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# Providential Perspective

Vol. 12, No. 1 February 1997

The Teaching Journal of *The Providence Foundation*

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## *Richard Hakluyt and the Providential Colonization of America*

by Stephen McDowell

No man was more influential in the establishment of the American colonies than Richard Hakluyt. This minister, who from Biblical inspiration became the greatest English geographer of the Elizabethan epoch, compiled the records of numerous European explorations, voyages, and settlements with the view of encouraging England to establish colonies in the new world. True to the calling God had put into his heart, the spreading of the gospel and establishment of the Christian faith in new lands was at the forefront of his motives in undertaking this great task. Hakluyt also foresaw America as a land where persecuted Christians could find refuge.

Historian William Robertson wrote that England was “more indebted” to Richard Hakluyt for her American colonies “than to any man of that age.”<sup>1</sup> J.A. Williamson wrote: “The history of Elizabethan expansion is to a great extent the work of Richard Hakluyt, to a greater extent perhaps than the record of any other large movement can be ascribed to the labors of any one historian. He preserved a mass of material that would otherwise have perished, and he handled it with an enthusiasm and common sense which have made his work live through the centuries.”<sup>2</sup> “As author, editor, and propagandist [Richard Hakluyt] did more than any other man or score of men to waken Englishmen to what he was assured was their true destiny.”<sup>3</sup>

In Hakluyt’s first writings, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America*, published in 1582, he lamented that while Spain and Portugal had planted colonies in the new world, England had not “the grace to set fast footing on such fertill and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed.”<sup>4</sup> And as he clearly revealed, England had the right to colonize these unpossessed lands due to the discovery of them by John Cabot in 1497.

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“Wee shall by plantinge [in America] inlarge the glory of the gospell... and provide a safe and a sure place to receive people from all partes of the worlds that are forced to flee for the truthe of Gods worde.” *Richard Hakluyt, 1584*

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In 1584 Hakluyt presented his *Discourse on Western Planting* to Queen Elizabeth where he set forth the principal reasons for colonization. First and foremost was the religious reason. He said that colonization would make for “the enlargement of the gospel of Christ.”<sup>5</sup> He saw that propagating the gospel would include the conversion and civilization of the Indians. “Hakluyt lamented that he had not heard of a single *infidel* converted by the English explorers.”<sup>6</sup>

In Chapter 20 of the *Discourse*, Hakluyt states numerous reasons for planting new colonies including:

“Wee shall by plantinge there inlarge the glory of the gospell, and from England plante sincere relligion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receive people from all partes of the worlds that are forced to flee for the truthe of Gods worde.”<sup>7</sup> Many of the early settlers of America reiterated this idea. **Hakluyt was the first to proclaim the Providential purposes of America.**

Matthew Page Andrews wrote that “Hakluyt fired the vital spark of religious purpose that played a compelling part in American colonization when England was swayed by the strong convictions of the Protestant political and religious revolution culminating in the Puritan upheaval.”<sup>8</sup>

“Richard Hakluyt was not simply a historian and a collector: he was also an agitator and a prophet.”<sup>9</sup> He imparted the vision for and directed the colonization of the greatest and most free nation in history.

### Early Life and Inspiration for God's Calling

Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, (as he described himself to distinguish him from his cousin of the same name) was born about 1552 in or near London. His father and mother both died in 1557, so he was orphaned at about age five. His cousin Richard (the lawyer) agreed to look after his nephew of the same name. In 1564 (the year Shakespeare was born) he entered Westminster School, where he studied for about 6 years, proving

to be a diligent scholar. In 1568, while Hakluyt was at Westminster, he visited his cousin one day in the Middle Temple. **This meeting providentially provided the impulse which determined his lifework.** In the preface to the first edition of his *Principal Navigations* (1589), Hakluyt records his story:

“I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majesty’s scholars at Westminster, that fruitful nursery, it was my hap to visit the chamber of Master Richard Hakluyt, my cousin, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, at a time when I found lying open upon his board certain books of cosmography with a universal map. He, seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance by showing me the division of the earth into three parts after the old account, and then according to the later and better distribution into more. He pointed with his wand to all the known seas, gulfs, bays, straits, capes, rivers, empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and territories of each part, with declaration also of their special commodities and particular wants, which by benefit of traffic and intercourse of merchants are plentifully supplied. From the map he brought me to the Bible, and turning to Psalm 107 directed me to the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses, where I read that they which go down to the sea in ships and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord and His wonders in the deep, etc. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousin’s 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 ministered 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.”<sup>10</sup>

“This incident gives the key-note of his life. He presently did go to the

university, becoming in 1570 a student at Christ Church, Oxford; and he did his regular work there faithfully and in due course took his degree; but every spare moment he devoted to his favorite field.”<sup>11</sup> Hakluyt wrote: “I fell to my intended course and by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portugal, French, or English languages; and in my public lectures was 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 for demonstration in the common schools, to the singular pleasure and general contentment of my auditory.”<sup>12</sup>

In 1578 Hakluyt was ordained a priest in the Church of England. He held a professorship of divinity, served as chaplain to the English Embassy at Paris, received a patent from Sir Walter Raleigh to discover new lands, served as prebend in the cathedral of Bristol, was rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, and finally became prebendary and then archdeacon of Westminster. He was married twice, had one son, and lived a comfortable life, being respected by the Queen and her ministers. He died in 1616 in his mid-sixties and was buried in Westminster Abbey, but no inscription marks his grave. “Through all these years he devoted himself unremittingly to the purpose formed as a boy in his visit to the Middle Temple.”<sup>13</sup>

### Hakluyt’s Character and Influence

Richard Hakluyt was a mild, scholarly preacher who knew more about the new world than any man but never saw it. “He helped give form to the British Empire when it was little more than a dream” “Virtually every ship that came to the colonies in the seventeenth century carried a set of the Voyages,” or at least that volume that dealt with the New World, with the purpose of

guiding and acclimating them there. John Smith included much of Hakluyt’s writings in his *General History* and William Bradford mentions Hakluyt in *Of Plymouth Plantation*; “both men sought to continue the story Hakluyt had begun.”<sup>14</sup>

Hakluyt was a silent, modest man who at ease with both wealthy statesmen and rowdy sailors. He had many prestigious friends but did not use these friendships for his own personal gain or recognition, rather he employed their assistance to further the dream of colonization.

Hakluyt was indefatigable in research, traveling many places to talk with explorers and sailors recording their first hand accounts; he gathered writings and accounts from many nations of voyages and travels; he searched out truth in many libraries. “He had a passion for truth, and once he rode 200 miles to check the facts about an early and insignificant expedition to America – Master Hore’s in 1536 – from a lone survivor.”<sup>15</sup> His contemporaries were most impressed by **his enormous industry**. He said that only a love of his country could induce him to undertake such exhausting labors. He wrote: “I call the work a burden in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in several hucksters’ hands, that I now wonder at myself to see how I was able to endure the delays, curiosity, and backwardness of many from whom I was to receive my originals. . . . What restless nights, what painful days, what heat, what cold I have endured; how many long and chargeable journeys I have travelled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what variety of ancient and modern writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, etc., I have redeemed from obscurity and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entered; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what fair opportunities of private gain, preferment and ease I have neglected.”<sup>16</sup>

“His life is a notable example of how singleness of purpose and dogged persistence, in a man not endowed, so far as we can tell, with any of the more brilliant attributes of genius, lead him, as if inevitably, to high achievement and lasting fame.”<sup>17</sup>

## First Impetus for English Colonization of America

Hakluyt’s first book was published in 1582 and was entitled: “*Divers voyages touching the discovery of America and the islands adjacent to the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons, &c.*” This book was small enough and cheap enough to be bought by anyone.

*Divers Voyages* is a pamphlet containing a collection of documents giving support for England’s prior claim to possess and settle the coast of America. Its primary object was the “promotion of the colonization of America; and to enlighten his countrymen he brought together from all available sources the various accounts showing the history of the discovery of the east coast of North America, giving the fullest particulars then known, and giving the first impetus to the English colonization of America. ‘Virtually,’ says Sir Clements Markham, ‘Raleigh and Hakluyt were the founders of those colonies which eventually formed the United States. Americans revere the name of Walter Raleigh; they should give an equal place to that of Richard Hakluyt.’”<sup>18</sup>

In the preface to *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt gives reasons for colonization. He spoke of the desire of “reducing those gentile people to Christianitie.”<sup>19</sup> He also spoke of the desire to find passage to Cathay (the northwest passage) so they can “make the name of Christe to be known unto many idolaterous and heathen people.”<sup>20</sup>

He spoke of past attempts that had failed and then gave the reason why

he thought this occurred. He wrote that if past attempts “had not been led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine than God’s glorie, I assure myself that our labours had taken farre better effecte. But wee forgotte, that Godliness is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdome of God, al other things will be given unto us, and that as the light accompanieth the Sunne and the heate the fire, so lasting riches do wait upon them that are jealous for the advancement of the Kingdome of Christ, and the enlargement of his glorious Gospell: as it is sayd, I will honour them that honour mee. I trust that now being taught by their manifold losses, our men will take a more godly course, and use some part of their goodes to his glory: if not, he will turne even ther covetousnes to serve him, as he hath done the pride and avarice of the Spaniards & Portingales, who pretending in glorious words that they made ther discoveries chiefly to convert infidelles to our most holy faith (as they say) in deed and truth sought not them, but their goods and riches.”<sup>21</sup>

To accomplish these and other goals, Richard Hakluyt suggested increasing the training and knowledge of seamen. Throughout his life he encouraged some sort of faculty or school to be established to train men in all areas necessary to become a complete navigator. This was not realized for a number of centuries.

## Hakluyt Providentially Saved from Fateful Voyage

Hakluyt’s *Divers Voyages* brought him directly into the circle of people who were seeking to explore North America. He became an advisor and supporter to many, including Sir Humphrey Gilbert. When Gilbert was planning his 1583 expedition, Hakluyt arranged for an educated observer to accompany him for the purpose of collecting information. Hakluyt intended to fill this role but just prior to the voyage Hakluyt was appointed as chaplain to Sir Edward

Stafford, Queen Elizabeth’s ambassador in Paris, so he traveled to France, where he would remain for five years. He arranged for Stephen Parmenius to go instead. So in June 1583 when Gilbert’s expedition set sail, Parmenius was on the flagship and not Hakluyt. His appointment in France saved his life, for during the expedition the ship that carried Gilbert and Parmenius, the *Squirrel*, went down at sea because of great storms.

Though he providentially went to France instead of sailing to North America, his intentions of promoting English colonization did not change. In France he wrote “A Particular Discourse concerning Western Discoveries” (though it was not printed at this time). In this work, Hakluyt reiterates the case that England had claim to North America by virtue of discovery by the Cabots in 1497. He urged England to follow Spain’s lead in colonizing the new world.

## Discourse of Western Planting, 1584

In the autumn of 1584, while visiting London, Hakluyt presented this original work to Queen Elizabeth. It had been drafted at the request of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had chosen Hakluyt as a spokesman to promote his plans to the Queen. It contained 21 chapters stating the case for discovery and colonization. The first chapter was entitled: “That this westerne discoverie will be greatly for thinlinegemente of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the Princes of the reformed Relligion are Chefely bounde, amongeste whome her Majesty principall.”<sup>22</sup>

In this chapter he explained with notes from explorers how the inhabitants of the new lands were not Christian but worshipped false gods. He said it was their chief duty as a nation to convert these people and enlarge “the glorious gospell of Christe.” He quoted Paul in Romans 10 of the necessity of sending

preachers so people could hear the word and be converted. As “defenders of the faith,” Hakluyt wrote, the Kings and Queens of England “are not onely chardged to mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to inlarge and advance the same: Neither oughte this to be their laste worke but rather the principall and chefe of all others, accordinge to the comoundemente of our Saviour Christe.”<sup>23</sup>

Hakluyt then quotes Matthew 6:33 to seek first the Kingdom of God. He said the way for the English to accomplish this would be to establish one or two colonies near the natives in the new world. This would enable them to learn the natives’ language and manners while in safety “and so w<sup>th</sup> discrecion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gossell.”<sup>24</sup>

He said that the attempts at colonization by the Portuguese and Spanish had only minimal success because they lacked the purity of true religion. With true religion, they could do better. Hakluyt then speaks of the Macedonian call that Paul received in Acts 16 and that God providentially moved to get Paul to go where God intended. Hakluyt then related how God had similarly frustrated the English from going other ways and how He sent out a “Macedonian” call from America: “the people of America crye oute unto us their nexte neighbours to come and helpe them, and bringe unto them the gladd tidings of the gossell.”<sup>25</sup>

He goes on to say that God would provide the funds necessary to carry on this great work and He would bless those who support it. He then encourages Queen Elizabeth to get behind this endeavor and be a part of converting many infidels to Christ.

To Hakluyt, mission work was of primary importance, and to do this effectively thriving colonies needed to be established.

Chapter 20 of the *Discourse* contains a brief collection of reasons to

induce the Queen and the state to undertake the western voyage and planting. In one of these Hakluyt says: “Wee shall by plantinge there inlarge the glory of the gossell, and from England plante sincere relligion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receive people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truthe of Gods worde.”<sup>26</sup>

A few copies of Hakluyt’s *Discourse* were made at this time, but it essentially remained hidden for three centuries until it was printed in 1877 in the state of Maine, one of the regions Hakluyt wished to colonize. Since it was not available to later generations it has not received the recognition it deserves as giving an “indispensable record of the motives and intentions of the first colonizers.”<sup>27</sup> Here “are the blueprints for the British Empire in America from 1606 to 1776.”<sup>28</sup>

The Queen accepted his ideas but did not initiate state-sponsored colonizations because relations with Spain were too sticky. This and the war with Spain a few years later put off a national effort at colonization for some decades. Raleigh, though, did pursue his own efforts at establishing a colony in the New World. His attempt at Roanoke which began in 1585 failed.

Hakluyt returned to France and while there he made a discovery “which must have been very galling to him. He found everybody discussing the great voyages of discovery made by the Spanish, Portuguese and Italians, while his own countrymen were looked upon as idle stay-at-homes. Immediately upon his return to England he determined to correct this impression, which was a very false one, and he commenced to place on record the various enterprises upon which the English had been engaged. The result of his labours was the first edition of *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*.”<sup>29</sup>

His trip to France not only averted his potential death on Gilbert’s voyage, but also enabled him to gather information on French, Portuguese, and Spanish voyages.

## Principal Navigations

Throughout his life, Hakluyt collected, compiled, and edited voyages to the new world, telling the story with the view of encouraging colonization. He gave numerous reasons for why England should colonize the new world. The first and foremost in his mind was for religious reasons (as has been mentioned), which was consistent with the life of this man of piety. A second reason was political — colonies in the new world would act as a bridle to keep the King of Spain from gaining too much power. The third was economic — new colonies would provide a means of increasing wealth via trade and would promote industrialization, both of which would help to end unemployment in England. Hakluyt had a great concern for the poor in his native country and he saw new colonies as a means to assist them in overcoming poverty.<sup>30</sup>

Hakluyt returned to England from France in 1588. The next year he published in one volume the first edition of his most famous work, “*The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*.” An enlarged three-volume edition was published 1598-1600. The first and second volume dealt with the Old World, the third with the New. The one-volume, first edition ends with an account of the vanquishing of the Spanish Armada, or, as Hakluyt entitled it, “The Miraculous Victory Atchieved by the English Fleete,” and it was quite miraculous.

In 1588, Philip II of Spain sent the Spanish Armada to bring England and the Low Countries (the Netherlands) again under the domination of the Holy Roman Empire. One-half century before, under Henry VIII, England had split from Rome and established her own church, the Church

of England. Holland had also separated from Catholic control and had already been engaged with the Spanish in many battles. Those faithful to Rome had not appreciated the direction these two countries were taking and had sought for ways to bring them back into the fold of the Catholic religion. With the rise of Puritanism and Separatism in England and Holland, these renegades were straying even further from the established religion. With the build-up of the massive Spanish fleet, there was now a way to bring these nations back to the true faith. King Philip had amassed a mighty Navy “as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean sea.”<sup>31</sup> It was comprised of 134 ships and about 30,000 men; Spain considered it invincible.

When the English got word that the Armada was being assembled to be sent against them, they began to prepare as best as they could, but they had many fewer ships that were smaller and not nearly as well armed. Their only hope was for a miracle to occur. People gathered throughout England to pray for such a miracle — especially those of the reformed faith because the Spanish specifically mentioned them as a target of their attack, for they knew these reformers were the major threat to the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England.

Richard Hakluyt records:

“[I]t is most apparant, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote unto her Majestie that in all humane reason, and according to the judgement of all men (every circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approach within sight of the Spanish Fleet: insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.”

“While this woonderfull and puisant Navie was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainely see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications unto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grievous torments) enjoined to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent upon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne dayes of supplication were observed thorowout the united Provinces.”

Here is what happened: As the Spanish fleet sailed up the English Channel, they were met by the much smaller English and Dutch navies. In the natural, the English had little hope, yet England and Holland had been fasting and praying. A series of storms caused many of the Armada ships to sink, disease wiped out many of the Spanish troops, and other providential occurrences resulted in a resounding defeat of the invincible Armada. Of the original force only 53 ships returned to Spain with less than half of the original 30,000 men. It seemed apparent to those delivered that “God. . . fought for them in many places with his owne arme.”

After this miraculous defeat, Holland minted coins as a perpetual memory. Of one coin Hakluyt recorded: “on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: IT CAME, WENT, AND

WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere; for which, glory be given to God onely.” They minted another coin that “upon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men making prayers and giving thanks unto God upon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth. 1588.”

England and Holland marked the victory with a public days of fasting and prayer. Hakluyt writes: “Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Majestie [Elizabeth], and in the united Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festivall day publicly appointed, wherein all persons were enjoined to resort unto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises unto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was observed upon the 29 of November; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giving of thanks.”

The Queen rode into London in great triumph and fanfare and all the people turned out with banners and ensignes heralding the event. “Her Majestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gave thanks unto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered unto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving.”<sup>32</sup>

## Charter for Colonization

When King James I came to the throne in 1603 the militant foes of Spain were curbed and peace was established with Spain. As a result, Raleigh was imprisoned in 1605 and he lost his rights to lands in America. On April 10, 1606 a charter was issued to Gates, Somers, Hakluyt,

Wingfield, Hanham, and others who established the London and Plymouth Companies. The incorporators of this charter were resolved into two groups. One was the London Company and was entitled to establish the first colony between 34 and 38 degrees north latitude; the other was the Plymouth Company which was to establish the “second colony,” between 41 and 44 degrees north latitude. The area in-between was to be open to both companies.

King James gave them authority to plant colonies in that part of America called Virginia and other parts “which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People.” The reason for their endeavors was stated as: “We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government: DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended Desires.”<sup>33</sup> This charter extended the rights of Englishmen to any new colonies that would be established.

In 1606 Hakluyt was named one of the four London patentees in the first Virginia Company charter. On November 24, 1606 Hakluyt was granted dispensation to hold a living in Jamestown without relinquishing his English preferments. This meant he could go to Jamestown as the officially recognized clergyman, to be paid like parish preachers in England, and he would not have to give up the church offices he held in England. The grant Hakluyt received from the King mentions that Hakluyt and Robert Hunt, along with other men, had the authority to start a col-

ony in America. To Hakluyt and Hunt it was written: “And that you may the more freely and better watch and perform the ministry and preaching of God’s word in those parts,” they could leave their charges in England and still take payment for them.<sup>34</sup>

So Hakluyt was named on the first company patent for the Virginia colony, was part of the first directorate, and was probably intended to be the head of the church in the colony. He would have gone with the first colonists to Virginia in 1607 but age or infirmity prevented him. Hakluyt recommended that Hunt go in his place.<sup>35</sup>

### Attempts to Stop English Colonization

On June 25, 1605 a treaty of peace between Spain and England was signed by Philip III which opened the way for the English to settle in North America, though such colonization was opposed by many Spanish diplomats. When Pedro de Zuniga, the Spanish Ambassador to England, got word that plans had begun to establish a colony, he wrote to Philip giving him warning.

Pedro de Zuniga was the Spanish Ambassador to England, but also acted as a spy. He was very much opposed to English colonization in the New World and did all he could to stop it, but God providentially prohibited his efforts.

When Zuniga learned of the London Company’s plans in 1606, he tried to visit King James I and exert pressure on him to stop the expedition, but Zuniga was laid flat on his back and couldn’t get out of bed. He wrote: “It pleased God that since that day I have not been able to rise from my bed.”<sup>36</sup>

Zuniga recovered and attempted to meet with the King with the intention of threatening war with Spain if the plans continued to start a new colony. This was a very real threat as Spain greatly outnumbered England in ships and arms (though Spain’s

complete dominance of the seas had subsided after the defeat of the Armada in 1588). Zuniga knew James would do all he could to keep England out of war with Spain and he believed he could pressure James to put a stop to colonization, even though colonization was being carried out by private enterprise.

An appointment was scheduled, but on the set day, James had a fever and could not see Zuniga. He put off other meetings because of grief over the death of his little daughter, Mary, and due to certain internal and external difficulties that arose. Had this last minute attempt by Zuniga been successful, it is likely the Spanish Ambassador could have pressured James to stop the expedition. By the time Zuniga was able to meet James the colonists had set sail, departing on December 20, 1606. (The departure date was kept secret because, despite the recent declaration of peace between England and Spain, there were fears the fleet might be intercepted by the Spanish who opposed English colonization.) James was able to deflect Zuniga’s threats claiming he had nothing to do with the Company’s attempt at colonization – it was a private adventure, he said. James told Zuniga “that those who went, went at their own risk, and if they were caught there, there could be no complaint if they were punished.”<sup>37</sup> James allowed future supply ships to sail to Virginia, however, the threats did so worry the King that by summer’s end in 1607 he pulled away his attention from the new colony.

After Jamestown was established, Zuniga continued in his efforts to see it crushed. He wrote to King Philip and urged him “to command that the English in Virginia should be destroyed with the utmost possible promptness.” And not just once, but he wrote his king repeatedly, urging him in every way “to give orders to have the insolent people [in Virginia] quickly annihilated.”<sup>38</sup> On October 8, 1607 Zuniga wrote the king that he thought “it very desirable that an end

should be now made of the few who are there, as that would be digging up the Root, so that it could put out no more.” On October 16 he advised the king: “It will be serving God and your Majesty to drive these villains out from there, hanging them in time which is short enough for the purpose.”<sup>39</sup>

And again on December 6 Zuniga reports to Philip: “As to Virginia, I hear that three or four other ships will return there. Will your Majesty give orders that measures be taken in time; because now it will be very easy, and quite difficult afterwards, when they have taken root, and if they are punished in the beginning, the result will be that no more will go there.”<sup>40</sup>

On March 28, 1608 Zuniga wrote the king telling him of plans by the London Council to send hundreds of men to Jamestown, and that he thought Philip should have them intercepted on the way. Ever zealous, Zuniga wrote again on November 8: “It is very important, Your Majesty should command that an end be put to those things done in Virginia; because it is a matter of great importance — and they propose (as I understand) to send as many as 1500 men there; and they hope that 12,000 will be gotten together there in time.”<sup>41</sup>

The slow response of the Spanish king, with God’s providence displayed in many other ways, all worked together to assure the successful planting of the first permanent English settlement in America.

## The First Colony

Orders and instructions given to the first colonists by the London Council emphasized the religious motive, as Hakluyt had been doing since his first writings in 1582. They wrote: “We do specially ordain, charge, and require” those concerned “with all diligence, care and respect” to provide that the “Christian faith be preached, planted, and used, not only

within every of the said several colonies, and plantations, but also as much as they may arouse the savage people which do or shall adjoin unto them”; and that every one should “use all good means to draw the savages and heathen people. . . to the true service and knowledge of God.”<sup>42</sup>

The instructions conclude: “Lastly and chiefly, the way to achieve good success, is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all Goodness; for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.”<sup>43</sup>

Robert Hunt acted upon the desires of Hakluyt and the Council, faithfully conducting services in the New World and working to convert the Indians. [The Indian Navirans was probably his first convert and was of great assistance to the early Jamestown settlers.]<sup>44</sup>

Hakluyt died in 1616 at age sixty-four, leaving no portrait to show us his features nor monument to mark the great contributions of the man “who did more than any man of his generation to invigorate the efforts which eventually bore fruit in Virginia and New England.”<sup>45</sup>

Richard Hakluyt is one those heroes of Christian liberty of whom most Americans have never heard, yet, he is truly one of the founding fathers of this nation. We might even call him the first founding father, to whom God first gave the vision of America as the land of liberty, whose planting would “enlarge the glory of the gospel” and “provide a safe and a sure place to receive people from all parts of the worlds that are forced to flee for the truth of God’s word.” His Christian faith is revealed throughout his life, his writings, and in his death. In his last will and testament he wrote:

“First I commend my soule into the hands of God from whence I received the same, trusting thow the

only merits of Jesus Christ and the sanctification of the blessed Spirit to be both in body and soule a member of His most holy and heavenly kindome.”<sup>46</sup>

## End Notes

- 1 Matthew Page Andrews, *The Soul of a Nation*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1944, p. 1-2.
- 2 George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, New York: American Geographical Society, 1928, p. xiv.
- 3 Andrews, p. 6.
- 4 Andrews, p. 2.
- 5 E.G.R. Taylor, editor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, Vol. 2, London: Hakluyt Society, 1935, p. 211.
- 6 Ibid.; see *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, Vol 12, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905, p. 32 for more on this.
- 7 Taylor, p. 318 and Old South Leaflets, No. 122, *England’s Title to North America*, from Hakluyt’s *Discourse Concerning Westerne Planting*, p. 12, Boston: Old South Meeting-house.
- 8 Andrews, p. 3.
- 9 Old South Leaflets, No. 122, p. 16.
- 10 This version with modern spelling is from *Hakluyt’s Voyages to the New World*, edited by David Freeman Hawke, Bobbs-Merrill Co., pp 3-5. See also, Old South Leaflets, No. 122, and Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America, the Northern Voyages*, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971, p. 556-557.
- 11 Old South Leaflets, No. 122, p. 14.
- 12 Hawke, p. 3-4.
- 13 Old South Leaflets, p. 15.
- 14 From a brief biography on Richard Hakluyt by Walter Raleigh in *The Principal Navigations*, Vol. 12, p. 74-75.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid., p. 84.
- 17 Ibid., p. 85.
- 18 Old South Leaflets, p. 15.
- 19 Taylor, p. 176.
- 20 Taylor, p. 178.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Taylor, p. 211.
- 23 Taylor, p. 214-215.
- 24 Taylor, p. 215.
- 25 Taylor, p. 216.
- 26 Taylor, p. 318.
- 27 Parks, p. 88.
- 28 Morison, p. 560.
- 29 Richard Hakluyt, *A Selection of The Principal Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, compiled by Laurence Irving, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926, p. xi-xii.
- 30 Andrews, p. 4-5.
- 31 Richard Hakluyt, *A Selection . . .*, p.260.
- 32 Ibid., pp. 285-292.
- 33 “The First Charter of Virginia,” in *Sources of Our Liberties*, Richard L. Perry, editor, American Bar Foundation, 1952, pp. 39-40.
- 34 Parks, p. 256.
- 35 Andrews, p. 57.
- 36 *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter 1606-09*, Vol. 1, edited by Philip Barbour, Cambridge: University Press, 1969, p. 115, quoted in *America’s Dedication to God Series* by M.J. Raeburn, p. 12.
- 37 Barbour, p. 118; in Raeburn, p. 12.
- 38 Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America*, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1898, p. 80-81.
- 39 Brown, p. 50.

- 40 Brown, p. 52.
- 41 Brown, p. 64.
- 42 Andrews, p. 54.
- 43 Andrews, p. 56.
- 44 See Andrews, pp. 77-79, 68-71.
- 45 Morison, p. 561.
- 46 The Will of Richard Hakluyt, 1612, in Taylor, Vol. 2, p. 506.

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