancall, Hakluyt’s Promise, 92-3.
as yet undiscovered.”

Prior to the 1570s, England’s maritime adventures mainly comprised limited trading expeditions mostly around to the continent, the Spanish West Indies, and to fisheries around Newfoundland by Bristol sailors searching for cod. Not since the 1490s, when John Cabot sailed to and claimed what was probably today’s Newfoundland for the Crown, did the English Crown and government have a vested interest in claiming part of the New World. By the 1570s, a few English courtiers, merchants, and scholars began to discuss plans for exploration that began to direct the Crown’s attention toward the New World.

In 1566, Gilbert, who had served in Ireland in the 1560s and 1570s, argued in an essay, “A Discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia,” for the existence of a northward passage connecting England directly to Cathay: the Northwest Passage. But the essay was not published until 1576 to support and draw attention to Martin Frobisher’s voyage to the Arctic that year. Its publication “clearly revived [Gilbert’s] interest in England’s colonial involvement” while also bringing him and his ideas to the attention of Thomas Churchyard (1520-1604) and John Dee (1527-1608). Both men were scholars who had considerable interest in overseas expansion and plantation. Churchyard wrote numerous poems celebrating soldiers in Ireland and their colonial efforts there while also promoting English maritime adventure. Unlike Churchyard, Dee, “the foremost advocate of the colonial enterprise,” actively promoted the idea of England’s national epic.

For Dee, the New World already belonged to England (as did much of Northern Europe). Dee substantiated the claim for an imperial Britain through the continuous and effective use of Arthurian myth. The British Empire Dee constructed focused on the legendary tales and conquests of England’s most mythical and popular monarch, Arthur. Drawing on the vast wealth of Arthurian myth and history (mostly supplied by Geoffrey of Monmouth’s history written in the twelfth century), Dee demonstrated that Arthur’s conquests in Northern Europe and in the Arctic (where he believed the fabled Strait of Anian opened around latitude 65°N) cemented England’s undisputed possession of North America and its riches. Through Dee’s association with Gilbert and Gilbert’s connection to the Hakluyt and Sidney families, the possibility of formally possessing the forgotten English Empire loomed on the horizon of English exploration efforts.

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11 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), ¶.
13 Miller, Invested with Meaning, 31. It was, however, interesting to note that as Churchyard commemorated Gilbert’s martial achievements and deeds in Ireland, he did not pay any significant attention to Gilbert’s overseas ventures. This was probably due to Gilbert’s failure to secure a solid foothold in New World territory and the sinking of Gilbert’s ship, which killed Gilbert and his crew.
17 Fuller, Voyages in Print, 17.
Articulating Empire

For Hakluyt and his contemporaries, the idea of empire derived from the Roman conception of *imperium*, which was divided into three basic components. The first articulated conception of empire was defined as possessing authority or dominion. The second definition took the first and expanded it to include authority or sovereignty over territory (sea or land) claimed by the English. The third version of empire “meant rule over many dominions” implied both multiple territories claimed by or for the monarchy as well as “a shorthand for domineering ‘universal’ monarchy.” David Armitage demonstrates that these three definitions of empire had their “own peculiar afterlife in Elizabethan England.” The first version of empire emerged in 1533. Henry VIII articulated it in the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals in which he broke from Rome stating, “this realm of England is an empire,” solidifying the idea that the Pope held no authority or sovereignty over England nor the English crown. The second definition of empire came in 1536 and 1543 when the Henrician Acts officially incorporated Wales into the Tudor state and when the Irish parliament declared its acceptance of Henry VIII’s kingship. The third concept, with its focus on actual authority over a claimed territory, not simply a nominal claim, came to prominence during Elizabeth I’s reign even though she was not the one making the claims. Rather the claims were made via Elizabethan expansionists.

Hakluyt supported his eagerness and zeal for English expansion through exploration by coupling English pride with masculinity: “And surely if there were in us that desire to advance the honor of our Countrie which ought to bee in every good man, wee would not all this while have foreflowne the possessing of those lands […]” In this passage, Hakluyt drew on the chivalric rhetoric and ritual language of the Elizabethan court that resonated not only with courtiers but also with readers of chivalric romances and the tales/histories of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table that Dee utilized to establish the precedent of a British Empire. Hakluyt deliberately drew on these tropes to demonstrate that England’s strength and expansion were not hindered by the presence of a female on the throne. In *Voyages in Print*, Fuller argues that the constant fear of idleness among the English caused some, like courtiers, to prove their vitality, thereby England’s, through tangible displays of physical, political, and/or economic activities. England’s conquest of Ireland, despite its varying degrees of success, represented English movement and strength. The third definition of empire with its actual authority over an area required Elizabethans to act with as much gusto as possible in order to dispel any lingering images of weakness or idleness that a

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22 Hakluyt, *Diverse Voyages*, ¶.
23 Tellman, “The Forgotten Empire,” 76-77. Chivalry and chivalric time operated at numerous levels in Elizabethan England. Chivalry’s romanticized revival originated in the fifteenth-century Burgundy court (for more see, Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984)). Elizabethan chivalry and chivalric time began to decline in the 1590s, while merchant’s time started to take precedent in how people interacted with time (temporality). Time(s) became increasingly regulated and rigid as the present separated from the past and merchant activity required better time telling.
female monarch could provoke and promote English expansion. Action, in Hakluyt’s writings, became a defining facet of English expansion because action was what separated the English from languishing in stagnation versus achieving their Providential empire. In this, Hakluyt’s constant efforts to provide past experiences of English success and expansion as well as authority over claimed lands to prove the success of future ventures fit in well with the third definition of empire.  

Hakluyt wrote his Divers Voyages in order to support Gilbert’s “project to establish a substantial colony in America” and named Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) the dedicatee. He acknowledged Sidney’s patronage as well as the “assignment of 3 million acres” that Sidney would receive when Gilbert took possession of the land. The connections (political, patronal, and personal) linked Hakluyt with Gilbert, and others aided in the formation of literary tracts designed to promote overseas exploration and colonization. With Francis Drake’s (d. 1596) triumphant return from his 1577-1580 circumnavigation of the world, interest in English overseas expansion gained momentum, thus creating greater demand for information on European (with an emphasis on English) exploration and colonization histories.

Divers Voyages was a pragmatic, chronologically organized, and meticulously edited collection of documents ranging from letters patent to letters from Englishmen living abroad to narratives of European exploration endeavors. On the title page, Hakluyt asserted that the discoveries covered in this work were “made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons [Bretons].” Not only did Hakluyt demonstrate English precedent in overseas ventures, but he also established England’s legal right to the possession of land in the New World. He also included “certaine notes of advertisements for observations” as well as “two mappes” for those who plan on journeying to the New World with the intention of establishing a colony for England.

From the title page on, Hakluyt actively promoted and represented the English presence in maritime ventures with lists of “late writers of Georaphie” and “names of certaine late travaylers, both by sea and land” including John Mandeville and Marco Polo. Hakluyt then presented his audience with a description of the “great probabilitie of a passage by the Northwest” that showed Hakluyt’s “global ambitions.” The Northwest Passage was an elusive and highly coveted maritime feature since it reportedly connected the Atlantic to the Pacific, thus providing a shorter distance between Asian and European markets and, given its geographical nearness to England, the passage should be England’s alone. Hakluyt presented his readers with what he considered an

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24 A female monarch prompted images of weakness and idleness of the people she ruled, especially as Elizabeth began to connect herself directly to England. As Kevin Sharpe demonstrates in his book, Selling the Tudor Monarchy (2009), Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, became synonymous with England and all its glory. While she became a symbol of England, the men in her court and government found ways of expressing their strength as well as England’s strength through conquest in Ireland and fighting against Catholics on the continent.


26 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, title page.

27 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, title page.

28 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, pages with lists.

ultimate goal for English overseas empire in the front of the book in order to acknowledge the importance of establishing a trade route to Cathay for the prosperity of the English Commonwealth. Trade, not conquest, was Hakluyt’s goal.

On the next page was Hakluyt’s “Epistle Dedicatorie,” dedicating the book to Sir Philip Sidney. In this section, Hakluyt outlined the order and purpose of the book. He also established his hope for England’s final triumphal entry onto the stage of European exploration and colonization. However, the points that Hakluyt raised in support of England’s Providential empire were also subjects that threatened English social order. One such argument was “howe all our Prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their Countrie.”30 Fear of idleness was a constant threat for the government and a problem to solve.31 Shannon Miller argues that “the metaphoric resonances of idleness that we see developed within this discourse both shape New World propaganda and prompt many of the material colonization projects undertaken in the late sixteenth-century.”32 Hakluyt tapped into this fear as well as the fear of population growth that would lead to a larger lower order and thus more idleness in order to establish the necessity for overseas colonies. The English, following “the examples of the Grecians and Carthaginians of olde time,” should “seeke for themselves a new dwelling place” beyond England’s borders.33 By establishing colonies, as the ancients did, England would not only possess land in the New World, thus stabilizing social order at home, they would also be closer to achieving what Hakluyt believed to be the ultimate goal: prosperous trade with Cathay via the Northwest Passage. For Hakluyt, an active English people focused on perpetuating a Providential English empire was the cure of the corrosiveness of idleness that caused England to languish in the past rather than progressing England’s Providence.

To support his belief in the existence of the Northwest Passage, Hakluyt provided evidence from numerous sources like Sebastian Cabot (who claimed to have located the Northwest Passage in 1499), John Verarzanus (Hakluyt stated that Verarzanus gave a map to Henry VIII), Gil Gonsalua (believed to have discovered this northern passage too). The recurring theme of the Northwest Passage throughout Hakluyt’s work emphasized his belief that once the English had possessions in North America and could sail the entirety of the Northwest Passage, the English would have access to Cathay’s markets, improved social order in England, and spread the Protestant faith.

Hakluyt well understood that in order for his aspirations to become actual voyages, he and the merchants and traders required the support and permission of the Crown. Hakluyt separated

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30 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, ¶.
31 Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England underwent numerous changes in politics, religion, economics, and society. Keith Wrightson tracks and explores the economic changes and transitions that occurred during this period in his work Earthly Necessities (2000) and argues that the economic changes influenced the development of early modern England. For early modern government, “the most visible and alarming symptom of change was the growth of vagrancy,” which inevitably led to idleness among the lower class. Keith Wrightson, Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 148.
33 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, ¶ verso.
the re-printed pamphlet promoting the search for the Northwest Passage from the rest of the material with his “Epistle.” In the “Epistle,” he painstakingly laid out his goal for English overseas expansion and settlement, marking a connection to the next document he collected in *Divers Voyages*. It was the 1497 letter patent issued by Henry VII to John Cabot. Hakluyt included both the original Latin text and an English translation of the letter for his readers. By structuring the work in this manner, Hakluyt placed England’s exploration and colonization outcomes as the most significant factors, but only with the backing (in this case literally as the letters patent follow the Northwest Passage) of the Crown. Taking formal and physical possession of the Northwest Passage and, by extension, the trade and wealth Eastern markets supply was a necessity larger, not simply a service to the Crown. It was a service to England as a whole, to the Commonwealth. But the formal permission and possession of land and the passage could only be granted by the Crown.

The organization of the book thus demonstrated the paramount importance of empire for England. Coupling the discovery of the Northwest Passage to the foundation of the British Empire linked the two objectives together in the reader’s mind. Promoting the idea of empire and trade throughout the work showed the careful and meticulous planning and passion Hakluyt imparted in *Divers Voyages*. Francisco Borge argues that *Divers Voyages* “represents the beginning of Hakluyt’s efforts to promote, justify, and encourage English presence in America.” Hakluyt’s intention, however, was more than simply to “justify […] English presence in America.” Merely providing the justification for English settlement in America limited the author’s ultimate goal of a trading empire that surpassed the Spanish Empire in wealth, size, and national pride. Hakluyt already had the justification for English exploration, discovery, and colonization in America with Cabot’s letter patent and the documents from earlier discovery voyages and Robert Thorne’s work. Promoting and encouraging an English presence in America was what Hakluyt needed to convey to his audience.

*Divers Voyages* illustrated the need and obligation England had towards the expansion of its empire in order to secure the future prosperity of the commonwealth, which the remaining documents supported from Robert Thorne’s 1527 letter to Henry VIII to the reports by John [sic; Jean] Ribault in 1562. Hakluyt’s meticulous collecting and editing presented his vision of an English empire in which the whole of the Commonwealth prospered as a result of England’s dedication to expanding its borders. *Divers Voyages* was an ideological tract meant to describe England’s Providential empire. It was not designed to contemplate the practical and mundane aspects of actual overseas expansion. This work extolled the empire that would propel England’s strength and prosperity beyond any in Europe in the sixteenth century and well into the future.

**Historical Context for Discourse Concerning Western Planting**

In the two years between Hakluyt’s first publication and the presentation of his second work, *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, the English attempts to colonize in North America

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34 By including an English translation of the Latin letter patent, Hakluyt showed that he anticipated his audience to come from various places within the social order. Hakluyt needed popular support for his goal as much as he needed the Crown’s support.


36 Borge, *A New World for a New Nation*, 71. Ralegh’s *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596) sought to legitimize English conquest of Guiana and did not expand beyond the present desire to decimate the Spanish, not like Hakluyt’s works that saw ahead to a Providential empire.
met with failure. Gilbert not only lost three of the five ships allotted him but died himself at sea when the fourth ship sank. In England, the population continued to grow despite epidemic diseases that devastated cities and towns like Canterbury and London. Those intending to improve their circumstances by moving to an urban area did not always make a better life. Some people moved to an urban center for specific reasons: advancement, apprenticeships, marriage, or because they already had a position. Others, however, fell into the margins of urban society, fostering the government’s apprehension of the idle, a cancer of the body politic. Fears of rampant population growth and looming disorder plagued those in power. Concerns about the idle masses and masterless vagabonds wandering through towns, cities, and the countryside committing crimes and causing trouble continued throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century.

In the 1570s and 1580s, however, urban centers experienced a revival and expansion of their economies. This revival stemmed from “a quickening of internal trade and the growth of rural demand for [urban] products,” which also necessitated more regulated time telling—merchant’s time—to encourage social order and organize labor and trade. Keith Wrightson states that the reciprocal nature (rural areas spending money gained by selling agricultural products to urban areas on products produced by urban centers) was fundamental to the reinvigoration of “the economies of country towns and provincial cities throughout the kingdom.” Migrants to urban areas found work in manufacturing textiles, metal works, sugar, glass, shipbuilding (and all its auxiliary requirements like sails and rope), and brewing and victualing. The upswing in production, in turn, influenced English overseas trade as merchants produced more goods for foreign markets, but England’s maritime trade was hampered by political turmoil in Europe and by England’s lack of well-crafted ships.

The main English export was textiles. The center of the textile trade was in northwestern Europe with Antwerp being the main market until revolts in the region forced English merchants to go to Middleburg and then Hamburg. By the 1550s, English merchants sought new markets due to increasing difficulties on the continent that interfered with their trade as well as the “desire to establish direct access to a variety of high-profit import goods” that were once obtained in Antwerp. In the 1570s, English merchants also traveled as far as the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the Iberian Peninsula in order to trade. English merchants also journeyed to India (the Eastland Company founded in 1579) as well as into the New World. The traders who traveled to these distant lands and markets were not part of the London-based Merchant Adventurers, who “were anything but adventurous.” While the Merchant Adventurers shied away from greater risk and

37 Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, 164-5. Canterbury’s population increased from approximately 4,000 to about 7,000 from 1570 to 1640 and London’s population (including surrounding areas) increased from around 70,000 in 1550 to about 200,000 in 1600.
42 Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, 165. London was leading in the growth and diversity of production and markets as well as in foreign trade.
45 Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, 177. The Merchant Adventurers sought to increase their profits by excluding foreign traders as well as policing interlopers in their trade, such as those merchants willing to take on greater risk to reach farther markets in order to expand their trade and profit.
foreigners, the merchants not in the Adventures’ club turned their attention to more distant markets. But longer distance trade was made all the riskier given the construction and condition of English ships.

In 1582, a government survey discovered that England only had between 250 and 320 ships of varying tonnages, owned by the government and private merchants. And the ships that England possessed were unspecialized and mainly used to deliver goods up and down rivers or by sailing close to the coasts of the British Isles or Europe. In addition to the general construction and use of the ships, they were also extremely dangerous as well as difficult to control. The effort and skill it took in handling these cumbersome ships was compounded by England’s venture into long-distance voyages. The ships proved inept for long-distance voyages since their structures made them slow as did the barnacles that built up on the bottom of the ships. The ships’ construction also contributed to their danger. Their “high-charged hulls, with masts and spars, commonly too large and sides too weak, with only a lateen sail on the mizzen to offset the square fore-course and main-course,” often led to severe damage or the ships sinking. The ships were also prone to leaks as “seams tended to open under the strain of bad weather or bombardment.” The glory and strength of the English navy displayed in the 1588 Armada Portrait was simply that, a display in a painting.

The frailty and poor engineering of the ships were further complicated by the lack of nautical experience English sailors possessed. The English believed that one aspect of Spain’s success (unwarranted successes in the English mind) was the “superior training received by the ship’s pilots of the merchant marine.” Spanish pilots did have superior training and experience in comparison to their English counterparts, training delivered via the Casa de la Contratación de las Indias in Seville. This institution instructed Spanish pilots so that they “possessed both practical experience at sea, and a degree of learned instruction” in the arts of navigation: cosmography, mathematics, and astronomy. Throughout his works, Hakluyt argued that in order to achieve greater maritime success, the English must acquire “knowledge in the arte of navigation, and breading [sic] of skilfulnessse in the sea men.” Stephen Borough (1525-1584), a renowned English navigator, also argued that England’s greatest disadvantage in maritime ventures was its lack of knowledge, which was the source of the most losses of ships and lives at sea. Borough further emphasized the need for an English pilot major, which would elevate England to the same level as Spain and Portugal.

England’s first attempt to achieve this status came with the letter patent to John Cabot in 1496. After Cabot’s disappearance, along with three of his four ships sent to explore North

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47 Andrews, Trade, Plunder, and Settlement, 23.
49 Andrews, Trade, Plunder, and Settlement, 23.
52 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, ¶2 verso-¶3.
53 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, ¶3.
America in order to find a passage to Cathay in 1498, his second son, Sebastian Cabot, continued to work for the English Crown. Quinn calls John Cabot’s presumed death, during the 1498 voyage, the end of England’s first wave of overseas exploration. The second ripple of English overseas attempted prowess was a set of voyages during 1501, 1502, and 1505 to some location(s) presumably between New England and Labrador, most likely for the fisheries in the region. In 1508, Sebastian Cabot once again made an appearance in the historical record. Cabot intended to sail around the northern expansion of the American continent, past Newfoundland, through a passage open at the top in order to reach Cathay. The passage he sought was the Northwest Passage.

The focus of *Divers Voyages* was the discovery of a route to the east: the Northwest Passage with which Hakluyt opened his work. *Discourse on Western Planting*, on the other hand, had two basic themes throughout it. The first was to harass, hinder, and plunder the Roman Catholic Spanish, and the other was to find the Northwest Passage. English interest in the Northwest Passage began with England’s first ventures into the Atlantic under Cabot and continued to be a goal as much as a fascination for England for centuries to come.

The revival of interest in maritime affairs also rejuvenated interest in the search for a direct route to the East. In 1521, after almost a decade of living in Spain, Cabot visited England in an attempt to stimulate interest in the search for the Northwest Passage, but he had as much success in selling his ideas in England as he had had in Spain: none. But by 1547, English interest in expanding its maritime endeavors began to prosper once again. Unfortunately, England lacked the knowledge of navigation required for long-distance voyages. Pilots, for more extended trade missions to Antwerp or France, stayed close to the coasts and navigated by relying on landmarks and dead reckoning rather than the navigational tools employed by the Portuguese and Spanish. Hakluyt commented on this in his work *Divers Voyages* as well as in his *Principal Navigations*, which he saw as a severe hindrance for English overseas expansion endeavors.

The English sailors’ ignorance and the lack of discipline aboard the ships caused precarious crew dynamics on English ships and worked against English hopes and attempts to find a direct route to the East. But this did not prevent the English from attempting voyages toward the Northeast and Northwest. The first of the voyages in search of a northern route after Cabot’s return was the 1553 venture led by Sir Hugh Willoughby, who sailed in search of the Northeast Passage. Cabot and about another 215 London merchants funded the venture because Mary I focused her attention and resources on returning England to the Catholic faith. Three ships commanded by Willoughby and Richard Chancellor sailed from Greenwich on 11 May 1553 to considerable

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55 Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery*, 130. Quinn further expands on Portuguese and French activities in North America and their interest in the fisheries there as well.

56 Borge, *A New World for a New Nation*, 29. While Cabot was in Spain, he held the office Pilot Major from 1512-1547. The Spanish and French also had interest in locating and controlling the Northwest Passage. The location ranged from Virginia (Walter Ralegh’s ill-fated colonies) to the Saint Lawrence River (Spanish and French interest focused here) and to the entrance of Hudson Bay (Cabot believed this to be the start of the Northwest Passage). For more refer to the works of David Beers Quinn and Kenneth Andrew as well as Paul Hoffman, *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

57 Mutinies were uncommon, but the tensions on board boiled and, according to Hakluyt, disadvantaged English trade since the sailors would or could not labor in harmony.
fanfare, sending them off to the unknown waters of the northeast. The venture traveled the well-used trading route established by Scandinavian and Russian sailors but then had to sail through the uncharted waters of northern Russia in the hopes of arriving in Cathay. By August, a storm separated the ships, and Chancellor wintered in the White Sea, during which he made a 600-mile journey to Moscow. The journey proved fruitful as it was the beginning of trading relations between Russia and the Muscovy Company in London.\(^\text{58}\) Willoughby’s ships did not share Chancellor’s success. In the spring of 1554, Russian fishermen found Willoughby’s ruined ship. His will, written in early 1554, stated that most of the crew was still alive, but the Russian fishermen discovered the frozen bodies of the sixty-three-man crew onboard the ship.\(^\text{59}\)

After Willoughby’s fatal voyage in search of a Northeast Passage, ventures seeking it faded. In 1566, Humphrey Gilbert wrote his pamphlet (\textit{The discourse of syr Humfrie Gilbert knight, to prove a passage by the North-west to Cathay, and the East Indies}) on the possibilities of the Northwest Passage, extolling the benefits the passage would bring England, while also speculating on the location of the passage. Gilbert tried to find support from the Queen and her court as well as persuading Anthony Jenkinson of the Muscovy Company of the superiority of the Northwest Passage over a northeastern one.\(^\text{60}\) Gilbert, however, was distracted by service in Ireland before he could persuade more potential investors of the merits of the Northwest Passage, and Jenkinson returned his focus to the Muscovy Company’s trips to Russia.

In 1576, the pamphlet Gilbert wrote to promote a voyage he desired to undertake in 1566 was published. Gilbert, however, was not the one who would profit from the publication. Instead, Gilbert’s \textit{Discourse} was published to support the 1576 voyage of Martin Frobisher in search of the Northwest Passage to Cathay. Frobisher undertook three voyages (1576, 1577, and 1578) to the southern tip of present-day Baffin Island (the sixteenth-century Meta Incognita) to a bay Frobisher named after himself. The first voyage was the only one entirely focused on the search for the Northwest Passage, which Frobisher believed was through the bay he discovered. The second and third voyages both sought gold and the second voyage went with the intention of establishing a colony on Baffin Island. But the subsequent discovery that the gold Frobisher discovered was only fool’s gold (pyrite) ended his tenure and chance for glory as the potential discoverer of the Northwest Passage.\(^\text{61}\) Six years after Frobisher’s failed gamble, Gilbert, as stated earlier, attempted another venture to establish colonies in North America but failed.

English expansion efforts were further complicated as well as by the presence of Catholic Spain in the New World and its continuing attempts to root out Protestantism in Europe. At the

\(^{58}\) Williams, \textit{Arctic Labyrinth}, 9.

\(^{59}\) Williams, \textit{Arctic Labyrinth}, 9. How Willoughby and his crew died is not known. In the margins of his log, Willoughby wrote that he and his crew were stuck in “the Haven of Death,” conjuring images of grave suffering and the knowledge of a doomed fate among the crew. The apocryphal tale was that when Willoughby and his crew were discovered the fisherman found the crew and Willoughby frozen in place like they all died at the same time, some sitting up, one writing a letter, others in the middle of eating. Upon Chancellor’s return to London the Muscovy Company was established and given a royal charter 1555.

\(^{60}\) Quinn, \textit{North America from Earliest Discovery}, 371.

\(^{61}\) For more see James McDermott, \textit{Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 95-256. McDermott argues that Frobisher’s interest in the Northwest Passage, which began around 1574, was only provoked by the potential fame, glory, and wealth that could come to him with its discovery. For McDermott, Frobisher’s primary goal, throughout his life, was to establish a reputation that would last through the ages, placing him among the ranks of contemporaries like Sir Francis Drake or Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.
end of her reign, Mary named Elizabeth as her heir, but not without considerable hesitation. Her husband, Philip II of Spain, however, instructed Mary to name Elizabeth as her heir since Philip was already planning on marrying the next Queen of England. After Mary’s death, Philip made overtures to Elizabeth, but by the early 1560s, it was clear that Elizabeth would not marry him, nor would she be the “good and obedient Catholic queen” Philip desired. Over the years, there were many hints, not all subtle, that Elizabeth would not support Spain during her reign. One such event occurred in the 1560s when a Spanish treasure fleet washed up on English shores after being thrown off course during a storm. Elizabeth confiscated the treasure and kept it as her own. Philip II accused the Queen of stealing what was rightfully Spain’s, but Elizabeth countered by stating that the money belonged to Philip’s creditors, not to the king himself.

Elizabeth also continued to meddle in the Netherlands, aiding the rebelling Protestants, leading to Philip meddling in English affairs by supporting the more radical English Catholics. In 1569, Charles Neville, sixth Earl of Westmorland and Thomas Percy, seventh Earl of Northumberland led what was dubbed the Revolt of the Northern Earls. It was an abortive attempt to incite English Catholic uprisings against the Queen. The revolt failed, but it further cemented the idea that Catholics were disloyal, increasing the fear of Catholics, which Hakluyt drew on in his Discourse.

In the 1570s, Elizabeth continued to interfere in the politics of the Protestant Netherlands even as the lines dividing Protestant and Catholic areas began to settle for the time. In 1570, Pope Pius V issued Regnans in Excelsis, formally excommunicating Elizabeth while informing English Catholics that any allegiance they swore to this heretic woman was null and void. What this bull actually achieved was the heightened suspicion of English Catholics rather than inspiring any to rise up and revolt against Elizabeth. The 1572 St. Bartholomew Day’s Massacre in Paris, in which thousands of French Huguenots were slaughtered, further impressed into the English mind how dangerous and cruel Catholics were and that they could not be trusted. Four years later, in 1576, the Spanish troops’ sacking of Antwerp with exceptional bloodshed and butchery reinforced the image of Catholics as murderers but also hurt English trade because Antwerp was the main port where English goods went to market.

The brutality and ruthlessness of Catholic actions in Europe and the Americas as they murdered and raped Protestants in the name of Catholicism solidified the English image of the Catholic Spanish. Protestant propaganda of Spanish cruelty in the Americas fed further into Bartolomé de las Casas’s scathing account describing how the Spanish treated American natives. The Dutch and English alike propagated the myth of the Black Legend of Spain to discredit the Spanish and bolster the Protestant cause. For the English, the Black Legend proved how repugnant and ungodly the Spanish were. For Hakluyt, the Black Legend was a key argument he

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63 Victor Stater, “Elizabethan Politics” (lecture, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, April 29, 2015).
employed in *Discourse* to reveal why England had to expand its empire.\(^{65}\) By 1580, to be a Catholic in England meant you were a traitor. You could not be a good English subject and be a Catholic too. New legislation passed against Catholics prohibited them from possessing any Catholic accoutrements such as a rosary or vestments. In 1585, Elizabeth took the final step and signed the Treaty of Nonsuch, where she promised to support the Dutch in their rebellion against Spain. When Hakluyt presented Elizabeth with the *Discourse* in 1584, the situation with Spain was clear. Catholic Spain was the enemy, and only an active English overseas expansion and trade could and would curtail Spain.\(^{66}\)

**Discourse Concerning Western Planting**

Hakluyt published *Divers Voyages*, as examined earlier, to promote Gilbert’s 1583 voyage. But when the last remaining ship returned to England, carrying with it the tragic news of Gilbert’s death and the expedition’s misfortunes, it did not dim the passion fueling Gilbert’s younger half-brother, Walter Ralegh. Upon his return from Ireland, Ralegh went to Elizabeth’s court asking for his half-brother’s letter patent to plant a colony in North America. On 25 March 1584, Elizabeth granted the renewed letter as well as her favor to Ralegh, and he quickly rose to become one of the Queen’s favorites during the 1580s with his chivalric behavior, his wit, and his ambition to build his legacy.\(^{67}\) After obtaining the letter patent, Ralegh continued with his half-brother’s plan to plant a colony, only this time, the colony would be planted in Virginia. The hope of discovering the Northwest Passage continued during this time as there was some speculation that the passage could be found as far south as Virginia. The notion of locating the passage captivated not only English minds but Spanish and French as well, which heightened worries about their intentions amongst English expansionists.\(^{68}\)

On October 5, 1584, Hakluyt personally presented the *Discourse* to Elizabeth I.\(^{69}\) Commissioned by Sir Walter Ralegh to support his plantation in Virginia, it discussed “the greate necessitie and manifold comoditie that are like to growe to this Realme of England” with the discovery of the Americas.\(^{70}\) Divided into twenty-one chapters, the *Discourse* reinforced Hakluyt’s goal and England’s need to expand its empire beyond the borders of the British Isles and as practical instructions to his readers. Hakluyt’s primary aim with this work, as with *Divers Voyages*, was to present to his audience (in this case, the Queen specifically) the paramount need for England to look beyond the British Isles as well as Europe for its future prosperity. This voyage was an opportunity for England as a whole to prosper, not just a select few, which Hakluyt continuously reminded Ralegh in his letters and writings.

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\(^{65}\) See Chapter XI in *Discourse*.

\(^{66}\) Stater, “Elizabethan Politics.”

\(^{67}\) Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery*, 323. Ralegh did not remain long in the queen’s good graces. In 1591, Ralegh married the Queen’s lady, Bess Throckmorton, without the Queen’s permission. As a result, he was thrown into the Tower, but eventually released in 1592 when Spain once again threatened England. After the crisis passed, Ralegh was again placed in the Tower, but was again released in 1593. He later managed to gather enough support and permission from the Queen to sail to Guiana in 1595.


\(^{69}\) Sacks, “Discourse of Western Planting,” 410.

\(^{70}\) Hakluyt, *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, 1.
As stated earlier, Hakluyt focused his attention on the idea of a Providential, prosperous Commonwealth and empire. The whole of England, every person in English society, would benefit from the expansion of an English Empire. The empire would bring into England material wealth while beating back the Spanish and establishing a strong foothold for Protestantism in North America to counter the Catholic influence further south. Hakluyt devoted eight of the twenty-one chapters to the reprehensible actions of Spain. The chapters combined the fears of Catholics, the Spanish reputation for cruelty in the New World and Europe, and the corruption that spread through Spain when it brought back easily won treasure from the New World, which he specifically addressed in chapter six. But Hakluyt also had to account for Ralegh’s considerations in constructing the pamphlet. As such, Hakluyt soundly established that England’s best hope for furthering its harassment of or, rather, fighting against the Spanish squarely rested in the first step of establishing an English presence in North America.

The English plantation of a colony in America was an attempt to establish a continual English presence in order to cement England’s claim of empire, but, more importantly, it irrevocably intertwined with England’s privateering concerns in the West Indies and established the first stages of England’s empire. Kenneth Andrews demonstrates the undeniable bond between English trading enterprises and the plundering activities of privateers like Sir Francis Drake and John Hawkins. Karen Kupperman shows that Ralegh’s colonial project, culminating in the settlement of Roanoke, was mainly intended as a base for privateering eventually growing into a base for English authority in America. But before Ralegh could send his ships and the potential colonists to the Outer Banks of North Carolina, he had to promote support for this personal and national endeavor. Ralegh, as Gilbert had done, turned to Hakluyt.

Hakluyt produced the pamphlet *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* in 1584 to promote Ralegh’s colonial aspirations and gather supporters from all ranks in English society. As we have seen with Hakluyt’s *Divers Voyages*, the pamphlet was accessible to the general population and provided Ralegh with the platform from which to gain the colonists he desired: families. Hakluyt’s intention, however, was far beyond Ralegh’s desire to establish a single colony. As with *Divers Voyages*, so in the *Discourse*, Hakluyt promoted the concept of an English empire and the paramount need of discovering and claiming the Northwest Passage. Hakluyt aimed to establish the political and economic advantages that colonization in America would bring to England. These advantages, however, did not end with the establishment of plantations in America; they were merely the beginning.

Quinn argues that the *Discourse* was “mistakenly optimistic” with “little realization […] of the capital cost and the slow development of prosperity in a colonial society.” Joyce Lorimer also takes a critical view of Hakluyt’s professional and personal goal in her essay “[T]ouching the State of the Country of Guiana, and Whether it were fit to be Planted by the English” (2012).

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71 Chapters, II, V, VI, VII, VIII, X, XI, and XIX.
74 Hakluyt, *Discourse of Western Planting*, xxiv.
75 For more see, Joyce Lorimer, “[T]ouching the State of the Country of Guiana, and Whether it were fit to be Planted by the English” in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham, Surry, UK: Ashgate, 2012).
Lorimer acknowledges that Hakluyt’s role in English expansion was important, calling him a “vital domestic advocate and propagandist,” but, she continues, “he was, essentially, an ‘armchair’ scholar, whose enthusiasm for exploration made him overrate the credibility of written and verbal reports which he collected.” Quinn and Lorimer argue that Hakluyt’s lack of travel experience coupled with his reliance on written and verbal eyewitness reports further compounded by his passion for English expansion greatly colored his advice and writings on expansion. Both, however, fail to take into account Hakluyt’s goal in writing his *Discourse*.

Hakluyt’s opinions and his advice certainly held the bias of his life’s goal: establishing an English empire reaching into Asian markets. Quinn suggests that Hakluyt was ignorant of the amount of time and funds his schemes would take. While it was true that Hakluyt steeped himself in eyewitness accounts, it was not necessary to claim he was unrealistic in his endeavors because Hakluyt demonstrated that he did understand the cost and expense of empire. Hakluyt’s English empire was an empire that required continuous labor and financial and political support from the English at every social rank. The lists of instructions Hakluyt provided for Gilbert, Ralegh, and, later, for future colonists denoted Hakluyt’s comprehension of the tasks and expenses required to secure an empire.

Hakluyt, unlike his patrons Ralegh, Gilbert, and the Crown, saw far beyond the bounds of colonies and privateering. For Hakluyt, colonies in North America were simply a stepping-stone towards expanding an English empire. England’s moment to act, to build its Providential empire, was now and this argument was what separated Hakluyt from other overseas supporters. For Hakluyt, time was a precious, finite element, and, in this time, God’s Providence was on England, and that Providence demanded English action—successful or not. This moment was different from others that came before in English history because now England was blessed by God’s Providence. In the past, God had not yet granted his blessing on England even though England was on the path to receive his Providence. The minutiae of expansion would sort itself out if the English, as Hakluyt argued, acted and labored in tandem to advance an English empire.

Did Hakluyt understand how much time building an empire stretching to the East would require? Given the plethora of documents and accounts he had from not only England but from Spain, France, and Portugal, as well as the more ancient examples of the Greeks and Romans, it was doubtful that the slow, tedious, and expensive nature of building an empire escaped him. Hakluyt understood the labors and financial burden expanding an empire required since he continued to remind his audience of the toils and “industrious labors and painefull travels of our countrey men,” the English encountered throughout their history.

Hakluyt did, however, make provision in his *Discourse* for the length of time and the financial resources that would be devoured as England extended its borders. In the sixth chapter

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76 Joyce Lorimer, “‘[T]ouching the State of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be Planted by the English:’ Sir Robert Cecil, Richard Hakluyt and the Writing of Guiana, 1595-1612,” in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham, Surry, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 116.

77 In “Hakluyt’s Active Time,” I argue that Hakluyt understood the cost in pursuing England’s Providential empire. The pain, grief, and suffering were a part of the cost as were the labors necessary to build an empire, but also the emotional toll it took—losing friends, like Gilbert.

78 Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 3.
of the *Discourse*, he argued that quick riches (“Indian treasure”) “corrupted” Portugal and most notably, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (then his son, Philip II), whose riches “became the fittest instruments of conquest” not only in the New World, but in Protestant Europe. By holding up the example of how hastily and eagerly the Spanish succumbed to the allure of easily captured and plundered treasure, which just as quickly corrupted them, Hakluyt argued that England’s slower, more economically exhaustive expansion would help to preserve the state and prevent corruption. The English, contrary to the Spanish, would not be corrupted by quickly captured treasure since the English had a more godly and nurturing approach and hope for this New World. Promotional literature from poems to Hakluyt’s own works represented England as the New World’s protector, whose honor would not crumble at the sight of gold.

Hakluyt well understood the dangers England faced in expanding its empire. *Divers Voyages* and *Discourse* sought to alleviate English fears and worries by demonstrating what the end result would be (an empire of greater, more godly wealth) and by presenting the idealized reasons that propelled that empire. As such, throughout the course of his publications and in his private writings, Hakluyt clearly demonstrated the demands required of empire. The colonies in North America were part of that process that would provide a launching place for further expansion. In *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt presented his readers with a vision of an English empire in which the Northwest Passage played a pivotal role. In his *Discourse*, Hakluyt presented his audience with the overall reasons for an English empire. He played on English fears and loathing of Catholics and the Spanish as well as the fear of idle men, vagabonds, roaming the country causing social disorder.

These fears and English disdain for Catholicism and Spain became the primary tropes in the *Discourse*. Hakluyt ingeniously wove the various strands of English fears, at home and abroad, as well as abhorrence for Catholicism and Spain into a well-argued and structured narrative that presented the reasons and motivation for expansion of England’s empire while also predicting what that expanded empire would bring to the commonwealth. Each of the twenty-one chapters clearly explained in a measured but persuasive tone the causes that called the English to rise up and rescue the New World from the Catholic Spanish, the devastation the Spanish wrought in the New World as well as in Europe, and why it was so necessary for the English to look beyond their own borders. The first cause Hakluyt presented his audience was religion. Hakluyt argued that “it is necessary for the salvation of those poor people which have sitten so longe in darkness and in the shadow of deathe, that [good, English, Protestant] preachers should be sent unto them.” Protecting “those poore people,” the Indians, from Spain and Catholicism was the most righteous and true cause for English expansion into America.

Hakluyt continued to address the issue of how English preachers would best bring the Indians into the light of salvation. His solution was for the preachers to “with discretion and myldenes distill into [Indians] purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospel.” A slow and steady presence and presentation of English civility and faith would be the surest and safest

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79 Hakluyt, *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, 53, 52.
81 Hakluyt, *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, 8.
82 Hakluyt, *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, 9.
means by which to impart the Protestant Word of God to Indians.\textsuperscript{83} If the English attempted to hasten their message by forced conversion, Hakluyt showed, through the unfortunate example of Spanish friars, then the English would be “miserablye massacred by the savages.” In this, we once again find Hakluyt’s keen understanding that expanding an empire requires time and resources, thus demonstrating that Hakluyt knew an English empire would not be built in a day. The first chapter also incorporated the idea that England was the leader of Protestant Europe and that it would be the leader of the Protestant world, but only if England approached the New World and its people with equal parts care and caution.

The English required both equal measures of care and caution not only in their dealings with Indians but also in how they handled the influx of wealth that would arrive once the colonies became viable and the route to the East firmly established. This was required so that the English would not be corrupted as the Spanish were. A slower, more dangerous progression in expansion was very much akin to the godly path to salvation, which was encumbered by hardship and struggles.\textsuperscript{84} The difficulties that the English had to endure, however, did not preclude them from being rewarded for their good and godly endeavors.

The second chapter, the second most important cause behind English expansion, was the improvement of English overseas trade. Hakluyt bluntly blamed England’s trading woes on the increasingly villainous Spanish and their disloyal Catholic faith. Hakluyt depicted the Spanish as the scoundrels who treat English merchants’ goods “as subjecte to the spoil.”\textsuperscript{85} Hakluyt further elaborated on Spanish cruelty and greed by contrasting the Spanish with the godly English merchants that were “either inforced with wounded consciencies to playe the dissembling hipocrites, or be drawn to mislike with the state of religion at home [Church of England], or cruelly made away in the Inquisition.”\textsuperscript{86} So long as English trade and English empire were inferior to the Catholic Spanish possessions and proclivities, England would never flourish. Only through sacrifice and struggle could the English improve their trade and expand their empire in order to ensure the Providential prosperity of the Commonwealth.

The remaining chapters in the Discourse continued to build on the foundations laid by the first two chapters: religion and trade. The ever-menacing presence of Spain reappeared throughout the work in almost every chapter with chapters XVII and XXI as the exceptions. Chapter XVII described the necessity and near discovery of the Northwest Passage. Hakluyt did not grant the passage as much prominence in this work as he gave it in Divers Voyages, but the tone of this

\textsuperscript{83} Hakluyt bluntly stated that the Spanish did not “plant the gospel of Christe purely,” since the Spanish, he argued, were so plagued by corruption caused by the quick accumulation of easy treasure and the violence against the ‘naturals.’

\textsuperscript{84} Alec Ryrie explores the devotion of English Protestants and shows that Protestants saw the trials and tribulation they faced, whether it was physical, mental, emotional, or spiritual suffering, as a sign that their faith was alive. The struggles Protestants encountered throughout their lives aided in the growth and strengthening of their faith. Alec Ryrie,\textit{ Being Protestant in Reformation Britain} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

\textsuperscript{85} Hakluyt,\textit{ Discourse Concerning Western Planting}, 13.

chapter implied that Hakluyt still held that passage as the route to not only the East but to an English empire.

Two reasons Hakluyt might not accord the passage as much attention in the Discourse as compared to Divers Voyages were the differences between the people who commissioned each work and the purpose for each voyage. Gilbert commissioned Divers Voyages to support his bid to establish a colony, but also with the hope of discovering the Northwest Passage. Ralegh commissioned the Discourse in order to entice the Queen’s support in his quest to establish a colony that could serve as a base for English privateering in the West Indies. Ralegh’s interest focused on the West Indies and the gold there to secure his own legacy, rather than the fabled Northwest Passage, which focused on trade more so than personal glory and reputation.

Chapter XXI was a compilation of lists designed to provide the reader with the items recommended as well as required for a long-distance voyage. Hakluyt’s lists included one for victuals (both for food on the voyage as well as for planting at the settlement), another for trade goods, and a list of “artesanes [sic], serving our first planters” (for example, brick layers and tile makers). 87 This chapter was the one most dedicated to the mundane and practical matters regarding the plantation of a colony. The chapter’s placement seemed an obvious choice given Hakluyt’s skill at presenting his audience with the spectacular to gain their interest and then slowly making his way toward the realities of such expeditions. In presenting his audience with the glories and ideologies first, Hakluyt focused on the result of the efforts and presented the actual practices as simply the stages that must be endured to achieve the goal of a long-lasting, future empire predicated on trade. The Discourse established the ideological needs and requirements for expanding an English Empire, but also the first hints at how that expansion could occur.

Conclusion

From the start of English overseas expansionist endeavors, Hakluyt’s focus rested on expanding an English empire by finding a route to Eastern markets rather than establishing colonies in North America. The colonies were merely a springboard from which to launch future voyages and to act as posts along the route to the East. Hakluyt established the reasons and provided the general layout for English expansion in his first publication and, two years later, Discourse. Hakluyt’s empire’s general structure “did encapsulate the overarching and lasting ambitions of England’s and later Britain’s imperial expansion and did anticipate the main lines of development in the British Atlantic economy.” 88 Hakluyt’s empire focused on trade. The colonies would act as vents for English goods (as markets in Europe began to close to English trade), and the wealth and raw goods generated from the colonies would benefit England, not compete with it.

The rising awareness of trade and the necessity merchants represent increased throughout sixteenth-century England, particularly in the last years of Elizabeth I’s reign as she granted charters to the Eastland Company (1579), the Levant Company (1581), and the East India

87 Hakluyt, Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 165.
As Kenneth Andrews notes, Hakluyt included the word “Traffiques” in his title for the second edition of *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600). Throughout the sixteenth century, the rising tide of merchant’s time (examined further in the chapter “Knightly Prowess, Merchant’s Trade”) influenced the nature of English expansion and conceptions of empire. Aware of the mounting need for profitable trade, Hakluyt continually demonstrated why England must expand and advocated for an English school of navigation that would provide skilled pilots and sailors who could cross the vast oceans, expanding England’s empire and trade.

The difference between Hakluyt’s writings and those from earlier promotional authors (like Eden) and from Hakluyt’s contemporaries (like Ralegh—discussed in “Knightly Prowess, Merchant’s Trade”) was, quite literally, time. For Hakluyt, England’s time—England’s Providence—was now. If the English were idle or tempted and shortsighted by quick wealth (like what Spain took from the New World), God’s Providence would pass over the English, leaving the English with an unfulfilled future and empire. Whereas other authors sought to expand English territory and strength by contesting and crippling Spanish influence overseas (thus cutting off their supply of wealth from the Americas into Europe), Hakluyt looked beyond the Spanish, calling for his fellow English to do the same. For Hakluyt, timing dictated the success or failure of an English empire. Seizing the moment was unique and faithful because God blessed this moment, not England’s past endeavors to expand its empire—but this moment in time.

Expanding the English Providential empire was a unique event in English history but also provided the means of establishing a legacy for future English generations to uphold and perpetuate. These first steps in claiming and controlling the trade route East was Hakluyt’s generation’s legacy as much as it was God’s Providence. History revealed an English progression towards England’s current moment and Providence. This moment and Providence would become England’s legacy and its empire. From the Providential progression of the past to England’s present Providential moment, the past and present, both distinct spaces of time but wholly linked by Providence, demonstrated how and why England would (should) secure its Providential empire for the future’s prosperity.

The shifting conceptions of time and temporality in sixteenth-century England heavily influenced the rhetoric and themes Hakluyt employed in his writings. With a shifting sense of time(s), English expansion and empire became an immediate need. Time was no longer a thing that ticked by, counting down to Judgement Day; time now required active people pursuing England’s Providential empire. The present became distinct from the past, becoming its own space in time. The past—history—now provided experiences and revealed England’s Providential path to empire, not just examples of exemplary behavior or leadership. The era of great examples for people to emulate shifted into learning from past experiences and building upon them, not merely exemplifying them.

Within Hakluyt’s early writings, *Divers Voyages* and *Discourse*, he laid out the path he saw England trotting from the 500s to its current day. England’s history was one riddled with

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Providential signs and active ancestors all striving together for that heavenly ordained English empire. Without the shifting perceptions of time and temporality—how time and history were understood—Hakluyt would not be able to articulate his vision of an English empire. Every previous expedition and voyage, expansion, and conquest, built—one on top of the others—until England finally reached its Providential gift: direct trade with the East. Throughout Divers Voyages, Hakluyt carefully cultivated a sense of progression towards England’s Providential empire by providing chronologically ordered histories, each building on the other as England moved towards its empire. In Discourse, Hakluyt enumerated the actions and godly qualities the English needed to manifest in order to continue building on their history and fulfill England’s Providential empire, including the significance of trade, of the growing importance of merchants and merchant’s time.

The following chapters demonstrate how the dynamic perceptions and conceptions of time(s) and temporality influenced Hakluyt’s writings as well as the nature of English expansion. Where the earlier histories Hakluyt curated in Principal Navigations (both editions) demonstrated English martial prowess (a chivalric time typified by Ralegh) and the Providential path of England’s empire, the more contemporary sources, from the early 1500s on, generally provided the audience with the material that was trade-oriented, not epic chivalric histories. Power and authority to undertake voyages in pursuit of England’s Providential empire remained wholly with the Crown. However, the action and the labors required to expand an empire encompassed the whole of the English people, from the Crown to the idle prisoner, with specific foci on Providence and trade. What some people in English society did in the past, from idleness to lackluster piety, would no longer work in the present. To expand an English empire, the English—as a nation—must work in godly harmony. The humanist ideal of creating utopian-esque commonwealths in newly established colonies began at home. For Hakluyt, England could not expand unless the English acted as one—working for the betterment of England in pursuit of England’s Providence. Time no longer lingered within the realm of the divine. Time, the hastening of its mortal coil, now drove people—the English—to act in the name of Providence and England’s Providential empire.
Hakluyt’s Active Time

In the Middle Ages, “time was plentiful and there was no need to look upon it as something precious.”¹ This was the medieval sense of time. A time in which “it was possible to spend tens and even hundreds of years on the completion of one building—a cathedral, a town hall or a castle… for life was the life of the community in which one generation quietly succeeds another.”² In contrast, for Hakluyt and his contemporaries, time(s) took on an end date that was unknown but would come. Hakluyt was not a millennialist—at least not in his writings. The Second Coming was the end of time, but England’s time—an active time and limited by the eventual end of time—was one shaped by English action, advancing towards their empire, and hindered by idleness. Time was finite and required action to establish a legacy and fulfill God’s Providential blessing. As such, England had to act immediately.

The medieval time of progression to a singular endpoint coupled with the Renaissance’s legacy time incited a sense of limited time. The present time was not perpetual (like it was in medieval time). Present time was an active time in which there was only so much temporal space to act and secure God’s Providence for an English empire. Hakluyt’s writings indicated a finite amount of time to act—to seize the divinely appointed opportunity of overseas expansion actively. Action and being active were the themes populating Hakluyt’s writings, from his invocation of England’s active ancestors to Hakluyt’s own labors to preserve and present English Providential history to England having this single moment in which to act and claim its Providential empire. Hakluyt’s time was active and the present finite. Time was not a perpetual string of repeated days. The present was different from the past, even as the past continued to influence the present.

Hakluyt’s sense of time and timing proved an intriguing combination of a quasi-medieval sense of time and the Renaissance sense of time, compounded by a nascent sense of English identity and nationalism that comes into being during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603).³ In Hakluyt’s writings, he urged his contemporaries to seize this singular moment—a moment unique in English history because it was Providentially blessed. Hakluyt’s linear progression of time saw England marching towards an empire (rather than the Second Coming) and coupled with Renaissance legacy time to motivate Hakluyt’s England to act and establish their legacy.⁴ Empire was the legacy Hakluyt’s contemporaries would leave to future generations if they were not idle. The present was its own space of time in which Hakluyt and his contemporaries acted in order to secure an English empire. Unlike past English generations, Hakluyt’s generation stood apart because they had God’s Providential blessing. They could act and expand their empire unlike previous unblessed English generations could achieve despite their overseas activities. The past—

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¹ Quinones, *The Renaissance Discovery of Time*, 7.
⁴ It was commonly understood by Hakluyt and his contemporaries that the Second Coming would occur; it was only a matter of when and of waiting for it to happen. Hakluyt made no mention of the Second Coming in Diverse Voyages, Discourse Concerning Western Planting, or Principal Navigations (both editions). Knowledge and belief in the Second Coming were a universal understanding within Christianity. Hakluyt did not need to remind his audience of the end of the world, because it was already understood and did not wholly support Hakluyt’s push for an English empire. Why build an empire if the world will end?
history—revealed England’s Providential path, but the present would not be the same as the past because England’s time to act and develop its empire was in the present, not the past.

Active time was a temporality in which “people do things.”5 Before the Renaissance and Reformation, time was a divine instrument counting down to the Second Coming—it was a temporality in which time happened to people. After the Renaissance and Reformation, people began to interact with time as an enemy to overcome, to defeat by utilizing one’s mortal time to leave a legacy and build upon history. Legacy was the memory someone leaves behind. The compilation of his or her life’s achievements so future generations might learn from and build upon during their time, leaving another legacy to other generations. Legacy could manifest in something physical like a building (such as a cathedral or a palace), art and literature, or bolstering the family name, business, and prosperity. Stemming from the Renaissance, legacy required active efforts and purpose to become a memory worthy of leaving with an idle life—a life left unfulfilled and unlived—being the antithesis. An active life led in the pursuit of bettering oneself and society was foundational for leaving a legacy from which others could learn and grow.

Active time was a competition against one’s limited number of years—against a set clock. In Hakluyt’s writings, the expression of active time was in his insistence that God determined this moment as the moment in which the English were prepared and worthy for the growth of their Providential empire. English history testified to England’s Providential path, leading the nation to this moment. The travails and labors experienced in the past were trials to prepare the English for even greater struggles and sufferings and labors they had to endure for their empire. Active time required pious and rigorous actions from every person in the English, not allowing for idlers to hinder England’s Providence. Active time required the English to be actively engaged with the materials Hakluyt provided, learning from the accumulated knowledge and others’ experiences. Laboring for their empire would keep the English Providential empire on a godly path, prevent idleness, and ensure its legacy and prosperity.

In this chapter, I argue that Hakluyt’s employment of action and activity drew on society’s increasing attention to being active in an English person’s faith, education, and labor to curtail the prevalent fear of the idle in England. Stemming from Protestantism and humanist learning, action (godly and good) legitimized English labors to establish an empire and prevent England from carrying a legacy like Spain’s Black Legend. An active English person was active in their piety, their learning, their labors, and in their loyalty to England, thus preventing the English from falling prey to greed and idleness, like the Spanish. Without a unified English social body, the English could not lay claim to their Providential empire, for the whole of England must be active in advancing England’s Providence. As revealed by English history, Providence promised the English an empire, but to claim their empire, the English had to be active in their labors and not allow idle hands to stay their course. Providence might be a passive blessing, but the attainment of Providence was an active, laborious endeavor and never idle.

**Hakluyt, Never the Idler**

In “The Sermon Against Idleness” from *The Two Books of Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches* (1571), it stated: “Bodyly labour is not required of them which by reason of their

5 Rosenberg, *Cartography of Time*, 12.
vocation and office, are occupied in the labour of the mind, to the profite and helpe of others.”

The concept of a multiplicity of labors resonated, as did Hakluyt’s description of his toils and travails. Labor was honest and straightforward without adornment or celebration, just like the plain, authentic prose Hakluyt used when writing. Mary Fuller and Claire Jowitt demonstrate how this use of plain prose lends legitimacy to Hakluyt’s writings. Rather than using flowery language and rhetorical flourishes, Hakluyt and other overseas promotional authors wrote in a simple, unadorned style—unlike Ralegh’s more chivalrous narration, Discoverie—because their goal was to impart knowledge and experience to the reader and incite action, not idle and leisurely reading.

Outlining his own labors and sacrifices in order to preserve histories nearly lost to oblivion was a strategy of establishing legitimacy and authorial authority. In particular, questions about Hakluyt’s authority as an “expert” on the topic but without firsthand knowledge of the regions and peoples in [his] books” when he had not traveled to them appeared to diminish his authority as an author. Hakluyt answered these questions impugning his authorial authority in his 1589 Principal Navigations “Epistle Dedicatorie.” He wrote, “I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in severall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at myself, to see how I was able to endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardsnesse of many from whom I was to receive my originals [...].” Hakluyt understood perfectly well his, to use a modern term, armchair travels would hinder his authority. To combat this, Hakluyt cited his own actions and travails in gathering and collecting the travel literature and publishing those sources of experience and knowledge, thus legitimizing his authorial authority to his audience. Hakluyt’s labors of the mind were as rigorous and demanding as the harshest of travels; he contended and did not void his contributions to English overseas expansion. Hakluyt’s plain prose was honest and trustworthy, without flowery language to conceal falsity, and bluntly informed his audience of his actions and authority and trustworthiness of his sources.

Expressing the pains and toils Hakluyt endured also lent further credence for the pains and toils contained in the eyewitness accounts Hakluyt so carefully edited and published for his audience. Even though these labors and toils were harsh and demanding, some filled with suffering, they stemmed from English actions in their pursuit of empire. From accounts of being taken prisoner—like Thomas Saunders or Miles Philips—to tales of adventure like Sir Walter Ralegh’s Discoverie, Hakluyt, throughout both editions of Principal Navigations, demonstrated the tenacity and fortitude overseas voyages and these ventures required of the people involved in

6 Anonymous. The Second Tome of Homilees of such Matters as were Promised, and Intituled in the Former Part of Homilees. Set Out by the Authoritie of the Queenes Maiestie: And to be Read in Every Parish Church Agreeably. (London: In Poules Churchyarde, by Richarde Iugge, and John Cawood, printers to the Queenes Maiestie, 1571), 498.


seeing them through. The shift from labor being merely another word in a sentence to it being a defining feature of Hakluyt’s works started in 1583 where voyages became real and the sense of timing became more concrete.

Hakluyt employed the Protestant mantra of pain and suffering throughout his later post-1583 works. Post-1583 writings, beginning with Discourse, enfolded pain and suffering as part and parcel in English overseas activities because success could not be obtained without experiencing some agony along the way. “I wil now referre the Reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labours and indevors [sic] of such as thereby seeke the profit and honor of her Majestie, and the English nation, shall by men of quality and virtue receive such construction, and good acceptance, as themselves would looke to be rewarded withal in the like.” The suffering and labors all took on meaning in the context of Providence, particularly as England had to suffer more than most to secure its empire. Hakluyt consciously employed a Protestant understanding of labor and toil to communicate why England’s past and present endeavors did not meet with the same successes as what would greet the English in future voyages and plantations.

Throughout Discourse Concerning Western Planting (1584), Hakluyt instilled the concept that another reason behind the Church’s and Spain’s illegitimacy in claiming the New World was their lack of suffering, toils, and labor. In the fourth chapter of Discourse, Hakluyt argued that “this enterprise will be for the manifolde imployment of numbers of idle men, and for breding [sic] of many sufficient, and for utterance [sic] of the greate quantitie of the commodities of our realme.” In the 1589 Principal Navigations, Hakluyt provided his own labors as both examples and experiences to his audience. In the “Epistle Dedicatorie,” Hakluyt plainly explained that his toils and labors result from the labors of the mind rather than labors of the physical body. The suffering Hakluyt endured was different from the sufferings sailors endured, but no less rigorous and demanding and essential to being active in pursuing England’s Providential empire.

From Idlers to English People

English voyages and plantations to expand an empire could not take place without active participation from the English. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, considerable fear and worry over idle people permeated sixteenth-century writings from Hakluyt’s writings to published sermons. Idleness was the sense of standing still, of stagnation in a time when action—movement—determined the legacy and the history left for future generations’ edification and

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10 Hakluyt published both Sanders and Philips captivity narratives in the second edition of Principal Navigations (1598-1600).
11 The difference between Hakluyt’s writings pre-and post-1583 will be explored later in this chapter. For more on Protestant and Providence and travails, refer back to “Enduring Providence” section.
13 England’s long history of overseas endeavors and the juxtaposition with Spain’s easily obtained wealth stood in stark contrast to England’s continuing travails and failures. These did, for Hakluyt, give greater meaning to England’s success—they had to work harder and labor longer than the Spain or Portuguese for an English Providential empire.
14 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 36.
prosperity. The medieval sense that the present was an extension of the past began to fade with the continuing influence of the Renaissance across Europe. The present entered into its own sense of “self” through the Renaissance philosophy of legacy, and doing what one could with his or her limited time in this life became more ubiquitous in society. “It is the appoyntment and wyll of God, that every man, during the tyme of this mortall and transitorie lyfe, should geue himself to some honest and godly exercise & labour, and every one to do his owne busines, & to walke vpryghtly [sic] in his owne calling.” Idleness continued in its tenure as a social ill plaguing early modern society, one which Hakluyt sought to solve by settling English plantations along trade routes. In both Divers Voyages and Discourse, Hakluyt promoted taking those imprisoned in “al our prisons [and set them] to serve their Countrie.” The people to populate these plantations were the healthy, able-bodied individuals who rotted away in prisons or were vagabonds disrupting the social order in England—all of whom were idlers in society. These people would be put to work for the betterment of the Commonwealth by populating these plantations. Hakluyt’s plan solved the issue of idleness, over-population fears, and how to find English people to fill these plantations.

The idle of England moved from being a disease in the social body to productive and healthy members of society, thus negating social ills like idleness from England. From homilies to Hakluyt’s Diverse Voyages and his Discourse Concerning Western Planting, idleness threatened to hinder, if not utterly destroy, England’s progression towards prosperity and empire. In The Second Tome of Homilees (1571), An Homilee against Idlenesse stated “that idlenes, byeng repugnant to the same ordinauce [sic], is a greeuous [sic] sinne, & also for the great inconuences & mischeefes which spryng thereof, an intollerable euill [sic].” For Hakluyt, overseas expansion would solve the seemingly perpetual and genuine fear of idleness in England. By putting people to work on ships or using them to populate overseas plantations, they would become active, productive members of society, thus ensuring a more spiritual society rather than one bogged down by those without proper vocation and labors. English men and women who were willing to sail and be the people necessary to establish settlements, like “the Greeks and Carthaginians of olde time,” would be the “able” individuals languishing in prisons. They would become active English people as they settled in “those temperate and fertile partes of America” all for the Providence and prosperity of the Commonwealth.

Hakluyt’s active time was precious and finite, necessitating that all English people be active in curating an empire. By citing idle peoples, Hakluyt not only demonstrated the problem but also presented the solution. England believed itself to have an issue with over-population and idlers, and England needed to plant settlements along trade routes to defend the routes and operate as bases along these trade routes. Putting these idlers to work by planting colonies (like the Greeks and Romans did) helped maintain the social order, protected England from falling into chaos, and

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18 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys, vol. I., 175.
19 Anonymous, “An Homilee against Idleness […] (1571),” 496.
20 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, ¶ verso, ¶.
helped the English fulfill God’s Providence by building England’s empire. Hakluyt was careful to maintain his argument that England must act with godly intention if England wished to possess future prosperity:

Certes if hitherto in our owne discoveries we had not beene led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine then Gods glorie, I assure my self that our labours had taken farre better effect. But we forgette, that Godliness is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdom of God, al other things will begiven 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 for the advauncement of the kingdome of Christ, and the enlarglement of his glorious Gospell: as it is sayde, I will honor them that honor me.  

For Hakluyt, going forward with godly intentions without desire for fast riches but only the richness of God’s blessings was what would bring prosperity to England.

The promise of a Providential empire gave meaning and reason to the toils and labors, to the suffering and grief. Hakluyt focused on present, potential, and probable suffering and struggles the English would endure and overcome to establish their empire. He provided histories that demonstrate English successes and failures as evidence that the English did have a history of overseas ventures. To achieve England’s Providential empire, the English would endure suffering and be active in their suffering, learning, and trade to expand the English empire further. The successes and failures, the suffering and labors, of those ventures were relative but necessary obstacles through which the English must persevere to fulfill God’s Providence and establish a legacy from which future generations could learn and endeavor to outshine. Increasing English overseas activity—profitable and painful—signaled that now was England’s divinely appointed time—its Providence—to further the gains made by previous generations. Hakluyt’s active time separated the past from the present and emphasized establishing a legacy that would provide a foundation from which England’s empire may further expand in the future. Like the signs decrying the Second Coming, the signs were all there, proving England’s time to act was in the present—not the past, not the future, but the present.

**Acting in Providence**

For Hakluyt, action and activity propelled English Providence and time. Active time was one of the expressions of time Hakluyt promoted throughout his writings. Actio was what spurred progression towards English prosperity. Without action and activity, England could not move to expand its empire. Hakluyt argued that England’s time to act was now. England’s Providential time was now because, unlike Spain or Portugal, England must labor and suffer to reap its rewards in the form of empire and a prosperous, healthy Commonwealth. Rather than idle passivity, Hakluyt advocated for each individual to act and take action in helping to seize and expand England’s empire. England, as Hakluyt envisaged it, was an empire and had been from the time of King Arthur. An empire that only grew stronger in 1534, when Henry VIII split from the Roman Catholic Church. The actions of these two great kings were essential for the continuing expansion of the English empire under Elizabeth I, whose knights-errant—her courtiers and the infamous Sea

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21 Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, ¶2 verso.
Dogs—fulfill their chivalric honor through their expansionist, if slightly antagonistic, actions overseas.

In a 1587 “Epistle Dedicatory” to Sir Walter Ralegh, Hakluyt plainly stated, in the opening paragraph, the significant role that Elizabethan “illustrious and noble” knights had in the progression of an English empire:

I hold those worthy of the highest praise, illustrious and noble Knight, who by their labours and by the hazard of their lives have made known to our peoples such an infinite number of the Antipodes, hitherto lying hid. And those, who, of their excellent genius, have recorded the noble deeds of such men, on the imperishable monuments of letters, I consider must be held, if not in greater, certainly in no less honour, and must be no less esteemed.22

Not only were the knights claiming new lands for the Crown, but they also brought back to England previously untapped knowledge and experience from which Hakluyt and others “of their excellent genius” could publish and spread to their audiences. As in Divers Voyages, knowledge and experience remained the critical ingredients of paramount importance to Hakluyt. Knowledge and experience would best aid England in establishing its empire across North America and into Cathay. The “illustrious and noble Knight” and “those […] of their excellent genius,” however, must labor in tandem in order to continue to bring new knowledge and experience to England while the latter must labor to preserve and present what they brought to England, for a Providential English empire. One could not succeed without the other, and, as such, England would not succeed without knightly and scholarly harmony.23

Continuous action, whether in “their labours and by the hazards of their lives” or those “who recorded the noble deeds of such men,” was how England would secure its empire.24 Hakluyt’s sense of physical and intellectual action compounded with his sense of England’s Providential timing. Activity, not idleness, was the necessary precursor for an English empire. This was also, of course, a masterful endorsement for why England, even with its domestic issues and tensions both within and outside of the isle, needed to commit fuller support to overseas activities. For one, establishing an empire overseas would act to relieve certain social tensions in England like over-population and idleness, as Hakluyt pressed home in Discourse Concerning Western Planting, and, for another, position England to stand more firmly against the Roman Catholic powers in Europe.

Active Readers, Active Empire


22 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, vol. II, 362.
23 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, vol. II, 362.
24 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, vol. II, 362. This was why Hakluyt included Ralegh’s Discoverie in his second edition of Principal Navigations—for the knowledge and experience Ralegh provided to Hakluyt’s audience.
reading [...] was always goal-oriented—an active, rather than a passive pursuit.”

Actively reading texts included Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt himself advocated for his audience to take what they learned and apply their knowledge to the expansion and prosperity of an English empire. Reading actively, however, did not merely apply to scholarly texts, as Claire Jowitt argues in her examination of four Elizabethan dramas about overseas adventures. Jowitt parses out “whether the plays in question view reading travel writing as a ‘trigger for action.’” Jowitt concludes that the plays “show the rich variety of responses Renaissance drama offered to the epistemological challenges the travel writing collection represented.”

During the sixteenth century, the “emergent” genre of travel writing pooled various sources of knowledge together to form one grand narrative demonstrating a cohesive nature of overseas knowledge, skill, and practice, all delivered in plain language. For Hakluyt, action equaled time and timing. “The order of time, like the order of nature upon which it largely depends, issues from the hand of God; and God does nothing arbitrary or random.” Hakluyt illustrated this sentiment in the opening of the 1589 *Principal Navigations* through the apocryphal tale about visiting his elder cousin’s study and reading Psalm 107, verses 23-24: “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 deep.” Opening with this verse and the maps laid out in his cousin’s study signified that England’s moment to act was now, but only if the English act in time.

Hakluyt demonstrated his active participation in building England’s overseas, Providential empire in his “Letter to the Reader” from *Principal Navigations* (1598). He described how he “toiled” to rescue nearly lost and ancient sources from obscurity in order to preserve the information for his audience. Hakluyt’s activity was a mental and intellectual labor necessary to protect and publish knowledge and past experiences that would enable the English to further their imperial legacy beyond what the English already achieved. From Madoc to King Arthur to Hawkins to Barrow, Hakluyt promoted future prosperity and expansion through the Providential revelations past generations brought to England.

Previous generations’ legacies stood proud and ready for Hakluyt’s contemporaries to seize and capitalize on as they continued in the same vein of expanding England’s authority and wealth. Hakluyt, however, added another layer to England’s glorious (if littered with failures) expansionist endeavors through his conviction to the Protestant faith. For Hakluyt, the singular most significant component of English expansion was the spread of the Christian faith. Hakluyt understood that the active time—the moment for England to establish an empire—was a Providential gift from God. God’s favor and grace granted England the talent, skill, and people required for England to challenge Spain and further England’s empire. But England could only challenge and, eventually, surpass Spain if the English, as a single unified social body, acted now, during this blessed moment that God granted them, and, even then, only if the English were active in spreading the Christian faith.

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26 Jardine, “‘Studied for Action’,” 30.
Active Faith

Time was everything. Hakluyt adamantly stressed that English history led to this moment in which England had the chance, the opportunity, to take significant steps in securing its place in the world. Where Spain and Portugal had their chances, they did not act with the same divine backing and timing as England now possessed, Hakluyt argued. Spain’s Black Legend played handily into Hakluyt’s arguments as the legend revealed the depths of Spain’s cruelty and “tyrannie” while further exposing the corruption and greed of the Roman Catholic Church versus the purity of the Church of England.32

In the nineteenth chapter of A Discourse in Western Planting (1584), Hakluyt argued why the Church overstepped its temporal boundaries by issuing the Inter caetera (1493).33 Hakluyt argued that since Christ declared “his kingdome was not of this worlde” the Pope does not possess the authority to divide earthly kingdoms betwixt and between earthly kings.34 Hakluyt continued by stating, “If [the pope] had but remembered that which he hath inserted in the ende of his owne Bull, to wit, that God is the disposer and distruber [sic] of kingdoms and empires, he woulde never have taken upon him the devidinge [sic] of them with his line of partition from one ende of the heavens to the other.”35 Hakluyt argued that the Pope’s decision to divide the world, usurped God’s authority and became an act of “plane iniquitie.”36 The Pope’s division of the world along with Spain’s ungodly and martial ventures in the New World were thus, not an expansion of God’s grace, but were the manipulations of “insatiable and gredy [sic] wolves.”37

If the Church and Spain truly sought the betterment and peaceable expansion and conversion of the New World, as Hakluyt argued the English did, then the Pope would have employed different tactics. But the Church’s actions, the usurpation of God’s authority, and the cruelty Spain inflicted indicate the ungodly nature of the Church’s and Spain’s actions. Hakluyt reasoned that if “the Pope should rather have sent into the West Indies store of godly pastors of his owne coste freely, then to have geven [sic] them and their gooddes wrongfully to be eaten upp and devoured” by sin and greed.”38 Spain and the Church’s focus rested on the wealth and power they could take from the New World, not on what was best for the New World and how they could act to better both New and Old Worlds. Rather than pursuing godly actions and peaceful resolutions and conversions, the Church and Spain gave into greed and idleness. Spain and the Church “never gave that which was in their actuall possession, yf by any means possible they might have kepte it themselves.”39 Hakluyt admonished Spain and the Church by stating, they “should have remembered the worde of our Saviour, whoe saieth: […] it is a blessed thinge to give rather than to receave,” by which Hakluyt meant spreading the Christian faith sans violence and greed.40

32 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 13.
33 Title of XIX: “An aunswer to the Bull of the Donation of all the West Indies granted to the Kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the Vlth, who was himself a Spaniarde borne.”
34 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 130.
35 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 130.
36 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 134.
37 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 134.
38 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 134.
39 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 134.
40 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 134.
This was the crux of the difference between Spain and the Church’s ungodly actions in the New World and England’s Providential expansion into that same New World. Through his own active reading of the materials, Hakluyt represented England as biding its time, waiting for the moment God deemed England’s moment before acting in haste and out of self-interest and greed like Spain. He laid out his plan for how England should and would go about planting its settlements in the New World as he described what Spain and the Church should have done from the start. By “send[ing] [a] store of godly pastors,” England would bring the Christian faith to the native peoples without the martial activities, cruelties, and greed exercised by the Spanish with the full support of the Church in Rome.41

Hakluyt stressed, in the description of his first chapter of Discourse, the main objective of England’s overseas expansion: “That this western discoverie will be greatly for the enlargemente of the gospel of Christ, whereunto the princes of the Reformed Relligion [sic] are cheffely bounde, amongst whom her Majestie ys principall.”42 As David Harris Sack shows, “for Hakluyt, the work of navigators and explorers moved, as did everything, under the power of God and subject to his judgment” and “in the pursuit of new discoveries, as in every worldly endeavor, virtue would be blessed and sin punished.”43 Because the Church overstepped its temporal boundaries and Spain acted with cruelty and greed, neither had the divine legitimacy that England possessed. For Hakluyt, spreading the Gospel took precedent to establishing English trade routes and plantations to protect that trade because, without God’s blessing, England would not have its empire. Without Providence, as gifted by God, the English could not succeed and possess these areas resulting in England falling back into the rot and decay from which Hakluyt rescued its histories in his Principal Navigations.

Enduring England’s Providence

The narratives, histories, and reports that Hakluyt included in his publications and Discourse enumerate several instances of suffering and hardship and considerable toils and labors the English had undertaken while expanding their empire. Hakluyt himself wrote about the trials he faced in “these studies.”44 In his search for knowledge while in service to the Queen by working for Sir Edward Stafford, “her Majesties carefull and discreet Ligier,” Hakluyt recounted his labors.45 Hakluyt spent five years in France gathering more information about overseas voyages made by the French and meeting captains, merchants, and other mariners just as he did in England. During this time, Hakluyt experienced the “dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes service,” but these dangers did not hinder Hakluyt’s pursuit in collecting as much information as he could about other states’ “discoveries and notable enterprises by sea.”46 If anything, the dangers and hardships Hakluyt endured during his time in France only strengthened Hakluyt’s dedication to promoting and informing English overseas ventures.

41 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 134.
42 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 7.
45 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 2.
46 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 2.
The continuing disasters, hardships, and grueling labors all amounted to God’s Providence on England. As Walsham demonstrates, “[t]he fact the Lord chose to bring about His purpose through such trivial accidents and humble instruments did not detract from His omnipotence—or the providential lesson He expected Englishmen and women to learn from these catastrophes.” Rather, these “trivial accidents and humble instruments” cemented God’s Providence on England. God’s Providence, Hakluyt argued, would bring England to a prosperous, peaceable, and ordered empire. However, God had to continue to test and try the English through travails and constant labors to achieve their empire. Because of England’s “continuall neglect of the like attempts [overseas voyages] especially in so long and happy a time of peace,” God now tested England’s resolve through many pains, labors, and griefs, such as losing sailors to the sea, like Sir Humphry Gilbert (d. 1583) or failed plantations like Ralegh’s Roanoke colony. These trials, however, were beneficial and Providential in the English view, as Walsham notes. If God had not granted England such trials to overcome, experiences from which to learn, and instead allowed the English to voyage without troubles and struggles, then the English would not have had God’s Providence. “Such gentle strokes and lashes were, in fact, encouraging signs: they indicated that the Almighty had not yet given up hope of reclaiming [England from its] sin” of “their sluggish security, and continual neglect” over expanding overseas trade. The English only needed to worry about a lack of struggles since “it was when He ceased to castigate a locality and allowed it to wallow in its own wickedness [and idleness] that the inhabitants should really begin to worry and prepare themselves for the worst.”

In “The Epistle Dedicatorie” in the First Edition, 1589,” Hakluyt reminded his audience that England had no excuse not to take up maritime activities or become the masters of the seas. He showed that even the French were somewhat confounded by England’s lack of navigational abilities and expansion. Citing from L’Admiral de France, Hakluyt wrote that England was like the “Rhodians, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in navigation, whereupon [Popiliniere] woondereth much that the English should not surpasse in that qualitie” of navigation that the Rhodians possessed. Hakluyt, after “reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie herein,” wrote that because he “not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull travels of our country men” took “the burden of that worke wherein all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument” upon himself. Hakluyt cited that the main reasons behind other Englishmen and women not “undertaking the burden” Hakluyt now bore was “(to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusal.” Without Hakluyt taking this burden and thus revealing England’s Providential path to empire through England’s successes and failures over its history, England would have continued to lie idle. All

47 Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 119-120.
48 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 2.
50 Walsham, Providence in Early Modern England, 123.
52 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 2-3.
the while, other states claimed tracts of the New World and controlled trade that should be English trade and wealth.\(^{54}\)

Pain and suffering, struggles and hardships, toils and labors were what God employed to test English resilience and their piety in the face of considerable wealth. Rather than resting idly by and allowing others to claim what was England’s, Hakluyt reminded his readers that the English, throughout their history, “have bene men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerless government of her most excellent Majestie, her subjects through the speciall assistance, the blessing of God, […] have excelled all nations and people of the earth.”\(^{55}\) God’s blessing on England, his Providence, demonstrated how and why the English were now to expand and claim their empire. Hakluyt revealed these workings as he listed the accomplishments of Elizabeth I, citing all her achievements from English banners in the Caspian Sea to Elizabeth “hath dealt with the Emperor of Persia […] and obtein[ed] her merchants large & loving privileges” to English accomplishments around the Mediterranean and beyond.\(^{56}\) In Elizabeth’s reign alone, Providence revealed itself through these successes and the failures and continuing threats against the Crown and country.

Spain, Hakluyt denoted in all his writings—especially Discourse—remained a looming threat to the English and their Providence empire. Spain’s lingering threat was one of the trials and tribulations England had to overcome to earn its empire. In Discourse Concerning Western Planting (1584), Hakluyt clearly outlined the many threats Spain posed in both the Old and New World, most of which were of a direct threat to England:

With this treasure hath [Charles V] not mayneteyned many cities in Italie, as well againste the Pope as againste the Frenche Kinge, as Parma, Florence, and such other? With this treasure did he not overthowe the Duke of Cleave, and take Gilderland, Groyningelande, and other domynions from him, which oughte to be a good warminge to you all, as it shall be most plainely and truly declared hereafter! With this treasure did he not gett into his handes the Erldome of Lingen in Westfalia? With this treasure did he not cause the Erle of Esones, your subject, to rebell againste your Graces father and againste you? The cause you knowe best. And what worke this treasure made amongst the princes and townes in Germany, when the Duke of Saxony and the Launtzgrave Van Hessen were taken, Sleydan, our own countryman, by his Chronicle declareth at large. And did not this treasure, named the Burgundishe asse, walke and ronne in all places to make bothe warr and peace at pleasure?\(^{57}\)


\(^{57}\) Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 50-51. The following chapter, chapter VII, discussed Philip II. It was titled, “What speciall meanes may bringe King Phillippe from his highe throne, and make him equall to the princes his neighbours; wherewithall is shewed his weakenes in the West Indies” (55-59).
In Hakluyt’s and many of his contemporaries' eyes, Spain caused continuous strife and chaos for England and other European states with wars and treachery through the wealth they took from the West Indies. Religious wars raged off and on during the latter half of the sixteenth century, with a certain few staunchly Protestant English people seeking the Queen’s favor to join their Protestant allies and fight against Spain’s tyranny. Hakluyt saw all this but also saw that Spain’s wealth funneled from the New World helped to fund these wars: “and what work this [West Indies] treasure made amongst the princes and townes in Germany,” Hakluyt asks. The persistent presence of Spain, including its attempts to have “the Earle of Esones, your subject, rebell against your graces father and againste you [Elizabeth I],” was a trial that the English must overcome to continue to act inside Providence. Sitting idle while Spain terrorized Europe would not protect England from Spain’s threat. Hakluyt argued that only acting to expand the English presence and trade in the New World and into Cathay would counter Spain’s looming presence.

The Urgency of Providence

The suffering England experienced at the hands of the Spanish, both before and during Elizabeth’s reign, granted not only legitimacy and justification to England’s overseas activities but also heightened the urgency underscoring Providence in Hakluyt’s writings. With the rise of centralization of secular authority, time—the future—came under the purview of the state. Rather than the Roman Catholic Church maintaining its grasp on the machinations of time(s), including the nearing or furthering of the Second Coming, time(s) became an active part of people’s lives. Time no longer lingered as only a divine construct leading directly to the Second Coming. By the late sixteenth century, as expressed in Hakluyt’s writings, time lived within the world. Time did not just happen; people did things with their time. People could act to influence and further England’s Providential imperial future through wise use of their time by establishing a legacy—an empire.

The changing sense of time(s) progression and activeness in people’s lives prompted a sense of urgency and acceleration beginning in the sixteenth century. The “compression of time is a visible sign that, according to God’s will, the Final Judgement is imminent,” and time itself appeared to be moving at a swifter pace than before. This sense of urgency imbued Hakluyt’s writings. But where other contemporaries wrote about the Second Coming, Hakluyt’s concern was missing God’s Providential moment. Hakluyt expressed a sense of impending winding down of opportunity to seize God's Providence on the English. This compression of time was not the end of the world but rather the end of England’s imperial Providence and its honor and glory overseas. Hakluyt imbued a sense of urgency into his writings that expressed the knowledge that there was

58 Hakluyt, A Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 51.
59 Koselleck, Futures Past, 16.
60 For more see, Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton, Cartographies of Time (Hudson, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010), 12.
62 Koselleck, Futures Past, 22.
63 Koselleck, Futures Past, 12.
an end, but that end was not an English empire. An English empire was only the start of England’s Providential future.

The trials and tribulations between that endpoint—for Hakluyt an English empire and, in Reinhart Koselleck’s argument, the Second Coming—acted to “foreshorten” while simultaneously elongated the time(s) between the present and the fruition of Hakluyt’s empire that would last until the Second Coming. Hakluyt was silent on the Second Coming, leaving instead a perpetually prosperous empire as England’s finishing line—an empire to which Hakluyt did not overtly give an end date. For Hakluyt, England’s path to empire, like the path to the Second Coming, contained pain and suffering and grief for which the English had to pay in order to secure order and prosperity in their empire.

The histories Hakluyt carefully preserved and published grant a glimpse at the potential gains England could make if the English seized their predestined imperial opportunity. And, as Hakluyt demonstrated through copious evidence and experiences—including his own—the opportunity was not without professional and personal risk. In 1583, Hakluyt experienced tragedy firsthand. Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s ship, The Squirrel, sank along with another ship, the Admiral, on which Hakluyt’s friend, Hungarian poet Stephen Parmenius, sailed. Only Edward Hayes, who commanded the Golden Hind, returned to England to report the news of the ill-fated voyage. Both E. G. Taylor and Peter Mancall note “the loss wounded Hakluyt” and that “his heart must have been heavy, [upon] the news of the loss” of both Parmenius and Gilbert. Experiencing the loss of a patron and a friend with whom Hakluyt had considerable interactions most likely drove home how perilous the path to an English Providential empire would be. However, it also demonstrated Hakluyt’s dedication and belief in England’s Providential future as he continued his curatorial and editorial endeavors.

Conclusion

Active time was key to Hakluyt’s justification for English action and expanding its empire. Not only was England the best suited, given the example the Spanish provided with their Protestant propagated Black Legend, but God also appointed this time, Hakluyt’s time, for English successes overseas culminating in an empire. The collision of legacy, finite time, and active time created a fusion of temporalities uniquely suited to Hakluyt’s promotional aims. Including the principles of Protestant suffering and toil necessary to attain salvation and the growing commercial trade English merchants sought to expand, Hakluyt had a recipe for why and how England would achieve its overseas empire.

Throughout English history—as Hakluyt presented it to his audience—England’s path to empire via God’s Providence was clear. From the early histories like those of King Arthur to contemporary English sailors, adventures, and merchants more recent forays into overseas expansion and trade, God preordained the English to develop their empire. But only now, when God deemed England ready, did He grant his blessing for England to fulfill its Providential potential. However, as Hakluyt noted, again and again, the English could not be idle by standing

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64 Koselleck, *Sediments of Time*, 95-96.
stagnant when Providence was at hand. Action, continuous and constant, was the only means by which England could secure its empire. The travails and labors the English would endure were reminders that this Providential path to empire was a pious one, unlike the empires of Spain and Portugal, including the 1493 papal bull dividing the world between the two states. Because England had to suffer and toil for their empire and remain faithful to spreading the Christian faith, England’s Providential empire would receive greater blessings and prosperity than the corrupt tyranny of Spain would ever know.

The space of time in which the English could act to achieve their empire was finite and closing fast, but once the English did take those steps to achieve empire, they had to continue on no matter the hardships and struggles that greeted them along the way. The senses of urgency and acceleration, that Providence and time(s) and tide wait for no one, grew exponentially after the deaths of Sir Humphry Gilbert and Stephen Parmenius in 1583 in their quest to establish a colony and discover the Northwest Passage. Hakluyt’s rhetoric of action and movement prior-1583 carried a perfunctory sense of need. In his writings post-1583, Hakluyt imbued action and acting with monumental, Providential precedence in establishing an English empire. Pain and suffering, labor and struggle, were necessary to the action of building empire because “they indicated that the Almighty had not yet given up hope of” England achieving Providence. Hakluyt’s active time fused social fears, a sense of acceleration, travails and labors, and time as finite and demonstrated why England had to act now.

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Knightly Prowess, Merchant’s Trade: The Rising Significance of Merchant’s Time and the Waning of the Warrior’s Legacy

Hakluylt commended Sir Walter Ralegh’s (1552-1618) exploration and expansion actions in verse that he composed in 1586. In the verse, “In praise of those who have discovered new parts of the world,” Hakluyt commemorated the actions of European states for their actions overseas. While the Portuguese “subdued the tracts of China” and “the stout Spaniard the fields of Mexico,” the French experienced a less volatile plantation in the New World.¹ Where Hakluyt cast the Portuguese and Spanish into the roles of ‘subduers’ in Asia and the New World, Florida “yielded to the noble French” without mention of violent conquest. Hakluyt’s verse acknowledged each state’s most famous explorers and conquerors: “[…] Portugal celebrates its Gama, and the land of Spain boasts its Cortes, France gives the palm to Laudonnière and brave Ribault.”² Each explorer/conqueror actively sought out new lands, new routes, and achieved their aims through dedication and labor. Hakluyt’s last line praised Ralegh for the same efforts and labors in planting the ill-fated Roanoke colony. The last line of the verse praised Ralegh for his overseas plantation efforts: “But we, noble Ralegh, assign first place to thee.” The year before, Ralegh sponsored the Roanoke colony, which ended in failure by July of 1586 due to lack of food and conflict with the local Native Americans. Forgoing the outcome of this plantation, Ralegh’s “ideal for colonization—living in harmony with the Native peoples” stood on the principles that the English would “produce, gather, or trade for valuable commodities” for both the colony and for England.³ Rather than rely on en-slaving the Native peoples, like the Spanish, Ralegh sought to develop a settlement reliant on its own labor.

Spain’s Black Legend, already widely disseminated propaganda in Europe, helped Hakluyt feed into his argument that England’s time to establish an empire was now, but only if England acted in a timely manner, never being idle. “[W]ee would hasten and further every man to his power the deducting of some Colonies” beneficial to the English if the English had “able men to serve their Countrie.”⁴ Reports and news of France and Spain claiming new tracts of territory filtered back to England, igniting Hakluyt’s increasing determination that England’s time was now and had to act. France’s New World possession, Florida, was now Spanish, as Hakluyt ably demonstrated through his phrasing that “Florida once yielded” to France. In pointing out how Spain and Portugal continued to seize and “subdue” new territories while “noble France” lost one, Hakluyt hoped to animate the English into further action to establish an empire.

Ignorance was another form of idleness as far as Hakluyt was concerned. If “learned and industrious men” could not gain access to knowledge through no fault of their own this was not a form of idleness, merely a lacking of available knowledge, which Hakluyt rectified through his own labors. However, as Hakluyt instructed, ignorance was no excuse for not seeking out knowledge and learning once the knowledge was available. The ignorance stemmed from the willful idleness of the individuals capable of obtaining the information but refusing to improve. Hakluyt, being clever, understood human nature and motivated his audience to glean as much knowledge as possible rather than languish in idle ignorance: “For he who proclaims the praises

¹ Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys, vol. II, 349.
² Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys, vol. II, 349.
⁴ Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys, vol. I, 175.
of foreigners, rouses his own countrymen, if they not be dolts.” In demonstrating Spain’s achievements, Hakluyt showed what England could have if the English would actively engage with the knowledge provided and not be “dolts” by dismissing this providential calling for empire.

Fear of the outsider ran strong in Elizabethan England, with Catholics being high on the list of others to be feared. Spain, being a Roman Catholic state, certainly ranked as an ‘other.’ Hakluyt took this innate fear of the other and used it as a springboard to launch his audience into wanting to learn as much as possible about that other in order to overtake them. Hakluyt utilized the counterpoint of the Spanish to influence the English to action. Learning about Spanish history and discoveries and activities in the Americas was vital to present English overseas activities that would, in the end, secure England’s future. Hakluyt did not linger on the past or the present alone; he looked towards a future. Doing so required solid knowledge of the past for the advancement of English expansion goals in the present to ensure future success. Where Ralegh, Drake, Frobisher, and other Elizabethan Sea Dogs stopped in the present—defeating the Spanish—Hakluyt looked beyond that to a future ripe with prosperity for the Commonwealth to an English empire.

Within these eight lines of verse, Hakluyt amplified not only Spain’s Black Legend and the spread of Portuguese and Spanish territories but also highlighted the achievements of Ralegh and how the English people did (i.e., should) praise Ralegh for his noble actions even if the timing for triumph was not right or divinely ordained for success—not yet. The sense of accomplishment and the prospect of an English Empire encapsulated within these lines resonated with Hakluyt’s ultimate goal: establishing an English empire beyond the New World, with trade being its main prerogative. Hakluyt bluntly articulated what the Portuguese and Spanish had, the wealth and trade they possessed, further revealing England’s need to act, to claim, to plant, to oust the Spanish and Portuguese from these lands.

The significance of Hakluyt’s verse was not only in how he described each of the states participating in overseas endeavors but in how he featured their actions, their labors, then singling out the English themselves as bearing a Providential imperial legacy. The idea of action carried throughout Hakluyt’s works. He cast himself as a laborious individual whose actions were of a more studious variety requiring the rescuing of lost histories. Action and labor were requirements for the establishment of an English empire that could—and would, as Hakluyt argued—rival and overtake all the others and was the legacy England would leave for the future’s prosperity.

However, despite the praises Hakluyt wrote for Ralegh, and the “perfect story” Ralegh wove, Hakluyt did not prioritize Ralegh’s dashing heroics, which were more aligned with achievements of a bygone age. In England’s past, “men full of activity” took precedence as they actively sought to claim new lands. But the kings’ and knights’ and adventures that made up the earlier histories Hakluyt published in Principal Navigations (1589, 1598-1600) gave way to the “greatest Merchants” not just “the best Mariners,” all of whom now were “searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world” for England’s perpetual prosperity. In the shifting time(s) of the sixteenth century, Hakluyt included more accounts and narratives discussing trade and the benefits of expanding English trade rather than the more martial activities of their

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5 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, vol. II, 365.
6 Mancall, Hakluyt’s Promise, 217.
7 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 3, 2.
predecessors. Ralegh’s Discoverie was at once an adventure liberally peppered with chivalric rhetoric as it was—particularly in Principal Navigations—a call for increased trade overseas.

Ralegh’s Discoverie (both his original and the one in Principal Navigations) was a work caught in the shifting expressions of time(s). Ralegh sought individual legacy. Hakluyt sought legacy for England. Ralegh argued for martial intervention. Hakluyt argued for an empire predicated on trade. Ralegh’s England—a land of chivalric deeds and rhetoric coexisted with Hakluyt’s England, an England where trade and merchants were on the rise and slowly overtaking Ralegh’s England in importance to the realm. Ralegh’s England was an England in which the present remained a continuation of the past, where individual knightly deeds were needed to prove the monarch’s strength. Hakluyt’s England, the England on the rise, was an England increasingly regulated by clock time rather than cyclical time (where the present repeats the past). In Hakluyt’s England, the present was its own distinct time, a unique time that was utterly different from the past. In Ralegh’s Discoverie, the present and past were not distinct. Ralegh’s goal of claiming Guiana as a knight errant was not different from what previous generations of English nobles sought to achieve. Ralegh’s Discoverie harkened to a chivalric time when the braking of lances determined a battle. In this chapter, I explore how Ralegh’s Discoverie and Hakluyt’s Principal Navigations were both indications of the variety and variations in the changing expressions of time(s) that occurred in the latter part of the sixteenth century in England. The rise of merchant’s time and the declining significance of chivalric time mingled and mixed. Both times shaped the other. Picture the tray of multi-colored sand, how the different colors blended together but retained their individual hues. That was what chivalric time and merchant time were. They were those colors blending and mixing with each color contributing to the complexity that was the early modern English expressions of time.

Causation versus Examples of Virtue and Vice in Hakluyt’s Writings

The question of virtue rested heavily on Hakluyt’s contemporary readers’ minds and on the follies of the Spanish. Since the Spanish failed to proselytize the Word of God to the natives in the New World, the Spanish devolved into greedy, corrupted people who raped the New World for Spain’s glory according to Protestant propaganda. Hakluyt’s argument for why and how the English would not fall into the same pitfalls as the Spanish was straightforward: the English were more virtuous and godly. Hakluyt’s histories were histories that provide geographical and navigational knowledge coupled with information on what to expect when venturing into strange areas while also demonstrating Providence at work. These histories, some English and some not, provided a foundation from which the English could build their already existing empire, nascent though that empire was.

Hakluyt provided both causation and examples of Spain’s failings while providing “a school of experience” for his readers. The narratives Hakluyt culled were rife with considerable experiences on the seas and in foreign lands that provided both examples and instructions for his audience. English captive and prisoner’s tales carried in them a fusion of virtue and vice examples as well as experience and instructions. In these narratives, the captive/prisoners survived through

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8 See “Hakluyt’s Active Time.”
9 Nicholas Popper, Walter Ralegh’s History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 46.
their wits and their Protestant faith, eventually finding their way to England. Miles Philips’s daring escape and return to England from the Spanish New World (published 1582) and Thomas Saunders’s epic account (published 1587) of fleeing slavery along the Barbary Coast demonstrated the perseverance and Providence of the English people. From these narratives, readers gleaned what to be wary of in their travels and/or travails, while also learning that faith and perseverance would return them to England.

The structuring of the Principal Navigations (both editions) was significant and beneficial to Hakluyt’s argument for English expansion and for the readers’ edification. Hakluyt devoted individual sections to specific geographical areas, and within those sections, he chronologically ordered the histories, diaries, eyewitness accounts, and legal documents. This organization made finding information on a particular geographical area simpler. Rather than following an absolute chronological ordering with every source—no matter the location—smashed together, Hakluyt divided out each geographical area allowing the reader easily to locate the information about these maritime areas within the volumes. The ease of navigating Hakluyt’s Principal Navigations negated the sense of wasting time by slogging through a wholly chronological compilation, thus, expediting the action of learning and implementing the information Hakluyt provided.

Hakluyt employed the same techniques and methodologies in organizing and editing Principal Navigations (1599-1600). Dividing the books into geographical regions, Hakluyt traced the causes and the experiences past explorers, merchants, kings, and sailors utilized while also providing the reader with the information required for maritime ventures. The chivalric overtones of Hakluyt’s writings—rhetoric exploited by the Elizabethan Court—coupled with the causal process and experience further animated the sense of actio Hakluyt perpetuated throughout his writings, especially in Discourse Concerning Western Planting.

As evidenced in Elizabeth I’s court, chivalry, the Renaissance reinvention of medieval chivalry, revolved around courtly etiquette more than martial tactics and battlefield readiness. Revitalized in the fifteenth-century Burgundian court, Henry VII of England latched onto the displays of loyalty central to the chivalric code. In various ritualized tournaments and entertainments and the renaissance of the Order of the Garter, Henry VII displayed his rule as one in which loyalty to the crown garnered reward and favor. The tradition of chivalric language and loyalty carried over into his son’s, Henry VIII’s, reign, as well as those of Mary I and Edward VI, and most prominently into Elizabeth I’s. Chivalry morphed into a courtly device wherein Elizabeth’s male courtiers could interact with her as their lady and they her loyal knights. Pageants

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11 For more see Kevin Sharpe, Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England (New Haven: Yale University Press).
and ceremonies, art and literature, contained chivalric devices, praising Elizabeth and proclaiming her knights’ loyalties to their Queen, with Ralegh’s *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596) as a prime example of chivalric literature.12

The common theme between Hakluyt’s works emphasized English Providence, overseas experiences, and chivalry established a sense of action that these elements invoked in English overseas ventures and the reader. The active reader was one who read and gleaned, interacting with the text as a vital resource. In actively reading the activities of these past and contemporary peoples and eyewitnesses, Hakluyt’s goal was to instill a sense of urgency in expanding an English empire rather than focusing on the dashing heroics that were part of the empire expansion and overseas ventures. The Spanish succumbed to the lures of greed and pride, to the temptations of the lower body, forgoing their primary mission of proselytizing to the native peoples. If they could follow Hakluyt’s advice, the English would learn from previous experiences found in the histories Hakluyt supplied and not fall into the same failings as the Spanish. The English would succeed if they were active in their faith, in their morality, and in their commitment to England and Elizabeth.

The Western European discovery of a landmass utterly new and foreign to them, the aptly named New World, coincided with increasing cries against the Church’s corruption and shifting political sands and the rise of the printing press. This confluence of events and unprecedented experiences and knowledge lingered a century after Columbus’s first letter to the Spanish monarch. The printing press helped heighten a sense of rapidity in the exchange of information and knowledge that in preceding centuries remained generally relegated to handcrafted manuscripts and those who could afford these laboriously drafted manuscripts. The sense of urgency Hakluyt imbued within his works, through the themes of idleness and Providence, provided further support for the notion there was a sense of acceleration of time from the sixteenth century to the present day.13 England’s time to expand its empire began to quicken with the proliferation of overseas activities, from trade to circumnavigations. Hakluyt’s English empire focused on trade, not geographical expansion like the Spanish. Securing England’s trading empire with plantations acting as stations providing protection and restocking points along the trade routes was how England would establish its Providential empire.

The End of the World, Judgment Day, the Judeo-Christian Apocalypse—this final day was a given. The only question lingering was the uncertainty of when; when would that final day arrive. But there were signs trumpeting the arrival of the end. One such sign was the acceleration of time and events, along with a host of other signs outlined in the Book of Revelation. In the sixteenth century, the Reformation triggered a few religious groups to focus on the end times, a phenomenon that carried over into the seventeenth century with religious sects such as the Ranters. For Hakluyt, building an empire could not be founded on the idea it would all end shortly. Instead, Hakluyt left aside the general understanding of the apocalypse for the glory of an English empire. Throughout

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his Epistles and Letters, Hakluyt carefully articulated England’s glorious, prosperous future by providing previous experiences of English successes revealing the workings of Providence. These experiences came through the histories Hakluyt meticulously edited and organized to provide the reader with the necessary knowledge and understanding for practical skills like sailing and trade while also demonstrating that England built empires before and would do so again. The past was the experience required for the present and the promotion and pursuit of that Providential empire.

The New English Knight and Merchant’s Time

In an age alive with chivalry, Elizabethan England held heroic deeds and actions in the highest regard. An underlying motivation behind England’s glorification of chivalric mores was Queen Elizabeth I herself, as she carried on her grandfather and her father’s chivalric traditions, language, and imagery with far greater success than either Mary I or Edward VII. As multiple historians, like Roy Strong, Richard McCoy, Frances Yates, and Kevin Sharpe reveal, Elizabeth’s employment of chivalric motifs, imagery, language, and ritual aided in underpinning her authority and legitimacy as queen. This, in turn, enabled her courtiers to serve under her as her valiant knights without risking the loss of masculinity in the eyes of other states.

When chivalric deeds and knights first began to form into a tangible rung of the Medieval social hierarchy, knights entered based upon their actions and deeds, not their lineage. By the decline of the High Middle Ages, being a knight generally became restricted to the gentry and noble ranks, and only the Crown granted knighthood. No longer was knighthood and nobility a matter of honorable and worthy actions and deeds, but it was now contingent upon lineage. However, the conception of a worthy knight, like the time(s), began to alter to focus on not the grand deeds of the noble-bred social rank but began to focus on the labors and loyalty of less highly born individuals as examples of worthy Englishman. With the growing importance of merchant’s time, the defining qualities of a loyal English knight began to change, reflecting the rise of trade’s importance in England.

Robert Johnson’s *The Nine Worthies of London* (1592) described Fame’s entrance and instruction for Clio (the muse of history) to come with her so that Clio might record the honor of nine Londoners whose actions—not birth—proved their honor and nobility. The Knights Fame chose to praise were knights who proved their valor and virtue not through birth but through their honorable actions. As Fame spook to the Nine Muses, she explained her reasoning for selecting these particular nine knights:

It is not Kinges and mightie Potentates, but such whose vertues made them great, and whose renown sprung not of the nobleness of their birth, but of the notable towardnesse of their well qualified minds, advanced not with lofite titles, but

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prayed for the trial of their heroical truthes: of these must you indite, who though their states were but mean, yet dooth their worthie prowess match superiors, and therefore have I named them Worthies.  

The deeds of these knights captured Fame’s attention and adoration, thus, requiring the recording of their histories by one of the nine muses—Clio. “[…] Clio clasping up her booke of famous histories, and taking her golden pen in hand, rose from the seate where she sate, and leaving her sisters with due reverence, was ready to follow Fame where so ever she would conduct her.”

Fame and history twined together with each dictating the “virtue” and “nobleness” of heroic individuals. In this recounting of the Nine Worthies, Johnson revealed that Fame was the driving force determining who Clio recorded in her writings.

This was a history intent on teaching the qualities of a good knight who fought and lived for Crown and country via the example of previous worthy knights. While the experiences were quite different, the examples retained their relevancy in Elizabethan England. All the long-dead knights listed were knights of martial skill and honor but were also knights whose qualities go well beyond the battlefield. The knights all shared the attributes Fame sought in worthy champions: valor, honor, restraint, loyalty, love for Crown and country, and piety. Johnson’s aim was for the reader to understand that these qualities were not exclusive to those born into the noble ranks but qualities innate to all men. The knights revived by Fame were men of lower birth and did not begin their lives as knights. Each had common occupations: fishmonger, vintner, grocer, merchant-tailor, mercer, and silk weaver until such a time as their actions and deeds revealed their valor and honor. Their reward for their acts to preserve and increase the prosperity of the Crown and country was knighthood.

The knights’ own actions and honor also determined how Fame remembered them in history. Time was the measure by which Fame evaluated and rated all potential valiant selections for Clio’s history. “[…] [S]ince I seldome crave your furtherance but for memorable accidents: notwithstanding, for the varietie of matter requires not always one forme, and still with processe of time as mens manners change, our method alters, you shall perceive I am not now to begin: but to revive what ignorance in darknes seems to shadow, and hatefull oblivion hath almost rubbed out the booke of honor.”

Fame demonstrated that she only deemed “memorable accidents” as worthy of the Muse’s attention and to record for history. These “memorable accidents” were, however, rare as Fate “seldome” asked the Muses to preserve an event or person in their annals. Rather, Fame left the majority to languish or be forgotten as those “accidents” were not worthy of Fame’s attention and favor as their actions did not meet or reflect Fame’s high standards.

Fame continued speaking, declaring that “[…]for the varietie of matter requires not always one forme, and still with processe of time as mens manners change[[…].]” No two situations or individuals were identical, Fame argued. Rather, she had to take into consideration that every

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situation was not always to be perceived at face value. Instead, she had to take into account how “mens [sic] manners change” “with [the] process of time.” As time ticked on, customs, traditions, manners, and the very conception of the term—the ideal—of nobility shifted and transformed. These changes enabled merchants' time—trade—to rise in prominence and activity, bringing wealth to the Commonwealth.

In 1592, Johnson articulated a personification of Fate wherein she sought Worthies not through lineage but through their actions and deeds. The “processe of time” revealed the decay of inherited “loftie titles” (for some, not all the nobility). Clio’s history—a testament to the “processe of time”—revealed how worthiness and valor were not merely inherited or reserved for the court alone. Rather, following Fame’s direction, Clio articulated a history rich with honorable and worthy individuals from the City of London who fought with as much courage and valor as the Kings to whom they were loyal.

The methods of determining worthiness that once worked in the past no longer applied wholly to the present. Where knights once proved their worth through their physical prowess, religious devotion, and courtly conduct, now those skills required a different rubric, a different means by which to measure a knight’s worth. “Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people [especially since they were returning from the Netherland].” England had an influx of people who “go idle up and down in swarms for lack of honest intertainment.”20 As such, the worthy actions and place for those returned from the Continent was Virginia: “[Hakluyt] see[s] no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained up thus long in service, then in the inward partes of the firme of Virginia against such stubborne Savages as shal refuse obedience to her Majestie.”21 Setting people to work, particularly those returning from the Low Countries, as settlers rather than soldiers reflected the changing priorities of the Crown and country. When in the “processe of time mens [sic] manners change,” Fame, too, had to set a different method for deeming who proved worthy of Clio’s “golden pen.”22

Converting Curiosities to Mundane

In his Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham from the 1589 edition of Principal Navigations, Hakluyt set the stage for his reader by demonstrating that the accumulation of knowledge took considerable time. Hakluyt curated his contacts and compiled his knowledge over many years, beginning when he was “a youth” learning about cosmography from his uncle.23 “In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainhte with the chiefest of captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation: by which meanes having gotten somewhat more then common knowledge” Hakluyt gave the knowledge to

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20 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 6, 231.
21 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 6, 231.
23 Richard Hakluyt, The Principall Nauigations, voyages, and discoueries of the English nation : made by sea or ouer land to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres : deuided into three severall parts ... the first conteining the personall trauels of the English vnto Iudea, Syria, Arabia ... the second comprehending the worthy discoueries of the English towards the north and northeast by sea as of Lapland ... the third and last including the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of America ... : whereunto is added the last most renownded English nauigation, round about the whole globe of the Earth (London: George Bishop, 1589), 1.
the Crown and to the English. As Hakluyt asserted, time was required to secure reliable, authentic knowledge about what to expect overseas and what awaited England in distant lands.

Hakluyt’s overall tone for his works, not *Principal Navigations* alone, was one of hope fulfilled. For Hakluyt, Providence smiled on England. This was the time. This was the nation. These were the people who would act, who would pursue, and who would accomplish overseas expansion, thus bringing both earthly and spiritual prosperity to England. There was, however, a catch, as Hakluyt pointed out, and that catch was that the English had to act now before it was too late to achieve such prosperity for England now and into the future. Like a later Scotsman, Adam Smith, articulated in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776), Hakluyt did not discuss an end date to England’s prosperity. For Hakluyt, as for Smith, England’s prosperity would continue in perpetuity so long as England remained active, faithful, and loyal to the Crown and to God.

By continuing in perpetuity, England’s prosperity would further provide proof of England’s Providence, its Providence in securing an English empire. Throughout the *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt’s edited collection provided the reader with information and eyewitness accounts of potential trading hubs while also presenting the reader with the idea that there were other still unknown areas for the English to explore and bring into England’s empire. Each section of *Principal Navigations* explored particular regions of the world. In the 1589 edition, Hakluyt broke the world down into three sections: “The voyages of the first part made to the South and Southeast regions,” “The voyages of the second part made to the North and Northeast quarters,” and “The voyages of the third and last part, made to the West, Southwest, and Northwest regions.”

In these sections, there was a sense that England would secure a greater nation and prosperity as well as peace, particularly in the third and final section of the 1589 *Principal Navigations* focused on the Americas. From the first source presented to the reader, “The voyage of Madoc” (1170), the tone for what the Americas would bring to England was hopeful and peaceable. When Madoc returned to Wales, he “declared the pleasant and fruitful countries that he had seene without inhabitants” in comparison to the “barren and wilde ground his brethren and nephews did mur[d]er one another” back home in Wales. In this, the Americas presented a peaceful respite from the tumultuous atmosphere back home. The Americas offered those “desirous to live in quietness” a place of rest and plenty, free from the conflicts and violence in the Old World. The Americas offered hope for a better life, a theme that carried through promotional literature to the Puritans to early American history and rhetoric.

The “quietness” to which Madoc referred was a device Hakluyt keenly cited to support his works’ purpose: expanding and creating an English empire. That “quietness,” however, was the opposite of what the Spanish found (and brought) to these newly known lands. Just as Hakluyt requested Raleigh do, Hakluyt demonstrated to his audience how peaceful and calm claiming overseas territories would be for the English. Not only were the English more godly than the Catholic Spanish, but the English also expanded not for great wealth and riches (like the Spanish did) but for peace and “quietness” of the mind.

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26 Hakluyt, *The Principall Nauigations* (1589), 506.
It was interesting to note the excitement felt when reading the tail end of Hakluyt’s “To the Reader” in the 1589 edition of Principal Navigations:

“And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, heares, rootes, apparell, armour, boats, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I myselfe to my singular delight have bene as it were ravished in beholding all the premisses [sic] gathered together with no small cost, and preserved with no little diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friend M. Richard Garthe, one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Ussier to the right Honorable and most prudent Counseller (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasurer of England.”

The excitement surrounding seeing and learning about these new and exotic marvels brought back to England from afar drew the reader further into the narrative. Not only was this a collection of eyewitness accounts and informative reports, but Hakluyt’s writings also presented the reader with what goods these strange lands would yield to England. Whereas the Spanish brought back gold and jewels, the English brought back knowledge and “other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade.”

Aside from providing information, Hakluyt’s inclusion of these oddities and his continuing effort to ‘normalize’ overseas expansion experiences deconstructed the curiosity surrounding these items by presenting them as average objects in other lands. Early modern societies did not greet curiosity with warmth. Following the writings of Saint Augustine’s Confessions, Jean de L’Espine wrote in his A very Excellent and Learned Discourse (translated into English and published in London 1592), “curiositie is a daungerous disease, and a sore that must be healed, if we desire to live quietly and in peace.” The traditional understanding of curiosity as a vice, as well as the leading role curiosity played in the Hebrew and Christian narratives about humanity’s fall into sin, caused considerable impediment for “early modern projects to enlarge human learning.” Hakluyt’s works presented the New World and all its wonderous curiosities as standard. In temporalizing the curiosities found in the rest of the world within English histories and demonstrating the standard appearance of them through other accounts, Hakluyt destigmatized the curiosity surrounding only recently discovered lands—lands that remain to a certain degree a mystery.

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27 Hakluyt, The Principall Nauigations (1589), 4 verso.
29 Jean de L’Espine, A very Excellent and Learned Discourse touching the tranquillitie and contentation of the minde conteining sundry notable instructions, and firme consolations, most necessarie for all sortes of afflicted persons in these latter dayes : distinguished into seven bookes, 1. Against covetousnes, 2. Against ambition, 3. Against anger, 4. Against envie, [brace] [brace] 5. Against pleasure, 6. Against curiositie, 7. Against feare (Cambridge: John Legate, 1592), 119.
Hakluyt had to combat the ingrained traditional conception of curiosity as an evil and besetting sin. The plain, straightforward phrasing and presentation of information aided in downplaying the strangeness of new lands and faraway places throughout his works. These authorial tactics also emphasized the author’s and his sources’ credibility, authority, and legitimacy. The continuous encouragement Hakluyt provided his readers to bring the Good Word to the natives and his emphasis on trade were another means of downplaying the curiosity that prompted so many to voyage beyond English waters and into the unknown. From the Discourse Concerning Western Planting to the 1598-1600 Principal Navigations, Hakluyt’s main arguments for why England had to seize its Providential moment of glory were for the salvation of non-Christians and English prosperity (trade).

By transforming curiosities into plain and unadorned facts, Hakluyt demystified and eroded the exotic nature of overseas ventures. Those facts, for the reader, became mundane rather than foreign. The mythical beasts with their heads in their chests that Mandeville reported were strange but known creatures. They were one fact out of many that were part and parcel of overseas ventures. They were facts that codified the outside world for the English brave enough, godly enough to undertake England’s Providential calling to build an empire. Hakluyt’s steady, plain rhetoric offered reassurances to his audience that what England sought overseas was not wonderment, not idle curiosity. Hakluyt’s unadorned prose and rhetoric underpinned his authority as an expert in overseas voyages and revealed his honesty through simple prose rather than the flowery language of poets.

Hakluyt also acted to mitigate the traditional conception of curiosity by emphasizing what he witnessed in the cabinets of curiosity that influential individuals kept, like Robert Cecil, Lord Burleigh. In this context, curiosity lost some of its traditional definitions in favor of a more active seeking of knowledge that benefited England and those voyaging overseas. Like the time(s) and the temporality Hakluyt employed, curiosity fed into Hakluyt’s vision of an active England endeavoring to seize its Providential empire. The curiosity Hakluyt utilized through information regarding the cabinets of curiosity and providing the information required for successful ventures was a checked and controlled curiosity of active people with distinct goals that in no way hindered England’s nascent empire.

In Divers Voyages (1582), Hakluyt wrote, “wee might not only for the present time take possession of that good land, but also in short space by God’s grace finde out that shorte and easie passage by […] the Northwest.” Hakluyt’s focus rested not on the establishment of plantations in North America alone. Rather, he looked towards the East Indies to Cathay and the trade there. The plantations Hakluyt argued were necessary for the betterment of England were also essential so that the English could gain a foothold along the Northwest Passage. Citing Sebastian Cabot,

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31 Hakluyt confessed to his own curiosity in “The Epistle Dedicatorie” in the 1589 Principal Navigations: “[…] he [Richard Hakluyt the Elder, his uncle] 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 […]” (Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 1). Hakluyt’s curiosity, however, was remedied through learning and instruction—activities Hakluyt sought to pass along to his audience.

32 As Mary Fuller, Francisco Borge, Daniel Carey, and Richard Helgerson all demonstrated in their works.

33 Hakluyt, The Principall Navigations (1589), 4 verso.

34 Hakluyt, Divers Voyages, ¶ verso.
Hakluyt informed the reader that “all the North part of America is divided into Islandes.” These islands required settlement in order to secure them for English trade through the Northwest Passage. But first, the English needed to plant colonies filled with able individuals, thus reducing the population burden on England before the English could consider claiming the Northwest Passage and the subsequent trade and prosperity deriving from it.

**Hakluyt’s Optimism**

Hakluyt’s optimistic, future-looking candor was what differentiated his writings from other promotional authors. Ralegh, Drake, Frobisher, Cavendish, and even Gilbert, to a certain extent, remained firmly rooted in present triumphs over the Spanish rather than looking beyond their own renown to England’s glory. Hakluyt looked to England’s future prosperity by looking beyond Spain's current threat to what England would achieve with its empire. When “[t]ime itself and temporal response are factors in distinguishing Renaissance from medieval,” Hakluyt’s writings reflected the growing sense that the present was no longer an extension of the past. One day was not simply a continuation of the previous day. Changes and upheavals occurred requiring active participation from the English people. The English people could not be idle and given to sin, not when Providence was on them—guiding them towards empire. Every English person had an active role in securing England’s future prosperity and empire in a world that seemed to change day by day. Hakluyt’s response to the changing world about him was to preserve and present the maritime history of England, demonstrating God’s Providence and the preordained resulting English empire.

Hakluyt was careful to demonstrate that God's own divine timing was at the heart of the English opportunity. Without the divine allowance and appointment for England—God’s Providence, the English would not have the opportunity to establish a godly empire. As Hakluyt pointed out in his writings, the English would have an empire like Spain’s—an empire easily won through blood and vice, particularly in *Discourse on Western Planting* (1585). The Spanish, unlike the English, grasped their empire without much hardship or hard work and used its wealth to terrorize Europe and the New World, which, for Hakluyt, was in complete contrast to the English experience. That experience of laborious, painful work was what projected the future success of the English empire, just as the lack of those experiences ensured the eventual fall of Spain’s empire.

Hakluyt’s articulation of the divine nature of England’s Providential empire stemmed from the Renaissance conception of time in which the individual held control over their allotted time, a time in which that person may do what s/he will to build his/her legacy. But, as Quinones points out, “the more of his own experience the individual managed to control, the more he mastered his own skill, the less inclined he would be to let things be, to rely with patient trust in the providential Creator,” Hakluyt’s trust was in God’s ordaining of an English empire that would stretch across the Atlantic through the Northwest Passage and into Cathay. Without God’s consent, England could not have an empire. Hakluyt revealed to his audience that God granted consent to England’s

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empire during the latter half of the sixteenth century, under the golden rule of Elizabeth I and her ‘Sea Dogs.’

Unlike traditional depictions of time, like Shakespeare’s concept borrowed from Ovid and Augustine where time was “recorded by the withering of the flesh,” the sense of time Hakluyt infused within his writings was an optimistic time—a time not predicated on Augustine’s time “whereas these years of ours do both go and come.” Hakluyt’s sense of time was constantly growing and renewing, relying on active participation and piety to flourish. England and its empire would not wither and die if England could seize its divine opportunity and labor in moral fortitude (unlike the Spanish) to preserve and perpetuate the empire’s prosperity.

Hakluyt’s writings emphasized profit and prosperity to prove that overseas expansion and trade were not an idle endeavor. Rather, overseas expansion and exploration were a distinctly English undertaking requiring even greater sacrifice, courage (chivalric knights), and patience. The idle Roman Catholic Spanish did not possess these qualities and proved they did not when they raped and raided the New World for obscene wealth—wealth that did not lead to prosperity like the English would receive. The histories written regarding English prowess and plantation in overseas expansion were histories filled with both victories and not-so-apparent victories (but never complete failures because the English could learn from them). These histories extended beyond the time of the Romans and demonstrated the English resolve and resolute actions and deeds taken to preserve English prosperity in time to come. This present moment in time under the glorious rule of Queen Elizabeth was England’s time.

Martial Prowess and Legacy

Ralegh presented himself as the dutiful knight errant, traveling and overcoming strife for his Queen. “[…] I might have bettred my poore estate, it shall apeare by the following discourse, if I had not onley respected her Majesties future Honour, and riches.” In acting solely for the queen, Ralegh proved his devotion to the Crown and England, hoping to dispel the slander that he betrayed England for the prize of Spanish gold. The only prize Ralegh required was “my humble desire and my labour therin in gracious part, which, if it had not bin in respect of her highness futur e honor & riches” and recognition of Ralegh’s loyalty. Ralegh’s legacy rested on his ability to gain permission to voyage to Guiana again and claim it for Elizabeth and England.

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39 Quinones, The Renaissance Discovery of Time, 14.
40 This time was akin to the theory of the king’s two bodies: one time was undying (the legacy) while the other time (a person’s lifetime) did end. However, even as one generation gave way to the next, the legacy remained, and the empire would continue to expand and prosper—a perpetual empire succeeding from one generation to the next.
41 When Hakluyt did write about the failures was that they were signs of England’s suffering and testaments to England’s future successes. “Delaying the end was therefore just as much an indication of God’s grace as the prophesied foreshortening of time” (Koselleck, Sediments of Time, 94). The failed plantation attempts England experiences were akin to the foretold Last Judgment not happening—every failed attempt or every time the world did not end was only further proof that there would be an end or (for Hakluyt’s purposes) successes. For more see Reinhart Koselleck, Sediments of Time: On Possible Histories, eds. and trans. Sean Franzel and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018), 93-96
43 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 7, 275-76.
When writing the “Epistle,” Ralegh stated, “[...] but I have chosen rather to beare the burden of poverty, then reproach, & rather to endure a second travel and the chances thereof, then to have defaced an enterprise of so great assurance.” Ralegh’s reasoning for why he would not return to this enterprise revolved around ensuring the glory of the Crown and England rather than Ralegh’s personal distaste for such a voyage. Elizabeth’s favor towards Ralegh flagged, but he continued his efforts to redeem himself in order to regain her favor and, thus, preserve his own reputation. In doing so, Ralegh linked his honor with the honor and glory of the English Crown. Ralegh demonstrated his readiness and willingness to serve Elizabeth as best he could, no matter the cost to himself, by promising that he would remove himself from the venture rather than bring shame to it.

One of the many concepts to develop in the Renaissance was the concern for legacy, for how later generations perceived an individual and his or her actions and life. Ralegh’s attempts to redeem his honor and reputation hinged on Elizabeth’s favor as well as how his fellow courtiers viewed him. In 1587, in his “Epistle Dedication” to Ralegh, reprinted in the second edition of Principal Navigations, Hakluyt called for Ralegh to place his faith in God and find comfort in Elizabeth’s favor.

[…] what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince Elizabeth of England, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forwardnesse and bounty in advancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glory of God then that action of the Spanyards?

Hakluyt asked Ralegh to focus less on his own fame and name and turn his attention to securing English prosperity. Ralegh’s reputation would grow in conjunction with Elizabeth’s continuing patronage and favor if Ralegh remained faithful to England’s Providential empire. Carla Gardina Pestana argues that Ralegh was “never an especially devout man” and carried with him the assumption that English conquests in the Americas created conditions in which ‘infinite nombers of soules may bee brought from theyr idolatry, bloody sacrifices, ignoraunce, and incivility to the worshipping of the true god’.

Conversions would follow in Ralegh’s wake and were not an activity Ralegh needed to undertake himself in securing his legacy. Ralegh’s desire for establishing his legacy rested on Ralegh’s own glorious (not proselytizing) actions, but he found himself hampered by the unwillingness of those around him to support his endeavors. Dressing up his requests in courtly rhetoric and connecting his own legacy and honor to the Crown did not garner him the permission or accolades Ralegh believed he so richly deserved.

Ralegh’s later narrative, Discoverie of Guiana (1596), paid homage to Elizabeth with more perfunctory praise for the Protestant cause of converting souls. Ralegh’s focus in Discoverie revolved around the central fear of Spain and its power. This power, Ralegh argued, again and again, stemmed from Spain’s New World territories. In his “Letter to the Reader” from 1596,

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45 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 6, 230.
published in *Principal Navigations* (1600), Ralegh urged his reader to consider why Spain was such a threat to England, to Europe. Like Hakluyt, Ralegh argued that “it is [Spain’s or Charles V’s] Indian gold that indangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and seteth bound loyalty at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe.”\(^47\) The very idea that Spain, a Catholic power, could and did “creepeth” (like Edward Stafford’s selling of information to Spain) into courts and governments presented the reader with a concern that went beyond supporting overseas expansion.\(^48\) Spain was now an issue and threat for the whole of the English body politic. Spain was a threat to the English people because Spain’s wealth derived from the New World.

Ralegh set himself up as a defender of England and English virtues and freedom from the tyranny of Spain:

I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power, & persuasions, to advance all those attempts, that might either promise return of profit to our selves, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentiful trades of the Spanish nation, who in my weake judgement by such a warre were as easily indangered & brought from his powerfullnes, as any prince of Europe, if it be considered from how many kindomes [sic] and nations his revenues are gathered & those so weake in their owne beings, and so far servered [sic] from mutual succour.\(^49\)

In this passage from the “Letter to the Reader,” Ralegh argued that the only means by which to defeat Spain was to claim their New World territories for England, the main thrust of his *Discoverie*. For Ralegh, the conversion of the “naturalls” was secondary to stopping Spain’s growing sphere of influence in Europe. Where Hakluyt believed the spread of English Protestantism would hinder and regress Spain’s progress, Ralegh’s argument was that only martial action would defeat Spain. Martial action would confirm—in Ralegh’s opinion—his legacy.

Ralegh continued to make another point in his argument for martial intervention rather than a more religiously oriented intervention, as Hakluyt advocated. Ralegh looked to trade as a means of supporting his martial endeavors and curtailing Spanish influence. “If the Spanish king can keepe us from forren enterprizes, & from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion, or by besieging us in Britaine, Ireland, or elsewhere, hee hath then brought the worke of our peril in great forwardnes.”\(^50\) Where Hakluyt wrote that trade would follow godly actions, like spreading the True Word, Ralegh argued that only martial action against Spain would bring England more profitable trade.

Within Ralegh’s arguments regarding martial action and his *Discoverie*, the themes of legacy and chivalry permeated his writings.\(^51\) Ralegh’s concern was his own reputation via

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\(^{47}\) Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 7, 279.

\(^{48}\) Hakluyt traveled to France with Sir Edward Stafford in 1583-1588.

\(^{49}\) Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 7, 280.

\(^{50}\) Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 7, 279.

England’s future glories and prosperity that he would bring to England and, thus, receive God’s blessing on his legacy. The values Ralegh expressed aligned with the chivalric rhetoric used in Elizabeth I’s courtly language found in paintings, literature like Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* (1590), and the renown of the Order of the Garter. Ralegh articulated how expressions of time and legacy transformed during the course of the Renaissance in Western Europe. Rather than complete focus upon gaining entry into Heaven, individuals also had an earthly legacy to leave for future generations as, at first, example and, later, as experience from which future generations could learn.

Ralegh’s time in Ireland helped shape how he understood the legacy he sought to build on his chivalric actions, a fact Hakluyt addressed in his 1584 letter to Ralegh. Hakluyt asked Ralegh to consider how Richard Strangbow “the decayed earle […] being in no great favour of his sovereign, passed over into [Ireland] in the yere 1171. […] in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for” his sovereign to “the speedy subjecttion of all that warlike nation to this crowne of England.” Hakluyt reminded Ralegh that favor could be earned and grown but only through faithful, selfless service to the Crown. Even though in 1584, Hakluyt and Ralegh wrote about Ralegh’s upcoming venture to establish a colony in Virginia, Hakluyt continued to assure Ralegh the plantation required limited martial action. “[…] It is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and unarmed people of Virginia, then one thousand were able then to do in Ireland against that armed and warlike nation.” Unlike Guiana, Virginia was not as near Spanish territory. Acting with martial intent would (potentially) render England no different from Spain and how the Spanish terrorized the New World.

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53 For more on promotional literature and humanism see, Andrew Fitzmaurice, “The moral philosophy of Tudor colonization,” in *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonization, 1500-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 20-57. Fitzmaurice argues “that the tracts promoting colonization were an extended discourse on the best form of a commonwealth, it is clear the Hakluyt’s translation of Aristotle could play a complementary role in this discussion” (51).

54 Later in life, as his “Discourse of War in General” demonstrated that Ralegh’s preoccupation with chivalric deeds and rhetoric faded into elements of reason and pragmatism. During his imprisonment in the Tower under James I, Ralegh dedicated his life to attempting to reclaim the king’s favor through scholarly endeavors with a focus on learning and history, which would then reveal how providence worked on the Earth and Ralegh could appeal to King James I for pardon. For more see, Nicholas Popper, *Walter Ralegh’s History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

55 Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 6, 231.

56 Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 6, 231.
Virginia was not Ireland. The people in the New World were pliant and ready—eager even—for English rule. In Discoverie, Ralegh argued much the same about the peoples of Guiana. Throughout Ralegh’s winding narrative, he continuously demonstrated how ready the native peoples were to be ruled by the English rather than the Spanish. Ralegh recorded the Spanish atrocities that the natives shared with him during his travels:

But when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one [sic] something or other which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confess) took from them both their wives and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their own lusts, especially such as they took in this manner by strength.  

The terror and horrors the Spanish inflicted on the native peoples of Guiana only served to aid the English by revealing the beneficence of the English. While the Spanish “tyrannize over them in all things,” the native peoples only “drew them to admire her Majesty […] and wonderfully honour our nation.”  

Demonstrating how Guiana wished for England’s rule was a means of legitimizing England’s good and godly actions in the New World, which, in turn, granted Ralegh the critical success he needed to further his legacy.

Compared to Spain’s cruel actions, the English, with their honor and virtue, were the virtuous protectors of the native peoples. Ralegh’s narrative repeated the theme of saving the native peoples from the tyranny of the Spanish by demonstrating England’s honor, glory, and prowess while uplifting Ralegh’s legacy as he was the one leading the charge against the Spanish in Guiana. Ralegh’s actions were a direct reflection of Elizabeth’s prestige and power, for it is “the Queen’s pleasure [that] I should undertake the voyage for [the natives’] defence and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards.” The Elizabethan court’s chivalric rhetoric and rituals enabled Elizabeth’s knights to reflect and preserve English glory and honor through the knights’ service and devotion to the Crown—to Elizabeth I. For individuals like Ralegh, their service and dedication to the Crown were the basis for their reputations at court as well as the means by which they secured their legacies. Service to the Queen personified service to England, which, in turn, granted the knight—Ralegh—an honorable legacy (ideally) to keep his reputation alive long after his mortal death.

**Quest for Legacy**

Ralegh’s interests in Guiana or the Americas in general revolved around two implicit topics: anti-Spanish sentiments and his personal reputation. During his narration of his voyage and “discovery” of Guiana, Ralegh did not indicate that Guiana held any further significance for England other than a potential source of revenue and using it as a means to harass and (eventually)

defeat Spain. The result of this would be the English rescuing Guiana from Spanish tyranny. Ralegh took considerable time to describe Guiana's wealth to his readers and explain how the Spanish sought to take that wealth for themselves. Ralegh wrote, “that he saw [a Spaniard with] forty of most pure plates of gold, curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlaid with gold, feathers garnished with gold, and divers rarities, which he carried to the Spanish king.” This, along with the tales of El Dorado that locals and Spaniards alike regaled Ralegh and his captains with, signaled for the reader that New World wealth was plentiful. The two issues with this wealth (the gold) were that Spain currently plundered what was England’s and that “the kings and lords of all the borders of Guiana had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own [Guiana’s] overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together.”

The implication of English possession in the New World was apparent as Ralegh continued to see the New World as almost within England’s grasp. Once the Spanish were defeated, the English would gain the peoples' trust, which would earn England the New World’s wealth. However, even as Ralegh presented the groundwork for English martial intervention and plantations in the New World, he did not expand beyond the present sense of how the world would operate beyond England’s claiming possession of the Americas. Ralegh did not directly state that England was an empire ready to spread across the world, as Hakluyt did. Gaining territories, for Ralegh, was concurrent with defeating the Spanish and securing New World wealth for England presently, rather than solidifying England’s position providing security and potential trade for future prosperity. In Discoverie, England’s future endeavors hinged on decreasing Spain’s hold in the New World. England’s future prosperity would advance once Spanish influence diminished by gaining people’s trust and through Ralegh’s martial intervention.

The expressions of temporality found in Ralegh’s narrative—Renaissance understanding of legacy, a means of defeating a mortal death, and Providence (Ralegh’s time would come)—differed considerably from Hakluyt’s own expressions. Each utilized ideas of temporality for their own advantage with what appear to be similar agendas. Both Ralegh and Hakluyt wished to see England expand and defeat the Spanish. Both wished to see England gain in the glory and renown. Ralegh, however, hoped the glory and renown would be a distinct aspect of his own legacy. Hakluyt’s aim was for glory and prosperity to become England’s legacy, not the legacy of an individual. Hakluyt sought to provide future generations with experiences from which to learn and expand their empire. Ralegh sought to provide an example of knightly prowess. Discoverie operated to bolster Ralegh’s personal fame, prompting his providential legacy while also seeking to enhance his legacy by contributing to England’s strength and nascent empire. However, like in Ralegh’s later work, History of the World (1614), Hakluyt’s understanding of Providence flowed through English history and guided their lives and actions. But where Hakluyt viewed this Providence for England, in Discoverie, Ralegh only concerned himself with his own ambition and legacy.

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61 Ralegh, The Discovery of Guiana, 96.
63 Ralegh, The Discovery of Guiana, 69.
64 Ralegh, The Discovery of Guiana, 112. “Her majesty hereby shall confirm and strengthen the opinions of all nations as touching her great and princely actions.” By taking possession of Guiana, Elizabeth and, by extension, England, would demonstrate Elizabeth’s (England’s) power and might.
Ralegh’s ambition was to fulfill his role in Elizabeth’s court: the quintessential Elizabethan knight. Ralegh presented himself as the ideal English man, the ideal knight for his queen. Ralegh’s quest for fame and renown grounded the *Discoverie* in the present because this was the only space of time in which he could bring glory and honor to his name. Ralegh desired for his memory to carry on long after his death, so people could remember him as a heroic knight to his Queen rather than remember him for marrying the Queen’s lady, Elizabeth ‘Bess’ Throckmorton, in 1591, without Elizabeth’s permission. The expressions of time(s) in Ralegh’s narrative revolved around his ambition for personal fame, unlike Hakluyt’s, which revolved around England’s Providential path and prosperity. A path and prosperity that extended well beyond the present and into a Providentially ordained future.

Ralegh’s exercise to achieve his preordained legacy might, at first glance, appear incongruent with Hakluyt’s overarching aim: a prosperous and pious English empire predicated on trade rather than territorial gains. However, Ralegh and Hakluyt’s writings aligned as both sought to establish legacy. Ralegh sought a personal legacy by bringing glory and honor to Elizabeth I and then through his writings like *History of the World* (1614) and his second, disastrous venture to Guiana in 1617. Hakluyt sought to lay the foundational stones for England’s legacy of a prosperous, pious empire by first demonstrating how England’s past revealed its Providence in establishing such an empire, including Ralegh’s actions and motives.

Legacy, the Renaissance understanding of leaving a legacy for future generations from which those generations could learn from the experiences of the past, was at once a sense of the past lingering in the present and looking forward towards the future. Hakluyt imagined an English legacy for future generations to look back on and learn from the experiences, the trials, and tribulations Hakluyt and his contemporaries endured in order to perpetuate an English empire. Without learning the experiences of the past, understanding the causes and motivations, Providence could not be seen at work. Without seeing how Providence guided the past to the present, how would the English know where to go and what to reach? Ralegh’s self-oriented Providence and need for legacy were examples of the various time(s) at work within early modern England. The discovery of the New World raised new questions and confusion regarding the history of the world and time(s). For Ralegh, these discussions culminated in his drive for legacy. The expressions of time(s) Ralegh’s quest for legacy drew upon were legacy, action, and Providence. In Ralegh’s life, he demonstrated the value contemporaries’ place on activity and their fear of idleness, about which many a sermon lectured, on the desire to leave a legacy as a memorial and from which future generations might learn, and how Providence was the guiding hand, directing history and the present towards a precise future. Time(s) in early modern England continued shifting, as Ralegh’s life revealed, from the primacy of individual knightly deeds to the rise of merchants and trade.

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Including Ralegh in *Principal Navigations*

Hakluyt included Ralegh’s *Discovrie* in *Principal Navigations* because Ralegh’s quest for personal legacy fit Hakluyt’s overarching purpose: stirring up the English to action. Ralegh’s continuing actions in helping to rescue the natives from the tyranny of Spain and his attention to the potential trade and prosperity Guiana could afford England helped demonstrate Hakluyt’s aim in establishing an empire. England’s future—not just its present or present conflict with Spain—required active people, their knowledge and experiences, to build an English empire. Through the histories and the eyewitness accounts he curated, Hakluyt revealed England’s Providential path to empire and how the English would achieve their empire.

Hakluyt opened the first volume of the second edition of *Principal Navigations* (1598) with “The voyage of Arthur K. of Britaine to Island and the most Northeastern parts of Europe, Anno 517” and “The testimonies of Galfridus Monumetensis in his history of the Kings of Britayne, concerning the conquests of King Arthur.” Unlike the first edition of *Principal Navigations* (1589), in which Hakluyt opened with “The voyage of Helena, the Empresse, daughter of Coelus King of Britaine, and mother of Constantine the great, to Jerusalem, Anno 337,” in the second edition, he secured his audience in the knowledge that the histories and accounts that follow were for the benefit of England and its empire. The inclusion of Ralegh’s *Discoverie*, like King Arthur’s, was an example of English overseas prowess and of the reputation the English had to uphold.

Parsing out Hakluyt’s personal objectives for including Ralegh’s narrative proved more nuanced, but Ralegh’s *Discoverie* followed how Hakluyt structured his work. Ralegh’s hope of claiming Guiana (and its wealth) for the Queen ran parallel to Hakluyt’s aim of bringing prosperity into England. Guiana also presented England with the prospect of rescuing innocents from the tyranny of Spain, thus granting England justification for overseas expansion so close to Spanish territory. “[A]t the Queen’s pleasure was I should undertake the voyage for their defence and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of Trinidad) her Majesty’s greatness, her justice, her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express or they conceive.” The justification for rescuing these innocents from Spain also revealed both the Queen’s gracious nature and, more importantly for Hakluyt, God’s Providence on England. Ralegh’s narrative demonstrated that the English have a chivalrously charged responsibility to rescue the non-Christians who already love the Queen from Spain’s tyranny.

Couched within the larger context of Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations*, Ralegh’s narrative was one that provided suitable legitimization and justification for England’s expansion close or into Spanish-held territories. As Hakluyt argued in *Discourse*, the people of those lands were non-Christians who required the English to spread God’s Word since the Spanish failed to do so. Moreover, Ralegh’s narrative was a treatise on the riches and wealth the New World had to offer England as Ralegh described the plenty and resources the English could expect to find. When examined within Hakluyt’s overarching purpose for *Principal Navigations* (God’s Providence, 66 Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 53.
67 Ralegh, *Discovery of Guiana*, 87.
68 Ralegh’s careful to note the gold the people in Guiana wore in plain view and the gold the Amazons were reported to “have […] great store of” in their land. Ralegh, *Discovery of Guiana*, 61-62.
English action, and trade), Ralegh’s *Discoverie* included references to all of them. Ralegh denoted how eager the people of Guiana were for English rule and that converting them would be a simple matter since “they [Guiana] will rather submit themselves to [Queen Elizabeth’s] obedience than to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already tasted.” While Ralegh’s comments on converting Guiana were muted, his insistence that Guiana would submit to English rule without violence fueled the notion that God blessed England to expand and plant in the Americas. Including Ralegh’s narrative in his *Principal Navigations* supplied Hakluyt’s audience with information about Guiana and the potential for trade and settlement there while also demonstrating how England’s actions in Guiana were legitimate and justified since England was acting to save the natives from both Spain and eternal damnation.

Ralegh’s *Discoverie* revealed the stark contrasts between England and Spain. For Hakluyt, the Spanish were an example of what the English should not do. Where the Spanish forsook their active proselytizing, the English would spread the faith to the non-Christian naturals. Where Spain was violent and cruel, England would be compassionate and nurturing. In 1583, the first English translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas’s commentary on Spanish actions in the New World was published and titled *The Spanish Colone, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies, called the newe World*.

English resentment towards Spain (resentment already firmly in place in English culture) continued to grow, particularly with the events of 1588. In his *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (1584), Hakluyt quotes Las Casas in chapter XI (“That the Spaniards have exercised moste outrageous and more then Turkishe cruelties”), reminding his audience of Spanish harsh and brutal actions in the West Indies. Hakluyt’s inclusion of Ralegh’s *Discoverie* was akin to his inclusion of captivity narratives such as Miles Philips and Thomas Saunders. They were evidence of God’s Providence for the English as well as eyewitness accounts revealing the cruelty of Spain and the rightness of English expansion. Ralegh’s *Discoverie* demonstrated the peaceable nature of the people living in the New World and how cruelly the Spanish treated them. Finding reasons and justifications for English expansion required undisputable facts for more skeptical readers, not just “a perfect story.”

God’s Providence was an overarching presence. Providence was the surety of English rightness and timing as they acted to rescue and protect the New World from Spain. Providence guaranteed English prosperity in the future while also revealing how England’s action differed from Spain’s.

England’s previous martial conquests and expansions were not a focal point for Hakluyt because martial conquest and all the blood and violence that companied it was Spanish in character, not English. For Ralegh, a dashing chivalric figure, martial violence was how the English would defeat and remove Spain from the New World, thus, rescuing it from Spain. Ralegh’s chivalric

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71 Original title: *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (published first in Seville in 1552).
73 Hakluyt did not deny the necessity of such actions, only that England’s empire was one predicated on trade not violent expansion like Spain’s empire. Trade was what would expand England’s empire and propel English prosperity.
time—a time of chivalric romances and individual knightly reputations—faded as Hakluyt and others like Cecil established the nature of English expansion as a peaceable endeavor predicated on salvation and prosperity. The two times, chivalric time and merchant’s time, appeared opposites at first glance, but one required the other for expansion. But rather than the martial value of chivalry, the cultured and refined elements of romantic chivalric prevalent in Elizabethan court rhetoric and imagery were the themes that colored how people should perceive English overseas expansion. The English, like the Elizabethan knight errants they were, would rescue the naturals from the clutches of “Spanish cruelties, suche straunge slaughters and murders of those peaceable, lowly, milde, and gentle people [naturals].” The Elizabethan chivalric time became a time of collective martial action that was subordinate to the expansion of English trade. Merchant’s time—the increasing importance of trade—began to overshadow the once prominent chivalric time as technology and social needs and the political environment began to shift away from the medieval concepts of warfare and trade.

Including Discoverie in the Principal Navigations demonstrated the causes calling England to act in the New World under the auspices of God’s Providence. Providence revealed the rising tide of merchant’s time, a regulated time dependent on clock time, over chivalric time, a time in which the present was a continuation of the past. The edits Hakluyt and Cecil encouraged Ralegh to make to his text reflected Hakluyt’s and Cecil’s goal for furthering trade, even as Ralegh’s writing continued to establish the innocence of the naturals living under Spanish tyranny and called for martial intervention. Hakluyt included Ralegh’s edited Discoverie in his Principal Navigations because Ralegh’s narrative promised rich return from the New World to England—a source of wealth England and the Crown could not afford to ignore. “[Robert] Cecil and other associates [sought] to investigate the real possibilities of goldmines and plantations south of the more well-defended Spanish settlements on the Carribbean.” This was a space where Cecil saw an opportunity for the English to claim some of the Americas’ wealth. Ralegh’s aims in producing his text aligned with his desire to reclaim the Queen’s favor and establish his legacy by leading an expedition into Guiana and finding the Lost City of El Dorado, which worked for Cecil and Hakluyt, as they sought to expand trade.

The collision of chivalric time and merchant’s time in Hakluyt’s writings was not a juxtaposition of times or a conflict between them but a demonstration of how a multiplicity of times interacted in early modern England. For merchant’s time to increase—for English prosperity to grow—the chivalric time Ralegh exemplified needed to continue as the strength behind the merchant time. Ralegh and the other Elizabethan Sea Dogs had to act as England’s knights but not to bring martial glory to England like their predecessors, but to secure salvation for those non-Christians and to ensure and protect English trade and prosperity. In Discourse and Principal Navigations, Hakluyt reminded his audience that England’s future trade and prosperity were contingent on safe trade routes. The plantations Hakluyt advocated functioned as resupplying ports, vents for English trade, a way to reduce England’s overpopulation, as Hakluyt noted in Divers Voyages, and as martial bases that protected English trade and prosperity. Without the continuing presence of martial readiness, England could not protect its trade. Trade—merchant’s

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74 Hakluyt, Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 71.
76 Lorimer, Sir Walter Ralegh’s Discovery of Guiana, xxiii.
time—rose to the forefront for England as trade continued to grow in importance to the realm. But as merchant’s time rose in prominence, the need for individual knight errants—the heroes of chivalric time—decreased. England now required people capable of defending English trade without seeking fame or committing a bloody conquest like Spain. Ralegh’s chivalric time took a step back and became the background support for an increasingly important merchant’s time as trade became the focus of England, not martial conquest.

Chivalry’s Fading, Merchant’s Rise: Ralegh’s Knight Errant

In this “Epistle Dedicatory” to Sir Walter Ralegh, printed in Hakluyt’s 1587 translation of Laudonnière, Hakluyt took considerable effort to remind not only his reader but also Ralegh what was most important when it came to overseas ventures: knowledge. Hakluyt, who wanted a school of navigation founded in London like the Spanish had in Seville, sought to provide Ralegh and his readers with considerable knowledge and experience so they “woulde have forewarned and admonished aswel to beware of the grosse negligence in providing sufficiencie of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the french, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to prevent and avoyde the like […]”

Published after Ralegh’s 1595 voyage to Guiana, Hakluyt and Ralegh’s enthusiasm for planting an English presence in Guiana remained strong, but expansion required more than the “perfect story” to gain traction among patrons and merchants alike.

“[L]ike many of the texts Hakluyt gathered in the 1590s,” Ralegh’s narrative “testified to the wonders to be found [in Guiana and] highlighted the strategic possibilities for the English, and goaded readers to make similar expeditions into territories that their own countrymen had visited.” In reading Ralegh’s chivalric tale of wonder, excitement, adventure, and of knightly valor and deeds (placing Queen above himself and securing her this land and peoples), Ralegh painted himself as the Queen’s faithful knight errant while engaging the reader in a chivalric tale of triumph and potential. From Ralegh’s defeating the Spanish at Trinidad to giving recompense to those peoples devastated by Spanish violence along the journey to Guiana to ensuring the love and protection of England, Ralegh’s narrative was “a perfect story for Hakluyt, an embodiment of truth from a trusted eyewitness who put aside personal glory and enrichment for the greater good of the realm.” This was the story that readers enjoyed and engaged them, but by the time Hakluyt republished Ralegh’s story in his third volume of Principal Navigation (1600), the need for chivalric tales of glory and “for Ralegh’s soaring plans for conquest of a golden empire” flagged. Rather than tales of adventure, like “Hakluyt’s original enthusiastic and rather naïve presentation


78 Mancall, Hakluyt’s Promise, 217.

79 Mancall, Hakluyt’s Promise, 217.


81 Mancall, Hakluyt’s Promise, 217.

82 Lorimer, “‘[T]ouching the State of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be Planted by the English’: Sir Robert Cecil, Richard Hakluyt and the Writing of Guiana, 1595-1612,” 107.
of received travel narratives,” the focus in the late 1590s and into the seventeenth-century rested on “the practical expectations and political sensibilities” of patrons like Robert Cecil. 83 Grand chivalric, epic tales were not what would propel an empire of trade towards prosperity.

This confluence of merchant’s time, politics, and legacy (specifically Ralegh’s legacy) met and mingled in the editing, publications, and reception of Ralegh’s Discoverie in Principal Navigations. Legacy, the Renaissance conception of leaving a mark by which future generations could both learn and emulate, drove much of Ralegh’s voyage to Guiana. In making a legacy to leave behind, Ralegh, that fabulous knight errant, sought to be one of those knights of old who fought his enemies for the honor and perpetuation of his Queen’s honor and glory. Throughout the Discoverie, Ralegh continued to note the importance of Guiana not only for gold but also as a space from which England may harry the Spanish and conduct trade. Ralegh’s narrative was not only a story of chivalric deeds or for trade, but a story of personal struggle and sacrifice for the Queen that would earn Ralegh his legacy, at least, part of his legacy.

Hakluyt, too, found Ralegh’s Discoverie a “perfect story,” as shown above, but he also had patrons like Robert Cecil, who placed greater stock in exercising the practicalities over the flamboyant chivalric romance. Continuously, Hakluyt repeated the importance of a voyage was not fame and renown; the importance was the “turne to the advancement of the action” that would bring England a future of perpetual prosperity. 84 The decline of chivalric culture was on full display in Hakluyt’s writings, even as he utilized chivalric rhetoric in these works. Action, both before and during the voyage, was what would make or break its success. Hakluyt understood the necessity of pragmatic advice, hence his instructions and warnings he imparted in his “Epistle Dedicatory” to Ralegh in Hakluyt’s translation of Martin Basanier’s history from 1587.

The opening quote for this epistle, “Other men’s misfortune ought to be our warning,” set the tone for the rest of the epistle. 85 Hakluyt ran through a list of warnings from stocking enough food to fears of mutiny as he cautions his reader—and Ralegh—to be prudent in his preparations for a voyage. But moreover, the opening quote harkened to Hakluyt’s continuing theme in his written works: do not become Spain. For Hakluyt, Spain was the embodiment of all that could go wrong and bad when greed and self-interest replaced piety. The advice Hakluyt gave to his readers and Ralegh was to learn from where others went wrong and make efforts to ensure that did not happen to the English. This was why Hakluyt was careful to include all the various misfortunes that befell previous voyages from either lack of preparedness or hubris of those on these voyages. Action, being active in preparing a voyage and fortifying against potential evils and corruptions that could hinder a voyage, was what would save the venture and keep it true to the glory of England.

Misfortune, the early modern definition, fell outside the purview of Providence as misfortune carried within its connotations of pagan and the heretical notions that not everything happened under God’s guiding hand of Providence. “There was a general consensus that the greater part of the laity, learned as well as ignorant and poor, had yet to abandon a vestigial belief

83 Lorimer, “‘[T]ouching the State of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be Planted by the English’: Sir Robert Cecil, Richard Hakluyt and the Writing of Guiana, 1595-1612,” 107.
84 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys, vol. II, 372.
85 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys, vol. II, 372.
in chance, ‘haphazard,’ and luck” leading to “the ‘common persuasion’ and ‘almost universal opinion’ of the age […] that all things happened at random.”

David Randall demonstrates that Providence emerged as the favored term when it came to English battlefield experiences while fortune and misfortune came to describe the how behind human action or inaction. However, as both Randall and Alexandra Walsham reveal, the relationship between fortune and Providence was never cut and dry. “‘Fortune,’ noted [Thomas] Gataker, ‘[was] no other than but God nicknamed.’” Fortune came into an uneasy subjection within the scope of Providence, retaining its slightly heretical sense of events—good or tragic—happening outside of God’s guiding hand. Hakluyt, in this case, employed misfortune to caution against unwise actions that could damage not only the voyage but also England’s Providential path to an empire. For where fortune, God’s Providence, led, so too would fame and legacy follow as long as self-interest and greed did not overtake the voyage’s purpose. Continuously, Hakluyt repeated that the importance of a voyage was not fame and renown; the essence was the “turne to the advancement of the action” that would bring England’s future perpetual prosperity.

Moreover, Hakluyt tried to demonstrate through this “Epistle” that Ralegh would achieve the fame and renown he desired—within Hakluyt’s paradigm of fame and renown, which meant self-sacrifice and unwavering loyalty to England and England’s Providential empire. In supporting this translation and publication, Ralegh provided “a singuler and especiall care” to those “which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise […] you woulde have forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the grosse negligence” that some voyages faced. The legacy this literature left was a legacy that would help Ralegh’s reputation grow. Hakluyt hoped Ralegh would learn that chivalric heroics were not the only means by which he could obtain the reputation and legacy Ralegh sought. Learning and implementing that learning were lasting ways to achieve fame.

**Conclusion**

With the rise of merchant time, the importance of trade and capital and pragmatism rather than chivalric deeds began to reign supreme. The changing tides of time were evident within Hakluyt’s writings and publications, Ralegh’s *Discoverie*, and the dedications to Ralegh. Merchant time, the focus on profit and prosperity rather than on fame and chivalric deeds, came to the forefront with the quest of fame and honor taking several steps back to make way for merchant time and England’s Providential empire. No longer was a single knight the resounding image of the court, but rather the success of trade and imperial gains made by the state were. No longer would someone like Sir William Marshall be the face of an English hero. Instead, the hero would endeavor to protect and expand trade and wealth for the Crown and country. As Kevin Sharpe demonstrates, under the Tudors, specifically Elizabeth, England and the Crown unified in the being of the monarch. However, the era of powerful, renowned knights started to fade along with the

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89 Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, vol. II, 373.
spectacle of an aging Queen’s court. Whereas before, chivalric deeds manifested in memory and legacy, by the late 1580s and the 1590s, the errant knight became subsumed within the apparatus of state and merchant time.

Ralegh’s quest for legacy was one that floundered not because Ralegh could not achieve his aims but because the times quite literally changed during his lifetime. As Joyce Lorimer writes, where Hakluyt’s “original enthusiastic and rather naïve presentation of received travel narratives” began with his energies focusing on extolling the wonders and accomplishments of past English people, by the late 1580s until his death in 1616, Hakluyt became more focused on the pragmatic and practical machinations of English overseas expansion. Always one for collecting most any documents on travel, Hakluyt’s “Instructions for the Virginia Colony of 1606” shed light on how time(s) shifted from the glories of the past revealing a providential future to a more pragmatic approach, which Samuel Purchas attempted to continue after Hakluyt’s death.

In “Instructions for the Virginia Colony of 1606,” Hakluyt prescribed where and how to plant a settlement in Virginia. From “choice of river on which you mean to settle” to instructions on how to unload “victuals and munitions” to warnings about the French and Spanish to “hav[ing] great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it,” Hakluyt’s instructions to the colonists were void of the chivalric tone and the desire for legacy that resounded in Ralegh’s Discoverie.91 The reorienting of time(s) from a legacy built on individual prowess to merchant and political times voided but did not remove the fabulous from travel literature. It moved them into the realm of personal journals and publications. John Smith published his marvelous tales of being saved by Pocahontas and, in later years, the harrowing narratives of Arctic expeditions became bestsellers, but for Ralegh, who sought to build his legacy through his chivalric actions, the timing did not work out for him. The final deathblow for the revitalized age of romantic chivalry came with the shifting of time: the present now stood as its own time by the 1600s with the past lingering more fully in the present’s shadows, but no longer was the legacy of knights the lauded memory it had once been. The rise of merchants, the telling of merchant time (clock time), and the rising importance of political time became the markers for guiding overseas expansion.

91 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, vol. II, 492-494. The “Instructions” were Hakluyt’s advice for founding a colony and did not require the embellishment or promotional tactics Hakluyt and Ralegh employed in their publications. But what the “Instructions” did reveal was the progression of English plantations and expansion as a hopeful prospect on the distant horizon to an actuality happening here and now. Shifting from the hopeful prospect to an actuality, the “Instructions” and later promotional literature focused more on practical instructions that merchants, sailors, and colonists required rather than the persuasive writings prompting action to seize Providence.
“Our English Empire”: How Providence Is Hakluyt’s Expression of Time(s)

The expressions of time(s) examined in this dissertation are just that: expressions. Hakluyt did not actively shape time or temporality, but his writings provided descriptions of how the multiplicity of times moving in the late sixteenth century in England were expressed. The early modern period was a span of years in which the world seemed to change almost constantly. From the centralizing of secular authority to the sectarianism of the Christian faith to the discovery of new and foreign worlds to the advent of new technologies, early modern Europe was a space in which dramatic changes began to take shape. Time and temporality were only a part of those changes, but no less dramatic. The expressions of time(s) changed in conjunction with the changes in politics, society, culture, and economics. As trade grew in importance, merchant’s time—a focus on precision and timing for shipping, selling, and buying, increasingly became the means of tracking time, culminating in the reliance of the clock to regulate the workday during the Industrial Revolution. With the rise of merchant’s time, chivalric time—the time of knightly deeds and individual legacies—began to recede just like courtly chivalry did by the close of the sixteenth century. Ralegh’s Discoverie was a last glimpse at the once prevalent expression of chivalric time as he tried to establish his lasting legacy through his knightly actions, but Hakluyt instead took Ralegh’s narrative and reshaped it into a reminder of England’s knightly legacy, English experience overseas, and knowledge gained from Ralegh’s travels to promote an English empire.

A Providential empire was, for Hakluyt, an empire preordained by God to outshine all other empires (like Spain’s) and bring England prosperity and plenty for future generations to come. However, the catch for England’s Providential empire was that the English had to act post-haste—during Hakluyt’s time—or else risk forgoing God’s blessing and falling into oblivion like the sources Hakluyt rescued and published. England’s Providential empire required pious English Protestants to act for the greater glory of God by spreading his Word to all non-Christians, forgo personal vanity and quests for wealth, legacy, and fame, endure suffering and travails along with failures and successes as the empire expanded, and to always keep the betterment of the English Commonwealth as their foremost goal. God’s Providence on England and its empire was now open to the English, whose history proved that England was destined for an empire. The English of the past did not expand their empire because the timing was not yet correct. Hakluyt argued that England’s timing was now correct.

Legacy, Providence, urgency, and action merged in Hakluyt’s writings. Like the disjointed limbs of “scattered and hidden” histories and accounts of English navigations Hakluyt rescued from the “jaws of oblivion,” he sought to bring together the whole of England, every rung of the social hierarchy and every limb of the social body, to support England’s Providential empire. Legacy, Providence, urgency, and action twined together to form a cohesive argument that England’s empire was for the whole of England, not just the Crown and government or the nobles, but for the benefit and prosperity of every English person in the Commonwealth. Hakluyt “restored ech [sic] particular member, being before displaced, to their true joynts and ligaments” when he “preserve[d] certaine memorable exploits […] of our English nation.” All the hardships Hakluyt

2 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol 1, 3.
“indured” by “redeem[ing] from obscuritie and perishing” England’s Providential history and legacy were for the benefit of the whole of the English nation. Without the history, knowledge, and experience that Hakluyt rescued, the English would be lost and allow their Providential empire to slip away without any action to secure it. England’s present was distanced from its past because God’s Providence was now on England. The past would linger in the present through the histories and experiences Hakluyt culled, but the present was now a unique temporal space with an urgency to act unlike there ever was in England’s past. In this chapter, I demonstrate how Hakluyt organized and argued that the whole of “our English nation” was the entirety of the English population, from the idlers languishing in prison to the Crown because Providence required every individual’s active and godly participation in pursuing and securing England’s empire.

An English Legacy

English expansion was now open to all English people rather than the nobles and the Crown. The knightly prowess of the past—like that glorious chivalry found in King Arthur—was just that, past. The shadows of chivalry, its worthy qualities, remained ideals people should strive to emulate. However, those qualities and the knights who lived them were examples only, not the discourse of experience required to establish England’s empire. These qualities, once the purview of the noble ranks, were now open to all peoples in England, as the Nine Worthies of London (1592) demonstrated through individuals like Sir William Wallworth.

Johnson’s Nine Worthies of London focuses on the significance of individuals of lower social ranks whose vocations were in trade and merchant activities. Sir William Wallworth was a fishmonger who lived during the reign of Richard II (1377-1399). Wallworth’s speech on his worthiness centered on his actions during the 1388 Peasant’s Rebellion in which he helped defend “his Maiestie […] young in years.”

Yet with a loyall guard of bils and Bowes / Collected of our tallest men of trade, / I [Wallworth] did protect his person from his foes” from the coming “Rebels.” Wallworth’s worthiness stemmed from his actions protecting the king not from a rank or title. Wallworth’s and his fellow “tallest men of trade[’s]” worthiness and virtue were in protecting England (the king) from the “Rebels.” So long as loyalty to the Crown and England were central to an English person, England would flourish. Johnson’s Nine Worthies of London revealed the rising relevance of trade and merchant activities in late Elizabethan England, a time in which England suffered a series of economic issues. Elevating the significance of merchant activities by casting them as worthy knights helped bring merchant’s time, a time predicated on trade and commerce, to the forefront of English life. Where once chivalric romances filled with grand gestures and epic combat flourished as the language of England, trade became increasingly important for bringing in revenue to the Crown and country.

Hakluyt, too, elevated trade as he continued to cite it as the main reason for English expansion throughout Divers Voyages, Discourse, and both editions of Principal Navigations. But unlike Johnson, Hakluyt did not uphold any one particular individual higher than another. His inclusion of Ralegh testified to Hakluyt’s interest in providing knowledge rather than elevating personal fame.

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The transition from the Renaissance time of legacy and chivalric time to merchant’s time was one that continued over the course of the early modern period.⁶ The days of heroes and knights in shining armor (a construct of the sixteenth century) faded in favor of the rising tide of merchant ranks and the trade they secured that brought prosperity to England.⁷ Hakluyt’s writings encapsulated this transition in how he structured the organization of his published works. In his first publication, *Divers Voyages* (1582), Hakluyt included histories of kings and knights of old and of monks and priests who traveled to far-flung lands subduing and proselytizing to the peoples there. They were examples of the qualities the English should carry with them as they extended their empire. However, these qualities no longer rested solely in the hands of the nobles, knights, and clergy. The time for England—as a whole nation—to act and build a legacy was now. England’s legacy was one predicated on expanding English trade and prosperity, as England’s Providential history demonstrated.

Hakluyt was conscious of the fact that England was more than the nobility. As Hakluyt demonstrated in *Principal Navigations*’ “The Preface to the Second Edition, 1598,” England was a nation in which “our English nation” was the paramount figure of his epoch. “Having for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much traveile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light,” so that Hakluyt could “preserve certain memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieved.”⁸ Hakluyt traveled and toiled to preserve England’s “Antiquities” in order to ensure that the English nation could learn from the experiences of the past and expand upon them in building England’s empire. The information and experiences littered England’s past overseas ventures granting Hakluyt’s “diligent” readers—nobles, merchants, and common people—the knowledge and some skill to undertake the Providential work of building and furthering an English empire.⁹

Hakluyt charged all of the English with the task of building and expanding England’s Providential empire. He only imparted the facts he had to his reader who, as the “Epistle” from 1589 articulated, should be active men like those in former ages. Hakluyt sought to offer his readers a “restored” history of English Providence and demonstrated that all English must be active in England’s empire.¹⁰ “I mean, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech [sic] particular relation to the due time and place […].”¹¹ The histories Hakluyt included in his meticulously edited corpus were histories detailing English successes and failures with each title for the three volumes of *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600) focused on “the English” or “the English nation.” The Crown

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⁶ See “Times in Early Modern English History” for the definitions on Renaissance legacy time and merchant’s time.
⁹ Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 35.
was the source from which letters patent came, but the discoveries and the success of England’s ventures were for England as a whole, not the Crown and nobility alone.

The rising significance of trade opened Hakluyt’s works to anyone who could or desired to read and learn English history and expeditions overseas. The earlier histories Hakluyt presented his audience set the stage for English Providence, revealing how England always trod this path towards empire, but the accounts he included in later sections focus on trade and why England had to act to claim its empire. “Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I live and breathe, hath made all difficulties seem easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment unto me.” Hakluyt addressed the whole of England as his cause for undertaking this laborious work to preserve and publish the evidence of English Providence. The pain and suffering, the toil and expense, were momentary and fleeting but all too necessary for English prosperity.

Given Hakluyt’s ultimate aim—a northward passage to Cathay culminating in an English empire—Hakluyt understood “this present discourse” was one that would be both instruction and promotion for England’s empire. To secure and advance England’s Providential empire, Hakluyt sought to garner support from the whole of England because without England in its entirety supporting overseas expansion, the Crown and nobles would not be enough. Where Ralegh sought to build his own legacy, Hakluyt sought to build England’s via empire. Hakluyt stated, “wil it not all posteritie [posterity] be as great a renowne unto our English nation, to have bene the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape […] “and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies.” Hakluyt knew that England as a whole had to act in unity to claim it and support it. While Hakluyt utilized some courtly language, he employed plain prose more so in order to cast his work as instructional for his readers. Merchants, captains, and common people reading Hakluyt’s Principal Navigations did not require the chivalric rhetoric of courtly language—they required knowledge and accounts of experience to supplement their own experiences. This prose requirement, however, did not detract from the virtues inspired by chivalric examples like “Columbus that noble and high-spirited Genuois,” “the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby,” “famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman.”

Providing examples of worthy qualities bolstered English explorers’ and adventures’ authoritative experiences overseas and lent them greater credit in their narratives. Having attractive and worthy qualities for English heroes could only lend credence to the accounts Hakluyt edited and published and distinguished these qualities as something uniquely English for the reader. In addition, Hakluyt cast these figures (save for Columbus) as Englishmen acting for England’s benefit, who braved considerable uncertainty for the English nation. “True it is, that our success hath not bene correspondent unto theirs: yet in this our attempt the uncertainie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit less.” Hakluyt did not deny the limited success England had over the years, but he also demonstrated how that limited success helped England endure greater hardships and bravery as they voyaged into the unknown. Unlike

the Portugales” who learned “in plaine termes” from Herodotus’s “booke called Melpomene” and Pliny in writing about “that Noble Hanno” about Africa, the English only had their own histories and experiences to learn from and to grow.\footnote{Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 20-21.} Where other nations had the classical histories, the English had a distinctively English history and had to cull their experiences from that to succeed in pursuing what Providence heralded for them as a nation.\footnote{Hakluyt opened the 1589 \textit{Principal Navigations} with Helena of Britain, Constantine’s mother, and her pilgrimage to Jerusalem while the 1598 \textit{Principal Navigations} opened with King Arthur’s conquest of the Arctic regions. Both related to Britain, but only Arthur’s history directly represented England’s empire not Rome’s empire.} The Thule of Pytheas of Greek history did have some information on northern regions, but their knowledge was lacking by comparison to what English explorers like John and Sebastian Cabot, John Davis, Francis Drake, Martin Frobisher, and Richard Chancellor provided England. These explorers provided richer and fuller accounts of the Arctic regions, thus rendering the Classical histories void for the English. English history was the history designed for the English nation’s success and predicated on English experiences and knowledge. The English histories Hakluyt preserved and published provided experiences, information on the regions and peoples not found in Classical histories and legacies.

Hakluyt’s writings, the expressions of time from the shifting of legacy and chivalric time to merchant’s time and the change from an individual’s legacy to a nation’s legacy, opened the way for the everyday reader to partake in England’s Providential empire. Chivalric time focused typically on the actions of an individual in service to the Crown, narrowing the field of participation down to nobles and gentry, as Ralegh’s \textit{Discoverie} demonstrated. However, Hakluyt called for the whole of England, from the Crown to those idling in prisons, to participate in England’s empire expansion.\footnote{Hakluyt continued to call for every rank to participate in English empire building, which he did in his first publication, \textit{Divers Voyages} to his last, \textit{Principal Navigations}, because England’s empire could only flourish when the whole of the social body worked in harmony and with godly intention. See “Epistle Dedictorie” in \textit{Divers Voyages} and in both \textit{Principal Navigations} and chapter III, XII, and XIII in \textit{Discourse Concerning Western Planting}.} England’s empire did not benefit the crown alone like Hakluyt presented Spain’s empire in \textit{Discourse} where Philip II’s greed was a recurring theme.\footnote{See chapters III, V, VI, VII, VIII, and XI in \textit{Discourse Concerning Western Planting.}} England’s empire was for the whole of England, thus requiring the active participation of every English person. Hakluyt revealed to his readers the guiding hand of Providence running throughout the course of English history. He demonstrated that the whole of England had to act with godly intention to expand England’s empire now. England’s history built to this moment in time in which God deemed the English ready to undertake the arduous labor of expanding their empire.

Pitting English experiences as individual and unique to England against the comforts of knowledge and certainty the Spanish and Portuguese had, demonstrated England’s Providence and prowess in overseas expansion. England had God’s Providence on its side from the earliest English histories to now. Providence was the difference between England and the other two Roman Catholic powers: England had it, and the others did not. Hakluyt utilized England’s Providence in contrast to the Roman Catholic usurpation of God’s authority as justification for English overseas action and further proof of England’s divinely ordained empire. He employed this comparison to spur the English—the whole of England—to action against these foreign others. Where the Spanish and Portuguese “had those bright lampes of learning (I mean the most ancient and best Philosophers, Histriographers and Geographers) to shew them light; and the loadstarre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed up in store and recorded) whereby to
shape their course […]],” the English did not. “But alas our English nation, at the first setting forth for their Northeasterne discovery, were either altogether destitute of such clear lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas” and almost caused the English to be “deterre[d], then to give them encouragrement.”

The English, Hakluyt demonstrated, were stronger and had endured hardship, pain, and suffering for the betterment of England, all without the surety afforded to Spain and Portugal by classical texts and knowledge. What the English learned and experienced was all “our English nation” possessed.

**English Actions**

The changing expressions of time(s) opened physical, mental, and financial actions of pursuing an English Providential empire and expansion to all English people, of all social ranks. With the present becoming a defined space, separate from the past, and the Reformation’s challenge to the Roman Catholic Church’s authority on who controlled time, time became an active force in the world, and people became active in shaping their time(s). Time became a finite element of life in which people could make their own marks rather than time being a repetition of past days until the Second Coming. Before the Renaissance and Reformation, time was distant and divine, counting down to the Second Coming. After the Renaissance and Reformation, time began to imbu[e every aspect of life in more regulated ways. The agricultural seasons and the liturgical calendar were not the only sources for marking the passage of time from one year to the next. Those cyclical measurements of time continued but in different contexts. As urban populations began to swell, commercial activity increased, a plethora of liturgical calendars coexisted, and a heightened sense of an acceleration of time grew throughout the sixteenth century. Time left the realm of the divine and entered everyday life.

Hakluyt’s England became a land in which multiple expressions of time coexisted and comingled. Time was more than counting down to the Second Coming. Time now counted the hours in days, especially in urban areas, which helped regular and order civic, work, and social life in towns and cities. Rural areas continued to rely on agricultural time, but these places too felt the shift and transformations of time(s) as new calendars and laws on labor came to them. The seeming rapidity at which events and time occurred increased with the proliferation of printed news and increased trade and travel in England. New technologies and new knowledge also impacted how people interacted with, viewed, and understood time(s). Temporality shifted from time being a divine construct that only God or the Church could control to time being left to individual and state command and discretion—the future was open.

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22 For more see chapter one, “Time(s) in Early Modern English History.”

To the West to Reach the East

Hakluyt sought to pit England against another rising sea power, like the Dutch, spurring the English—across the social ranks—to action. “[H]ere by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres have discovered to 78. yea (as themselves affirme) to 81. Degrees of Northly latitude.”

Where the Spanish and Portuguese had ancient knowledge and wisdom, the Dutch actively sought a passage north through their own “industry and magnanimity.” A passage that Providence granted to England, if the English acted to claim it. “But now it is high time for us to weigh our ancre, to hoise up our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas,” Hakluyt wrote. Even though the Northwest or eastern passages were Hakluyt’s ideal end goal, he recognized that the failures and perils attached to seeking out these passages were not the best means by which to persuade his audience to action. Instead, he turned his and his audience’s attention towards “the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, over which the Spaniards and Portugales have bade so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages.”

Despite the fact “that the way was much longer […] it [was] never barred with yce [sic], mist, or darkness.” Rather than allow the English to flounder and grow idle in searching for a northward passage, Hakluyt advocated the English seize the opportunity to act against the Spanish and Portuguese in the Atlantic and build their overseas empire. By biding their time, the English would grow in strength and prosperity until they were able to search out a northern route.

Once Hakluyt provided the reasons for why the English should turn their attention to the Atlantic, he wrote, “now let us leave them and return home unto our selves,” wherein he drew his audience’s attention back to his ultimate goal for England’s Providential empire, a passage northward leading to Cathay. Securing trade and plantations to defend and expand that trade in the Americas was the first step towards England’s empire. Hakluyt, then, refocused on the knowledge, information, and experience accumulated by those English who had traveled to Russia, like Richard Chancellor. Even though Hakluyt advocated for the English to trade in the Americas where there was a preponderance of wealth (so it appeared), Hakluyt did not diminish England’s need to venture further and further north once the Americas were secure, Chancellor brought back with him the knowledge and experience he accumulated in Russia, including “the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the majestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himself.” Hakluyt presented to his audience the place where England’s honor rests: “thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the advauncing of traffique by river and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia.” Hakluyt remained adamant that England’s prosperity would stem from northern trade and travel, but he also understood that trade in the

26 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 22. Once again, Hakluyt demonstrated that he understood the time consuming process that was building an empire. He did not anticipate overnight success. Instead, he advocated for a long and trying process that would test the English and their commitment to their future.
27 Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vol. 1, 22.
Americas would bring wealth to England sooner, thus allowing the English to expand their traffic in the north.\textsuperscript{31}

England relied on the English people to further its Providential empire. England’s future was the English people’s to seize or allow to bypass them. Hakluyt’s writings sought to ignite the English to action by demonstrating the prowess and legacy of “our English nation” that was found in England’s histories and in the firsthand accounts of contemporary English adventurers, who “yet not containing themselves within all that main circumference, they have adventured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times over the unknown and dangerous Caspian sea.”\textsuperscript{32} Hakluyt, loyal to the prospect of northern trade, ran through the information and material collected in this volume of \textit{Principal Navigations} (1598). From travel and captain’s accounts of the areas from Russia to Persia to Queen Elizabeth’s “Ambassages and Negotiations” with “the Russian Emperor” to the “the judicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people,” Hakluyt continued to extol the virtues and successes (as well as the failures) of English merchants and the honor they brought to England.\textsuperscript{33} Hakluyt’s carefully collated and edited collection of English knowledge and experience was on full display for his audience, along with the continuing sense of urgency in pursuing English Providence.

\textbf{Hakluyt Calling}

The benefits for England, the timing and Providence were at hand, and the English were ready and eager to continue on England’s path to empire, so long as the Queen and country acted with God’s blessing legitimizing Hakluyt’s and England’s plan. While Hakluyt did not pen his usual arguments in his third “Letter to the Reader” in \textit{Principal Navigations} (1600) for why England needed to expand, he relentlessly emphasized England’s Providence. England was no longer cast in shadow and darkness as it had been when Hakluyt rescued the histories and accounts of overseas ventures, allowing the past to inform the present. The present would build on the past to reach a brighter future that Providence granted England. Hakluyt reminded his audience of England’s Providence in the second edition of \textit{Principal Navigations} by demonstrating how Hakluyt’s efforts and those of the English merchants, captains, overseas promotional supporters were different from other European states. He shone a particular light on France, a France “freed of their long civill warres.”\textsuperscript{34} France, Hakluyt revealed, wished to have access to the knowledge and experiences Hakluyt published. They also had similar sets of worries the English had when it came to idleness and unemployment.

In writing about France, Hakluyt confirmed the importance of the histories and accounts he rescued from “perpetuall oblivion.”\textsuperscript{35} After publishing “the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at my owne charges to be printed in Paris” in 1587, the

\textsuperscript{31} Hakluyt continued in his “Letter” describing the authority and authenticity of the accounts penned by Clement Adams, M. Jenkinson, Mr. George Tubervile, and others who ventured to Russia for trade.

\textsuperscript{32} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 24.

\textsuperscript{33} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 25, 26.

\textsuperscript{34} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 41.

\textsuperscript{35} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 14.
French “asked, who had done such intolerable wrong to their whole kingdom, as to have concealed that woorthie work so long?” The French reasoned that if these tracts had been published before 1587, then “the variable humours of all sortes of people might have had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest empoilment abroad in that large and fruitful Continent of the West Indies.” Though the comparison between England and France was not overtly stated, Hakluyt demonstrated the importance of setting people to “woorthie work,” as Hakluyt wished to do with “the Gentrie [and idle] of our nation.” The French, Hakluyt argued, desired the published histories of overseas ventures to do what the English should do now: follow where Providence guided them. Hakluyt brought the comparison to a close by returning focus to the central topic that “may please your Honour [Cecil] that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our auncient trade and traffique with English shipping.”

Hakluyt’s shift from presenting arguments supporting English expansion and its Providential empire to focusing on the importance of trade in the last two volumes of Principal Navigations (1599-1600) encapsulated the changes occurring in England and Europe during this period. The Crown and state remained firmly rooted at the top of the social hierarchy, but the relevance of trade and commerce was slowly growing in importance as England’s presence in the New World and trade with the continent increased. Hakluyt demonstrated this in the second volume of Principal Navigations (1599), as he provided a brief rundown of what the reader should expect in this volume. Containing mostly more recent ventures beginning in 1511, the second volume focused on trade “made by Sea or over-land, to the South and South-east parts of the World.” The accounts published in the second and third volumes, unlike the first, featured the trade England engaged in for sixteen hundred years, as Hakluyt’s title stated. This trade and the areas were known and quantifiable with preexisting treaties and agreements such as England’s trade in the Levant. “I have here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted trade in all the Levant, accomplished by the great charges and special industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Harebone,” who reestablished the “traffike onely between her Majestie and the Grand Signior, with great privileges, immunities, and favours” for England in the Levant. England’s growing commercial presence in already known areas was the reigning focus of Hakluyt’s last two volumes.

The tone of the 1599 “Epistle Dedicatorie” differed from the previous ones in 1589 and 1598. Hakluyt dedicated the “Epistle Dedicatorie” in 1589 to Sir Francis Walsingham and the 1598 one to Lord Charles Howard. However, the 1599 and 1600 “Epistle Dedicatories,” Hakluyt dedicated to his new patron, Sir Robert Cecil. Cecil and Hakluyt’s relationship pivoted on the patron-client relationship with Cecil’s ability to secure clerical offices and a living for Hakluyt, thus allowing him to continue fulfilling “the promise made in his cousin’s study.” Cecil and Hakluyt knew each other since, in 1597, Hakluyt “had consulted him in the summer [Hakluyt’s]
wife died about the aptitude of Guiana for English settlement.”

The relationship between Cecil and Hakluyt demonstrated “that [Hakluyt] had become a master not only of precise details of long-distance journeys […] but also of the arcane ways of privilege and promotion at the highest levels of English government.” Hakluyt’s devotion to his work and dedication to the promise he made in his cousin’s office was recognizable through his “Epistle Dedicarie” in his publications.

There was a change in tone in the last two “Epistles” that promoted more often than not the monetary gains the Crown could have if Elizabeth I supported expeditions and colonies in Virginia. “[O]ne or two thousand of her [Elizabeth’s] people, and such others as upon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their own charges become Adventurers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, work many great and unlooked for effects, increasing her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ.” Hakluyt directly appealed to the Queen in the 1599 “Epistle,” which was a shift from the previous ones he penned almost “as if Hakluyt had no need to make any more arguments about the need for colonization.”

In the first volume, Hakluyt was vociferous in advocating for English expansion and Providence, but in the final two volumes, he focused more on the benefits that expansion and obeying Providence’s path could bring the Crown. While he made certain to include the whole of England as part and parcel of an English empire expansion by playing on the fears of idleness and overpopulation circulating in England during this period, Hakluyt’s overarching arguments were made in the first volume. The second and third volumes were geared towards persuading the Crown to grant consent for increasing English overseas presence and action. Hakluyt sought the Crown to act to stave off what could be an idle mass of martially trained English gentry returning from Europe.

By directly pointing out this issue in particular, the returning “Gentrie of our nation,” Hakluyt emphasized both the need to keep these returning martially tested and tried individuals employed for the stability of the social order and the Crown’s role in overseas expansion. Expanding England’s empire and trade proved a means of providing employment (which Hakluyt also noted in Discourse chapters IV and XIII) and preventing idleness from spreading into the English people. A combination of both trade and disruptions (younger courtiers) at court spurred Hakluyt (and Cecil) to point out why the gentry needed occupation in Virginia. “[B]ut every step we tread would yield us new occasion of action, which I wish the Gentrie of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to have leesse emploiment then now they have.” With the wars on the continent closing and the Queen’s reign slowly closing, too, Hakluyt and Cecil both understood the need to ensure some order and occupation for “the Gentrie of our nation.”

This shift in tone between the first and second volumes of the second edition of Principal Navigations retained the continuing objectives of proselytizing and experience. The whole of

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43 Taylor, The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluys, vol. I, 57.
46 Mancall, Hakluyt’s Promise, 229.
England still had to act as a single unit by striving to attain England’s Providential empire, but there were developing issues in the guise of “the Gentrie of our nation” that prompted a more serious tone and warnings. The fear of idleness and over-population carried throughout the sixteenth century, with Hakluyt writing about both as causes for expansion in Discourse Concerning Western Planting (1584) and providing solutions for maintaining political and social order in England. However, the authority to legitimize such action remained with the Crown and court. Only Elizabeth I could grant consent for the expansion of an English empire, thus preserving English social and political order.

“Our English Nation”

England’s present was different from its past because England had all this new information and experiences from which to draw, unlike the English had in the past. Trade with Russia began in the mid-1550s and would continue to increase if the English continued to act. Hakluyt saw a future, a future blessed by Providence, in which England would prosper with the Crown’s support. History revealed England’s Providence, the present demonstrated how Hakluyt’s England was different from the past, and present actions determined England’s future. Time was not just happening to the English; the English, as a whole, had to own their active time to secure their future.

From Divers Voyages to Principal Navigations (second edition), Hakluyt consistently wrote about the English nation. He never once glossed over the importance of the Crown, of the nobles, or of the merchants and captains, and common people. Instead, Hakluyt saw everyone as active participants in England's claiming and expansion of England’s Providential empire. Only the English’s present actions would secure Providence, God’s blessing, on England and bring greater prosperity and honor to England for generations to come. England’s future depended on the English's deliberate, knowledgeable, and experienced actions in pursuing their empire. “Rarest jewels concluded that there was no pernicion but by vertue, no climbing to honor but by Fortitude, and none base, abject and ignoble but the vicious slouthfull, and fainthearted milkesops.” Like Johnson’s Nine Worthies, Hakluyt’s writings define the English by their actions and quality of those actions, called the English to act to ensure England’s Providential empire and prosperous trade for generations to come. Acting now would establish their legacy in the future.

The changing conceptions of time(s) opened legacy to the entire nation. Where the Renaissance legacy focused on the individual, Hakluyt’s interpretation, as influenced by the Renaissance in Northern Europe, focused on society at large. Hakluyt’s careful use of “our English nation” and his plain rhetoric enabled an active English reader to participate in England’s Providential empire. Time no longer merely counted down the years, months, days, and hours to the Second Coming. Sixteenth-century time(s) was as active a force in English Providence as the English had to be. Without grasping the opportunities presented to the English now—opportunities unique in English history—England’s future was in doubt.

There was a balance and mixture of the past, present, and future in Hakluyt’s writings. Time(s) was messy and tangled together. Like the colored sands, one color could not be removed without disturbing the others. Early modern expressions of time were the same. The past did not

49 Johnson, Nine Worthy of London, unnumbered.
hold answers without the uniqueness of the present and the openness of the future. It was a delicate balance of past experiences interspersed with present concerns and opportunities and fueled by the Providential promise of a prosperous future. These arguments could work as arguments in Hakluyt’s writings without the shifting expressions of time(s) like the present’s distance from the past and the Church’s lost monopoly over the future. Hakluyt was one person in the grand design for empire. Yet without Hakluyt’s efforts, his enduring “restless nights, what painefull days, […] many long & chargeable journeys I have traveiled [and the] many famous libraries I have searched,” England’s history and Providence would be lost.50

In doing his part to act for an English empire, Hakluyt “redeemed from obscuritie and perishing” England’s Providential path towards empire.51 Hakluyt, like Johnson’s Nine Worthies, led by example. But Hakluyt took it a step further by penning his experiences from which his audience could learn. In forgoing “what faire opportunities of private gaine, preferment, and ease I have neglected,” Hakluyt demonstrated to his reader the ideal behavior expected and the restless pursuit required of the English for God’s blessing on England to come to fruition. Hakluyt and those he included in his “Prose Epoch” could not act independently from the English social body. All of England had a part to play in establishing England’s Providential empire. From the “multitudes of loyterers and idle vagabonds” to Hakluyt and his audience to merchants and captains to the court and Crown, the whole of England—the English social body—had to function as one united in a singular, Providential goal.52 The difference between past English actions and Hakluyt’s England was Providence. The present was its own temporal space because the whole of England had God’s Providence.53

Throughout his “A Preface to the Reader” (1598), Hakluyt continually referred to “our English nation” and “our voyages and trades.”54 The histories and trading accounts Hakluyt included demonstrated England’s Providence and the growing relevance and reliance the English began to place on trade and overseas economic and their empire’s expansion. In the first volume of Principal Navigations (1599), Hakluyt concentrated on “our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts.”55 “I have not bene unmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would give me direction) to place in the fore-front of this book those forren conquests, exploits, and travels of our English nation, which have bene atchieved of old.”56 All the “conquests, exploits, and travels” articulated how “our English nation,” strove to expand its Providential empire.57 By presenting these histories to his audience within the construct of “our English nation” and “our voyages and trades,” both recent and old, Hakluyt established that the whole of England must actively participate in England’s overseas expansion.

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52 Richard Hakluyt, “Chapter IV: That this entereprize will be for the manifold employment of numbers of idle men,” in Discourse Concerning Western Planting, 36.
53 The sense of Englishness the developed in the sixteenth-century, particularly during Elizabeth I’s reign as she comes to embody England, was also a change from the past. This was a theme Hakluyt utilized as he discussed “our English nation” and Helgerson explores in his Forms of Nationhood.
Every English person had a role to fulfill in building England’s empire, from the Crown to the idle vagabond languishing on the street or in a gaol. Providence had brought England to this point so that the English could act against the usurpation of God’s authority committed by the pope and Spain in the Americas. Expanding the English empire would contract Spain’s. England’s time to act existed outside the bounds of the Roman Catholic Church and was under the guidance of God and the English alone. Unlike the king of Spain “from his high throne,” the English empire was a labor of the Commonwealth and for the betterment of the Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{58} Exploration, expansion, and Providence inspired an empire belonging to all of England, not a minor few at the higher levels of the social hierarchy alone like in Spain. The “unpolished” prose Hakluyt wrote in and the accounts he presented in \textit{Principal Navigations} made his work accessible to all of England wherein they might read (or hear) England’s history and actively glean knowledge from the experiences of previous and contemporary English ventures to supplement their own endeavors.\textsuperscript{59} Even the most obscure and daunting travels fell under the umbrella of “our English nation.” When writing about the travels and expeditions undertaken in the Northern parts of the world, specifically the northeast and Russia, Hakluyt ensured that no matter where the travels might fall chronologically, the travel was for England as a whole. “[B]y reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous incivilitie of the people there inhabiting, were never yet thoroughly traveiled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently known unto us […]”.\textsuperscript{60} If one part of “our English nation” did not act, but rather remained idle or self-possessed, God’s blessing—his Providence—would fade from England and plunge the nation back into that oblivion Hakluyt risked his wellbeing and endured great suffering during his studies to preserve.\textsuperscript{61}

In “The Voyage of Master Andrew Barker of Bristol,” Hakluyt provided an example and cautionary tale of what happened when self-interest and greed overtook an Englishmen. The story began in 1574, after the return of Andrew Barker to Bristol from “the Canary Islands called Tenerif for a certain time” where he left Charles Chester to learn the local language.\textsuperscript{62} Soon enough, another merchant voyage ventured forth to the Canary Islands “with cloth and other merchandise of a great value.”\textsuperscript{63} The issue with this voyage, captained by Henry Roberts and the factor, John Drue, was that Charles Chester “accused [Barker] to the inquisition […] whereupon [Barker’s] goods were confiscat[ed], his factor John Drue was attached, and he also (the said captaigne Roberts)” was also arrested by the Spanish.\textsuperscript{64} All told, Barker and his brother, John, lost “to the value of 1700 pounds and upwards” because of it “being confiscat [sic] to the said inquisition.”\textsuperscript{65}

Roberts and Drue returned to Bristol with nothing but a loss on their record. The Barker brothers

\textsuperscript{58} Hakluyt, \textit{Discourse Concerning Western Planting}, 55.
\textsuperscript{59} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 29.
\textsuperscript{60} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 30.
\textsuperscript{61} Hakluyt noted how he combatted the sin of “curiositie:” “[…] I now woonder [sic] at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delays, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receive my originals: so that I may have just cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of divers in our time, which Plinie made of the men of his age […]” Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 3.
\textsuperscript{62} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 7, 68.
\textsuperscript{63} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 7, 68.
\textsuperscript{64} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 7, 68.
\textsuperscript{65} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 7, 68.
“[i]n recompense of which injurie (for that no suite prevaileth against the inquisition of Spaine) & also to recover his losses” took up privateering in the West Indies.\textsuperscript{66}

The rest of the account Hakluyt included details of the Barkers’ privateering activities and the gains they made against the Spanish. No other mention of Charles Chester appeared outside of the prelude to Baker being turned over to the inquisition or in the Bakers’ privateering.\textsuperscript{67} Hakluyt’s inclusion of this account in \textit{Principal Navigations}, Matthew Steggle argues, was “a parable about the importance of unity against the Spanish.”\textsuperscript{68} Unity against Spain required loyalty to England: God, the nation, and the crown. The English had to remain strong in their loyalty in order to build their ordained empire, but also to ensure prosperous and plentiful trade. Charles Chester, already a known figure in London and well acquainted with Ralegh, Cecil, and Hakluyt, compromised English trade by accusing Barker to the Spanish inquisition. The Spanish seized Barker’s trade and profits for themselves because of one disloyal, disreputable Englishman, thus robbing the English of their Providential prosperity.

The account’s themes of personal ambition and greed were the cautionary elements, and Hakluyt, aware of Chester’s reputation, demonstrated the dangers of individuals seeking to pursue their own self-interest over that of English prosperity and Providence.\textsuperscript{69} For England to prosper and pursue its Providential empire, the English had to be united in their common cause, not weighted down by individual greed as good English people idle in Spanish captivity. One Englishman could hinder England’s godly path to empire and prosperity. The self-interest of individuals acted against the English cause diminished English strength, honor, and heroism. As Claire Jowitt reveals, “[a]ccounts of English sea captains’ seaborne male fortitude, power, and heroism certainly are central to \textit{The Principal Navigations}.”\textsuperscript{70} Hakluyt testified to his regard for experience when he discussed the experiences accumulated by Englishmen like Hugh Willoughby and Stephan Burrough and his “wish you [the reader] rather to learne out of [their] voyages.”\textsuperscript{71}

Experience, for Hakluyt, outweighed breeding because experience drew from learning. Breeding did not.

\textbf{England’s Experience}

As Jowitt demonstrates, Hakluyt sought to bring his readers “true” accounts and narratives of overseas activities.\textsuperscript{72} In doing so, Hakluyt categorized experience rather than birth as the prerequisite for his readers to pursue in their active reading. Experience taught that England could only expand its empire if the whole of the social body sought to expand. For Hakluyt, individual advancement was detrimental to England’s burgeoning empire. God’s Providence was on the

\textsuperscript{66} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 7, 68.
\textsuperscript{68} Matthew Steggle, “Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt,” \textit{Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900} vol. 43, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 77.
\textsuperscript{69} Steggle, “Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt,” 66-67. Steggle illustrates how Chester, “a celebrity of late-Elizabethan London […] was famous for his verbal insults against people” and how writers satirized him, and his character and that Chester landed on Hakluyt’s enemies list (66).
\textsuperscript{70} Jowitt, “The Hero and the Sea: Sea Captains and Their Discontents.”
\textsuperscript{71} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 22.
\textsuperscript{72} Hakluyt, \textit{The Principal Navigations}, vol. 1, 29.
whole of England, and the self-interested, greedy machinations of a single person hindered and hurt England’s pursuit for empire. If an individual placed his or her interests above England, that person stalled England’s expansion in favor of personal gain, potentially diminishing England’s future. And Hakluyt did have a unique perspective in this particular arena as Hakluyt’s first wife, Douglas Cavendish Hakluyt, was the first cousin of circumnavigator Sir Thomas Cavendish.73

Sir Thomas Cavendish’s first circumnavigation (1586-1588) ended with considerable success and produced extensive knowledge, experiences, and wealth from the voyage. However, as Jowitt demonstrates, Cavendish’s second voyage in 1591 ended in spectacular failure. Begun as a voyage to recoup his financial losses, Cavendish died, in debt, shortly before his ship returned to England. John Davis, an Arctic explorer, found himself facing charges of mutiny and a damaged reputation. Hakluyt did include an account of the voyage in his second edition of Principal Navigations (1600), but not the one penned by Cavendish on his deathbed. The narrative Hakluyt published was John Jane’s account.74 Jane, himself “an experienced sailor and close associate of Cavendish’s third in command of the voyage, John Davis,” wrote an account placing Davis in a more flattering light than Cavendish’s account did.75 Despite his previously successful circumnavigation, Cavendish’s inexperience in commanding a fleet or heeding the advice of experienced sailors contributed to his misfortunes at sea.

Moreover, “[m]aritime experience and strategic purpose forge[d] a ‘captain’ at sea for Hakluyt [...] rather than simple wealth or bravura, or military success.”76 Cavendish’s apparent mishandling of the voyage and lack of respect from his sailors coupled with his lack of experience or willingness to listen to an experienced sailor like Davis was a lesson Hakluyt wished his readers to learn and not repeat. The other lesson or example Hakluyt imparted to his readers was that of greed. Cavendish’s zeal for this second circumnavigation sprung from his need for financial rescue. He was in debt and had no means of paying off his debt without another successful circumnavigation. Through his writings from Divers Voyages (1582) to Principal Navigations (1598-1600), Hakluyt continuously demonstrated that greed was a corruptive element in overseas expeditions. Hakluyt maintained that for the English to establish their Providential empire, the English had to be godly and work for the glory of God and the Commonwealth rather than for individual fame and legacy. This was a warning Hakluyt gave to Ralegh and one that Cavendish’s second attempt at circumnavigation personified.77

73 Jowitt, “The Hero and the Sea: Sea Captains and Their Discontents.”
74 In the third volume of Principal Navigations (1600), Hakluyt includes two accounts of the voyage, the first is written by John Jane, “a man of good observation” (289-295) and the other is “The testimonial of the companie of The Desire touching their losing of their General, which appeareth to have beene utterly against their meanings” (295-312). The second account, given by the “companie” concerns itself with demonstrating the innocence and helplessness of the crew to do anything that could prevent Cavendish’s death.
75 Jowitt, “The Hero and the Sea: Sea Captains and Their Discontents.”
76 Jowitt, “The Hero and the Sea: Sea Captains and Their Discontents.”
77 Thomas Lodge claims that he wrote A Margarite of America (1596) while on this second aborted circumnavigation and that the tone and misfortunes presented in this chivalric romance are representative of Cavendish’s and the crews’ failures. For more see Daniel Vitkus, “Ridding the World of a Monster: Lodge’s A Margarite of America and Cavendish’s Last Voyage,” The Yearbook of English Studies vol. 41, no. 1 (2011): 99-112.
The Devoted English

Hakluyt adamantly stated that proselytizing was the grounding and guiding force for English expansion. Where the Spanish failed, the English would succeed. The English “offer the glade tidings of the Gospel unto” the peoples they encounter in their expansion by “induc[ing] with a Zelous devotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the Christian faith.” Every English person had a duty to spread the Word of God to non-Christsians and to attempt to stop the spread of the Roman Catholic Church. The other motivation was bringing “home most particular intelligence & knowledge.” One of the events Hakluyt included in Principal Navigations (1598) was of two friars who “were some of the first Christians that travailed farthest” to “the Savage Tartars.” Hakluyt’s interest in the two friars was their experience in both proselytizing and accruing information beneficial to furthering English expansion.

Hakluyt opened Principal Navigations with his memory of his uncle’s office, maps strewn across tables and the Bible open to Psalm 107. England’s godly mission lay out open before him. Spreading the Word and converting non-Christsians was the main motivation propelling English expansion and the moral foundation for England’s Providential empire. But knowledge and information were a close second and underpinned England’s trade and prosperity. “Intelligence & knowledge” would help further the English cause for spreading the Word as they would learn about unknown areas like the two Friars did with “the Savage Tartars.” Since Hakluyt also promoted English expansion in the Americas, reminding the English of their godly mission would (hopefully) prompt them to act in accordance with their mission and, thus, further England’s Providence. However, this could not happen without the English being active in the social body and in their faith. Hakluyt continuously reminded his audience of this through his writings and the narratives he chose to include in his publications.

In the early modern period, time shifted into an external and internal force. External time, clock time, counted out the hours and days and years—someone’s lifetime. Internal time was the time of legacy and action. In the middle ages, time was the purview of the Church, and life was lived with the belief that Christians were ultimately waiting for the Second Coming. The present looked the same as the past, and the future would look the same as the past until the Second Coming. During the early modern period, time(s) transitioned from a belief that the world would be the same in one year or a hundred years to the present and future becoming distinct temporal spaces from the past. In Hakluyt’s writings, the divisions of the past, present, and future into distinct temporal spaces came through as he argued for England’s Providence. History (the past) revealed England’s Providence and provided experiences from which to learn. The present was when God granted Providence and when action seized England’s Providential blessing. The future was when Providence would culminate in a prosperous and godly English empire.

England’s empire could not be without the active participation of every English person working towards the fruition of God’s Providence. Hakluyt fulfilled his role with every history and travel account he rescued from the jaws of “perpetuall oblivion,” preserving them for his

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Hakluyt proved his devotion and activeness in his role to his audience by revealing how those motivations were at once England’s at large and internalized within Hakluyt:

“Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my young nature) took in me so deep an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministers for these studies, I would by God’s assistance prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature, the doors whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.”

Hakluyt understood his role in progressing England’s path to Providence and demonstrated his surety to his readers. In their role as active readers, his audience learned from the knowledge and experience carefully curated and organized in Hakluyt’s works. They then applied their newly gained learning to English overseas expansion endeavors and trading expeditions to further England’s prosperity and progression towards their future Providential empire. The Crown and nobles’ role was to support Hakluyt, his audience, and the efforts of English merchants and traders.

The work Hakluyt did was all for the Commonwealth. “And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the brief summe and scope of all my labours for the commonwealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed upon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankfully accept, as I have willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall be the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories […]” Hakluyt’s writings encouraged and educated his active audience, spurring them to further actions pursuing an English empire and prosperous trade. Without God’s blessing on England, the nation would not have individuals like those Hakluyt presented to his audience or the proper Providential timing for establishing England’s legacy. And because time(s) and temporality—the experiencing, interacting, and perception of time—was changing during this period, new means of advocating activeness and legacy appeared in Hakluyt’s writings, reflecting those changes. The official English calendar’s alterations alone signified England’s individual Providence and placed another layer of English national character over Hakluyt’s works. His readers would be familiar with this calendar from everyday life like attending church services, government workings, agriculture, and trade. What made Hakluyt’s writings open and accessible to the common people was that they were as much an element of England’s Providence as the Crown and court, as the Elizabethan Sea Dogs because the whole of England—“our English nation”—had to be active in pursuing England’s empire. The future was English.

Conclusion

Expressions of time(s) and temporality changes were evident in Hakluyt’s writings from the shifting of the Renaissance’s individual legacy to a nation’s legacy and that legacy’s usurpation by merchant’s time, exemplar histories bowing to histories that taught experience, and the ordering of time from agricultural and local yielding to a steadily rising state time. Hakluyt’s works expressed all these changes in time(s) and temporality. However, time did not exist in a vacuum. Time hummed throughout daily life, which Hakluyt and his audience experienced every day.

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82 Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 14.
83 Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 1.
84 Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 36.
Merchants’ accounts and captains’ records included the minutiae of daily times from when they left England to when they saw land to when they docked the ships and when they traded, then left. Time functioned on numerous levels, with each level influenced by the other expressions of time, including external events like the government setting a calendar or a bad harvest or a Reformation or, later, the sense of the world turning upside-down by civil war and new technologies.

Hakluyt’s writings were a compilation of histories, eye-witness accounts, captivity narratives, lists of instructions for plantations, advice on trade and markets, and general information for long-distance overseas voyages. One of the more difficult tasks for historians was tracking Hakluyt’s voice in his own publications due to the overwhelming amount and composite nature of the sources he included in his edited works. However, Hakluyt’s overarching goal of an English empire—one preordained by God’s Providence on England—brought all these “torne and scattered limmes” together into a coherent and readable text (“one body”) for his audience: the English people.85

Hakluyt’s works were a snapshot of the latter half of sixteenth-century England, of the values and areas of importance for merchants, government, and the expectation of empire. Religion influenced the perspective on time(s) with the foreshortening or prolonging of the Second Coming always the ultimate end, even as Providence revealed an empire and prosperity as England’s future. People’s relationship to and perception of time(s) transformed over the course of the early modern period, but, like Hakluyt’s works, the end goal remained unchanged during this period. The means and the path to that ending were what changed. The present was no longer an extension of the past. The present was its own time with developments and events unlike what anyone had previously witnessed, but the certainty of a prosperous future was what gave the present structure. Hakluyt’s writings, from *Divers Voyages* to the final volume of *Principal Navigations*, featured the same structure. England’s future was a Providential empire and its present, with all its sufferings and labors, successes and triumphs, led towards that future legacy.

Prior to the Reformation, time existed within the sole limitations set by Roman Catholic doctrine. Time was a countdown to the Final Judgement, with one day mirroring the last. The present was merely a continuation of the past and the future was the guarantee of the Second Coming of Christ to Earth. There was no other official path or time than the time decreed and dictated by the Roman Catholic Church. After the Reformation and when coupled with the Renaissance discovery of time in which legacy and fame were gained through one’s actions in life, time became a visceral element of daily life. No longer was the present and extension of the past, and the future was not wholly adjudicated by the Second Coming. Time(s) now stood as a means by which individuals could shape their lives, by which nations could shape their futures. From dictating trade and merchants’ actions to revealing the Providential path of a nation, time(s) exploded into a multiplicity of directions that all influenced each other and brought a sense of acceleration to life and history.

Recall the tray of sand opening the first chapter. Each layer of colored sand was distinct and visible, and even when you ran your finger through the sands, mixing them together, the variety of hues remained distinct and visible. The expressions of time found in Hakluyt’s writings were like the sands. Hakluyt did not contain his publication to one single expression of time,

85 Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol 1, 19.
because Hakluyt did not consciously write to invoke time. He wrote to invoke the English to action. Hakluyt saw the present opportunity for England to act. He understood the past as a space of experience, not as the set standard for the present. The future Hakluyt argued the English could strive towards was a future unlike anything in English history. England’s future—that Providential empire—depended on Hakluyt’s contemporaries’ actions in the present. Hakluyt’s vision was forward-reaching, predicated on past experience but expecting a different—a better—future than what was in the past. In Hakluyt's writings, the past was past, and the present was the time in which to act to create a future. A future that Providence revealed through history but not guaranteed unless the English acted in the present. Hakluyt’s division of the past, the present, and the future were not cut and dry, but they were distinct times that each shaped and influenced the other.

Time(s) and temporality continued to change during the early modern period. The expressions of time(s) captured in Hakluyt’s writings were a snapshot of those fluid expressions of time(s). The sources Hakluyt curated revealed the varying, conflicting, and shifting times. Chivalric time, as demonstrated by Ralegh, was a time that faded into the past along with the last golden age of chivalry. England’s primary goal was not for the shining star of one lone figure—like a William Marshall—but the rising star of the English nation. However, Ralegh’s Discoverie did contribute to Hakluyt’s overarching goal: expanding English experience and knowledge for other English people to learn and continue to expand. Ralegh did this through his narrative, even if his bitter overtones acted as cautionary tales to Hakluyt’s audience. 86

Not every source in Hakluyt’s published works encompassed the shifting expressions of time. Some sources provided experiences, knowledge, and information on various regions, peoples, markets, and instructions. 87 Experiences, knowledge, and information, however, were what fueled Hakluyt’s empire. Without them, the English would not be as prepared as they were to venture forth and expand their Providential empire. Timing was key for England, and without God’s Providence, the availability of resources, and active participants willing to toil and suffer for England, England’s empire would stagnate and flounder, eventually falling back into the “torn and scatter limmes” from which Hakluyt rescued his sources. Time was a fluid and shifting element with numerous mutations and forms that were always changing and adapting to the world as much as the world changed and adapted to time(s). In Hakluyt’s writings, there was a snapshot of how these expressions of time came together to form a lasting argument supporting England’s Providential empire. This was an empire ordained by God and revealed throughout English history, and it all culminated in Hakluyt’s time.

86 Hakluyt might also have included Ralegh’s Discoverie as a means of demonstrating what happened when self-interest and ambition overshadow the overarching goal of building an English empire. For Hakluyt, if all of England works together to establish a godly, prosperous empire, only then would the individuals benefit, but the good of the Commonwealth came before individual fame and glory—a notion that bypassed Ralegh in his quest to establish his personal legacy by finding El Dorado.

Time and Tide: Conclusion

Times changed. Conceptions, understandings, and experiences of time(s) changed throughout history. François Hartog argues this in his *Regimes of Historicity* (2017). “[Societies] awareness of history and the uses they put it to are not the same. That is, societies differ in their modes of historical consciousness, and their ways of living, thinking, and exploiting it, in other words, the ways they articulate past, present, and future.”1 Every society had different views of history, of time, and temporality. Hakluyt sought to preserve English overseas expansionist histories in order for the present to have sources of experience to draw on for England’s future, Providential empire. In later British history, the experiences of the past became a matter of prestige and proving British imperial might by conquering the Northwest Passage. An adventure that began as mythical in the ancient world and into the late fifteenth century became a search for a secure and swift trading route in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, later morphed into a quest to conquer one of the harshest, most desolate geographical spaces on Earth during the nineteenth-century. The quest for the Northwest Passage ended with the deaths of one hundred-twenty-nine men and one dog named Neptune.

Hakluyt’s writings were a frozen moment in the history of the changing conceptions of time: a space of time in which the past and present became distinct temporal spaces and the future separated from the Second Coming. The past continued to influence the present, as evidenced by Hakluyt’s call for learning from English history and experience to equip future adventurers and merchants for success in fulfilling England’s Providential empire. The path to empire was an unsteady and trying one for England, as we saw in “Fame’s Sweet Trumpeter.” It appeared that what could go wrong did go wrong for England in those early years of Hakluyt’s promotional career, but he never flagged in his mission to provide encouragement and knowledge for England’s future empire. In “Hakluyt’s Active Time,” we find an individual who sought to demonstrate why England’s need for empire was urgent and why the English were fit and ready to obtain it. The present was different from the past. The present was its own space with its own endeavors and values that, while couched in images and rhetoric of the past, were unique to the present. Unlike the past, the English now possessed God’s Providence. Providence required active English endeavors and courage and fortitude to see it through to the bitter, triumphant fruition of empire.

England’s Providential empire met with considerable obstacles from both external forces (such as Spain) and internal ones like personal legacy and ambition. “Knightly Prowess and Merchant’s Trade” revealed how Hakluyt sought to instruct his audience—and his patrons—to abhor personal legacy and vanity in favor of England’s national legacy and empire. But the Renaissance ideal of legacy and the traditional chivalric time of individual knightly prowess worked against Hakluyt’s more ubiquitous English time. Ralegh’s personal ambition and quest for legacy contributed to his failures in Hakluyt’s eyes but contributed to the experiences of empire building from which Hakluyt hoped his audience would learn. In an age when temporality and history began shifting from focusing on the individual knightly prowess to trade and wealth for an empire, Ralegh’s actions were quite literally left in the past. The time(s) changed during Ralegh’s lifetime. For Hakluyt, Ralegh’s life became a cautionary tale of hubris and ambition, a life trapped in past desires for fame and glory.

Hakluyt’s writings captured various expressions of time(s) at work in Hakluyt’s England. Multiple times were occurring, and there were multiple ways of experiencing time in late sixteenth-century England. Urban areas experienced time(s) differently from rural ones. The state calendar blanketet the whole of England, but not everyone lived by the days marked on that calendar. The proliferation of religious sects in England also contributed to the multiplicity of temporalities swirling in England, from the Church of England to local holidays to more radical sects’ liturgical calendars.

Time(s) in early modern England was messy and tangled. As argued in “Knightly Prowess, Merchant’s Trade,” there was a shifting of one time over another. Chivalric time—the time of knightly deeds, a time in which the present remained an extension of the past—began to decline as the needs of the state changed and trade—merchant’s time—began to rise. Merchant’s time was a regulatory time that governed labor and organized trade, stabilized investments and profits. Merchant’s time was a time in which the present was distanced from the past. In Hakluyt’s writings, merchant’s time encapsulated the time of empire. Hakluyt predicated England’s empire on trade—on merchant’s time, not on chivalric quests and ornamental triumphs over Spain.

Separating the past from the present and the future from the Second Coming enabled Hakluyt to present to his audience instructions and previous experiences while calling for new knowledge and practices. Hakluyt’s writings revealed a brief glimpse into how English time(s) shifted and transformed how religious proselytizing and mercantile endeavors met and created a harmonic justification for empire through Providence. Providence granted England the right and legitimacy for England’s overseas ventures both in Hakluyt’s England and in the future. Hakluyt sought to build a legacy for England—a legacy in which every English person contributed. In Hakluyt’s writings, time and temporality were three distinct temporal spaces, each with a specific facet underpinning England’s empire, and every English person from past, present, and future was a part of England’s empire.

Hakluyt’s writings contained descriptions and evidence of various expressions of time(s) threading through early modern England. Some time(s), like chivalric time, faded into the background during Hakluyt’s career, and others, merchant’s time, begin to take prominence. Calendar time and national time collided, creating a distinctly English sense of telling time and marking the passage of time with activity being a defining feature of both. Removing certain saints’ days from the official calendar, theoretically, combated idleness. History’s shifting focus from examples of how to live to experiences to learn from and improve began to further remove the present from the shadows of the past. The blow to the Church’s authority over the relegation of time placed time outside the Church’s purview and in the world, a world where the future became further and further removed from the known endpoint: the Second Coming. The pace at which information spread via the printing press and the seeming rapidity at which the speed of events occurred added to a sense of an acceleration of time. Add to that sense the new technologies and knowledge, and time and history appeared to move at a swifter pace.

Hakluyt’s writings encapsulated these various expressions of time. Time(s) and temporality that continued to change and continued to change in our contemporary world. The world and history appeared—felt—to move at an almost frenzied pace and “the idea that events do not simply occur in time but also through time, with time itself as an agent, and even the agent”
both lingered in the back of the mind while residing as a foremost principle.\textsuperscript{2} It was paradoxical. Time and temporality were always paradoxical, even quixotic in certain instances. But these were not questions asked or answered here. They were not questions or assumptions Hakluyt proposed. Hakluyt’s time(s) were the structures that made up his life. He wrote with the belief and faith that England, with active, laborious efforts and faithful application of those labors and toils, would lay the foundations for a Providential empire that would become one of history’s grandest empires.

\textsuperscript{2} Hartog, \textit{Regimes of Historicity}, 105.
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Vita

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