

for that little time (which, as we all much feared, was the last period of our breathing) and the ship kept from present sinking, when it pleased God to send her within half an English mile of that land that Sir George Somers had not long before descried — which were the islands of the Barnudas. And there neither did our ship sink, but more fortunately in so great a misfortune fell in between two rocks, where she was fast lodged and locked for further budging.

But our delivery was not more strange in falling so opportunely and happily upon the land, as our feeding and preservation was beyond our hopes and all men's expectations most admirable. For the islands of the Barnudas, as every man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were never inhabited by any Christian or heathen people, but ever esteemed and reputed a most prodigious and enchanted place affording nothing but gusts, storms, and foul weather; which made every navigator and mariner to avoid them, as Scylla and Charybdis, or as they would shun the Devil himself; and no man was ever heard to make for the place, but as against their wills, they have by storms and dangerousness of the rocks, lying seven leagues into the sea, suffered shipwreck. Yet did we find there the air so temperate and the country so abundantly fruitful of all fit necessities for the sustentation and preservation of man's life, that most in a manner of all our provisions of bread, beer, and victual being quite spoiled in lying long drowned in salt water, notwithstanding we were there for the space of nine months (few days over or under) not only well refreshed, comforted, and with good satiety contented but, out of the abundance thereof, provided us some reasonable quantity and proportion of provision to carry us for Virginia and to maintain ourselves and that company we found there, to the great relief of them, as it fell out in their so great extremities . . . until it pleased God . . . that their store was better supplied. And greater and better provisions we might have had, if we had had better means for the storing and transportation thereof. Wherefore my opinion sincerely of this island is, that whereas it hath been and is full accounted the most dangerous, unfortunate, and most forlorn place of the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land (the quantity and bigness thereof considered) and merely natural, as ever man set foot upon.

RICHARD HAKLUYT

Reasons for Colonization

Richard Hakluyt (1552?–1616), born to a family with connections among merchants, geographers, and explorers, was the first professor of modern geography at Oxford. He wrote at length about the topic of English colonization and was an especially strong advocate for colonizing North America, in the hopes of establishing northern passages to the Orient. His interest in such a venture is documented in various writings, including early works such as *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America* (1582) and *The Discourse on the Western Planting* (a report on the Virginia colonial project written in 1584 but not published until 1877). His colonial interests can also be seen in his major work, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffes, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598–1600). This piece, “Reasons for Colonization” (1585), is reprinted from *The Elizabethans’ America: A Collection of Early Reports by Englishmen on the New World*, edited by Louis B. Wright (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

1. The glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels.
2. The increase of the force of the Christians.
3. The possibility of the enlarging of the dominions of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, and consequently of her honour, revenues, and of her power by this enterprise.
4. An ample vent in time to come of the woollen cloths of England, especially those of the coarsest sorts, to the maintenance of our poor, that else starve or become burdensome to the realm; and vent also of sundry our commodities upon the tract of that firm land, and possibly in other regions from the northern side of that main.
5. A great possibility of further discoveries of other regions from the north part of the same land by sea, and of unspeakable honour and benefit that may rise upon the same by the trades to ensue in Japan, China, and Cathay, etc.
6. By return thence, this realm shall receive woad, oil, wines, hops, salt, and most or all the commodities that we receive from the best parts of Europe, and we shall receive the same better cheap than now we receive them, as we may use the matter.

7. Receiving the same thence, the navy, the human strength of this realm, our merchants and their goods, shall not be subject to arrest of ancient enemies and doubtful friends as of late years they have been.

8. If our nation do not make any conquest there but only use traffic and change of commodities, yet, by means the country is not very mighty but divided into petty kingdoms, they shall not dare to offer us any great annoy but such as we may easily revenge with sufficient chastisement to the unarmed people there.

9. Whatsoever commodities we receive by the Steelyard Merchants, or by our own merchants from Eastland, be it flax, hemp, pitch, tar, masts, clapboard, wainscot, or such-like; the like good[s] may we receive from the north and north-east part of that country near unto Cape Breton, in return for our coarse woollen cloths, flannels, and rugs fit for those colder regions.

10. The passage to and fro is through the main ocean sea, so as we are not in danger of any enemy's coast.

11. In the voyage we are not to cross the burnt zone, nor to pass through frozen seas encumbered with ice and fogs, but in temperate climate at all times of the year; and it requireth not, as the East Indies voyage doth, the taking in of water in divers places, by reason that it is to be sailed in five or six weeks; and by the shortness the merchant may yearly make two returns (a factory once being erected there), a matter in trade of great moment.

12. In this trade by the way, in our pass to and fro, we have in tempests and other haps all the ports of Ireland to our aid and no near coast of any enemy.

13. By this ordinary trade we may annoy the enemies to Ireland and succour the Queen's Majesty's friends there, and in time we may from Virginia yield them whatsoever commodity they now receive from the Spaniard, and so the Spaniards shall want the ordinary victual that heretofore they received yearly from thence, and so they shall not continue trade, nor fall so aptly in practice against this government as now by their trade thither they may.

14. We shall, as it is thought, enjoy in this voyage either some small islands to settle on or some one place or other on the firm land to fortify for the safety of our ships, our men, and our goods, the like whereof we have not in any foreign place of our traffic, in which respect we may be in degree of more safety and more quiet.

15. The great plenty of buff hides and of many other sundry kinds of hides there now presently to be had, the trade of whale and seal fishing and of divers other fishings in the great rivers, great bays, and seas

there, shall presently defray the charge in good part or in all of the first enterprise, and so we shall be in better case than our men were in Russia, where many years were spent and great sums of money consumed before gain was found.

16. The great broad rivers of that main that we are to enter into, so many leagues navigable or portable into the mainland, lying so long a tract with so excellent and so fertile a soil on both sides, do seem to promise all things that the life of man doth require and whatsoever men may wish that are to plant upon the same or to traffic in the same.

17. And whatsoever notable commodity the soil within or without doth yield in so long a tract, that is to be carried out from thence to England, the same rivers so great and deep do yield no small benefit for the sure, safe, easy, and cheap carriage of the same to shipboard, be it of great bulk or of great weight.

18. And in like sort whatsoever commodity of England the inland people there shall need, the same rivers do work the like effect in benefit for the incarrriage of the same aptly, easily, and cheaply.

19. If we find the country populous and desirous to expel us and injuriously to offend us, that seek but just and lawful traffic, then, by reason that we are lords of navigation and they not so, we are the better able to defend ourselves by reason of those great rivers and to annoy them in many places.

20. Where there be many petty kings or lords planted on the rivers' sides, and [who] by all likelihood maintain the frontiers of their several territories by wars, we may by the aid of this river join with this king here, or with that king there, at our pleasure, and may so with a few men be revenged of any wrong offered by any of them; or may, if we will proceed with extremity, conquer, fortify, and plant in soils most sweet, most pleasant, most strong, and most fertile, and in the end bring them all in subjection and to civility.

21. The known abundance of fresh fish in the rivers, and the known plenty of fish on the sea-coast there, may assure us of sufficient victual in spite of the people, if we will use salt and industry.

22. The known plenty and variety of flesh of divers kinds of beasts at land there may seem to say to us that we may cheaply victual our navies to England for our returns, which benefit everywhere is not found of merchants.

23. The practice of the people of the East Indies, when the Portugals came thither first, was to cut from the Portugals their lading of spice; and hereby they thought to overthrow their purposed trade. If these people shall practise the like, by not suffering us to have any

commodity of theirs without conquest (which requirerth some time), yet may we maintain our first voyage thither till our purpose come to effect by the sea-fishing on the coasts there and by dragging for pearls, which are said to be on those parts; and by return of those commodities the charges in part shall be defrayed: which is a matter of consideration in enterprises of charge.

24. If this realm shall abound too too much with youth, in the mines there of gold (as that of Chisca and Saguenay), of silver, copper, iron, etc., may be an employment to the benefit of this realm; in tilling of the rich soil there for grain and in planting of vines there for wine or dressing of those vines which grow there naturally in great abundance; olives for oil; orange trees, lemons, figs and almonds for fruit; woad, saffron, and madder for dyers; hops for brewers; hemp, flax; and in many such other things, by employment of the soil, our people void of sufficient trades may be honestly employed, that else may become hurtful at home.

25. The navigating of the seas in the voyage, and of the great rivers there, will breed many mariners for service and maintain much navigation.

26. The number of raw hides there of divers kinds of beasts, if we shall possess some island there or settle on the firm, may presently employ many of our idle people in divers several dressings of the same, and so we may return them to the people that cannot dress them so well, or into this realm, where the same are good merchandise, or to Flanders, etc., which present gain at the first raiseth great encouragement presently to the enterprise.

27. Since great waste woods be there of oak, cedar, pine, walnuts, and sundry other sorts, many of our waste people may be employed in making of ships, hoyes, busses, and boats, and in making of rosin, pitch, and tar, the trees natural for the same being certainly known to be near Cape Breton and the Bay of Menan, and in many other places thereabout.

28. If mines of white or grey marble, jet, or other rich stone be found there, our idle people may be employed in the mines of the same and in preparing the same to shape, and, so shaped, they may be carried into this realm as good ballast for our ships and after serve for noble buildings.

29. Sugar-canes may be planted as well as they are now in the South of Spain, and besides the employment of our idle people, we may receive the commodity cheaper and not enrich infidels or our doubtful friends, of whom now we receive that commodity.

30. The daily great increase of wools in Spain, and the like in the West Indies, and the great employment of the same into cloth in both places, may move us to endeavour, for vent of our cloth, new discoveries of peopled regions where hope of sale may arise; otherwise in short time many inconveniences may possibly ensue.

31. This land that we purpose to direct our course to, lying in part in the 40th degree of latitude, being in like heat as Lisbon in Portugal doth, and in the more southerly part, as the most southerly coast of Spain doth, may by our diligence yield unto us, besides wines and oils and sugars, oranges, lemons, figs, raisins, almonds, pomegranates, rice, raw silks such as come from Granada, and divers commodities for dyers, as aile and cochineal, and sundry other colours and materials. Moreover, we shall not only receive many precious commodities besides from thence, but also shall in time find ample vent of the labour of our poor people at home, by sale of hats, bonnets, knives, fish-hooks, copper kettles, beads, looking-glasses, bugles, and a thousand kinds of other wrought wares that in short time may be brought in use among the people of that country, to the great relief of the multitude of our poor people and to the wonderful enriching of this realm. And in time, such league and intercourse may arise between our stapling seats there, and other parts of our Northern America, and of the islands of the same, that incredible things, and by few as yet dreamed of, may speedily follow, tending to the impeachment of our mighty enemies and to the common good of this noble government.

The ends of this voyage are these:

1. To plant Christian religion.
 2. To traffic.
 3. To conquer.
- } Or, to do all three.

To plant Christian religion without conquest will be hard. Traffic easily followeth conquest; conquest is not easy. Traffic without conquest seemeth possible and not uneasy. What is to be done is the question.

If the people be content to live naked and to content themselves with few things of mere necessity, then traffic is not. So then in vain seemeth our voyage, unless this nature may be altered, as by conquest and other good means it may be, but not on a sudden. The like whereof appeared in the East Indies, upon the Portugals seating there.

If the people in the inland be clothed, and desire to live in the abundance of all such things as Europe doth, and have at home all the same in plenty, yet we cannot have traffic with them, by means they want not anything that we can yield them.

Admit that they have desire to your commodities, and as yet have neither gold, silver, copper, iron, nor sufficient quantity of other present commodity to maintain the yearly trade, what is then to be done?

The soil and climate first is to be considered, and you are with Argus eyes to see what commodity by industry of man you are able to make it to yield that England doth want or both desire: as for the purpose, if you can make it to yield good wine or good oil, as it is like you may by the climate (where wild vines of sundry sorts do naturally grow already in great abundance), then your trade may be maintained. But admit the soil were in our disposition (as yet it is not), in what time may this be brought about?

For wine this is to be affirmed, that, first, the soil lying in 36 or 37 degrees, in the temperature of South Spain, in setting your vine plants this year you may have wine within three years. And it may be that the wild vines growing there already, by orderly pruning and dressing at your first arrival, may come to profit in shorter time.

And planting your olive trees this year, you may have oil within three years.

And if the sea-shores be flat and fit for receipt of salt water and for salt making, without any annoy of near freshes, then the trade of salt only may maintain a yearly navigation (as our men now trade to the isle of Maio and the Hollanders to *terra firma* near the west end of the Isle of Margarita).

But how the natural people of the country may be made skilful to plant vines and to know the use, or to set olive trees and to know the making of oil, and withal to use both the trades, that is a matter of small consideration; but to conquer a country or province in climate and soil of Italy, Spain, or the islands from whence we receive our wines and oils, and to man it, to plant it, and to keep it, and to continue the making of wines and oils able to serve England, were a matter of great importance both in respect of the saving at home of our great treasure now yearly going away, and in respect of the annoyance thereby growing to our enemies. The like consideration would be had touching a place for the making of salt, of temperature like those of France, not too cold, as the salts of the northern regions be, nor too too fiery, as those be that be made more southerly than France. In regard whereof, many circumstances are to be considered, and, principally, by what means the people of those parties may be drawn by all courtesy into love with our nation, that we become not hateful unto them as the Spaniard is in Italy and in the West Indies and elsewhere by their manner of usage: for a

gentle course without cruelty and tyranny best answereth the profession of a Christian, best planteth Christian religion, maketh our seating most void of blood, most profitable in trade of merchandise, most firm and stable, and least subject to remove by practice of enemies. But that we may in seating there not be subject wholly to the malice of enemies, and may be more able to preserve our bodies, ships, and goods in more safety, and to be known to be more able to scourge the people there, civil or savage, than willing to offer any violence, and for the more quiet exercise of our manurance of the soils where we shall seat and of our manual occupations, it is to be wished that some ancient captains of mild disposition and great judgment be sent thither with men most skilful in the art of fortification, and that direction be taken that the mouths of great rivers and the islands in the same (as things of great moment) be taken, manned, and fortified, and that havens be cut out for safety of the navy, that we may be lords of the gates and entries to go out and come in at pleasure, and to lie in safety and be able to command and to control all within, and to force all foreign navigation to lie out in open road subject to all weathers, to be dispersed by tempests and flaws, if the force within be not able to give them the encounter abroad.

1. The red muscatel grape that Bishop Grindal procured out of Germany, the great white muscatel, the yellow grape: the cuts of these were wont yearly to be set at Fulham and after one year's rooting to be given by the Bishop and to be sold by his gardener. These presently provided and placed in earth, and many of these so rooted, with store of cuts unrooted besides, placed in tubs of earth shipped at the next voyage, to be planted in Virginia, may begin vineyards and bring wines out of hand.

2. Provision of great wild olive trees may be made out of this city so then to be carried to increase great store of stocks to graft the best olive on; and Virginia standing in the same degree that the Shroff, the olive place, doth in Spain, we may win that merchandise, grafting the wild.

3. Sugar-canes, if you cannot procure them from the Spanish islands, yet may you by your Barbary merchants procure them.

4. There is an herb in Persia whereof anil is made, and it is also in Barbary; to procure that by seed or root were of importance for a trade of merchandise for our clothing country.

5. Woad by the seeds you may have, for you may have hundreds of bushels in England, as it is multiplied; and having soil and labour in Virginia cheap, and the woad in great value, lying in small room, it will be a trade of great gain to this clothing realm, and the thing cannot be

destroyed by savages. The roots of this you may have in plenty and number coming in the trade; so this may grow in trade within a year ready for the merchant.

6. Fig trees of many good kinds may be had hence in barrel, if now presently they be provided; and they in that climate will yield noble fruit and feed your people presently, and will be brought in fraills home as merchandise, or in barrel, as raisins also may be.

7. Sawed boards of sassafra and cedar, to be turned into small boxes for ladies and gentlewomen, would become a present trade.

8. To the infinite natural increase of hogs, to add a device how the same may be fed by roots, acorns, etc., without spoiling your corn, would be of great effect to feed the multitude continually employed in labour; and the same, cheaply bred and salted, and barrelled there and brought home, will be well sold for a good merchandise; and the barrels after will serve for our home herring fishing; and so you sell your woods and the labour of your cooper.

9. Receiving the savage women and their children of both sexes by courtesy into your protection, and employing the Englishwomen and the others in making of linen, you shall raise a wonderful trade of benefit, both to carry into England and also into the islands and into the main of the West Indies, victual and labour being so cheap there.

10. The trade of making cables and cordage there will be of great importance, in respect of a cheap maintenance of the navy that shall pass to and fro and in respect of such navy as may in those parties be used for the venting of the commodities of England to be brought thither. And poldavies, etc., made for sails of the poor savages, yield to the navy a great help and a great gain in the traffic.

But if, seeking revenge on every injury of the savages, we seek blood and raise war, our vines, our olives, our fig trees, our sugar-canes, our oranges and lemons, corn, cattle, etc., will be destroyed and trade of merchandise in all things overthrown; and so the English nation there planted and to be planted shall be rooted out with sword and hunger.

Sorts of men which are to be passed in this voyage

1. Men skilful in all mineral causes.
2. Men skilful in all kind of drugs.
3. Fishermen, to consider of the sea-fishings there on the coasts, to be reduced to trade hereafter: and others for the freshwater fishings.
4. Salt-makers, to view the coast and to make trial how rich the sea-water there is, to advise for the trade.
5. Husbandmen, to view the soil, to resolve for tillage in all sorts.

6. Vineyard men bred, to see how the soil may serve for the planting of vines.

7. Men bred in the Shroff in South Spain, for discerning how olive trees may be planted there.

8. Others for planting of orange trees, fig trees, lemon trees, and almond trees, for judging how the soil may serve for the same.

9. Gardeners, to prove the several soils of the islands and of our setting places, to see how the same may serve for all herbs and roots for our victualing, since by rough seas sometimes we may want fish, and since we may want flesh to victual us, by the malice of the natural people there; and the gardeners for planting of our common trees of fruit, as pears, apples, plums, peaches, medlars, apricots, quinces for conserves, etc.

10. Lime-makers, to make lime for buildings.

11. Masons, carpenters, etc., for buildings there.

12. Brickmakers and tile-makers.

13. Men cunning in the art of fortification, that may choose out places strong by nature to be fortified, and that can plot out and direct workmen.

14. Choice spade-men, to trench cunningly and to raise bulwarks and rampires of earth for defence and offence.

15. Spade-makers that may out of the woods there make spades like those of Devonshire, and of other sorts, and shovels from time to time for common use.

16. Smiths, to forge the irons of the shovels and spades, and to make black bills and other weapons, and to mend many things.

17. Men that use to break ash trees for pikestaves, to be employed in the woods there.

18. Others, that finish up the same so rough hewed, such as in London are to be had.

19. Coopers, to make casks of all sorts.

20. Forgers of pikes' -heads and of arrow-heads, with forges, with Spanish iron, and with all manner of tools to be carried with them.

21. Fletchers, to renew arrows, since archery prevaileth much against unarmed people and gunpowder may soon perish by setting on fire.

22. Bowyers also, to make bows there for need.

23. Makers of oars, since for service upon those rivers it is to great purpose for the boats and barges they are to pass and enter with.

24. Shipwrights, to make barges and boats, and bigger vessels, if need be, to run along the coast and to pierce the great bays and inlets.

25. Turners, to turn targets of elm and tough wood for use against the darts and arrows of savages.