2. Richard Hakluyt, an Argument for Colonization from *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (1584)

**Source:** Richard Hakluyt, "A Discourse Concerning Western Planting" [1584], Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Series 2, vol. 2 (1877), pp. 152–61.

In *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, written in 1584, the Protestant minister and scholar Richard Hakluyt listed 23 reasons that Queen Elizabeth I should support the establishment of English colonies in North America. Hakluyt's arguments covered almost every possible benefit that might arise from colonization—economic, political, religious, nationalist, and social.

Through colonization, Hakluyt promised, England could come to rival the wealth and power of great nations like Spain and France. Colonists would enrich the mother country and themselves by providing goods now supplied by foreigners and opening a new market for English products. Unlike early adventurers who thought of wealth in terms of mining gold, Hakluyt insisted that trade would be the basis of England's empire.

Equally important, America could be a refuge for England's "surplus" population. The late sixteenth century was a time of crisis in England. Thousands of small farmers were evicted from common lands as part of the "enclosure" movement, through which large farmers sought profits by raising sheep. Many flooded into England's cities, where wages fell dramatically, or wandered the roads in search of work. Hakluyt urged the government to settle "wandering beggars" in America, where they could become productive citizens, contributing to the nation's wealth.

For England, Hakluyt insisted, empire and freedom went hand in hand. By striking a blow against Spain's empire, English settlements would help to rescue the New World and its inhabitants from the influence of Catholicism and tyranny. Indians oppressed by Spain, he proclaimed, would welcome the British as bearers of "liberty."

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**Voices of Freedom**

1. The soil yields and may be made to yield all the several commodities of Europe. . . .

2. The passage thither and home is neither too long nor too short, but easy, and to be made twice in the year.

3. The passage cuts not near the trade of any prince, nor near any of their countries or territories, and is a safe passage, and not easy to be annoyed by prince or potentate whatsoever.

. . .

6. This enterprise may stay the Spanish king from flowing over all the face of that waste firmament of America, if we seat and plant there in time. . . . And England possessing the purposed place of planting, her Majesty may, by the benefit of the seat, having won good and royal havens, have plenty of excellent trees for masts, of goodly timber to build ships and to make great navies, of pitch, tar, hemp, and all things incident for a navy royal, and that for no price, and without money or request. How easy a matter may it be to this realm, swarming at this day with valiant youths, rusting and hurtful by lack of employment, and having good makers of cable and of all sorts of cordage, and the best and most cunning shipwrights of the world, to be lords of all those seas, and to spoil Philip's . . . navy, and to deprive him of yearly passage of his treasure to Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spain and of the supporter of the great Anti-christ of Rome, and to pull him down in equality to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cut off the common mischiefs that come to all Europe by the peculiar abundance of his Indian treasure, and this without difficulty.

7. This voyage, albeit it may be accomplished by bark or smallest pinnace for advice or for a necessity, yet for the distance, for burden and gain in trade, the merchant will not for profit's sake use it but by ships of great burden; so as this realm shall have by that means ships of great burden and of great strength for the defence of this realm.

. . .

10. No foreign commodity that comes into England comes without payment of custom once, twice, or thrice, before it comes into
the realm, and so all foreign commodities become dearer to the subjects of this realm; and by this course...foreign princes' customs are avoided; and the foreign commodities cheaply purchased, they become cheap to the subjects of England, to the common benefit of the people, and to the saving of great treasure in the realm; whereas now the realm becomes poor by the purchasing of foreign commodities in so great a mass at so excessive prices.

11. At the first traffic with the people of those parts, the subjects of this realm for many years shall change many cheap commodities of these parts for things of high value there not esteemed; and this to the great enriching of the realm, if common use fail not.

... 13. By making of ships and by preparing of things for the same, by making of cables and cordage, by planting of vines and olive trees, and by making of wine and oil, by husbandry, and by thousands of things there to be done, infinite numbers of the English nation may be set on work, to the unburdening of the realm with many that now live chargeable to the state at home.

... 16. We shall by planting there enlarge the glory of the gospel, and from England plant sincere religion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receive people from all parts of the world that are forced to flee for the truth of God's word.

... 18. The Spaniards govern in the Indies with all pride and tyranny; and like as when people of contrary nature at sea enter into galleys, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and cry with one voice, *Liberta, liberta*, as desirous of liberty and freedom, so no doubt whencesoever the Queen of England, a prince of such clemency, shall seat upon that firmament of America, and shall be reported throughout all that tract to use the natural people there with all humanity, courtesy, and freedom, they will yield themselves to her government, and revolt clean from the Spaniard.