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## 'So manie gallant gentlemen': Imperial humanists and Tudor imperial identity

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'SO MANIE GALLANT GENTLEMEN': IMPERIAL HUMANISTS  
AND TUDOR IMPERIAL IDENTITY

by

Karin Alana Amundsen

Bachelor of Arts  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
2003

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the

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## ABSTRACT

### **‘So Manie Gallant Gentlemen’: Imperial Humanists and Tudor Imperial Identity**

by

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This thesis examines the intersection of imperialism, humanism and gender to argue that the Elizabethan period enabled imperial humanists to develop an identity for England as an empire of liberation rather than conquest. A subset of the imperial faction at Court, imperial humanists sought to reconcile activist and pragmatist agendas by marrying civic humanism with chivalry. Imperial humanists deployed this humanist chivalry—with an emphasis on temperance, wisdom, and justice—to elaborate a national mythos of pious restraint that denied avarice and oppression were inherent to extending English dominion overseas and envisioned empire as a virtuous pursuit for gentlemen. With increasing unemployment, land scarcity, and social unrest, imperial humanists feared the beginnings of a cultural devolution into barbarism that would make their island nation subject to domination by Spain. The solution imperial humanists advocated was a curriculum of humanist education among the gentry, a commitment to state service through the *vita activa*, a civilizing mission, and new overseas outlets for commodities, excess population, and military outposts.



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I dedicate this project to my son, whose gift was to slow me down.

## INTRODUCTION

On a cold November day in 1603, the former favorite of Queen Elizabeth—and one of England’s most passionate advocates of colonization—sat disbelieving as a jury affirmed his guilt for treason. Though Sir Walter Raleigh’s relationship with the new King started inauspiciously, he could not have predicted he would stand accused of treason. Could a jury really believe he petitioned the Spanish king to be a spy in return for a pension? That he would assist a Spanish invasion to depose the King in favor of Lady Arbella Stuart and return England to the Roman Church? The charges themselves must have seemed ludicrous to Raleigh, whose writings and personal exploits demonstrated contempt for the papacy, Hispanophobia, and devotion to a *vita activa* on behalf of the Crown. While searching for cosmographies on the West Indies in Lord Burghley’s library, Raleigh had never imagined that taking the unpublished manuscript of Mary Stuart’s trial would call his loyalty into question with the suggestion he was “against the most iust and royall title of the King.”<sup>1</sup> In hindsight, he probably considered, he should have informed Robert Cecil that he took the book, especially since Cecil had generously allowed Raleigh access to the library after Lord Burghley’s death. Never known for his temperance, it seemed particularly ironic that a prodigious appetite for learning turned out to be his undoing.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Overbury, *The Arraignment and Conviction of Sr Walter Rawleigh, at the Kings Bench-Barre at Winchester. on the 17. of November 1603*, (London: Printed by William Wilson, for Abel Roper at the Sun over against St. Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1648): 3, 8, 23; with a few notable exceptions, like A.L. Rowse, most historians believe Raleigh was innocent of the treason charges.

At turns smiling wryly, interrupting Master Attorney Sir Edward Coke, or refuting the credibility of the evidence against him, Raleigh must have found galling Coke's characterization of him as a "detestible Traytor" and "odious man" with a "spanish heart" and "whorish forehead." Despite the slanders, the author of his arraignment account recalled Raleigh was

humble, yet not prostrate; dutifull, yet not dejected . . . And in such points wherin he would not yeeld unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reverence urge them, and answer them . . . towards the Jurie affable, but not fawning, not in dispaire nor believing, but hoping in them carefully perswading them with reasons, not distemperately importuning them with conjurations; rather shewing love of life then feare of death. Towards the Kings Councill patient, but not insensibly neglecting, not yielding to imputations layd against him in words.<sup>2</sup>

The author wondered at the heroism of a man so valiant in his suffering that he refused to indulge in an ill-tempered display. Ever the gentleman, Raleigh accused Coke of using him "basely, barbarously, and rigorously," turning him into a slave. After Raleigh's death, his trial and execution fifteen years later would symbolize the barbaric excesses of Stuart absolutism, and Raleigh turned into the first martyr of constitutionalism.

Though the King spared Raleigh, commuting his sentence to life imprisonment in the Tower of London, it was a demonstration of absolute authority rather than a magnanimous gesture. In 1603, removal from political life probably seemed worse than death for someone like Raleigh, who was accustomed to being in the thick of Court life. Raleigh, however, found ways to continue a *vita activa*, expanding his knowledge with science experiments and writing political tracts, including *The History of the World* (1614). He even attempted to carve out a role as an advisor to the young Prince Henry and Queen Anne, hoping through them to win the King's affection. Raleigh did not realize he had become an anachronism: he was too devoted to the *vita activa* and not

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<sup>2</sup> Ovebury, *The Arraignment and Conviction of Sr Walter Rawleigh*: 6

devoted enough to the King personally or sufficiently deferent to his absolute authority, and too Hispanophobic when England was trying to re-establish peace with Spain. In short, what had been assets in the Elizabethan Court became liabilities in the Jacobean Court, a fact Raleigh never accepted as his disastrous 1617 voyage to Guiana would prove. Moreover, Raleigh's precipitous downfall reflected the end of imperial humanists' political influence at Court.

Sir Walter Raleigh represented a contingent of gentlemen born in the mid-Tudor period, educated in the ideals of civic humanism and trained as soldiers during the religious and Anglo-Spanish wars. As previous hierarchies weakened, these men experienced an unusual degree of social and economic mobility that allowed them to reimagine the foundation of English identity as either a kingdom or nation.<sup>3</sup> For a select few, whom I refer to as "imperial humanists," empire became an entry point for them to consider questions about England's position in Europe. Based on their understandings of humanism and chivalry, imperial humanists looked to colonization as the lynchpin of domestic reform that would enable England to challenge Spanish hegemony in Europe and maintain their national sovereignty.

I call this constituency "imperial humanists" because they drew upon a civic humanist political discourse to promote imperial ventures. In Tudor England, the salient features of civic humanism became support of the status quo according to a "princely" model, an emphasis on the *vita activa* as necessary for a life of manly virtue, and a commitment to

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<sup>3</sup> Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*, (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1992): 13

programs of social and economic reform instituted by the state.<sup>4</sup> Imperial humanists framed the Queen as a Platonic philosopher king (though divinely ordained) in need of noble counselors ready to reform the commonwealth, either by serving in public office or submitting written advice. With increased competition for patronage and decreased domestic opportunities for gentlemen, imperial humanists turned to empire as a means to reform England and serve the Crown. In imperial humanist works, “imperialism” encompassed the actual act of exploration and colonization, investment in ventures, and the production of texts to memorialize ventures, thus conceiving a wide range of ways for men to fulfill the requirements of an active life and participate in English overseas expansion.

Looking at the intersection of humanism, imperialism, and gender, I argue that the Elizabethan period enabled imperial humanists to develop an imperial identity for England based on the values of chivalry and civic humanism. A strong perception existed that England’s economy was failing, that growing numbers of masterless wageworkers threatened social disorder, and that the aristocracy had regressed into a state of barbarity. Though Elizabethan writers exaggerated these fears, they were responding to real and important demographic changes occurring in the Tudor period. Moreover, the expansion of Spain’s empire into the New World and further into Europe prompted deep dissatisfaction with their compatriots; imperial humanists accused Englishmen of being effete, debauched, and internationally impotent compared to the Spaniards. For imperial humanists, the solution to these problems was a curriculum of humanist education in

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<sup>4</sup> Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 9-10, 54-55; Neal Wood, *Foundations of Political Economy: Some Early Tudor Views on State and Society*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994): 4; Fritz Caspari, *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England*, vol 1, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968): 2

preparation for the *vita activa* among the gentry, an activist Protestant mission, and (most importantly) new overseas outlets for commodities, excess population, and military outposts.

In promoting this reformation, imperial humanists deployed the virtues of temperance, wisdom, and justice to construct an identity for Englishmen that legitimized their claims in the New World. In *Imperialisms* (2004), Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer asserted that all imperial nations produce distinctive propaganda through which each nation “separates itself emphatically” from competitors and demonstrates a special claim to power. Imperial states, they say, “fashion themselves . . . in relation to rival empires from which they discriminate themselves, and in relation to territories for which they compete.”<sup>5</sup> When compared to the uncontrolled and insatiable barbarism of the Spaniards, imperial humanists portrayed the English as liberators of American Indians and suggested Indians would welcome benign English overlordship. The Indians would further benefit from English governance by learning the virtues of civility, preparing them to accept Protestant Christianity. Imperial humanists viewed England’s economic and political profit from colonies as both the material means of accomplishing this civilizing mission and a just recompense for their efforts.

Defined by its exclusively genteel values and anxious masculinity, imperial humanist propaganda contrasted self and other<sup>6</sup> to express their fear that England was slipping into a national effeminacy that would subject them to Spanish domination. Using a discourse on barbarism and civility, imperial humanists promoted a domestic civilizing mission to

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<sup>5</sup> Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer, “Introduction: Imperialisms: Early Modern to Premodernist,” in *Imperialisms: Historical and Literary Investigations, 1500-1900*, edited by Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004): 1, 2

<sup>6</sup> Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*: 13

reform the internal savage (the alien self) and an imperial civilizing mission to bring American Indians (the alien other) to civility. Furthermore, the Spanish Black Legend featured prominently in the works of imperial humanists, with Spain becoming the barbaric European other to England's civilized self. Imperial humanists believed adherence to humanist chivalry would ensure England remained a sovereign state and became Europe's Protestant champion.

This thesis builds upon the work of several recent scholars who have identified humanism as an important component of Tudor and early-Stuart imperial discourse. Anthony Pagden observed that a "code of aristocratic values" and classical discourses on virtue, barbarism, and civility defined the desire for territorial expansion,<sup>7</sup> and asserted that humanist arguments played a critical role in promoting North American colonization because propagandists needed to justify dispossessing indigenous peoples.<sup>8</sup> David Armitage noticed a link between classical rhetoric and conceptions of a British empire persisted in promotional literature from the 1540s until the first settlements appeared in North America and the Caribbean. Particularly, Armitage stated that humanism "transmit[ed] important assumptions regarding the superiority of civility over barbarism and the necessity for civilized polities to carry their civility to those they deemed barbarous."<sup>9</sup> Christopher Hodgkins suggested that imperial propagandists built upon the humanist project to recover antiquarian sources about Britain's glorious imperial past,

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<sup>7</sup> Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c.1800*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): 30, 63-4

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Pagden, "The Struggle for Legitimacy and the Image of Empire in the Atlantic to c.1700," from *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume I: The Origins of the Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 37-38, 43-45, 47, 50

<sup>9</sup> David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 51-52

constructing a national mythos of pious self-restraint as a rationale for extending English dominion into the Americas.<sup>10</sup> Claiming that humanism dominated colonization projects before 1625, Andrew Fitzmaurice examined the ways in which propagandists framed the colonization of North America as a civic duty and a glorious enterprise in which the profit motive was subordinated to pious or honorable ends.<sup>11</sup>

Though all of these works have expanded our understanding of the influence of humanism on early modern imperial ideology, they remain incomplete. Armitage and Hodgkins focused on Protestant humanism in the development of Elizabethan imperial ideology; Pagden limited his discussion of humanism to justifications for colonization; and Fitzmaurice emphasized humanist defenses of the profit motive. This thesis adds to the existing historiography by providing a group identity for the men who produced the most significant and substantial corpus of imperial propaganda, and contextualizes their humanist arguments for expansion within a larger political debate about empire at Court. In addition, this thesis approaches the question of empire from a new direction, exploring how imperial humanists' specific class and gender identity produced certain assumptions about the desirability of empire, the goals of imperialism, and the legitimacy of overseas expansion.

Chapter 1 examines the imperial faction at Court and considers the identity of imperial humanists. Scholars generally divide the Elizabethan imperial faction into two groups, the activists and pragmatists, each with differing ideas about how to address the growing threat from Spain and expand England's commercial interests in the East.

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<sup>10</sup> Christopher Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature*, (Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 2002): 78

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 5, 11-12



Imperial humanists emerged as mediators between the activists and pragmatists, proposing colonization as a way to balance activist interests with pragmatist concerns, and for a brief period they wielded considerable influence at Court. This chapter refines our understanding of how humanism shaped Tudor imperial propaganda by providing a sense of who wrote these texts, what they had in common, and how their experience as men of a particular class predisposed them to see empire as a way to reconcile civic humanism with chivalry.

In Chapter 2, I examine the humanist chivalry imperial humanists advocated as a way to reform the aristocracy into noble counselors committed to a *vita activa*, and as moral preparation against the temptations of colonial ventures. By applying humanist virtues to the chivalric code, imperial humanists hoped to buttress Englishmen against the vices that encouraged Spaniards to violent excesses in the New World. “Humanist chivalry” refers to an English, Protestant iteration of chivalry that injected virtues like temperance, wisdom, and justice into the chivalric code, though many of the changes had medieval precedents. Rebecca Sherrill More has argued that the Tudor/Stuart rhetoric of gentility “was an amalgam of Christian, chivalric, and civic humanist ideas which valued the *vita activa*, the notion that men with claims to be called gentle should devote themselves to a life of good works on behalf of the community.”<sup>12</sup> Imperial humanists used civic humanism to rationalize overseas ventures and widen the field of honorable service to the Crown in an environment of increased competition for patronage. Humanist chivalry, therefore, allowed gentlemen to demonstrate virtue on behalf of the commonwealth<sup>13</sup>—in

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<sup>12</sup> Rebecca Sherrill More, “Rewards for Virtue: Gentility in Early Modern England” (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1998): 6

<sup>13</sup> More, “Rewards for Virtue”: 26

this case through imperial ventures—which validated their rule over the lower classes in England and their claim to inhabit a civilized, sovereign state.

Though many scholars employ the term “Protestant chivalry” in place of “humanist chivalry,” the descriptive usefulness of the former is limited for two reasons. First, the values applied to the chivalric code were less the result of a peculiarly Protestant ethic of temperance but more a product of humanist influence in Europe from the fourteenth century onward. Indeed, it would be more accurate to see chivalry and religion as influenced by humanism. Secondly, it implies that all English Protestants shared a common chivalry. Men like those of the Essex faction idealized the chivalric code developed under feudalism despite receiving humanist educations and participating, often begrudgingly, in a court life that embraced a humanist model of courtiership. Instead, they sought to maintain traditional aristocratic rights against a limited monarchy and desired martial glory at any cost. Like imperial humanists, the Earl of Essex and his faction advocated a zealous Protestantism to counteract the threat from Catholic Spain, but his expression of chivalry hearkened to the medieval past and often set his political goals at odds with those of imperial humanists and the Crown. Under the banner of Protestant chivalry, the distinction between the Essex faction and imperial humanists is elided or lost.

Despite imperial humanists’ conception of imperialism as a civic duty, they had to contend with critics who saw it as nothing more than avarice run amok, an excuse to reap excessive profit to the detriment of England’s national interests. In Chapter 3, I examine how imperial humanists presented temperance and restraint as an antidote to avarice, thus turning the profit motive into a public good. Only through the economic potential of

colonies, imperial humanists asserted, could England thwart the Spanish, protect its national interests against European competitors, and address the financial roots of social disorder.

In recent studies of the economic factors motivating imperialism, merchants have emerged as the primary participants and advocates of expansion, forcing gentlemen adventurers to recede into the background despite their role as imperial propagandists. Kenneth R. Andrews has argued English merchants drove expansion as they sought to exchange their essentially “passive, dependent role” of importer for the “active, independent role” as Europe’s source of luxury goods.<sup>14</sup> Building on Andrews work, other historians have shown that interest in colonization, from both merchants and the Court, was minimal.<sup>15</sup> While this is not in dispute, in the Tudor period propagandists had to address arguments that empire was inherently degrading because of the profit motive and obtain public support for ventures; to overcome opposition to overseas expansion, imperial humanists’ emphasized that empire would solve England’s economic woes, therefore offering a virtuous rationale for the profit motive.

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<sup>14</sup> Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984): 8, 9, 14

<sup>15</sup> Nicholas Canny noted that merchants barely noticed westward expansion, much less invested in colonization schemes, until well into the Jacobean period when their investment in ventures yielded England’s first successful colonies. [Nicholas Canny, “The Origins of Empire: An Introduction,” from *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume I: The Origins of the Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 3-4] Robert Brenner and Carole Shammas have shown that during the Elizabethan period privateering, not colonization, would attract the most investment from merchants and the Crown because it promised the greatest return. Of the dozen or so colonization projects in the Elizabethan period, Shammas estimates that only about nine succeeded in sending out ships at a cost of £75,000 and about 4,600 men. [Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London’s Overseas Traders, 1550-1653*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 109; Carole Shammas, “English commercial development and American colonization 1560-1620,” in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, edited by K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979): 153] In comparison, John Guy calculates the number of privateering ventures at roughly 236 expeditions, which yielded about £400,000 between 1589 and 1592. [John Guy, *Tudor England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988): 349]

While gentlemen-adventurers, including Sir Walter Raleigh, were prominent among Elizabethan privateers, they had a vested interest in constructing imperialism as an honorable pursuit for Englishmen and a way to secure a patrimony. Unlike merchants, imperial humanists recognized the intrinsic problems privateering posed for the state and gentlemen. While imperial humanists acknowledged the Crown's concern with the threat to foreign diplomacy, they also worried that privateering failed to give gentlemen any permanent power over land and men;<sup>16</sup> in other words, privateering could not provide a patrimony. Instead, gentlemen turned to overseas ventures in the Americas and Ireland because "the Crown furnished neither enough opportunities nor the kind of service to satisfy the ambitions of these men."<sup>17</sup> To convince their peers, imperial humanists argued "systematically for settlement in the Americas as a means of furthering English prosperity and power,"<sup>18</sup> and rationalized their desire for profit and possession as a common good.

In addition to economic woes, Tudor England suffered from domestic unrest caused by unemployment, crime, poverty, and religious strife. Humanist-educated gentlemen perceived these problems as a social devolution into barbarism and a prelude to conquest by the Spaniards unless the state undertook a reformation of the national virtue. Chapter 4 analyzes the ways in which imperial humanists conceived of colonization as the keystone to an internal civilizing mission to make Englishmen more industrious and train them for their imperial role as Europe's Protestant Patriarch. Imperial humanists believed colonies could affect this reformation of the national virtue by providing

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<sup>16</sup> Shammas, "English commercial development and American colonization 1560-1620": 170-1

<sup>17</sup> Shammas: 153

<sup>18</sup> McFarlane, *The British in the Americas 1480-1815*: 25

Englishmen with stable employment and patrimonies, which would encourage them to marry and become patriarchs in their own right. Disciplined into orderly subjects, these men would create colonies that served the Crown without the state's direct supervision and would ensure Englishmen, unlike Spaniards, avoided the manifold temptations awaiting them in the New World.

With the emphasis on economics as the primary motive for overseas expansion, recent studies pay little attention to the social arguments in imperial propaganda. Before the end of the British Empire, historians were more likely to view the social justifications as important elements in promoting colonization.<sup>19</sup> Though skeptical of English missionary motives, James A. Williamson credited notable imperial humanists like Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Christopher Carleill with combining humanitarianism and expansion in their attempts to solve the problems of unemployment, crime, and overpopulation. Although the degree of sincerity may have varied, Williamson wrote, "Granted that it was not all disinterested philanthropy, it is yet proof that there was a public opinion to which it was worth while to appeal."<sup>20</sup> As empire came to be viewed more critically, historians like K.R. Andrews claimed the social arguments were moral clichés and literary devices rather than rationales for public policy.<sup>21</sup>

What is missing from most of these studies is a sense of the utility of the social arguments. If the Crown and merchants did not find them compelling, why did imperial propagandists continue to invoke them into the mid-seventeenth century? And why

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<sup>19</sup> E.A. Benians, A.P. Newton, and J. Holland Rose, eds., *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1929): 53; J.B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936): 204-205

<sup>20</sup> James A. Williamson, *The Tudor Age*, (New York: D. McKay Co., 1961): 353

<sup>21</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 33

would propagandists believe that addressing social ills would sway public opinion in favor of colonization? The answer lies in the identity imperial humanists sought to create of England as a universal empire of liberation rather than conquest; creation of this empire would require men of virtue, which necessitated finding a solution to England's social ills.

Finally, Chapter 5 focuses on the civilizing mission in the New World—the goal, according to imperial humanists, that validated all other desires for profit and possession. For imperial humanists, the civilizing mission would address concerns that imperialism was inherently cruel and oppressive by positioning England as liberators of the American Indian from the tyranny of the Spaniards and their own ruling castes. Introduction to civility and Christianity would further liberate American Indians from their savage idolatry. As a further incentive, the civilizing mission would bind metropole and colony together within a universal English culture, thus ensuring that colonial disorder would not become a drain on domestic resources.

Scholars are divided as to the sincerity of the early modern civilizing mission, largely due to its failure and early abandonment. Though he did not consider it a critical factor in expansion, George L. Beer chauvinistically claimed the civilizing mission brought colonization support it would otherwise have lacked, giving empire “that ethical basis . . . without which it is impossible for the Anglo-Saxon to exert himself to the fullest degree.”<sup>22</sup> Loren E. Pennington and William R. Louis suggested the civilizing mission was dictated by necessity. Both observed that in Africa and Asia, where trade was the focus, there was no suggestion of a civilizing mission; however, wherever colonization

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<sup>22</sup> George Louis Beer, “The Early English Colonial Movement” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1 (March 1908): 78

became a goal, imperialists needed to justify dispossessing indigenous peoples to make way for English landlords.<sup>23</sup> While J.H. Parry tended to minimize the civilizing mission, he argued that missionary appeals in imperial propaganda “were not merely exercises in public relations”<sup>24</sup> but the result of a religious zeal unmatched by any systematic program of conversion, as the Spanish had readily available in the Jesuit and Dominican orders. Thus, the lack of success was more a matter of logistics than a lack of sympathy.

Some historians, like David Armitage, consider the civilizing mission an important component of the ideological origins of England’s imperial identity.<sup>25</sup> Noting humanist refrains to subordinate the profit motive to God’s glory, Nicholas Canny argued that imperial propagandists advocated a militant Protestantism to check Catholic Spain, believing their monarchs duty-bound to spread the “true-faith” to the inhabitants of the New World.<sup>26</sup> Anthony Pagden viewed the civilizing mission as the logical conclusion of humanist meditations on Cicero’s discourse about barbarism and civility; the Roman practice of manumitting slaves directly to citizenship suggested to humanists that a program of civic education could end one’s barbarian status. Thus, Pagden claimed, imperial theorists derived from Ciceronian writings the idea of a universal culture, which

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<sup>23</sup> Loren E. Pennington, “The Amerindian in English promotional literature 1575-1625,” in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, edited by K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979): 175; William Roger Louis, “Foreword” from *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume I: The Origins of the Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): viii

<sup>24</sup> J.H. Parry, “Introduction: the English in the New World,” in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, edited by K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979): 9

<sup>25</sup> Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*: 5

<sup>26</sup> Canny, “The Origins of Empire”: 5

could be extended to American Indians.<sup>27</sup> To further link English imperialism with the Roman legacy, imperial humanists pointed to classical texts in which social progress was envisioned as the slow, often bloody and involuntary, acquisition of civilization. Deborah Shuger suggested this narrative model appeared in William Camden's *Britannia* (1586) and provided a blueprint for Edmund Spenser's colonial policy to civilize the Irish.<sup>28</sup> Building on the work of these historians, I contend that imperial humanists deployed the discourse on civility and barbarism in their writings about American Indians to justify the extension of English dominion into America and demonstrate that piety, not profit, underlay the urge for colonies.

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<sup>27</sup> Pagden, *Lords of All the World*: 22-23

<sup>28</sup> Deborah Shuger, "Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians," *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol 50, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 496- William Camden attended Oxford University at the same time as Raleigh, Hakluyt, and Hariot, while Edmund Spenser became a close friend of Raleigh's during Raleigh's brief visit to his Munster estate in 1589.



## CHAPTER 1

### IMPERIAL HUMANISTS

In early modern historiography, the consensus has been that the imperial faction contained two distinct groups: the activists and the pragmatists;<sup>1</sup> thus it seems odd to talk about a third group within the faction. Why have previous historians failed to notice imperial humanists? In earlier studies, examination of imperial writings revealed that imperialists used different (and often incompatible) arguments to justify and promote expansion, resulting in the conclusion that the imperial faction lacked a coherent agenda and ideology.<sup>2</sup> However, study of the rhetorical frame of their arguments and consideration of who produced imperial writings reveals a constituency within the imperial faction who combined civic humanism and chivalry in an effort to harmonize the imperial agendas of the activists and pragmatists and to promote imperial ventures. Imperial humanists thus attempted to create a coherent ideology and policy for the Elizabethan imperial faction, even if they ultimately failed.

In *Humanism and America* (2003), Andrew Fitzmaurice noticed the prevalence of humanist appeals in early modern imperial propaganda. In this re-examination of

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<sup>1</sup> Louis B. Wright, *The Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization, 1607-1763*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947); D.B. Quinn and A.N. Ryan, *England's Sea Empire*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983); John Guy, *Tudor England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics 1588-1603*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Lacey Baldwin Smith, *This Realm of England 1399-1688*, 8<sup>th</sup> Edition, (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000)

<sup>2</sup> John C. Appleby, "War, Politics, and Colonization, 1558-1625," from *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume I: The Origins of the Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 63; Guy, *Tudor England*: 349

imperial intellectual history, Fitzmaurice contended that humanism played a distinct role in English imperialism precisely because ventures relied on private investment, numerous failures having convinced the Crown to offer little more than its legal sanction. Therefore, English imperialists mounted a massive campaign of humanist propaganda to encourage subscriptions. In order for imperial propaganda to succeed, imperialists needed to persuade the Crown and other Englishmen of the justice and glory of the enterprise, a task for which humanist discourse was well-suited.<sup>3</sup> In addition, as Christopher Hodgkins suggested, imperialists used humanism to project an image of virtue and strength to their European competitors and therefore validate their claims in the New World.<sup>4</sup>

One aspect lacking in previous studies was a sense of the identity of imperial propagandists: who produced imperial propaganda, how were these men connected, and how did they define their identity as men and as citizens of a nation? This chapter considers the men who comprised the imperial humanist group and the characteristics that distinguished them from their compatriots in the imperial faction. In addition, this chapter includes a brief biographical sketch of the main participants in the imperial humanist group.

### The Imperial Faction

From the mid-sixteenth century support for overseas expansion crystallized into a faction at Court devoted to advancing an imperial agenda. As relations between Spain and England disintegrated from the 1560s, with King Philip threatening the Netherlands

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<sup>3</sup> Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*: 7-8

<sup>4</sup> Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire*: 7-8

and supporting Mary Stuart and Queen Elizabeth authorizing piratical attacks on Spanish ships and aiding the Dutch, the imperial faction split into constituencies over how to address the problem.<sup>5</sup> Members of the imperial faction all advocated an agenda that would limit Spanish power and promote Protestantism, but split between those who placed religion and intervention at the forefront—activists—and those who took a *realpolitik* approach to the Spanish problem—the pragmatists.<sup>6</sup> Though these disputes resulted in an incoherent and often ineffective imperial agenda, periodic solidarity in the faction worked to create a balanced imperial policy where no point of view went unrepresented.<sup>7</sup> In the end, though, the Queen made her own policy, wherein she tried to manage all the competing demands of religion, economics, and strategic interests.

Led by the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, activists viewed the war with Spain as a battle between defenders of the true faith (Protestant England) against the enemies of God (Catholic Spain) and advocated a Protestant coalition in Europe, training a citizen-militia in case of a land invasion, and strengthening the royal navy.<sup>8</sup> As tensions between England and Spain increased, England moved closer to an alliance with the French Huguenots, under the leadership of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. Coligny's strategy was to unite France by waging war on Spain and threatening the Iberian monopoly in the New World. With Coligny's assassination on the eve of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, "the same militant, expansionist element in England . . .

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<sup>5</sup> Smith, *This Realm of England 1399-1688*: 213; Quinn and Ryan, *England's Sea Empire*: 23

<sup>6</sup> Guy, *Tudor England*: 283

<sup>7</sup> MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*: 82-83, 109-112

<sup>8</sup> Guy: 287

fell heir to his Atlantic policy and American ambitions.”<sup>9</sup> From 1572 to 1588, the activist agenda focused on intervention in the Continent on behalf of French Huguenots and Dutch Calvinists. After 1588, now primarily driven by the hawkish Earl of Essex, the objective became direct action against Spain and its possessions.

Key among the activists who supported colonization was Sir Francis Walsingham. Walsingham has been called a “single-minded ideologue” and “political puritan”<sup>10</sup> for his dogged pursuit of England’s national security, which included support for English expansion. Indeed, Walsingham was involved in almost every imperial scheme launched between 1573 and 1590. Married to Anna Carleill, daughter of the Muscovy Company magnate Sir George Barne, Walsingham became a director of the company in 1569 and used his connections with London’s merchants to encourage commercial enterprises, many of which included his step-son, Christopher Carleill. In 1578, Walsingham wrote “A Consideration of the Trade into Turkey” to convince the Crown to establish trade relations with the Ottomans, both for the economic advantages and as a possible ally against Spain.<sup>11</sup> Walsingham showed an equal interest in westward expansion, supporting the ventures of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Adrian Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Peckham, and providing patronage opportunities to Richard Hakluyt.

Led by Lord Burghley and Sir Christopher Hatton, the pragmatists rejected the ideology of universal Protestantism in favor of protecting England’s national interests by avoiding a hot war with Spain for vague colonial aspirations. These “little Englanders” advocated a diplomatic arrangement with Spain to encourage English trade on the

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<sup>9</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 138

<sup>10</sup> Guy: 280

<sup>11</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 15; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*: 61-3

Continent and revitalize trade in the Levant. Though the pragmatists sometimes deemed combat necessary, they most often counseled diplomacy because of the perceived poverty of England's financial and military resources compared to Spain. Lord Burghley thought a return to the status quo—defined as France balancing between England and Spain, an autonomous Netherlands, and English isolationism—before the war would be victory. Achieving this status quo meant that from the 1570s Burghley's position became increasingly conservative; under Sir Robert Cecil's guidance, pragmatists would become somewhat more receptive to activist policies. On occasion pragmatists endorsed colonization efforts, like the Ulster and Munster colonies, if private investment was sufficient to limit Crown expenditures. With the exception of a brief period from the 1584 assassination of William of Orange to the siege of Cadiz in 1596, the pragmatists most closely represented the will of the Queen regarding Spain.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to activists and pragmatists, imperial humanists came to act as mediators in the imperial faction in an attempt to convince the Queen to not only sanction their agenda but also provide them the resources of the exchequer. Chief among imperial humanists was Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, who used their royal favor to add the colonization of Ireland and the New World to the imperial agenda. While the Crown readily recognized the benefits of Irish colonies, imperial humanists found the Crown required much convincing to consider New World ventures. Imperial humanists understood the Queen needed assurance that a bellicose agenda would not create greater economic hardship in England or place them under threat of another Spanish invasion. They also realized the success of imperial ventures depended on the Queen's support.

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<sup>12</sup> MacCaffrey: 74-75, 477; Wright, *The Atlantic Frontier*: 50-51; Benians, *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*: 66; Guy: 280, 286

Imperial humanist writings used civic humanism as the ideological underpinning to reconcile the differing agendas of activists and pragmatists: their works certified the public orientation of these ventures, while promising the Crown's intention to preserve the nation's honor with assertive action.

In their efforts to promote colonization, imperial humanists forged alliances with both activists and pragmatists. Activists such as Sir John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, Martin Frobisher, Sir John Norris and the Earl of Cumberland benefitted from imperial humanist propaganda and imperial humanists often participated and/or invested in their ventures. Accounts of the Drake voyages reached almost hagiographical levels when imperial humanists applied their rhetoric to accounts of his ventures. Drake's exploits and reputation for piety easily harmonized with the imperial humanist narrative of England's expansion as a just endeavor predicated on pious restraint. Even Sir William Monson, who had no affinity for Raleigh, would deploy imperial humanist rhetoric in his memoirs.

Though ideologically closer to activists, imperial humanists sought patronage from pragmatists, in particular that of Sir Christopher Hatton, who acted as chief promoter of Drake's circumnavigation voyage.<sup>13</sup> Already in advanced middle-age, the soldier-poet Thomas Churchyard entreated Hatton to secure him a position under Leicester's command in the Netherlands because, unlike younger men only interested in lucre, "I seek no farm, I sue for no pension, nor I love not to live as an almsman: I covet to die like a Soldier and a true Subject."<sup>14</sup> When confined to the Marshalsea on treason charges, Churchyard asked Hatton to intercede with the Queen and proclaim his absolute loyalty

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<sup>13</sup> Raleigh Trevelyan, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2002): 53

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Churchyard, undated letter quoted in Harris Nicolas, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton, K. G.: Vice-Chamberlain and Lord Chancellor to Queen Elizabeth*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1847): xxxviii

to her.<sup>15</sup> Hatton also extended his patronage to John Dee, to whom *General and rare memorials pertayning to the perfect arte of nauigation* (1577) was written, and George Best dedicated to him *A true discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya* (1578). Sir Robert Cecil also saw his fair share of dedications from imperial humanists, including Sir Walter Raleigh's *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bevvtiful empire of Guiana* (1596).

### Imperial Humanists

But who were the imperial humanists? What brought them together as a group? In reality, these men identified themselves as part of the activist wing of the imperial faction but their tempered belligerence and use of a humanist rhetoric set them apart from the jingoism of the Leicester/Essex circle, the conservatism of the Burghley/Hatton circle, and the narrowly financial concerns of London's merchant interests. Imperial humanists mostly reflected the generation born at the end of Mary's reign and the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, but some men of the Henrician generation, such as Sir Thomas Smith, John Dee, and Thomas Churchyard became important contributors to the group. Imperial humanists also had intellectual predecessors in the early-Tudor period, among them Sir Thomas More, Sir John Rastell, and Richard Eden. Though imperial humanists remained an amorphous network of men, they clustered around the elder Richard Hakluyt, Sir

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<sup>15</sup> Encouraged by Ambassador Mauvissière, Churchyard petitioned the Scottish Parliament to spare the Earl of Morton for his role in Lord Darnley's murder. Churchyard was first confined to a Scottish prison on charges of treason, but the King was persuaded to release Churchyard to the Queen's custody. Nicolas, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton*: 172-4; Harry Kemp, ed., *The Bronze Treasury: An Anthology of 81 Obscure English Poets Together with Their Biographical Portraits*, (New York: The Macaulay Company, 1927): 26

Humphrey Gilbert, and Sir Walter Raleigh, lending financial, political, and rhetorical support to imperial ventures.

In some ways, one might say imperial humanists were bred to their fascination with expansion. Many of them were West-country gentlemen, whose prevalence among the leading adventurers of the Elizabethan period—the Drakes, Hawkinses, Gilberts, Grenvilles, Carews, Raleighs, and Champernownes—has drawn comment from historians.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, Raleigh claimed relation to the Champernownes, Drakes, Gilberts, Grenvilles, and Carews. Though merchants comprised the most significant group of early modern expansionists, Elizabethan gentlemen adventurers were important advocates and investors in voyages of colonization and privateering.<sup>17</sup> Thus, it is unsurprising that the majority of imperial humanists were gentlemen, with the occasional peer supporting their efforts. Several imperial humanists shared experience as soldiers on the Continent and in Ireland, where they came to see empire and religion as intertwined and necessary to halting Spain's encroachments on English sovereignty. Among those soldiers were Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, George Gascoigne, Thomas Churchyard, Sir Philip Sidney, and Christopher Carleill.

In accordance with new standards of gentility, most imperial humanists acquired a university education even if many did not complete degrees. A significant proportion were educated at Oxford University—Raleigh, Gilbert, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hariot, Sidney, Arthur Gorges, Lawrence Keymis, Stephen Parmenius, Churchyard, William

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<sup>16</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*; J.H. Adamson and H.F. Folland, *The Shepherd of the Ocean* (Boston, 1969); D.B. Quinn and A.N. Ryan, *England's Sea Empire*

<sup>17</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 17-18



Monson, William Camden, Robert Greene, and George Peele<sup>18</sup>—which had adopted the “new learning,” a humanist curriculum (*studias humanitatis*) emphasizing classical works. While education was an important factor in developing a shared humanist outlook and a preoccupation with the new fields of navigation and cosmography, Oxford became a locus for establishing connections between imperial humanists for a more basic reason: of the same generation, most imperial humanists attended Oxford contemporaneously in the 1570s and early-1580s. In other words, Oxford became the first of several institutional cultures in which the intellectual affinities of imperial humanists enabled them to crystallize as a distinct group with a particular view of England’s sea empire.

Another important institution in creating the imperial humanist network of mariner/soldiers, courtiers, and merchants for their ventures was the Middle Temple, one of London’s Inns of Court. At the center of this group was the elder Richard Hakluyt,<sup>19</sup> a frequent advisor on the Levant and Muscovy trades and an early advocate of North American colonization. Members of the Middle Temple included activists Hawkins and Frobisher, and imperial humanists like Humphrey and Adrian Gilbert, Raleigh, and George Gascoigne. Sir Francis Drake was also a frequent visitor to the Middle Temple.<sup>20</sup> In addition to his Middle Temple contacts, the elder Hakluyt had a circle of associates

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<sup>18</sup> Trevelyan, *Sir Walter Raleigh*: 17, 20, 29, 70; E.G.R. Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1935): 12; D.B. Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940): 236-7; Oscar James Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1943): 31; John A. Wagner, *Historical Dictionary of the Elizabethan World: Britain, Ireland, Europe, and America*, (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1999): 129, 233

<sup>19</sup> For purposes of clarity, Richard Hakluyt (1552/53-1616) will be referred throughout as either “Hakluyt” or “the younger Hakluyt”. Richard Hakluyt, Esquire will be referred to as “the elder Hakluyt”

<sup>20</sup> D.B. Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton Limited, 1947): 9; Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan Obsession for an English America*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007): 8, 76-77; Taylor, *Writings & Correspondences of the Two Richard Hakluyts*: 5-6; Felix E. Schelling, *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1927): 22

which included John Dee, Emmanuel van Meteren, and Michael Lok. It was through his elder cousin that Richard Hakluyt came to the attention of Walsingham and formed a close friendship with Lok, a secretary of the Muscovy Company and the primary investor in Frobisher's 1576-8 voyages.

At his residence, the elder Hakluyt amassed a substantial library of information about North America and he advised Sir Humphrey Gilbert after he received a patent to establish a colony. The elder Hakluyt's imperial interests prompted Anthony Parkhurst, a Bristol merchant and four-time veteran of the Newfoundland voyages, to write him letters containing detailed arguments in favor of colonization. Parkhurst hoped the elder Hakluyt could use the information to counter domestic naysayers intent on preventing colonization.<sup>21</sup> When Gilbert's patent terminated with his 1583 death, the elder Hakluyt turned his attention to Raleigh's planned exploration and colonization of North America, offering his advice in "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. Degrees."

From the late-1560s until his death in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was the leading imperial humanist. Gilbert was Raleigh's elder half-brother and a second son who looked to his skills as a soldier and courtier to establish a patrimony. In an early incarnation of his interest in North America, Gilbert sought a route to the East via a northwest passage. In support of his 1565/6 petitions to find the Northwest Passage, Gilbert wrote a pamphlet detailing the classical, cosmographical, and navigational arguments supporting its existence and advocating a private exploration venture. The pamphlet, *A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia*, circulated for a decade until George Gascoigne

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<sup>21</sup> David B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625*, (London & Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1990): 105; Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*: 78

published it to promote Frobisher's first northwest voyage in 1576. Though much of the information was outdated, Gilbert's pamphlet influenced John Dee to publish *The perfect arte of nauigation* (1577) and offer his expertise in cosmography and navigation to imperialists. Dee also invested in several ventures with Humphrey and Adrian Gilbert before he fled England for the Continent in 1583.<sup>22</sup>

By 1566 Gilbert's attention turned to colonization in Ireland, where he served the Crown and earned his knighthood in 1570, despite his excessive cruelty toward the Gaelic Irish.<sup>23</sup> Although he failed to establish an estate in Cork in 1569, Gilbert proposed colonization in Ireland to civilize the "savage" Irish into English subjects and inoculate them against Spanish or French machinations, thus eliminating the island as an entry point for attacks on England.<sup>24</sup> As Anglo-Spanish relations deteriorated, Gilbert focused his imperial agenda on challenging Spanish hegemony. In 1577, Gilbert wrote two petitions to the Queen asking leave to "annoy" the Spanish through piratical attacks on their ships and colonies.<sup>25</sup> Though denied, Gilbert attracted the support of Walsingham, who helped him obtain a six-year patent for a North American colony in 1578. Gilbert called Walsingham "my principall patron" and "my good and honorable frend,"<sup>26</sup> relying on the Secretary's support after the failure of the 1579 voyage. The patent generated much interest among imperial humanists; investors and adventurers under Gilbert's

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<sup>22</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 171, 179-80; Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*: 280

<sup>23</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 184-5, 187

<sup>24</sup> Gilbert, "The Discourse of Ireland," from Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*: 125-7

<sup>25</sup> Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "A Disourse How Hir Majestie May Annoy the King of Spayne (6 November 1577)," from *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* edited by David B. Quinn

<sup>26</sup> Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "23 September 1578. Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Sir Francis Walsingham," from Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*: 199

patent included Walsingham, Sidney, Walter and Carew Raleigh, George Peckham, Dee, and Edward Hayes.<sup>27</sup>

Unfortunately, Gilbert's famously bad temper and lack of discretion proved insurmountable liabilities, leading both voyages made under his patent to end in disaster. Clashes among the principals and poor weather condemned the 1579 voyage; the 1583 voyage also suffered from insufficient investment and numerous delays, such as the Queen's decision to prohibit Gilbert from participating in the expedition "as a man noted of not good happ by sea,"<sup>28</sup> a charge that greatly offended Gilbert's honor. The Queen relented but her assessment proved prescient and Gilbert perished at sea. With Gilbert's patent voided, several imperial humanists proposed their own plans for colonization in North America. Backed by Walsingham, Carleill approached the Muscovy Company and Peckham had Sidney's support, but both plans failed to materialize. Raleigh, recently elevated as the Queen's favorite, received the North America patent on 25 March 1584.<sup>29</sup>

With his patent, Sir Walter Raleigh became the central figure of the imperial humanist group. Curiously, while Raleigh was a prolific author we have few imperial writings by him and little of his personal correspondence has survived. As a gentleman with aristocratic aspirations, Raleigh may have felt it gauche to write his own propaganda, instead leaving it to social inferiors to promote his efforts in print. Indeed, previous to his disgrace in 1592 Raleigh's only imperial publication was a eulogy for his fallen kinsman,

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<sup>27</sup> Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*: 260-6; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 179, 190, 194

<sup>28</sup> "7 february 1583. Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Sir Francis Walsingham," from Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*: 339

<sup>29</sup> Raphael Holinshed, "The Holinshed Notice of the 1584 Voyage," from *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*, edited by David Beers Quinn, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955): 90; Trevelyan: 66; Peckham's plan likely failed because he had been imprisoned for Catholic activities and because the Queen refused to let Sidney leave England.

Sir Richard Grenville. After his exile from Court, Raleigh produced several propaganda pamphlets about the capture of the *Madre de Dios*, his Guiana voyages, and an account of the Cadiz expedition in hopes of regaining the Queen's favor and earning patronage from privy councilors.

Raleigh received his introduction to maritime affairs through his seafaring relations and spent some years as a soldier in France and Ireland. Like Gilbert, Raleigh viewed colonization as necessary to England's security and as a way to realize his patrimony. Raleigh's first imperial venture was the 1579 Gilbert voyage, in which he was the only captain to make it out to sea. Seeking glory, Raleigh sailed as far as Cape Verde in search of treasure ships but illness on the ship forced him to turn back without taking a single prize. Raleigh then focused his colonial aspirations on Ireland, where he tried to create an estate on the Barry lands in Cork but was ultimately thwarted. Returning to England in mid-1582, Raleigh quickly became the Queen's favorite and started formulating his own colonial plans in North America.<sup>30</sup> He also used his favored status at Court to advance the imperial humanist agenda. In this endeavor Raleigh came to rely upon Richard Hakluyt, who emerged as the most important propagandist and theoretician of Elizabethan imperialism.<sup>31</sup> If Raleigh was the embodiment of the imperial humanist movement, then Hakluyt was its heart and soul.

In *The Principal Navigations* (1589), Richard Hakluyt told an apocryphal story about his first visit to his elder cousin at the Middle Temple, in which he discovered books on

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<sup>30</sup> Trevelyan: 34-47

<sup>31</sup> McFarlane: 25

cosmography and a world map.<sup>32</sup> Hakluyt resolved that day to study and promote cosmography and navigation if he ever attended university, a promise he spent a lifetime fulfilling, becoming an early supporter of plans for a North American colony. Hakluyt's interest was aroused into activism when study of Spanish colonization accounts led him to the conclusion that exploring the Americas was not enough; in order to benefit from New World wealth, England would need to establish colonies as had the Iberians.<sup>33</sup> Toward this end, Hakluyt assembled a corpus of English exploration narratives, *Diuers voyages touching the discoverie of America* (1582), which imperialists could consult as a guide in their ventures. The *Divers voyages* impressed Walsingham and he procured employment for Hakluyt in the household of Sir Edward Stafford, the ambassador to Paris. While in Paris, Hakluyt formed a close relationship with André Thevet, the royal cosmographer, who revealed tentative plans for a French North American colony.<sup>34</sup> News of the French project prompted Hakluyt to apply his rhetorical skills to encourage the Queen to finance English colonial ventures.

With Walsingham's help, Raleigh enlisted Hakluyt to convince the Queen to support a new colonial venture in North America. For much of 1584 Hakluyt gathered sources for his treatise, the *Discourse of Western Planting*, which outlined twenty-one reasons England should pursue colonization in North America. Hakluyt's systematic and thorough argument led Peter C. Mancall to call the piece not simply a justification for

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<sup>32</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, deputies to Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent maiestie, 1589): 2

<sup>33</sup> Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*: 88

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*: 102, 121

colonization but a blueprint for viable colonization.<sup>35</sup> Paired with a translation of Aristotle's *Politics*, Raleigh hoped Hakluyt's masterful arguments and Arthur Barlowe's report on the 1584 reconnaissance voyage to Virginia would convince the Queen of the public benefits of colonization. The pamphlets persuaded the Queen to authorize a new voyage, though her only investment was the use of a royal ship, the *Tyger*. The propaganda proved more effective in Parliament, where a committee arranged to confirm the Roanoke patent—among whom were Walsingham, Hatton, Sidney, Drake, and Grenville—made a decision in Raleigh's favor a foregone conclusion.<sup>36</sup>

For the 1585 Roanoke voyage, Raleigh assembled a diverse group of talented men at Durham House, which functioned as the chief site of imperial humanist activity in the late-1580s. The most important of these men was Thomas Hariot, a gifted mathematician and astronomer Raleigh first met at Oxford. The two men developed a close friendship and Hariot entered Raleigh's employ in 1580, receiving an annual pension until his death in 1621. Hariot instructed Raleigh and his men in the art of navigation and Raleigh entrusted Hariot with documenting the Roanoke colony, which resulted in *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1588). John White, who joined the colony as its illustrator, was a veteran of Frobisher's 1577 voyage and the 1584 Roanoke voyage. In 1587, White became the governor for the second Roanoke colony, leading the first attempt to transplant a cross-section of English society abroad. At the encouragement of Hakluyt, Theodor de Bry collected White's drawings with Hariot's account for the 1590 edition of *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, a work so popular it

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<sup>35</sup> Peter C. Mancall, ed., *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640*, (Boston & New York: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995): 45

<sup>36</sup> David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*, (London: Printed for The Hakluyt Society, 1955): 123- notes

was translated into Latin, French, and German.<sup>37</sup> Other participants in the 1585 Roanoke voyage included Thomas Cavendish and Sir Richard Grenville, who acted as Raleigh's proxy when the Queen forbid him from personally commanding the expedition.

At Durham House Raleigh also hosted an informal coterie organization, known as the School of Night,<sup>38</sup> whose members took a skeptical approach to science and religion. The primary members of this group were imperial humanists, including Hariot, Lawrence Keymis, Mathew Roydon, George Chapman, and Robert Hues. While historians disagree as to the level of participation Christopher Marlowe may have had, it is clear from his friendships with members of the group that he was on the periphery of the imperial humanist faction. Marlowe was also a close friend to several other writers who adopted the imperial humanist frame, including Robert Greene and George Peele.<sup>39</sup>

## Conclusion

The obvious question is: how influential were imperial humanist ideas? One way to ascertain their influence is through printing. Tudor and Jacobean writers documented

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<sup>37</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 176, 212, 214; Trevelyan: 17; Paul Hulton, "Images of the New World: Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues and John White," in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, edited by K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979): 197-8; Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies*: 250; Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire*: 122

<sup>38</sup> Trevelyan: 11, 192; The name derives from a reference in Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost*. Literary studies on the School of Night include: Robert Gittings, *Shakespeare's Rival: A Study in Three Parts* (1960) and M.C. Bradbrook, *The School of Night: A Study in the Literary Relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1965).

<sup>39</sup> Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire*: 30-32; Trevelyan: 119, 200. Mathew Roydon wrote a dedicatory poem for Sir George Peckham's *A true reporte, of the late discoueries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the new-found landes* (1583). Robert Hues was the author of *Tractatus de globis et eorum vsu accommodatus iis qui Londini editi sunt anno 1593, sumptibus Gulielmi Sandersoni ciuis Londinensis, conscriptus à Roberto Hues.* (1594), which he dedicated to Raleigh. Hues was a mathematician and accompanied Thomas Cavendish on his circumnavigation voyage. George Chapman wrote the dedicatory epistle for Lawrence Keymis' *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana* (1596).



England's imperial exploits in hundreds of pamphlets, which ranged from treatises on navigation and cosmography to poetry and drama to patriotic accounts of their most famous mariners. In addition, dozens of accounts of other European explorers, in particular the Iberians, were translated into English. An untold number of unpublished accounts circulated among merchants and gentlemen. Richard Hakluyt collected and commissioned many of these unpublished accounts in *The Principal Navigations* (1589, 1599-1600), a project continued by Samuel Purchas in 1625.

Of the imperial writings those by, to, or about imperial humanists and their allies comprised at least one-third of accounts published between 1499 and 1628. If we include accounts written about or to all members of the Elizabethan imperial faction, the proportion jumps to nearly half of imperial writings. Even accounts that explicitly rejected the imperial humanist frame, such as the writings of Gervase Markham, either addressed or employed their arguments.<sup>40</sup> When we examine dedications, after the Queen and Lord Admiral Charles Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh was the most frequent recipient of this honor, even more than England's most famous hero, Sir Francis Drake, or the more popular Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex. Since dedications were a way of acknowledging or seeking patronage, it is suggestive of the group's political influence that the leading imperial humanist, Raleigh, was also the most frequent dedicatee.

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<sup>40</sup> Dionyse Settle, *A true reporte of the laste voyage into the west and northwest regions, &c. 1577. worthily atchieued by Capteine Frobisher of the sayde voyage the first finder and generall* (1577); Walter Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian voyage* (1589); Baptista Boazio, *The famousse West Indian voyadge made by the Englishe fleete* (1589); Gervase Markham, *The most honorable tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile, Knight* (1595); Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, *To Maister Anthonie Bacon [An Apologie of the Earle of Essex]*, (1600); Sir Francis Bacon, Bacon, *A declaration of the demeanor and cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, aswell in his voyage, as in, and sithence his returne and of the true motiues and inducements which occasioned His Maiestie to proceed in doing iustice vpon him, as hath bene don*, (London: Printed by Bonham Norton and Iohn Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie, 1618)

Clearly, imperial humanists and those sympathetic to their agenda were a prolific group, and their ideas proved attractive in the brief explosion of patriotism generated by the Anglo-Spanish wars. It was no coincidence that the most significant production of imperial humanist writings occurred during periods of increased tension or outright war with Spain, as these were the times at which the Crown became most receptive to their agenda. Humanist rhetoric in imperial writings increased during the 1560s and early-1570s with the Hawkins voyages and the first colonization attempts in Ireland, and boomed with the Gilbert, Frobisher, and Drake voyages of the late-1570s. Interest in imperial humanist writings continued unabated until the late-1580s, when general accounts of the Anglo-Spanish War and the Continental wars in which England participated finally outpaced them. Imperial humanists once again found brief popularity in the mid-1590s with Raleigh's Guiana voyages and the Cadiz expedition. Imperial humanists lost their political influence after the Queen's death in 1603, with only brief resurgences of writings at the founding of the Jamestown colony and Raleigh's final Guiana voyage in 1617.

Imperial humanists were always an inchoate group with a shifting nucleus of core supporters around particular individuals. Promotion of the Roanoke colony marked the peak of their influence on the imperial agenda, with the 1588 Armada invasion deflating political interest in their proposals. Revived interest in colonization came only after James I concluded peace terms with Spain and the relative peace of his reign enabled the state and merchant interests to generate the financial and human capital to invest in imperial projects.<sup>41</sup> Despite this lack of strong identification, the men I have labeled imperial humanists shared intellectual and social milieus which facilitated the

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<sup>41</sup> McFarlane: 37

construction of a consistent imperial ideology based on humanist ideals, to disseminate these ideas, and to create networks of association for promoting and investing in westward imperial enterprises. In the following chapters, I will examine the specific arguments imperial humanists constructed in support of their agenda.

## CHAPTER 2

### GIUEN TO CIUILITIE & HUMANITIE: HUMANIST CHIVALRY AND THE ENGLISH WHITE LEGEND

In the previous chapter, I provided a brief sketch of the men who comprised the imperial humanist group and the social networks that brought them together. In this chapter, I consider how imperial humanists deployed a civic humanist political discourse to justify imperialism. Specifically, I examine how imperial humanists inserted the humanist virtues of wisdom, temperance, and justice into the chivalric code to define a uniquely English chivalry that validated the dominion of gentlemen over the lower classes and indigenous peoples, and buttressed English adventurers against the moral temptations awaiting them overseas. Furthermore, this humanist chivalry defined the duties of citizenship as reaching beyond England's territorial boundaries, urging Englishmen to defend the New World's indigenous inhabitants in the interest of justice. Thus, humanist chivalry enabled imperial humanists to envision England as not just internally sovereign (the sense in which most Tudor authors used "empire"), but as a composite of peoples and lands extending far beyond the British Isles. Humanist chivalry, therefore, formed an important psychological element in convincing Englishmen that their destiny laid overseas.

In the mid-sixteenth century, English humanists often portrayed the aristocracy as “white barbarians”<sup>1</sup> whose devotion to honor culture made them comparable to the Gaelic Irish. Adherents of medieval chivalry mightily resisted England’s increasingly legalistic structure “as the most repugnante to their libertie and naturall fredome,”<sup>2</sup> and their ongoing resistance to humanist reforms signaled moral decay among England’s upper classes. Imperial humanists hoped the cultivation of humanist chivalry would curb these fractious aristocrats and turn their energies toward serving the state, while legitimizing English claims to imperial sovereignty at home and abroad.

Humanist chivalry emerged from the impulse to reconcile the *vita activa* with the social ambitions of the gentry and the vibrancy of Tudor chivalric culture.<sup>3</sup> Like their fellow gentlemen, imperial humanists were devotees of the chivalric code and wished to emulate the values of the aristocracy. The tradition of knights-errantry held particular appeal for imperial humanists because few expected to inherit a patrimony and they looked to martial exploits as a means of securing a future. Despite their adherence to chivalry, the emphasis on lineage as the primary means of social promotion meant that gentlemen were not the main beneficiaries of the system. In addition, aristocratic tendencies toward violent overreaction at perceived slights of honor were increasingly viewed as barbaric. Instead, imperial humanists looked to the growing Tudor bureaucracy and the ethic of civic humanism as an alternative. Combining good birth with the virtues cultivated from a humanist education, gentlemen could earn honor and position as

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<sup>1</sup> Shuger, “Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians”: 496, 506

<sup>2</sup> Shuger: 512

<sup>3</sup> Frances A. Yates, “Elizabethan Chivalry: The Romance of the Accession Day Tilts,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 20, no.1/2 (Jan-June 1957): 22

statesmen. Nevertheless, a willingness to serve the state did not assure gentlemen of a patrimony due to increased competition for patronage and the limited availability of offices. Moreover, men like Sir Walter Raleigh found the life of a statesman unlikely to yield rewards commensurate with his ambitions.

Imperial humanists turned to humanist chivalry as a way to retain the benefits of both chivalry and civic humanism while mitigating their deficiencies. An English empire would give the upper classes a realm where their industry required them to maintain an active life as husbandmen and governors at home and as knights-errant for a just cause in the empire. In this way, the Crown could circumscribe the belligerence of England's aristocracy by authorizing an appropriate outlet for their warrior impulses. Imperial humanists envisioned empire in terms similar to those in which Richard McCoy suggested the Crown viewed Accession Day Tilts: humanist knights-errant would compete with each other to glorify the Crown, not endanger the state with irrational disputes over individual honor.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to fears about internal degeneracy, imperial humanists warned that an uncivilized English nation would be no match against the imperial designs of Spain and the Roman Church. Jennifer R. Goodman observed that as Englishmen "confronted the Catholic imperial chivalry of Spain" they developed their own Protestant chivalry. Goodman argued: "It is important to recognize that the war between Spain and England was also a conflict of chivalries."<sup>5</sup> Since imperial humanists promoted plans for

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<sup>4</sup> Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 19, 21-23; Accession Day Tilts gave men a way to redirect their interpersonal disputes onto the tiltyard, which new rules had made less violent, and enabled them to earn honor while competing for the Crown's glory.

<sup>5</sup> Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration, 1298-1630*, (Woodbridge, UK & Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1998): 169

expansion as a necessary component of the Anglo-Spanish wars, it is important to understand the ways in which concepts of English manhood functioned in imperial literature. While empire offered gentlemen one of the few means of obtaining a patrimony, it also gave men the opportunity to demonstrate their manly virtue and civility. Anthony Pagden defined *virtus* as “the willingness, not merely to die for one’s beliefs and one’s community but also to value the good of that community, the *utilitas publica*, over one’s own personal good, the *utilitas singulorum*.”<sup>6</sup> Projecting the image of an empire of liberation rather than conquest required the deployment of English chivalry in the pursuit of justice against Spanish tyranny (at home and abroad) and to free America’s Indians from their heathen religions and ruling castes.

#### The “New Learning” and Chivalry

In order to promote civility, imperial humanists found precedent in the works of Greeks and Romans, in particular Cicero, whose discussion of manly virtues formed the basis of their values. Cicero regarded wisdom (“the insyght of trouth, and skilfulnesse: or in preseruing the felowship of mē”), justice (“the greatest brightnes of vertue, wherof good men beare their name”), courage (“greatnesse, & mightinesse of haute, and vnconquerable corage”), and temperance (“all appeasment of passions of the minde, and the measure of thinges”) as the cardinal virtues of manhood, with hospitality and patronage deemed important secondary qualities.<sup>7</sup> From the perspective of chivalry, the virtues of courage and justice easily amended to a humanist perspective, since there were medieval precedents for such changes. Liberality and patronage also transferred with

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<sup>6</sup> Pagden, *Lords of All the World*: 30

<sup>7</sup> Cicero, *three bokes of duties*: 7, 9, 37

little difficulty. The major humanist innovations, then, would be incorporating wisdom and temperance into the chivalric code, a process facilitated by the Reformation and the “new learning.”

Though the ethic of service gained prestige during the Tudor period, the blood and lineage of members of the chivalrous community remained an integral part of gentility until after the Civil War. According to Mervyn James, fifteenth and sixteenth century writings that circulated in England “were unanimous that blood and lineage predisposed to honourable behavior.”<sup>8</sup> A major change, though, was in the method by which one’s hereditary honor was developed and nurtured. In medieval England, few knights received a formal education, which focused on scholasticism, as it was generally thought unsuitable to a martial life, making knights effeminate and impractical.<sup>9</sup> By the fifteenth century, Fritz Caspari argued, English humanists defended aristocratic hegemony with their belief in a ruling elite “made good and virtuous through knowledge,”<sup>10</sup> and their conception of the *vita activa* elevated study in the humanities as a necessary precursor to

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<sup>8</sup> Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 310

<sup>9</sup> Paul N. Siegel, “English Humanism and the New Tudor Aristocracy,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, v. 13, n. 4 (Oct., 1952): 455; In the early modern period, the term “effeminate” indicated unmanly weakness, softness, or delicacy—a shorthand designating feminine qualities in men. It could refer to men with same-sex desires, men who overindulged in feminine pursuits (like fashion), men who exhibited devotion to women such that they became cuckolds, and men who were overly promiscuous or excessive pleasure-seekers. Since irrationality and bestiality were associated with femininity, and reason and civility with masculinity, ideas about effeminacy were linked with efforts to define manhood, and therefore civility, by its rejection of the feminine. As Alexandra Shepard points out, there was a direct line of descent from man to woman to beast. (Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 29) Elizabeth Foyster noted that by the seventeenth century, conduct literature warned men about the dangers of love because it caused men to forget their dominance over women and ignore their manly duties, like war. (Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in the Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage*, (London & New York: Longman, 1999): 56)

<sup>10</sup> Caspari: 27



a manly life of service. Like their predecessors, imperial humanists endorsed the “new learning” to cultivate honor and wisdom, and prepare gentlemen for the *vita activa*.

Imperial humanists looked to education as the foundation for a *vita activa* served in overseas ventures. Before his colonizing ventures in Newfoundland, Sir Humphrey Gilbert advocated a humanist program of education as a necessary constituent of gentility in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*. Despite the inclusion of humanist curriculum at Oxford and Cambridge, Gilbert claimed that they only attended to intellectual matters, “ffor there is no other gentlemanlike qualitie to be attained.” In addition, time spent at university disposed young men to the vices of “licentiousness and Idlenes.” Instead, Gilbert envisioned an academy curriculum of grammar and language (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), logic and rhetoric, ethics, natural philosophy and physick, law, theology, history, mathematics, cosmography, navigation, cartography, and astronomy. He believed that this program of education was a knight’s duty to the state and the best way to create wise counselors. Gilbert even included training in courtly arts such as dance and music. This school, however, would also instruct gentlemen in martial and marine arts, such as fencing, riding, and artillery use. Gilbert intended the academy to amass a great store of knowledge by requiring all printers to donate one copy of every book published to the school’s library.<sup>11</sup>

A theme in imperial humanist writings was that effective imperial engagement was predicated on education and experience, at least for the principals in these ventures. In George Gascoigne’s preface to Gilbert’s *A Discourse on the Discovery of Cathay*, he extolled Gilbert’s valor as a soldier and his learning, both virtues he believed necessary to

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<sup>11</sup> Sir Humphrey Gilbert, “Queene Elizabethes Achademy,” from *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, &c.*, edited by Frederick J. Furnivall, (London: Early English Text Society, 1869; reprinted Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973): 2-8, 10

the *vita activa*. Gascoigne found Gilbert an exemplary gentleman adventurer because he had forsaken the life of a courtier in order to advance the public profit through exploration, an example Gascoigne hoped other gentlemen would follow.<sup>12</sup> The emphasis on education as a precursor to empire also appeared in George Best's account of the Frobisher voyages. Best believed England's late entry to the imperial scene was due to both a lack of liberality and a lack of knowledge on the part of nobles. With the "new learning" and more investment in expeditions, Best believed England's imperial ascent a matter of time.<sup>13</sup>

Sir Thomas Smith's *A compendius and briefe examination* (1581)<sup>14</sup> also proposed that the *vita activa* required both physical and intellectual service. Smith's Doctor argued that the "new learning" justified the rule of the gentry over the lower classes at home and in an imperial context:

the wyser sorte haue the soueraygnty ouer the rude & vnlearned, as in euery house the most expert, in euery City y wisest & most sage, and in euery common weale the most learned are most commonly placed to gouerne the rest, yea, among all

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<sup>12</sup> George Gascoigne, "Preface to Reader," in Humphrey Gilbert, *A discourse of a discouerie for a new passage to Cataia. VVritten by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight*, (Imprinted at London by Henry Middleton for Richarde Ihones. ANNO. DOMINI. 1576): leaf 9

<sup>13</sup> George Best, *true discourse of the late voyages of discouerie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northvveast, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall deuided into three bookes. In the first wherof is shewed, his first voyage . . . Also, there are annexed certayne reasons, to proue all partes of the worlde habitable, with a generall mappe adioyned. In the second, is set out his second voyage . . . In the thirde, is declared the strange fortunes which hapned in the third voyage . . . VVith a particular card therevnto adioyned of Meta Incognita*, (At London, Imprinted by Henry Bynnyman, seruant to the right Honourable Sir Christopher Hatton Vizchamberlaine, 1578): B2

<sup>14</sup> "This was written in 1549; sometimes attributed to John Hales but more probably by Sir Thomas Smith."-- *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, compiled by A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave et al. (London 1926); This work is now commonly referred to as *A Discours on the Commonweal of This Realm of England* based on an 1893 translation. Most scholars accept Smith as the author of the work rather than John Hales. Wood, *Foundations of Political Economy*: 4

nations of the worlde they that be polytique and cyuile doe mayster the rest though their forces be inferior to the other.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, the Doctor asserted that long experience in warfare did not automatically prepare a man for leadership or keeping an empire; instead, statesmen maintained empires through the wisdom cultivated from the “new learning.”

The Doctor gave learned adventurers a preferred place even among other statesmen because their travels yielded more experience (and therefore wisdom) than those who remained home. One can see the attraction imperial humanists had toward Smith’s vision of the *vita activa*, since they always sought gentlemen subscribers and desired to have more influence in the imperial agenda. The adventuring men who led the expeditions felt the combination of wit and forwardness—the essence of humanist chivalry—was the appropriate way for gentlemen to serve the Crown.

Much of the emphasis on learning in the imperial project resulted from competition with Spain, particularly in the 1580s. In the 1550s, England had a reputation among Spaniards as an uncivilized and unlearned backwater with a vulgar language and ignorant counselors. John Bradford contended that this reputation for brutishness led the Spanish to believe they could turn England into a colony. Bradford urged “Let your children therefore, if ye loue them, be brought vp in learninge, & wisdom, that they maye be able to gouerne the realme prudently, after your dayes.”<sup>16</sup> As an uncivilized state England had no claim to imperial autonomy. Therefore, one of the first patriotic reforms

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<sup>15</sup> William Stafford (John Hales), *A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints of diuers of our country men in these our dayes: which although they are in some part vniust & friuolous, yet are they all by vway of dialogues throughly debated & discussed*, (Imprinted at London by Thomas Marshe, 1581): 7 (image 11)

<sup>16</sup> John Bradford, *The cople of a letter, sent by Iohn Bradforth: to . . . the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsburye, and Penbroke, declaring the nature of the Spaniardes, and discovering the most detestable treasons, which thei haue pretended . . . agaynste . . . Englande*, (Wesel: J. Lambrecht, c. 1556): leafs 74-75

Englishmen embarked upon was elevating the status of the English language, especially as Anglo-Spanish relations faltered and Latin became linked with popery in the popular imagination. Imperial humanists participated in this civilizing project by printing most of their tracts in English.

Both Richard Hakluyt and Sir Walter Raleigh viewed education as the key to empire and unseating the Spanish from their position of pre-eminence in Europe. Hakluyt proposed a lectureship in navigation in emulation of the Spanish *contratación* houses. Hakluyt envisioned a system whereby the Crown assigned positions—from grommet (cabin-boy), mariner, master (officers below the rank of captain), to pilot (navigator)—according to skill and learning because it was “a matter of great consequence and importance, for sauing of many mens liues and goods, which nowe through grosse ignorance are dayly in great hazerd, to the no small detriment of the whole realme.”<sup>17</sup> Raleigh thought that the knowledge he gained from Spanish accounts of El Dorado and from his interactions with the Arwacans, who offered him the secret antidote to a poison they used against the Spaniards, would make conquest possible.<sup>18</sup> Armed with information, Raleigh believed England could penetrate Guiana in order to prevent Spain’s penetration of their island nation. The sexual metaphor was intentional, suggesting

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<sup>17</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *Diuers voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the ilands adiacent vnto the same: made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons: and certaine notes of aduertisements for obseruations, necessarie for such as shall heereafter make the like attempt, with two mappes annexed heereunto for the plainer vnderstanding of the whole matter*, (Imprinted at London: [By Thomas Dawson] for Thomas VVoodcocke, dwelling in paules Church-yard, at the signe of the blacke beare, 1582): leaf 10

<sup>18</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bevtiful empire of Guiana with a relation of the great and golden citie of Manoa (which the spanyards call El Dorado) and the prouinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, and other countries, with their riuers, adioyning. Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir W. Raleigh Knight, captaine of her Maiesties Guard, Lo. Warden of the Sannerries [sic], and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the countie of Cornewall*, (Imprinted at London by Robert Robinson. 1596): 59-60

education and inquiry were manly pursuits that would enable England to avoid the effeminization of bondage to the Spaniards.

Imperial humanists often linked knowledge to civility and suggested that empire was the bridge that would ensure England crossed from barbarism to civilization. Smith's Doctor warned those men who little esteemed the "new learning," only allowing their sons the barest education in university, that it "will be occasion that this Realme within a shorte space will be made as empty of wyse and pollitique men, and cōsequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subiect to other Nations whereof wee were Lordes before."<sup>19</sup> John Dee criticized "graue Cownsaylers, and circumspect Gardians" of obstructing England's progress with their doubts about the value of imperial ventures. Dee thought ignorance prompted their reservations.<sup>20</sup>

In some imperial humanist tracts, empire became a pathway for gentlemen to obtain the knowledge needed to continue England's civilizing process. In *The Discourse of the Discovery of Cathay*, Gilbert explicitly linked knowledge with civility:

*The diuersity betwene brute beastes and men, or betwene the wise and the simple, is that the one iudgeth by sense onely, & gathereth no suretie of anye thing that he hath not sene, fealt, heard, tasted, or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of things by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore, I haue added proofes of both sortes, that the one and the other, might thereby be satisfied.*<sup>21</sup>

Gilbert and his ilk would seem to represent a third category of men: those who followed up learning with actual experience, the lack of which would imperil England's progress from a minor state to a major power in Europe. In empire, gentlemen could marry

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<sup>19</sup> William Stafford (John Hales), *a compendious and briefe examination*: 7 (image 11)

<sup>20</sup> John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation: Annexed to the Paradoxal Cumpas, in Playne: now first published: 24. yerés, after the first Inuention thereof*, (London: 1577): 15-16

<sup>21</sup> Gilbert, *A discourse on the Discovery of Cathay*: D4

empirical and academic knowledge together, while also providing England the material source of their advancement.

George Best was even more explicit in framing the empire as a conduit for the knowledge necessary to be a civilized nation. Best viewed the present age as one of unequaled innovation and industry, a trend that imperial ventures would continue. Best wrote, “And the chiefest cause of all these effects (next after y<sup>e</sup> diuine Prouidence) is the searching wit of man, whiche being more curious and inquisitiue of new and strange deuises, thā heretofore.” Among great innovations was the printing press and new war technology, which would make even the likes of Achilles, Alexander the Great, and Caesar wonder at the courage of Englishmen. Nothing, however, could compare to developments in the art of navigation in the Tudor period. In the past, Best said, knowledge of navigation was “so raw, and vnknowen” that ships stayed close to shore, and if tormented by an ill wind or current, mariners would make no further attempt at an overseas voyage because “his vessell was so rude, and his skill so little.” Now that Englishmen had the technology to make overseas voyages, Best felt it incumbent upon them to engage in expeditions to expand their knowledge and benefit the commonwealth.<sup>22</sup>

Imperial humanist endorsement of the “new learning” also helped facilitate an appreciation for non-martial forms of service. Though the “new aristocracy” assimilated the values of chivalry, the humanist concept of the *vita activa* expanded the range of service to include men who did not primarily act as soldiers, notably statesmen and counselors. In his introduction to Cicero’s *On Duties*, Nicholas Grimalde asserted

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<sup>22</sup> Best, *true discourse of the late voyages of discouerie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya*: 3-4

“Homemanhod then is not inferiour to martiall,”<sup>23</sup> enabling men who served the state without arms to accrue honors. Like Grimalde, Hakluyt also honored the role of the statesman in his dedicatory epistle to Sir Francis Walsingham in the *Principal Navigations*. As mentioned previously, Walsingham was an important ally for imperial humanists, and Hakluyt viewed his tome as a testament to the service Walsingham had performed for the commonwealth.<sup>24</sup> Though Hakluyt honored the contributions of adventurers, he ultimately reserved the greatest esteem for men who used their intellect and political influence to secure the resources to make imperial ventures possible.

In addition to the special role for counselors, Hakluyt also carved out an important place for imperial propagandists. In his dedicatory epistle to Raleigh in Peter Martyr’s *Decades*, Hakluyt wrote of two types of men who deserved esteem: the men who “by the hazard of their lives have made known to our peoples such an infinite number of the Antipodes, hitherto lying hid,” and the men who “of their excellent genius, have recorded the noble deeds of such men, on the imperishable monuments of letters.”<sup>25</sup> Hakluyt, who never participated in an expedition despite his desire to do so, encouraged Raleigh to continue in his imperial ventures and offered his services as an imperial encyclopedist—a Homer to Raleigh’s Odysseus. In the role of advisor and propagandist, Hakluyt had an indisputably vital role in promoting colonization, validating his position that counselors fulfilled the requirements of a *vita activa* despite their largely non-martial contribution.

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<sup>23</sup> Nicolas Grimalde, “Preface to the Reader” in *Marcvs Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties*: 31

<sup>24</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*, (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, deputies to Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent maiestie, 1589): 3

<sup>25</sup> Richard Hakluyt, “Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587” from *Writings & Correspondences*: 362

Sir William Monson went even further in honoring the role of the counselor, advising his son to become a statesman rather than a professional soldier as he had done. In praising the value of the “new learning,” Monson argued it would help his son understand the difference between civilized and bestial behavior (“sensible of the difference betwixt Men and other Creatures”) and conform his life to God’s will. Education would also improve his son’s opportunity for patronage and preferment, “For one that is preferred by Arms, there are twenty by Learning.” Moreover, as a soldier his son would remain a servant to counselors, despite his hazard of life, and “must yield account of his Actions, and be judged, corrected, and advanced as it shall please the other.”<sup>26</sup> Though Monson viewed military service as honorable and necessary, he asked his son to forsake the life of a soldier as he would other vices, such as gambling, drinking, and brawling. While Monson esteemed the soldier, he believed that a more suitable and no less honorable alternative for his son to serve the commonwealth would be with his wits rather than a sword.

### The Virtue of Wise Leadership

The wisdom required to perform the *vita activa* was not limited to non-martial service; imperial humanists also promoted an ethic of wise leadership among its warriors, obliging them to subsume the pursuit of personal glory to the needs of the Crown. In the Tudor period, the “automatic and perpetual”<sup>27</sup> obligation to one’s lineage encouraged men to perform heroic (and often foolhardy) feats in order to realize the legacy of honor

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<sup>26</sup> Sir William Monson, *A true and exact account of the wars with Spain, in the reign of Q. Elizabeth (of famous memory)*, (London: Printed for W. Crooke, 1682): 3-4

<sup>27</sup> James, *Society, Politics and Culture*: 325



bequeathed to them, as evidenced by depictions of Sir Richard Grenville's demise. Though Gervase Markham would eulogize Grenville as a demi-god,<sup>28</sup> Raleigh's *A report of the truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores* (1591) presented the imperial humanist critique of irrational combativeness and promoted an ideal of wise leadership to temper martial exploits. The veneration of lineage may provide partial explanation for Raleigh's simultaneous praise of his cousin and condemnation of certain qualities associated with medieval chivalry. Instead, he presented Lord Thomas Howard as a humanist antidote to vainglorious Englishmen. Throughout Raleigh's pamphlet, he described honor as both individual and communal, seeking to redefine the obligations of blood and lineage as a duty to the state, rather than the family duty. Raleigh contrasted humanist and medieval chivalry to assert that the wise leader best served the Crown by protecting its interests, even if it required retreat.

Grenville's demise at Flores became a case study both in the chivalric impulses that propelled English gentlemen in search of martial honor and in the vainglorious deeds that threatened the Elizabethan state. In 1591, an English fleet outfitted by Raleigh and Howard came under attack from an Armada of over fifty ships, commanded by Don Alonzo de Bazán, while they anchored at the island of Flores in the Azores. King Philip intended the attack on Howard's fleet to demonstrate that the Spanish Armada was once again a credible threat to England.<sup>29</sup> When Howard received reports of the approaching Armada and saw them closing in on his fleet, he ordered the English ships to return to

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<sup>28</sup> Gervase Markham, *The Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile, Knight*, (London: Printed by I. Roberts for Richard Smith, 1595): leaf 63

<sup>29</sup> Trevelyan, *Sir Walter Raleigh*: 162-163; Robert Lacey, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, (New York: Atheneum, 1974): 159

sea; all the captains obeyed his command, except Grenville, who had replaced Raleigh as the captain of the *Revenge*, the vessel immortalized by Sir Francis Drake in 1588.

Of West-country origin, Grenville had ably performed the role of a statesman, among other things as a Member of Parliament and High Sheriff of Cornwall for which he earned his knighthood. Despite martial service in Hungary and Ireland, Grenville was often frustrated in his personal ambitions as an explorer/soldier. In 1574, the Queen revoked his license to find *Terra Australis* and sail the Strait of Magellan (a license granted to Drake in 1577), and his first major command was as Raleigh's proxy on the 1585 Roanoke voyage. According to a Spanish source, Grenville's sporadic maritime career resulted from his peers' opinion that he would not obey orders he disagreed with, a perception that eliminated him for consideration as commander of a fleet to reinforce Drake's after the 1587 raid on Cadiz.<sup>30</sup> This frustration could partly explain Grenville's refusal to retreat from the Armada and Raleigh's attempt to render to him in death the honor he had not gained in life. Thus, Raleigh's pamphlet contained an ambivalent praise of medieval chivalry, while ultimately advancing humanist chivalry as the new ideal.

Even as contemporary sources disagreed about the wisdom of Grenville's decision to engage the Armada, no source suggested Grenville had not fought with great courage and tenacity or that his conduct in battle was anything but a credit to England.<sup>31</sup> In *A report of . . . Açores*, Raleigh described Grenville as a valorous and honorable soldier in the face of insurmountable odds. Raleigh asserted that the *Revenge* had not returned to sea before

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<sup>30</sup> Trevelyan: 7, 23, 33, 77, 81; Peter Earle, *The Last Fight of the Revenge*, (London: Methuen, 2004): 30, 36; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*: 140-141, 144

<sup>31</sup> Earle, *The Last Fight of the Revenge*: 123, 135, 159-160; Sir Richard Hawkins, *The observations of Sir Richard Havvkins Knight, in his voiage into the South Sea. Anno Domini 1593*, (London: Printed by I.D. for Iohn Iaggard, 1622): 10-11

the Armada arrived because Grenville refused to leave his sick men behind “which otherwise had been lost.”<sup>32</sup> Raleigh also suggested Grenville’s stand enabled the rest of the fleet to escape while the Armada engaged the *Revenge*, telling the captain of the *George Noble* “saue himselfe, & leaue him to his fortune.”<sup>33</sup>

Despite Grenville’s gallantry, his conduct during the battle demonstrated a foolhardy disposition. When given two options to flee the Armada—either due west in retreat as advised by his shipmaster or sailing directly at the Armada—Grenville opted for the latter and riskier maneuver: “But Sir *Richard* vtterly refused to turne from the enemie, alledging that he would rather chose to dye, then to dishonour him selfe, his countrie and her Mai[e]sties shippe.”<sup>34</sup> Though Raleigh did not overtly impugn Grenville’s decision, he made several suggestive comments about true honor that drew upon humanism. Raleigh wrote that the course advised by the *Revenge*’s master “had beene the better”<sup>35</sup> because of the impossibility of one ship prevailing against an Armada. The comment that “notwithstanding out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not be perswaded,”<sup>36</sup> showed how obstinate and irrational Grenville’s behavior had become and how much danger resulted when men were governed by emotion. For a growing number of men, Anthony Fletcher argues, sobriety in action and reason were supplanting pride,

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<sup>32</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *A report of the trvth of the fight about the Iles of Açores, this last Sommer, Betvvixt the Reuenge, one of the Maiesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine*, (London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1591): leaf 9

<sup>33</sup> Raleigh, *A report of the trvth of the fight about the Iles of Açores*: leaf 11

<sup>34</sup> Ibid: leaf 9

<sup>35</sup> Ibid: B2 (leaf 10)

<sup>36</sup> Ibid: B2 (leaf 10)

forwardness, and competitive assertiveness as the ideal attributes associated with honor and manhood.<sup>37</sup>

Even Grenville's refusal to surrender after fifteen hours of battle received condemnation when viewed through a humanist lens. Though the officers and the crew wanted to surrender, Grenville would not concede defeat despite their pleas "that there being diuerse sufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whose wounds were not mortall, they might doe their countrie and prince acceptable seruice hereafter."<sup>38</sup> For those committed to civil service, bellicosity endangered the body politic by placing the individual before the state. In this case, Grenville's actions needlessly threatened the survival of the English navy. On a personal level, the need for honor earned at all costs in battle had deprived Raleigh of a beloved kinsman.

In contrast to Grenville, Raleigh proposed Lord Thomas Howard as an alternative model of manhood. Though Howard was relatively inexperienced when granted the Admiralty of the fleet (Spanish sources unflatteringly described him as "a mere youngster and no sailor"<sup>39</sup>), imperial humanists believed Howard demonstrated the tempered judgment necessary for successful overseas ventures. When word reached England that the Spanish had captured the *Revenge*, many denounced Howard's craven abandonment of the ship. Raleigh defended Howard's decision, claiming that Howard opted not to confront the Armada because his fleet was too small, there were too many sick men, and they had insufficient ballast. More importantly, the potential injury to the Crown and

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<sup>37</sup> Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England 1500-1800*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995): 95; Richard Cust, "Honour and Politics in Early Stuart England: The Case of Beaumont v. Hastings," *Past and Present*, n. 149 (Nov. 1995): 91

<sup>38</sup> Raleigh, *A report of the trvth of the fight about the Iles of Açores*: leaf 14-15

<sup>39</sup> Steven W. May, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989): 11; Adamson and Folland, *The Shepherd of the Ocean*: 190; Quinn and Ryan, *England's Sea Empire*: 106; Earle: 36

thus to England far outweighed any harm the fleet might have inflicted on the Spanish before their certain defeat. Raleigh added his personal opinion that if Howard had entered the fray it would have proved he lacked the discretion and trust necessary for a man to lead other men, an indispensable quality of a gentleman.<sup>40</sup> Raleigh's ambivalent attitude toward Grenville and his support of Howard suggested that while one might champion medieval chivalry in Tudor tournaments, in actual battle discretion was the better part of valor.

In this sentiment, Sir Arthur Gorges and Sir William Monson agreed with Raleigh. Though it has been argued that Raleigh and Gorges, a cousin and close companion, presented contrasting views of Grenville's actions,<sup>41</sup> the evidence suggests that they agreed Grenville's behavior was reckless and Howard's actions more appropriate. In "A larger Relation of the said Iland Voyage" (bef. 1625), Gorges wrote:

It is said to bee the dutie of a great Captaine, to seeke victory with as little losse to himselfe, as may bee, and more military discipline shewed in making a faire and safe retreat, then in giuing a furious and desperate charge.<sup>42</sup>

Like other imperial humanists, Gorges suggested that a wise leader cultivated restraint in all areas of life, demonstrating his manhood through his sobriety.<sup>43</sup> Conversely, an unwise leader placed his vainglory ahead of the national interest and set a poor example for other men. Gorges used Grenville as an example of the unwise leader, calling his decision to disobey Howard's command "very insolent and disorderly" and as

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<sup>40</sup> Raleigh, *A report of the trvth of the fight about the Iles of Açores*: leaf 19

<sup>41</sup> May, *Sir Walter Raleigh*: 38

<sup>42</sup> Sir Arthur Gorges, "A larger Relation of the said Iland Voyage," in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimes In five bookes. The Fourth Part*, (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1625): 1962

<sup>43</sup> Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*: 23-30

unbecoming a “man of his yeeres and experience,” instead akin to the bestial excesses of youth.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, he deemed Grenville’s condemnation of so many souls to unnecessary deaths more consistent with the barbarism of pagan Rome than Christian civility.

Monson, a lifelong soldier and author of the influential *Naval Tracts* (bef. 1643), also reproached Grenville and praised Howard for his conduct. Though he was not present at the battle at Flores, Monson participated in the expedition as an agent of the Earl of Cumberland. Based on his interviews with eyewitnesses, Monson concluded that Grenville’s reckless behavior had been the cause of the Spanish victory, while he commended Howard for his temperance. In *A true and exact account of the wars with Spain* (1682), Monson claimed Howard “warily, and like a discreet General” decided to retreat when he realized the unfavorable odds for his fleet against Bazán’s Armada. Monson also credited Howard with somewhat mitigating the loss of the *Revenge* by “[keeping] to the Sea so long as he had Victuals; and by such Ships as himself and the rest of the Fleet took, defrayed the better part of the Charge of the whole Action.”<sup>45</sup>

Reactions to Sir Richard Grenville’s actions at Flores illustrated that while the ideal of knights-errantry drove imperial humanists,<sup>46</sup> they could not unproblematically support acts of bellicosity that yielded little advantage to the Crown and potentially endangered English interests. For them, humanist chivalry provided gentlemen with the ability to demonstrate their prowess while also balancing their interests with that of the state.

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<sup>44</sup> Gorges, “A larger Relation of the said Iland Voyage”: 1961-1962- it should be noted that though Purchas published this piece in 1625 (the year that Gorges died) it is likely that it was written sometime previous.

<sup>45</sup> Monson, *A true and exact account of the wars with Spain*: 20, 25

<sup>46</sup> Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration*: 171

Though imperial humanists still deemed individual forwardness a virtue, they counseled adventurers to demonstrate restraint and remain mindful that their martial abilities were deployed for national, not individual, glory. Therefore, a man might act in ways that would satisfy the demands of achieving personal glory to benefit his lineage, but only in situations where it would also benefit the nation.

### Temperance and Justice

For imperial humanists, restraint of martial impulses was part of a larger endorsement of temperance as a specifically Protestant, and therefore English, virtue. The Black Legend that developed in England between the 1550s and 1580s yielded plentiful ideological evidence of Spanish depravity and the necessity for Englishmen to distinguish themselves by acting moderately. In an attempt to differentiate the English impulse for conquest from that of the Iberian states, imperial humanists proclaimed it was their self-discipline that entitled them to possession in the New World. Though appropriated as a Protestant virtue, imperial humanists drew their views on temperance from classical understandings of the golden mean. Cicero warned that indulgence of one's passions led to an unquiet life of distemper, riot, and excess. Equally problematic were the ascetics, whose extreme self-denial made them "sowre, sowing, blockish, rustically, & farre from all ciuillnesse of life."<sup>47</sup> The rational man did not live in the extremes, but knew how to forsake luxury while maintaining his civility. For imperial humanists, a defining feature of Englishness would be temperance as measured against the uncontrolled appetites of the Spanish.

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<sup>47</sup> Cicero: 16-17

The strongest argument for Spanish intemperance came from Robert Greene, the English dramatist and friend of Christopher Marlowe. According to Greene, the Spanish character formed the “Anatomic of the seauen deadly Sinnes.” For the sin of pride, witness the lavish attire of the clerics who seemed to think themselves equal to the highest prelates “puffed vppe with aspiring thoughtes.” Greene accused the Spanish of lecherously begetting bastards, fraternizing with courtesans, and indulging in sodomy (“gette them Ganimesdes”). Spanish sloth was evident in “the securitie of their liues,” only working hard enough to obtain honors, and gluttonously banqueting themselves in disregard of their obligation to feed the poor. Spanish envy and avarice made them disloyal at home—turning to treason and murder when “any amongst them is preferred to the Papacie”—and oppressive abroad in heavily taxing their imperial domains at the Roman Church’s behest. Spanish wrath was evident in their fierce and unjust handling of other European states. Greene advised Englishmen to “shake off their heauy yoke of ignorance [*Catholicism*], and to imbrace the light of the Gospell,”<sup>48</sup> which would teach them the virtue of temperance, shielding Englishmen from descent into similar barbarity.

In addition to the didactic value of the Black Legend, imperial humanists offered general critiques of intemperance. Some imperial humanists, like Raleigh and Monson, wrote conduct books for their sons that included advice to lead sober lives. Raleigh told his son to avoid vainglory because it “wil soon ware out of fashion” and flamboyant attire because it was esteemed only “by Fooles and women.” Instead, Raleigh asked his son to focus on securing his fortune, but not to do so through “evill meanes,” such as taking

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<sup>48</sup> Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado*: leafs 21-23



from the poor or destroying a man to obtain his wealth.<sup>49</sup> Monson counseled his son to exercise both his mind and body, suggesting occasional engagement in entertainments like hawking or hunting was beneficial in the way that moderate use of tobacco was believed healthful. Like Raleigh, he recommended that his son avoid gay clothing, but acknowledged a man demonstrated his social status through dress, and as such, should fashion himself to his age “but in so mean and moderate a manner.”<sup>50</sup> In these passages, it was clear restraint rather than absolute denial was the key; while wealth was an asset, it was immoral to obtain it at any cost or spend it prodigally on frivolities. This moderation applied to all other areas of a man’s life.

Many imperial humanists viewed restraint as inherent in their ventures, especially when they considered the necessarily bare life on a ship. Dee considered the men who “endure hard dyet and lodging”<sup>51</sup> in search of commodities to benefit the commonwealth as exemplars of the patriotic English subject. Churchyard viewed imperial ventures as a method of disciplining men into ideal subjects. Adventuring men first learned discipline through deprivation of comfort and food and then by learning to master their emotions by obeying a strict code of conduct. These men “resolved to suffer a little scarcitie and sorrow, in hope of abundance and greate pleasure to come.”<sup>52</sup> For imperial humanists, self-denial was the price paid for national and personal glory.

The notion that temperance yielded abundance was a popular theme in imperial humanist writings. Best believed God offered England the resources of the New World if

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<sup>49</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *Sir Walter Raleighs instructions to his sonne and to posterity*, (London: Printed for Benjamin Fisher, dwelling in Aldersgate-street at the Talbot, 1632): 75-77

<sup>50</sup> Monson: 5

<sup>51</sup> Dee, *the Perfecte Arte of Navigation*: 32

<sup>52</sup> Churchyard, *A prayse, and reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers voyage to Meta Incognita*: B1

they showed virtue by applying reason and forwardness to exploration. Best claimed there had never been such an abundance of goods in Europe, but in his words lurked a danger that England was falling into luxuriousness in trying to find novel uses for them. The solution to this threat of overindulgence was to put New World products to virtuous uses—perhaps in fighting the Spanish threat or employing idle men—“whiche no doubt being well vsed, is the greate benefite and good blessing of God to Mankind.”<sup>53</sup>

Raleigh was more explicit in linking temperance with abundance. In *The Discoverie of . . . Guiana* (1596), Raleigh defended his decision not to establish a fort in Guiana or claim the territory for the Crown on his first expedition. Raleigh reasoned that “although the desire of golde will aunswere many obiections” if he had attempted to despoil Indian towns in search of treasure it would have been the “vtter ouerthrow to the enterprise,” as the Indians would have perceived the English as their enemy and turned to the Spaniards for help on their return. Instead, Raleigh kept his desire for gold a secret:

[A]nd therefore till I had knowen her maiesties pleasure, I would rather haue lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might haue been very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great good, & rich trade which England may bee possessed off [*sic*] thereby.<sup>54</sup>

By demonstrating restraint in the appropriation of resources from Guiana, which would have recovered the cost of the voyage, Raleigh put his faith in the Crown to reward this continence by authorizing future abundance via a patent for a colony. Unlike his cousin Grenville, Raleigh did not place his desire for fortune and glory before the needs of the Crown. Indeed, since Raleigh was in royal disfavor, he had to demonstrate his fidelity to

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<sup>53</sup> Best: 3

<sup>54</sup> Raleigh, *The discoverie of... Guiana*: 79-80

the Crown ahead of his own prosperity, though of course he hoped to profit from the expedition.

Raleigh's use of the term "contenance" had a double meaning as a justification for the right of English conquest in the New World and a demonstration of his personal virtue. Christopher Hodgkins argued that in the sixteenth century a powerful English White Legend of pious restraint justified imperial possession against the moral incontinence of the Black Legend. In addition, Raleigh's use of contenance addressed what Hodgkins called an "English Black Legend" wherein humanists opposed colonization for the deleterious effects it would have on the colonizer, by oppressing the colonized and facilitating avarice.<sup>55</sup> Raleigh, who earned the Queen's disfavor when he married one of her Maids of Honor, used the Guiana venture to reclaim his manhood and demonstrate that the fortitude to be continent could reform Englishmen and make them worthy of imperial possession. Describing his exile from Court as a period of darkness brought about by his own immoderate behavior, Raleigh saw in imperial ventures the means to prove his virtue and restore his credit, just as Churchyard imagined. As Louis A. Montrose noted: "In short, Raleigh's discovery of a new continent discovers him to be newly continent."<sup>56</sup>

Raleigh also intended the suggestion of contenance to legitimize England's position as a liberator, not conqueror, of Guiana by framing their ventures in terms of the just war. Imperial humanists turned to Cicero, who said defense of equity was the noblest reason to engage in warfare, while condemning private profit, whether for glory or pecuniary gain,

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<sup>55</sup> Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire*: 7-8

<sup>56</sup> Louis A. Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," *Representations*, No. 33, Special Issue: The New World. (Winter, 1991): 11

as a justification for war.<sup>57</sup> Raleigh alleged that the English mission was legitimate because of their restraint in Guiana and desire to save Indians from Spanish oppression. After Raleigh earned the trust of the Arwacans they admitted the Spaniards “tooke from them both their wiues, and daughters daily, and vsed them for the satisfying of their owne lusts.” Raleigh responded that, to his knowledge, his men remained chaste with the Indian women “yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yoong, & excellently faouered which came among vs without deceit, starke naked.”<sup>58</sup> Raleigh’s insistence on the sexual continence of his men and the lust of the Spaniards clearly marked the Spanish as savages unfit for dominion in the New World and the Indians as victims in need of aid.

The English, on the other hand, were circumspect in their conduct toward the Arwacans, and their continence became a metaphor for England’s supposed position in relation to Guiana—not as a conqueror but as an ally and liberator. Despite the temptation of the fertile land and gold mines, Raleigh and his crew did not despoil the land. Raleigh framed Englishmen as the Arwacans’ Christian champions against the Spaniards and insisted that his men treat the Indians honorably, requiring his soldiers to obtain all goods from trade and making amends for soldiers who violated his orders. Like Drake, Raleigh regarded it as his duty to set an example for his crew. Raleigh sought to justify England’s right to conquest in the New World as the defense of equity with his assertion of English restraint in the face of powerful temptations.

The notion of just war also pertained to the conduct of soldiers on the battlefield, which became the ultimate measure of a nation’s defense of equity. While the

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<sup>57</sup> Cicero: 25

<sup>58</sup> Raleigh, *The discoverie of... Guiana*: 51-52

community of honor excluded commoners, peasants and non-Christians—who neither adhered to nor expected to be treated according to the chivalric code—humanists published manuals advising men to avoid unnecessary carnage, pillage, and rape and to treat the dead with pious dignity. Even one’s enemies should receive measured treatment; as Cicero wrote in *On Duties*: “when the victorie is gotten, they must be saued, who haue not beene cruel, nor vnmerciefull in fight.”<sup>59</sup> Instead, soldiers had an obligation to deal with their prisoners humanely and to protect women, children and peaceful non-combatants.<sup>60</sup>

Imperial humanists used the humane treatment of one’s enemies to further articulate England’s White Legend against a Spanish Black Legend. According to Miles Phillips, at San Juan de Uluá the English mariners acquitted themselves courageously against a larger Spanish force, despite moments of fear, while the Spanish conducted themselves in a bestial manner. Phillips recalled the Spaniards either killed Englishman who escaped to shore from their ruined vessels or tortured them by hanging them from the arms “vntill the bloud burst out of their fingers ends.” Those prisoners who escaped torture were forced to march to Mexico City, where they were sold as slaves to Spanish colonists. Of the two Spanish soldiers who accompanied them, the younger took pleasure in striking the Englishmen with a javelin, yelling “March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Cicero: 14

<sup>60</sup> Theodor Meron, *Bloody Constraint: War and Chivalry in Shakespeare*, (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 5-6, 21-22, 37. Many of the limits on war prescribed by Renaissance humanists were reiterations of the Catholic Church’s earlier attempts to moralize war.

<sup>61</sup> Phillips, “A discourse written by one Miles Phillips Englishman”: 566, 570, 571

In contrast, imperial humanists went to great lengths to prove Englishmen were more civilized than the Iberians in their treatment of enemy combatants. In the *The sea-mans triumph* (1591), Raleigh claimed that before the English celebrated their victory in capturing the *Madré de Dios* they paused to reflect on the wounded and dead Spaniards, which they “greatly bewailed: yet acknowledged it to be but the chauce of warres, which was and is, as it pleaseth God.”<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the English tended to the wounded Spaniards in a sign that the fury of Englishmen was never so great they would not treat their wounded enemies honorably. By representing the English as merciful soldiers, Raleigh clearly set Englishmen apart from Spaniards as more civilized and worthy of an empire.

#### The *Vita Activa*

The emphasis on restraint and justice accompanied a reconception of the chivalric virtue of loyalty to one’s lord as the *vita activa*, a life in service to the Crown and commonwealth. For imperial humanists, the *vita activa* served as a compelling justification for English expansion. In *The Perfecte Arte of Navigation* (1577), John Dee wrote, “All true Subjects, their Chief Intent, and principall purpose . . . ought to be, the procuring, furthering, mainteyning and encreasing of the weal and Commodity Publik.” Dee declared that gentlemen loyal to the commonwealth drove overseas imperial ventures in order to improve the economy and build a strong navy to forestall threats to English sovereignty. In Dee’s mind, “the End of Ends, and yttermostscope of the sayd

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<sup>62</sup> Raleigh, *The sea-mans triumph*: C

Arte of Nauigation, is such Publik Commodity, of this whole kingdom intended.”<sup>63</sup> If the Crown supported these ventures, thus ensuring their success, Dee believed more gentlemen would willingly hazard their personal fortunes and lives to invest in future undertakings, which in turn would yield greater benefit to the nation.

Like Dee, the privateer-poet Henry Roberts (Robarts) viewed imperial expeditions as a necessary component of a *vita activa* and believed public acknowledgment of the service of adventurers would encourage others to serve the Crown: “men of worth, that ventures voluntary, thereby showes what mindes all ought to carry, blesse your selues, to follow those braue knights, whom God hath blest, in many hardie fights.”<sup>64</sup> Like Roberts, Robert Mansell considered it his duty not only to serve the Crown overseas, but also to publicly correct any false impressions of his service and that of his compatriots by publishing “accurate” accounts of what transpired.<sup>65</sup> The implication of Mansell’s defense of his 1602 pamphlet was that the Crown would only reap the full benefit of Englishmen’s service by properly acknowledging their contributions to the nation’s glory.

George Gascoigne also argued that justice demanded the appropriate recognition of the service Englishmen performed for the state. In the preface to *A Discourse on the Discovery of Cathay*, Gascoigne argued that if princes did not reward well-deserving subjects and ignored their heroic deeds, then fewer men would voluntarily sacrifice themselves for the commonwealth. Instead, virtuous men would leave England in search

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<sup>63</sup> Dee, *the Perfect Arte of Navigation*: 11

<sup>64</sup> Henry Roberts, *The trumpet of fame: or Sir Fraunces Drakes and Sir Iohn Hawkins farewell*, (Imprinted at London: Thomas Creede, 1595): 2

<sup>65</sup> Robert Mansell, *A true report of the seruice done vpon certaine gallies passing through the narrow seas*, (London: Printed by Felix Kyngston, 1602): 11-13

of a prince who would reward them.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, George Best lauded Sir Christopher Hatton for being “readye to countenance the meanest man that truely serueth his Countrie” and acquaint the Queen with his deeds in order to secure a just recompense for his conduct. By appropriately acknowledging a man’s service he “maye bee encouraged to continue, and take pleasure in well dooyng after, and others being animated by like example, maye for hope of lyke rewarde also, desire to deserue well.”<sup>67</sup> Since the meaner sort, being brutish, were ill-equipped to judge the merits of great men—tending to view fortune as equivalent to virtue—Raleigh thought it incumbent upon the Crown and other gentlemen to honor the worthiest among them for their deeds.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, recognition of the service of Englishmen would ensure they continued to focus on the substance of their actions, rather than the appearance. It was the virtue of English soldiers, Raleigh argued, which distinguished them from the Spanish.<sup>69</sup>

Various imperial humanists offered advice or models of the virtuous behavior expected of those who served the State. Henry Haslop argued both the soldier and scholar served the commonwealth equally and to minimize or improperly honor their contributions “wounds Mars, & slayes Mercury.” Haslop suggested a *vita activa* stratified by class, with noblemen serving with virtue (as wise statesmen and military leaders) and the meaner sort with valor (as soldiers and mariners). In this way, Haslop explicitly demonstrated that chivalry was a concept reserved for the upper classes and that the lower classes were expected simply to obey commands from their governors.

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<sup>66</sup> George Gascoigne in *A Discourse on the Discovery of Cathay*: 2-3

<sup>67</sup> Best: A3

<sup>68</sup> Raleigh, *The history of the world*, (At London: Printed [by William Stansby] for Walter Burre, and are to be sold at his Shop in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Crane, 1614 [i.e. 1617]): leaf 26

<sup>69</sup> Raleigh, *A report of the trvth of the fight about the Iles of Açores*: leaf 7



Haslop's advice on social order followed thus: "then if thou be a child, obey thy parents; if a man, serue thy Prince, and die for thy cuntrie; if olde, counsaile others to honour souldiers when they serue not, and to serue for honour when they enter armes."<sup>70</sup>

For Haslop, Sir Francis Drake was the exemplar of the *vita activa* in an imperial context:

hee hath studied to withstand his countries enimies, labored to enrich vs by their impouerishment, and made vs strong by their weakening . . . he hath not incountred *Caesar*, yet tane away his sword: he hath not freed his cuntrie, yet he defendeth it, by wounding the enimie, and breaking his speare: and in al his actions obserue but his order, and then can you not but confesse it is full of honour.<sup>71</sup>

Drake's adherence to the *vita activa* reflected not only his devotion to the Crown, but also his Protestant faith; hence, Drake's service and obedience to the Crown's will showed his fidelity to God.

Like Haslop, Miles Phillips' account of the 1567 defeat of the English fleet at San Juan de Uluá upheld the humanist version of chivalry, wherein Sir John Hawkins was compelled to take a less bellicose course in order to preserve diplomatic relations with Spain, still nominally England's ally. When Hawkins' fleet was forced to anchor at San Juan de Uluá for repairs, he recognized the precarious position his fleet would be in when the Spanish treasure ships made their anticipated arrival in port. Despite securing a safe passage from the Spanish governor, Hawkins and his men suspected treachery, yet they kept the peace. When the treasure ships finally arrived, Hawkins had to decide between allowing them to enter the port—and thus precipitate the expected treachery—or to

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<sup>70</sup> Henry Haslop, *Nevves out of the coast of Spaine: The true report of the honourable seruice for England, perfourmed by Sir Frauncis Drake in the moneths of Aprill and May last past, 1587*, (Imprinted at London: William How, 1587): leaf 14

<sup>71</sup> Haslop, *newes out of Spaine*: leaf 7

prevent their entry into port and allow them to perish in the open sea. Hawkins decided to take the “lest euill” course of allowing the Spanish ships to enter the port because “then stode he in greate feare of the Queene our Soueraignes displeasure in so waightie a cause.”<sup>72</sup> The Spanish attacked and crippled the English fleet but Hawkin’s virtuous conduct and restraint on behalf of the Crown demonstrated the superior quality of English chivalry compared to Spanish chivalry.

In promoting the *vita activa* among the upper classes, imperial humanists drew upon the Black Legend of Spanish disloyalty and avarice, unintentionally reinforced in translations of Spanish sources, to demonstrate the dangers inherent in feudal chivalry’s emphasis on loyalty to one’s lineage and liege lord rather than to the Crown and nation. In accounts by Bartolomé de Las Casas, Agustin de Zárate, and Francisco Lopez de Gomara, the Spaniards were revealed as cruel and covetous: in their insatiable desire for treasure and dominion, they split into warring factions (such as between Don Diego de Almagro and Don Francisco Pizarro) and terrorized the Indians into silence on the location of mines. In addition, some soldiers brazenly stole from the Spanish exchequer by withholding the King’s portion.<sup>73</sup> This disloyalty implied an inherent weakness in the Spanish Empire, which the English could exploit if only they maintained their civic orientation in all imperial dealings.

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<sup>72</sup> Miles Phillips, “A discourse written by one Miles Phillips Englishman, one of the company put a shore in the Vvest Indies by M. Iohn Hawkins in the yeere 1568,” from *The Principal Navigations* by Richard Hakluyt (1589): 564

<sup>73</sup> Bartolomé De Las Casas, *The Spanish colonie, or Briefe chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the newe world, for the space of xl. yeeres: written in the Castilian tongue by the reuerend Bishop Bartholomew de las Cases or Casaus, a friar of the order of S. Dominicke. And nowe first translated into english, by M.M.S.* (Imprinted at London: [By Thomas Dawson] for William Brome, 1583): E-E2 (leafs 50- 51); Agustin de Zárate, *The discoverie and conquest of the prouinces of Peru, and the navigation in the South Sea, along that coast*, (Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, 1581): ch. 2, 7, 11 (book 2), ch. 4, 6, 11-12 (book 3), ch. 8, 9, 18 (book 4); Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *The pleasant historie of the conquest of the Vveast India, now called new Spayne*, (Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman, 1578): O3 (p.101)

George Gascoigne echoed these ideas in *The spoyle of Antwerp* (1576), maintaining that the Spaniard's dishonorable conduct, uncontrolled by their leadership, undermined King Philip's plans "whome they boast so faithfully to honour, serue and obey."<sup>74</sup> If the Spanish were renowned for the disloyalty their greedy dispositions were supposed to create, then Englishmen would define themselves by keeping the Crown's interests in the forefront and exercising self-discipline in the pursuit of treasure and honors. This demonstration of "loyalty in restraint" would form the humanist rationale for the profit-motive in imperial ventures (Ch. 3) and led imperial humanists to define limits on what constituted proper conduct, such as proving one's prowess.

In their effort to reduce unnecessary violence that would harm the nation, imperial humanists adopted Cicero's principles on just combat into their chivalry. In the 1556 translation of *On Duties*, Cicero provided the best articulation of the humanist standard for battle. Cicero wrote that for a man to "vse himself rashlie" in war was a "brutish, & beastlike thing," but that a man who fought bravely for necessity ("preferre death before slauerie, and shame") was honorable. In all things, Cicero said, men must have a "proouable cause . . . For this in a maner is the definition of dutie."<sup>75</sup> In the discourse on civility, unrestrained warfare marked a barbarous society, thus the only honorable action was wise action. Applying this concept, Thomas Greepe suggested Sir Francis Drake demonstrated such restraint in his raids on Portuguese towns. Greepe recounted that

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<sup>74</sup> George Gascoigne, *The spoyle of Antwerpe*, (Printed at London by Richard Iones, 1576): leafs 43-44

<sup>75</sup> Grimalde in Marcvs Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties: 32, 40

while Drake did not shy from combat, he preferred to use diplomacy where possible to protect the trade of English merchants.<sup>76</sup>

Both Thomas Churchyard and George Best used Martin Frobisher as a model for placing one's prowess at the disposal of the State. In the face of hazardous overseas travel, Churchyard exhorted men to have courage in order for England to discover the Northwest Passage. Men like Frobisher, Churchyard claimed, "esteemed nothyng so dearly, as the vnfolding of hard matters and hidden secretes"<sup>77</sup> and proved tenacious in their attempts to find the passage. George Best praised Frobisher and his crew "as men not regarding perill in respect of the profite and common wealth of their Countrie." Furthermore, Best indicated that the willingness to perform courageous acts for the state, even at personal cost and criticism by those who only looked to their own interests, was the means "wherein the chiefe reputation and fame of a Generall and Capitaine consisteth."<sup>78</sup> In Best's estimation, if the Crown and commonwealth derived no benefit, then a commander's reputation for prowess came into question.

While imperial humanists advocated restraint in resort to combat, there was a consensus that failure to act when necessary or ever to risk oneself for the nation branded a gentleman as effeminate. Churchyard was the most explicit in his condemnation of men who never took any hazardous action, claiming such men had "weake womanish

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<sup>76</sup> Thomas Greepe, *The true and perfecte newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes, performed and doone by that valiant knight Syr Frauncis Drake: not onely at Sancto Domingo, and Carthagena, but also nowe at Cales, and vppon the coast of Spayne*, (Printed at London: I. Charlewood, 1587): B1

<sup>77</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *A prayse, and reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers voyage to Meta Incognita. (A name giuen by a mightie and most great personage) in which praise and reporte is written diuers discourses neuer published by any man as yet. Now spoken of by Thomas Churchyarde Gentleman, and dedicated to the right honorable M. Secretarie Wilson, one of the Queenes Maiesties most honorable Priuie Counsell*, (Imprinted at London for Andrew Maunsell in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Parret, 1578): leaf 13

<sup>78</sup> Best: 3, 26

bodie[s] that trembles to take in hande any stoute or manly enterprise.” For Churchyard, “nothyng is comparable to a couragious determination.”<sup>79</sup> Other imperial humanists suggested effeminacy from the perspective of idleness and a fondness for luxury. George Peele exhorted young men to trade “Loue for Armes,” “Bid all the louelie brittish Dames adiewe,” and to leave their frivolous entertainments (theater and literature) in order to join with men like Drake and Sir John Norris “Vnder the Sanguine Crosse, braue Englands badge.”<sup>80</sup>

For imperial humanists, it was the willingness of Englishmen to place their martial abilities at the State’s disposal despite hazard of one’s life, which made them superior to the Spaniard and justified English imperialism, even in territories already claimed by other European states. In Thomas Greepe’s 1587 account of Drake’s circumnavigation voyage, he claimed the Englishmen were so valiant in battle that they often sent Spanish soldiers into retreat: “To saue theyr liues if it might bée: Our English Souldiers made them flee.” If the common English soldier/mariner was brave in battle, it was only in proportion to the valor of his commanders: “To courage their Souldiours for to fight: Did ieoperd themselues then formostlie, Which made their enemies dread their might.” Clearly, it was the responsibility of officers to model expected martial behavior, and

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<sup>79</sup> Churchyard, *A prayse, and reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers voyage to Meta Incognita*: leaf 16

<sup>80</sup> George Peele, *A farewell Entituled to the famous and fortunate generalls of our English forces: Sir John Norris & Syr Frauncis Drake Knights, and all theyr braue and resolute followers. VVhereunto is annexed: a tale of Troy. Doone by George Peele, Maister of Artes in Oxforde*, (At London: Printed by I. C. and are to bee solde by William Wright, at his shop adioyning to S. Mildreds Church in the Poultrie. Anno. 1589): 6

Drake and his officers did not fail in this duty. Indeed, the forwardness of the English leadership led Spanish soldiers to declare, “These be no men but féendes of hell.”<sup>81</sup>

In *The Spanish Masquerado* (1589), Robert Greene accused the Dukes of Medina-Sidonia and Ricaldo of cowardly conduct during the 1588 invasion. In contrast, Lord Admiral Charles Howard stayed upon the upper deck, Lord Henry Seymour “put oile in the flame,” and Drake “deliuered with Cannon his Ambassage to the Enemie.” Greene reminded the reader that English bravery was endless because their courage stemmed from devotion to the Crown, rather than their own life:

but English men that prize honour as déere as their liues: who if they heare but this word *Elizabetha*, they flie like Lions in the face of the Enemy, nay in the mouth of the Cannon, rather opposing themselues to ten thousand deathes, then the fortune of her enemies should touch her royall Maiestie with any contrary passion.<sup>82</sup>

Since Englishmen fought for Queen and country, rather than mere personal glory, they would not surrender even in the face of a greater force or certain death.

Not all imperial humanists, however, relied upon the myth of Spanish incompetence to elevate the prowess of Englishmen above that of Spaniards (or their Portuguese proxies). Gascoigne credited the Spanish with valor in taking Antwerp, despite their barbaric conduct after the defeat. According to Gascoigne, the Spanish soldiers acquitted themselves so well “whosoeuer wil therein most extoll the Spanyardes for their vallure and order, must therewithall confesse that it was the very ordinance of god for a iust plague and scourge vnto the Towne.”<sup>83</sup> Churchyard also praised the martial skill of the

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<sup>81</sup> Greepe, *The true and perfecte newes of the ... valiant knight Syr Frauncis Drake*: C

<sup>82</sup> Robert Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado*, (Printed at London: by Roger Ward, for Thomas Cadman, 1589): leaf 39-40

<sup>83</sup> Gascoigne, *The spoyle of Antwerpe*: leaf 34

Spaniards in Flanders, writing that the soldiers “are men of great obedience & vigilancie, where they ought to be readie, & at commaundement.”<sup>84</sup> In *The sea-mans triumph* (1592), Raleigh credited the enemy as honorable in their efforts, yet unable to prevent the capture of the *Madré de Dios*. Raleigh showed the Spanish as valiant adversaries and the English as magnanimous and sympathetic toward their enemy. During the battle, Raleigh portrayed the Spaniards vigorously defending the carrack as an indirect compliment to the English fleet; to win a battle against an inferior enemy was not honorable, but to win against an equal was admirable. Once the English boarded the carrack, the Spanish were so awed that although they were “well appointed and able men” they could do naught but concede victory to the English as honorably “wonne with their swoordes and hazarde of their liues.”<sup>85</sup>

### Conclusion

Using humanist chivalry, imperial humanists attempted to reorient the desires of gentlemen for personal honor and glorification of their lineage in a way consistent with the ideals of civility, allowing them to become knights-errant in service to the state. In this reimagining, the individual and communal lineage men needed to protect was that of the Crown; it was their personal reputation as Englishmen and the credit of the nation that

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<sup>84</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *A lamentable, and pitifull description, of the wofull warres in Flaunders, since the foure last yeares of the Emperor Charles the fifth his raigne With a briefe rehearsall of many things done since that season, vntill this present yeare, and death of Don Iohn*, (Imprinted at London by Ralph Nevvberie, 1578): 45

<sup>85</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *The sea-mans triumph. Declaring the honorable actions of such gentlemen captaines and sailers, as were at the takinge of the great carrick, lately brought to Dartmouth, with her burthen and commodities, with the maner of their fight, and names of men of accompt. VVith the burning of an other carrick at the Iland of Flowers, of the burthen of 900. tunnes and vpward, written for trueth to a gentleman of great worship in Londo*, (London: Printed by R.B. for William Barley and are to be solde at his shop in Gratiuous street, 1592): B6

a man should fear shaming. Individual lineage was not excluded from consideration, but was subordinated to communal interests. Humanist chivalry promoted a manly ideal wherein men could retain their honor even in the face of restraint on the battlefield. For imperial humanists, forwardness maintained its importance as a manly virtue, but it was tempered by discretion.

Imperial humanists also used humanist chivalry to constitute an imperial identity distinct from that of their Spanish rivals. If Englishmen were loyal to the Crown, then Spaniards were only loyal to their self-interest; if Englishmen showed restraint and courage in combat, then the Spanish were cowardly or uncontrolled. In this English White Legend, imperial humanists used their particular masculine ideals to justify assuming the mantle of Europe's Protestant Patriarch. Adherence to the values of temperance, justice, and wisdom demonstrated that English gentlemen possessed the necessary restraint to rule and civilize their own domestic barbarians and their readiness to bring the heathens of the New World to the right Christian faith and civilization. The material support for these civilizing missions would come from the treasure England obtained in the New World.



## CHAPTER 3

### RESPECTING THE PUBLIQUE PROFIT:

#### REDEEMING THE PROFIT-MOTIVE

In the previous chapter, I argued that imperial humanists advanced an ideal of civic humanism with the insertion of wisdom and temperance into the chivalric code, urging Englishmen to privilege the Crown's interests above their own. In addition, humanist chivalry expanded the obligations of citizens beyond England's borders and exhorted them to defend indigenous peoples against Spanish tyranny. Despite these high-minded appeals to civic duty, an inescapable reality was that the profit motive—the desire for land, resources, status, and power—comprised both the greatest allure and the chief source of criticism in imperial debates. In their economic justifications for empire, imperial humanists grappled with the conflicting aims of immediate profits and permanent settlement, along with charges of corruption from anti-imperialists. In civic humanism, imperial humanists found a way to reconcile the pursuit of profit and the public good.

Just as imperial humanists endorsed temperance to circumscribe martial impulses, they also sought to restrain the desire for personal profit and re-orient it toward the common weal. In 1908, George L. Beer called the profit motive “the prime cause without which the others would have proven ineffective, and the movement, if conceived at all,

would have been abortive.”<sup>1</sup> In a correction of earlier top-down imperial histories, several studies credit merchants with motivating overseas expansion and downplay (sometimes to exclusion) the contributions of gentlemen adventurers.<sup>2</sup> In spite of their failure to stimulate expansion, propaganda produced by gentlemen adventurers helped define how the English came to understand their empire. Though economic necessity was compelling enough for merchant and Crown interests, imperial humanists sought popular support for overseas colonies by rendering their imperial urges as the product of virtue rather than avarice—a service to the commonwealth.

In extending the discussion on temperance to the economics of empire, imperial humanists tried to establish the profit motive as virtuous on two grounds. First, colonization would provide England the resources to bolster a troubled economy, which in turn would allow England to rebuff Spanish encroachments on their sovereignty. The main problems addressed by imperial humanists were the land shortage, England’s dependence on Europe for imported goods, the desire for bullion to stabilize English currency, and the need for a stronger navy to protect their interests. These economic arguments betrayed an anxiety about the manhood of the nation; England’s relative poverty and attendant social problems all signaled a national degeneracy that threatened a social devolution into barbarism. To imperial humanists, for England to achieve its national adulthood and enter foreign politics as a force to be reckoned with, it would need a robust economy and an industrious population at its disposal.

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<sup>1</sup> George Louis Beer, *The Origins of the British Colonial System 1578-1660*, (Macmillan, 1908; reprinted Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959): 26

<sup>2</sup> The main exponent of this view is K.R. Andrews (*Trade, Plunder and Settlement*). Scholars like Nicholas Canny, Carole Shamas, John Guy, and Robert Brenner have also noted that during the Elizabethan period, merchants had little interest in colonization as explanation for the lack of successful colonies until the Stuart period. (See footnote 11, page 9)

Secondly, the competition with Spain led imperial humanists to devise an English imperialism that, though in practice often the same, was imagined to be ideologically purer than the supposed corruption of the Spanish mission in the New World.<sup>3</sup> Drawing from Spanish sources like Bartolomé de Las Casas, imperial humanists characterized Spaniards as inherently covetous to the detriment of their chivalric virtue and glorified Englishmen as models of restraint in adventuring for honorable reasons. Indeed, Sir Walter Raleigh claimed he beggared himself for what his lieutenant, Lawrence Keymis, called justice, public profit, and necessity: “for the defence of harmelesse people” against Spanish tyranny; for the resources England desperately required; and “the onlie help to put a byt in the mouth of the vnbridled Spaniard.”<sup>4</sup>

In this chapter, I argue imperial humanists urged Englishmen to show restraint by placing the public profit before their personal profit and resisting the impulse to despoil the Indians upon first contact (thus ensuring long-term economic relationships), as proof that English intentions in the New World were virtuous and therefore entitled them to possession in the New World.

### The Profit Motive

Suspicion of the profit motive had its roots in the ancient world. According to Eric Roll, the aristocratic ideal was that a man would commit his attention to the rational governance of his community if freed from the degrading pursuit of wealth. Plato and

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<sup>3</sup> McFarlane: 27-8; Barbara Fuchs, “Learning from Spain: The Case of the Irish Moriscos,” in *Imperialisms: Historical and Literary Investigations, 1500-1900*, edited by Rajan and Sauer: 33

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence Keymis, *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana. Performed and written in the yeare 1596. By Lawrence Kemys, Gent.* (Imprinted at London: By Thomas Dawson, dwelling at the three Cranes in the Vintree, and are to be solde, 1596): E3; Raleigh, *The discoverie of... Guiana*: A3-A4- Raleigh claimed that the first voyage to Guiana had resulted in penury.

Aristotle both considered foreign trade an especially unworthy occupation for the ruling elite, calling it the “search for gain for its own sake, and particularly usury [interest].”<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, classical republican authors often blamed the empire for the fall of the Roman Republic because it created “an ‘Asiatic’ and effeminate wealth and luxury.”<sup>6</sup> Early-Christianity also condemned the pursuit of profit for its own sake, a point vividly illustrated by the parable of Jesus’ attack on the moneylenders. For much of the Middle Ages, the profit motive was considered a distraction from spiritual matters.<sup>7</sup>

By the high-Middle Ages, a more lenient attitude toward profit appeared. For instance, Thomas Aquinas deemed the profit motive an inevitable part of the human condition and suggested that profit was justifiable so long as a man sought to maintain his household or benefit the commonwealth: “The profit realized in trade was then nothing other than a reward for labour.”<sup>8</sup> Though suspicion of the profit motive remained, Tudor humanists adopted Aquinas’ view of profit. Summarizing Aristotle, Thomas Procter asserted, “he loseth the name of a good Citizen, which preferreth priuat profit, before the commen weale,” while Roger Baynes said that prudence and justice distinguished “betweene profitable and vnprofitable, and betweene good and euill...when it laboureth about the mayntayning of humayne Societie.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Eric Roll, *A History of Economic Thought* 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, (London & Boston: Faber and Faber, 1938, rep 1992): 22

<sup>6</sup> Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*: 20

<sup>7</sup> Roll, *A History of Economic Thought*: 32-33

<sup>8</sup> Roll: 34

<sup>9</sup> T[homas] P[rocter], *Of the knowledge and conducte of warres two bookes, lately written and sett forth, profitable for suche as delight in hystories, or martyall affayres, and necessarye for this present tyme*, (London: In aedibus Richardi Tottelli, 1578): fol. 15; Roger Baynes, *The praise of solitarinesse set down in the forme of a dialogue, wherein is conteyned, a discourse philosophical, of the lyfe actiue, and contemplatiue*, (Imprinted at London: By Francis Coldocke and Henry Bynneman, 1577): 41

Addressing debates about profit, imperial humanists insisted adherence to humanist chivalry would ensure the profit motive balanced between public and private good. By emphasizing England's economic problems during Elizabeth's reign, imperial humanists could justify their desire to explore and colonize North America as the best way to protect England's national interests. Therefore, any men who risked their fortunes and lives in imperial ventures were simply fulfilling their duty to the Crown; if they happened to benefit financially, they deemed it a reward for honorable service to the nation. In his 1583 pamphlet to convince the Muscovy Company and the Crown to support his suit for the Newfoundland patent, Christopher Carleill suggested that those who "to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale . . . take on the them the hazard of their life and trauell"<sup>10</sup> deserved the great profits he expected to reap with the venture.

### Land Scarcity

The ascendance of the Tudor dynasty marked the transformation of England's gentry as feudalism waned and a nascent mercantile economy, based heavily on woolen cloth exports, emerged. As merchants accumulated great wealth from the cloth trade, they sought social respectability and profit by purchasing land, which they often enclosed for sheep runs. Conversely, the traditional country gentry (knights and esquires) began to explore business and conjugal relationships with merchants to augment falling rent receipts. England's commercial success facilitated economic expansion by providing capital to those directly involved with trade (merchants, clothiers, sheep farmers, and weavers), and this in turn increased demand for consumer goods, stimulating other

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<sup>10</sup> Christopher Carleill, A brief and sommarie discourse vpon the entended voyage to the hethermoste partes of America: Written by Captaine Carleill in April 1583, [S.l.: J. Kingston? 1583?]: B1

sectors of the economy such as artisanry and wage labor.<sup>11</sup> Despite overall economic prosperity, the resulting land shortage and transformation in work patterns caused social problems, which imperial humanists believed colonization could solve.

Though the last vestiges of the feudal manorial system collapsed during Elizabeth's reign, land remained the primary outlet for investment.<sup>12</sup> In *A compendious and brief examination*, Sir Thomas Smith meditated on the unintended consequences for the economy created by land speculation. Smith's Husbandman complained that yeoman were either unable to acquire land or nearly impoverished trying to maintain it, such that they were only able to employ one or two apprentices. The Husbandman further claimed land scarcity affected the employment of journeymen and clothiers.<sup>13</sup> The loss of employment in the country drove a population boom in the towns and cities, as young men and women went in search of wage work.

Smith, however, did not blame the landed gentry and enclosure for the economic hardship. Indeed, the Knight insisted enclosure encouraged a plentiful supply of cattle, sheep, and grain, and yet England suffered from a "wonderfull dearth of all things."<sup>14</sup> Instead, the Knight placed blame for the falling productivity of the land on tenancy agreements, which strangled the landed gentry by prohibiting raising rents to supplement incomes. The Knight further justified enclosure as the only option when one's ancestral estates became unprofitable. The Knight lamented that men of his status were unable to

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<sup>11</sup> Siegel, "English Humanism and the New Tudor Aristocracy": 451-452; Smith: 73-83

<sup>12</sup> David B. Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940): 60; J.B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936): 211-212

<sup>13</sup> Hales: 5 (image 9)

<sup>14</sup> Ibid: image 9

generate income from sources other than their land and instead wasted their time at Court awaiting honors and indulging in pointless frivolities.<sup>15</sup> Smith's sympathetic Doctor concurred that enclosure was not the source of England's economic hardship, but a symptom. Nevertheless, the Doctor agreed with the Husbandmen's assessment of the situation, saying enclosures deprived many people of land to live and work and sent them into England's towns where they became idle and prone to social disorder.<sup>16</sup>

The economic problems created by the land shortage underscored a masculine anxiety about the maintenance of man's estate in both a literal and figurative way. The most pressing fear was that a man would ruin his credit by incurring financial debt. Just as in the modern era, poor credit was associated with a diminished capacity to obtain products and services, further imperiling a man's ability to support his family. Raleigh advised his son that economic autonomy was a fundamental aspect of manhood, and he directed his son to avoid entanglements that would endanger his credit. Though a poor man might have virtue, Raleigh wrote:

Poverty is oftentimes sent as a curse of God it is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of everie worthy spirit . . . thou shalt drowne in thee all thy virtues, having no meanes to shew them . . . everie Man will feare thy Company, thou shalt be driven basely to begge . . . to make dishonest shifts; and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to doe infamous and detested deedes.<sup>17</sup>

Credit also had a social dimension, indicating whether a man was a trustworthy member of the community. Alexandra Shepard argues: "It was suggested that to be worth nothing

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid: image 9

<sup>16</sup> Ibid: image 23

<sup>17</sup> Raleigh, *Instructions to His Sonne*: 67-69

was to be economically impotent, untrustworthy, and by implication less than a man.”<sup>18</sup> Poor credit placed more than a man’s financial reputation at risk, it also compromised his social standing and jeopardized his ability to become a patriarch in his own right as a husband and father, a point to which I will return. Moreover, in humanist terms, poor credit inhibited a man’s ability to act virtuously for the common good because his private interests consumed and corrupted him.

In addition to fears about one’s manhood, poor credit had also acquired a Hispanic quality, particularly among imperial humanists. As the Black Legend developed from the 1550s, one of the national traits ascribed to Spaniards was poor credit and parsimony, as opposed to England’s liberality. Francisco Lopez de Gomara recalled Hernán Cortés “caried no money to pay his souldiers, but was rather much indebted to others at his departure.” Though normal for adventurers, Gomara unintentionally portrayed Cortés as motivated only by his personal profit and not that of his country. Remarking on his debt to others, Cortés declared “that the employmente thereof dothe encrease *my* treasure and honor” [emphasis added]. Gomara dismissed Cortés’ debt thusly: “But in *India*, euery one pretēdeth ȳ state of a noble man, or else great riches,”<sup>19</sup> suggesting the Spanish had become corrupted by their empire, supplanting their honor and reputation with avarice once they arrived in the New World. In addition, these men forgot their place in society, acting above themselves in the colonies. The Spaniard served as an example to Englishmen of the corrupting influence of the profit motive if men did not subordinate the desire for riches to the *vita activa*.

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<sup>18</sup> Shepard: 192

<sup>19</sup> Lopez de Gomara, *The pleasant historie of the conquest of the Vveast India*: D4, E



To justify the appropriation of land in the New World as a common good, imperial humanists invoked the Roman law of *res nullius*, which held that all “empty things” remained common property until someone put the land to use, generally in an agricultural capacity.<sup>20</sup> Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516) persuasively articulated this concept as a validation of colonization. Questioning the right of the Utopians to send their people into lands that were insufficiently populated and uncultivated to settle a colony under their own laws, More concluded:

For they counte this the moste iust cause of warre, when any people holdeth a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vse, keypyng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nowryshed & relieued.<sup>21</sup>

At a time when Englishmen debated the merits of colonization in the wake of rumors about atrocities in New Spain, More suggested colonization could be a just enterprise.

Though this would not lead to immediate plans to colonize North America, it did give imperial humanists a way to frame their imperial agenda as the legitimate acquisition of new lands.<sup>22</sup> Calling upon *res nullius*, Ralph Lane asserted the inability of Native Americans to maximize the profit potential of the land (“but being Sauages that possesse the land, they know no vse of the same”<sup>23</sup>), indicating the English had a natural right to

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<sup>20</sup> Anthony Pagden, “The Struggle for Legitimacy and the Image of Empire in the Atlantic to c.1700,” from *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume I: The Origins of the Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 42—it should be noted that the Roman law strongly influenced English Common Law regarding the legal possession of land.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas More, *A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson citizein and goldsmythe of London, at the procurement, and earnest request of George Tadlowe citezein [and] haberdassher of the same citie*, 1551: leaf 143-144

<sup>22</sup> Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625*: 98-99

<sup>23</sup> Ralph Lane, “An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia (1585),” from *The Principal Navigations, Voyages*,

establish a colony and exploit the land's full potential. Encouraging the elder Richard Hakluyt to continue promoting the Roanoke colony, Lane wrote: "To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it."<sup>24</sup>

Armed with legal precedents for colonization, imperial humanists directly addressed fears of losing man's estate by highlighting the vast tracts of land available to forward men, especially younger sons of the gentry who could not expect to inherit ancestral estates. In Sir Humphrey Gilbert's colonization efforts, he offered subscribers free socage<sup>25</sup> land tenure agreements. Though there was some variation among the agreements, all had similar terms: the landholders would pay Gilbert an annual fee for every thousand acres of land inhabited after seven years and two-fifths of all mining products discovered; colonists would pay Gilbert a customs duty in return for free trade in the colony and with certain English ports. In one agreement, Gilbert obliged the grantee to provide armed ships and men for service. In turn, Gilbert would become a great landlord in his own right and achieve his own economic freedom.

In 1583, both George Peckham and Christopher Carleill promoted the colonization of North America as a way to solve the land shortage. Addressing the nobility and gentry whom he hoped to attract as subscribers, Peckham emphasized America's "temperate climate, holesome ayre, fertile soyle . . . wherevpon they may fortiefie, and there plant themselues, or such other person as they shall thinke it good to sende to be Lordes of that

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*Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599): 255

<sup>24</sup> Lane, "An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter": 254

<sup>25</sup> In feudal terms, it meant service other than knight-duty.

place and Country.”<sup>26</sup> In this description, America was a virtual replica of England with the bonus of abundant land and mineral resources. Peckham indicated that even if gentlemen did not pursue colonization personally, the availability of land and resources would enable them to employ a great number of servants in the project. Carleill was less coy on this point, stating bluntly that colonization in America would benefit the “infinite number of other, who presently liue in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discouerie, alter the same to a far better degree.”<sup>27</sup>

Sir Thomas Smith focused on the political dimension of the land shortage in his promotion of colonization. In 1572, Smith published a promotional letter encouraging men of all classes to invest as colonists in his plantation at Ards, emphasizing the idea of “martial citizenship.” Found in Roman and Machiavellian discourse, martial citizenship hinged upon the concept of the citizen-soldier, who possessed land, a family, and a livelihood in the colony and therefore would be most concerned with the security of the commonwealth. Unlike paid soldiers, the citizen-soldier was “made Mayster and owner of his land,” which would give him a stake in preserving order in the colony. In addition, as gentlemen the success of the colony was on the individual not on the Crown: “if hee lose it, he loseth his owne inheritaunce, and hindreth his posteritie.” Smith, however, believed that if the citizen-soldier succeeded in bringing the land and its people “to ciuilitie and good obedience to his Prince,” they brought honor to England; hence, the Crown had an interest in providing land grants for settlers “so as reason is, he hath it the

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<sup>26</sup> George Peckham, *A Trve Reporte, Of the late discoueries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the Newfound Landes* (London: Printed by I.C. for Iohn Hinde, 1583): F-F1

<sup>27</sup> Carleill, *A breef and sommarie discours*: B1

better cheape, the larger estate in it, and the lesse incūbered.<sup>28</sup> Smith thought giving colonists a stake in the plantation, not simply wages, would ensure they placed the common good before their own self-interest, since the preservation of the commonwealth was their self-interest.<sup>29</sup>

The idea of martial citizenship also influenced the evolution of Raleigh's Roanoke colony. When the first incarnation of the colony failed, Raleigh focused on land as the best way to attract and ensure subscribers committed to the success of the colony. In 1585, the Roanoke colony was little more than a garrison, with the soldiers receiving wages but having no material interest in its success. When the first winter proved difficult, wages could not recompense the soldiers, and they wanted to return to England. The soldiers also viewed themselves as temporary inhabitants and so did not go to great lengths to maintain amity with the local Algonquians. Raleigh realized that a sustainable colony needed men skilled in land management who wanted a long-term investment in the colony. Influenced by his success in Munster, Raleigh's settlers for the 1587 venture became shareholders in the City of Raleigh in Virginia corporation (headed by John White), receiving 500-acre land grants simply by joining the venture, more in proportion to their investment. These colonists would enjoy the right to limited self-government under Raleigh's overlordship. Raleigh would benefit from the prestige and power of being a ruler of vast lands in his own right, which would give him access to power at Court, especially in the Privy Council. Unlike the all-male garrison, the new colony would

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<sup>28</sup> I.B. Gentleman [Sir Thomas Smith], *A letter sent by I.B. Gentleman vnto his very frende Maystet R.C. Esquire vtherin is contained a large discourse of the peopling & inhabiting the cuntrie called the Ardes, and other adiacent in the north of Ireland, and taken in hand by Sir Thomas Smith one of the Queenes Maiesties priuie Counsel, and Thomas Smith Esquire, his sonne.* (1572): leaf 20-21

<sup>29</sup> Fitzmaurice: 37

include families for permanent settlement, building a stable community with working farms. By giving speculators a stake in the colony, Raleigh hoped to ensure a steady supply of wealthy investors to back the venture.<sup>30</sup>

### Commercial Benefits

An economic problem closely associated with the land shortage was the dearth of native commodities<sup>31</sup> in England, which fostered England's dependence upon other states for goods. Despite two slumps in the woolen cloth trade, one in 1564 and another from 1569-1573, England maintained a thriving cloth trade in Europe. As the gentry enclosed more land for sheep runs to supply the cloth trade, clothiers and merchants realized they needed more outlets for their products. In addition to the problem of an insufficient vent for the cloth trade, English merchants experienced greater obstacles to their trading activities abroad. In the Baltic, Denmark imposed tolls on English ships and the Muscovy Company had to pay them tributes; in northern Europe, the Merchant Adventurers and the Eastland Company competed for markets with the Hanseatic League; and in the Mediterranean, Spanish and Barbary privateers molested English ships, forcing merchants to outfit armed convoys to protect their goods, at great personal cost.<sup>32</sup>

According to Sir Thomas Smith, interference with England's commercial activities led to a scarcity of goods and price inflation unparalleled in preceding decades. Inflation

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<sup>30</sup> Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire*: 106-108, 121

<sup>31</sup> In the early modern period, "commodities" referred to both manufactured goods and also to articles of commerce or trade, including raw materials and food. (OED online)

<sup>32</sup> Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*: 204-205

in the cost of goods affected England's towns, in particular port towns like Southampton, which had been the sites of great commercial prosperity in the late-Middle Ages. Smith's Merchant observed:

So be the most parte of all y<sup>e</sup> townes of England, London onely except, and not only the good townes are sore decayed in their Howses, Walles, Streates, and other buildings, but also the countrey in their high wayes & Brydgés, for such pouerty raygneth euery where, that few men haue so much to spare as they may geue any thing to y<sup>e</sup> reparation of such wayes, brydges, and other common easements...<sup>33</sup>

In his 1578 pamphlet, George Best implied that England's commercial problems resulted from Henry VII's inopportune refusal to sponsor Columbus' West Indies voyage, a mistake that greatly profited the Spanish. Best urged Englishmen not to repeat earlier errors, but instead prove themselves "as forward, as anie other [Europeans]"<sup>34</sup> by discovering the Northwest Passage. In this way, imperial humanists framed England's economic decline in masculine terms of virility, suggesting the nation could counteract its current financial impotence with an infusion of national courage.

For imperial humanists the solution to England's declining commercial prosperity was obvious: England needed to discover an alternate route to Asia and find new markets undominated by other states, such as North America offered. In 1566, Gilbert argued that finding a Northwest Passage would grant England economic autonomy and "be a great aduancement to our Countrie, wonderfull enriching to our Prince, and vnspeakeable commodities to all the inhabitants of *Europe*."<sup>35</sup> Unlike current restrictions that hamstrung English trade, the Northwest Passage would allow English merchants to

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<sup>33</sup> Hales: 4

<sup>34</sup> Best: 14

<sup>35</sup> Gilbert, *A Discovrse Of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia*: leaf 84

trade directly with Asia, which would lower the cost of Asian products and provide additional markets for English cloth in America and the East. Gilbert was so convinced of the economic potential of America that under his patent he granted a corporation in Southampton exclusive free trade privileges and status as the sole port through which American commodities would move, as well as land under free socage agreements to both the corporation and its investors. Carleill attempted to replicate Gilbert's plan with Bristol and Devon merchants.<sup>36</sup>

Strongly informed by Gilbert's argument for the existence of the Northwest Passage and the great benefit awaiting its discoverers, John Dee envisioned imperialism as the way to increase England's naval and commercial capacity. Dee believed the economic opportunities afforded by imperial ventures would enhance England's international stature "in wealth and strength, as of forrein loue and feare, where it is most Requisite to be: and also of Triumphant Fame, the whole world ouer, vndoubtedly."<sup>37</sup> Carleill asserted that the American trade would become so lucrative it would yield twice the income the Muscovy Company realized with their current routes.<sup>38</sup>

Colonization was a natural outgrowth of the search for the Northwest Passage because imperial humanists recognized England would need outposts populated with Englishmen along the route to Asia.<sup>39</sup> In letters to Martin Frobisher, the elder Hakluyt advised him on establishing colonies in America so that the enterprise would not become "reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purposes that may be taken in

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<sup>36</sup> Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*: 60-61; Benians: 67

<sup>37</sup> Dee: 8

<sup>38</sup> Carleill: A2

<sup>39</sup> Black: 204-205; Anna R. Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century: Speaking to the People*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997): 5

hand.”<sup>40</sup> Conceived as little more than trading posts, the elder Hakluyt counseled Frobisher to situate his colonies near easily navigable waters so the colony could support itself by trading with passing ships and the local inhabitants. In addition, if the territory had abundant natural resources, in particular fish, the colony would become self-sustaining, “[a]nd so this first seat might in turn become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories,”<sup>41</sup> which would eventually provide the resources necessary to create a system of local government and unburden the Crown.

The elder Hakluyt also solicited information from Anthony Parkhurst about the native commodities of Newfoundland with which he could advise Gilbert for his proposed American colony. Parkhurst indicated that salt and fish were the most abundant resources available.<sup>42</sup> Like Parkhurst, George Peckham used the prospect of abundant resources to encourage merchants to invest in Gilbert’s colony. Peckham claimed that if England colonized Newfoundland, instead of being limited to a two-month fishing season, they could fish year-round; they would also find a temperate climate similar to England’s and fertile lands, such that England would never need to risk the hazards of trade in the Mediterranean, northern Europe, or Russia.<sup>43</sup>

If earlier writers were rather more hopeful than empirical in their assessment of the likely commodities of North America, Raleigh’s exploratory expedition to Virginia in

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<sup>40</sup> Richard Hakluyt, Esquire, “Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple Esquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his North west discouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre vp considerations of these and of such other things, not vnmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter,” From *The Principal Navigations*, written by Richard Hakluyt, volume 3 (London: 1599): 45 (leaf 1238)

<sup>41</sup> Hakluyt, “Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt”: 46 (leaf 1239)

<sup>42</sup> Anthony Parkhurst, “A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, containing a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. Anthonie Parkhurst Gentleman, 1578,” From *The Principal Navigations*, volume 3., written by Richard Hakluyt (London: 1599): 134 (leaf 1327)

<sup>43</sup> Peckham, A Trve Reporte ... of the Newfound Landes: E2, F-F1



1584 yielded useful information about the presence of exploitable raw materials. Raleigh entrusted his servant, Arthur Barlowe, with recording data about the proposed colony site. In his short yet glowing account, entitled “The first voyage made to the coasts of America,” Barlowe recounted the resources available in America and the prospect for profitable relations with the Algonquian peoples inhabiting the Outer Banks of Chesapeake Bay. Barlowe opened the pamphlet with a list of the various resources found in North America. For England’s timber needs oak, cedar, pine, cypress, sassafras, and lentisk trees were abundant, as were wild game, like deer, rabbit, and fowl; there were plenty of cash crops, such as tobacco, corn, melons, walnuts, gourds, peas, and white potatoes; and well-stocked fisheries. The mention of pearls, the Queen’s personal symbol, indicated the possibility of other minerals. Barlowe also noted the extensive network of islands and rivers adjoining the sea, attesting to the ease with which the transport and trade of goods could be conducted and the location’s strategic value as a naval outpost.<sup>44</sup>

Barlowe’s report also emphasized the ease and value of establishing trade relationships with the Algonquians through the narrative of his first encounter. On the third day after their arrival at Roanoke Island, the English made their first contact with the local Algonquians. Three Algonquians approached the English ships in a boat; one of them went ashore and walked up and down the beach until Captain Philip Amadas, Barlowe, and their pilot rowed to shore. Barlowe observed that the lone Algonquian never made “any shewe of feare or doubt” as the Englishmen approached. The English

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<sup>44</sup> Arthur Barlowe, “The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, where in were Capitaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey now called Virginia, Anno 1584,” from *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599): 246, 248, 250

and the Algonquian attempted to communicate but could not understand each other. Nevertheless, with what little communication did pass the English convinced the Algonquian to come aboard one of their ships, where they “gaue him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel.” Once he had seen both ships, the Algonquian returned to his companions in their boat and rowed to a nearby cove to fish. After a half-hour, the Algonquians returned to the shore with a great quantity of fish, which they divided into two piles, one for each ship. Having “requited the former benefites receaued,” the Algonquians departed.<sup>45</sup>

The next day, the Algonquians invited the English to their village to meet their *weroance*, Wingina.<sup>46</sup> After the Englishmen and Algonquians appraised each other, Wingina struck his head and breast and the head and breast of Captain Amadas “to shewe wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all loue, and familiaritie.” Wingina then made a long speech, after which the English presented him with gifts, “which hee receiued very ioyfully, and thankfully.” In the following days, the English and Algonquians formalized their relationship with the trade of goods. The English exchanged hatchets, axes, knives and other items for leathers, deerskins, and a copper kettle. Wingina was fascinated by a tin dish, which he hung around his neck, signing that it would protect him from enemy arrows, an indication of the fractured relationships with their neighbors. Wingina also desired English swords, but the English would not part with any until they discovered the source of pearls. Several days after the initial trading Wingina’s brother, Granganimeo, came aboard the English ships to dine.

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<sup>45</sup> Barlowe, “The first voyage”: 247

<sup>46</sup> At first contact, the leader of the Roanoke Indian village answered to the name of Wingina; by the time Ralph Lane and the first settlers arrived in Roanoke in 1585, Wingina had changed his name to Pemisapan.

Granganimeo enjoyed the food and company enough to bring his wife and children the next time he visited the English ships.

The story of the first contact with the Algonquians was important in the colonization debate for several reasons. First, Barlowe's claim that the Algonquians appreciated the goods the English gave them indicated that North America would make a good market for English products, which would stimulate industry at home and ease unemployment. That the Algonquians reciprocated the trade spontaneously showed they welcomed a relationship with the English. Finally, the rift between the Algonquians and their neighbors might be of later strategic value if they needed incentive to remain cooperative or became a threat to English colonization plans. Barlowe also claimed the inter-Indian wars were so brutal that much of the region was left unpopulated,<sup>47</sup> meeting one of the criteria for just colonization under *res nullius*.

As he had done with Frobisher, the elder Hakluyt offered his advice to Raleigh when the Queen approved his patent for a Virginia colony. In his 1585 pamphlet to Raleigh, the elder Hakluyt discussed the pragmatic concerns of colonization, such as providing a new market for the cloth trade, establishing bases from which to discover a faster route to the Far East, and a source of raw materials that would free England from dependence upon Continental trade. Like other imperial humanists, the elder Hakluyt justified the economic motives for colonization because it would alleviate poverty in England by stimulating England's export industry, especially the trade of cloth and trifles like hats, knives, beads, and looking glasses.<sup>48</sup> The elder Hakluyt also maintained a

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<sup>47</sup> Barlowe: 250

<sup>48</sup> Richard Hakluyt, Esquire, "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. Degrees (1585)," from *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North*

correspondence with the garrison leader, Ralph Lane, and became a conduit for optimistic reports about the economic potential of the region. In a 1585 letter, Lane said North America contained resources England currently imported from the Continent, plus many more not found elsewhere, demonstrating his faith that the colony would ensure England's economic independence. Knowing the elder Hakluyt's interest in the woolen cloth trade, Lane claimed the Indians eagerly desired English cloth, particularly canvas.<sup>49</sup>

Imperial humanists also looked to South America as an abundant source of raw materials. In his account of Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation, Francis Fletcher wrote that in addition to the herbs, fruits, and trees, "the ayre of the temperature of our countrey, the water most pleasant; and the soile agreeing to any graine which we haue growing in our countrie." Fletcher proclaimed that South America's abundance called out to Englishmen "to vse the same to the Creators glory."<sup>50</sup> In promoting a Guiana colony, both Raleigh and Lawrence Keymis listed the commodities of the region at length. They noted the presence of pitch, oysters, brazil wood, fruits, dye, cotton, silk, balsam, gum, pepper, honey, deer, pigs, fish, fowl, maize, "roots" and medicinal herbs; in addition, the geographical proximity to the West Indies meant that sugar, ginger and other cash crops could be cultivated in Guiana. For gentlemen, Raleigh wrote: "There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleasure to the Inhabitants, either for these common

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*America, 1580-1640*, edited by Peter C. Mancall, (Boston & New York: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995): 37-39, 42-44

<sup>49</sup> Lane, "An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter": 255

<sup>50</sup> Sir Francis Drake, *The vworld encompassed by Sir Francis Drake being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios formerly imprinted; carefully collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher preacher in this employment, and diuers others his followers in the same: offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring vp of herock spirits, to benefit their countrie, and eternize their names by like noble attempts*, (London: Printed for Nicholas Boverne and are to be sold at his shop at the *Royall Exchange*. 1628): 37

delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, then *Guiana* doth.”<sup>51</sup> Obtaining these commodities would require a substantial labor force, greater than any colonization could provide. The Spanish solved this problem by violently coercing the Indians to work their plantations;<sup>52</sup> the English hoped their civilizing mission would yield similar benefits without the violence. In this way, the civilizing mission indicated English restraint in the face of economic temptations and Spanish insatiability.

### An English *El Dorado*

The commodities most prized and sought during imperial ventures in North America were mines. With the influx of gold and silver from the New World, many European economies suffered from inflation as their own coin became devalued. Smith's Doctor deemed New World treasure the primary cause of England's economic problems because it undermined the English pound.<sup>53</sup> The logical conclusion drawn from this complaint was that England needed to discover its own source of treasure to back English currency against Iberian currency. In his 1578 letter to the elder Hakluyt, Parkhurst assured him that at the very least Newfoundland contained iron and copper, but he held out hope that a proper exploration of the island would yield more mines.<sup>54</sup>

Of all the economic reasons for imperialism, the search for mines most defied a humanist interpretation. Accounts of Spain's conquest of the New World left humanists little doubt that the search for gold corrupted men and turned them into tyrants. Spanish

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<sup>51</sup> Raleigh, *The discoverie of... Guiana*: 3 (B2), 94-95; Keymis, *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana*: E3 (leaf 45)

<sup>52</sup> De Las Casas, *The Spanish colonie*: A3, F4, G

<sup>53</sup> Hales: 45

<sup>54</sup> Parkhurst, "A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple,": 134 (leaf 1327)

authors like Francisco Lopez de Gomara and Agustin de Zárate openly admitted gold was the primary motive of the conquistadors, with the religious mission appearing only as a formality to hide their true intentions from the Indians.<sup>55</sup> De Las Casas blamed the avarice of Spanish soldiers and poor leadership for their genocidal and dishonorable conduct. Invoking the threat of social disorder posed by men who failed to abide by metropolitan social constraints in the colonies, De Las Casas argued that Spanish soldiers sought gold “to enriche them selues in a short tyme, and to mount at one leape to very high estates, in no wise agreeable to their persons.”<sup>56</sup> The resulting abuses caused by Spanish rapacity led the Indians to conceal the locations of mines, instead preferring death. The Spanish example served to remind Englishmen that their first duty in adventuring was to the Crown; from their restraint in looking for mines and resisting the urge to mistreat Indians they would yield abundance for public and personal profit.

English writers also emphasized the deleterious potential of gold. George Gascoigne noted the way disciplined Spanish soldiers were reduced to vice in Antwerp: “for euey *Dom Diego* must walk ietting vp & downe the streetes with his harlotte by him in her cheine and bracelettes of golde.” The poet George Chapman characterized the pursuit of gold for its own end as the loss of the soul, though he endorsed establishing a colony in Guiana to find gold for the common benefit.<sup>57</sup> Imperial humanists were ambivalent about the motives prompting adventurers to explore the Americas for mines, engaging in careful apologetics to cloak the desire for personal profit attending these voyages. Imperial humanists sought to neutralize the potential for corruption the search for mines

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<sup>55</sup> Lopez de Gomara: H, H3; Zárate, *The discoverie and conquest of the prouinces of Peru*: ch. 9

<sup>56</sup> De Las Casas: leaf 21, 94-95, 98

<sup>57</sup> George Chapman in Keymis, *A relation of the econd voyage to Guiana*: leaf 12

introduced into the American voyages, suggesting the only way England would profit from American mines was if adventurers carefully attended to the civilizing mission as their primary objective (Ch. 5).

During his three voyages in search of the Northwest Passage, the discovery of mines became Frobisher's central preoccupation. After Frobisher failed to find the Northwest Passage on the first voyage, a black stone he brought home became the only tangible evidence of the potential profit of America. By coincidence, the stone glistened gold when tossed into a fire, convincing Frobisher and other adventurers—among them the Queen, Lord Burghley, Walsingham, and Leicester—to invest in a second voyage.<sup>58</sup> George Best considered it a miracle that an Englishman discovered a single stone containing gold, interpreting it as God's divine will that England would find gold mines in America. Nevertheless, Best criticized adventurers who "fought secretly to haue a lease at hir Maiesties hands of those places, wherby to enioy the Masse of so great a publick profit, vnto their owne priuate gaines."<sup>59</sup> Best warned that England's success hinged on their commitment to the civilizing mission to convert Native Americans to Christianity and therefore a purge of avaricious desires would be necessary among adventurers.

On the final two voyages, the pressure to discover mines was intense and began to crowd out exploration for the Northwest Passage as the expedition's mission. Best wrote:

And considering also the shorte time he had in hande, he thought it best to bend his whole endeouour for the getting of Mynes, and to leaue the passage, further to be discouered héereafter. For his commission directed hym in this voyage, only

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<sup>58</sup> Best: 51; Ernest S. Dodge, *Northwest by Sea*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961): 65, 74-75

<sup>59</sup> Best: 51 (first voyage)

for the searching of the Gold Ore, and to deferre the further discoverie of the passage vntill another tyme.<sup>60</sup>

Best disapproved of the rapacity accompanying the voyages, implying the failure of the enterprise was due to the “gréedie desire our countrey hath to a present sauour and returne of gayne.”<sup>61</sup> At the end of the second voyage, Frobisher returned with shiploads of ore, which convinced investors to subscribe in a third voyage; later, the ore was discovered worthless. In spite of disappointments, Best ultimately concluded that the only promise North America held for Englishmen was its mines *if* Englishmen attended to the Protestant mission, though he remained pessimistic the “cannibals” could be reformed.<sup>62</sup>

Edward Hayes’ account of Gilbert’s tragic 1583 voyage to Newfoundland contained similar ambivalence about the profit motive. After Gilbert’s death, the imperial faction faced the difficult task of framing the recent failures of his and Frobisher’s enterprises as personal failures rather than systematic failures. Hayes endorsed the position that those men who pursued colonization for the benefit of God and the nation would be rewarded and those who sought their own profit would face great peril overseas. Hayes used Gilbert as a cipher for this message, blaming Gilbert’s financial hardship for perverting his motives and condemning the voyage. Hayes believed Gilbert’s failure and death should stand as a testament to future Englishmen about the dangers awaiting them overseas should they have impure motives and an intemperate character.

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<sup>60</sup> Best: 15 (second voyage)

<sup>61</sup> Ibid

<sup>62</sup> Best: 68 (third voyage)



After the failure of the 1579 voyage and with only a few years left on his patent, Gilbert knew he had to act quickly to organize a new expedition. Though Hayes recognized Gilbert's virtuous intentions in colonizing America, he said circumstances conspired to undermine them with foolhardiness and avarice. Hayes wrote:

“[T]he gentleman was so incumbred with wants, and worse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare judgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subjected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to upholde credite, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.”<sup>63</sup>

Hayes noted Gilbert's dire financial straits from investing his personal fortune in the abortive 1578 voyage to colonize America. Gilbert's economic troubles and desire to maintain his reputation in the face of bad credit became an explanation for the problems associated with the Newfoundland enterprise.

Gilbert pinned his hopes to recoup his investment in the Newfoundland ventures on the discovery of mines. Thus, Gilbert brought miners and assayers with him to determine the likelihood of mineral wealth. According to one of the miners, Daniel the Saxon, Newfoundland had iron and silver. Gilbert was pleased with this news, loading the *Delight* with ore for the return to England. Due to Gilbert's poor judgment, the *Delight* foundered and sank off the Newfoundland coast, killing almost a hundred men (including Richard Hakluyt's friend, the poet Stephen Parmenius) and losing all the ore. Gilbert, apparently incensed by the loss of the ore, beat his serving boy in a rage. Hayes described Gilbert's demeanor as “out of measure grieved”<sup>64</sup> and wrote that his greed led him to lose self-control.

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<sup>63</sup> Edward Hayes, *The Voyage of Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight, 1583*, (Wisconsin Historical Society, 2003): 184

<sup>64</sup> Hayes, *The Voyage of Sir Humfrey Gilbert*: 216

As mentioned in Chapter 2 proponents of humanist chivalry believed temperance maintained virtue. Intemperance signaled that one's bestial appetites—in Gilbert's case, his lust for fortune—had unmanned him. Though Gilbert ostensibly undertook his voyage "to discover, possesse, and to reduce unto the service of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America," Hayes blamed Gilbert for allowing his personal failures to handicap the venture, faulting Gilbert on two counts, both intimately related to Gilbert's masculine reputation. First, Hayes accused Gilbert of being too prodigal with his patrimony and the money of his investors, assigning grants before a colony was established. Though liberality was a chivalric virtue, prodigality demonstrated a lack of wisdom and restraint, imperiling a man's credit. Secondly, even though Gilbert's financial position rendered him unfit to continue the venture, he rashly proceeded in expectation of great profit and to save face, "lest his credite, foyled in his first attempt, in a second should utterly be disgraced."<sup>65</sup> Hayes maintained that Gilbert's folly in letting the profit motive override his virtue had preordained the failure of the mission. Indeed, Hayes alluded to Frobisher's earlier failures to find the Northwest Passage as doomed for similar reasons.

The failure of the first Roanoke colony provided imperial humanists with one of the best examples of the corrupting potential of the profit motive to the colonizing enterprise. As food resources at Roanoke diminished, relations between the Englishmen and the Algonquians collapsed into violence. A major source of the violence was the desire of the Englishmen for minerals, particularly copper. In his 1586 pamphlet, Ralph Lane protested the "treason of our owne Sauages," defending his men's credit by arguing they would have traded copper for corn and "had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them."

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<sup>65</sup> Hayes: 221-222

Lane's claim was belied by his later statement that he intended to obtain copper from the Mangoaks "either in friendship or otherwise to haue had one or two of them prisoners."<sup>66</sup> In Thomas Hariot's account of the Roanoke colony, he blamed the "braggarts" and "unlearned" for the demise of the colony, asserting these two groups of men had spent most of their time on Roanoke Island "pamper[ing] their bellies"<sup>67</sup> after they did not quickly find gold or silver. The implication of Hariot's criticism of the men employed in the first colony was that future colonies must seek out industrious and virtuous men rather than those who only sought quick enrichment.

Richard Hakluyt was equally critical of the settlers in the first Roanoke colony. In his dedicatory preface to Raleigh in the translation of Rene Laudonnière's *A Notable Historie*, Hakluyt used the Roman Empire as illustrative of the dangers in pursuing colonization for the sole purpose of profit. The Romans, he wrote, continued to expand their empire "euen to the vnfurnishing of their owne cuntrye of the forces which should haue perserued the same in her perfection," an oversight that allowed the Germanic tribes to sack Rome. The lesson was that "tirannicall ambition . . . to subdue strange peoples . . . contrarie to the profite that those shall receue"<sup>68</sup> would lead to disaster. If, on the other hand, Raleigh's foremost concerns were the benefit of the commonwealth and the desire to unite disparate groups through traffic or force of arms (if the natives failed to perceive

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<sup>66</sup> Ralph Lane, "An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. vntill the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh," from *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599): 258

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants. Discovered by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinulle Knight In the yeere 1585*, (Francoforti ad Moenum: Typis Ioannis Wecheli, sumtibus vero Theodori de Bry anno MDXC. Venales reperuntur in officina Sigismundi Feirabendii, 1590): 5

<sup>68</sup> Hariot, *a briefe and true report*: 6

the benefits of submission), then the venture would be successful. Invoking the Black Legend, Hakluyt insisted the missionary enterprise was antithetical to tyranny and cruel government, especially when “men of good actiuitie . . . make their profite to bring the countrie to ciuilitie, and, if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God.”<sup>69</sup> Hakluyt’s conclusion, therefore, was an indictment of Lane, who had alienated the Algonquians with his single-minded pursuit of mines.

In the *Discouerie of . . . Guiana* (1596), Raleigh attempted to distinguish his desire to find El Dorado from that of the Spaniards and earlier English explorers who failed to restrain their desire for gold. Like Cortés in the conquest of Mexico, Raleigh carefully concealed his desire to find gold mines in order to avoid arousing the Indians by revealing his pecuniary interests. Raleigh thought England had become “a body daungerouslie diseased” due to its declining economic position compared to Spain. Raleigh considered England’s defensive position against Spain a position of impotence, “and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the ground, and be dissolved.”<sup>70</sup> Though the Crown could attempt short-term diplomatic solutions to prevent Spain from pressing its economic advantage in a war against England, ultimately, the only cure for a diseased body politic was the gold found in colonies. Raleigh believed a steady supply of gold from Guiana would enable England to stake out an offensive position against Spain or at least reduce Spain’s ability to threaten England. In this way, Raleigh’s profit motive became distinct from Cortes’ avarice because he subordinated his own desire for wealth to the needs of the commonwealth.

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<sup>69</sup> Hariot: 6

<sup>70</sup> Raleigh, *The discouerie of... Guiana*: 4

Louis A. Montrose argues that Raleigh's "repudiation of concupiscence and his strategic tempering temporizing of his announced quest for wealth and power" was a way for him to demonstrate his continence to the Queen. The emphasis on continence also provided justification for England's possession of Guiana. In this famous passage, Raleigh compared Guiana to a virgin bride awaiting domestication by a Protestant husband:

To conclude, *Guiana* is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graues haue not beene opened for golde, the mines not broken with fledges, not their Images puld down out of their temples. It hath neuer been entred by any armie of strength, and neuer conquered or possessed by anie Christian Prince . . . so as whosoever shall first possesse it, it shall bee founde vnaccessable for anie Enimie . . . which hath beene well proued by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of *Peru* haue neuer left fiue yeres free from attempting this Empire, or discouering some way into it . . .<sup>71</sup>

Raleigh literally feminized the land in order to make it suitable for conquest; just as women were unsuited to self-government, a feminized landscape required husbandmen to cultivate and govern it. Unlike the West and East Indies, which already had a European "husband," Raleigh suggested Guiana was untouched by Europeans and undeveloped by its native inhabitants. Though the Spanish had tried to husband Guiana, their incontinence led to failure and demonstrated insufficient manliness for the task. The lack of cultivation also indicated the Indians were improper stewards (husbands) of the land. Raleigh's restraint in not despoiling the land immediately proved Englishmen, if they showed virtue, were ordained by God to husband Guiana. Furthermore, once England penetrated Guiana—both literally and figuratively—it would prove more continent and fruitful than the most devoted woman. In temperance, therefore, Raleigh would bring forth abundance for England and himself.

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid: 97

When Raleigh returned home from Guiana, his inability to produce credible evidence of gold provoked harsh denouncements of his venture and suggestions that he had never left the British Isles. It did not help Raleigh that none of his crew could verify his assertions. Raleigh contended he had purposely concealed information of the mines from his crew, lest greed overtake the baser members and “al our care taken for good vsage of the people bin vtterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our loue and defence, into hatred and violence.”<sup>72</sup> Raleigh also argued that had he told his crew about the mines, once they returned to England they would have mounted their own expeditions to Guiana for private enrichment or word would have spread to their European competitors and the possibility of English possession lost. Therefore, Raleigh’s refusal to share information became an example of wise leadership and temperance. Knowing they could not adequately explore the mines on the first expedition, Raleigh instead chose to sacrifice immediate financial gain in order to protect Guiana’s pristine condition for the Crown to exploit.

### Englarging the Royal Navy

While the search for mines might be problematic for imperial humanists, they all recognized the necessity of improving England’s naval capacity. Imperial humanists viewed a robust navy as a facilitator to the foreseen expansion in trade opportunities, but also as protection from foreign invasion and incursions into English fisheries. The emphasis on an enlarged Royal Navy was informed by competition with both the Dutch and the Iberians for commercial and military supremacy. In the 1570s, imperial

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid: 50

humanists discovered the Queen and Privy Council were most responsive to commercial arguments that would not involve England in any hostile actions with Spain. By the mid-1580s, however, activists within the imperial faction found the Queen receptive to ventures with anti-Spanish elements.

In his 1577 petition to “annoy” the Spanish and reduce their threat to England, Gilbert stated that England alone, neither destabilized by religious civil wars nor impoverished at sea, could take on the Spanish. Gilbert believed English imperial ventures would allow them to weaken the decaying navies of Continental powers, while bolstering the Royal Navy for its inevitable confrontation with Catholic Spain. Gilbert urged the Queen to cripple Spain’s navy by authorizing either open warfare or other means, “as by geving of lycence under lettres patentes to discover and inhabyte some strange place.”<sup>73</sup> He recommended that the patent maintain the charade of amity with Spain through express provisos not to molest their ships, so the Crown could deny any act taken against Spain as rogue activities by expedition leaders. Gilbert proposed that the Queen could avow or disavow their actions against Spain contingent upon how it would affect diplomatic relations.

Under the aegis of discovery, Gilbert thought England should send warships to the Americas to plunder the richest French, Spanish, and Portuguese vessels and destroy the poorest ones. England would also annex new lands, which could then serve as outposts for soldiers ready for war. Gilbert opined that exploiting the Newfoundland fisheries would mitigate the cost of this venture. Gilbert believed the enterprise posed little danger because foreign ships landing at the Newfoundland fisheries were rarely outfitted for war and usually disbursed their crews, leaving few men to defend the ships. Gilbert deemed

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<sup>73</sup> Gilbert, “A Disourse How Hir Majestie May Annoy the King of Spayne (6 November 1577)”: 171

it likely that once those ships were lost, they would not be replaced due to the declining fortunes of the Continental states. Though the pragmatists at Court might argue Gilbert's plan violated English treaties and would isolate English merchants, Gilbert judged these actions an appropriate response to Spanish and Catholic threats to the Queen. Furthermore, if they limited their hostilities to Spanish and Portuguese ships they could form an alliance with France and ensure English goods would still have an entry point into the Continental market. The main advantage of Gilbert's plan, as he saw it, was that New World ventures would enable England to divest Spain of their West Indian colonies and therefore recoup any losses they might incur from losing access to commodities obtained from Spain and Portugal.<sup>74</sup>

In Gilbert's imperial vision the Spanish posed the greatest threat to England's liberty, but his Hispanophobia failed to convince the Queen. Gilbert's colonial plans found greater success when he adjusted his rhetoric to emphasize the commercial benefits, as in his pamphlet about the Northwest Passage. Gilbert saw the increase of the Royal Navy as a rather simple matter that would allow England to ensure their naval dominance. Moreover, the increase in naval traffic would result in a greater fleet at the Crown's disposal, and attract and supply mariners without burdening the state with the cost of maintenance.<sup>75</sup> The emphasis on the commercial possibilities of an increased Royal Navy apparently appealed to the Queen and Privy Council, for late in 1578 she granted Gilbert his patent for a North American colony.

In early plans to colonize North America, the search for new fisheries and the desire to dominate waters where English fisherman already plied their trade was an important

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<sup>74</sup> *ibid*: 172-174

<sup>75</sup> Gilbert, *A Discoverse Of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia*: leaf 81, 84



consideration for imperial humanists. Fish comprised a staple of the English diet, but English fisherman only provided one-third of the fish for domestic consumption; the Dutch provided the remaining two-thirds. The most infuriating aspect of this imbalance was Dutch domination of the herring fisheries directly surrounding England, fisheries imperial humanists believed by right should belong to England. Realizing it was unlikely English fisherman would unseat Dutch fisherman from the local fisheries, imperial humanists offered North American fisheries as a solution to the problem. The benefits of colonization to England's fishing industry may have been calculated to appeal to Lord Burghley's own policy interests and overcome his trepidation that enlarging the Royal Navy would provoke hostilities with Spain. Though the Court wits lampooned Lord Burghley for his ordinances requiring the consumption of fish in Lent and on fast days, his primary concern was nurturing the nation's fishing industry.<sup>76</sup> In John Dee's treatise in support of imperialism, he made the fishing industry the key to enlarging the navy and protecting England's national interests.

As Gilbert prepared to launch his first North American voyage, John Dee wrote *The Perfecte Arte of Navigation* to outline the potential benefits of a petty royal navy, with particular attention to the commercial prospects. Moved by George Gascoigne's dedicatory epistle to Gilbert's pamphlet, in which he mentioned Dee, Dee decided the time had come to provide mariners with information to become more skilled seafarers who could engage in colonization voyages. Dee considered the treatise to be a glory to God and a benefit to all Christendom and heathens. Moreover, he saw his treatise as helping to advance national virtue and to the profit of the commonwealth.

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<sup>76</sup> Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers*: 62-63; Benians: 60-61

In the treatise, Dee called for a petty royal navy under which all mariners would be conveniently and honorably subject. In this navy, entry to the officer class would be strictly controlled, captains would have the authority of the Crown in impressments, and all voyages would be properly supplied to ensure their success (“The Publik Commodities wherof, ensuing: are, or would be, so great and many”).<sup>77</sup> Dee thought the navy would make mariners more skillful and provide ongoing training of young men in soldierly arts, readying them for battle at a moments notice (“but also (yf iust occasion be geuen) on land, to doo very valiant Seruice: and that, speedily”).<sup>78</sup> Dee considered sea-soldiers better equipped to handle all forms of battle than land-soldiers because the deprivations of sea-life taught them to be hard in diet and lodging, to lessen their fear of danger, and to be sharp-eyed and nimble at hand-to-hand fighting and scaling. A petty royal navy would also discourage England’s enemies from molesting, invading, or otherwise destabilizing the realm.

Dee recommended that the Crown call home privateers/pirates and employ the reformable, courageous and skillful “men of choice” in the navy. The Crown would benefit from this arrangement because then none of the Queen’s subjects would dishonor the nation with their actions or force England into difficult diplomatic positions; nor would English subjects have as much difficulty pursuing suits in foreign courts and foreign suits in English courts could be better regulated. The royal navy could also enforce England’s claims to fishing rights in certain waters, protect fishermen from harassment by foreign fishermen, and restrict fishing by foreigners to those who were licensed and paid a tribute, thus adding thousands of pounds in annual revenue. In

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<sup>77</sup> Dee: 4

<sup>78</sup> Ibid: 5-6

addition, a petty royal navy would prevent foreign ships from cruising England's coastline to chart it and attempt landings. For Dee, laying claim to regions of North America, the honor of England, and access to greater yearly revenue for the Crown and commons would only be possible with a petty royal navy.<sup>79</sup>

With a petty royal navy, the Crown could delegate ships to spy on Ireland and Scotland, to intercept foreign ships in order to discover conspiracies against the realm, to deploy in case of sudden emergencies, to oversee foreign fisherman, to pursue pirates, and protect the merchant marine (both native and friendly foreign). Additionally, Dee thought a petty-royal navy would better enforce England's sovereignty in the Channel than had Calais or Boulogne before their loss to the French. A petty royal navy would not only discourage attacks by foreign enemies, but would dissuade recusants and the Irish who were emboldened under current policy to rebel or undermine the Crown's authority: "Nor homish Subiect, or wauering vassall (for like Respects) durst, then, priuily muster, to Rebellion: Or make harmfull Rodes, or dangerous Ryots, in any English, or Irish Marches."<sup>80</sup>

In spite of the threat Spain and recusants posed, Dee judged "graue Cownsaylers" and "circumspect Gardians"<sup>81</sup> of the realm the greatest dangers to England. Dee used this gibe at the pragmatists to note that though these men might balk at levying the taxes he proposed for imperial ventures, the rewards would make men think it no burden at all. In fact, merchants would be so enriched by a petty navy they would make charitable contributions to the navy in their wills; bishops and other high clerics would turn the

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid: 6-8

<sup>80</sup> Ibid: 10

<sup>81</sup> Ibid: 16

“Mammon of Iniquitie, to the preseruacion of Publik Tranquility;”<sup>82</sup> and other subjects would zealously endeavor to support the navy. Having established the petty royal navy along the just principles of public support, good order, and the rule of law in handling pirates and foreigners, no other nation would deny England’s “natural right” to expand her domains into North America.

To emphasize the holistic economic and social benefits of his plan, Dee carefully dictated how the money in the treasury of the petty royal navy would be spent, including poor relief for men dismissed from the navy due to illness, injury, or age; relief for widows and orphans of men who sacrificed their lives in service to the navy; and funding exploration voyages in the name of God, the commonwealth, and the honor of the nation.<sup>83</sup> The last item particularly captured Dee’s imagination. Dee suggested that public support for exploration would assure merchants, who currently had to spend private sums in risky ventures, of a greater return on their investment. Fewer voyages would be aborted or fail because of limited private investment. Also, public support of a navy would bring down the cost of goods because merchants would not inflate prices to cover the expenses in obtaining them or to enrich their private coffers.

By these few measures, Dee claimed the common people would come to praise God for the wisdom, charity, and justice of their governors, which in turn would increase their love for their rulers and make them fear offending them. For love of their nation and leaders, men would heartily volunteer themselves “to aduenture their hart blud, lyfe, and

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid: 33

<sup>83</sup> Ibid: 27-28

Lymmes, for vs”<sup>84</sup> in order to bring back commodities to England. To Dee’s mind, public support of imperialism would purify the motives of adventurers because it would carefully balance between private profit and common interest.

Where priuate wealth and commodity is sought [1.] for, before Publik: Or, no publik Commodity at all, cared for, or intended: [2.] but onely priuate: Or, where Publik Commodity and Security, [3.] is evidently hindred, or, indammaged: There, by great wisdom, any such Common-Wealth, wold speedily be Cured from the Ruinous and Lamentable daunger, to the Strength and life of the Weale-Publik ensuing, of those three kindes of so greuous and venemous wounds, if they be, ouerlong, neglected.<sup>85</sup>

Like Edward Hayes five years later, Dee saw the profit motive as a corrupting force in imperial ventures and sure to cause failure. Public investment in imperial enterprises would mean fewer men would risk their credit, as Gilbert had, and could instead act virtuously to the glory of the nation.

### Conclusion

Though the profit motive would remain a constant source of ambivalence for imperial humanists, they could not deny imperial ventures needed to demonstrate tangible returns for investors and the Crown. In order to counter charges that expeditions were little more than profiteering and piratical attacks on Spain and Portugal, imperial humanists devised arguments that purified the motives of adventurers. Focusing on land scarcity, reliance upon foreign states for imported goods, the debasement of English currency, and the development of a royal navy, imperial humanists argued that colonization would restore the credit of the nation by solving the commonwealth’s economic problems. No longer

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid: 32

<sup>85</sup> Ibid: 11

dependent upon the Continent for prosperity, England could take a principled stand against Catholic Spain and end their domination of Europe.

On an individual level, colonization would reinvigorate men as little patriarchs, granting them the means to provide for their families and their servants. In North America, Englishmen would find an opportunity to obtain land, commercial wealth, and honest employment, thus reducing their risk of becoming burdensome and fractious subjects. For imperial humanists, economic troubles stood at the root of England's social crisis of idleness, effeminacy, and disorder (Ch. 4). Though the profit motive carried with it corrupting potential, imperial humanists believed domestic problems could not be addressed without confronting economic problems. In their demonstration of restraint, imperial humanists sought to neutralize the deleterious effects of imperialism, while simultaneously validating their claim to possession in the New World against the claims of the Iberian states.

## CHAPTER 4

### TO AWAKE OUT OF THAT DROWSIE

#### DREAME: CIVILIZING ENGLISH

#### BARBARIANS

In the last chapter, I discussed how imperial humanists used the virtue of temperance to defend the profit motive as a civic virtue, and justified overseas expansion as a solution to England's economic woes. Reinforced by spectacular failures like the first Roanoke colony, critics of empire remained skeptical of the profit motive. If imperial humanists had difficulty fitting the profit motive into a humanist frame, the social dimension to England's economic problems provided more solid ground from which to make a humanist argument for planting colonies in North America. This chapter argues that imperial humanists viewed colonies as the means to reform England's diseased body politic and reclaim the nation's manhood, thus ensuring England would preserve its internal sovereignty against external threats.

For each economic problem, imperial humanists pointed to an attendant social issue threatening domestic disorder, with a near exclusive focus on men's conduct. When discussing the land shortage, imperial humanists mourned the wasted potential of younger gentry sons who spent their productive years at Court seeking enough honors to create a patrimony. Worse yet, at Court gentlemen developed a fondness for luxuries and indulged in frivolous pastimes, making them unsuitable defenders of England in a period

of deteriorating relations with Spain. In short, land scarcity had created an effeminate ruling class. Among the lower classes, the land shortage and the dip in the cloth trade meant that many able-bodied men joined the ranks of masterless unemployed, overwhelming towns in search of wage work and given to misconduct. Imperial humanists also linked the domestic threat posed by recusant Catholics to the problems of unemployment and the dearth of goods.

The domestic civilizing mission advocated by imperial humanists both prepared Englishmen to extend their dominion overseas and legitimized their imperial aspirations. In the discourse on civility, the trope of the “white barbarian” stretched back as far as Tacitus and reinforced a hierarchy in which only the “civilized” were entitled to rule.<sup>1</sup> As Christopher Hodgkins noted, sixteenth century recuperative works, like Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Morte D’Arthur*, presupposed that it was not inferiority to an external force that led to Britain’s first imperial demise; instead, Britain’s subjection resulted from internal traitors and God’s punishment for vice.<sup>2</sup> In other words, Britain’s tolerance of barbarians in their midst destabilized the realm with civil unrest and placed England in its current position vis-à-vis Europe.

Therefore, imperial humanists proposed that gentlemen (as a class) would prove their civility and validate their governance of the lower classes by adhering to the virtues of humanist chivalry, virtues they would perfect in imperial ventures. The lower classes, in turn, required stable employment and family life to domesticate them into well-ordered subjects at home, to entrust them with maintaining the security of overseas settlements, and to govern foreign peoples. For imperial humanists, domestic reform would pave the

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<sup>1</sup> Shuger: 495-496, 501

<sup>2</sup> Hodgkins: 28



way for the overseas civilizing mission and ensure Englishmen possessed the necessary virtues to subordinate personal profit to the public weal.

### “White Barbarians” in the Gentry

Imperial humanists, in particular Thomas Churchyard, shared a sense that English gentlemen were becoming effeminate as fewer men had access to land as the chief source of their patrimony and they turned to less honorable means of securing their posterity. The Crown’s restrictions on male violence also enhanced these fears of effeminacy. Throughout the Tudor period, the state found ways to curb aristocratic violence that undermined public order. For instance, chivalric tournaments became less hazardous, and the government limited the size of retinues and prohibited the carriage of certain weapons. Consequently, men of high rank resorted to dueling as a way to exact vengeance. While dueling was subject to periodic prosecutions to discourage violence, its rituals forced men to dissociate violence from passion, and the Crown took advantage of the delayed gratification dueling encouraged by redirecting disputes to judicial courts.<sup>3</sup> Increasingly, men of honor were coming to view vengeance as the “mark of an irrational and socially disruptive individual, rather than a ‘steadfast man of honour’”<sup>4</sup> and to encourage restraint. Indeed, poet Samuel Daniel opined that the Tudor dynasty was less overtly virile because wit often replaced the sword in defense of male honor.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood*: 19, 21-23; Lawrence Stone, *Crisis of Aristocracy 1558-1641*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965): 200, 223-240; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England 1500-1800*: 130-131; Foyster, *Manhood in the Early Modern England*: 181

<sup>4</sup> Cust, “Honour and Politics in Early Stuart England”: 80

<sup>5</sup> McCoy: 9

As Chapter 2 showed, imperial humanists turned to humanist chivalry as a way to resolve the masculine anxiety provoked by this “moralization of politics,”<sup>6</sup> envisioning empire as an opportunity for England’s gentlemen to embark on their own quests for chivalric glory, serving the commonwealth rather than burden the Crown with petty disputes. Furthermore, exploration and colonization would instill in men the virtues of self-discipline and patriotism, thus reducing the threat of domestic disorder from English subjects.

In his 1578 poem in praise of Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s planned North American voyage, Churchyard proclaimed Gilbert an ideal English gentleman who chose to relinquish his worldly comforts in order to explore on behalf of the commonwealth, earning personal glory in the attempt:

I marueld howe this Knight, could leaue his Lady heere, His friends, and prettie-tender babes, that he did hold so deere, And take him to the Seas, where dayly dangers are. Then wayd I how, immortall Fame, was more than vvorldly care, And where great mind remaynes, the bodyes rest is small, For Countreys wealth, for priuate gayne, or glory seeke we all.<sup>7</sup>

Unlike the gentlemen who remained at home in “ydle pleasures” and “follies,” men of “valiant minds” took extraordinary risks in great ventures. Churchyard assumed imperialism would toughen Englishmen and condition them for hard work in service to the state. Gentlemen adventurers traded their fine garments, entertainments, and the company of their wives and friends in exchange for meals of hard biscuits, beer, salt beef or stockfish, seasickness and tempestuous oceans. In contrast, Churchyard suggested that

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<sup>6</sup> James: 373-374, 381

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Churchyard, “A matter touching the iourney of Sir Humphrey Gilberte knight,” in *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainement in Suffolk and Norffolk: with a description of many things then presently seene. Devised by Thomas Churchyarde, Gent. with diuers shewes of his own inuention sette out at Norwich: and some rehearsal of hir Highnesse retourne from progresse. Wherevnto is adioyned a commendation of Sir Humfrey Gilberts ventrous iourney*, (At London : Imprinted by Henrie Bynneman, seruante to the right Honourable Sir Christofer Hatton Vizchamberlayne, [1578]): leaf 63

men who did not adventure for England were ruled by an inappropriate love of women and children (“You [Gilbert] are not ruld by loue of babes, / nor womens vviles yewus”<sup>8</sup>). In other words, English gentlemen were becoming womanish in their taste for luxurious living and unwillingness to adventure, unnaturally preferring the company of women and children than the company of their male peers.

In contrast, honorable men readily sacrificed what they were entitled by their gentle birth, instead looking “to the Lord aboue, and iourney they are in. And all for Countreys cause, and to enrich the same, Now do they hazard all they haue.” In the end, the potential wealth and fame gentlemen might gain from these expeditions were just reward for their sacrifice. In Churchyard’s conclusion, adventuring men showed “them more than men, halfe Gods if I say troth,” their manhood so robust a single kingdom could not contain it, but necessitated a great empire.<sup>9</sup> In 1596, Churchyard extolled the virtues of adventuring men to encourage Raleigh to pursue the planting of a colony in Guiana, claiming that of all men who served the commonwealth, the explorers were “speshall men, and do deserue more grace, Than all the rest.”<sup>10</sup>

Imperial humanists insisted imperialism could restore gentlemen to occupations befitting their social position, as great landholders and knights-errant in service to the Crown. Both Gilbert and Raleigh envisioned themselves as noble landlords and governors in America. Gilbert, in particular, sought to create a neo-feudal society through free socage agreements and reproduce England’s social structure, in which land

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<sup>8</sup> Churchyard, “A matter touching the iourney of Sir Humphrey Gilberte knight”: image 39 (leaf?)

<sup>9</sup> Churchyard, “A matter touching the iourney of Sir Humphrey Gilberte knight”: leafs 71-78

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *A pleasant Discourse of Court and Wars: with a replication to them both, and a commendation of all those that truly serue Prince and countrie*, (Imprinted at London, by Ar. Hatfield, for William Holme, 1596): leaf 23

possession determined one's status.<sup>11</sup> The discourse on civility provided a justification for creating a neo-feudal social and economic system in the New World; imperial humanists deemed feudalism the appropriate historical stage for colonies since the Indians had not yet achieved the social development to become husbandmen. While the English colonists would participate in Europe's developing commercial economy as governors and husbandmen of the New World, Indians would be fashioned into orderly subjects as serfs for an unspecified period of tutelage.

As noted above, an issue of particular concern to imperial humanists was the weakness that frivolity bred among the gentle classes. Despite the excess costs associated with keeping servants, Sir Thomas Smith complained that gentlemen competed with each other to see whose retinue would be most lavishly attired and maintained. Indeed, this luxury became a point of honor for courtiers to the "vtter desolation of the cōmon weale." Smith compared England's present state to the Roman Empire's decline, lamenting there was no Cato to pass sumptuary restrictions and restore the manhood of the gentry. Smith's Doctor declared Englishmen were more virile "when our gentlemen went simply, and our Seruingmen plainely" and bore heavy broad swords instead of "light daunsing Swordes." The Doctor disparaged gentlemen who carried "white rods, which they cary now more like ladies or gentlewomen, then men, all which delicacies maketh our men cleane effeminate & without strength."<sup>12</sup> The Doctor went on to vow "delicacie and tēderness" would be England's downfall as it had been Rome's. The only solution was to discipline the gentry into manly temperance in anticipation of the threat of war with Spain.

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<sup>11</sup> Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies*, 215-216

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

Both Thomas Churchyard and George Peckham suggested imperialism as the remedy to the problem of frivolity among the gentry. Peckham mildly proposed that if gentleman sought ways to spend their money, they should invest in imperial ventures to the benefit of the commonwealth rather than waste it on fine apparel, entertainments, and feasts.<sup>13</sup> Churchyard was far more interested in the moral purging he believed would result from sending young men on exploration voyages. In exploration, young gentlemen would discover their latent manhood and return to England disciplined in mind and body, ready to serve the state.

Churchyard created a dichotomy between “home” and “abroad,” wherein home represented debauchery and effeminacy and abroad represented temperance and manliness. At home, Churchyard wrote, gentlemen wasted their productive years (“much time is lost, and neuer found againe”) burdened by domestic concerns. At home, gentlemen spent their time at “wanton sportes,” feasts, and making love “to euery paynted post.” In addition, at home excessive self-pride led to shameful behavior, such as the “gay vayneglory” of strutting about in fine attire. This womanish and bestial indulgence was to the national discredit, but could be countered by ventures abroad. If household dearth was a concern at home, abroad became the source of wealth and knowledge. If men indulged their delicate tastes in attire at home, abroad they demonstrated their manhood by donning “bare robes.” If pleasure-seeking consumed the time of gentlemen at home, abroad men learned to eat sparingly and tame their fleshly

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<sup>13</sup> Peckham: C

desires. Through the disciplining of bodily appetites (“broughte in feare and frame”), men could serve the state and win honor for themselves, their lineage, and their nation.<sup>14</sup>

In *The discoverie of . . . Guiana* (1596), Raleigh confirmed Churchyard’s thesis that exploration would teach men temperance through deprivation, though Raleigh personally had little appreciation for the enforced austerity of sea-life. For Raleigh, the voyage to Guiana had illuminated his recommitment to a *vita activa*, proved by his newfound continence in willingly suffering harsh conditions:

I haue vndergone many constructions, I haue beene accompanied with many sorrows, with labor, hunger, heat, sicknes, & perill: It appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other brauado of going to the sea, then was meant . . . . They haue grosly belied me . . . . who would haue perswaded, that I was too easeful and sensuall to vndertake a iorney of so great trauel.<sup>15</sup>

Raleigh admitted the travail of sea-life was far different from the courtly existence he had previously enjoyed and that his aging body barely withstood the rigors of the Orinoco; yet he dwelled on the ascetic levels of restraint endured by him and his men in order to demonstrate their virtue. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this emphasis on restraint reinforced a White Legend that validated English imperial claims in the New World.

Nearly reduced to bestial levels of scarcity, the men continued in their purpose and did not despoil the land or its people to satisfy their appetites. To urge his men forward, Raleigh recalled the specter of shame should they return to England empty-handed, a threat that hardened the resolve of the men to continue. As a reward for their sacrifice, Raleigh implied a providential significance to the abundant supply of fruits, fish, and fowl

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<sup>14</sup> Churchyard, “A matter touching the iourney of Sir Humphrey Gilberte knight”: I3

<sup>15</sup> Raleigh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bevvtiful empire of Guiana*: A3

found along the riverbanks, which augmented depleted victuals.<sup>16</sup> The emphasis on deprivation demonstrated that if Englishmen were temperate in their bodily appetites, then they would prove their virtue and God would reward them with material abundance from the land.

A desire to embark on imperial adventures, however, was no guarantee of hardening the manhood of gentlemen. In his account of the first Roanoke colony, Thomas Hariot blamed effete gentlemen, made soft by their attachment to a comfortable life and peckish eating habits, as one group responsible for the colony's demise. Finding the colony lacking the finer accoutrements of a genteel lifestyle, they complained of their experiences. Hariot priggishly dismissed these men "as trifles not worthy of wise men to bee thought vpon."<sup>17</sup> It seemed a new understanding of what constituted a gentleman's duty was needed in order to yield the quality of men necessary to successful colonizing projects.

Imperial humanists often looked upon Sir Francis Drake as an ideal for other Englishmen to emulate. Francis Fletcher proclaimed, "We lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts, to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in vs," praising Drake for continually reminding the crew their first duty was to God and country. Even though they suffered extreme deprivations, Drake's experienced command and attention to victuals preserved "a moderate temper in our constitutions,"<sup>18</sup> unlike the effete gentlemen at home who could not endure hardship. Thomas Nichols also revered Drake, arguing the sacrifice of luxury in adventuring would bring him honor in "*the*

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid: 9, 44-45

<sup>17</sup> Hariot: 5-6

<sup>18</sup> Drake: 65

*Court of eternall Fame.*” Nichols wrote, “His painefull trauaile, and maruailous Nauigation, was not obtayned with white handes, perfumed gloues, daintie fare, or soft lodging: no, no: *Honour* is not gotten with pleasures, & quiet mindes.”<sup>19</sup>

### Unemployment and Idleness

Imperial humanists perceived moral decay among the gentry as only one manifestation of the unemployment and idleness that resulted from England’s population boom. Despite economic prosperity, the demographic recovery of the sixteenth century meant there were fewer jobs for able-bodied men. Among the upper classes, younger sons had fewer options than previously as land became scarce, the fostering system broke down, and monasteries closed. Idleness among young men presented the Crown with the threat of social discontent and the state sought alternative employment for them. Though education was the primary means of social advancement for younger gentry sons, with heavy competition for the Crown’s patronage, imperialism became an appealing option by providing employ as soldiers on land or by sea and offering opportunities to acquire great estates through colonization efforts in Ireland and North America.<sup>20</sup>

Linking unemployment to personal industry, imperial humanists forecast a dystopian future in which England sank back to its days of barbarity and domination by larger empires, with the modern Spanish Empire replacing the ancient Roman Empire. Imperial humanists characterized England’s current state as somnolent, imperiling the nation’s attempts to revitalize its economic and political position in Europe. Promoting Gilbert’s

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<sup>19</sup> Thomas Nichols “dedicatory epistle” from Agustin de Zárate’s *The discoverie and conquest of the prouinces of Peru*: B

<sup>20</sup> Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire*: 5, 10-11



ventures, George Peckham hoped valiant gentlemen would “awake some of our worthy Countrey men, out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we all haue so long slumbered.”<sup>21</sup> In support of a Guiana colony, George Chapman wrote:

That in this peacefull charme of Englands sleepe,  
Opens most tenderlie her aged throte,  
Offring to poure fresh youth through all her vaines,  
That flesh of brasse, and ribs of steele retaines.<sup>22</sup>

Lawrence Keymis argued that it was Englishmen’s “dull conceipt of strange weaknes” that convinced them the Spaniards were omnipotent and the Portuguese more industrious in their “maistering spirite.” Keymis hoped Englishmen would take up the colonization of Guiana rather than “suffer our selues to be put backe for worthlesse ciphers, out of place, without account.”<sup>23</sup>

Both Raleigh and Gilbert became attracted to the idea of colonization while trying to make their fortunes at Court in the late-1570s and early-1580s. As early as 1567, Gilbert envisioned North American colonies as a solution to England’s unemployment problem. Gilbert focused on the children of the poor, those he perceived as most likely to trouble England with disorderly conduct in the future. Among the benefits of discovering the Northwest Passage, Gilbert said the state would “haue occasion, to set poore mens children, to learne handie craftes, & therby to make trifles and such like, which the *Indians* and those people doe mucche esteeme.”<sup>24</sup> Gilbert proposed that if these children could obtain useful employ in the service of England’s burgeoning manufacturing

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<sup>21</sup> Peckham, *A true reporte... of the Newfound Landes*: C

<sup>22</sup> Chapman in Keymis, *Second voyage to Guiana*: leaf 10

<sup>23</sup> Keymis: F2

<sup>24</sup> Gilbert, *A Discovrse Of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia*: H2

industry, then they would not likely grow up to become idle beggars and loiterers but instead would embark on a life of productive labor in service to the commonwealth.

To promote the Newfoundland colony, George Peckham also thought colonization offered England the opportunity to solve the social crisis of idleness among the able-bodied. In his 1583 pamphlet, Peckham envisioned adolescents kept from mischief “in making of a thousand kindes of trifeling thinges”; women cured of their indolence by “plucking, drying, [*and*] sorting of Feathers, in pulling, beating, & working of Hempe. & in gathering of Cotton, & dyuers things right necessary for dying”; and finally, men who “are no men of arte or science” employed as pearl divers, husbandmen, fishermen, miners, whale hunters, lumber jacks, and cask makers.<sup>25</sup> Peckham invoked the humanist ideal of the civil man, writing that American colonies would prevent idle English subjects from becoming “vnprofitable” to the state.

Edward Hayes agreed with Peckham’s assessment of the employment potential of Newfoundland. Hayes conceived of colonies as a fulfillment of God’s design that man should exploit the abundant resources provided him for his use. Hayes viewed his countrymen as having fallen into a state of sloth, “chusing rather to live indirectly,” [*not from the land*] and “pestered by inhabitants” [*overpopulation*].<sup>26</sup> Hayes even implied that those who did not derive their income from the land were not fulfilling their manly Christian duties and therefore would not reap the full benefit of God’s favor.

Writing in an effort to secure Gilbert’s vacant patent for his own North American scheme, Christopher Carleill foresaw colonies providing employment as training grounds for young men. Carleill perceived discontent simmering underneath England’s recent

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<sup>25</sup> Peckham: E3

<sup>26</sup> Hayes: 205

economic prosperity in the cloth trade, relative peace, and population recovery. He believed unemployment forced young men to waste their youth—the period of apprenticeship—in their parents’ homes, making them unable to achieve economic independence because they lacked the necessary skills. Therefore, “for want of better education thei fall into sondrie disorders” to the “great disquiet of the better sorte.” If these young men could be employed, Carleill argued, they would become credits to the nation. Carleill used his own experiences as a military commander as proof, claiming he had witnessed many young men “who here had been verie euill and idle liuers” become industrious and virtuous men in the course of their careers as soldiers. Carleill argued the process of colonization would be far less painful than war, yet it would yield similar benefits.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1578 translation of Martin Fernández de Enciso’s *suma de geographia*, John Frampton echoed Gilbert’s opinion that imperialism would solve the problem of idleness—the “Nurse of villainy”—and buttress the virtue of Englishmen against the temptations of vice. Clearly addressing the gentry, Frampton conceived a humanist program of education as the best way to cure the nation of its unemployment. Frampton viewed his translation of Enciso’s work as contributing knowledge which might awaken Englishmen “out of their heavy sleepe vvherein they haue long lien” and begin their explorations of the world, thus shunning “bestiall ignoraunce.” When Englishmen belatedly joined the rest of Europe in “shin[ing] vvith the brightnesse of knowvledge” the

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<sup>27</sup> Carleill: B2

state would have Gilbert to thank for preserving England from the apparent barbarity into which England was sinking.<sup>28</sup>

In the same year, Thomas Churchyard also proclaimed Gilbert England's champion against vice and idleness. In his paean to Gilbert's planned voyage to America, Churchyard wrote, "You might haue walkt the streetes, as other gallants do...If mind had not bin drawne, to things of greater weight." Among those weightier issues was finding employment for idle men ("Perhaps in ydle dayes, you would set men a vvorke"), particularly as mariners and soldiers on exploration voyages ("Yet would you vvish they should see what on earth is found, And search the prooffe, and sayle by arte, about the world so round").<sup>29</sup> Churchyard implied a social malaise had beset the gentry, encouraging those men who should be eager for chivalric quests to instead waste their time in pointless entertainments. What England needed was more men like Gilbert, willing to engage in noble causes benefiting the realm.

An unmistakable feature of Churchyard's poem to Gilbert was the impression that English gentleman had become effeminate in their idleness and that exploration voyages could harden them into manly men. According to Mary C. Fuller, in Churchyard's view the essence of English manhood was obedience and duty to the Crown,<sup>30</sup> a view elucidated in a series of contrasts between "rest" and "toyle." According to Churchyard, "rest" encouraged in men "leawd lust" and "vaine fancie," driving them to run riot and

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<sup>28</sup> Martin Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia que trata de todas las particlas & provincias del mundo: en especial de las Indias. A briefe description of the portes, creekes, bayes, and hauens, of the Weast India: translated out of the Castilin tongue by I.F. The originall whereof was directed to the mightie Prince Don Charles, King of Castile, &c.*, (Imprinted at London : By Henry Bynneman, Anno. 1578): leaf 5

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Churchyard, "A matter touching the journey of Sir Humphrey Gilberte knight": leaf 78

<sup>30</sup> Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 29

commit acts of mischief and even treason. Undisciplined in his body, an idle man “will no dutie know but shakes off shackals still,” thinking himself as masterless rather than a subject, a concept that undermined the foundation of England’s patriarchal social hierarchy. If men remained undisciplined in mind and body, Churchyard wrote, the only outcome would be anarchy and beggary in England.<sup>31</sup>

As an antidote to this bleak vision of England’s future, Churchyard suggested labor would produce the ideal English subject, properly deferent to authority and whose industry would be a credit to the nation. In Churchyard’s view, the most important lesson learned from laboring was to know one’s station “pluck[ing] downe those that loke to mount alofte” and making “the body apte to stoupe to bend and shew good will.” In particular, toil would teach men not to seek their own fame, to tame their vanity, and to be industrious, setting “ydle hands and heads a worke, to winne immortall prayse.”<sup>32</sup> In this section, Churchyard betrayed ambivalence about the project of imperialism and instead sought to reclaim the motives of explorers for humanist aims. Though men like Gilbert deserved the fame and praise for their contributions to the commonwealth, this was dependent upon having virtuous motives and disciplined bodies that modeled the ideal English subject.

In his 1578 pamphlet about Martin Frobisher’s voyages, George Best seemed to prove Churchyard’s thesis that imperialism would produce the work ethic lacking in England’s idle subjects and save the realm from its doldrums. In order for England’s common subjects to renounce idleness, the nation’s ruling classes needed to forsake their

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<sup>31</sup> Churchyard, “A matter touching the journey of Sir Humphrey Gilberte knight”: leaf 72

<sup>32</sup> Ibid

own idleness as an example of virtuous behavior. To this end, Frobisher provided a model for England's gentlemen:

And therefore oure Generall setting the Myners to worke, and shewing fyrste a good president of a painefull labourer & a good Captaine in himselfe, gaue good examples for others to follow him: wherevppon eury man, both better and worse, with their best endeours, willingly laide to their helping handes.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, Francis Fletcher described Sir Francis Drake as a model of virtuous conduct on behalf of the common good, "but alwayes contemning danger and refusing no toyle."<sup>34</sup>

Imperialism did not simply produce an industrious leadership, but encouraged all participants to labor according to their talents:

And amidst these extremes, whilest some laboured for defence of the Shippes, and sought to saue their bodyes: othersome of more mylder spirit, soughte to saue the Soule by deuoute Prayer and mediation to the Almighty . . . so that there was none, that were eyther ydle, or not well occupied, and hée that helde himselfe in best securitie, had (God knoweth) but only bare hope remayning for his best safetie.<sup>35</sup>

The harsh conditions of shipboard life in the icy straits of North America meant the success of the mission and the lives of the men were reliant upon everyone contributing their labor and not privileging their self-preservation. Imperial humanists insinuated that if Englishmen at home could understand their national peril—domestically from idleness and internationally from Spain—then they would cease their selfish indulgence to contribute to the commonwealth. In this way, the ship became an ideal England in microcosm, orderly and productive to yield the best results for the general welfare. It was left to England's upper classes to demonstrate the virtues necessary to further the

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<sup>33</sup> Best: 18 (second voyage)

<sup>34</sup> Drake, *The vworld encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*: 18

<sup>35</sup> Best: 16 (third voyage)

public good, ensuring the lower classes abided by humanist values even if they had not been educated in them.

The elder Richard Hakluyt looked to the Virginia colony to address unemployment-induced social discontent in England. Young men were of particular concern to the elder Hakluyt, and he envisioned sending excess youth to Virginia to work in mines, till fields, and tend cash crops so that “our people void of sufficient trades, may be honestly imploied, that els may become hurtfull at home.” The elder Hakluyt went so far as to call England’s surplus population “waste” that could profitably be employed in the colony for England’s benefit. Along with wise leaders, the elder Hakluyt listed the men that should be recruited as colonists, including miners, apothecaries, fishermen, husbandmen, men in construction trades, smiths, shipwrights, tanners, and a skillful painter to document all aspects of Virginia.<sup>36</sup>

The younger Hakluyt issued the most impassioned defense of colonization as a cure for idleness. In the *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584), Hakluyt worried that idleness was eroding the manhood of the nation, a problem colonization could prevent. In this bleak vision of the nation’s future, England was regressing into its previous state of servility before the cloth trade elevated its princes as equals to the greatest rulers of Europe and brought the people out of beggary. Though most Englishmen regarded idleness as the result of overpopulation, and Hakluyt was no exception, he subscribed to a “mercantilist theory of population”<sup>37</sup> that the more populous the nation the greater its

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<sup>36</sup> Richard Hakluyt, Esquire, “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. Degrees (1585),” from *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640*, edited by Mancall: 37-39, 42-44

<sup>37</sup> Klaus E. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories, 1570-1850*, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1944): 42; This theory became more common in colonial promotional literature after the Civil War.

potential economic resources. Of course, for a state to reap the benefit of this excess population, it needed sufficient employment for its people and colonies to ease crowding. Hakluyt believed economic problems resulted in fewer young men and women marrying and procreating, which in the long term would limit England's wealth.

Studies of demography suggest Hakluyt's perception of a decline in marriages was largely accurate, particularly among the gentry, and resulted in a lower birthrate by 1650.<sup>38</sup> In masculine terms, youth was regarded as a period of bestial excess and vice, requiring rule by older, virtuous patriarchs to mitigate (though not suppress) its disruptive potential. Systems of tutelage, like apprenticeships and fostering, inculcated the virtues of reason and sobriety in preparation for attaining full manhood and self-government as husbands and fathers.<sup>39</sup> A decline in marriages, however, meant fewer men would become patriarchs—which were necessary to ensure social order—resulting in a generation of undomesticated subjects. Hakluyt argued that colonies would give the young a bright future, make England more industrious, and encourage the birth of more children who could further England's economic growth as producers, consumers, colonists, sailors, and soldiers.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Alan G.R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England 1529-1660* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, (London & New York: Longman, 1997): 167-8; B.A. Holderness points out that the emphasis on lineage, in combination with primogeniture, reduced the number of the gentry's young who married: "Celibacy indeed was enforced widely by social custom among property-owning families whose younger children posed problems of support, when both primogeniture and the rationale for accumulation counteracted the sharing of family possessions. Younger children must make their way in the world to secure independence... The younger children of gentry, however, provided the impetus for much economic enterprise, for success attended upon the industrious. Nevertheless, attendant bachelors and old maids were very much part of many substantial households." B.A. Holderness, *Pre-Industrial England: Economy and Society 1500-1750*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1976): 29

<sup>39</sup> Shepard: 24-25

<sup>40</sup> Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*: 145



In the pamphlet, Hakluyt also proposed that if the Queen willed it, not only could Englishmen regain their ebbing manliness but they could also triumph over the Spanish:

How easie a matter may yt be to this Realme swarminge at this day with valiant youthes rustinge and hurtfull by lack of employment, and having goodd makers of cable and of all sortes of cordage, and the best and moste connynge shipwrights of the worlde to be Lordes of all those Sees, and to spoile Phillipps Indian navye, and to deprive him of yerely passage of his Treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome...<sup>41</sup>

Like his elder cousin, Hakluyt was concerned with the problem of idle youth; he viewed colonies as a place where younger sons of the gentry could establish a new patrimony and frontier wars would train young men in the art of war. Addressing the growing incidence of piracy and thievery, Hakluyt said the reason Spain did not have this problem was because of its colonies. Therefore, if England established colonies, increased trade would restore the honor of mariners, who fell into piracy when there was insufficient traffic; soldiers and servitors, who might engage in warfare harmful to the nation, would prove their valor defending colonial interests; and men of “excellent wittes and of divers singuler giftes,” bound by suretyship or exiled from England for previous transgressions or condemned to the gallows, could yet serve their nation. The state could also send the orphans of beggars to the colonies to be “better bredd upp,” rather than become a burden to the nation. If England planted colonies in North America, the nation would “stand in present and late former honour glorye and force.”<sup>42</sup>

Sir Walter Raleigh looked to the Spanish Empire for answers to the riddle of England’s social discontent. Spain, Raleigh contended, had the wisdom to send its excess

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<sup>41</sup> Hakluyt, “Discourse on Western Planting, 1584” from *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, edited by Taylor : 315

<sup>42</sup> Hakluyt, ““Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended towards Virginia”: 49, 53-54

population to their colonies without draining the metropole of people. Like Richard Hakluyt, Raleigh subscribed to the mercantilist theory of population and warned of the dire consequences if England failed to ease overcrowding. Raleigh considered what would happen if a state did not have colonies to vent its surplus population:

But famine and contagious diseases, the sword, the halter, and a thousand mischiefs have Consumed them. Yea many of them perhaps were never borne: for they that want means to nourish Children will abstaine from marriage, or (which is all one) they cast away their bodies upon rich old women: or otherwise make unequall or unhealthy Matches for gaine, or because of poverty they thinke it a blessing, which in nature is a curse, to have their wives barren.<sup>43</sup>

Once again, the anxiety that men would fail to become full social adults as patriarchs of households, that indeed they would marry menopausal or infertile women and presumably indulge their lust instead of siring children, underlay Raleigh's concern about social disorder. The thrust of his argument was that without colonies "natural" social hierarchies would collapse and the state would fail.

Attention to the problem of idleness demonstrated a growing dissatisfaction among imperial humanists with English national identity in the 1580s and 1590s.<sup>44</sup> Imperial humanists feared other Europeans regarded England as the idle youth writ large. The problem of idleness went to the heart of masculine anxieties about a man's credit and worth. If a man was charged with idleness, an automatic connotation was that he was a man of disrepute who could not provide for his family and therefore had little worth. Besides the real economic consequences of poor credit mentioned in the previous chapter, the epidemic of idle youth doomed England barbarism, unsuited for self-government. If England remained the idle youth, the nation could not become the

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<sup>43</sup> Raleigh, *Judicious and select essayes and observations*: leaf 18

<sup>44</sup> Shannon Miller, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998): 23

Protestant patriarch of Europe that imperial humanists envisioned, and would be economically and militarily impotent. Solving the problem of idleness, therefore, was critical to projecting an image of strength to England's European competitors and advancing imperial claims.

In light of the failure of the first Roanoke colony, concerns about England's reputation seemed justified. In Ralph Lane's account of the first colony, the conduct of the soldiers remained a discredit to English manhood. In the Roanoke colony, the rank and file was primarily soldiers, who likely had been promised good wages and a share of the profits in exchange for their labor. These men lacked either the desire or the skill to fish and grow crops, which led to their total dependence upon the local Algonquians for support. Without the ability to provide for themselves, the settlers resorted to "begging, borrowing, stealing and trading to obtain the food necessary to keep the colony alive."<sup>45</sup> With the hard first winter and constant threat of starvation, the colonist's lack of a permanent stake in the settlement's long-term success would eventually be one factor in its undoing.

In the English upper classes, male credit was linked to self-sufficiency, plain dealing, trustworthiness, and the provision and command of resources. Male credit was also linked to industriousness.<sup>46</sup> The settlers' utter dependence upon the Indians for victuals demonstrated that, in reality, it was the English who had poor credit and were thus unmanned. In the pamphlet, Lane deflected attention away from the settler's conduct, arguing that Pemisapan deceitfully organized a confederacy against the English and

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<sup>45</sup> Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585-1685*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999): 37

<sup>46</sup> Shepard: 187, 190

illiberally denied the English food.<sup>47</sup> The settlers' lack of manly behavior was apparently embarrassing enough that when Hakluyt wrote a digest of the first colony, he altered the truth to transform the settlers into ideal Englishmen:

[W]herefore euery man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as might haue sufficed them two yeeres without any further labour.<sup>48</sup>

Not only did Hakluyt attempt to redeem the credit of the settlers, this passage advertised for colonists of a specific stripe: colonists who would be self-sufficient husbandmen and not abuse the Algonquians because of their own deficiencies.

In accounts of Roanoke, Sir Francis Drake appeared as an example of virtuous English manhood. Shortly after Lane's men preemptively attacked Dasemunkepeuc, Drake arrived in Chesapeake Bay to check on the colony after his successful raids in the Spanish West Indies. When Drake heard of the settlement's dire circumstances, he offered Lane the use of a pinnace and a month's victuals to tide them over until Sir Richard Grenville's arrival with supplies or return passage to England. Lane praised Drake's chivalric liberality and initially opted to remain in Roanoke. When a storm ravaged the harbor for three days, Lane decided the settlers should return to England. In contrast to the portrayal of the Roanoke Indians, Drake was honest and commanded great resources, which he willingly shared with the settlers, demonstrating the manliness of

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<sup>47</sup> Ralph Lane, "An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia": 262

<sup>48</sup> Richard Hakluyt, "The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of Sir Walter Raleigh," from *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599): 265

Englishmen.<sup>49</sup> In this equation, Drake's liberality trumped the credit of the colonists as the measure of manhood.

### Poverty

A problem interwoven with unemployment and idleness was poverty. Despite increasing demands for wage labor in certain sectors of the English economy, the nascent manufacturing industry was not able to accommodate the burgeoning populations of England's towns. For many imperial humanists, poverty was not itself an indication of one's moral character, and they sought to distinguish the deserving and the undeserving poor. Raleigh wrote to his son:

I do not understand those for poor, which are vagabonds, and beggars, but those that labour to live, such as are old, and cannot travel, such poore widdowes and fatherlesse Children as are ordered to bee relieved, and the poore Tennants that travel to pay their Rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or carelesse expences; on such have thou compassion, and God will blesse thee for it.<sup>50</sup>

The main factors distinguishing the deserving poor from the undeserving were that the former did not reject available employment and did not become troublesome to the state. Imperial humanists believed colonial expansion would best assist these deserving poor in obtaining the relief they needed. As Peckham noted, a colony in Newfoundland would mean the poor "shall by this meanes be restored to theyr pristinate wealth and estate."<sup>51</sup> Once again, the notion of preserving man's estate justified imperialism.

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<sup>49</sup> Hakluyt, "The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586": 264; Walter Bigges, *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Frances Drakes VVest Indian Voyage*, (Imprinted at London by Richard Field, 1589): 48-50

<sup>50</sup> Raleigh, *Instructions to his sonne*: 79-80

<sup>51</sup> Peckham: E3

John Dee also envisioned imperialism as the optimal solution for England's poor. Dee characterized the problem of poverty as an increasing polarization between the rich, who were becoming wealthier due to enclosures and trade, and the poor, upon whom the burden of inflation fell. Dee condemned the current system's tendency for the rising cost of goods to augment the wealth of a few at the expense of the whole. If the Crown supported imperial ventures, however, they could obtain commodities at lower cost and make goods available to the poor at more affordable prices. Additionally, a portion of the profits from imperial ventures could be used for public aid. Dee thought state-supported imperialism would reduce domestic disorder caused by poverty because "the greatest parte of this Kingdom, (which are the poorer sort) may, both, laude and bles God, for the wisdom, Charity, and Iustice, of their Gouvernors (Wherupon also, they will both better loue them: And for very loue, be more affrayd, to displeas them.)."<sup>52</sup>

Unlike Dee, who saw the upper classes becoming wealthier, Lawrence Keymis feared England's reticence to establish colonies in the New World, and thus end the poverty of honest men, belied a national degeneracy in comparison to the Spanish:

Shall we say that they haue more spare men to be employed in such actions? It is no secrete to know the contrarie. Are they subiect to penurie? In all partes of Christendome, where money is not scant, all other things are plentiful. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaues to follow their husbandrie, and themselues disdainning base idlenesse and beggerie, do all honour militarie profession, highlie esteeming it, in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of abilitie, in those that are willing? lacke of encouragement. Or default of speedie order and direction for those that doe voluntarile offer themselues, their substance, and best indeuour to further this cause; that maketh vs to be thus coated by the Spaniard?<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Dee: 30

<sup>53</sup> Keymis: leaf 8

Instead of planting colonies on the wide tracts of land available in Guiana, Keymis said England's poverty led gentlemen and yeomen to manufacture legal disputes with their neighbors as a pretense to acquire larger estates. The dishonesty this encouraged allowed vice to take root in England, creating an entry point for the nation's subjection to Spanish imperial designs.

Like Keymis, Sir Thomas Smith argued that poverty reached even into the upper classes. Whereas several decades earlier, gentlemen were able to "keepe thirty or forty persons daily in his house" and maintain domestic order in the region surrounding his manor, now gentlemen left their manors for Court and could only afford one or two servants. Men who did find employ as servants required greater maintenance than previously with their dainty apparel and expensive appetites. Those men who once entered the service of gentlemen as either servants or men of war could no longer earn an honest wage and therefore turned to piracy and theft. As a result, the men available to serve the Crown were an unscrupulous lot, which only corrupted whatever enterprise they became involved in.<sup>54</sup>

### Crime and Disorder

Though the fear of effeminacy formed an important undercurrent to anxieties about unemployment and idleness, a more pressing concern was crime and social disorder. As previously mentioned, late-sixteenth century imperial humanists did not necessarily deem poverty and criminal behavior as reflective of moral qualities. Rather they viewed these as problems traceable to overpopulation and a dearth of adequate employment. In a posthumous publication, *A discourse of the originall and fundamentall causes of warre*

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<sup>54</sup> Hales: 34

(1650), Sir Walter Raleigh wrote that scarcity drove men to violence and led their princes into unnecessary wars:

For where many younger sonnes of younger Brothers, have neither Lands nor means to uphold themselves, and where many men of Trade or usefull possessions, know not how to bestow themselves for lack of Employments, there can it not be avoided that the whole body of the State (howsoever otherwise healthfully disposed) should suffer anguish by the grievance of those ill affected Members.<sup>55</sup>

Due to economic deprivation, men would look to war for professional advancement and as an avenue to securing their patrimony. In many ways, Raleigh calculated this argument to appeal to the pragmatist faction, as it suggested imperialism could prevent foreign wars by putting the reins on England's social discontent. If England did not find a way to aid disgruntled subjects, they would continue to act in ways that antagonized England's diplomatic allies. Colonies would help avoid this outcome.

Raleigh was not the first to suggest that colonies would curb criminal activity in England. In *A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia*, Sir Humphrey Gilbert suggested England's needy could be settled in outposts on the route to Asia rather than resort to crime because of want and end their days on the gallows.<sup>56</sup> Thomas Churchyard and Richard Hakluyt echoed this sentiment in their pamphlets as well. In his poem praising Frobisher's voyage, Churchyard claimed England boasted an extraordinarily high execution rate compared to other states: "I wonder why there is more men hanged in Englande in the space of one yere, then in fiue regions our neibours in the space of ten yeres put to execution." He thought that if these men had honest employment

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<sup>55</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *Judicious and select essayes and observations by that renowned and learned knight, Sir Walter Raleigh upon the first invention of shipping, the misery of invasive warre, the Navy Royall and sea-service: with his Apologie for his voyage to Guiana*, (London: Printed by T.W. for Humphrey Moseley and are to be sold at the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1650.): leaf 15

<sup>56</sup> Gilbert, *A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia*: H2



and the needy had sufficient bread, they would not “spoyle and cut the throates of the welthy and ritch.”<sup>57</sup> Hakluyt implored England’s leaders to look on the men in prison with pity instead of disdain in hopes they would support colonization in America as an outlet for the superfluous population troubling the Crown with petty offenses, as John Barros had done with Portugal’s colony in Brazil.<sup>58</sup> Christopher Carleill believed colonization could neutralize domestic threats posed by England’s neighbors because the settlers, as kindred of Englishmen, would not be apt to cause the Crown trouble.<sup>59</sup>

Shipboard rules instituted by commanders to maintain discipline and restrain vices that might lead to unscrupulous behavior must have heartened moralists like Thomas Churchyard and seemed a remedy for the debauched behavior of many Englishmen. On John Hawkins’ 1567 voyage, he issued a basic code of conduct: “Serue God dayly, loue one another, preserue your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.”<sup>60</sup>

Martin Frobisher issued rules of conduct far more specific than Hawkins’ code. According to George Best, Frobisher’s first rule banished swearing, dice, cards, and “filthy communication.” In addition, his men were required to “serue God twice a day.” Any man that brawled, cursed, swore or used “discouered speeches” risked imprisonment; men who drew their weapon during a quarrel with another company member, with the intent “to offende or disturbe the quiete,” would lose their right hand as

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<sup>57</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *a prayse and reporte of maister martyne frobisher*: C4

<sup>58</sup> Hakluyt, *diuers voyages*: leaf 6-7

<sup>59</sup> Carleill: leaf 8

<sup>60</sup> John Hawkins, *A true declaration of the troublesome voyadge of M. Iohn Haukins to the parties of Guynea and the west Indies, in the yeares of our Lord 1567. and 1568*, (London: Imprinted by Thomas Purfoote for Lucas Harrison, 1569): 523

punishment.<sup>61</sup> Frobisher's rules illustrated the virtues of discipline that Churchyard claimed men would develop because of their toil abroad. Close quarters and perilous circumstances forced mariners and soldiers on imperial ventures to tame their bestial impulses and behave in an orderly fashion. If England's petty criminals could be usefully employed in imperial expeditions, they would return to England disciplined in mind and body, no longer a threat to domestic peace.

For many imperial humanists, the greatest threat to domestic order was the recusant Catholic population in England. In the late-Tudor period, recusant Catholics incurred increasingly harsh fines and imprisonment, leading to economic ruin. Imperial humanists often linked poverty and recusancy, suggesting these poor were most susceptible to the machinations of the Catholic Church and Spain. Raleigh viewed the recusant population as a perpetual flashpoint for conflict with Catholic states, which cloaked their imperial ambitions in the veneer of an honorable enterprise to reclaim Europe for the Roman Church. In his treatise on war, Raleigh deemed ambition the single greatest cause of conflict and blamed the increase in religious wars on the Pope's ambitions, which he disguised in a just cause. Raleigh believed this type of war most dangerous because Catholics would fail to see the Pope's true motives, deceived by his rationalizations.<sup>62</sup> Raleigh's reading of the root of England's conflict with Spain suggested that the way to defuse the Pope's rhetoric—and by extension deprive King Philip's actions of legitimacy—would be to handle domestic recusants.

The question, it seemed, was how to manage recusants without inflaming the problem. Early suggestions about how to address the problem of recusancy yielded ideas

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<sup>61</sup> Best: 5, 35 (third voyage)

<sup>62</sup> Raleigh, *Judicious and select essayes and observations*: leaf 32

unlikely to alleviate tensions. John Dee thought a petty-royal navy funded by imperial ventures would be the best defense against “homish subjects, or wauering vassal[s]”<sup>63</sup> who might be tempted to rebel against the Crown. In Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s petition seeking leave to “annoy” Spain, he urged the Queen to first “seeke the kingdome of heaven” because there could never be true amity between Spain and England “whose division is planted by the worme of thier consciences.” Once diplomatic concerns no longer impeded a solution to the domestic crisis of recusancy, the Crown could rid the realm of Catholics. Gilbert did not advocate violent pogroms or exile, but instead suggested “diminishing their habilities by purse, credit and force [*imprisonment*].”

Though Gilbert did not favor exile, he did come to support a plan for the voluntary emigration of English Catholics into his proposed North American colony. In 1582, Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard (a recusant) approached Gilbert and Walsingham with a plan for a Catholic colony in North America. Though Peckham was not a recusant, his close ties to several recusants and the specter of their economic ruin led him to suggest a way for England to rid itself of a troublesome population, while finding a way for English Catholics to maintain their loyalty to the Crown and serve the state’s interests. Walsingham supported the plan as the best way to remove recusants to a harmless distance from England without antagonizing Catholic states. The Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, feared the plan was Walsingham’s attempt to establish an English outpost at the gateway to the Spanish West Indies. Mendoza wrote to King Philip that if an English Catholic colony came to fruition it would weaken

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<sup>63</sup> Dee: 10

Catholic interests, and he advised that seminary priests should forbid their converts from emigrating.<sup>64</sup>

In the agreement with Peckham and Gerrard, Gilbert assigned them the land between the Cape of Florida and Cape Breton, plus any islands, for the Catholic colony. As the lord governors of the colony, Peckham and Gerrard signed a free socage agreement under which the colony would have both free trade with any other territory founded under Gilbert's patent and "the execucion of all lawes Ecclasticall temporall politique marshall and Civell both Maryn and others."<sup>65</sup> This last portion may have been what led Mendoza to claim recusants would obtain freedom of conscience in the colony, along with the ability to keep the receipts of their land. Mendoza also believed the plan would grant any English Catholic exiles the same privileges if they immigrated to America. Mendoza feared this plan would undermine the growth of England's Catholic population as recusants chose emigration over economic ruin and social ostracization. There is, however, no other source to affirm Mendoza's claims.<sup>66</sup>

In addition to the lease fees and general government of the colony, Peckham and Gerrard proposed several other terms designed to attract English recusants to the plan. The first provision was that all recusant colonists would be listed on a register kept by the Privy Council and would have permission to freely depart and return to England. The Privy Council, however, hesitated to grant this concession and required any recusants with outstanding fines to pay their debts before emigrating or enter into bond service in

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<sup>64</sup> Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises*: 72; Benians: 66-67; Williamson, *The Tudor Age*: 353-354

<sup>65</sup> "Agreement between Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard (6 June 1582)," in *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, edited by Quinn: 249

<sup>66</sup> Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises*: 75

America until they could satisfy their debt. The plan also included a stipulation for poor recusants who could not afford passage to America: “that the xth person which they shall carrie with them shalbe souche as have not any certaintie whereupon to lyve or maintaine them selves in Englande.” Peckham and Gerrard also promised the Privy Council the Catholic colonists would not abuse their freedom of movement to travel to “any other foren Christian Realme” or commit any act that would violate English treaties or “to the prejudice of her Majestie or this Realme.”<sup>67</sup>

While the Privy Council supported the plan, they created so many obstacles to emigration that Peckham and Gerrard could not attract many subscribers. In particular, the condition to repay fines meant recusants could not afford to both pay the debts and passage to the colony and had to rescind their commitment to the scheme. Indeed, Gerrard had to retire from the venture in late-June 1582 and several months later was imprisoned and forced to sell his manor of Brindle to pay his fines. Peckham did not give up hope and after Gilbert’s 1583 death he enlisted the aid of Sir Philip Sidney in an attempt to obtain three million acres of land previously granted under Gilbert’s patent. The plan finally died in mid-1584 when Peckham was imprisoned for “Catholic activities” and there were insufficient subscriptions (though apparently much interest) to continue with the scheme.<sup>68</sup>

While a Catholic colony would wait until the mid-seventeenth century, Elizabethan imperial humanists promoted the idea of a Protestant empire, which yielded its first colony—the Popham colony—in 1607. As a clergyman, unsurprisingly Richard Hakluyt

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<sup>67</sup> “Agreement between Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard”: 255-256

<sup>68</sup> Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises*: 90-95

was a passionate advocate of creating a Protestant empire in North America. In the first chapter of the *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584), Hakluyt argued that the chief aim of colonization was to enlarge the reach of Protestantism, which he contended the “Princes of the reformed religion are chiefly bounde amongst whom her ma<sup>tie</sup> ys principall.”<sup>69</sup> Hakluyt believed the missionary impulse would counteract the problem of English trades becoming “beggarly [*mean*] or dangerous” because mariners, especially in the Spanish Empire, were being forced to renounce their religion and thus their obedience to the Queen. Due to this tyranny, men of quality were avoiding foreign trade, and men of baser nature replaced them. This, in turn, fueled the piracy problem that poisoned the Crown’s diplomatic efforts with Spain.

Hakluyt found it troubling that Catholicism threatened the world unchallenged, as the recent assassination of the Prince of Orange proved. Hakluyt envisioned English colonies as a haven for persecuted Protestants “forced to flee for the truthe of gods worde.”<sup>70</sup> Moreover, Hakluyt thought that if the Queen supported a colony in North America and reports trumpeted England’s noble navy and valiant men, as well as the humanity, courtesy, and freedom available under English rule, the Indians would not hesitate to join with the Cimarrones (“a people detesting the prowde governance of the Spanyards”<sup>71</sup>) in throwing off the Spanish yoke. Once the Spanish were weakened in their colonies, the Protestant nations of Europe, led by England, could end their

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<sup>69</sup> Richard Hakluyt, “Discourse of Western Planting 1584,” excerpted in *Envisioning America*, edited by Mancall: 46

<sup>70</sup> Hakluyt, “Discourse of Western Planting 1584”: 52; according to contemporary rumors, King Philip had orchestrated the assassination.

<sup>71</sup> Cimarrones (derived from the Spanish word *cimarrón*, meaning “runaway slave”; equivalent to maroon) were runaway slaves that fled their Spanish masters and created a community in Panama. Richard Hakluyt, “A Pamphlet by Richard Hakluyt the Younger, 1579-1580,” quoted in *Hakluyt’s Promise* by Peter C. Mancall: 80

domination of the Continent. In addition, colonies could be used to deprive Spain of the treasure that funded rebellions in Ireland and Scotland and induced disloyal Englishmen to undermine the Queen.<sup>72</sup>

### Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the various ways imperial humanists used domestic conditions to both justify colonization in North America and to prepare Englishmen for their role as imperialists. To imperial humanists, the idle, fractious masses were the barbarians within England, chipping away at the foundation of English civilization. Young men of all classes were wasting their productive years unemployed, and without honest labor to siphon off their natural exuberance and passion, these men became bestial and unruly. Imperial ventures would give these men an outlet for their energies and provide the necessary training for them to return to England as disciplined workers—whether in service as agents of the state, as soldiers, or as skilled and manual laborers. Moreover, imperialism would preserve man's estate, enabling men to marry and become patriarchs in their own right. Imperial humanists viewed colonizing ventures as the means by which to civilize Englishmen into virtuous, hardworking men ready to confront the growing threat posed by Spain and the Catholic Church. Until Englishmen were civilized, they would be unable to take up the mantle as protectors and missionaries of Protestantism. As the next chapter will show, Englishmen perceived it as their God-given duty to bring the “idolatrous heathens” of the Americas into the light of Protestant Christianity—a duty they would be unprepared to fulfill until they reformed the national virtue.

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<sup>72</sup> Hakluyt, “Discourse of Western Planting 1584” excerpted in *Envisioning America*: 50, 52-53

CHAPTER 5

TO BE BROUGHT TO THE SHEEPFOLD OF  
CHRIST: IMPERIAL HUMANISTS AND  
THE CIVILIZING MISSION

In addition to a reformation of the national virtue, imperial humanists advocated a civilizing mission among American Indians. Believing native conversion formed the foundation of Spain's New World empire, imperial humanists urged Englishmen to intensify efforts to spread the "true religion" of Protestantism as a means of establishing an English empire. In this chapter, I argue the civilizing mission provided imperial humanists with the most convincing justification for colonization. The obvious way to reconcile their desire for profit and possession with their fear of corruption was to subordinate them to the pursuit of honorable or pious ends. As Mary C. Fuller observed, the emphasis on conversion rather than profit allowed Englishmen "to stage cultural superiority by needing nothing from America."<sup>1</sup> Instead, imperial humanists presented the civilizing mission as England's gift to the Indians, a gift they hazarded life and comfort to bestow. That it facilitated the extraction and trade of commodities, imperial humanists considered just reward for their service to God.

The civilizing mission became the primary way imperial humanists defined England's as an empire of liberation rather than conquest, an empire that placed virtue above profit. Imperial humanists elaborated on an English White Legend of pious restraint to suggest

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<sup>1</sup> Fuller, *Voyages in Print*: 12-13



their empire in the New World would be less corrupt than the Spanish. Though Spain had its own conversion program, tales of the conquistadors were replete with examples of Spaniards allowing the Indians to believe them gods, facilitating their conquest and oppression. In contrast, the English tried to correct the misapprehension of the Indians—though they often failed—refusing to impiously elevate themselves to the status of deities. This pious restraint, as Christopher Hodgkins called it, legitimized English intentions to govern the Americas because in promoting a higher mission than personal enrichment their colonialist credo became “that one can indeed stoop to conquer.”<sup>2</sup>

In addition to conversion, imperial humanists insisted that maintaining colonial order required the acculturation of Indians to Western civilization. Based on their readings of the classics, English humanists contended that successful conquest required the suppression of dissent “offered by differences in laws, religion, habits and language;”<sup>3</sup> thus, forcing indigenous peoples to adopt the customs of their conquerors would prevent the cultural decline that often followed conquest. Similarly, imperial humanists expected to bind metropole and colony together within a universal English culture, thus ensuring colonial disorder would not divert the Crown’s resources from domestic concerns.

Still, imperial humanists had to justify conquering and displacing American Indians, and challenging Spanish claims in the New World. In contemporary discourses about gender and civility, imperial humanists found validation for a civilizing mission and their arguments came to form an important ideological underpinning for English imperialism. Using the lens of sex/gender dimorphism, imperial humanists naturalized their domination of American Indians as similar to the relationship between husband

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<sup>2</sup> Hodgkins: 78

<sup>3</sup> Peltonen: 82

(colonizer) and wife (colonized). In these early imperial accounts, the portrayal of indigenous peoples was inconsistent, often within the same text. When imperial humanists wanted to prove the Spaniards unsuitable stewards of their New World colonies or demonstrate Indian assimilability to Western culture, they credited Indians with prelapsarian virtues and manly qualities. More often, imperial humanists rendered indigenous cultures as savage and the men as unmanly to suggest they desperately required introduction to civility. Comparing the English to Romans and American Indians to Picts, imperial humanists viewed it as their national destiny and God's command to bring indigenous peoples to civility.

### The New World

The concept of the civilizing mission was not original to imperial humanists. In *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (2000), David Armitage pointed out that proposals for a civilizing mission accompanied the conquests of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland from the thirteenth through the mid-sixteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> In Edwardian propaganda, the civilizing mission was framed as a historical constant: just as Brutus and his sons had civilized the barbarian Britons, the English would civilize the barbarian Scots. By the 1540s, Armitage asserts, "civility and Christianity were closely associated as the foundations of order within a 'British' empire."<sup>5</sup> Sir Thomas Smith's promotional writings for the Ards colony supports Armitage's thesis; Smith declared his intent was

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<sup>4</sup> Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*: 6, 27-28

<sup>5</sup> Armitage: 39; Though the term "civilizing mission" has strong associations to nineteenth-century imperialism, Armitage used the term in reference to late-Tudor and Stuart policies in Ireland. Since many of the colonial policies developed in Ireland were later used in North America, the use of "civilizing mission" in this context is reasonable shorthand for this feature of imperial propaganda.

“to make the same civill and peopled with naturall Englishe men borne.”<sup>6</sup> Smith planned to domesticate and civilize Ireland by appropriating land for Protestant Englishmen to cultivate and turn the Gaelic Irish into serfs. Turning their attention to the New World, imperial humanists applied a similar logic to their ventures.

Bolstered by Spanish accounts of the New World, imperial humanists imaginatively constructed a world in desperate need of England’s civilizing influence. Agustin de Zárate depicted Indians as indolent, polygynous sodomites whose religious leaders performed human sacrifices and thus proved the tyranny and savagery of Indian leadership. Zárate accused the priests of sacrificing children, tanning the skins of victims, and shrinking their skulls “and than nayled on the saide Pillers, or Walles of the Temple.”<sup>7</sup> If Indian nobles were depraved, the common people were meek in their acceptance of authority, “submitt[ing] them selues euen vnto death,”<sup>8</sup> suggesting a natural tendency toward subjugation. In addition, Zárate wrote that Indian men’s addiction to sodomy made them neglectful and “rigorous to their Wiues.” Consumed by unnatural sexual desire, Indian men left the husbandry to their women: “Their Wemen do plough and sow the ground, they grinde their Graine, and therof make their prouision of foode.”<sup>9</sup> Like sodomy, cannibalism was often invoked to telegraph Indian bestiality. Francisco Lopez de Gomara reported “howe those Indians did sacrifice & eate mans flesh.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid: 49

<sup>7</sup> Zárate: ch. 4

<sup>8</sup> Zárate: ch. 13

<sup>9</sup> Zárate: ch. 4

<sup>10</sup> Lopez de Gomara: F2

The English translation of De Las Casas' *The Spanish Colonie* (1583) provided imperial humanists with damning evidence of the corruption of Spanish imperialism, and propagandists like Hakluyt cited him at length to prove Spanish barbarism.<sup>11</sup> De Las Casas' was an almost fetishistic account of Spanish atrocities, recounting horrifying instances of cruelty against Indians, in particular women and children. De Las Casas said of Spanish overlordship: "The men died with toyle and famine in the mineralles: these the women died of the same in the fieldes." Worse still, De Las Casas suggested the Spanish encouraged bestial vices in the Indians, blaming their oppressive policies for cannibalism and sexual incontinence among the Indians. De Las Casas estimated that the Spanish murdered between twelve and fifteen million Indians in New Spain, leading him to call into question Spain's right to colonize the New World.<sup>12</sup>

Imperial humanists also accused the Spaniards of spreading vice to the Indians. Francis Fletcher said the Spaniards introduced sodomy to the Indians ("wherein [amongst other the like Spanish virtues] not onely whoredome, but the filthinesse of Sodome"), who otherwise "abhorre this most filthie and loathsome manner of liuing." Linking sodomy with Catholicism, Fletcher blamed the Pope for encouraging sin by offering indulgences, concluding the Indians were no nearer to knowing God than they had been before the Spanish conquest.<sup>13</sup>

For imperial humanists, the prevalence of bestial vices and idolatry among Indian men proved they needed disciplined governance, lacking among their own leaders, to

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<sup>11</sup> Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting by Richard Hakluyt, 1584," from *The Original Writings & Correspondences of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, edited by Taylor: Chapter 11 (257-261)

<sup>12</sup> De Las Casas: A3, A4, B3, D, F; it should be noted that De Las Casas called into question the legitimacy of colonization in general, not just for the Spanish. Imperial humanists, however, rejected this interpretation of De Las Casas, using him to dispute Spain's imperial claims.

<sup>13</sup> Drake: 57-59

reform their savagery. The task remained to convince their compatriots and fellow Europeans that Englishmen had a special duty and ability to civilize the Indians, unlike the unscrupulous Spanish. The Spaniards' lack of temperance and insatiable avarice had proved they were uncivilized and hence unfit for dominion in the New World. In these narratives, imperial humanists put a philosophical distance between the imperial aims of Spain and England, creating a "Protestant possession myth"<sup>14</sup> wherein English restraint and dedication to the civilizing mission would result in God's reward of imperial possessions.

#### The Protestant Mission

According to the elder Richard Hakluyt, two of the chief reasons for England to create its own empire were "The glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels" and the "increase of the force of the Christians."<sup>15</sup> In *The Spanish Colonie*, imperial humanists found ideological support for their civilizing mission, with the sympathetic portrayal of Indians as virtuous yet ignorant of God. De Las Casas proclaimed the Indians "very simple, without suttelie, or craft, without malice, very obedient, and very faithfull to their naturall liege Lordes." He said the Indians were pacific in nature, rarely quarreling or brawling, and though poor, they were not covetous. Of healthful constitution, they did not overindulge their appetites, but maintained a diet like the "holy fathers in the desert." Most importantly, De Las Casas asserted the Indians were quick-witted, "being teachable and capable of all good learning...and to be instructed in good and vertuous maners, hauing lesse encumbrances and disturbances to

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<sup>14</sup> Hodgkins: 90

<sup>15</sup> Hakluyt "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended": 34

the attheyning therevnto.” De Las Casas concluded, “Undoubtedly these folks shoulde be the happiest in the worlde, if onely they knewe God.”<sup>16</sup> Though the friars attempted to convert the Indians, the conduct of the Spanish soldiers proved an obstacle to success. Adherence to the humanist chivalric virtue of justice (Ch. 1) demanded that Englishmen take up the imperial mantle and commit to a Protestant mission, an act that would benefit the pagan masses of the New World and teach Englishmen to put the common benefit before their self-interests.

Like De Las Casas, Thomas Hariot portrayed the Algonquians as essentially prelapsarian and eager to accept Christianity. In his account of the first Roanoke colony, Hariot argued that despite their alien religious beliefs the Algonquians were civilizable: “Some religion they haue alreadie, which although it be farre from the truth, yet beyng as it is, there is hope it may bee the easier and sooner reformed.”<sup>17</sup> Hariot described the Algonquians as pantheists who invoked gods and used tobacco for ritual purposes. In an inversion of the patriarchal Christian tradition, they believed women were created first and had birthed all mankind. The Algonquians also thought the English either had direct communication with God or were gods since they traveled with no women and rarely sickened while disease wiped out Indian villages. From these differences, the reader might have thought the Indians too ignorant to convert to Christianity.

Hariot, however, assured readers of the probable success of the civilizing mission by indicating the Algonquians shared certain beliefs with Christians. Like Christians, the Algonquians believed in the immortality of the soul, which at death “is eyther carried to heauē the habitacle of gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a

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<sup>16</sup> De Las Casas: A-A2

<sup>17</sup> Hariot: 25

great pitte or hole...there to burne continually.”<sup>18</sup> The fact that Algonquians worshipped a single god, Mantóac, above all others indicated their assimilability to monotheism. In addition, Hariot discovered that English technology appeared as “the works of gods then men” to the Algonquians:

Which made manie of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of god and religion already, it was rather to be had from vs, whom God so specially loued then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that we spake of concerning such matters.<sup>19</sup>

Hariot thought this “hungrie desire” to learn about Christianity equaled eagerness to convert, failing to comprehend that Algonquian pantheism predisposed them to greater tolerance of Christian beliefs without any necessary intent to abandon their own.

Despite George Best’s candid (and somewhat anomalous) doubts about the success of the civilizing mission, he still deemed it England’s God-given obligation and highest calling to attempt it. In Best’s estimation, the Inuits were “greate inchaunters and vse manye charmes of Witchcraft...And they made vs by signes to vnderstand...that they worshippe the Diuell vnder them.”<sup>20</sup> Although he questioned if the Inuits were tractable enough to be civilized and Christianized, Best deemed missionaries as “forward, as the resolute men of all.” In particular, Best praised Master Wollfall, who embarked on Frobisher’s final voyage as a would-be settler for the planned colony. According to Best, Master Wollfall had all the comforts and success a gentleman hoped for—a “good and large liuing,” an honest wife, obedient children, and an honest reputation—yet he opted to leave these in England in order to “reforme those Infidels, if it were possible, to

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid: 26

<sup>19</sup> Ibid: 27

<sup>20</sup> Best: 66 (voyage three)

Christianitie.” Best admired his decision to hazard his own life to profit the Protestant flock, demonstrating he was a “true Pastor and minister of Gods word.”<sup>21</sup>

Like Best, Thomas Churchyard believed the civilizing mission revealed the true spirit with which explorers should be endowed. Calling Indians “those that feed like monsters (and rather liue like dogges then men),” Churchyard claimed:

And surely this is a true testimonie of the greate goodnesse intended, that our Nation in suche a christian sorte and maner, refuseth no hazarde nor daunger, to bryng Infidelles too the knowledge of the omnipotente God.

Churchyard suggested that “the purpose of manifestyng Gods mightie woorde and maiestie” among the Indians would yield “a prosperous and beneficiall retourne,”<sup>22</sup> encouraging adventurers to subordinate their desire for material gain to pious ends. As mentioned previously Churchyard viewed exploration as the means for Englishmen to discover temperance and discipline; thus the Protestant mission functioned as another labor that would create an orderly male subject. Indeed, Churchyard conceptualized the Protestant mission as giving—or purging—for the benefit of American Indians.

Edward Hayes agreed that the civilizing mission represented the appropriate motive for colonization, viewing profit as antithetical to imperial success. In his account of Gilbert’s ill-fated 1583 voyage, Hayes mused about how England’s present might have differed if earlier Tudor monarchs followed up John Cabot’s discoveries with colonization. He mourned all the pagans who would never be converted to Christianity and the lost Protestant congregation they would have created. Hayes concluded that the foremost intent of imperialism should be the Protestant mission “or els whatsoever is

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid: 30 (voyage three)

<sup>22</sup> Churchyard, *a prayse and reporte of maister martyne frobisher*: leaf 14



buildd upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy success nor continuance.”<sup>23</sup> As confirmation, Hayes alluded to Frobisher and Gilbert’s recent failures as examples of the improper “humours” of explorers thus far. Though earlier schemes proved fruitless, Hayes remained convinced that if adventurers placed “Gods cause” at the forefront of their motives England would eventually profit by imperialism.

Similarly George Peckham deemed bringing Protestantism to the “sauages who haue no knowledg of God...so long liuing in ignorance and Idolatry...thirsting after christianitie”<sup>24</sup> the primary objective of colonization. England, Peckham said, had a duty to continue to expand the domain of Christianity, particularly into the “right” way, and follow the example of their honorable predecessors by leaving to posterity the memorial of their godly enterprise. Comparing Gilbert’s voyage to Columbus’ voyage, Peckham questioned whether Englishmen’s “heartes are so hardned, that fewe or none can be found which wil put to theyr helping hands, and applie themselues to the relieuing of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules.”<sup>25</sup> Peckham hoped invoking the competition with Spain would inspire Englishmen to commit to the imperial mission as a patriotic and religious duty.

Peckham’s interest in conversion was not simply ideological, but served a pragmatic purpose to ensure the stability and commercial prospects of a colony. Peckham advised imperialists to employ a gentle native policy:

Considering that all creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendered more tractable and easier wunne for all assayes, by courtesie and myldnes, then by

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<sup>23</sup> Hayes: 180

<sup>24</sup> Peckham: B4

<sup>25</sup> Ibid: B4

crueltie or roughnes: and therefore beeing a principle taught vs by naturall reason, it is first to be put in vse.<sup>26</sup>

Peckham entreated imperialists to allay the fears of the Indians and to reserve violence for self-defense, though his definition of defense provided wide latitude for colonists to perceive a threat to the colony. Peckham also recommended that Englishmen should demonstrate their dedication to the chivalric virtue of justice by defending friendly natives from attacks by their enemies. In Peckham's understanding, a gentle native policy would facilitate commerce with the Indians, which would "easily [*reduce them*] to ciuilitie bothe in manners and garments."<sup>27</sup> Once the Indians had been civilized, they would pose little threat to an English settlement.

Richard Hakluyt also emphasized the necessity of a Protestant mission in North America. In his preface to the translation of René Laudonnière's *A Notable Historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida* (1587), Hakluyt described Indian warfare as fierce guerilla wars in which no man was spared and women and children were absorbed into the victor's community. To mark their victory, Indians scalped their enemy to prove their glory and celebrated with three days of revels, during which the croncs danced around with the scalps, proffering thanks to the Sun for their success. If their heathen rituals were not bad enough, Hakluyt accused Indian men of having venereal disease from their excessive "loue [*of*] women and maydens" and from sodomy, disordered sexual habits that implied the effeminacy of Indian men.

Despite their apparent savagery, Hakluyt judged North American Indians of "better wittes" than those in Central and South America and said they would "easily embrace the

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid: C3

<sup>27</sup> Ibid: E2

Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie” if only Englishmen imparted God’s words to them. Hakluyt pointed to Spain and Portugal as imperial models, concluding that their attention to the missionary enterprise had caused their empires to thrive. Hakluyt also suggested that Indians would make ideal laborers because they spent considerable time physically training young men, playing games to develop their running, shooting, and fishing abilities.<sup>28</sup> It would not be enough, however, to proselytize to the Indians; interchanging the terms “Savages” and “Infidells,” Hakluyt believed that “without civilisation, and hence induction into the classically-defined conception of life in the *polis* or the *civitas*, Christianity could not be implanted.”<sup>29</sup>

Imperial humanists considered the civilizing mission as necessary to establishing amity between the English and Indians; without this amity, any English settlement would be threatened. Though Hakluyt advised that settlements should have a contingent of soldiers to protect them from hostile Indians, he advocated a gentle approach to converting them. Hakluyt counseled missionaries to first learn Indian languages and customs in order to construct an effective program of education and catechesis.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Thomas Hariot believed the English should study Algonquian culture and language prior to a civilizing mission. Practicing his own advice, Hariot spent the return passage of the 1584 Virginia voyage learning the Algonquian language from his Indian

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<sup>28</sup> René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulnes of the countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, sauing the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieuetenant a yere and a quarter: Newly translated out of French into English by R. H.*, (At London : Imprinted by Thomas Dawson, 1587): 4-8

<sup>29</sup> Armitage: 76

<sup>30</sup> Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*: 27

companions, Wanchese and Manteo, who were brought to England as visual propaganda to promote the Roanoke colony.

### The Protestant Possession Myth

For imperial humanists, Sir Francis Drake came to embody this English White Legend, and his efforts most forcefully argued the necessity of the civilizing mission to expansion. In *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, Francis Fletcher used Drake's refusal of deification by the Miwoks (unlike Hernán Cortes) to distinguish English imperialism from Iberian imperialism. Instead, Drake insisted on a program of catechism to attempt the Indians' conversion to Christianity. With an allusion to penetration, Fletcher said that when the Miwoks approached with their weapons, Drake "raushed...their mindes." Awed by Drake "their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship vs as Gods, then to haue any warre with vs as with mortall men." Though Drake protested his mortality—even eating in their presence to prove he had bodily needs—he took advantage of their wonderment to convince the Miwoks to disarm in order to preserve the peace "they themselues so willingly sought." Drake then tried to introduce the basics of civility to the Miwoks. During the course of their stay Drake gave the Miwoks garments to conceal their nudity, explaining that Englishmen wore clothes "to couer our owne shame."<sup>31</sup>

According to Fletcher, the Miwoks often fell into great fits of savagery in worship of their gods, causing the English to "[groan] in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile, in seducing these so harmelesse soules." The pull of idolatry was so great the Miwoks often neglected to feed themselves, instead giving all their meat to the English,

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<sup>31</sup> Drake: 68-69

whom they still believed gods. Drake, in turn, became the provider of sustenance for the Miwoks: “so that our generall... was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with... victualls...wherein they tooke exceeding much content.” In this paternal role, Drake also expressed displeasure when the Miwoks presented him with sacrifices and led his men in recitations from the Bible and singing psalms in order to “[*direct*] them...to the liuing God whom they ought to serue.”<sup>32</sup> The neglect of their basic needs demonstrated that the Miwoks required the civilizing influence and leadership of the English, both to free their minds from idolatry and to learn proper husbandry.

In his recollection of the departure from New Albion, Fletcher implied the Miwoks’ willingness to become Christians and their desire for English overlordship. When the Miwoks discovered the English intended to leave them, they fell into a great sorrow. The Miwoks prepared a sacrifice either to prevent the English from going or to request the English “gods” remember them. Fletcher said the Miwoks would not cease their pagan ritual until Drake commanded his men to pray and sing psalms, at which time “they were allured immediatly to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out.”<sup>33</sup> When the Miwoks imitated the English, it demonstrated both the power of Christianity to reduce irrational men to temperance and the Indians’ inclination to conversion and civilization.

In this narrative, Englishmen demonstrated such restraint and virtue in attending to the civilizing mission that the Miwoks offered New Albion to them and desired Drake as their king. The Miwoks “with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head,” a proposition Drake could not reject because he did

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid: 76-79

<sup>33</sup> Ibid: 80-81

not want to give the Miwoks reason to distrust the English. Furthermore, Drake “knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come”; thus, Drake claimed New Albion on behalf of the Crown. Drake believed New Albion would lead to unknown riches for the commonwealth and that the Miwoks would benefit from the Queen’s overlordship, since “as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*” she would ensure a missionary enterprise to convert the Indians.<sup>34</sup>

Christopher Hodgkins has argued that in Drake’s narrative of pious restraint, his vigorous rejection of the mantle of divinity and zealous attention to catechism formed a crucial element of the Protestant possession myth. In this myth, English attention to the civilizing mission and willful submission by the Indians justified English possession. It was not important that conversion succeed, just that English endeavors and Indian acceptance of the attempts were in good faith. Though Drake likely fabricated the story of the Miwoks offering him their land, his ritualized performance of pious speeches and gestures enacted for Englishmen the “reformed imperialism” imperial humanists promoted against the cruel and oppressive imperialism of the Iberians.<sup>35</sup> Drake’s temperance, piety, and liberality toward the Miwoks contributed to an English White Legend constructed to neutralize humanist objections that imperialism had a deleterious effect on the colonizers and the colonized, as De Las Casas’ account contended.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid: 76-77

<sup>35</sup> Hodgkins: 85-86

## Universalizing English Culture

Besides calls for conversion, imperial humanists deemed the acculturation of Indians to Western civility necessary to forming stable, well-ordered colonies. Descriptions of American Indians often emphasized rude behaviors and underdeveloped agriculture and technology in order to suggest that English domination would benefit them, just as Roman overlordship had benefited native Britons. In imperial humanist ethnographies, gender featured as both a way to indicate the suitability of Indians as colonial subjects and as the primary gauge of their degree of civilization. Imperial humanists constructed a binary contrasting civilized, masculine Englishmen with barbarian, feminine Indians—a distinction which naturalized English colonization in the Americas according to Western social hierarchies and envisioned Englishmen as colonial husbands to colonized Indian wives.

A consensus emerged among imperial humanists that long-term settlement required the cooperation and/or subjection of American Indians, and introduction to civility seemed the best way to secure England's interests. Regardless of his concerns about the Inuit, George Best's account painted a hopeful picture of the civilizing mission, and he fashioned the Inuit into ideal colonial subjects by comparing them to women or beasts, both of which required the dominion of men. While fellow adventurer Dionyse Settle had suggested the Inuit were cannibals,<sup>36</sup> Best responded, "but I doubt, our flesh is so swéet meate for them." Best considered the Inuit crafty, cruel, and bestial in "their rauenesse and bloody disposition." Best took the implication of bestiality even further by

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<sup>36</sup> Settle, *A true reporte of the laste voyage into the west and northwest regions*: D2

literally comparing the Inuit to animals such as porpoises, seals, and dogs.<sup>37</sup> In physical appearance, Best implied feminine attributes even as he praised Inuit vigor and manliness in battle. Best observed that Inuit men had very little body hair and only thin beards, indicating a relative lack of virility compared to Englishmen; in Tudor England, the beard was considered a sexual marker of manhood (lack of a beard denoted youth) whose thickness suggested sexual potency.<sup>38</sup>

Even with his criticisms of the Inuit, Best made a concerted effort to include positive characteristics of the Inuit to gesture at their pliability should England plant a settlement. Unlike Settle, who characterized the Inuit as relying on “dumbe signes” and “mute conversations” and “of no capacitie to culture the same, to any perfection,”<sup>39</sup> Best thought the Inuit quick-witted and adept at communicating with the English through signs. In many colonial tracts, writers linked language and civility, insinuating that an aptitude to learn English indicated the potential for civility; thus, Best’s assessment suggested the Inuit could be civilized.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, he characterized the Inuit as eager to teach the English their language and learn anything they could, like music, songs, and rowing, which Best claimed they did as well as English mariners.<sup>41</sup>

The quality for which Best most admired the Inuit and hinted at their ability to be civilized was their chastity and natural modesty. The captivity of an Inuit man, woman,

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<sup>37</sup> Best: 32 (introduction), 10, 24-25, 33 (second voyage), 62, 66 (third voyage);

<sup>38</sup> Will Fisher, “The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 174-175, 177

<sup>39</sup> Settle: C

<sup>40</sup> Clare Carroll, “Representations of Women in Some Early Modern English tracts of Ireland,” *Albion, a Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3 (Autumn 1993): 383

<sup>41</sup> Best: 62-3 (third voyage)



and child provided a way for Best to articulate appropriate gender relations in a civilized society. Initially, the English assumed the Inuit, being savages, were indiscriminate in their sexual attachments:

Hauing now got a woman captiue for the comfote of our man, we broughte them both together, and euey man with silence desired to beholde the manner of their meeting and entertaynement, the whiche was more worth the beholding, than can be well expressed by writing.”<sup>42</sup>

The English treated introducing the man and woman as bringing a broodmare to stud; Best expressed the company’s surprise that on the three-month return voyage to England and despite great scrutiny “there was neuer any thing séene or perceiued betwéene them, more than might haue passed betwéene brother and sister.” Though the Inuit man did not make the woman his wife in a carnal sense, in every other way he asserted himself as the patriarch of their triad.

According to Best, at their first meeting the Inuit woman turned away and began to sing “as though she disdeyned or regarded not the man.” The Inuit man then, “with sterne and stayed countenance,” began to speak to the woman, during which time she did not interrupt him. From that moment forward they became inseparable “so that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued, without the comfort of the other.” The Inuit woman’s deference remained in evidence throughout the journey to England, as she did all a “good huswife” was expected to do—cleaning their cabin, tending to the man when he was seasick, and killing and delousing dogs for their meals. In return, the Inuit man would “carue vnto hir of the swéetest, fattest, and best morsels they had.”<sup>43</sup> This depiction of

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<sup>42</sup> Best: 26 (second voyage)

<sup>43</sup> Ibid: 26-27, 64 (third voyage)

Inuit gender hierarchy suggested they were not irredeemably savage, and with English oversight the civilization of the Inuit could service the England's imperial ambitions.

The ethnography in Arthur Barlowe's 1584 pamphlet promoting the Roanoke colony rendered the Algonquians as ideal colonial subjects capable of learning Western modes of civility. Though ethnocentric, Barlowe was quite complimentary of the Algonquians, calling them "very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and ciuill as any of Europe."<sup>44</sup> Barlowe described the *weroance's* brother, Granganimeo, as "iust of his promise,"<sup>45</sup> ascribing to him the important masculine qualities of honor and credit, traits worthy of respect in a leader. Furthermore, Barlowe claimed the Algonquian men were eager to communicate and trade with the English, suggesting their desire for civility.

As evidence of Algonquian courtesy, Barlowe told a story about the magnanimity and liberality Granganimeo's wife displayed toward the English when they visited the village while he was away. Granganimeo's wife invited the men to rest in her home by the fire while the other women bathed them and washed their clothes. After the men dressed, Granganimeo's wife fed them. Barlowe wrote of her kindness: "We were entertained with all loue and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly deuise."<sup>46</sup> When some Algonquian men appeared in the village with weapons, Granganimeo's wife ordered them to disarm and leave. That night the Englishmen opted to sleep outside the village across the riverbank for their own safety, but Granganimeo's wife arranged for thirty men and women to sit on the bank with them all night.

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<sup>44</sup> Barlowe: 247

<sup>45</sup> Ibid: 248

<sup>46</sup> Ibid: 249

Though the story portrayed a flattering image of the Algonquian character and credited Granganimeo with virtues of civility, Barlowe's conclusion ultimately sought to justify making Algonquians colonial subjects:

We found the people most gentle, louing, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as liue after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselues from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselues with such meat as the soile affoordeth...<sup>47</sup>

The emphasis on their prelapsarian and pacific personality showed that the Algonquians would not pose a threat to English colonization plans. Paradoxically, Barlowe used bloody Indian wars to indicate bestiality and a lack of restraint, feminine traits that were the opposite of the masculine ideals of rationality and discipline and indicated their lack of civility.

Barlowe also gestured at Algonquian social structure to imply the English could easily conquer them with only an initial martial effort. Barlowe noticed that when Granganimeo wanted to trade, no other men except those of the nobility—marked by the red pieces of copper they wore on their heads—were allowed to trade. Barlowe conjectured “that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie and Gouvernours, then these doe,”<sup>48</sup> hinting that once England established dominion of the region the Algonquians would be loyal servants to the Crown. Barlowe's outline of a class structure familiar to Englishmen revealed a link between the Algonquians and England's lower classes, in that adherence to such a structure made them naturally inclined to governance by English gentlemen. This link demonstrated that for imperial

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid: 249

<sup>48</sup> Ibid: 248

humanists there was little distinction between the domestic and imperial civilizing missions.

### Gender Difference and Civility

In addition to assigning American Indians with feminine qualities to naturalize their transformation into colonial subjects, imperial humanists used sexual dimorphism and gender relations as a justification for the civilizing mission. Philippa Levine has noted a common trope in imperial literature contrasting effeminate colonized men against a “particular vision of white maleness as physical, responsible, productive, and hard-working.”<sup>49</sup> For the English, effeminacy referred to a wide range of unmanly qualities and behaviors including weakness, homosexuality, the abuse of women, and insatiable appetites. Kathleen Wilson and Catherine Hall showed that “a society’s treatment of women was frequently held up as evidence of its degree of civilization, with ‘rude’ societies cruel to their womenfolk and ‘advanced’ ones respectful of them.”<sup>50</sup> Thus, Indian women functioned as a cipher upon which imperial humanists projected their ideas about male civility. In addition to the effeminacy of Indian men, the myth of Amazon warriors suggested Indian women were inappropriately masculine and required domestication into their subordinate gender role.

Most scholars argue that preoccupation with the degree of sex/gender dimorphism as a marker of a race’s relative social advancement did not become common until the

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<sup>49</sup> Philippa Levine, “Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion Series: Gender and Empire*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2004): 7; though the volume focuses on the empire after the eighteenth century, much of the gendered elements in imperial literature were present in the early modern period.

<sup>50</sup> Philippa Levine, “Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?”: 6

eighteenth century when a two-sex model supplanted the one-sex model in scientific thought.<sup>51</sup> I suggest that sixteenth century colonial tracts on the Americas and Ireland contained these ideas, a claim that should be uncontroversial given early modern concerns about appropriate attire and behavior. Wherever the English perceived markers of gender were minimal, they rationalized their colonial urges as a system of tutelage to bring savages to civility. For example, in the preface to René Laudonnière's *A Notable Historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida* Hakluyt stripped Indian women of their femininity by emphasizing their similar appearance and disposition to men ("The women are of the like disposition, & great, and of the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be"), as well as their strong and agile bodies capable of great feats of physical strength. In addition, "hermaphrodites" were accepted members of society, carrying victuals for the army.<sup>52</sup> For Hakluyt, the civilizing mission would take the Indians' apparent androgyny and yield a clear delineation of male and female gender roles as befitted a civil society.

Suzanne Scholz has noted that in early modern texts attire not only marked social status but also revealed one's degree of civility. In Robert Peterson's translation of Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo* (1576), disgust about androgyny was apparent:

For, a man must not apparel him selfe like a woman: that the Attire may not be of one sorte, and the person of another: as I doe see it in some that weare their heads & their beards curled with bodkins, and haue their face, and their necks, & their hands, so starchte and painted, that it were to muche for a girl, nay, harlot, that makes a merchandize of it, and sets her selfe to the sale.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Sally Markowitz, "Pelvic Politics: Sexual Dimorphism and Racial Difference," *Signs*, vol. 26, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 391

<sup>52</sup> Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida*: 8-9

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Susanne Scholz, *Body Narratives: Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000): 18-19

In England, a gentleman's attire demonstrated his self-discipline and marked him as a man. In noting similarities in the adornment and behavior of Indian men and women, Hakluyt suggested their indecipherability as sexual markers and thus the relative incivility of their society. Hakluyt's attention to androgyny also projected English anxieties that distinctions between the sexes were lessening, as gentlemen became more feminine in their attention to appearance. If England's upper classes exhibited ambiguous gender markers, then the cause must be the encroachment of barbarity and the solution a return to virtue. In this way, the civilizing mission turned the process of internal reform outward, enforcing domestic gender boundaries by having Englishmen police gender boundaries among American Indians.

The most influential, and arguably the most humanist, ethnography of the Algonquian people of Roanoke belonged to the De Bry edition of Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, which included John White's illustrations. In the pamphlet, the hallmark of civilization was the increasing sexual dimorphism between the sexes. White made several comments on the ambiguity of sexual markers among the Algonquians, frequently writing the men dressed "as woemen." The inclusion of illustrations of the Picts of Britain reinforced this reading of the Algonquians as noble savages in need of English tutelage to become civilized. Like the pictures of the Algonquians, the Picts showed a similar androgyny between men and women, who were masculinized with the inclusion of weaponry.<sup>54</sup> The suggestion, of course, was that once

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<sup>54</sup> John White, "The True Pictures and Fashions of the People in that parte of America novv called Virginia," from *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants. Discovered by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight In the yeere 1585*, by Thomas Hariot, (Francoforti ad Moenum: Typis Ioannis Wecheli, sumtibus vero Theodori de Bry anno MDXC. Venales reperiuntur in officina Sigismundi Feirabendii, 1590): illustration vii (image 43), image 69, image 71, image 73, image 75, image 77

Britons lived in a state of savagery but had been civilized by the Romans; in turn, the English would civilize the Indians.

Androgyny was not the only concern for imperial humanists. In many narratives sexual dimorphism tended toward the extremes, portraying Indian women as either bestial and/or victims of a culture which abused and literally consumed them. In his account of Sir Francis Drake's interlude in New Albion, Francis Fletcher described a scene in which Indian women mortified their flesh in sacrifice to their pagan gods. Evoking the self-flagellations of Europe's Catholics, these women

used vnnaturall violence against themselues, crying and shreeking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes, in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their brests...they would with furie cast themselues vpon the ground, neuer respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselues in this manner on hard stones, knobby, hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or what euer else lay in their way...<sup>55</sup>

Appalled by their savagery, Drake commanded his men to read verses from the Bible, sing psalms, and offer prayers to God to enlighten the Indians. Fletcher claimed the Indians sat attentive and requested the Englishmen sing psalms in every future encounter. This reading of the episode demonstrated that a sustained program of conversion would yield civilized Indian subjects for the Crown, with women becoming the entry point for such an evolution.

Imperial humanists often envisaged Englishmen as liberators of Indian women from the oppression of both the Spaniards and their own men. According to Raleigh, in Guiana women were consumable goods indistinguishable from the economy of gold and

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<sup>55</sup> Drake: 71-72

commodities.<sup>56</sup> Topiawari lamented to Raleigh that his men only had three or four wives because his neighbors stole their women to maintain harems of fifty wives, betraying Indian effeminacy with their inordinate desire for women. Raleigh wrote, “for the hope of many of those women they more desire the warre, then either for Golde, or for the recouery of their ancient territories.” In other cases, Arwacan women were literally consumed as their men traded them to nearby cannibals for hatchets. The Spaniards also proved unchivalrous, trafficking with cannibals to obtain women for sale in the West Indian slave markets and even impregnating them for the sole purpose of fetching higher prices.<sup>57</sup> Stories of Spanish incontinence with Indian women led Raleigh to emphasize the restraint of Englishmen in their conduct, framing the English as the champions and liberators of Indian women through the imposition of a program of civilization.

In addition to liberating Arwacan women from abuse, the civilizing mission would free them of the burden of behaving unnaturally as providers to their idle and drunken husbands. Raleigh remarked that Arwacan men were the “the greatest garousers and drunkards of the world,” in contrast to the temperance demonstrated by the Englishmen, only drinking “till they were reasonable pleasant.” Constantly inebriated, Arwacan men did little more than hunt, fish, or engage in entertainment when they were not at war, leaving the women to “doe all else of seruice and labour.” Arwacan men also did not husband the land (“as at home they vse neither planting nor other manurance”), a defect

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<sup>56</sup> Kathryn Schwarz, *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2000): 72-73

<sup>57</sup> Raleigh, *The discoverie of... Guiana*: 33-34, 72, 78; Edward Daunce, *A briefe discourse of the Spanish state vvith a dialogue annexed intituled Philobasilis*, (Imprynted at London: By Richard Field, dwelling in the Blacke Friers neere Ludgate, 1590): 10-11



the English would correct with a colony of English husbandmen who would turn Indian men into laborers, thus disciplining them into appropriate stewards of the land.<sup>58</sup>

Raleigh placed Amazons at the other extreme of female behavior. Stories of overtly masculine women betrayed imperial humanists' ambivalence about female rule and the necessity of civility to ensure social order. Tales of warrior women had their genesis in ancient histories, but they found new resonance as metaphors for the strange and impenetrable landscape of the New World. When Raleigh traveled to Guiana, his study of narratives by Sir John Mandeville and Agustin de Zárate predisposed him to accept the reality of Amazons in South America. Using a surprisingly neutral tone, Zárate described a tribe of "valiant" women who shunned male company except to procreate. These women possessed land that contained significant mineral resources, which they used to pay tribute to their overlord.<sup>59</sup> Referencing the literary inheritance of the ancients and Spaniards, in addition to his conversations with Indians, Raleigh positioned himself as an authoritative source to affirm the existence of the Amazons. His relation, however, betrayed his discomfort with female authority despite his loyal service to the Queen.

In *The discoverie of...Guiana* (1596), Raleigh located the realm of Amazons sixty leagues up the namesake river. According to Raleigh, once each year—in April he supposed—the Amazons would assemble on their borders to select male lovers from among the "kings" of the surrounding tribes. The Amazon queens received first choice of lovers and the rest cast lots. They would then spend a month in an orgy of sex, drinking, feasting, and dancing in hopes of conceiving new generations of daughters. The sons produced from these liaisons were returned to the fathers, while those men who

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<sup>58</sup> Raleigh, *The discoverie of... Guiana*: 42-43, 54-55, 92

<sup>59</sup> Zárate: ch. 2 (book 3), ch. 4 (book 4)

sired daughters received gifts. The Amazons, however, did not remain celibate the remainder of the year; instead, they raped captured men before executing them, placing men in a position normally reserved for women in wars. Raleigh concluded: “for they are said to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to inuade their territories.”<sup>60</sup>

In Raleigh’s description, Amazons rejected patriarchal norms, and he justified their conquest by Englishmen as necessary to return Amazons to their natural position of subordination to men. According to Louis A. Montrose, the Amazon narrative showed a fixation with how other societies, real or imagined, handled political succession and social reproduction, especially in light of having a Queen who refused to marry or name a successor. Montrose argues: “This Amazonian anticulture precisely inverts European norms of political authority, sexual license, marriage and child-rearing practices, and inheritance rules.”<sup>61</sup> While Raleigh could not easily express his general sense that female rule was anathema, his discomfort about the Amazon’s sexual autonomy suggested a parallel to the Queen’s assertion of her own right to choose favorites and reject a consort.

Though Raleigh could not establish mastery over the Queen, he could negate the sense of anxiety female rule provoked at home through imperial mastery over the Amazons and Guiana abroad. In the conclusion of the *The discoverie of... Guiana*, Raleigh claimed the various tribes of Guiana would support the Queen’s overlordship, including the Amazons: “those women shall heereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbors, but also to inuade and conquere so

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<sup>60</sup> Raleigh, *The discoverie of... Guiana*: 23-24

<sup>61</sup> Montrose, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery”: 26

great Empyres and so farre remoued.”<sup>62</sup> Authorized as a sovereign to be a woman out of place, Raleigh suggested the Queen should use her power as a prince—here coded in masculine terms—to put other women in their proper domestic place.<sup>63</sup> In this way, the monstrous rule of Amazons would be corrected, and Western patriarchal norms could be extended to Guiana. Although the Queen would remain impenetrable in her virgin state, conquest of the Amazons would make Guiana penetrable to English overlordship. Moreover, if English gentlemen found female rule a threat to their masculinity, imperialism and the domination of indigenous peoples offered them the opportunity to prove their manhood was unaffected.

#### The Civilizing Mission in Practice

The civilizing mission was not all ideology. Imperial humanists also meditated on the ways that bringing Indians to Western civility would facilitate the success of colonial ventures. In preparation for the Roanoke colony, Sir Walter Raleigh received several letters of advice about how best to manage indigenous peoples for the colony’s security. The anonymous author of “For Master Rauleys Viage” advocated a relatively benign native policy, proposing several rules to govern Anglo-Indian relations. Foremost was that the soldiers must not violate any Indian women, a rule Hariot claimed was simple to observe, as the English were not attracted to Indian women.<sup>64</sup> There were rules against soldiers using Indians as slave labor, prohibiting their mistreatment, and forbidding

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<sup>62</sup> Raleigh, *The discoverie of... Guiana*: 101

<sup>63</sup> Montrose: 29

<sup>64</sup> Hariot: 29

soldiers from entering Indian homes without permission.<sup>65</sup> The author intended these prohibitions to safeguard the settlement from Indian hostility, which would endanger England's colonization project. Better to have Indians as allies than to distract English attention from the Spanish problem. This native policy also differentiated England's imperial agenda from Spain's more coercive and oppressive one.

Even though the elder Richard Hakluyt suggested ways the colonists might strategically use violence in their conquest, his advice to Raleigh on planting a colony envisioned amicable relations with the Algonquians as most conducive to a successful planting:

[F]or a gentle course without crueltie and tyrannie best answereth the profession of a Christian, best planteth Christian religion; making our seating most void of blood, most profitable in trade of merchandise, most firme and stable, and least subject to remove by practise 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 safetie, and to be knowen to be more able to scourge the people there, civill or savage, than willing to offer any violence.<sup>66</sup>

Hakluyt hoped the English could draw the Algonquians into commerce and, through English goods, bring them to civility. If the Algonquians rejected English overtures, he thought the just administration of punishment in proportion to the wrongs was a better strategy than the indiscriminate violence of the Spaniards. In order to ensure the proper handling of the Algonquians, the elder Hakluyt counseled Raleigh to employ experienced captains of "mild disposition and great judgement" and men knowledgeable in the art of fortification.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Anonymous, "Anonymous notes for the guidance of Raleigh and Cavdendish," from *The Roanoke Voyages*, edited by D.B. Quinn: 138

<sup>66</sup> Hariot: 40

<sup>67</sup> Ibid: 41

In spite of the advice Raleigh received, the garrison model of the first Roanoke colony tended to encourage disregard of a humane native policy and little interest in the civilizing mission, since most of the company only had short-term gains in mind. Though Ralph Lane was optimistic about the colony's success, almost immediately after landing in Roanoke the English breached the trust with the Algonquians. On July 16, Sir Richard Grenville ordered Captain Philip Amadas to return to Aquascogoc "to demaund a siluer cup which one of the Sauages had stollen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled."<sup>68</sup> The Algonquians also suffered devastating epidemics of diseases brought by contact with the English. According to Lane, the *weroance* Pemisapan (Wingina) felt the English were "the seruants of God...not subiect to bee destroyed by them" because they remained untouched by disease while the Algonquians died. Despite thinking the English had God's protection, the Algonquians came to resent the settlers' total dependence on them for victuals. According to Lane's own account, the settlers could not fish, as they had no skill to make fishing weirs and they lacked grain to grow corn.<sup>69</sup>

By the spring of 1586, Pemisapan started to plan the destruction of the English settlement. In an effort to sever ties with the English without direct confrontation, Pemisapan told Lane an alliance to destroy the garrison had formed among nearby

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<sup>68</sup> Anonymous, "The voiage made by Sir Richard Greeneuile, for Sir VValter Raleigh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585," from *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599): 253

<sup>69</sup> Ralph Lane, "An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. vntill the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh," from *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599): 260-261

villages, in hopes Lane would precipitate a confrontation. As predicted, Lane went to Albemarle Sound and, believing he had stumbled upon the confederacy in the midst of planning an attack, he assailed the village of Chowanoke, taking the *weroance* Menatonon and his son hostage. The neighboring Algonquians abandoned their villages, taking all their victuals with them and leaving the Englishmen with no supplies. During interrogation, Menatonon revealed that Pemisapan had organized the confederacy against the settlers in hopes of either starving them or killing them. The plan nearly succeeded, with Lane's men reduced to eating their guard dogs and sassafras pottage when their food supply disappeared.<sup>70</sup>

Though the English secured Menatonon's cooperation with the captivity of his son, the settlers' Indian problems continued. Indeed, when Lane took a small group in search of the copper promised by Menatonon, Algonquians attacked them. The Algonquians did not injure any of the settlers and fled as soon as the English found their weapons.<sup>71</sup> Apparently convinced Lane and his men would not return, Pemisapan rallied his people against the remaining settlers and encouraged them "to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God,"<sup>72</sup> suggesting their rejection of the civilizing mission and justifying Lane's recourse to violence against them. Though English allies among the Roanoke Indians counseled Pemisapan to accommodate the English, Pemisapan remained certain the English were the source of Algonquian troubles and resolved to abandon Roanoke. As the English allies died, Pemisapan saw their deaths as confirmation that

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<sup>70</sup> Lane, "An account of the particularities of the employments": 258

<sup>71</sup> Ibid: 259

<sup>72</sup> Ibid: 260

accommodating the English would mean the destruction of his people.<sup>73</sup> In May 1586, Pemisapan ordered the destruction of all the weirs around Roanoke Island, and he moved his people to Dasemunkepeuc, where they planted a second corn crop and used copper obtained through trade with the English to purchase military assistance from several surrounding villages.

Pemisapan's abandonment of Roanoke forced Lane to scatter his men in search of food, which exposed them to Indian attacks. Deciding he would rather take offensive action, Lane commanded his men to assail Dasemunkepeuc. Lane first conducted a raid to steal all of their canoes so Pemisapan could not communicate with his allies. During the raid the English killed several Indians, two by decapitation. The next morning, the first of June, Lane used a pretext to enter Dasemunkepeuc and staged an ambush. When Lane found himself amidst seven or eight *weroances*, he cried, "Christ our victory," signaling his soldiers to fire upon the village and "immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purposed for vs."<sup>74</sup> In the skirmish, Pemisapan was shot and beheaded. Though the actions of the settlers had caused the hostilities, Lane's pamphlet sought to demonstrate the deceptiveness and cruelty of the Algonquians as justification for attacking them. To save face, Lane claimed that when Pemisapan refused to victual the settlers, "I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses."

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<sup>73</sup> Oberg: 39

<sup>74</sup> Lane, "An account of the particularities of the employments": 263

Thomas Hariot's account of the Roanoke colony functioned as a recuperative work in which he countered Lane's negative portrayal of the Indians and castigated the settlers for their conduct. Though Hariot concluded the Algonquians could not muster a great enough force to repel the English, especially when the imbalance in weaponry was taken into account, he believed the English should conquer the Indians through friendship, introduction to civility, and conversion to Christianity.<sup>75</sup> Hariot described the Algonquians as almost childish in their fascination with English trinkets, yet "very ingenious" and "they shewe excellencie of wit" even though they lack "such tooles...such craftes, sciences and artes as wee." Hariot conjectured that by exposing the Algonquians to superior English knowledge and mechanical arts "they shoulde desire our friendships & loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs." In tandem with "good gouernment," education would bring the Algonquians to civility and Christianity.<sup>76</sup> However ethnocentric Hariot's perspective, his vision of the English empire was inclusive: Hariot saw barbarous peoples united with Englishmen, using English civility as the binding mechanism of their union.<sup>77</sup> Hariot could not fathom the notion that the Indians might not want to become civilized by English standards.

In contrast with Ralph Lane, who defended the colony-as-garrison model, Hariot believed the best way to trade with and civilize the Algonquians was through pacific means, not force. Hariot wrote, "although some of our companie to wardes the ende of the yeare, shewed themselues too fierce, in slaying some of the people, in some towns,

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<sup>75</sup> Hariot: 24-25

<sup>76</sup> Ibid: 25

<sup>77</sup> Oberg: 7



vpō causes that on our part, might easily enough haue been borne withal.”<sup>78</sup> In spite of provocations, Hariot did not blame the Algonquians for the violence committed against the settlers; he thought English attitudes toward the Algonquians needed to change. Hariot’s humanism led him to preach restraint and a reconsideration of native policy in light of the failure at Roanoke:

And whatsoeuer els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selues neede nothing at all to be feared. The best neuerthesse in this as in all actions besides is to be endeouored and hoped, & of the worst that may happen notice to bee taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.<sup>79</sup>

Believing the Algonquians were intelligent and not inherently inferior, Hariot foresaw no difficulty in future relations with the Indians unless Englishmen refused to treat them with respect.

### Conclusion

Though imperial humanists eagerly supported the civilizing mission and promoted it as England’s gift to American Indians, less savory aspects of the mission were apparent from the outset. For many imperial humanists, the most salient feature of the civilizing mission was its encouragement of Indians’ desire for English goods and facilitation of the extraction of commodities from North America. George Peckham alluded to a darker purpose of the civilizing mission—to domesticate Indians as serfs for English landlords. In his 1583 pamphlet, he used a parable of Joshua, leader of the Israelites, to justify using Indian labor:

In like manner he burned the cittie *Hay*, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged vp their King. But for so much as the *Gebionites* (fearing the like euent) sent

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<sup>78</sup> Hariot: 30

<sup>79</sup> Ibid: 30

Ambassadors vnto *Iosua*, to intreate for grace, fauour, and peace: he commaunded that all their liues should be sauēd, and that they should be admitted to the companie of the children of Israel. Yet vnderstanding afterwards they wrought this by a pollicie, he vsed them as drudges to hewe wood & to carie water, and other necessaries for his people. Thus beganne this valiaunt Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and neuer left till he had subdued all the *Hethites*, *Amorites*, *Cananites*, *Pheresites*, *Heuites*, and *Iebusites*, with all their Princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, and diuers other straunge Nations besides, whose lands and dominions, he wholie deuīded among Gods people.<sup>80</sup>

In this allegory, the English became substitutes for the Israelites, and Indians stood in for the indigenous Canaanites. If Canaan was God's gift to the Israelites, then North America was God's gift to the English, and they had every right to conquer its people and use them in any way that facilitated exploitation of the land.

Despite this ruthless intent, Peckham did not see a conflict because he believed the English sought to bestow upon Indians a greater gift than they would be recompensed for in commodities and resources. For Peckham, the Indians' lack of intensive agriculture, ordered labor, and "vnseemly customs" were burdens only the English could relieve. Through contact with the English, American Indians would be taught husbandry, "mecanicall occupations, artes, and liberal Sciences," and saved from neighboring cannibals.<sup>81</sup> In this way, imperial humanists could frame their intentions in North America as not needing anything, or at least requiring less from America than was offered to its people. Therefore, they argued, virtue rather than avarice prompted Englishmen to adventure, making their enterprises worthy of state support. That Indians would resist their subjugation was expected. Just as wives balked at the dominion of their husbands, Indians resisted English overlordship; nevertheless, it was the duty of English "husbands" to bring their American Indian "wives" to civility through subjection.

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<sup>80</sup> Peckham: leaf 36

<sup>81</sup> *ibid*: leaf 56

## EPILOGUE

On the morning of his execution for treason, 29 October 1618, Sir Walter Raleigh approached the scaffold “with a cheerfull countenance” and maintained his innocence to the last. After removing his doublet and gown, he asked the executioner to see the axe and felt along its edge; with a smile, he told the sheriff “this is a sharpe medecine, but it is a physitian that will cure all diseases.”<sup>1</sup> Raleigh asked the crowd to pray for God to give him strength, and when the executioner asked for forgiveness, Raleigh laid his hand on the man’s shoulder and pardoned him. It took two blows to sever his head, which was then wrapped in a red leather bag and Raleigh’s velvet gown. Raleigh’s demeanor at his execution was his last exercise of the humanist chivalry he had promoted throughout his life; as Stephen Greenblatt noted “a ‘good death’ was no accident of blind courage; it was the result of discipline, intelligence, timing, and careful preparation.”<sup>2</sup> The man who had once written, “for I shall yet live to see it an Englishe nation”<sup>3</sup> had failed in his life’s work to found an English colony in the New World.

The fortunes of imperial humanists waned long before Raleigh’s execution. The disastrous outcomes of the Roanoke colonies dampened enthusiasm for more ventures

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Overbury, *The Arraingment and Conviction of Sr Walter Rawleigh, at the Kings Bench-Barre at Winchester. on the 17. of November 1603*, (London: Printed by William Wilson, for Abel Roper at the Sun over against St. Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1648.): 27, 34-35

<sup>2</sup> Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973): 15

<sup>3</sup> Walter Raleigh, “To Sir Robert Cecil from Weymouth, 21 August 1602,” from *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, edited by Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999): 241

and came to symbolize the perversion of the public good by the pursuit of private profit.<sup>4</sup> By the late-1580s, the specter of war with Spain diverted attention away from colonial projects. Even Raleigh, newly promoted to Captain of the Guard and feeling insecure as the Queen became infatuated with the young Essex, had little interest in colonization schemes. Though Richard Hakluyt encouraged Raleigh to recommit to a Virginia colony, by 1589 Raleigh accepted that the Anglo-Spanish War had temporarily cooled interest in overseas expansion. In March 1589, overburdened by his own debts, Raleigh assigned almost all of his rights under the Virginia patent to his creditors.<sup>5</sup> Raleigh always wondered what happened to the lost colonists, sending several expeditions to Virginia, but for the remainder of his life Guiana became his ruling passion.

Undaunted, Hakluyt continued to promote North American colonization, becoming an early investor in the Virginia Company. In 1589, Hakluyt published the first edition of the *The Principal Navigations*, a compendium of English voyages intended to guide future imperialists. According to Michael Leroy Oberg, Hakluyt thereby “contributed to the creation of the national myth that long before such expansion actually had taken place, men of his nation had carried the standard of English liberty far and wide across the globe.”<sup>6</sup> Hakluyt believed so strongly in the myth that he, like Thomas Hariot, could not fathom the idea that indigenous peoples would not desire the fruits of English civilization. As Raleigh became more involved in the Anglo-Spanish War and his Guiana

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<sup>4</sup> John White, “To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord,” and “The fift voyage of M. Iohn VVhite into the VVest Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.” from *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, (Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599): 288-295

<sup>5</sup> Benians: 72

<sup>6</sup> Oberg: 18

project, his correspondence with Hakluyt diminished, and after his 1603 treason conviction the two men rarely had contact.

While imperial propaganda enjoyed significant popularity after the Armada invasion, the death of Elizabeth's "old guard" on the Privy Council—Leicester in 1588, Walsingham in 1590, and Hatton in 1591—and Raleigh's 1592 exile proved disastrous for imperial humanists' ability to attract state interest in colonization. The Privy Council was often hostile to Raleigh's plans due to Lord Burghley's increasing conservatism and the factions that developed around Robert Cecil and the Earl of Essex. Essex became the Privy Council's military expert, using the position to champion expeditions in which he and other young nobles could gain combat experience and sate their pent-up desire for martial glory. Essex's aspirations largely rejected the humanist position of state service in favor of traditional chivalric glory. To Essex, England's imperial policy was limited to the war with Spain.<sup>7</sup>

Despite these ideological differences, Raleigh collaborated with Essex on several military expeditions in hopes Essex could persuade the Privy Council to support colonial ventures in Guiana. This alliance finally paid off with Raleigh's inclusion in the successful mission to Cadiz in 1596, for which the Queen invited him back to Court. Raleigh's restoration at Court enabled him to engineer an entente between Essex and Cecil in order to advance an imperial agenda in the Privy Council that reflected both activist and pragmatist concerns. Less conservative than his father, Cecil shared a position similar to Raleigh's on England's maritime policy and provided a good balance for Essex's belligerence. For a short time, imperial humanists once again found themselves playing the role of mediator in the imperial faction, but the failure of the 1597

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<sup>7</sup> Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire*: 170-171; MacCaffrey: 466-468

Azores expedition led the entente to disintegrate, with the influence of imperial humanists dissolving along with it. The end of Elizabeth's reign marked the re-emergence of the pragmatists as the dominant force in the imperial faction, with no new attempts at establishing colonies in North America and fewer missions against the Spanish.<sup>8</sup>

### Conclusion

The question remains, why did imperial humanists fail to persuade their peers? In large part, imperial humanists were hoisted by their own petard. With the Crown reticent to divert resources away from the Continental warfront, imperialists had little choice but to augment the state's meager investments with the promise of profit to private investors.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, in spite of their desire to subordinate the profit motive to state interests, there emerged a noticeable disconnect between imperial humanist ideals and the actual practice of imperialism. Most colonial ventures disintegrated into privateering expeditions, as plunder became the chief means of returning subscribers' investments. This shifted the focus of ventures away from establishing viable settlements to short-term gains. By the end of the Tudor period dreams of an English *El Dorado* proved a chimera, and imperial humanists, especially Raleigh, found themselves lampooned in print and on stage for the high-minded idealism they used to conceal their base desire for treasure.<sup>10</sup> Unable to

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<sup>8</sup> MacCaffrey: 504-511; Guy: 441

<sup>9</sup> Guy: 343, 347-8- To get a sense of how little the Crown invested in imperial ventures, Guy estimated that from 1589 to 1595, Elizabeth sent about 28,000 troops and spent about £1.05 million in France and the Netherlands. In contrast, the Crown invested just over £200,000 in naval voyages in the same period, with many spectacular disasters.

<sup>10</sup> Fitzmaurice: 79-82—One such work was *Eastward Ho!* (1605) in which John Marston, Ben Jonson, and George Chapman satirized Raleigh's *Discoverie of...Guiana*. Joseph Hall's *The discovery of*

secure the Crown's financial support, imperial humanists unintentionally reinforced suspicions that the profit motive and the common good could not be reconciled.

The overwhelming focus of imperial humanist economic arguments on establishing patrimonies also undermined their influence on imperial policy. Noticing courtiers comprised a significant proportion of New World adventurers, Carole Shammas pointed out, "To these court gentlemen the western hemisphere was primarily a place where one created dominions built on the gold and silver tributes of conquered Indians." When this notion proved bankrupt, some adventurers tried to give their projects a commercial orientation but in doing so lost the enthusiasm of their peers to continue such ventures. After the end of the Anglo-Spanish War in 1604, Englishmen started to appreciate the role of commerce in building a strong economy, and "colonization became identified with the general effort to build up English trade," attracting widespread public support and the financial backing of merchants, though little interest from gentlemen.

Moreover, colonization projects driven by commerce provided a few benefits compared to the program suggested by imperial humanists: trade would supply short-term returns on subscriptions, thus generating the continuous investment needed to maintain a colony for its first years; in turn, settlers could commit to agricultural production "provided this meant a connection with the English market economy,"<sup>11</sup> which ensured the long-term survival of the colony. Furthermore, while the search for minerals harmed efforts to proselytize to indigenous peoples, Jacobean colonial theorists

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*a new world* (1609) critiqued their fundamental assumption that civic humanism could overcome the temptations of vice. There were also non-satirical works critical of imperial humanism, such as Samuel Daniel's "Epistle. To Prince Henry" (1609-10).

<sup>11</sup> Shammas, "English commercial development and American colonization 1560-1620": 173- 174

pointed to commerce as a less corruptible means by which to prosecute the civilizing mission.

Given their own emphasis on colonies as a source for commodities and trade, it would be incorrect to suggest imperial humanist arguments completely failed. Unfortunately, the pursuit of commercial enterprise carried a stigma among gentlemen through the mid-seventeenth century, leaving most colonization to merchants. After the Civil War, the economic benefits of overseas colonies began to manifest and yield tangible results for the Crown, stimulating state investment in projects.<sup>12</sup> Though imperial humanists did not convince their compatriots that a humanist agenda could neutralize the profit motive, once most of the colonies became Crown colonies—thus circumscribing the influence of “private” interests—the idea that colonies could solve England’s economic woes eventually outweighed objections against the financial rewards of the system.

Just as their economic arguments failed to motivate colonization, imperial humanist social arguments largely fell on deaf ears. Jacobean colonial theorists rejected the imperial humanist ideal of reproducing English institutions abroad and left colonial charters vague about the extent to which citizens would maintain their rights as Englishmen in the colonies or how they would be governed. Even with the inherent class bias of their humanist rhetoric, imperial humanists demonstrated rather more faith in reforming the lower classes into orderly, industrious subjects—under the governance of gentlemen—who could then be entrusted to produce stable overseas colonies. In both Ireland and Jamestown, charter companies showed a marked distrust of the English lower

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<sup>12</sup> George Louis Beer, “The Early English Colonial Movement” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 2 (June 1908): 246, 257; Beer, “The Early English Colonial Movement”: 77, 78, 80, 82



classes because they did not share the same sense of cultural superiority over indigenous peoples, as evidenced by the frequency with which they intermarried or “went native.”<sup>13</sup> Promoters even went so far as to warn that the unskilled and indigent were unwelcome in the colonies,<sup>14</sup> disavowing the imperial humanist argument that colonies would create skilled workers. Seeing the lower classes as a source of disorder, colonial theorists came to favor martial law as the best means of colonial administration. While imperial humanists advocated an internal civilizing mission to inculcate all men with the sense of their English superiority *before* sending them abroad, Jacobean colonial theorists doubted the efficacy of such a program.

Of all the imperial humanist arguments, the civilizing mission was the most persuasive and irreparably harmed by the reality of colonial life. Though the civilizing mission was an objective of the Virginia Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company, efforts at assimilation collapsed as relations with American Indians deteriorated. The Virginia Company originally promoted a native policy of amity and civilization, claiming “there is roome in the land for them and us,” but after the 1622 attacks the Company abandoned their conversion attempts and ordered the colonists to retaliate against the Indians until they were “no longer a people upon the face of the earth.”<sup>15</sup> While Elizabethan imperial humanists had relied upon the civilizing mission as the primary distinction between England and Spain’s imperial identities, by the late-1620s English

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<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Canny, “The Permissive Frontier: the problem of social control in English settlements in Ireland and Virginia 1550-1650,” in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, edited by K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979): 17-18

<sup>14</sup> Canny, “The Origins of Empire”: 9-10

<sup>15</sup> Alfred A. Cave, “Canaanites in a Promised Land: The American Indian and the Providential Theory of Empire,” *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Autumn 1988): 283-284

promoters of colonization rarely made it part of their agenda. Indeed, J. H. Elliott and Susan Thorne observed that as domestic religious tensions mounted, the attention of the civilizing mission became the colonists themselves.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, a weakened Spanish Empire made universal Protestantism and the conversion of natives less relevant as a justification for empire. Instead, imperialists relied upon the legal concept of *res nullius* to legitimize dispossessing Indians.

The most salient feature of the Jacobean period, and the factor which most contributed to the end of imperial humanism, was the King's increasingly hostile attitude toward his ruling classes, thus limiting opportunities to fulfill the *vita activa*. Sir Walter Raleigh had spent his career trying to serve the Crown while building an enduring patrimony for his heirs. In empire, Raleigh thought he found the best path to accomplishing these goals, reconciling what often seemed to be the conflicting aims of chivalry with the *vita activa*. For men like Raleigh, the Tudor period produced unique circumstances in which to flourish: grammar schools and universities replaced aristocratic households as the locus of training male elites, giving more men access to state offices and patronage; the development of state bureaucracy facilitated social mobility; and competition with other Europeans led some Englishmen to look outward and meditate on England's identity as an imperial nation, both in the strict sense of internal sovereignty and the larger sense of a territorial empire.

More importantly, Raleigh had received his political education under the guidance of a female monarch who could not afford to alienate her ruling classes by rejecting their advice or service. Even as the Queen asserted herself as the final arbiter in all decisions,

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<sup>16</sup> John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006): 211; Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions & the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999): 37-38

she often couched her actions in feminized terms, claiming “I’m but a woman”<sup>17</sup> and calling her subjects “all my husbands,” suggesting a certain level of reciprocity between the monarchy and magistracy. Raleigh’s fatal flaw was the inability to comprehend that James did not approach his royal prerogative with the same caution as had Elizabeth. In his first speech to Parliament in 1604, James declared: “I am the husband and all the whole isle is my lawful wife; I am the head and it is my body; I am the shepherd and it is my flock.”<sup>18</sup> The King’s use of the domestic metaphor set the tone for his increasingly absolutist reign; under the Stuarts, there were fewer opportunities for gentlemen to act as the noble counselor, and the monarchy relied less upon the advice and consent of Parliament. The ideal of service was fast becoming difficult for gentlemen to fulfill, and appeals to the *vita activa* held little sway for the King. The Guiana debacle demonstrated this growing divide between the monarchy and the gentry.

Removed from political life and apparently incapable of adapting to the new monarchy, Raleigh dreamed of a redemptive voyage to Guiana to finally discover the mine he insisted must exist. When Raleigh proposed the second Guiana venture to Secretary of State Ralph Winwood, he saw an opportunity to perform a great service to the Crown, end his long imprisonment, and restore his patrimony. Winwood and the King saw the prospect of reversing the insolvency that marked the Jacobean period. The voyage carried with it the potential for diplomatic backlash since the Spanish contested England’s claim to the territory, a risk the King was willing to assume if the venture

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<sup>17</sup> Mary Thomas Crane, “‘Video et Taceo’: Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 28, no.1, The English Renaissance (Winter 1988): 11

<sup>18</sup> James I, “First Speech to Parliament (1604),” from *The Past Speaks: Sources and Problems in English History, volume I: to 1688*, edited by Lacey Baldwin Smith and Jean Reeder Smith, (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1993): 329

yielded treasure. If it failed he could sacrifice Raleigh, whom he refused to pardon before the expedition commenced, in order to preserve relations with the Spanish.

After the failure of his second Guiana voyage in 1617, Raleigh knew the opportunity to recover his former glory was lost. As a result of the voyage, Raleigh's namesake son perished; Lawrence Keymis, his once loyal lieutenant, committed suicide rather than return to England in dishonor; and he failed to find the gold mines that would lead to a colony and be his lasting memorial to the nation. In his deathbed letter to King James, Raleigh wrote, "name, blood gentility, or estate I have no more; no not so much as a being, no not so much as a *vitam planta*," expressing bitterness that a lifetime of service had left him nothing to bequeath to posterity. Raleigh's account of the disastrous Guiana expedition revealed his profound disillusionment: "nay if I had not loved the King truly, and trusted in his goodnesse somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death."<sup>19</sup> Though Raleigh had always taken pride in his obedience to the Crown, he disputed the validity of his execution sentence in light of his late service to the Crown, proclaiming he was ill-used in the proceedings.

Using the imperial humanist frame, Raleigh addressed the charges against him as a discourse on England's imperial identity, positioning himself as the loyal servant betrayed by a weak King goaded into an unwise decision by the dishonorable Spaniards. The crux of the charges against Raleigh was that his men attacked a Spanish fort, a breach of the peace and something Sir Francis Bacon claimed the King had explicitly forbidden

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<sup>19</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *Sir Walter Rawleigh his apologie for his voyage to Guiana by Sir Walter Rawleigh*, (London: Printed by T.W. for Humphrey Moseley and are to be sold at the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1650.): 69

Raleigh as a concession to Spain.<sup>20</sup> Rehearsing the Black Legend, Raleigh wondered at the cowardice expected of him and his men: "I hope that the Ambassadour [*Gondomar*] doth not esteeme us for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance."<sup>21</sup> For Raleigh, the King's command that Englishmen not retaliate against Spanish aggression was tantamount to endorsing cowardice; thus, with the honor of Englishmen at stake, Raleigh would not concede that his men had taken an illegitimate course.

Just as important as the question of honor was the attack on the legitimacy of England's imperial claims. Raleigh believed the Spanish king used the Guiana voyage to invalidate England's claims to New World possessions, thus calling their imperial identity into question. Raleigh asserted England's title to Guiana and accused the Spanish of unlawfully squatting on the King's lands.<sup>22</sup> He also charged the King with failing to protect English territories:

For first it weakens his Majesties title to the Country or quits it; Secondly, there is no King that hath ever given the least way to any other King or State in the traffick of the lives or goods of his Subjects, to wit in our case, that it shall be lawfull for the Spaniards to murther us, either by force or treason, and unlawfull for us to defend our selves and pay them with their owne Coyne, for this superiority and inferiority is a thing which no absolute Monarch ever yielded to, or ever will. Thirdly, it shews the English bears greater respect to the Spaniards, and is more doubtfull of his forces...<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Sir Francis Bacon, *A declaration of the demeanor and cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, aswell in his voyage, as in, and sithence his returne and of the true motiues and inducements which occasioned His Maiestie to proceed in doing iustice vpon him, as hath bene done.*, (London: Printed by Bonham Norton and Iohn Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie, 1618): 6

<sup>21</sup> Raleigh, *Sir Walter Rawleigh his apologie*: 49, 57

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*: 61

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*: 65-66

Implicit in Raleigh's defense was the suggestion of the King's effeminacy and inability to protect England's sovereignty from foreign incursions. From the early years of his reign, rumors of effeminacy and pacifism plagued King James, and Raleigh's challenge invoked these doubts about the monarch's masculinity. In this way, Raleigh unwisely provoked the King into a demonstration of his manhood via the royal prerogative, resulting in the reinstatement of Raleigh's 1603 death sentence. Despite Raleigh's declaration that he had performed his duty according to the terms privately discussed with the King, the Chief Justice rejected Raleigh's argument and ordered his immediate execution.

After Raleigh's execution, the Crown faced open criticism of the sentence, and the King employed Sir Francis Bacon to justify the execution. Appropriating the language of imperial humanists, Bacon wrote that while Raleigh seduced the King with promises of a gold mine, the King's apprehension of the potential benefits to the commonwealth overcame his doubts about Raleigh. Arguing the King could not "deny vnto his people the aduerture and hope of so great Riches," Bacon claimed in "his Maiesties Politique and Magnanimous courses" the only honorable course was "to nourish and incourage Noble and Generous enterprises, for Plantations, Discoueries, and opening of new Trades."<sup>24</sup> According to the patent, the goals of the venture were the discovery of new commodities to benefit the commonwealth, the encouragement of "others in the like laudable Iourneys and enterprises," the civilization "of sauage people," and increased trade.<sup>25</sup> While the King assumed the humanist mantle, exercising absolute authority on behalf of the commonwealth, Bacon constructed Raleigh as a traitor to the imperial

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<sup>24</sup> Bacon, *A declaration of the demeanor and carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh*: 4-5

<sup>25</sup> Bacon: 9,11

humanist ideal—disloyal, greedy, and irresponsible as a commander.<sup>26</sup> The Guiana episode demonstrated that although imperial humanists no longer had political influence at Court, their rhetoric continued to resonate with the Jacobean public.

In addition to their influence on propaganda, imperial humanists helped later generations conceive of themselves as a masculine, Protestant, and imperial nation, whose destiny was to spread their civilization to the far reaches of the globe. As both D.B. Quinn and David Armitage suggested, this psychological preparation formed a necessary adjunct to generating the material means for colonization from the seventeenth century onwards. Robert Johnson argued that imperial works promoted in the British settler community the “ideals of fair play, modesty, self-sacrifice, duty, endurance, resourcefulness, protection of women and the vulnerable, integrity and cheerfulness,”<sup>27</sup> even if they often failed to adhere to those values. This idealism let Englishmen envision their empire as different in kind than the Spanish Empire, as fundamentally liberationist in orientation. Of course, Native Americans and future colonial subjects would disagree that the empire had liberated them

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid: 27, 34, 36-37

<sup>27</sup> Robert Johnson, *British Imperialism*, (Gordonsville, VA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003): 10

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all primary sources were accessed via Early English Books Online (EEBO) Database



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