

The Absence of America on the Early Modern Stage

by

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To my parents

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Abstract

The response of Renaissance drama to English settlement in the New World was muted, even though the so-called golden age of Shakespeare coincided with the so-called golden age of exploration. No play performed before the closure of the theatres in 1642 is set in the Americas. A handful represents Native American characters. Few plays treat colonization as central to the plot. Nevertheless, advocates of colonialism bemoaned how the stage treated transatlantic enterprise and proclaimed London's playing companies to be its enemies. In order to understand the nature of these complaints, as well as the attitudes of players, playwrights, and playgoers towards emerging English imperialism and westward expansion, this study juxtaposes a number of sites of cultural performance: playhouse drama, court masques, civic pageants, propaganda tracts, sermons, travel accounts, overseas trading company documents, private correspondence, and maps and other cartographic/geographical records. This interdisciplinary method reveals that, although it did not represent America directly, drama appropriated and disseminated knowledge that circulated out of the Atlantic colonies through official and unofficial channels, much to the chagrin of their promoters. By so doing it circulated critique, concern, and mockery about English activity in the New World. Renaissance Drama perpetuated the idea that transatlantic trade was unwise or the purview of the corrupt; it associated colonists and investors both with excessive wealth and with bankruptcy, and with lust, greed, and violence; it branded the religious mission of converting the natives and clothing them in civility as a failure and a folly. That America was articulated indirectly did not lessen its impact. Because Renaissance drama actively engaged the audience's imagination, what might now be considered the periphery was instead the point of contact between the world invoked by a play and the world outside that play. America emerges

most often at the intersection between performance and playgoer, in plays that feature Christian Europeans disguising themselves as Indians, in plays that are set in London or on unnamed, unknown islands, and even in plays that draw momentarily on America in an aside but whose plots otherwise have little to do with the Atlantic world.

Introduction

“What country friends is this?”

A man went looking for America and couldn't find it anywhere...

Easy Rider, directed by Dennis Hopper, 1969.

I. “My story starts at sea...”

An English woman falls from a boat in a storm, amid flotsam and jetsam, bodies sinking as the vessel flounders. Somehow she washes up alive on a long sandy stretch of shoreline from which the mainland is almost impossible to discern. Gathering herself, she walks up the beach and encounters two figures wearing animal skins. She asks: “What country, friends, is this?” To which the answer comes: “This is America.” “America?” she replies. “Well, good.”

This scene, the original ending of the film *Shakespeare in Love*, is familiar to anyone who has trawled through the extras on the DVD release.¹ Will Shakespeare (Joseph Fiennes) has had to give up his great love Viola de Lesseps (Gwyneth Paltrow) to her new husband, Lord Wessex (Colin Firth), by order of Queen Elizabeth I (Judi Dench). The less-than-happy newlyweds are dispatched to the New World, as Wessex has tobacco plantations to govern in Virginia. By way of consolation the Queen gives Will a new commission for an entertainment to be performed on Twelfth Night at court, which, as the original ending of the film emphasizes, will result in a play inspired by his recent love affair, in which one Viola arrives on a foreign shore after a shipwreck (i.e., it will result in *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*). The film's original ending cuts between Will beginning his latest composition and the events described above, as yet again the bard's life and love blur with his imagination. But, as a number of movie gaff spotters

have pointed out, Wessex and Viola's westward voyage to Virginia is a journey bound to end in disappointment. There was no colony in Virginia in 1593, the year in which *Shakespeare in Love* is set: the Roanoke colonies of the 1580s had been abandoned; Jamestown was not established until 1607; there was no mass production of tobacco until the late 1610s. Quite what Wessex thought he'd find in Virginia is never established; quite where the two Native Americans whom Viola encounters learned their mid-Atlantic English is also something that the film-makers never make clear—perhaps this is why they were cut from the film on its theatrical release.

I have no intention of delving into the anachronisms and mistakes that have been fastidiously documented elsewhere.² Given the fact that *Shakespeare in Love* revels in its historical inaccuracies, it seems a little fussy to do so. What intrigues me about the original ending of the film is its superimposition of the transatlantic onto a period when its centrality was not yet fully manifest or not even there. The fact that the makers of an ostensibly British film felt the need to chart America as Viola's ultimate destination says a great deal about the reliance of the British film industry on the U.S. dollar and the continued dominance of Hollywood in contemporary cultural production: would the film have been as successful in the States had Wessex been heading to Ireland, to the Netherlands, or simply west, to, say, Wessex itself? (Indeed, would it ever have been made in the first place?) What interests me more, however, is the way that the film suggests that Will is inspired to write *Twelfth Night* by Viola's shipwreck on American shores. Both the original and the theatrically-released version of the film are coy about whether Viola's shipwreck is imagined by Will or whether it is real. If this image of Viola on an American shore has at least in part sprung from the fictional Will's imagination, it raises the question whether America would or could have been at the forefront of the real William Shakespeare's imagination in 1593, or even 1601 (the year of the first performance of his "next" play, *Twelfth Night*).³ While it makes sense for the fictional Will to think of his beloved on American sands—after all, he knows that she is heading in that direction—it makes less sense for the real William Shakespeare to be thinking in this direction. England had no permanent colonies

in America until the early seventeenth century; the sustainability of Virginia was far from assured by the time Shakespeare died in 1616: whatever *Shakespeare in Love*'s screenwriters Marc Norman and Tom Stoppard insist in their original screenplay, "This is Illyria, Lady." Shakespeare's plays seem uninterested in America, with one notable exception, *The Tempest*. Yet even here we find the proverbial exception proving the rule: the play is set not in "the still-vexed Bermudas" but in the Mediterranean on a magical island somewhere between Milan and Tunis (1.2.230).⁴

"The Absence of America on the Early Modern Stage" considers the relationship between emerging English imperialism and stage representation, and in particular the ways in which America was and was not visible in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century professional theatre, by examining how playwrights alluded to America, what image of America was being constructed, and how these constructions related to knowledge migrating from the colonies back across the Atlantic. Showing that America was only at the periphery of stage representation, it asks why. It addresses what I call the absence of America, that is, the fact that, even though there are many plays that refer to America, no extant play written before the English Civil War is set in the New World, few if any feature any Native American or Indian characters, and only a handful treat transatlantic colonization as a central concern. Why was the early modern stage unwilling or unable to represent America? America is visualized in paintings, engravings, on maps. American objects were displayed in *wunderkammer*, in pageants, at fairs. And America was staged in annual Lord Mayor's Shows and court and aristocratic masques. This study attempts to account for these differences by asking why America was represented in these mediums but not in the early modern playhouse.

II. America in English Consciousness

The impact of the New World on early modern Europe has been the subject of much discussion and contention. From the eighteenth century onwards, the dominant theory has been that the discovery of America had a shattering and long-reaching effect on the political, economic, social, and cultural systems that characterized the medieval period, and that it instigated the modern age, as feudalism gave way to capitalism.⁵ However, it is debatable to what extent the populations of Europe in the late fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries acknowledged this transition as they lived through it. J.H. Elliott's short but groundbreaking analysis, *The Old World and the New*, challenged the long-held views about the impact of America on European life in the one hundred and fifty years or so after Columbus's landing. As Elliott suggests with the title of his opening chapter, this was an "Uncertain Impact": Europeans seem to have been slow to incorporate America into their worldview. Elliott attributes this protracted adjustment to the quality of information about America circulating in Europe, which gave scant details about the landscape and described Native Americans in terms of European norms. As a result any sense of the radical difference of the New World was not immediately apparent to readers in the Old World. There was also widespread incomprehension, both among eye-witness observers, who struggled to find adequate lexicons to describe what they saw, and among their readers, who were not fully prepared to admit that their world had changed irreversibly. Concludes Elliott, "[w]hether it is a question of the geography of America, its flora and fauna, or the nature of its inhabitants, the same kind of pattern seems constantly to recur in the European response. It is as if, at a certain point, the mental shutters come down; as if, with so much to see and absorb and understand, the effort suddenly becomes too much for them, and Europeans retreat to the half-light of their traditional mental world."⁶

This is especially true in England. While the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French all enjoyed some degree of imperial success (however fleeting), England's involvement in America was sporadic until well into the seventeenth century. English mariners regularly fished in north Atlantic waters—indeed, the first American "visitors" to England were captured by

Bristolian fishermen off Newfoundland in 1501—but by 1600 the English had only a twice-failed colony at Roanoke and some haphazard forays into the slave trade to show for their efforts. Between 1576 and 1578 Martin Frobisher completed three dangerous voyages in search of the Northwest Passage and came into contact with Inuits, four of whom were brought back to London. Yet these voyages did not result in a colony, nor did they uncover any gold, let alone find a way through to the East Indies. Elizabeth I showed little interest in establishing transatlantic settlements, despite pressure from enthusiastic statesman. She was attracted more by the privateering activities of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins than in staking her own claims on American soil. James I's reign met with greater success. Virginia was settled in 1607, and by the time James died in 1625 it was becoming financially viable thanks to the prodigious growth of tobacco. Yet in its early years the colony was far from being secure, and it seemed likely to disappear just as Roanoke had two decades before. It was plagued by poor governance, inadequate supplies, frosty relations with the native population, a recalcitrant workforce, and infighting between its members on both sides of the Atlantic. Other North American colonies were slow to be established and many were disastrous. The charter granted for a colony between the Potomac and the Kennebec rivers in 1606 resulted only in the short-lived "Popham" colony at Saghadoc. It would not be until 1620 that the English were able to gain a foothold in New England in Plymouth, and only with the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1630 did large numbers of English migrants set up home across the Atlantic. By the end of the century the Caribbean became England's most profitable colonial region, but in the early 1600s this region witnessed a series of woeful attempts at settlement—Guiana, for example, was settled in 1604 only to be abandoned a few years later. England was thus exceptionally slow out of the starting gate as far as America and the Atlantic was concerned. For some this was shameful; for others this was a spur to action; for many more America was of little consequence.

Public reaction to England's transatlantic endeavours is hard to gauge. Certain events seem to have met with a great deal of interest. Drake's exploits were celebrated in civic pageants,

broad­sides, and ballads. The Virginia Company stirred up a considerable amount of attention through a variety of promotional campaigns from print and pulpit: on March 5, 1609 the Spanish ambassador Don Pedro de Zuñiga sent a “*placarte*” (a broadside advertisement) to Philip III and warned him that “there is no poor, little man, nor woman, who is not willing to subscribe something for this enterprise.”⁷ The so-called “Indian massacre” in Virginia in March 1622, when the Powhatan chief Opechancanough orchestrated a series of devastating attacks on the English plantations resulting in deaths of 347 settlers, elicited a flurry of responses, from official Virginia Company tracts to personal correspondences.⁸ However, these spikes in interest punctuated the otherwise fallow periods in-between. The English seem to have been more concerned with matters closer to home. To be sure, there were a number of calls to pursue an imperial line, but many English men and women were more fearful about becoming the subjects of empires than zealous about becoming the masters of their own.⁹ England was a Protestant nation surrounded by states that were either Catholic or wracked by internal wars of religion. It was politically and militarily isolated and was forced to engage in political expediency in order to survive and maintain its independence. Also, economically the Mediterranean was a region of far greater importance to the English than the Atlantic. English attempts to get a trade foothold in the region were constantly under threat from Islamic and Spanish forces far more powerful than the English could muster. Even though the New World was fuelling Spanish power, the threat from America was ultimately far more removed than that felt in Europe and the Mediterranean.

Contact between Native Americans and the English was minimal. Alden T. Vaughan notes that “nearly two score American Indians and Eskimos dwelled for varying periods, mostly in London, during Shakespeare’s lifetime.”¹⁰ However, these figures pale in comparison to the numbers of other foreigners in England in his period. London teemed with Europeans and people from outside of Europe—exiles, merchants, craftsmen, captives, tourists. As Nabil Matar argues, there was a small but continuous Islamic presence in England: Muslim traders regularly met with merchants in the south of England, and Muslim prisoners were exchanged for Englishmen held as

captives in Barbary. There was frequent Ottoman embassy to the English court, most famously in 1600 (an occasion said to have inspired Shakespeare's *Othello*) and in 1637 (a visit hailed by Londoners as it involved the return of English prisoners). Islamic visitors to English shores numbered into the thousands, and Englishmen also came into contact with Turks and Moors in the Mediterranean.¹¹ James Shapiro has traced the presence of a small community of Jews who survived in London in the early modern period despite the fact that Jews had been officially expelled from England since 1290. In addition, he argues that Jews occupied the early modern imagination in a manner that exceeded their actual presence, in part because they had a pre-history of representation dating back several centuries.¹² Thus while it would not be too far fetched to suggest that a number of English men and woman had some mental image of a Turk, a Moor, or a Jew (however inaccurate), it is less likely that a mental image of a Native American would have readily sprung to mind.

III. The Literature of Empire?

The influence of America on English Renaissance literature seems to have been fairly marginal and limited to certain genres. Accounts of New World exploration (as well as voyages to African coasts and East Asian lands) were printed and circulated with some regularity, in newsheets, pamphlets, and atlases. Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, a multi-volume compendium of first-hand accounts about English (and, in subsequent editions, European) exploration, was designed in part to instigate English colonialism in America. First published in 1589, *The Principal Navigations* was reprinted in 1598–1600, and the American voyages were given a volume all of their own in the later edition. It was republished in ever-enlarging editions long after Hakluyt's death under the editorship of the Puritan minister Samuel Purchas. *The Principal Navigations*, it has frequently been claimed, had an immense impact on the population, urging a hitherto tardy nation into imperial action. Hakluyt's work was, declared the nineteenth century historian James Froude,

“the Prose Epic of the modern English nation [...] [which] contains the heroic tales of the exploits of the great men in whom the new era was inaugurated.”¹³

Travel tales about the Americas filtered into English literary texts. In his 1509 translation of Sebastian Brant’s *Narrenschiff* (*The Ship of Fools*), Alexander Barclay adds a reference to King Ferdinand II of Spain’s new-found acquisitions to mock those who “tend unto the lore / And unsure science of vayne geometry / Syns none can knowe all the worlde perfytely.”¹⁴ Other early mentions of the New World occur in Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516), which, like its utopian successors Bishop Joseph Hall’s *Mundus alter et idem* (1605) and Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis* (1627), draws heavily on voyage narratives to frame its philosophies. More’s brother-in-law John Rastell made one of the earliest calls for transoceanic expansion in *A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the Four Elements* (performed at some point between 1517–20), in which he exhorted Henry VIII to pursue travel, trade, and colonization “westwarde” where “be founde new landes / That we neuer harde tell of before this.”¹⁵ But this influence needs to be qualified. Barclay’s revision of *Narrenschiff* is a brief addition to Brant’s original; the geographies of the utopian satires use America to critique the English political landscape; only Rastell’s call to empire can be taken as an outright plea for American endeavour. All of these texts are to a degree influenced by firsthand accounts of New World discovery, but they are not so much “about” America as they are about changes in contemporary “Old World” culture.

Some poetry from the period draws on America, most of which was written and printed for promotional purposes. Thomas Churchyard appended two poems, “A Matter Touching the Journey of Sir Humphrey Gilbarte, Knight” and “A Welcome Home to Master Martin Frobusher, and all those Gentlemen and Souldiers, that haue bene with him this last journey, in the Countrey called Meta incognita,” to his *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk* (1578). Stephen Parmenius’s *De Navigatione* (1582) was written about the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland (from which neither Parmenius nor Gilbert returned). In *The Trumpet of Fame* (1595), Henry Roberts praises Drake and Hawkins for their thwarting of

the Spanish: of Drake he writes, “In *India* land, he Englands cullours spread, / where Spanish Powers he brauely vanquished.”¹⁶ George Chapman, a friend of Sir Walter Raleigh and Thomas Harriot, composed “De Guiana” as part of the front matter to Lawrence Kemys’ *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (1596). Michael Drayton, who contributed funds to the Virginia Company, alluded to the Virginia colony with some regularity. He praised the imminent departure of the *Sarah Constance*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery* to “Virginia, / Earth’s onely Paradise” in his poem “On the Virginian Voyage” (1606), commended “that shore so Greene, / *Virginia*” in the seventeenth song of *Poly-Olbion* (1612), and in 1622 wrote a verse epistle to Sir George Sandys, colonial treasurer in Virginia, encouraging him to “Goe on with Ovid” and continue his translation of *Metamorphoses* while living in the colony: “And (worthy George) by industry and use, / Let’s see what lines *Virginia* will produce.”¹⁷ George Herbert was invested in the spiritual possibilities of colonization. In “The Church Militant” (1633) he wrote that “Religion stands on tip-toe in our land / Readie to passe to the *American* strand.”¹⁸

Nevertheless, these poems are exceptions: there is no verse epic of the English colonial project; although Chapman’s subtitle for “De Guiana” is “Carmen Epicum,” the poem amounts to less than two hundred lines of verse. Overall, there is little cross over between travel writing and poetics. Poets rarely quoted from or alluded to contemporary travel accounts but instead employed America’s metaphorical associations with desire, wealth, distance, and folly. John Donne, for example, was a keen supporter of the Virginia Company, which employed him to preach a sermon in November 1622 in the wake of the Opechancanough’s attacks on the colony. A number of Donne’s poems employ imagery relating to America. In his elegies “Love’s Progress” and “To His Mistress Going to Bed” Donne conceives of America as an erotic destination and draws on the lust for conquest and gold that was frequently associated with European voyages of discovery. In “Hymne to God in My Sickness,” America (“my South-west discoverie”) is employed as a metaphor for the furthest point in the known world and hence as a gateway to death and the afterlife.¹⁹ These poems barely use the knowledge that Donne acquired

about America, but instead employ tropes relating to the New World that had been long-circulating. In short, America does not seem to have gripped the imagination either of the writers of this period nor of their readership.²⁰

This viewpoint seems even more applicable to the early modern stage. There are numerous allusions to America in plays from this period, but it is rare that these are sustained across an entire play. Rather, America, its associations (Indians, gold mines, excessive and often Spanish wealth), and its alternative names—the (West) Indies, the New World—tend to be invoked through quips and jokes. Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and John Marston's *Eastward Ho!* (1605), Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611), and John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* (1622) all evoke America and its inhabitants. Yet the first of these plays is set in London, the second somewhere in the Mediterranean, and the third on an unnamed and unlocated island (which may or may not be in the Atlantic). No play written and performed before the closure of the theatres in 1642 is set in America, with the possible exceptions of the anonymous *The New World's Tragedy*, performed by the Admiral's Men at The Rose in 1595, *The Conquest of the West Indies* by John Day, William Haughton, and Wentworth Smith, performed by the Admiral's Men at The Fortune in 1601, and the anonymous *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia*, performed at The Curtain in 1623, all three of which are lost.²¹ The anonymous *The Fatal Marriage, or Second Lucretia* (date unknown) and Massinger's *The City Madam* (1632) both feature Indian characters, yet in both cases the Indians turn out to be Europeans in disguise. Only Fletcher and Nathaniel Field's *Four Plays, or Moral Interludes, in One* (1613) features Indian figures, but they appear briefly and do not speak a word.²² Antonio in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596), Romelio in John Webster's *The Devil's Law Case* (1614), and Timothy Seathrift in Jasper Mayne's *The City Match* (1637) are among the few characters whose wealth and success is tied up with the New World, and just one, we may note, is an Englishman.

This relative absence of America on the early modern stage contrasts to the prevalence of dramatic literary form in much of the literature that emerged out of the Atlantic world in the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by authors from a variety of nationalities. As Susan Castillo has argued, “[s]cenic or textual performance was often the arena in which colonial difference was enacted, and in which the most controversial issues of the days were debated.”²³ The dramatic dialogue form pervaded non-dramatic colonialist literature, such as the *Colloquies* of Fray Bernadino de Sahagún (c. 1564), Guamán Poma’s fictional dialogue between himself and Philip III in *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (1613), and John Eliot’s *Indian Dialogues* (1671). Other nations and peoples, in particular those linked to the Spanish Americas, produced drama representing the New World. The Franciscans, for example, found “plays, processions and plastic imagery [...] immensely useful [...] to baptize as many Indians as possible in the shortest possible time, and [...] to do away with certain indigenous cultural practices (such as polygamy and human sacrifice).”²⁴ They performed plays like *The Last Judgement* (1533) and *The Fall of Adam and Eve* (1538) for the Nahua in Mexico. The indigenous peoples of Spanish America also staged dramas such as the Peruvian play *The Tragedy of Atahualpa’s Death* (date unknown). In Spain itself the New World was infrequent subject matter for dramatic representation. As Glen F. Dille notes, in Spanish literature there was “[una] escasez de ficción de tema americano [a lack of literature on the theme of America],” most particularly and most surprisingly in the case of “la comedia del Siglo de Oro”: “Es difícil pensar en un género más adecuado que la comedia para interpretar y difundir la foraleza y valentía de los conquistadores y para hallar inspiración en lo exótico que era por excelencia el Nuevo Mundo con sus ciudades fabulosas y su geografía imponente [it is difficult to think of a genre more suited than the *comedia* to the interpretation and dissemination of the strength and valour of the *conquistadores* and to find inspiration in the exotic nature of the New World with its fabled cities and its imposing landscapes].”²⁵ At the same time, however, there is a small corpus of Spanish *autos* and *comedias* addressing New World themes. As Robert Shannon argues, at some point in their careers “many of the most renowned and distinguished playwrights of Golden Age theater did concern themselves with Spanish-America empire,” for example Cervantes in *La Numancia* (1585), Lope de Vega in *El Nuevo*

Mundo Descubriendo por Cristóbal Colón (1599), *Arauca Domado* (between 1598–1603), *El Brasil Restituido* (1625), and *La Conquista de Cortés y el Marques del Valle* (lost), and Tirso de Molina in his Pizarro trilogy, *Todo es dar en una cosa*, *Amazonas en las Indias*, and *La Lealtad contra la Envidia* (1626–1630).²⁶ By contrast, the equivalent “most renowned and distinguished playwrights” of the London theatre scene treated the New World circumspectly, if at all.

These contrasts cannot be attributed simply to national differences, however, as America was represented in other English dramatic media. “The Device Made by the Earl of Essex for the Entertainment of Her Majesty” (1595), a pageant featuring a Guianan prince who comes to the Queen to be cured of his blindness, celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh’s recent nominal conquest of Guiana in Elizabeth’s name. The Guianan promised Elizabeth that she would be able to call upon his fellow Guianans in the continuing war against the Spanish, which in turn would result in the expansion of her own empire.²⁷ Several of the annual Lord Mayor’s Shows memorialized English exploits in the Caribbean, such as Thomas Middleton’s *The Sunne in Aries* in 1621, *The Triumphs of Integrity* in 1623, and *The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity* in 1626, all of which included representations of Sir Francis Drake. Other Shows represented Indians, such as Middleton’s *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* (1617) and Thomas Heywood’s *Porta Pietatis, or The Port or Harbour of Piety* (1638). These pageants heralded London as a global city and marked the power and reach of the new mayoral incumbent. A number of royal and aristocratic masques staged America in one form or another. George Chapman and Inigo Jones’s *Memorable Maske*, performed as part of the wedding celebrations of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine in 1613, rejoiced in English success in the New World. Aurelian Townsend and Jones’s *Tempe Restord*, performed by Queen Henrietta Maria and her ladies in 1632, featured an antimasque of Indians.

These entertainments celebrated court and city involvement in transatlantic enterprise. A number of powerful figures with significant literary connections pushed for colonization as early as the reign of Henry VIII, and continued to do so into the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I—

figures like John Dee, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Edward Dyer, Sir Philip Sidney, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Sir George Sandys, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Sir William Davenant. London's mercantile community pumped money into the Virginia Company in its early years, and a number of the city's mayors were Company members: Sir Thomas Middleton (1613), Sir George Bowles (1617), Sir Nicholas Raynton (1632), and Sir Morris Abbot (1638). Zuñiga's letter to Philip III dated March 5, 1609 reported that "fourteen Counts and Barons [...] have given 40.000 thousand ducats [to the Virginia Company], the Merchants give much more."²⁸ But while a number of playwrights operated under the patronage of court figures (Shakespeare, Fletcher, Chapman, and Jonson among them), and while a number of playwrights were regularly involved in the creation of court and civic entertainment (Dekker, Heywood, Webster, Chapman, and Jonson), the enthusiasm for America in these performance genres did not translate to the playhouse. When it came to popular representation, it seems as if America barely registered.

IV. America and "the Critical Mass"

The marginal presence of America and empire in English Renaissance literature has far from deterred literary scholars from interrogating early modern cultural production in terms of emerging English imperialism. This should not be surprising. That England had no empire does not mean that it did not desire an empire, and there is evidence to suggest that certain sectors of English society were increasingly thinking in a westerly direction. The English economy began to incorporate the Atlantic region in the late sixteenth century. Drake's haul from raiding gold and silver from the Spanish in his global circumnavigation between 1577 and 1580 vastly exceeded the crown's annual income, and the West Indies contraband trade swelled Elizabeth I's coffers. English-American trading companies and colonies founded in the early seventeenth century floundered or struggled soon after they began, but, as Robert Brenner has argued, the merchants

who rose to the forefront of colonial mercantilism, “in the process of carrying out the arduous task of founding the colonial economies, ended up preparing themselves far better than any other traders to grasp the truly spectacular economic opportunities the colonial field ultimately offered.”²⁹ The English slave trade had its beginnings in this period. John Lok’s voyage to Guinea in 1555 returned to England with “certaine blacke slaues.”³⁰ John Hawkins attempted to participate in the Atlantic slave trade in 1562, by stealing a Portuguese slave ship, and in 1564, by transporting people from Guinea to New Spain. Both of these ventures failed, and the English were blocked from people trafficking for many years to come by Iberian merchants eager to maintain their monopoly. The first African slaves to arrive in Jamestown only came in 1619, and the English Atlantic slave trade only really became established in the 1630s and 1640s. However, it is possible to trace if nothing else the desire to participate in existing transatlantic trafficking in this earlier period.³¹

Critics have argued that a number of literary genres have imperialist leanings. Roland Greene has argued for “the possibility that amatory and imperialist writing in this period share a discursive stream: that with certain exclusions understood, to write and read of unrequited love in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is often to treat geopolitical conquest”: “Early modern European culture recognizes a one-way channel that opens from the conventions of Petrarchan lyric poetry onto the less acutely defined space of writing about the Americas.”³² Joan Pong Linton has contended that commercial and colonial motives find their expression through the genre of romance.³³ Specific works have been read in terms of American exploration and conquest. Stephen Greenblatt reads Guyon’s destruction of the Bower of Bliss at the end of Book II of Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* in terms of the excesses of colonial violence. He explains Guyon’s actions through an extended analogy to the ways that travellers experienced the New World as a heady environment populated by idle and dissolute natives.³⁴ David Read interprets *The Faerie Queene* in terms of Spanish New World possessions, and like Greenblatt sees Book II in particular as “an allegorical representation of a colonial ‘geography.’”³⁵ John

Milton's *Paradise Lost* has also been analyzed through a transatlantic lens. J. Martin Evans has meticulously detailed the numerous references to New World(s) in *Paradise Lost*, and argues that the poem oscillates between pro- and anti-imperial discourse: "Imperial expansion, the poem implies, is morally neutral."³⁶ In contrast, David Quint contends that Milton revises the epic tradition by underscoring its mercantilist and romance leanings, and contends that *Paradise Lost* confirms Milton's deeply held scepticism about English expansion into the Atlantic.³⁷

The fiascos of English colonial endeavour were no deterrent to and indeed were the catalysts for imaginative writing. Mary Fuller argues that Richard Hakluyt, Samuel Purchas, Stephen Parmenius, Thomas Lodge, John Smith, and others attempted to recuperate the failure of the English to match their European rivals in the Americas through rhetorical strategies, which led to accounts which emphasized less the discovery of new lands than the discovery of the self.³⁸ Jeffrey Knapp explores the development of English literature in an age in which "whether by necessity or choice, England's relation to the New World was essentially a frivolous one."³⁹ According to Knapp, English literature celebrated rather than ignored this relation through playing up England's littleness, limitations, and immateriality. By imagining England and America as Nowhere (in, for example, *Utopia*, *The Faerie Queene*, and *The Tempest*), writers both revelled in their own "trifling" status and aimed to "motivate a peculiarly otherworldly expansionism, [...] turn[ing] the English into imperialists by differentiating their otherworldly potentiality from their otherworldly island: each writer imagines the more appropriate setting for England's immaterial value to be a literary no-place that helps the English reader to see the limitations of a material investment in little England alone."⁴⁰

A number of critics have explored the ways in which drama negotiated America and nascent colonialism. Greenblatt articulates the formation of power and authority in Thomas Harriot's *Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* (1588), in which "invisible bullets" controlled the native population, and in Hal's imitation of the sun/son in the *Henriad*.⁴¹ He reads Iago's improvisational capacity ("the ability both to capitalize on the unforeseen and to

transform given materials into one's own scenario") in *Othello* in terms of colonial explorers' ability to insinuate themselves within alien cultures and exploit them for their own means.⁴² He suggests that the interactions between the Europeans and Caliban in *The Tempest* are performances of the linguistic colonialism that preceded actual colonialism and the massive devastation of native populations.⁴³ Greenblatt's new historicist readings have influenced a generation of scholars keen to elucidate the networks that connect dramatic representation with imperialist ideology. But whereas Greenblatt suggests that what links these cultural strands are the deep-lying structural similarities between colonial texts and drama, Rebecca Ann Bach contends that these connections are readily apparent in the playhouse. Playwrights from the early seventeenth century "used the emerging Atlantic world as a touchstone on the London stage": "most early modern drama is involved with producing English subjects who understood themselves in relationship to that new world." After all, she contends, "[i]t was the London stage that reached a critical mass of English people and displayed the new Atlantic world and its colonial subjects, and on that stage England's colonial exploits and native subjects spoke to the condition and transformation of English culture."⁴⁴ While Shakespeare's plays (and *The Tempest* in particular) have been at the heart of many readings of early English colonial ideology, critics have thrown the net wider. Bach focuses on the dramatic works of Ben Jonson. Claire Jowitt and Gordon McMullan have both argued that a number of John Fletcher's plays show a deep engagement with events in the English Atlantic colonies.⁴⁵

However, the fact that critics have analogized America in a number of unlikely places—London in the case of Bach's analysis of Jonson's city comedies and Greenblatt's analysis of Eastcheap lowlifes in *The Henriad*, ancient Britain in the case of Jowitt's interpretation of Fletcher's *Bonduca*, or the Moluccas in the case of McMullan's reading of Fletcher's *The Island Princess*—has led other critics, following in J.H. Elliott's footsteps, to question whether scholarship on early modern imperialism has over-emphasized the impact of America. Jerry Brotton argues that "the narrative of the discovery of the New World" that continues to have a

hold over current critical discourse “resonates within the Western imagination in a manner disproportionate to its apparent impact on the culture of early modern Europe.”⁴⁶ Brotton maintains that the emphasis on *The Tempest* as the archetypal New World play ignores its deep engagement with the geopolitics of the Mediterranean trade routes around North Africa.⁴⁷ Daniel Vitkus agrees with Brotton’s general thesis, pointing out that the Mediterranean was a frequent setting on the early modern stage and that Turks and Moors were oft-staged presences who embodied the anxieties about England’s place in the world and reminded English audiences that the dominant power-holders in the region were not them. According to Vitkus, England in the early seventeenth century was far from being able to impose itself on the east, let alone on the west, for all the posturing of those who called for aggressive foreign policy.⁴⁸

There is much to recommend the position adopted by Brotton and Vitkus. But ascertaining the impact of America on the literary imagination depends both on how one defines the geographical limits of America and how one measures something’s effect on culture. What do we mean by America? The America of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries looked very different from America now. Only certain parts of the North American eastern and western coastal areas had been settled by this period, and there were many areas of Latin America that were neither under European control nor the object of European knowledge. The word “America” was used in this period as a blanket term in reference to numerous geographical regions across the Americas. Also, America cannot be easily disassociated from the rest of the world, even when it was not specifically being evoked. Nicholas Canny has argued that the structures of colonialism employed in Ireland were subsequently employed in America.⁴⁹ Walter Cohen places the economic impact of America (which at least initially seems marginal) within the context of English trade expansion in other directions, “toward Spain, Portugal, toward Russia; toward Venice and the Levant; and toward Persia and the East Indies.”⁵⁰ America thus is not a self-contained, isolated entity, but rather it should be viewed within a network of associations that stretched the globe.

Representational practice replicated these interrelationships. Raman Shankar has traced how concepts about the East Indies were regularly transferred to the West Indies, and vice versa.⁵¹ This process of transference extended to ideas about Indians, who were frequently described in terms of both east and west. Nabil Matar makes the case that the English construction of the Turk and the Moor was heavily indebted to stereotypes of Native Americans. Despite the fact that the American colonies were failing, the English adopted a tactic used by the Spanish of redeploying stereotypes of Islam onto the Indians (and thus framing the *Conquista* in terms of the *Reconquista*), and superimposed the figure of the Indian as a lazy, violent, savage sodomite onto the figure of the Muslim.⁵² Rebecca Ann Bach argues that in this period there emerged a stereotype of “the undifferentiated Indian,” that is, a generic representation of Indians from both east and west, which was used to establish the superiority of English imperial whiteness.⁵³ Ever since Martin Waldseemuller named the continent on his 1507 globe, “America” was as much a collection of associated (although often contradictory) images and ideas as it was a “place.” Edmundo O’Gorman and Tzvetan Todorov even go so far as to suggest that America was invented rather than discovered by Europeans.⁵⁴ America and its inhabitants existed in multiple versions and in numerous and competing discourses, depending on the interests and motives of its invokers. As John Gillies has suggested, “the New World was a deeply unstable figure by the early seventeenth century.”⁵⁵

V. The Absence of America on the Early Modern Stage; or Nell’s Nose

This instability leads to the question of how we can measure America’s impact. If it is not always clear what we are looking for, how can we know America when we see it? The fact that critics dig at times so deep within a literary text to reveal its New World subtext makes Brotton’s and Vitkus’s claims for the overemphasis of America’s impact all the more compelling. However, this viewpoint implies that impact can only be measured through its materialization—i.e., it implies that that which was marginal or not represented at all had minimal impact precisely

because it was marginal or not represented. Need this necessarily be the case? This question is guided by Peter Stallybrass and Allon White's assertion that that which is socially marginalized within a culture may be symbolically central to that culture.⁵⁶ In the case of transatlantic representation, I argue that just because America was by and large absent from the early modern stage does not mean that early modern drama—and by extension early modern culture—was not informed by America: just because the effect of America on drama is not obvious does not mean that there was no effect whatsoever. More particularly I am guided by Walter Cohen's essay, "The Literature of Empire in the Renaissance." Cohen agrees that "studies of culture and imperialism in the wake of Columbus [...] bypass the central paradox that the European conquest of the New World, which seems in retrospect like one of the decisive events of the age and arguably of the last half-millennium, proved remarkably unpropitious for literary representation." But this does not mean that such studies "constitute political wishful thinking, in which the modern critic futilely seeks to find in an earlier period a resonance with contemporary concerns." Cohen argues that

For Renaissance literature a crucial meaning of European imperialism—especially intercontinental or overseas imperialism and above all American imperialism—was accordingly registered in nonrepresentational terms. Rather than directly depicting distant lands, the literature of the time often drew implicit lessons from the enlarged theater of European operations in its treatment of ostensibly unrelated matters.⁵⁷

He suggests that the evidence for empire is masked or entwined within discourses not otherwise obviously interested in the Americas. While we should not expect to see mimetic representations of empire, we should be attuned to alternative modes of imperial representations (or what Cohen calls "nonrepresentation").

"The Absence of America on the Early Modern Stage" steers in Cohen's wake by applying his approach across a whole genre, drama, particularly plays which were performed in

public playhouses by professional playing companies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries up until the outbreak of the English Civil War. It questions what is meant by representation, and applies Cohen's notion of "the logic of imperial nonrepresentation" to a theatre that employed minimal scenery—that is, one which did not employ mimetic visual representation and relied instead on words, bodies, costumes and prostheses, properties, and the theatre itself to structure its geographies. It places dramatic, non-dramatic, "literary," and "non-literary" texts in contact with one another both to see what knowledge about America circulated between various genres of writing and performance, and also to reconstruct, where possible, what was lost as this knowledge was transmitted. It examines the methodological issues that surround the relationship between literature, empire, and America, including the seeming paradox that, even though it is possible to trace the beginnings of an English empire in this period, early modern cultural production seems markedly uninspired by transatlantic activities. In sum, this study seeks to move beyond by moving between the critical approaches of those who claim that English literature was indifferent to America and empire as well as of those who claim that English literature was obsessed with representing and negotiating early modern attitudes towards America and empire.⁵⁸

By privileging drama as a "site of absence" in this study I do not mean to dismiss the importance of other forms of cultural production. Indeed, I focus on drama because of its mass appeal in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and its capacity to reach multiple publics—people invested in early colonial enterprise, people fascinated by overseas exploits, and people hostile to or unmoved by events in the Atlantic world. While drama is central to "The Absence of America on the Early Modern Stage," I also analyze colonialist texts such as promotional sermons, travel accounts, overseas trading company documents, letters, and maps and other cartographic/geographical records. By so doing, I find that although early modern drama did not represent America directly, it articulated and disseminated knowledge about America, albeit in indirect ways. It also circulated concerns about and criticisms of English activity in the New

World that seem to have been common in London at the time of the establishment of the first transatlantic colonies.

I focus on drama as well because of the ways in which the theatre staged its own theatricality and fore-grounded its own ability, and inability, to represent things, people, and places. As Jean-Christophe Agnew writes, in the early modern period “theatricality itself had begun to acquire renewed connotations of invisibility, concealment, and *misrepresentation*, connotations that were at once intriguing and incriminating.”⁵⁹ The theatre was “a laboratory of representational possibilities”: its drama employed theatrical tropes such as disguise (cross-cultural, cross-gender, cross-rank), featured characters who broke out of the scene of action to comment on that scene or on events that had no connection with that scene (what I call in chapter one the “aside”), and constructed settings in such a way that a single play could gesture to a variety of (often incongruous) locations simultaneously, as well as foreground the fact that it was taking place in a theatre.⁶⁰

Reasons for early modern drama’s inquiry into “representational possibilities” are manifold. Agnew argues that it developed in concert with emergent capitalism and the estrangements of the “placeless market”; we can also see it as a reaction to the Reformation, when the representational power of things (icons, vestments, the host) was challenged and re-valued, and when representation itself was a site of contention; but we can also understand it in terms of overseas travel, commerce, and settlement, as this was a period when an increasing number of Europeans encountered (abroad and at home) all manner of new things, people, and places for which they had to, and struggled to, find adequate words.⁶¹ While I agree that capitalism and religion are crucial for our understanding of how drama questioned its “representational possibilities” (and both commerce and conversion play a significant part in the discussion to come), the focus here is also on the challenges that overseas travel, commerce, and settlement related to America posed to early modern theatrical representation.

To illustrate some of these themes in miniature, let us turn to the “American” play that the real William Shakespeare was writing in the early 1590s—not *Romeo and Juliet*, *Romeo and Ethel the Pirate’s Daughter* or *Twelfth Night*, as suggested by the film *Shakespeare in Love*, nor for that matter *The Tempest*, one of Shakespeare’s last plays, but *The Comedy of Errors*. Although, like *The Tempest*, *The Comedy of Errors* revolves around journeys across the Mediterranean, not the Atlantic—in this case between Syracuse (in Sicily) and Ephesus (in modern day Turkey—it has the distinction of being the only play in the Shakespeare canon to feature the word “America.”⁶² Midway through, Dromio of Syracuse enters the stage disturbed by his impending, and totally unexpected, marriage to a “kitchen-wench” called Nell (3.2.94). Dromio has never met Nell before—indeed, he and his master Antipholus of Syracuse have only just arrived in the city of Ephesus—but spookily enough she recognizes his “privy marks [...] the mark on my shoulder, the mole in my neck, the wart on my left arm” (as the audience knows, she has mistaken him for his twin brother) (139–141). Dromio explains his crisis in geographical terms, appropriate for a play that revels in misplacement and displacement—its title word “error” derives of course from the Latin *errare*, “to wander.” Nell’s body is “spherical, like a globe,” so much so that Dromio claims that he “could find out Countries” on it (113–114). Ireland, for example, is “in her buttocks. I found it out by the bogs” (116–117); Scotland is “by the barrenness, hard in the palm of the hand” (119–120); England is not present in her “chalky cliffs” (her teeth) because there is “no whiteness in them” but rather “in her chin” because of the “salt rheum [i.e. the Straits of Dover] that ran between France and it” (125–127). Dromio confesses that he has not seen her “Spain”—rather he has “smelt it hot in her breath” (129–130). When Antipholus asks where her “America, her Indies” are, Dromio locates them “upon her nose, all o’er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires” (131–132).

America’s presence in this anti-blazon confirms Nell’s largeness. All of the other locations are European, so Nell’s nose expands her global body to the edge of the known world. Nell is also absent from the stage: her voice is heard in an earlier scene when she refuses Dromio

and Antipholus of Ephesus entry to their own home, but even in the final scene when the identity of her actual betrothed, Dromio's long-lost twin, has been revealed, she remains offstage. The audience never gets to see Nell's Irish buttocks, feel her Scottish palms or her English drool, or smell her Spanish breath. And it does not get to see her American nose. If Nell did appear incarnate in the play, then the joke about her size would not work: as one recent editor of the play notes, "[n]o one could be as earthly huge as Nell then becomes in our imagination."⁶³ Dromio's description of Nell's body, and especially his geographical specificity and his insistence on the presence of America on Nell's nose, is a critical factor in her non-presence (or her non-physical presence).

But even though Nell, and Nell's nose, are absent, she still has a significant impact on the play. There are many examples in this period of blazons in which either a female body is described in terms of land or (conversely) in which land is described in terms of the female body, but Nell's body, while dissected in the manner of the geographical *blazon*, is anything but desirous to Dromio. Even though the nose is recognized as America because of its riches, these "embellishments" seem to be some kind of facial disfigurement and not real riches at all. Also America is placed not in relation to England—it would be difficult to reason that this sequence represented some kind of fantasy of English colonialism—but in relation to Spain: Dromio knows that her nose must be America, because the precious stones were "declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain, who sent whole armadas of Carracks to be ballast at her nose" (133–135). And while the *blazon* is typically employed both to suggest the (at least metaphorical) conquest of the female body and/or of feminized territory, in this case Dromio is not the amatory *conquistador*. Nell, complains Dromio, "lays claim to me," and he is turned into a "woman's man" (88). America, we learn from this play, is a place claimed by another nation whose riches are unpromising: moreover, it is vast, strange, unknown, unseen, endangering. For all the potential riches that the New World offers, in *The Comedy of Errors*, and elsewhere, its allure is questionable.

VI. The Work Ahead

My interest in theatrical representation also comes from the ways in which players and playwrights were invoked and rebuked in colonialist propaganda. The first chapter, “America in Asides,” questions why the Virginia Company regarded playwrights and players as part of an unholy trinity with the Devil and the Pope. As the preacher William Crashaw complained to the assembled Virginia Company in February 1610, “Players” were deemed to be the enemy, because they “abuse Virginea” and “disgrace it.”⁶⁴ At first glance it seems as if the Company was paranoid. To what play or plays could they possibly have been referring? However, by looking across a number of plays in various genres from the 1580s into the reign of Charles I it becomes apparent that, even though few plays specifically addressed Virginia, many plays invoked an image of America contrary to that promoted by the Company’s propaganda machine. Playhouse drama did so indirectly, by repeating and re-circulating gossip, rumours, and jokes about the colony in moments that otherwise had little to do with the plot but spoke to contemporary concerns about colonization. In these “asides” plays associated America with disease, crime, and corruption; they suggested that only the bankrupt or the foolish would be fascinated in the transatlantic colonies; they implied that the Americas encouraged sexual incontinence and made Europeans idle; they ignored or lampooned the economic and spiritual benefits of colonization.

Chapters two and three ask why Native American characters were by-and-large absent from early modern playhouses. Chapter two, “Altogether estrangfull, and Indian like,” examines the relationship between colonial propaganda relating to Indians, court and civic entertainment, and playhouse drama in three interlocking ways. First, it argues that the absence of Indians in the playhouse and their presence in masques and pageants can be explained by the direct interest that the court and the mercantile communities had in the Americas. In masques and pageants Indians bow down before their colonial masters, showing themselves willing converts to Protestantism and profit. By contrast, playhouse drama was not performed for a particular constituency and was

sceptical about the purported ease with which the Indians would be co-opted. Second, the chapter questions the Indianness of Caliban in *The Tempest*. Although his situation and behaviour at points mimics that of Indians (at least as characterized by the English), his identity is a composite of alterities. This does not disqualify him from being Indian-like, but points to key differences in representational practice between court and civic entertainment on the one hand and playhouse drama on the other. Third, the chapter examines how masques and pageants responded to the challenges set down both by playhouse drama and by the Native Americans in Virginia, who, when it became clear to them that the English intended to stay in Tsenacomoco (the native name for the region), openly resisted their occupancy. In court and civic entertainment, the Native American Indians' resistance to the fantasies of colonization necessitated the construction of the "Indian," a figure who drew on both east and west.

The third chapter, "Playing Indian," examines the trope of European characters adopting Indian disguise in Robert Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, the anonymous *The Fatal Marriage*, and Philip Massinger's *The City Madam*. It argues that these plays' employment of Indian disguise draws on the oft-expressed proximity between Indians and Europeans. Indians were often held up as models of behaviour, so that to act like an Indian was not necessarily to act like a savage. However, Englishmen who dressed up as Indians were not deemed in a favourable light. In London it became fashionable for young gentlemen to wear Indian-inspired dress, trends which disgusted many commentators. In Virginia people who dressed in Indian clothing were regarded with suspicion. As the Puritan radical William Prynne wrote, it was also feared that wearers of Indian clothing "degenerated into *Virginians*."⁶⁵ Through their use of disguise these three "Indian" plays also highlight the ways in which clothing mediated Indian-English relations, both because America was seen as a possible outlet for the ailing English cloth trade and because the "heathen" Indians needed to be "clothed" in Christianity. The fact that disguise could be removed reflected the colonial fantasy that Native Americans could be effortlessly rooted out of the colonies and replaced by English men and women.

The fourth chapter, “Staging America,” analyzes why America was not used as a setting for any extant plays in the period. The chapter examines the quantity and quality of geographical information about the Americas circulating in maps and written records. The multiple, conflicting, and inchoate images that emerged in early colonial propaganda, in first- and second-hand accounts and in cartographical documents may at first seem to preclude the possibility for dramatic representation. The early modern playhouse used few properties and minimal scenery, and relied instead on language to, as it were, fill in the gaps. The reliance on the audience’s imagination may explain the lack of plays set in the New World—how exactly could an audience imagine America when its geography was incoherent?—but a handful of playwrights were attuned to the dramatic possibilities and representational impossibilities of the New World. The geography of stage representation in this period was a mediation of spaces: playhouse drama constructed its geographies through conflating alien spaces (named and unnamed), the spaces of London outside the theatre, and the performance space itself. The chapter looks at three plays, Aston Cockayne’s *The Obstinate Lady* (1639), Massinger and Fletcher’s *The Sea Voyage* (1622), and Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), all of which reflect and refract what was known about the American continent by placing this knowledge in contact with other spaces, not least of which is the space of the stage itself.

¹ *Shakespeare in Love*, Collectors’ Series (DVD), John Madden, Dir. (Miramax Home Entertainment, 1998).

² For example, the *Internet Movie Database* (<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0138097/goofs>, accessed 08/29/2005), *Shaksper* (<http://www.shaksper.net/archives/1999/0017.html>, accessed 08/29/2005), and *Nitpickers.com* (<http://www.nitpickers.com/movies/repository.cgi?pg=t&sp=i&tt=126597>, accessed 08/29/2005).

³ Which is of course another “gaff”—*Twelfth Night* was first performed approximately seven years after *Romeo and Juliet*, the play the composition and performance of which the action of *Shakespeare in Love* takes place around.

⁴ All references to Shakespeare plays in this study are taken from *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katherine Eisaman Maus (New York: WW Norton, 1997).

⁵ Despite their different perspective on events, Adam Smith and Karl Marx both contended that 1492 dramatically altered European economic, religious, political, and intellectual life. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith celebrated the transition from feudalism to capitalism, writing that one of the principal effects of the discovery of America, coupled with the establishment of eastern maritime trade routes, was to “raise the mercantile system to a degree of splendour and glory which it could never otherwise have attained. [...] In

consequence of those discoveries, the commercial towns of Europe, instead of being the manufacturers and carriers for but a very small part of the world [...] have now become the manufacturers for the numerous and thriving cultivators of America, and the carriers, and in some respects the manufacturers too, for almost all the different nations of Asia, Africa and America. [...] The countries which possess the colonies of America, and which trade directly to the East Indies, enjoy, indeed, the whole shew and splendour of this great commerce.” Marx and Friedrich Engels viewed this transition as cataclysmic, arguing in *The Communist Manifesto* that “[t]he discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.” See Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Random House, 1994), 676; and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (New York: Signet, 1998), 51.

⁶ J.H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 14. Elliott’s argument has been challenged repeatedly since its first publication in 1970. Elliott’s background is in Spanish history, and frequently Spain and Europe are conflated in his argument. This is understandable given the fact that the Spanish were the dominant force in the Americas in the sixteenth century, but it also blurs how other countries’ inhabitants viewed America, including those countries that had little or no involvement in developments across the Atlantic. Elliott’s argument neglects or passes over briefly a number of fields of knowledge, including the sciences, anthropology and ethnography, historiography, literature, and the arts. For a continuation of and challenge to Elliott’s thesis in fields that he ignores, see the essays collected in *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

⁷ Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, March 5, 1609, in *The Genesis of the United States*, ed. Alexander Brown vol. 1 (New York; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), 245.

⁸ There has been considerable debate about whether the term “Indian Massacre” is appropriate. Throughout this dissertation I have persisted with the more ideologically-neutral term “attacks” primarily because of the long history of anti-Native American sentiment that has been characteristic in early American historiography prior to the last fifty years. It is true that the attacks were violent and horrific: but the fact that the sustained attacks on the natives conducted by English militias (“a perpetuall warre without peace or truce”) in the wake of the attacks (including the poisoning of almost an entire embassy of natives present at a treaty meeting) are never described as “massacres” makes me hesitant to apply the term to the events of March 1622. Quotation taken from *Records of the Virginia Company*, ed. Susan M. Kingsbury, vol. 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 762.

⁹ See Linda Colley, “Introduction,” in *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600–1850* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002), 1–20.

¹⁰ Alden T. Vaughan, “Trinculo’s Indians: American Natives in Shakespeare’s England,” in *The Tempest and its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme and William Sherman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 50. See also Vaughan’s longer study, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Sir Sidney Lee, “The American Indian in Elizabethan England,” *Elizabethan and Other Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 263–301.

¹¹ Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

¹² See James Shapiro, “Myths, Histories, Consequences,” in *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 43–88.

¹³ James Anthony Froude, “England’s Forgotten Worthies,” in *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (New York: Scribner, 1876), 361.

¹⁴ Sebastian Brant, *The Ship of Fools*, trans. Alexander Barclay, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: W. Paterson; London: H. Sotheran, 1874), 26.

¹⁵ John Rastell, *A New I[n]terlude and a Mery of the Nature of the iiiii Element* (London, 1620), Ci.

¹⁶ Henry Roberts, *The Trumpet of Fame: or Sir Fraunces Drakes and Sir John Hawkins Farewell* (London: for Thomas Hackett, 1595), 67–68. Roberts wrote and printed a number of poems dedicated to the English overseas. As John Parker writes, “Henry Roberts’ little tracts [...] were [...] the only printed material from the 1590–95 period which were primarily concerned with what Englishmen were doing outside the

European theatre in these years.” John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: a Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), 145.

¹⁷ Michael Drayton, “On the Virginian Voyage” and “To Master George Sandys, Treasurer for the English Colony in Virginia,” in *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Habel (Oxford: Blackwell, 1931), 363–364, 206–208; Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London: for Matthew Lownes, 1612), 265. Drayton’s poem marking the accession of James I heralded the new reign in which “The North-west passage [...] thou might’st discover / Vnto the Indies, where that treasure lies / Whose plenty might ten other worlds suffice.” Michael Drayton, *To the Maiestie of King Iames* (London: for T. M[an] and H.L[ownes], 1603), A4v.

¹⁸ George Herbert, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Tobin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), 185.

¹⁹ John Donne, *Collected Poems*, ed. C.A. Patrides (London: J.M. Dent, 1994), 385–386.

²⁰ European literature in general from this period touched on the New World as a source of inspiration only rarely. The great romances and epics of the period tend to be set in Europe, the Mediterranean, or the East rather than the Americas (that is, when their locations are named). Ludovico Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* is set in Europe and the Middle East and looks back to medieval quest narratives rather than to any future occupation of the Americas. Iberian literature was also slow to incorporate the New World within its orbit. Luis de Camoes’s epic of Portuguese exploration, *The Lusitados*, follows Vasco de Gama to India. Only Alonso de Ercilla’s epic poem *La Araucana* (the first part of which was published in 1569, nearly eighty years after Columbus’s landing) is set in the Spanish New World, and focuses on the resistance of the Mapuche (native Chileans) to the Spanish *conquistadores* in the 1540s and 1550s.

²¹ Anthony Parr suggests that *The New World’s Tragedy* may have been about Roanoke. My suspicion is that it was about Spanish atrocities in its New World empire, as the play’s performance dates coincide with a number of other anti-Spanish plays, including Robert Greene’s *Orlando Furioso* (discussed in chapter three). *The Conquest of the West Indies* may have been about Sir Francis Drake’s exploits in Nombre de Dios or about Spanish *conquistadores*. *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia* was most likely about (or at the very least in response to) the attacks of 1622. Karen Kupperman suggests that “a 1623 play, *The Hungarian Lion*,” written by Richard Gunnell for the Palsgrave’s Company, “may have been based on [John] Smith’s adventures.” It seems more probable that the plot of the play (if it was based on contemporary events) may have related to the war in Europe. Anthony Parr, “Introduction,” in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 3; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge: The Belnap Press, 2007), 123.

²² The Indians of *Four Plays, or Moral Interludes, in One* could be thought of as disguised Europeans. The conceit of the play is that it is a series of entertainments designed for the royal marriage of the Portuguese king and is closely modelled on court masques at which courtiers would have played the dancers—thus the Indian dancers would have been played by Portuguese courtiers, and would not have been “actual” Indian dancers.

²³ Susan Castillo, *Performing America: Colonial Encounters in New World Writing, 1500–1786* (London: Routledge, 2006), 21. My discussion of para-theatrical literary form in colonialist literatures is indebted to Castillo’s account. Castillo argues that “[t]he proliferation of polyphonic texts and genres in this period is easy to understand; the formal features of such texts would be singularly appealing on the one hand for Europeans who were wrestling with questions of place, identity, and actual physical survival, and on the other, for indigenous writers who were attempting to make sense of the often incomprehensible behaviour of the new arrivals and to articulate their own responses to events. These plays and dialogues allowed natives, colonists and settlers not only to attempt to understand what initially seemed unintelligible and inexpressible, but which could be played on a world stage to several different audiences, both in Europe and in the New World” (4). Castillo does not, however, account for why English drama so rarely touched on the Americas beyond positing the Puritan hostility to the theatres as a reason (56–58).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁵ Glen F. Dille, “El descubrimiento y la conquista de America en la comedia del Siglo de Oro,” *Hispania* 71.3 (1988): 492–493 (my translations). Dille attributes “las escasez” to the inward nature of Spanish drama, which frequently praised the upper-class and noble element of its audience rather than the lower ranks from whom the *conquistadores* were more usually drawn: in his trilogy on Pizarro, Tirso elevates the rank of the conqueror of Peru to mask his humble origins and thus to make his exploits more palatable to a skeptical, predominantly *hidalgo*, metropolitan audience (although it is not actually clear whether the trilogy, a vanity project commissioned by Pizarro’s family, was ever performed). “Las escasez” might also have been a result of the difficulty with countering “La Leyenda Negra” (the Black Legend), which

although more predominant in the imaginative life of Spain's imperial rivals had its origins in Spanish sources such as the writing of Bartholomae de las Casas. Some of the plays that were set in the New World blamed the Black Legend on the jealousy of European neighbours: only Lope de Vega represented *conquistadores* as rapacious and greedy, while the rest of the plays in the "Spanish Americas canon" are overtly nationalistic and self-righteous about Spanish conquest, and often paint the Indians as the rapacious and greedy ones. Dille however does not account for the dearth of American themes in plays of the Golden Age in terms of representation. In contrast to English drama, for Spanish Golden Age drama the absence of America seems to have little to do with the representational capacity of the playhouse or the imaginative constraints of the audience. "Indians" were not uncommon figures on the Spanish stage, and Dille notes in his account that he has excluded "las muchas comedias en las cuales aparecen "un indiano" o donde hay referencias aisladas a tesoros or productos del Nuevo Mundo [the many comedies which feature "an Indian" or which include oblique references to the riches and commodities of the New World]."

²⁶ Robert M. Shannon, *Visions of the New World in the Drama of Lope de Vega* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 7. While a dramatization of the Numantine War, Cervantes' *La Numancia* draws on Antonio de Guevara's and Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga's accounts of the Arauco War. See Willard F. King, "Cervantes' *Numancia* and Imperial Spain," *Modern Language Notes* 94, no. 2, (1979): 200–221.

²⁷ Francis Bacon, "The Device Made by the Earl of Essex for the Entertainment of Her Majesty," in *Works*, vol. 8, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath (London: Longman, 1861), 386–391.

²⁸ Zúñiga to Philip III, March 5, 1609, in *Genesis of the United States*, 245.

²⁹ Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 112. My summary of the economic development of English trade is indebted to Brenner.

³⁰ "The Second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin, in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. John Lok," in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 2 (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599), 334.

³¹ As Linda Colley reminds us the term slavery for many English people invoked not Atlantic but Mediterranean trade. It was also more likely to be associated with white Europeans than it was black Africans. A number of the people transported to the Americas were in fact white English and Irish who were forced into domestic servitude. Even after the 1630s and the expansion of the English Atlantic slave trade, slavery was not primarily associated with black Africans until much later. See Colley, "The Crescent and the Sea," in *Captives*, 23–72.

³² Roland Greene, "Petrachism among the Discourses of Imperialism," in *America in European Consciousness*, 131. Kim Hall too uncovers "the colonial imperatives of lyric," in which poetry is "concerned with effacing the colonial economic practices of the English gentry. This effacement is linked to what I have called a poetics of color in which whiteness is established as a valued goal. Whiteness in this case is as much about a desire for a stable linguistic order as it is about physical beauty." See Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 65–66.

³³ Joan Pong Linton, "Inconstancy: Coming to Indians through *Troilus and Cressida*" and "*The Tempest*, 'rape,' the art and smart of Virginian husbandry," in *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 131–154 and 155–184. Linton contends that this interrelationship extends to stage representations, which rehearse themes common to romance and colonial discourse. *Troilus and Cressida* replicates the troubles that afflicted the first settlers of Jamestown by portraying the Greek camp as a place of consumption not of production (the colony relied on native produce and imported goods that were notoriously slow in arriving) and as an environment plagued with infighting and power struggles. *The Tempest* enacts, through the triad of Miranda, Ferdinand, and Caliban, the thematic associations of husbandry, both marital and agricultural, which were significant to Virginia as both a colony dependent on what the land yielded but also one that was without women by and large for the early years of its inception.

³⁴ Stephen J. Greenblatt, "To Fashion a Gentleman: Spenser and the Destruction of the Bower of Bliss," in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 157–192.

- ³⁵ David Read, *Temperate Conquests: Spenser and the Spanish New World* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 19.
- ³⁶ J. Martin Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 147.
- ³⁷ David Quint, "Tasso, Milton, and the Boat of Romance," in *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 248–267.
- ³⁸ Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America 1576–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- ³⁹ Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 4.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.
- ⁴¹ Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and its Subversion, *Henry IV* and *Henry V*," in *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 227.
- ⁴² Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 227.
- ⁴³ Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 16–39.
- ⁴⁴ Rebecca Ann Bach, *Colonial Transformations: the Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World 1580–1640* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 113.
- ⁴⁵ Gordon McMullan, "Discovery," in *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 197–256; Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589–1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 105–121.
- ⁴⁶ Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 26.
- ⁴⁷ Jerry Brotton, "'This Tunis Sir was Carthage': Contesting Colonialism in *The Tempest*," in *Postcolonial Shakespeares*, ed. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London: Routledge, 1998), 23–42. Other critics to doubt the American contexts of *The Tempest* include Meredith Anne Skura, "Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40, no.1 (1989): 42–69; Tristan Marshall, "*The Tempest* and the British Imperium in 1611," *The Historical Journal* 41, no. 2 (1998): 375–400; Andrew C. Hess, "The Mediterranean and Shakespeare's Geopolitical Imagination," in *The Tempest and its Travels*, 121–130. For the relationship between America and *The Tempest*, see John Gillies, "Shakespeare's Virginian Masque," *English Literary History* 53, no. 4 (1986): 673–707; Alden T. Vaughan, "Shakespeare's Indian: The Americanization of Caliban," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1988): 137–153; Deborah Willis, "Shakespeare's *Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism," *Studies in English Literature* 29, no. 2 (1989): 227–289; Paul Brown, "'This Thing of Darkness I Acknowledge Mine': *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism," in *Political Shakespeare*, 48–71; Paul A. Cefalu, "Rethinking the Discourse of Colonialism in Economic Terms: Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Captain John Smith's Virginia Narratives, and the English Response to Vagrancy," *Shakespeare Studies* 28 (2000): 85–119.
- ⁴⁸ Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).
- ⁴⁹ Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier: 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*, ed. K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 17–44.
- ⁵⁰ Walter Cohen, "The Undiscovered Country: Shakespeare and Mercantile Geography," in *Marxist Shakespeares*, ed. Jean E. Howard and Scott Cutler Shershow (London: Routledge, 2001), 130.
- ⁵¹ See Shankar Raman, *Framing "India": The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).
- ⁵² See Matar, "The Renaissance Triangle: Britons, Muslims, and American Indians," in *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 383–107. Matar is a little too ready to reduce English interactions with the Native American population to being brutal and one-sided, even suggesting that the English never bothered to learn native languages, which the accounts of Thomas Harriot and John Smith would strongly counter. Matar's analysis also does not account for the possibility that representations of Muslims influenced representations of Native American.
- ⁵³ Bach, *Colonial Transformations*, 6.

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- ⁵⁴ Edmundo O’Gorman, *The Invention of America: an Enquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of its History* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1961); Tvetzan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: the Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).
- ⁵⁵ John Gillies, “The Figure of the New World in *The Tempest*,” in *The Tempest and its Travels*, 182.
- ⁵⁶ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 5.
- ⁵⁷ Walter Cohen, “The Literature of Empire in the Renaissance,” *Modern Philology* 102, no. 1 (2004): 4–5. The italics are Cohen’s.
- ⁵⁸ As such this study follows Cohen’s proposal for an intermediate perspective that tries “to steer a course between a widely practiced kind of *Zeitgeist* criticism that would swallow up everything into the thematic preoccupation at hand [...] and a conservative scholarly approach that would confine the impact of economic imperialism to indisputable representations and allusions.” Cohen, “The Undiscovered Country,” 154–155.
- ⁵⁹ Jean-Christophe Agnew, *World’s Apart: the Market and the Theater in Anglo-America Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 40.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.
- ⁶¹ On the ways in which drama met the challenges to representation of the reformation, see Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: Protestantism and Popular Theater in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).
- ⁶² There are, however, references to Guiana, Mexico, and Bermuda in Shakespeare’s *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *The Tempest*.
- ⁶³ Ros King, “Introduction,” in William Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors*, ed. T.S. Dorsch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 24.
- ⁶⁴ William Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached in London before the Right Honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Majesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the Rest of the Adventurers in that Plantation* (London: for William Welby, 1610), 33.
- ⁶⁵ William Prynne, *The Vnlovelinesse, of Lovelockes* (London, 1626), 3.

Chapter One

America in Asides

O Lord we pray thee fortiffe vs against this temptation: let *Sanballat*, & *Tobias*, Papists & players, & such other *Amonits* & *Horonits* the scum & dregs of the earth, let them mocke such as helpe to build vp the wals of Ierusalem [...] let them that feare thee, reioyce & be glad in thee, & let them know, that it is thou O Lord, that raigest in England, & vnto the ends of the world.

“A Praier duly said Morning and Euening vpon the Court of Guard,”

Jamestown, Virginia, c. 1611

But why are the *Players* enemies to this Plantation and doe abuse it?

William Crashaw, 1610

Advocates of English colonialism, particularly members of the Virginia Company, regarded early modern playhouses as sites through which circulated news and rumours about America. Many did not welcome the attention. As far as they were concerned, playing companies were interested neither in representing English expansion as a spiritual mission nor in memorializing English settlers as hardy national heroes, but rather in disseminating slanders about those who promoted English colonies and those who lived in them. These complaints are surprising, because no play performed before the closure of the professional theatres in 1642 used America as a setting, few plays feature Native American characters, and only a handful of plays seem overtly interested in events across the Atlantic. Allusions to America abound in drama, either to specific places (Virginia, New England, the West Indies, Guiana, Mexico, Peru) or to a

geographically unspecific “America” or “Indies,” but for the most part these allusions are peripheral to the main action of the plays in which they feature. Allegations against playhouse drama’s anti-colonial leanings appear to have been the product of fevered paranoia.

Suppose, however, that we take these allegations seriously. After all, America’s absence from the early modern stage need not mean that early modern drama was not informed by America. Just because there is so little direct representation of America does not mean that there was no impact whatsoever. To take these allegations against playing companies seriously requires examination not only of those few plays in which colonization in the Americas is a prominent theme, but also of those allusions, or what I call asides, that relate directly or indirectly to colonization in the Americas. I do not here mean “aside” in the traditional sense of a moment when a character steps out of a scene to address the audience directly and comment on the action, or when characters exchange information out of earshot of others with whom they share the stage. I expand its usual definition to include moments when characters make references which have little or no bearing on the action of the play (hence they are “aside” the plot), but which slyly wink at their audiences about concepts, practices, and events, in effect breaking what we might nowadays call “the fourth wall” (albeit that there was not the clear boundary between audience and actor in sixteenth and early seventeenth century playhouses that we find in theatres today). These asides result less in the initiation of a relationship between character and audience at the expense of other characters (although certain asides have this effect) than in the initiation of a relationship between playing companies and their audience as well as between audience members—that is, between those who get the joke or approve with the sentiments behind the aside, or, conversely, in the case of the Virginia Company, those who disapproved.

Listening for asides can unlock key moments within a play and across a range of plays. It can help us understand how playhouses acted as nodes within circuits of information exchange through which passed news, rumours, and slanders. Listening for asides about America shows the ways in which playing companies were attuned to emerging English imperialist ideology and

practices. While America was not pushed to centre stage, its position on the periphery of early modern drama does not signal its lack of importance. Through asides playing companies tapped into anxieties expressed (or even repressed) within colonial propaganda, about the colonies attracting only the dissolute, about them being unsound investments, and about the mission being doomed to failure. The Virginia Company objected to the Players and cast them as its enemies precisely because they exposed (or were believed to expose) those tensions at the heart of colonial enterprise that it sought to mask.

This chapter examines the slanders that the Virginia Company felt compelled to counter, but which seem to have returned and redoubled in the early years of the settlement. It looks at those plays that may have been understood as being anti-Virginian, in particular *Eastward Ho!* by Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and John Martson, which depicts potential settlers in Virginia as materialistic glory-hounds. It analyzes those small moments in plays where America is invoked to see whether the “anti-colonialism” of *Eastward Ho!* is detectable across a broader range of plays. But to begin with, it recounts the state of the colony in its early years, both to ascertain why members of the Virginia Company were so concerned with how the colony was being represented on the stage and to judge whether they were paranoid or whether players and playwrights were really out to get them.

I. “Of Virginia there are so many tractates”: Promotion by Print and Pulpit

In its first decade the settlement at Jamestown in Virginia lurched towards disaster and collapse, as had Roanoke and previous attempts at English settlement in the New World. The settlers, a third of whom were gentlemen unaccustomed to manual labour and to taking orders, were unsuited to establishing a colony, and they swiftly descended into infighting. The atmosphere in the colony diminished further as a result of the enervating sickness that swept through it, which restricted the settlers from planting crops for their survival and resulted in their reliance on the Powhatan for food. In addition, English-Powhatan relations were often hostile, not

helped by the English periodically, and short-sightedly, cutting down their neighbours' corn and committing atrocities against them.¹ Whatever lessons the English might have learned from their early blunders were not implemented. As Edmund S. Morgan argues, "they seem to have made nearly every possible mistake and some that seem almost impossible."² By the period 1609–10, the English had had three years in which to plant, to map the outlying areas, and to capitalize on the game and fish that abounded in the region, and yet this period became known as "the starving time": by the spring of 1610 only sixty settlers out of five hundred remained alive.

The colony was plagued as much by mismanagement as it was by circumstance. The London and Plymouth Company charters granted by James I in 1606 made inadequate provisions for governance among the settlers. The name of the first President of the governing council was withheld until the *Sarah Constance*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery* arrived in Virginia in April 1607, a policy designed to prevent upheaval and friction on the crossing, but the appointment of Edward Maria Wingfield as President proved unpopular. He was deposed by a faction headed by Captain John Ratcliffe (with Captains John Smith's and John Martin's support) and imprisoned for treason, accused both of using the collective food store as his own and of being a Spanish-supporting atheist who prohibited settlers from attending religious services. The actual authority bestowed upon Wingfield was minimal, with the real power remaining with the adventurers in London who for obvious reasons were unable to make quick decisions in response to the needs of the colony. But even the decisions they did make and implement were ill-conceived. The colony was in desperate need of more manpower, if nothing else to replace those who were dying or were unfit to work because of assorted diseases and malnutrition, but the new arrivals in 1608 were again highly unsuited to the conditions. Too many specialized labourers, with only twelve out-and-out labourers, plus a further fifty-six gentlemen, burdened rather than aided the colony.

A second charter was successfully petitioned and granted in May 1609, which broke down the constituents of both the London and the Jamestown governing councils and defined and

bolstered the rôle of the President (a position renamed “Governor”) in the colony. However, this new structure was undermined by a further setback. In June 1609 seven ships and two pinnaces left Plymouth for Virginia with 500 much-needed new settlers and supplies. The ships were separated by a storm on July 22, and the *Sea Venture*, on board of which were the incoming Deputy Governor Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, captain of the whole fleet, wrecked on the shores of Bermuda. The remaining ships soldiered on to Virginia, but with diminished supplies, and without their leaders, their arrival did little to alleviate the worsening conditions. John Smith, who had been elected President in September 1608, found himself presiding over an unruly colony verging on the mutinous, and was forced to return to England in October 1609 following a gunpowder “accident” that may have been an assassination attempt by rival factions. Following Smith’s departure, the colony had no recognized leader, had run out of food, and was dependent on increasingly capricious relations with the Powhatan, who were running out of patience with the newcomers to Tsenacomoco, the Algonquian name for their territory. When Thomas Gates finally arrived nine months behind schedule after extensive refueling and rebuilding in Bermuda, he found a colony under-stocked, underfed, and drastically undermanned. He decided to return to England with the surviving colonists, but just as they were leaving they were intercepted by three ships coming from England, which brought supplies and the colony’s new Governor, Thomas West, Lord de la Warr. Had Gates not met de la Warr coming in the opposite direction, the Virginia colony, like so many other English colonial ventures before it, would have disappeared, possibly for good. As it was, the settlers returned with de la Warr to re-establish the colony.

De la Warr’s arrival is rendered almost messianic in Richard Rich’s poem *Newes from Virginia* (1610). Rich had been on the *Sea Venture*, and wrote his poem as part of the Virginia Company propaganda machine. However, Rich’s poem, nakedly supportive of the colony, nonetheless cannot disguise the dire state in which Gates and de la Warr found the colonists, “opprest with griefe / and discontent in minde.”³ To prevent this “discontent in minde” from

leading to future discord, the Company implemented a series of draconian measures. Laws were passed on July 22, 1611, drafted by William Strachey (another of the *Sea Venture* survivors), and exacted under the brutal regime of Sir Thomas Dale, who replaced de la Warr as Governor in May of that year when the latter was (in his own words) “distempered with other greuous sicknesses, which successiuey & seuerally assailed me.”⁴ The colony stabilized in this period, although lean times would return in the following decade; and in the 1610s, even after John Rolfe had planted the first tobacco crops (upon which Virginia’s wealth would be founded), Virginia existed on a hand-to-mouth basis, growing little in economic terms, despite (or perhaps because of) a consistent influx of new settlers.⁵ And the settlers were frequently attacked by Powhatan, or Wahunsenacawh, paramount chief of Tsenacomoco, who became increasingly hostile towards English settlers, their dependence on native food stores, and their persistent presence, survival, and parasitical behaviour in lands he had long established as his own.⁶

It was against this troubled background that the Virginia Company attempted to raise both funds and awareness about the possibilities that the new colony offered to investors and settlers in England. In 1609, councilors launched a promotional campaign to coincide with the petition for a new charter—a campaign that was founded on twin modes of dissemination, the printing press and the pulpit. Samuel Macham published *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent Fruits by Planting in Virginia*, a transcript of alderman Robert Johnson’s “priuate speech or discourse, touching our plantation in *Virginia*, vttered not long since in *London*, where some few aduenturers (well affecting the enterprise) [were] met together touching their intended proiect.”⁷ 1609 saw the publication of *Virginia Richly Valued*, an account of Hernando de Soto’s travels from Florida to Mexico in the early 1540s, translated by Richard Hakluyt and dedicated to the councilors and adventurers of the Virginia Company; it also saw the publication of Hakluyt’s translation of Marc Lescarbot’s *Nova Francia*, which was intended to encourage those in Virginia “to prosecute that generous and godly action, in planting and peopling that Country, to the better propagation of the Gospel of Christ, the saluation of innumerable soules, and generall benefit of

this land.”⁸ Such was the proliferation of materials that Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York, complained to the Earl of Somerset in 1609 that “of Virginia there are so many tractates, human, historical, political, or call them as you please, as no further intelligence I dare desire.”⁹ The following year the Company printed two tracts, *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* and *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*, to explain the misfortunes that had beset it—in particular the wreck of the *Sea Venture*—and to persuade potential subscribers that the problems were not terminal and that it was still a worthy investment. In *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* the Company stressed “that these accidents and contingencies, were euer to bee expected.”¹⁰

In the same period clergymen with connections to the Virginia Company preached on its behalf, and a number of these sermons were subsequently printed. Three sermons were given at St. Paul’s Cross, by Richard Crackanthorpe on March 24, by George Benson on May 7, and Daniel Price, chaplain to Prince Henry, on May 25. The congregation at Whitechapel heard both William Symonds deliver his sermon *Virginia* and Robert Gray’s *A Good Speed to Virginia* in April. Robert Tynley railed against the false doctrines of “the Romish synagogue” and included a defense of the Virginia Colony and its settlers in his sermon delivered on April 17. Thomas Morton, Dean of Gloucester and later bishop of Durham, delivered a sermon defending the legality of settling in Indian lands. On February 21, 1610, William Crashaw, preacher at the Inner and Middle Temples, delivered a sermon to the assembled Virginia Company, a congregation that included Virginia’s soon-to-be departed Governor, Lord de la Warr.¹¹ All of these sermons were printed soon after their performance, with the (probable) exception of Morton’s, which has been lost.¹²

These sermons used the colony as an example of the greatness of the English nation, of the glories of the newly enthroned king, and of the necessary work of England’s Protestant mission in the face of the evils of the papists and the Spanish. Thus in *A Sermon at the*

Solemnizing of the Happie Inauguration of our most Gracious and Religious Sovereign King James, Richard Crackanthorpe stressed to the crowds at St. Paul's Cross that Virginia was a fitting exemplar of the blessedness that would be bestowed upon the nation as a result of the accession of the new king: "the honourable expedition now happily intended for *Virginea* [was] enterprised [...] by the most wise & religious direction and protection of our chiefest Pilot, seconded by so many honorable and worthy personages in this State and kingdome, that it may iustly giue encouragement with alacrity and cheerefulnesse for some to vndertake, for others to further so noble & so religious an attempt." Crackanthorpe rejoiced in "the great and manifold benefits which may redound to this our so populous a Nation, by planting an English Colony in a Territory as large and spacious almost as is England, and in a soyle so rich, fertill, and fruitefull, as that besides the sufficiencyes it naturally yealds for it selfe, may with best convenience, supply some of the greatest wantes and necessities of these Kingdomes."¹³ Robert Tynley used Virginia as an exemplar of Christian charity. He called on his congregation to "[w]itnesse abroad the planting intended, or rather already happily begun of our English Colonie in *Virginia*, whither the charitie of our late Souereigne of all blessed memorie Lady *Elizabeth*, and of his most excellent Maiesty now reigning, [...] hath extended, to their great costs, labours, and perils."¹⁴ Other sermons were even more explicitly concerned with praising the colony and its patrons. Thus William Symonds's sermon was, as its title-page proudly announced, received by "many, Honourable and Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia."¹⁵ Symonds used God's commandment to Abraham in *Genesis* ("*THE Lord called Abraham to go into another Countrey*") as a justification for planting in Virginia: "Neither can there be any doubt, but that the Lord that called *Abraham* into another Countrey, doeth also by the same holy hand, call you to goe and carry the Gospell to a Nation that neuer heard of Christ."¹⁶

This support from the pulpit was so successful that Don Pedro de Zuñiga, the Spanish Ambassador in England, wrote to Phillip III on April 12, 1609 to inform him that the Virginia Company hierarchy "have seen to it that the ministers, in their sermons, stress the importance of

filling the world with their religion, and of everyone exerting themselves to give what they have to so great an undertaking.” Zuñiga’s letter underlines how the first wave of support from the pulpit increased donations to the Company. Zuñiga was impressed (not to mention alarmed) that “[i]n this way a good sum of money is being collected, and they are making a great effort to take master-workmen and skilled artisans to build ships, and they are sending eight famous master-workmen [*grandes maestro*] under compulsion, and more than forty skilled artisans.”¹⁷ The fact that Zuñiga’s letter was sent before Benson, Price, Tynley, Symonds, and Crashaw made their way to the pulpit (and possibly before Gray and Morton, whose sermons’ precise dates are unknown), indicates that there may have been a number of sermons delivered before April 12, 1609 that were never published or have not survived.

The levels of publicity never quite again reached the peaks of the period 1609–1610, but nevertheless the Virginia Company resorted to the pulpit and the printing press on a number of subsequent occasions. From 1612 onwards the Company printed tracts to coincide with the launch of the lotteries. Among these tracts were broadsheets such as *A Declaration for the Certain Time in Drawing the Great Standing Lottery* (1615). Also printed were first-hand accounts like Alexander Whitaker’s *Good Newes from Virginia* (1613), which included a foreword by William Crashaw, and former colonial secretary and colonist Ralph Hamor’s *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1615). In a spectacularly ill-timed sermon delivered on April 18, 1622, Patrick Copland prayed in thanks for the safe arrival of nine ships at Virginia the previous year, but concluded that there was “no Danger after their landing [at Jamestown], either through *warres*, or *famine*, or *want of conuenient lodging*.”¹⁸ Little did Copland know that only a month before he took to the pulpit the colonists (including those new arrivals whose safe passage he celebrated) had been ravaged by the forces of Opechancanough. To rectify the potential public relations disaster surrounding the attacks of March 22, 1622 and the deaths of 347 settlers, the Company again turned to print and the pulpit. An official report was written by “colonist” Edward Waterhouse and rushed into publication the very same year.¹⁹ John Donne

delivered an impassioned sermon about the colony from the pulpit of St. Paul's on November 13, 1622, willing the assembled Company not to forget its religious mission, and to "[o]nely let your principall ende, bee the propagation of the glorious Gospell."²⁰

Despite these publicity efforts the Virginia Company continued to struggle, tottering from financial crises to crises of leadership and back again. It did not help itself, as it was especially bad at collecting subscriptions, meaning that there was a perpetual shortfall in the treasury. Eventually, after much internal wrangling (between the gentry faction headed by Edwin Sandys and Henry Wriostheley, Earl of Southampton, and the nobility faction headed by Sir Thomas Smith and the Rich family), and with the company virtually bankrupt, the colony was handed over to the crown in 1625. The dissolution of the Virginia Company did not signal the end of Jamestown. If anything, the decline of the Virginia Company coincided with an upswing in the colony's fortunes. English-Powhatan hostility continued for a decade after Opechancanough's attacks, but the English were getting more of a hold on the region: the rate of immigration increased (by 1650 the colony numbered 13,000); the first shipment of tobacco left Jamestown in 1617, and in the following decades tobacco production increased and became more profitable (200,000 pounds in 1624 to 3,000,000 pounds in 1638); local resistance from Native Americans and disgruntled colonists became more of an annoyance to the English than a major threat.²¹

Little was written, published, or disseminated in England about the colony after the dissolution of the Virginia Company. As Helen Rountree notes, "[a] sort of Dark Age set in from the mid-1620s until the late 1640s" in terms of the amount of new information about Virginia in circulation.²² There was no promotional wing of the crown to promote the success of the colony, nor did there necessarily need to be. Twenty years of English presence in the Chesapeake had passed, and poor economic conditions in England meant that emigration seemed an attractive option, especially to the more disadvantaged sectors of the population—even though conditions in the colony were far from ideal (the death rate, for example, was 25% of the population per annum until the mid-1600s).²³ However, the colony's shaky beginnings were not fully erased

from the popular imagination. As I will show, the popular view of Virginia in London was that it was something of a joke—this is evident even in drama performed as late as 1640—in part because no substantial corrective had been offered since the period when the colony had been on its knees and on the verge of dissolution.

II. “Ingenious Verbalists”: Rumour and Rebuttal in Jamestown and London

The combined modes of dissemination from print and from pulpit were designed not only to promote the virtues of the Virginia Company and Jamestown and the surrounding plantations but also to counteract the various rumours about the state of the colony, the colonists, and relations with the native population. Negative publicity haunted the Virginia colony since its first inception. Indeed, badmouthing American exploration in general seems to have been a long-standing national pastime. George Best, in his address to Sir Christopher Hatton at the beginning of his account of Martin Frobisher’s voyages to discover the Northwest Passage between 1576 and 1578, comments that “by sundrie mens fantasies, sundrie vntruths are spred abroad, to gret slaunder of this so honest and honorable an action: [...] the ignorant multitude is rather ready to slaunder, than to giue good encouragement by due commendation to good causes.”²⁴ The Roanoke colonies were also slammed by malicious rumours. In the address “To the Adventurers, Favorers, and Welwillers of the Enterprise for the Inhabiting and Planting in Virginia” at the beginning of *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), Thomas Harriot complains that “[t]here haue bin diuers and variable reportes with some slaunderous and shamefull speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence [...] Which reports haue not done a litle wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured & aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefite of our nation, besides the particular profite and credite which would redounde to them selues the dealers therein.”²⁵ While there seems to have been popular support for English exploration, at the same time there seems to have been popular contempt and/or mockery—some of it traceable back to the very people who had travelled there.

If earlier English exploration was prone to criticism, settlement in Virginia post-1607 was, at least according to its proponents, frequently mauled. All of the promotional tracts composed in the early years of the colony address slurs directed towards Virginia. Thus, Daniel Price attacked “those scandalous and slanderous Detractors of that most Noble *Voyage*” in his sermon of 1609, *Sauls Prohibition Staide*.²⁶ The author(s) of *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* (1610) lament “ignorant rumor, virulent enuy, or impious subtilty, [which] daily callumniateth our industries.”²⁷ As its full title suggests, the other Virginia Company tract of 1610, *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a Confutation of Such Scandalous Reports as haue been Tended to the Disgrace of so Worthy an Enterprize*, addresses more forcibly the reports that were circulating about events in Virginia, about the legitimacy of the enterprise, and about the wisdom of investing in a venture that seemed as if it would yield little in the way of immediate return. In *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612) William Strachey explained that he was moved to write because “[t]he many Mouthes of Ignourance, and Sclaunder, which ever too apt to let fall the Venome of their worst and most depraving Envyes, vpon the best and most sacred workes, and so not affrayd to blast both this Enterprize, and the divoutest Labourers therein, wrings from me the necessity of this imperfect defence” (although ironically Strachey’s account never saw print in his lifetime).²⁸

To a degree it is possible to reconstruct the criticisms of the colony from these tracts. The rumours seem to have migrated along with disgruntled settlers returning from the colony. John Smith blamed the “ingenious verbalists [who] were no lesse plague to us in Virginia, then the Locusts to the Egyptians.”²⁹ Critics claimed that the Virginian environment was unsuitable: William Crashaw complained “that the Countrie is ill reported of by them that haue been there,” and responded by saying that “it is not true, in all, not in the greater or better part.”³⁰ Commodities were reported as scarce and unprofitable (particularly after the discovery that there was no gold in Virginia), which is one reason why so many tracts include lengthy lists of the

goods that the colony offered. People involved in the colony were greedy and seditious; anyone who backed it was an idiot as it was not a good investment. In response Crashaw bemoaned investors who “make many excuses, and devise objections; but the fountaine of all is, because they may not haue present profit [...] tell them of planting a Church conuerting 10000. soules to God, they are senseless as stones.”³¹ In addition, there were question marks about the legitimacy of the colony, because the Spanish had already laid claim to America and because a native population already occupied the land. Strachey countered these arguments by insisting that the English were not intending to oust the native population but rather to lead them to God: “All the Iniury that we purpose vnto them, is but the Amendement of these horrible Hethenishnes, and the reduction of them [...] to the knowledge, (which the *Romans* could not giue vs) of that god, who must saue both them and vs”³² As Daniel Price summed up,

The Philosopher commendeth the Temperature, the Marchant the commodity, the Politian the opportunity, the Diuine, the Pietie, in conuerting so many thousand soules. The *Virginian* desireth it, and the *Spaniard* enuyeth vs, and yet our own *lazie, drouisie, yet barking Countrimen* traduce it: who should honour it, if it were but for the remembrance of that *Virgine Queen* of eternal memory, who was first godmother to that land and Nation. As also that VIRGINE Country may in time proue to vs the Barne of Britaine, as *Sicily* was to *Rome*, or the Garden of the world was Thessaly, or the Argosie of the world as is *Germany*.³³

If so many learned and knowledgeable people were supportive of the colony and the Company, and if Virginia’s potential was plain for all to see, why, asks Price and his fellow promoters, were so many enemies giving it so much flack? Could they not see the damage that this kind of talk was inflicting?

There is every chance that the rumours that so concerned the Virginia Company found their way into print in the form of ballads and broadsides, but little to us remains. In *New Englands Prospect* (1634) William Wood complained about “the sulphurious breath of every base

ballad-monger” spreading “scandalous and false reports” about New England, but the ballads that have survived are overwhelmingly positive.³⁴ “London’s Lotterie,” for example, informs its readers and hearers that the purpose of investment “is to plant a kingdome sure, / where savadge people dwell: / God will favour Christians still, / and like the purpose well.”³⁵ But as Meredith Ann Skura has argued, even though “[t]he official propaganda, optimistic about future profits, was soon countered by a backlash from less optimistic scoffers challenging the value of the entire project, one which sent money, men, and ships to frequent destruction and brought back almost no profit,” by necessity “[t]he quantity and quality of the objections, which have not on the whole survived, has been judged by the nature of the many defenses thought necessary to answer them.”³⁶ Historians have had to question the degree to which these promotional tracts can be trusted. There is always the possibility that the reason why we have so little record of the complaints against colonization is that they were rhetorical stunts used so as to cast colonies as maligned enterprises in need of support. That there is a long tradition in promotional tracts (stretching back to George Best) of structuring claims about the benefits of an enterprise around the supposed criticism of the enterprise may underline this.³⁷

However, the Virginia Company’s fears about the ways that the colony was being represented seem to have been genuine, even if the justification for these fears may be more difficult to substantiate. So serious did the Company deem negative rumours that it was prepared to take action against those who circulated them. Among the draconian measures drawn up under Thomas Dale in Virginia in 1611 was one prohibiting anybody daring “to detract, slaunder, calmuniate, or vtter vnseemely, and vnfitting speeches, wither against his Maiesties Honourable Councell for this Colony, resident in England, or against the Committies, Assistants vnto the said Councell, or against the zealous indeauors, & intentions of the whole body of Aduenturers for this pious and Christian Plantation.” The punishment for a first offence was “to bee whipt three seuerall times,” for a second was “to be condemned to the Gally for three yeares,” and for a third “to be punished with death.”³⁸ The paranoia that was evident in the colony was not limited to the

colony. The third Virginia Company charter of March 12, 1612 included legislation that gave the council

full power and authoritie [over any slanderers in England] either here to binde them over with good sureties for their good behaviour and further therin to proceed to all intents and purposes, as itt is used in other like cases within our realme of England; or ells att their discretion to remand and send back the said offenders or anie of them unto the said Colonie in Virginia, there to be proceeded against and punished as the Governor, deputie and Counsell there for the time being shall thinke meete; or otherwise, according to such lawes and ordinannces as are or shalbe in use there for the well ordring and good government of the said Colonie.³⁹

It is one thing to legislate against seditious behaviour in Virginia; it is quite another to extend this to former colonists who have returned to England. It does not seem as if this legislation was ever enacted, but it is clear that the Company was concerned about the ways that the colony was being represented outside the colony and was willing to take action against those who defamed it.

III. “Blowen abroad [...] by players”: *Eastward Ho!* and anti-Americanism

It is in the context of these waves of promotion, and their attempts to counter the rumours that so plagued early colonial advocacy, that we find complaints that the stage was, as it were, anti-American. Supporters contended that playwrights and players were the enemies of the colony, arguing that they condemned the Virginia Company and denigrated its activities. In his sermon delivered on February 21, 1610 to the assembled Company members, William Crashaw excoriated the unholy trinity of “the Divell, Papists, and Players” as the enemies of the Company.⁴⁰ The players “abuse Virginea” and “disgrace it,” complained Crashaw, as they do all things that are “good, excellent or holy.”⁴¹ Crashaw repeated his attack four years later in his introduction to Alexander Whitaker’s *Good Newes from Virginia*, in which he attacked “the

calumnies and slanders, raised vpon our Colonies, and the Countrey it selfe. These being deuised by the Diuell, and set abroad by idle and base companions, are blowen abroad by Papists, Players and such like, till they have filled the vulgar eares.” Crashaw declared that “the iests of prophane Players, and other Sycophants, and the flouts and mockes of some” against “the place, Plantation, and persons that are in it” gave him confidence “of Gods blessing vpon” the colony.⁴² Crashaw was not alone in his opinion. In his 1612 treatise *The New Life of Virginea*, Robert Johnson complained that “the malitious and looser sort (being accompanied with the licentious vaine of stage Poets) have whet their tongues with scornfull taunts” against the Virginia Company. He promised to “free the name [of Virginia] it selfe from the injurious scoffer, and this commendable enterprise from the scorne and derision of any such, as by ignorance or malice have sought the way to wrong it.”⁴³ News about the playing companies’ scorn towards Virginia spread across the Atlantic. The court of guard in Jamestown offered a prayer twice daily asking God to “fortiffe vs against [...] Papists & players, & such other *Amonits & Horonits* the scum & dregs of the earth.”⁴⁴ Ralph Hamor incorporated the prayer in his *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*. Hamor railed against “Papists and Players [...] the scumme and dregges of the people”: “let them mocke at this holy Businesse, they that be filthie, let them be filthie still, and let such swine wallow in the mire.”⁴⁵

But what play could these people have had in mind?⁴⁶ *Eastward Ho!* is the most likely candidate. The play, first performed at Blackfriar’s by the notorious playing company the Children of Her Majesties Revels in 1605, mocks supporters of a colony in Virginia through its representation of the bankrupt nobleman Sir Petronel Flash, who corrals two adventurers, Seagull and Spendall, into heading west to begin their lives anew in the New World. Lust and greed, rather than religious idealism, are the catalysts for their efforts. In a parody of Sir Walter Raleigh’s declaration that “*Guiana* is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought,” Seagull lustily declares, “Virginia longs till we share the rest of her maidenhead.”⁴⁷ He informs Spendall that “all their dripping pans and their chamber-pots are pure

gold; and all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massy gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold” (3.3.23–32). This golden fantasy is never realized, as the adventurers make little progress, only getting as far as Cuckold’s Haven on the Isle of Dogs. They are so clueless that they believe that they are “cast up o’ the coast of France” (4.1.133–134) and are reduced to blanching copper in order to make it seem as if they have brought back silver from a transatlantic voyage. Virginia adventurers are thus parodied as greedy and feckless, solely interested in personal gain.

Although *Eastward Ho!* was written and first performed one year before the foundation of the Virginia Company and two years before the *Sarah Constance*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery* landed in Virginia, it taps into the interest in reviving a colony in Virginia that seems to have been gathering pace in the early seventeenth century. With the Spanish wars coming to an end (peace was finally achieved at the Treaty of London in 1604), there was fresh opportunity for settling in the New World. Several voyages across the Atlantic—by Samuel Mace and Bartholomew Gosnold, both in 1602, by Raleigh Gilbert and Martin Pring in 1603, and by George Waymouth in 1602 and 1605—were undertaken in order to reconnoiter the area and test the possibilities of trade with local tribes. The play also taps into speculation about the lost colony of Roanoke, which was found abandoned by the returning governor John White in 1590, and the recovery of which was hampered by Anglo-Spanish aggression throughout the remainder of that decade. In the first decade of the seventeenth century Roanoke seems to have remained a live topic of conversation in the capital. David Beers Quinn contends that “the story of the Lost Colony became somewhat tedious by repetition to Londoners [...] for in 1605 it was guyed on the stage in the play *Eastward Hoe* [...] [and] in the current propaganda for the revival of the Virginia enterprise, which bore fruit in the charter of April 1606, the story of the allegedly surviving colony had been somewhat oversold.”⁴⁸ *Eastward Ho!* stresses the survival of the colony—it is one of the reasons why Flash, Seagull, and Spendall desire to embark on their voyage. Seagull tells Spendall that in Virginia “A whole country of English is there, man, bred of

those that were left there in '79 [...] [who] have married with the Indians, and make 'em bring forth as beautiful faces as any we have in England; and therefore the Indians are so in love with 'em, that all the treasure they have they lay at their feet" (3.3.14–21).⁴⁹ Thus settlers are associated with lust: in this account Roanoke was not abandoned so much as integrated through sexual congress between English and Indians. While the Virginia Company wanted to stress that the Roanoke colony had survived (in part to legitimize their own colony as one that was set up in a place already claimed by the English, and in part to assuage doubts about the safety of settlers in the area), it avoided mentioning the possibility that the colonists had deserted the settlement and mixed with the native population. The Spanish were notorious for their sexual relations with the native population: the English were keen to stress that their relations were godly and chaste, and that, when marriage occurred between the English and Native Americans, it was between English husbands and native wives who were expected to convert to Christianity. Seagull's version of the history of Roanoke suggests that the English were more like the Spanish than they wanted to admit, a topic to which I return later in this chapter.

Eastward Ho! gained a fair degree of infamy when it was first performed. However, its notoriety stemmed from Seagull's slur against "industrious Scots," whom he wished would migrate to Virginia, "for we are all one countrymen now, ye know; and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than we do here" (3.3.36–45). Chapman and Jonson were arrested and imprisoned (although only for a few weeks), and this inflammatory passage was excised from future print runs after the play's initial publication in 1605.⁵⁰ There is no record that the controversy surrounding the play had anything to do with its unfavourable portrayal of Virginia. In an attempt to clear their names, Jonson and Chapman wrote a series of letters to assorted patrons and officials (including James I and the Lord Chamberlain, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk), but none of these letters mention Virginia, let alone apologize for or defend their representation of colonial cant.⁵¹ Even though all mention of the Scots was excised from future

print runs after 1605, the revised version of *Eastward Ho!* does not relent from poking fun at those who lusted after the New World. In the original version, Seagull advises Spendall that

for your means to advancement, [in Virginia] it is simple and not preposterously mixed. You may be an alderman there, and never be scavenger; you may be a nobleman, and never be a slave; you may come to preferment enough, and never be a pander; to riches and fortune enough, and have never the more villainy nor the less wit. (45–51)

Spendall here claims that he can achieve high office with ease and without any machinations (or hard work); sure signs in a Jonson comedy that comeuppance is nigh. Virginia is signified as a place where social advancement is possible, where the bounds of rank could be overstepped, where the natural order could be trumped with ease. While the emended version of the play substitutes “you may be a nobleman, and never be a slave” with “You may be any other officer, and never be a Slave”—perhaps in deference to members of the nobility who were involved in advocating a colony in Virginia (although the character of Sir Petronel Flash is hardly a complementary exemplar of the nobility)—it adds Seagull saying, “Besides, there, we shall haue no more Law then conscience, and not too much of either; serue God inough, eate and drinke inough, and *inough is as good as a Feast*.”⁵² Virginia venturers are thus represented as only interested in lining their purses and their stomachs; they desire laws that will serve their own needs rather than the common good. These digs would no doubt have annoyed Virginia Company members if they saw or heard about a remounting of *Eastward Ho!*. Its performance history is sketchy, but the play remained in the repertoire at least until January 1614, when it was performed at court by Lady Elizabeth’s Men. It may well have been the play that the Company had in mind when they proclaimed players their enemies. Nonetheless, its anti-Virginia sentiment was not what got its playwrights in trouble, and is not the thing that made this play such a *cause celebre*. The fact that these anti-Virginia digs passed the censor even after the play was emended

does not mean that they did not cause offense, but there is no surviving evidence of any specific offense being taken.

IV. “To suffer no Idle persons in Virginea”: Colonialist Anti-theatricalism

Were the Virginia Company members so sensitive to criticism that *Eastward Ho!*, which was written before the colony was established and before any of the troubles of 1609–10, made them regard players and playwrights on the same level as papists and the devil? There may have been a rash of lost or forgotten plays that attacked Virginia, settlers, and those on the other side of the Atlantic who were funding such follies. It is possible that plays critical of the Company fell victim to censorship. The colony was after all supported by the crown (it had been granted a royal patent), and had at its helm a number of prominent figures at court, so overt criticisms may have met with considerable antagonism. The only evidence we have is the revision to *Eastward Ho!*, which, as I’ve argued, seems to have been forced upon the writers more because of the play’s anti-Scottishness than its anti-colonialism, but other plays may not have survived precisely because the Master of the Revels took exception to them.⁵³ Another play mounted by the Children of Her Majesties Revels, Chapman’s *Byron* (performed at Blackfriar’s in 1608), created such a stir that the playing companies were thereafter constrained from putting on plays about current affairs—although the ban was flouted with some regularity, especially in the late 1610s and early 1620s.⁵⁴ We cannot fully discount the possibility that improvisations and extemporizing made Virginia the butt of numerous jokes, and that these moments of performance were never recorded. There may well have been tracts written by playwrights damning or mocking Virginia that have not survived. Frustratingly little remains that might support any of these possibilities.

It is possible that the Virginia Company was not referring to any specific play or playwright at all. In many ways the complaints against the players accord with other forms of anti-theatricalism voiced in the period which witnessed the emergence of the professional playing companies. Players were frequently accused of being idolatrous, heathenish, and allies to the

antichrist pope. This is evident just in the title-page of William Prynne's enormous *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), a summation of anti-theatrical tenets, the title page of which announces "*That popular Stage-plays [...] are sinfull, heathenish, lewde, ungodly Spectacles, and most pernicious Corruptions; [...] And that the Profession of Play-poets, of Stage players; together with the penning, acting, and frequenting of Stage-plays, are unlawfull, infamous and misbeseeming.*"⁵⁵ Players were often regarded as the lowest of the low. As one treatise of 1616 puts it, the player "is now a name of contempt": "Players, Poets, and Parasites doe now in a manner ioyne hands, and as Lucifer fell from heauen though pride: these haue fallen from credit through folly: so that to chaste eares they are as odious, as filthy pictures are offesiue to modest eyes."⁵⁶ The ready association between players and the ungodly make it understandable why proponents of a Christian settlement whose ostensible purpose was to convert heathen souls would latch onto the player as a target of their ire—regardless of whether they merited these attacks for anything said in performance.⁵⁷ Crashaw's and Hamor's coupling of players, devils, and papists seems less startling in this context.⁵⁸

The naming of the player and the playwright as enemies of Virginia is curious, however, because players and settlers were subject to similar criticisms and accused of comparable crimes. Players were associated with moral degradation, which they supposedly projected onto their audiences. For example, Gervaise Babington, Bishop of Exeter, contended that "[t]hese prophane & wanton stage playes or interludes [are] an occasion [...] of adulterie and vncleaneness, by gesture, by speech, by conueyances, and deuices to attaine to so vngodly desires [...] [and] [t]hey corrupt the eies with alluring gestures: the eyes, the heart: and the heart, the bodie, till al be horrible before the Lord."⁵⁹ Similarly, accusations of dissolute behaviour were regularly levelled at the Virginia colony. The settlers were widely perceived to be an unruly mix of gentlemen unprepared for the hard graft of building a colony, convicts, vagrants, and poor, unemployed youth—all of whom were fighting for their own share in the colony while at the same time struggling to survive.

Idleness was a complaint levelled at both playhouse and colony. In *The Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), Philip Stubbes asks his readership “do [plays] not norish ydlenes? and *otia dant vitia*, ydlenes is the Mother of vice.” Argues Stubbes, they “draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly lectures and sermons [...] for you shall haue them flocke thither, thicke & threefold, when the church of God shalbe bare & emptie; And those that will neuer come at sermons wil flow thither apace.”⁶⁰ This type of complaint also emerged because outdoor playhouse drama was performed in the afternoon, and as a result took playgoers away from their professions and ground the working day to a halt. Idleness likewise was attached to the colonists. As we have seen with the prospective colonists in *Eastward Ho!*, popular opinion seems to have been that people headed to Virginia to find a life of ease rather than to spread the word of God. In *A Map of Virginia* (1612), John Smith admitted that “[t]here were many in Virginia merely projecting, verbal and idle contemplatours, and those so devoted to pure idlenesse, that though they had lived two or three yeares in Virginia, lordly, necessities it selfe could not compel them to passe the Peninsula, or Pallisadoes or James Towne.”⁶¹ Crashaw, in an attempt to answer criticisms of the colony for its encouragement of immoral activities, had to agree that in Virginia there are “*some*, and may be *many* of the vulgar and viler sort, who went thither only for ease and idlenesse, for profit and pleasure, and some such carnall causes, and found contrariwise but cold entertainment, and that they must labour or else not eate, and be tied within the bounds of sharp lawes, and seuere discipline.”⁶² The Virginia Company’s tract *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* attempted to account for the malaise that de la Warr encountered on his arrival in 1610 and

lay aside the cause and fault from the desigine, truely and home vpon the misgouernment of the Commanders, by dissention and ambition among themselues, and vpon the Idlenesse and bestiall slouth, of the common sort, who were active in nothing but adhearing to factions and parts, euen to their owne

ruine, like men almost desperate of all supply, so conscious, and guilty they were so themselves of their owne demerit, and lasinesse.⁶³

This tract's desire to downplay the idleness of the plantation's inhabitants, and to play up their distress, is somewhat undone by the confused syntax; it is unclear whether both the commanders and the common sort are being absolved of blame, or whether it is just the commanders. This last impression is enhanced by the lengthy description of how the common sort are reputed to have behaved, which makes the sentence's governing phrase "lay aside the cause and fault" potentially long-forgotten by the time the sentence reaches its conclusion. And the implication in this passage is that while the commanders have been reproved for their ambition and the commoners have been reproved for sloth, both are united—indeed, both categories slide into one another—through the fact that both are guilty of factionalism. The desire to separate these two ranks is thwarted because both have allegedly committed the same crime, even though the authors of this tract wish to debunk these claims.

The association between player and settler can be understood in the context of growing anxieties about rank and social mobility. In this period identity was very much tied to place, both physical (one's geographical location in subordination to one's social superior, i.e., on the Lord's estate) and social (one's hierarchical relation to one's superiors, often signified through dress). However, the upheavals of the sixteenth century had given rise to a new, masterless class of people now unplaceable in terms of geography and in terms of precise employment. This was a period of mass migration in England as men and women travelled to find new work opportunities—particularly to London, which grew to such an extent that even though in 1625 the plague carried off 35,000, the population had returned to its total before the plague by 1627.⁶⁴ As Jean Howard argues, players were accused of encouraging physical mobility and social changeability, and theatre seemed representative of the upheaval: "People at the theater are not *where* they should be (i.e., in their parishes, at work or at worship); consequently, they are not *who* they should be, but are released into a realm of Protean shapeshifting with enormous

destabilizing consequences for the social order.”⁶⁵ This threat is especially apparent in those tracts that attack sartorial abuses. Dressing-up (i.e., as one’s social superior, the player playing the king) and cross-dressing (the man playing/becoming the woman) threatened the social fabric in part because they mirrored and encouraged such abuses in the audience. This did not just confuse the determining of social status:

what seems most troubling about the overt shapeshifting of actors and the elaborate and changing dress of women is that both expose the hollowness of essentialist rhetoric, its antihistorical refusal to acknowledge how changing material conditions in urban London make it possible, and in some cases inevitable, for men and women to assume new social positions and engage in new social practices, which make talk of an unchanging social order or a “true” unchanging identity seem either absurd or willfully repressive.⁶⁶

Sartorial mobility among colonists is not discussed in Virginia Company tracts, but was of concern in the colony, where sumptuary laws were enforced. The Company was anxious to stress how ordered the colony was, even though rumours of mutiny and riot, especially among the lower ranks, suggested otherwise. Virginia is often characterized as the gentleman’s colony, with some justification, seeing as many of the first colonists were from that class.⁶⁷ However, it should not be forgotten how many people from lower social positions migrated to America, especially over the course of the seventeenth century, when the majority of migrants from the British Isles were drawn from the lower echelons, many of whom came over as indentured servants. Virginia was a socially stratified place, where upward mobility could be granted to indentured servants but only after they had served out their time as servants. But popular opinion seems to have been that the colony was a place where social advancement could be secured easily. We have already seen this with Seagull’s boast to Spendall in *Eastward Ho!* that they “may come to preferment enough, and never be a pander.” Playhouse and colony both seemed to encourage as well as represent social mobility, and hence the erasure of rank.

These associations between the player and the colonist make it odd that the Virginia Company would chose to latch onto the player as its enemy. Would not these links serve to remind the public of the crimes associated with the colony? Would not these associations further damage the colony's reputation? However, it is possible that the naming of the player as enemy was a strategic displacement: the Virginia Company sought to divert criticism of its colonists and their seditious and dissolute behaviour by attacking a group that had an even worse reputation. In many ways players were convenient enemies. This is especially evident in Crashaw's answer to his own question in his sermon "why are the *Players* enemies to this Plantation and doe abuse it":

First, for that they are so multiplied here, that one cannot liue by another, and they see that wee send of all trades to *Virginea*, but will send no *Players*, which if we would doe, they that remaine would gaine the more at home. Secondly, as the *diuell* hates vs, because we purpose not to suffer *Heathens*, and the *Pope* because we haue vowed to tolerate no *Papists*: so doe the *Players*, because wee resolute to suffer no *Idle persons in Virginea*, which course if it were taken in *England*, they know they might turne to new occupations.⁶⁸

Crashaw takes a criticism levelled at Virginia—that the settlers are work-shy—and applies it to the players, who were often cast as glorified vagrants who encouraged idleness in others.⁶⁹ He does this through the bizarre allegation that players were driven by envy on account of their exclusion from the colony (and the exclusion of potential audiences, or "*Idle persons*"), as a result of which they have sided with other factions banned from the colony—papists and the devil. There seems to be little evidence to support Crashaw's accusation that players were actively prohibited or that they were jealous of settlers; rather, Crashaw seems to be employing a model of utopianism somewhat akin to Plato's *Republic*, which excluded poets because of their potential for subversion. As Andrew Fitzmaurice argues, English colonial ideology was influenced by Christian humanism, and this nod toward *The Republic*—as Jonas Barish has pointed out, one of the first examples of "anti-theatricalism"—seems to be a further example of

this.⁷⁰ Crashaw's evocation of players also connects to one of the Company's key justifications for colonization, overpopulation. The 1610 promotional tract *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation Begun in Virginia* argues that the colony should be supported "to provide and build up for the publique Honour and Safety of our gracious King and his Estates [...] by trans-planting the rancness and multitude of increase in our people."⁷¹ Playhouses were examples that illustrated these concerns, as they were often noted for being places of overcrowded "rancness" and were regularly closed down because of plague scares.⁷² Anti-theatricalist Philip Stubbes, for example, called playhouses "unclean assemblies" and players "filthie."⁷³ By blaming players for encouraging these social ills, the Virginia Company implicitly argued that it could alleviate such ills by providing an outlet for the excess population, while leaving the players idly stewing back home.

V. Virginia in the Atlantic World

The playhouses were implicated in rumour-mongering. One of the recurrent themes of anti-theatricalism is the way that they gathered together large crowds in which all manner of illegal and illicit activities were conducted. As meeting-points for many levels of society, they were key sites for the circulation of gossip, places where, in Crashaw's estimation, "too many eyes and eares can witnesses, some to their content, and many to their hearts grieffe."⁷⁴ Moreover, it may be possible to treat the playhouse in this period as, if not a progenitor of anti-Virginian cant, then a forum within which anti-Virginian sentiments were in circulation—not just among audience members but between stage and audience. But what were these "calumnies and slanders" that plays said about Virginia? And how did they contradict the version of Virginia that its supporters held dear? Direct allusions to Virginia in the period c. 1600–1640 are few. The majority of these direct allusions are derogatory, but there are a few that seem fairly innocuous, and even one or two that could be deemed positive. The fact that Virginia Company ears burned at so few examples provides further evidence of deep paranoia. However, when these asides

relating to English colonial activities in Virginia are placed alongside others relating to European transatlantic activities in general, it is possibly to see that the majority of asides are far from complimentary. Extending the enquiry across a number of plays reveals that the image of America contradicted that which the Virginia Company wanted to promote.

To take this broader sweep of asides is to read early modern drama in terms of circum-Atlantic historiography. David Armitage defines circum-Atlantic history as the transnational history of the peoples who crossed the Atlantic (willingly and unwillingly).⁷⁵ Joseph Roach complicates this model by arguing that the circum-Atlantic world “resembled a vortex in which commodities and cultural practices changed hands many times.” To write circum-Atlantic history is to insist “on the centrality of the diasporic and genocidal histories of Africa and the Americas, North and South, in the creation of the culture of modernity.”⁷⁶ This form of historiography is interested less in nation than in crossings between nations, and it treats the Atlantic as a series of interconnected nodal points. It attempts to illuminate the experiences of peoples oppressed, marginalized, and slaughtered through emerging European imperialism in the early modern period. Here I want to include under the rubric of the circum-Atlantic not just the movement of bodies and cultural practices, but the traffic of metaphors between North and South America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe. Observers described new lands in old ways, exporting metaphors of comparison, of “bigger than” or “smaller than” other commodities, peoples, things; these were subsequently borrowed and re-circulated in second-hand commentaries. Metaphors were often imported from the other “furthest” point on the map, the East Indies. The term “Indies” and its associations—excessive wealth, violence, allure—are transposed from east to west (and back again). Frequently these metaphors drew on other points across the Atlantic basin. Thus, the wildness of Africa becomes the wildness of America; the riches of South America become the riches of North America; the brutality of the Spanish in the New World is transposed onto the behaviour of the English in the New World; native peoples look like ancient Britons or

contemporary Irish; Native American tribes come to resemble each other from North to South under the catch-all category “Indian.”

Virginia was connected to other Atlantic regions through trade, piracy, and because it was threatened by the Spanish. Later in the seventeenth century it would be connected through the slave trade.⁷⁷ It was also linked through a nexus of metaphors which operated in such a way that the colony could act and was frequently made to act as a metonym for America as a whole. In part this can be attributed to the fact that Virginia was an unbounded region. The term “Virginia” could refer to the entire east coast of North America from Newfoundland to Florida, and it could also refer to the series of small English settlements surrounding Jamestown. When Virginia is invoked, it is not always clear which Virginia is intended: did Virginia end at the bounds of the most outlying plantation? Did it end at the edge of the Powhatan chief Wahunsenacawh’s territory, Tsenacomoco? Did it end at the tip of the Florida peninsula to the south and the Hudson Bay to the north? The word “Virginia” had multiple significations, housing within it various and contradictory geographies: it both was and was not all of “known” North America; it represented both the expanse of English colonial ambition and the limits it had encountered in the first decades of its enacting. And just as “Virginia” could expand and retract to cover a variety of geographies and typologies, so could the terms “America,” “the New World,” and “the Indies” expand and retract to incorporate other locales. Virginia therefore had a wide array of associations: the experience of Virginia for those who did not cross the Atlantic was mediated through metaphors and comparisons that were activated in order to make the settlement more legible, but these metaphors and comparisons also frequently collapsed Virginia into other world regions, and, conversely, collapsed other world regions into Virginia.⁷⁸

I am not claiming that the Virginia Company mistook dramatic asides relating to “America,” “the New World,” “the Indies,” or specific references to the West Indies, to Guiana, to Newfoundland, to New England, to Peru, or to Mexico for direct attacks on Virginia. I am contending that Virginia should be understood within the context of the Atlantic, that is, within a

series of interconnections linked through lines of migration, trade, religion, class, gender, political ideology, race, cultural encounter, national identity, and discourse. When Virginia was invoked on the stage other transatlantic regions and their associations could be evoked as well: similarly, when America was invoked on stage, so too was Virginia. What was troubling to the Virginia Company was the fact that when other regions were invoked, so was the colony, however distant (geographically, metaphorically) that region was. We can see this anxiety through the energies expended by the Company on separating other regions from Virginia, especially those associated with Spanish imperialism.

The relationship between Virginia and the Indies was filtered through English unease about the Spanish and their success in the Caribbean and South and Central America. Spain posed a physical threat: Company members feared that the Spanish would take over the colony. Woe betide any settler accused of working for the Spanish: Edward Maria Wingfield was deposed because of alleged links, and George Kendall, accused of spying on the colony for the Spanish, was executed.⁷⁹ But prior Spanish claims on Virginia also undermined the legitimacy of English claims. The Virginia Company was keen to address accusations that the English had no justification for settling in the Chesapeake because the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1493 had carved up the new discoveries between the Spanish and Portuguese. William Strachey, for example, countered these assertions by stating that English claims on the New World pre-dated the Spanish, because Columbus looked to Henry VII for backing for his transatlantic voyage, because in 1497 John Cabot had sailed along the North Atlantic coast of America (an area where the Spanish had never been), and because of the prior claims of Madoc, the Welsh Prince who was dubiously credited with sailing to America in the twelfth century.⁸⁰ And both nations justified their colonization as a mandate from God. The Spanish were committed to spreading Catholicism in the New World: the English were their rivals in the saving of native souls.

The English were also keen to distance themselves from Spanish conduct. Tales of Spanish mistreatment of the Indians (*La Leyenda Negra*, or “Black Legend”) were confirmed by

the first English translation of *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* by Bartholomae de las Casas, published as *The Spanish Colonie* in 1583. This distinction between English and Spanish treatment of the Indians frequently revolved around sexuality. The English condemned the Spanish for their sexual aggressivity with the Indians. Raleigh insisted that there had been no illicit relations between his men and the natives in Guiana, for which the Spanish were notorious, writing that

I neither know nor beleue, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwise, euen knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yoong, & excellently fauoured which came among vs without deceit, starke naked. Nothing got vs more loue amongst them then this vsage, [...] which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drew them to admire her Maiestie, whose commaundement I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.⁸¹

Raleigh's stress on English chastity is somewhat compromised by his lurid comments about the many naked young women "in our power" and subjected to his and his men's gaze. Nonetheless, even a man so influenced by Spanish imperialist success as Raleigh wished to draw a line between English and Spanish relations with native women, even if that line was not as clearly marked as he tried to show.

Nonetheless, at the same time that the proponents of colonization sought to distance the English from the Spanish, they couldn't help but make comparisons between Spain's successes and England's failures. In *Nova Britannia*, Robert Johnson contrasts "the wisdom of Spaine: whose quick apprehension and speedy addresse, preuented all other Princes: albeit (as you know) their greatness of minde arising together with their money and meanes, hath turmoiled all Christendome these fourtie yeares and more," with "the blind diffidence of our English natures, which laugh to scorne the name of *Virginia*, and all other new proiects, be they neuer so probable, and will not beleue till we see the effects."⁸² Johnson, like many other proponents of Virginia,

stresses the folly of not following Columbus across the Atlantic, and praises the Spanish for their alacrity, even if the results of their conquest were detrimental to the English economy and national security. *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* complains that it is “become a marke of Honor” for the Spanish “to haue conuerted Nations, and an obloquie cast vppon vs, that wee hauing the better Vine, should haue worse dressers and husbanders.”⁸³ John Smith, in a tract designed to encourage a colony in New England (printed in 1616), traces a genealogy of “the workes of the greatest Princes of the earth, [...] planting of countries, and civilizing barbarous and unhumane Nations, to civilitie and humanitie,” the last examples of which are “the Portugales, and Spanyards: whose everliving actions, before our eyes will testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our pietie and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrie.”⁸⁴ Spanish Catholics were showing the way: the English were slow to follow and even reluctant to do so. Promoters had to negotiate the influence of the Spanish: they wanted the English to emulate the Spanish and admired their success, but at the same time they wanted to distance themselves from Spanish crimes.

VI. “The Liscentious Vaine of Stage Poets”

However hard the Company tried to market the colony as a religious venture that would extend England’s Christian commonwealth and as a commercial venture that would provide the nation with much-needed goods, the spectres of those Flashes, Seagulls, and Spendalls—those who viewed Virginia and the Americas as places of material gain, of advancement, of luxuriance—could not easily be dispelled. Virginia Company propaganda stressed the financial and divine benefits of investment. Playhouse drama, primarily in asides, exposed tensions between the virtuous ideals that prompted (according to Virginia Company propaganda) the founding of the colony and the self-serving, materialistic, and violent greed of those who were seen to be enacting colonial policy. The drama suggested that people who invested in

Virginia/America were corrupt, desperate, or foolish, that the colony would produce little in the way of valuable commodities, and that its religious mission was being left to rot on the vine. It implied that people who settled in America were seeking refuge from financial ruin, that they were spurred more by personal gain than by religion or national pride, and that they had degenerated to the level of savages. It underscored this drift into savagery by highlighting how European (and frequently English) settlers in America (and Virginia in particular) were driven by aggressive sexual fantasies of conquest and domination, just like the Spanish *conquistadores* of the Black Legend. In sum, playhouse drama either ignored or contradicted both the economic possibilities that Virginia offered and the spiritual profits that the English could accrue in the New World.

1. Investors, Settlers, Savages

On stage, financial investment in New World trade is linked to personal gain and moral corruption. Francisco Romelio, the villain of John Webster's *The Devil's Law Case* (1614), is a merchant residing in Naples whose fortune vastly exceeds that of any of his contemporaries in Italy, and who boasts that "The Hollanders scarce trade / More generally than I."⁸⁵ His wealth is founded on criminal means, as Crispiano, a lawyer who has come to the city to investigate him, reveals:

the King of Spain

Suspects that your Romelio here, the merchant,
Has discover'd some gold mine to his own use,
In the West Indies, and for that employs me
To discover in what part of Christendom
He vents this treasure. (3.1.4–9)

The case is never brought against Romelio, so we never get to find out whether these charges are justified, but Romelio proves himself not only selfish but also murderous. He tries to kill

Contarini, the beloved of his sister Jolenta, and pays off two surgeons who witness his attempt with the promise that “The West Indies shall sooner want gold than you” (3.2.146). Thus both Romelio’s prosperity and his crimes are associated with New World wealth. The connection between villainy and America also crops up in John Fletcher’s *The Coxcomb* (1608), in which the villainous Richardo and Valerio desire “to search the earth, / Till we have found two in the shapes of men, / As wicked as our selves.” Richardo would then dispatch his friends to the four corners of the world to extend his villainy into Africa, Asia, and Europe, but he keeps America for himself: “For what brave villainy / Might we four doo?”⁸⁶

Others who express interest in America are characterized as foolish. Sir John Daw, the butt of a number of jokes in Ben Jonson’s *Epicoene* (1609), is described as drawing “maps of every place and person where he comes [...] of Nomentack, when he was here, and of the Prince of Moldavia, and of his mistress, Mistress Epicoene.”⁸⁷ “Nomentack” was, as Pedro de Zuñiga wrote to Philip III on June 26, 1608, “a lad who they say is the son of an emperor of those lands and they have coached him that when he sees the King he is not to take off his hat, and other things of this sort.” Zuñiga was amused “by the way they honour [Namontack], for I hold it for surer that he must be a very ordinary person”: perhaps others joined the Spanish ambassador in dismissing Namontack’s status and laughing at those, like John Daw, who believed it.⁸⁸ Timothy Seathrift, the son of a merchant in Jasper Mayne’s *The City Match* (1637), is another character whose dimness seems in part connected to his American interests. At the beginning of the play he returns to London from an unnamed location in America and swiftly becomes the victim of everybody’s cruel pranks. His low-point comes when he falls asleep drunk, is dressed up as a “fish taken in the Indies” in the Plate River, and is displayed for the edification of London’s curiosity market.⁸⁹ Mayne mocks not just the likes of gullible Tim, whose worldly travels do not mask his folly but enhance it, but also audiences who are captivated by such Americana and are conned into paying above the odds for ludicrous shows. This sentiment is echoed in *The Tempest* when Trinculo comments that people “will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, [but] they will

lay out ten to see a dead Indian” (2.2.30–31). Similarly, in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Henry VIII: or All is True* (1613), the Porter wonders when crowds gather at the birth of Elizabeth I whether there is “some strange Indian with the great tool come to court, the women so besiege us” (5.3.32–33).

While the Virginia Company tried to present the colony as a viable financial investment, plays suggest that the colony was merely a refuge for the insolvent. At the beginning of John Cooke’s *Greenes Tu-Quoque, or the City Gallant* (1611), Staines laments to the audience about the parlous financial state in which he finds himself on account of his landlord’s exaction of his rents: “well, I am spent, and this rogue has consumed me; I dare not walke abroad to see my friends, for feare the Serieants should take acquaintance of me: my refuge is *Ireland*, or *Virginia*, necessitie cries out, and I will presently to *Westchester*.”⁹⁰ Virginia (along with Ireland in this instance) and its settlers are associated with bankruptcy: Staines sees Virginia as a place in which to hide from debtors’ jail, and also as a place beyond the reach of the long arm of the law. This association is also present in *The Honest Lawyer* by “S.S.” (1614), in which the merchant Vaster fakes his own death on suspicion of his wife’s infidelity. In disguise, he enlists his wife’s help in a scam, and tries to test her honesty by attempting to seduce her. In so doing, he makes the following demand: “Come, will you vnlocke? I ha’ the golden key. If not, Ile to Virginia, like some cheating Bankrout, and leaue my Creditour i’ th’ suddes.”⁹¹ Vaster, like Staines, envisions Virginia as a place to where the financially ruined might flee. This was not the image of a flourishing colony that the Virginia Company wanted to promote.

Virginia Company propaganda stressed that the settlement was a place where settlers could plant a civilized, well-governed, model environment through hard work and proselytizing, which would stand as a shining example for the English back home. Although the first wave of colonists had brought with it undesirable types, the Company was keen to stress that with every new wave came more appropriate and dedicated settlers. However, a number of plays imply that Virginia was a lawless land where only those free of conscience were likely to survive and

prosper. In the emended version of *Eastward Ho!* Seagull and Spendall imagine a Virginia having “no more Law then conscience.” Similar sentiments are to be found in Nathaniel Field’s *A Woman is a Weathercocke* (1612). In the play, Scudamore challenges his beloved Bellamira, who is standing on the doorstep of a church waiting to be wed to another. Her father Worldly, a judge, threatens Scudamore with the law, to which he replies

There is indeede,
And Conscience too, old *Worldly*, thou hast one;
But for the other, wilde *Virginia*,
Blacke *Affricke*, or the shaggy *Scithia*,
Must send it ouer as a Merchandize,
Ere thou show any here.⁹²

The syntax is tricky, but it seems as if Scudamore is acknowledging that while Worldly has the law on his side (“thou hast one”), he has no conscience (“the other”), because if he did he would recognize that Scudamore and Bellamira are in love and should be wed instead. Alternatively, Worldly has a conscience (“thou hast one”), but does not apply the law (“the other”), which should recognize Bellamira as Scudamore’s betrothed. In a variation of “when hell freezes over,” “wilde *Virginia*” (and “Blacke *Affricke*” and “shaggy *Scithia*”) will begin exporting “conscience” before Worldly will ever show any himself; or “wilde *Virginia*” will export its laws and lawmaking capacities before Worldly follows juridical procedure. These lines can be interpreted to mean either that Virginia is a lawless colony or that it is a colony populated by people who lack any conscience.

Settlers were accused of all manner of unconscionable crimes, including cannibalism. The pamphlet *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* attempted to allay any such fears by including a report by Thomas Gates, lieutenant governor of Virginia, about “one of the companie who mortally hated his wife, and therefore secretly killed her, then cut her in pieces and hid her in divers parts of his house.” When the house was searched “and parts of her mangled

body were discovered, to excuse himself he said that his wife died, that he hid her to satisfy his hunger and that he fed daily upon her.” However, when the house was found to be well-stocked, “[h]ee thereupon was arraigned, confessed the murder, and was burned for his horrible villainy.” Gates’s account is used by the pamphlet writer(s) as a point of contrast with “the scandalous reports of viperous generation” that suggested that cannibalism was rife in Jamestown.⁹³ Even though Gates is quoted to dispel the rumours, he raises the possibility of such behaviour. After all, Gates’s counter-argument is that the husband did not eat his wife but instead that he killed and dismembered her. The murderous husband’s attempts to cover his act by claiming that he had eaten his dead wife out of desperation suggests that the possibility that settlers might become cannibals was recognized in the colony and back in London: the husband offers it as a credible excuse for his wife’s dismemberment so as to cover up homicide.

The spectre of English anthropophagy haunts Massinger and Fletcher’s *The Sea Voyage* (1622). This play, which follows the plight of a group of sailors and aristocrats shipwrecked on an uninhabited island, includes a scene in which the ravenous courtiers Franville, Morillat, and Lamure, along with a surgeon, attack Aminta, “*a noble French virgin.*” Morillat declares “In my conscience she’ll eat delicately, / Just like young pork a little lean.” The surgeon believes that she will “Be made good meat” even though “we shall want salt.” In a possible nod to Gates’s account, Lamure reminds his companions of the “Thousand examples” of people eating “restoring meats,” such as “Husbands [who have] devoured their wives (they are their chattels).”⁹⁴ The wannabe cannibals are French rather than English and they have wound up on an unnamed island, not Virginia, but their cannibalistic turn draws on fears about the depravities to which even those from the highest echelons of society could descend in a foreign clime.

2. “I had rather send her to Virginia”

Not every aside alluding to America or Virginia suggests that investors were immoral and stupid or that settlers were violent and savage. However, even asides which seem to praise

Virginia could be somewhat backhanded. One plot strand in Robert Taylor's *The Hogge Hath Lost His Pearle* (1613) revolves around Haddit's attempt to steal Rebecca (the pearl) away from her father (the usurer Hogge). He heralds his plan as going "better forward than the Plantation in Virginia." According to the logic of the allusion Virginia is a successful venture, even if not quite as successful as Haddit's. However, the degree to which his plan goes "better forward" is not clear—Haddit could mean that Virginia is a low watermark for success and thus the joke here would be that any plan that met with a modicum of success would go "better forward than the Plantation in Virginia." In the same scene Rebecca enters and is greeted by Haddit as "halfe the West Indies, whose rich mines this night I meane to be ransacking." Haddit separates Virginia and the West Indies: the former is equated with good planning; the second with piracy, "rich mines," and "ransacking." Yet both Virginia and the West Indies refer to the same act, namely stealing Rebecca from the house of her father: a plan (Virginia) enables "ransacking" (West Indies). Virginia was seen by some factions in the Company as the ideal base for attacking Spanish galleons in the Caribbean, but this was a considerable bone of contention in the Company. In *The Hogge Hath Lost His Pearle* Virginian policy is linked to Caribbean piracy in a way that undermines the desires of many in the Company to keep them firmly apart.⁹⁵

As the example from Taylor's play indicates, America was often associated with sexual desire. The Company had little to say about the conduct of its own settlers and the fact that some men had sexual relations with native women. The most famous example of inter-racial coupling was John Rolfe and Pocahontas, who married in 1614 at the conclusion of the first Indian-English war, but this match was not anomalous. Governor Thomas Dale, who quickly assented to the Rolfe-Pocahontas marriage, attempted to acquire another of Wahunsenacawh's daughters as a wife but was rebuffed. The colony had strict rape laws—"No man shall ravish or force any woman, maid, or Indian, or other, upon pain of death"—which suggests that attacks against native women were not unknown or at least were considered a possibility, although, as Camilla Townsend contends, this law seems not have been enforced.⁹⁶ Archaeologists have estimated that

up to forty native women lived in Jamestown in its early years, and have surmised that some of these women lived with men, based on the number of cooking implements present in the settlement that far outweighed those that would have been offered as gifts and purchases.⁹⁷ This is backed up by a letter from Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III in 1612, in which is reported “a determination to marrie some of ye people that goe thether with the Virginians,” a policy instituted because “the Plantation doth rather diminish then increase”: Zuñiga claimed that his spy “tellethe me there are fortie or fiftie persons alreadie married there and other English intermingled with them.”⁹⁸ Yet of all native women only Pocahontas’s visits to Jamestown, her captivity from 1613, and her voyage to England in 1616 are remarked upon in any detail in accounts from this period.

Virginia Company propaganda is for the most part silent on English male-Indian female relations. Whereas the Virginia Company tackled other negative publicity head-on, here it barely commented at all. William Symonds argued in his 1609 sermon at Whitechapel that settlers, “Abrams posterities,” must “keep themselves to themselves [...] [and] may not marry nor give in marriage to the heathen, that are uncircumsized,” but this is a rare occurrence of the topic being discussed.⁹⁹ Rolfe expressed doubts and shame about his own desire for Pocahontas in a letter to Dale written in 1614: he did not know what “should provoke me to be in love with one, whose education hath byn rude, her manners barbarous, her generation Cursed, and so discrepant in all nutriture from my selfe”; he had attempted “to cure so dangerous an ulcer” to no avail; he agonized over the fact that biblical mixed marriages (especially those detailed in The Book of Nehemiah, which Symonds had drawn upon in his sermon five years earlier) did not provide him with favourable precedents.¹⁰⁰ Rolfe seemed to fear that his desire for Pocahontas would be frowned upon in Jamestown and in England. Ironically, of course, nothing could have been further from the truth, as the Virginia Company milked the Rolfe-Pocahontas union for all it was worth. But just because the Company did not defend itself from rumours of sexual impropriety—either consensual or non-consensual—need not mean that it was unconcerned by this behaviour. It

may have felt that it could offer little in the way of defense and chose not to exacerbate the situation.

Drama from this period alludes to the insatiable lust of the Spanish. Thus in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure, or the Martial Maid* (1619), which is set in Seville, Bobadil recalls "the Indian mayd [...] From Mexico" whom he "taught a Spanish trick in charity, / and help the King to a subject that may live to take grave / *Maurice* prisoner."¹⁰¹ However, asides about sexual desire were not made exclusively about Spanish colonization and characterize the English in the New World as well. Settlers in Virginia are often associated with lust. In Fletcher's *The Loyal Subject* (1618), the title character Archas, a general, is forced to send his two daughters Honora and Viola to the court to appease his master the Duke, who suspects him of encouraging the army to mutiny. The Duke's court is characterized as corrupt and excessive, a place where the daughters will "learn to forget their father, / And when he dies dance on his Monument."¹⁰² Archas hopes that by seeing such corruption the court will act as "vertue's school" for his daughters, because it will expose them to sins which they will subsequently be better able to avoid (3.3.53). Honora accepts her fate with the following allusion to Virginia: "I will to court most willingly, most fondly. / And if there be such stirring things amongst 'em, / Such travellers into Virginia, / As fame reports, if they can win me, take me" (67–70). Honora links "travellers into Virginia" with courtiers "with stirring things amongst 'em." She casts herself as "Virginia," mapping the colony onto her virgin body which she fears will be violated by courtiers just as the colony had been by "travellers." Thus she suggests that those who travel to Virginia are sexual predators, and that Virginia itself is, as its name suggests, virgin terrain that has been "taken."

Honora's reference to the "stirrings" of "travellers into Virginia" also underscores the supposed desperation of the colonists. Virginia was in its early years a predominantly male settlement, and the Company elected to ship over women as wives for male settlers once the colony was established: 90 were sent in 1619, 100 in 1620.¹⁰³ As an officer of the Virginia Company put it, "the Plantacon can never flourish till families be planted, and the respect of

wiues and Children fix the people on the soyle.”¹⁰⁴ This practice may have been what Fletcher had in mind in his play *The Noble Gentleman*, which while first performed in 1606 was revised in the 1620s.¹⁰⁵ The vain gentleman of the title, Monsieur Marine, who has pretensions of courtly status, attempts to encourage his cousin to accompany him to the court. He argues that his cousin should also bring his wife, so that she will not be the “Mistris of a Farmers heir and be confined ever / To a serge, farre courser then my horse-cloath” (1.1.83–85). His cousin is not impressed: “Sir I had rather send her to Virginia / To help to propagate the English nation” (90–91). The court is characterized as a place of sexual decadence: it is clear that among the things that allure Marine to the court is “the wealth of Nature, the faire dames, / Beauties, that lights the Court, and makes it shew / Like a faire heaven, in a frosty night” (76–78). Marine’s cousin, however, believes that Virginia is a more suitable place for a woman and that his wife would be far better being shipped off there. With this comparison the cousin damns the colony with faint praise: so dissolute is the court that even the dissolute colony of Virginia would be a preferable place to send his wife. In Philip Massinger’s *The City Madam* (1632), three women (including the title character) are due to be shipped off to Virginia to become (they think) the wives of Indian kings. They are horrified on hearing about their impending transportation to the colony and complain that “Strumpets and bawds, / For the abomination of their life, / [are] Spew’d out of their own country” and are “shipp’d thither.”¹⁰⁶ In all of these asides, Virginia Company silence about the nature of the colonists is voiced: the drama implies that the colony is a place of prostitution, sexual licentiousness, racial intermixing, and rape.

The closest association between Virginia and chastity is Aston Cockayne’s *The Obstinate Lady* (1639), in which Lorece, in a bid to win over Vandona, a rich, young widow, spins a fantastical yarn about his far-ranging travels. Towards the end of his lengthy discourse, he recounts how “I came at last to *Virginia*, where I saw nothing more worthy mention then an honest woman who cast her self into the sea because no body would lie with her. In conclusion; at *James Town* Port I took horse, and the next morning (after a long and tedious journey) arrived in

Wales.”¹⁰⁷ Of course this allusion to the honest woman who cannot persuade anybody to sleep with her would suggest that the colony was not full of sexually aggressive men. However, the world that Lorece travels through is topsy-turvy: he describes his voyage to the Antipodes, where they “hear with their noses, smell with their ears, see by feeling, but taste with all their senses” (75–77); the South Indies are populated by Phoenixes and Unicorns; and it is possible to travel from Virginia to Wales in one night. This topsy-turviness is further signified by Lorece’s claim that this is an “honest” woman who nevertheless desires to sleep with someone: and to complete the joke, men in Virginia are cast as extremely honest, that is, they are not willing to sleep with an “honest” woman. Given that Lorece is articulating an inverted world, we might consider what opposites are suggested here: that women in the colony are far from honest; that, with this one exception, no colonist would turn down the opportunity for sex; and finally, and more chillingly, that the male colonists are sexually aggressive, and that no “honest” women would be able to remain “honest” for long, whether they wanted to or not.

3. Commodities and Conversion

As well as considering what plays say about Virginia, it is worth considering what they do not. Promoters were keen to stress the abundance of goods that the colony could produce. For example, the pamphlet *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* includes the testimony of Governor Thomas Gates about the goods that the colony could supply to the English nation—goods such as “wood, as Oake, Wainscot, walnut trees, Bay trees, Ashe, Sarsafrese, liue Oake, greene all the yeare, Cedar Firre [...] incredible variety of sweet woods [...] as great a plenty of silke as is vented into the whole world from al the parts of Italy [...] Iron oare, lying vpon the ground for ten miles circuite [...] hempe or flax [...] pretious fures [...] Lymmons, sugar Canes, Almonds, Rice, Anniseede.” The author(s) of *A True Declaration* note, “[w]hat these things will yeelde, the Merchant best knoweth, who findeth by experience, that many hundreth of thousands of pounds are yearly spent in Christendome in these commodities.”¹⁰⁸ The

degree to which the English were convinced by these reports of the new colonies' wealth is debatable. The prodigious letter-writer John Chamberlain dismissed the items he witnessed returning on the ships from Jamestown as "petty commodities."¹⁰⁹ Writing to Dudley Carleton about the capture of Pocahontas in 1612, he noted that the "ship come from Virginia" had returned with "no commodities from thence but only these fayre tales and hopes."¹¹⁰ In June 1616 he wrote, "I hear not of any other riches, or matter of worth, but only some quantity of sassafras, tobacco, pitch, tar, and clapboard, things of no great value, unless there were plenty, and nearer at hand": "there is no present profit to be expected."¹¹¹ Whether Chamberlain's views about the quality and quantity of commodities were shared by fellow Londoners is hard to say, but in playhouse drama only three specifically Virginian products are alluded to: namely gold, pigs, and tobacco, none of which feature on Gates's list.¹¹²

Virginia gold is of course the preoccupation of Sir Petronel Flash and his cohort in *Eastward Ho!*. It is also what allures Luke in *The City Madam* to cooperate with his Virginian Indian guests (in fact his brother and friends in disguise) who offer him "wealth and worldly honors" if he will surrender his sister-in-law and nieces to them: "A mine of gold for a fee / Waits him that undertakes it, and performs it" (5.1.27, 45–46). The *Eastward Ho!* authors and Massinger parody the gold-digging enthusiasm of the likes of Sir Walter Cope, who wrote to Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, on August 12, 1607 that "we are false vpon a land, that promises more, then the Lande of promise: In steed of mylke we fynde pearle. & gold Inn steede of honye." However, after ore brought back from the colony by Captain Christopher Newport had been tested and found false—a fact which Cope marked in a follow-up letter to Cecil dated August 13, 1607 with the words "Thys other daye we sent you newes of golde And thys daye, we cannot returne yow so much as Copper"—the Virginia promoters played down the mineral wealth of the colony and played up other marketable goods.¹¹³

Playhouse drama continued to associate the Americas with gold and excessive wealth: hence the commonplace phrases, "not for all the Indies" and of something being worth "more

than all the Indies.” The asides tend to divide the overly materialistic from the good. Characters who claim that their love for someone is greater than the wealth of the Indies, or that they would not do something for personal gain at someone else’s expense for all the wealth of the Indies, are marked as virtuous. For example, Lovell in Jonson’s *The New Inn* (1629) believes that “The Spanish monarchy, with both the Indies, / Could not buy off the treasure of this kiss” from his beloved Lady Frumpal.¹¹⁴ In contrast, Falstaff, a man to whom the term “virtuous” seems hardly to apply, desires to make Mistress Page and Mistress Ford his “East and West Indies” to whom he will “trade” in Shakespeare’s *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597) (1.3.61). Lovell evokes the Indies to reject the wealth associated with them and wins over Lady Frumpal by the end of *The New Inn*. Falstaff equates the Indies with his intended conquests and undergoes numerous indignities while failing to win over either Mistress Page or Mistress Ford in *The Merry Wives*.

The association of pigs with Virginia probably dates from the English settlement at Bermuda. As *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie* reports, Gates and the other survivors of the wreck of the *Sea Venture* “in the Bermudos found such abundance of Hogs, that for nine moneths space they plentifully sufficed.”¹¹⁵ When Gates finally arrived in Virginia he brought pigs with him in order to ease the hunger crisis. This explains to what Romelio refers in Webster’s *The Devil’s Law Case* when he stabs Contarini with a “stiletto, [...] an engine / That’s only fit to put in execution / Barmotho [Bermuda] pigs” (3.2.92–99). It also explains when, in Thomas Dekker’s *Match Me in London* (1611), Lady Dildoman sells various wares to the King, including a beard brush, “Flexable as you can wish, the very bristles of the same / Swine that are fatten’d in *Virginia*.”¹¹⁶ Pigs, however, were not viewed as commodities but rather as imports to support the settlement. *A True Declaration* boasts that “Our transported Cattell, as Horses, Kine, Hogs, and Goats, do thrive most happily” in the colony; it nowhere mentions the possibility of exporting livestock to Europe but rather argues that livestock had and would continue to adapt to the Virginian climate.¹¹⁷

The only commodity referred to on stage that Virginia actually produced was tobacco, for

example in James Shirley's *The Constant Maid* (1636), when the foolish Startup asks "is there good Tobacco in London?" to which Close replies "Virginia Tobacco growes here, Sir."¹¹⁸ Tobacco became the main crop in the colony from the mid-1610s onwards and the link between Virginia and tobacco was a commonplace. However, it was not an association that the Company felt easy about promoting. Tobacco was a controversial addition to London life. The quality of Virginian tobacco was often deemed to be poor, and the English market was dominated by imports from Spain (Virginia tobacco was instead shipped to Turkey and Barbary for far less money). There was also debate as to whether tobacco was medicinal or detrimental to a person's health. In his *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604) James I contended that smoking was "[a] custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, daungerous to the Lungs and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, neerest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomelesse."¹¹⁹ Partly in response to this hostility, and partly because over-reliance on one commodity (and a luxury commodity at that) made the colony vulnerable, reforms were put in place in 1618 to lessen the excessive tobacco planting and to encourage planters to focus on wine, silk, hemp, and flax. Treasurer of the Virginia Company Sir Edwin Sandys was so concerned about tobacco planting that he considered banning it outright in 1621. Tobacco became such a fraught topic that attempts by the competing factions within the Company to sue for a tobacco monopoly in 1622 became one of the most divisive elements (in addition to piracy) that eventually led to the dissolution in 1625. Therefore, despite the eventual success of tobacco, many advocates of the colony were keen not to overplay it. The continual association of the colony with tobacco over and above other commodities in playhouse drama asides may well have stuck in their craw, as it underlined the poor quality and lack of diversity of Virginia commodities and served as a reminder of how the colony and the Company had become so divided.

Playhouse drama also by and large ignored the spiritual underpinning to settlement, and there are few allusions to the religious mission that the Virginia Company imagined for itself.

Instead, Indians are imagined as sun-worshipping heathens resolutely unaffected by the advance of English Protestantism. It is unsurprising that in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*, first performed in 1605, two years before the founding of Jamestown, Helena describes her emotions as "Indian-like," because "Religious in mine error, I adore / The Sun, that looks upon his worshipper, / But knows of him no more" (1.3.188–191). However, plays written and performed after 1607 and even up to 1640 continue to peddle the image of the Indian unswayed by Christian evangelism. In Henry Glapthorne's *The Tragedy of Albertus Wallenstein* (1639), the German Emperor laments that the people "all looke / On [Wallenstein], as superstitious Indians on the Sunne, / With adoration," whereas he is regarded "with contempt, / Or (but at best) with pittie."¹²⁰ In Glapthorne's *The Ladies Privilege* (1640), Doria describes Chrisea as a woman whose eyes brandish "beames, whose purity dispenche, / Light more immaculate then the gorgeous east, / Weares when the prostrate *Indian* does adore / Its rising brightnesse."¹²¹ Glapthorne's plays were written and performed late in the reign of Charles I, yet still they insist on Indians maintaining their own beliefs rather than having converted to Christianity.

Only two plays allude to the English Protestant mission and both portray it as a failure. In Massinger's *The City Madam*, the fake "Virginian Indians" arrive at a London household under the pretence of becoming converts. However, they reveal themselves to be devil-worshippers who have come to London to acquire sacrifices to the Devil. Massinger suggests not only that the religious instruction that the Indians received has failed but also that those charged with converting them (in this case Luke) are hypocrites who are allured by the promise of New World wealth rather than by the promise of saving New World souls. In Jonson's *The Staple of News* (1626), news arises "of a Colony of cooks / To be set ashore o' the coast of America, / For the conversion of the Cannibals, / And making them good, eating *Christians*."¹²² The joke here revolves around the failures of previous attempts to convert cannibals. In order to settle a colony in America, the prospective colonists in this news story have been forced to send in culinary experts to convert the natives to a non-human diet. But even this possibility of conversion is

contradicted by the final line, as the phrase “good, eating Christians” can mean either that the Cannibals will be converted to Christianity and thus will no longer have a predilection for human flesh (and perhaps there is a reference to the “correct” consumption at communion, i.e., the Protestant interpretation of transubstantiation), or, in direct contrast, the cannibals will be good *because* they eat Christians. There is a further possibility that the cannibals are not natives at all, but—as in Gates’s account of rumoured cannibalistic murder—Englishmen who devour human flesh because they have been far from civility for too long.

It is not entirely surprising that the English conversion of Native Americans is barely alluded to in plays of this period, which instead drew on tales of native sun-worship transposed from the Spanish Americas (and Peru in particular). The first priority of the Virginia colony was settlement, and the widespread conversion campaign never came to fruition: the proposed Indian college in Henrico, Virginia was never built. While the settlement of New England was conceived as a site for conversion—the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony features an Indian pleading investors to “Come over and help us”—it was only belatedly in the 1640s that missionaries such as Roger Williams, Thomas Mayhew, and John Eliot attempted to (as it were) civilize, educate, convert, and supervise Indians.¹²³ However, drama’s insistence on the failure of the English to convert natives—indeed, the fact that drama mostly ignored conversion and presented the natives as unaffected by the English—would seem to speak against the progress insisted upon by proponents of evangelical colonialism.

VII. The Anti-Colonial Stage?

Players and playwrights may not have perceived themselves as opponents of Virginia. If they had we might find more evidence—perhaps even a corpus of plays—which directly represented the English in the New World, just as we find a group of plays that seem to have sprung up around the crisis of Charles’s possible marriage to the Spanish *infanta* in the 1620s.¹²⁴ Many plays seem to reflect Virginia Company propaganda rather than oppose it. *Eastward Ho!*

would seem to agree that greedy, dissolute types do not make ideal colonists.¹²⁵ It should not be forgotten that a number of the more derogatory asides relate more directly to Spain than to England, even though at points they collapse the difference between English and Spanish colonialism. Thus the plays could be considered to be anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic—and thus in accord with the views of Crashaw, Johnson, Hamor, and those unknown soldiers who formed the court of guard and prayed for strength against their enemies.

But collusion between promoters and playing companies was limited. Plays mention little or nothing about conversion. There are few mentions of any commodities that the colony could yield. The patriotic glory that a permanent settlement could bestow upon the English nation is ignored. Instead drama picked up on the criticisms of the colony that were circulating in London in its early years and repeated them for an audience who would have recognized and very possibly even laughed at them. These criticisms suggested that the colony was a bad investment, that Virginia yielded little financial returns, that its religious mission was negligible, that the settlers were lawless, idle, treacherous, and libidinous, that the venturers were fools, that the whole enterprise might as well be papist or Spanish or both. Drama incorporated voices opposed to expansionism through the repetition and refraction of the negative publicity that so dogged the Virginia Company in Jamestown and in London. These voices in turn suggest that many in London thought of the colony at best as something of a joke, at worst as an ill-conceived undertaking destined for failure. The English in the early seventeenth century were not united in their advocacy of empire: many seem to have been reluctant to pursue empire at all.

¹ In retaliation for Wahunsenacawh's "prowde and Disdaynefull answers" to the "demawnde [of] Certain armes and dyv[e]rs men w[hi]ch we supposed mighte be liveinge in his country," George Percy "put some fifteen or sixtene" Pasapheghs "to the Sworde" and "putt the children" of the tribe's queen "to deathe the w[hi]ch was effected by Throweing them overboard and shoteinge owtt their Branes in the water." Afterwards, he "Cutt downe their Corne"—an inexplicable reaction given that, with the Pasaphegh town under English command, the crops could have fed the colonists. "George Percy's 'Trewre Realcyon': A Primary Source for the Jamestown Settlement," ed. Mark Nicholls, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 113, no. 3 (2005): 253–254.

² Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: the Ordeal of Colonial America*, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 72. My account of Virginia's early years is indebted to Morgan's book, and Wesley Frank Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: the Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 1932); Robert Brenner, "The Company Merchants and American Colonial Development," in *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 92–112; James Horn, *A Land As God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America* (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge: Belnap Press, 2007).

³ R[ichard] Rich, *Newes from Virginia, or The Lost Flocke Triumphant* (London: Edward Allde, 1610), B.

⁴ Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, *The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-La-Warre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of the Colonie, Planted in Virginea* (London: for William Welby, 1611), A2.

⁵ See Craven, "Overhasty Colonization," in *Dissolution of the Virginia Company*, 148–175.

⁶ For Powhatan's response to the English in Virginia see Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed by Jamestown* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005). Historiography on English-Indian relations in this period has been greatly revised in the wake of Richard White's groundbreaking analysis of the early period of contact, which he describes through his metaphor of "Middle ground," a space of exchange and negotiation between European and native peoples in territories where neither dominated. Although White articulates this metaphor in relation to French America, it can be imported to discussions of the Chesapeake. Karen Kupperman argues that English-Native American relations were characterized less by English aggression and dominance than by conciliation and reciprocity. Calm was punctuated by aggression and hostility rather than the other way around. However, Kupperman's insights should not detract from the fact that a great number of contact moments were conducted in tense circumstances that often spilled over into violence (see endnote 1), and that the English and the Powhatan were to all intents and purposes at war (even if not sustained war) for much of the colony's first forty years, especially after the Powhatan realized that the English intended to stay. See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

⁷ Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia* (1609), 3–4, in *Tracts and other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, ed. Peter Force (New York: Peter Smith, 1947).

⁸ Richard Hakluyt, "To the Reader," in Marc Lescarbot, *Noua Francia: or The Description of that Part of New France, which is One Continent with Virginia*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (London: George Bishop, 1609), ¶¶2.

⁹ Quoted in Edward D. Neill, *The English Colonization of America During the Seventeenth Century* (London: Strahan & Co., 1871), 28.

¹⁰ *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* (London: for I. Stepneth, 1610), 15.

¹¹ Crashaw alone amongst these churchmen actively invested in the Virginia Company, to the tune of £37 10s. However, the Virginia Company did receive support from others in the Church (despite Tobias Matthew's protestations). The list of "The Names of Adventurers, with their Severall Sums Adventured" included in a 1620 publication records the contributions of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury (who invested £75), James Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells (also £75), Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter (£20), Henry Parry, Bishop of Worcester (£13 6s 8d), and George Montaigne, Bishop of Lincoln (£12 10s). Despite Montaigne's minimal investment in the Company, when Bishop of London he issued instructions that all preachers in his diocese should promote Richard Whitbourne's 1622 tract *Discourse on the Discoverie of the New Found Land*. See "The Names of the Adventurers," in *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in the Virginia* (London: Thomas Snodham and Felix Kingston, 1620).

¹² The worth of these sermons as sources to explain the tactics and ideology of the Virginia Company and contemporary views of the progress or lack therein of the colony has been debated. David Beers Quinn dismisses them and doesn't include any examples in his five volume compendium of documents *New American World*, arguing that "they are long-winded and in content only of intermittent interest." Andrew Fitzmaurice counters Quinn by arguing that oratory was a key function in the spread of news about Virginia: "When Englishmen sought to establish a colony in America, print, and specifically the sermon, were believed, as forms of oratory, to be crucial to the successful foundation of the new commonwealth. The use of the sermon as the foremost instrument of propaganda reflects the humanistic sensibilities of the Virginia Company's leaders." As should be clear, I side with Fitzmaurice: while these sermons are of

limited use in terms of reconstructing the early history of the colony, they are invaluable in terms of reconstructing what kinds of information were circulating and what kinds attitudes were forming in London in the early seventeenth century. *New American World: a documentary history of North America to 1612*, ed. David Beers Quinn, vol. 5 (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 233; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: an Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 66.

¹³ Richard Crackanhorpe, *A Sermon at the Solemnizing of the Happie Inauguration of Our Most Gracious and Religious Sovereign King James* (London: for Thomas Adams, 1609), D2.

¹⁴ Robert Tynley, *Two Learned Sermons, the One, of the Mischeuious Subtiltie, and Barborous Crueltie, the Other of the False Doctrines, and Refined Heresies of the Romish Synagogue* (London: for Thomas Adams, 1609) 67.

¹⁵ William Symonds, *Virginea, a Sermon Preached at White-Chappel, in the Presence of Many, Honourable and Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia, 25 Aprill 1609* (London: for Eleazar Edgar, and William Welby, 1609), titlepage.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5, 9.

¹⁷ Don Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, April 12, 1609, in *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter, 1606–1609*, ed. Phillip L. Barbour, vol. 2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1969), 259–260.

¹⁸ Patrick Copland, *Virginia's God Be Thanked* (London: for William Sheffard and John Bellamie, 1622), 9.

¹⁹ Waterhouse's status as a colonist is dubious: he was awarded land by the Virginia Company in 1621 but does not appear to have visited the colony. See Alexander Brown's biographical entry on him in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2 (New York; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), 1042.

²⁰ John Donne, "A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation, November 13, 1622," in *John Donne: Selected Prose*, ed. Neil Rhodes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 197.

²¹ Figures from Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2002), 134.

²² See Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough*, 3.

²³ Death rate figures from Taylor, *American Colonies*, 136.

²⁴ George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathay, by the Northwest, Vnder the Conduct of Martin Frobisher, Generall* (London: for Henry Bynnyman, 1578), aIV–aIVv.

²⁵ Thomas Harriot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: the Complete 1590 Theodor de Bry Edition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), 5.

²⁶ Daniel Price, *Sauls Prohibition Staide, or the Apprehension, and Examination of Saule*, (London: for Matthew Law), F.

²⁷ *A True and Sincere Declaration*, 2.

²⁸ William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953), 7–8.

²⁹ John Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, ed. Philip L. Barbour, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 176.

³⁰ Crashaw, *Sermon*, F2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, C2.

³² Strachey, *Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, 25.

³³ Price, *Sauls Prohibition Staide*, F2v.

³⁴ William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (London: for John Bellamie, 1634), A3.

³⁵ "London's Lotterie, with an Encouragement to the Furtherance Thereof, for the Good of Virginia, and the Benefite of This Our Native Countrie; Wishing Good Fortune to all that Venture to the Same," in *An American Garland, being a Collection of Ballads Relating to America, 1563–1759*, ed. C.H. Firth (Oxford: Blackwell, 1915), 17. As its name suggests, this ballad was printed to encourage subscribers to invest in the Virginia Company's controversial and ultimately short-sighted lottery scheme.

³⁶ Meredith Ann Skura, "Discourse and the Individual: the Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1989): 55, 55n.

³⁷ It is tempting to agree with Kenneth Andrews's assertion that "[t]here is an element of cant in many such pleas for overseas ventures and the part played by economic nationalism in the genesis of the seaborne empire has often been exaggerated. In fact its main rôle was to clothe other motives in respectable dress";

however, I would argue that this temptation should be resisted, if nothing else because it seems as if many people believed this colonial cant, however murky their other motives. See Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 34.

³⁸ William Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia, Lawes Diuine, Morall and Martiall* (London: for Walter Burre, 1612), 6.

³⁹ The Third Charter of the Virginia Company, March 12, 1612, in *New American World*, vol. 5, 230–231.

⁴⁰ Crashaw, *Sermon*, H.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, H4.

⁴² William Crashaw, “To the Right Honorable, my very good Lord, Raph Lord Ure,” in Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes from Virginia* (London: for William Welby, 1613), A2, C2–C2v.

⁴³ Robert Johnson, *The New Life of Virginea* (1612), 4–5, in *Tracts and Other papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, ed. Peter Force (New York: Peter Smith, 1947).

⁴⁴ “A Praier duly said Morning and Euening vpon the Court of Guard, either by the Captaine of the watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers,” in Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia*, N4. The nineteenth century historian Edward Neill argues that “[t]he daily prayer [...] was probably prepared by Crashaw.” However, the prayer contains many similarities to Hamor’s complaint about the players in *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*, a fact that at least opens up the possibility that Hamor penned it (although he might also have borrowed the prayer for his own polemic). Neill, *English Colonization of America*, 50.

⁴⁵ Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London: for William Welby, 1615), 2. It seems highly unlikely that these complaints were directed at “players” living in the colonies. While Virginia’s early laws were intended to clamp down on “vnlawfull and prohibited games, [...] excesse of drinking, surfitting and ryot,” there does not seem to have been any legal attempts to suppress theatre in Virginia. As Hugh Rankin argues, the early settlers were “actors in the more pressing true-life drama of carving homes out of the wilderness and the struggle for survival in hostile surroundings. There was no place for artificial comedy or tragedy.” The first dramatic performance in the British Colonies seems to have been *The Bear and the Cub*, performed in a tavern at Pungoteague, Accomac County, Eastern Virginia, at either Cole’s Tavern or Fowke’s Tavern on August 27, 1665. The actors were arraigned for disturbing the peace “but the Court finding the said persons not guilty of same suspended the payment of Court charges.” Other colonies were far more strictly opposed to theatre. In 1682, a proposal was made in Pennsylvania against “Whosoever shall introduce into this Province, or frequent such rude and riotous sports and practices as prizes, stage-plays, masques, revells, bull-baitings, cock-fightings.” Unsurprisingly, drama was also banned in Puritan New England for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although in 1690 students at Harvard presented Benjamin Colman’s play *Gustavus Vasa*. There may however have been localized amateur dramatic performances, the records of which have not survived. The first recorded performance of Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* in America was in Philadelphia on January 19, 1770. Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia*, 75; Hugh Rankin, *The Theater in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 1; *The Colonial American Stage 1665–1774: A Documentary Calendar*, ed. Odai Johnson and William J. Burling (Madison, Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001), 92–93, 94–95.

⁴⁶ It is possible to see a link between *A True Declaration of the State of the Colonie of Virginia*’s writer(s)’ question, “is the action therefore deformed, because a false glasse doth slaunder it?” and the frequent connection between the stage and the mirror (as in Hamlet’s advice to the player that he should be a “mirror unto nature”). *A True Declaration* is not specific as to what “false glasse” it proposes, but putting this next to Crashaw, Johnson and Hamor makes it possible that the theatre may have been understood as a “false glasse.” *A True Declaration of the State of the Colonie of Virginia*, 14.

⁴⁷ Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and bewtifull Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the spanyards call El Dorado)* (London: for Robert Robinson, 1596), 96; Ben Jonson, George Chapman, John Marston, *Eastward Ho!*, ed. C.G. Petter (Tonbridge: Ernest Benn, 1973), 3.3.14—all references are to this edition.

⁴⁸ David Beers Quinn, *The New Found Land: The English Contribution to the Discovery of North America* (Providence: Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1965), 15. However, contends Quinn, “[b]y what precise means—manuscript tracts, ballads which have not survived, or simply gossip (in view of the

fact that the question came up during negotiations for the Treaty of London)—cannot be more than guessed at.” As I argue later in the chapter, plays in this period contain something of the residue of these critiques—and not just *Eastward Ho!*

⁴⁹ The date “‘79” is wrong, as the Roanoke Colony was “lost” in 1587. “[15]79” may be a reference to Drake’s landing in and naming of *Nova Albion*, which occurred in that year.

⁵⁰ There is some conjecture as to whether this slur against James was enough to lead to arrest and whether the catalyst for Jonson and Chapman’s imprisonment (and subsequent swift release) may have been because the play was performed without a license. There is also some debate about whether the performed version contained more scandalous material than any of the printed sources and if these lost lines were what actually got the playwrights in trouble. The arrests came following the publication of the first Quarto of *Eastward Ho!*, which the Stationer’s Register dates September 4, 1605: Jonson was at large the following month, present at a party which intriguingly enough was hosted by one of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, Robert Castesby. See C.G. Petter, “Introduction,” *Eastward Ho!*, xxiii–xxvi, and Appendix 3, 125–126.

⁵¹ For the letters in full, see *Eastward Ho!* Appendix 3, 125–132.

⁵² C.G. Petter, “Introduction,” *Eastward Ho!* xxxix.

⁵³ On censorship and the English stage, see Annabel Patterson, “Prynne’s Ear; or, the Hermeneutics of Censorship,” in *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 44–119; and Richard Burt, *Licensed by Authority: Ben Jonson and the Discourses of Censorship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

⁵⁴ See F.J. Levy, “Staging the News,” in *Print, Manuscript, & Performance: the Changing Relations of Media in Early Modern England*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 252–278.

⁵⁵ William Prynne, *Histrion-Mastix* (London: for Michael Sparke, 1633).

⁵⁶ “State of the Drama in 1616,” in *The English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes, 1543–1664*, ed. William Carew Hazlitt (New York: B. Franklin, 1969), 229.

⁵⁷ Not that all anti-theatricalists believed that drama was evil by its very nature. Many anti-theatricalists opined that drama could potentially be a useful tool for religious instruction. Both John Bale and John Foxe wrote for the stage in the first half of the sixteenth century. Philip Stubbes in his *Anatomy of Abuses* concedes that there is the possibility that if “honest & chast playes, tragedies & enterluds are vsed to these ends, for the Godly recreation of the mind, for the good example of life, for the auoyding of that which is euill, and learning of that which is good, than are they very tollerable exercises.” Philip Stubbes, *Philip Stubbes’s Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakspeare’s Youth* (1583), ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (The New Shakspeare Society: London, 1877), x–xi. Stubbes’s work is theatrical to the extent that it is in the form of a dialogue; William Prynne is even more self-conscious of the possibilities of theatre in mandating doctrine, structuring *Histrionmastix* with a prologue and a chorus. Like other anti-theatricalists, William Crashaw appears to have recognized the benefits of theatre by appending a playlet to the end of the printed version of his 1610 sermon, in which God, Europe, England, and Virginia speak biblical passages to one another to justify and encourage English colonization of Virginia. God tells Europe (through the words of Luke’s Gospel) that “The Kingdome of God shall bee taken from you, and giuen to a Nation that shall bring foorth the fruits there of.” That nation is England, who is commanded to “Strengthen thy brethren” in Virginia, a land which is looking to God (through the words of Psalm 67) to “be mercifull to vs, and blesse vs, and cause the light of thy countenance shine vpon vs: let thy waies bee known vpon earth, and thy saving health among all Nations.” Lauding England’s arrival to spread the word, Virginia praises “How beautifull are the feet of them that bring glad tidings, and publish saluation!”—words that spring originally from the Book of Esau. Crashaw appears to be reprimanding players for not staging a play that presents the Virginia Company as a holy enterprise by offering a more appropriate alternative; he thus falls in line with the anti-theatrical belief that drama’s potential for religious indoctrination has been sullied by players and playwrights. Crashaw, *Sermon*, L3.

⁵⁸ As Jonas Barish argues, “[i]n a day when monasteries had been disposed and despoiled throughout England, when statues and stained glass had been smashed with iconoclastic fury, it could only have seemed a logical next step to destroy an even more potent competitor for men’s imaginations, the secular stage. If the Anglican Church, in its partly reformed condition, could still be the target of fiery curses for its relics of popery and heathenism, how could the stage, an even more mesmerizing relic of popery and heathenism, hope to escape whipping?” See Jonas Barish, *The Anti-theatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 88–89.

- ⁵⁹ Gervaise Babington, *The Ten Commandments* (1588), in Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses*, 83.
- ⁶⁰ Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses*, 144.
- ⁶¹ Smith, *A Map of Virginia*, 176.
- ⁶² Crashaw, *Sermon*, F2.
- ⁶³ *A True and Sincere Declaration*, 10.
- ⁶⁴ Alison Games, "Migration," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave, 2002), 35.
- ⁶⁵ Jean E. Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), 27.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 43–44.
- ⁶⁷ See also T.K. Rabb, who argues that the gentry were especially interested and invested in the success of Virginia, in *Enterprise and Empire: Merchants and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1967).
- ⁶⁸ Crashaw, *Sermon*, H4.
- ⁶⁹ Crashaw's allusion to the idleness of players and playgoers is something of a throwback to an earlier era of anti-theatricalism. The criticism of idleness is more prominent in the earlier wave of anti-theatrical tracts of the 1570s and 1580s, prior to the ban on playing on Sundays in 1583, although Prynne repeats these concerns in his compendium of anti-theatricalism *Histriomastix* in 1633. The criticism of idleness still surfaces in later tracts, but these tracts seem more vexed by increased social mobility (particularly in relation to sartorial and gender transgressions). See Jean E. Howard, "'Sathans Synagogue': the theater as constructed by its enemies," in *The Stage and Social Struggle, 22–46*; and Laura Levine, "Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization from 1579 to 1642," *Criticism* 28 (1986): 121–143.
- ⁷⁰ Smith, *A Map of Virginia*, 139.
- ⁷¹ See Barish, *The Anti-theatrical Prejudice*. On the influence of Platonism on English colonial ideology, see Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and 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).
- ⁷² *A True and Sincere Declaration*, 3.
- ⁷³ Plague years were many: 1581–82, 1592–83, 1603–4, 1608–9, 1625, 1630, 1636–7, 1640 and 1641. On the relationship between the theatre and plague, see Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).
- ⁷⁴ Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses in England*, xi.
- ⁷⁵ Crashaw, *Sermon*, Hv.
- ⁷⁶ David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World*, 11–28.
- ⁷⁷ Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 4.
- ⁷⁸ The first African slaves came to Virginia in 1619. Even in 1650 there were only three hundred African slaves (around 2% of the colony's population), and most of the manual labour was undertaken by indentured servants. However, this began to shift as British emigration declined in the late seventeenth century, and African slaves began to be seen by plantation owners as the more economical solution to the short-fall in labour. Figures from Alan Taylor, *American Colonies*, 142. On the first black slaves in Virginia, see Tim Hashaw, *The Birth of Black America: the First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2007).
- ⁷⁹ There are significant pitfalls in privileging the circulation of metaphor in the Atlantic context. Even though the purpose of Atlantic studies has been to include the histories of enforced slavery and genocide, critics have argued that scholars frequently deal in abstractions which take away from the particulars of the experiences of certain groups and paradoxically dehistoricizes those experiences. For example, in her analysis of Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic*, a foundational text in Atlantic studies, Joan Dayan argues that, for Gilroy, "the idea of slavery, so central to his argument (and so necessary to our understanding of what he calls the enlightened 'complicity of reason and terror') becomes nothing more than a metaphor." In Gilroy's account "the slave ship, the Middle Passage, and finally slavery itself become frozen, things that can be referred to and looked back upon, but always wrenched out of an historically specific continuum. What is missing is the continuity of the Middle Passage in today's world of less obvious, but no less pernicious enslavement." By suggesting that metaphors circulate circum-Atlantically I could be accused of similar abstractions. I hope that it is understood that by addressing the circulation of metaphor it is far from

my intention to overwrite the actual circulation of peoples across the Atlantic. In fact, I strongly believe that a focus on the traffic in metaphors illuminates histories of slavery and genocide, but I recognize that this is one of many methodologies that could perform this historiography and that it is one that is prone to “freezing” histories. My interest in this chapter is how metaphors constructed America for English audiences: this approach could enable us to see more clearly how native peoples and slaves were constructed and how their violent treatment was legitimized, although that is not something that this chapter addresses in any great detail. See Joan Dayan, “Paul Gilroy’s Slaves, Ships, and Routes: The Middle Passage as Metaphor,” *Research in African Literatures* 27, no. 4 (1996): 7.

⁷⁹ On Spain and Virginia, see Horn, *A Land As God Made It*, 153–155, 200–205.

⁸⁰ See Strachey, *Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, 9–14.

⁸¹ Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana*, 51–52. For an analysis of the compromised erotics of Raleigh’s account, see Louis Montrose, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,” *Representations* 33 (1991): 1–41.

⁸² Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, 10.

⁸³ *A True and Sincere Declaration*, 23.

⁸⁴ John Smith, *A Description of New England* (1616), in *The Complete Works of John Smith*, vol. 1, 361.

⁸⁵ John Webster, *The Devil’s Law-Case* (1614), ed. Francis Shirley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 1.1.6–7. All references to this play are taken from this edition and are cited parenthetically.

⁸⁶ John Fletcher, *The Coxcomb* (1608), in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 5.2.39–49.

⁸⁷ Ben Jonson, *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman* (1609), ed. L.A. Beaurline (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 5.1.17–21.

⁸⁸ Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, June 26, 1608, in Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages*, vol. 1 163.

⁸⁹ Jasper Mayne, *The City Match* (1637) (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1639), 3.2.73.

⁹⁰ John Cooke, *Greenes Tu-Quoque, or the City Gallant* (1611) (New York: AMS Press, 1914), B3.

⁹¹ S.S., *The Honest Lawyer* (1614) (New York: AMS Press, 1914), H4v.

⁹² Nathaniel Field, *A Woman is a Weather-cocke* (London: for John Budge, 1612), D3.

⁹³ *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*, 38–39.

⁹⁴ John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage* (1622), in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 3.1.94–106.

⁹⁵ Robert Taylor, *The Hogge Hath Lost His Pearl* (1613) (Oxford: The Malone Society, 1972), 3. 256–258.

⁹⁶ Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Britania*, 5; Camilla Townsend, *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2005), 197 n.32.

⁹⁷ See William Kelso, J. Eric Deetz, Seth Mallios, and Beverley Straub, *Jamestown Rediscovery*, vol. 8 (Richmond: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 2001), 41–47.

⁹⁸ Don Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, September 22, 1612, in *Genesis of the United States*, 632–633.

⁹⁹ Symonds, *Virginea*, 30.

¹⁰⁰ John Rolfe, “Copy of John Rolfe’s Letter to Sir Thomas Dale Regarding His Marriage to Pocahontas,” in Philip Barbour, *Pocahontas and Her World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), 249.

¹⁰¹ Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Love’s Cure, or The Martial Maid* (1619), in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 3, 1.2.30–34.

¹⁰² Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Loyal Subject* (1618), in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 5, 3.2.22–25. All further references to this play are taken from this edition and are cited parenthetically.

¹⁰³ See “A Note Of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions, sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company in the Yeere 1619,” in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. Susan M. Kingsbury, vol. 3 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1906–1935), 115. On women in the colony, see Joan Pong Linton, “Gender, savagery, tobacco: marketplaces for consumption,” in *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 104–130. On the history of women in Virginia, see David R. Ransome, “Wives for Virginia, 1621,” in *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series, 48 no. 1 (1991): 3–18; Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

¹⁰⁴ Virginia Company to the Governor and Council in Virginia, August 12, 1621, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 493.

- ¹⁰⁵ See Textual Introduction to *The Noble Gentleman* in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 3, 115–120. All future references are to this edition and are cited parenthetically.
- ¹⁰⁶ Massinger, *The City Madam* (1632), ed. Cyrus Hoy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 5.1.106–110. All further references are to this edition and are cited parenthetically.
- ¹⁰⁷ Aston Cockayne. *The Obstinate Lady* (1639) (London: for Isaac Pridmore, 1657), 17. All future references are to this edition and are cited parenthetically.
- ¹⁰⁸ *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie*, 54–56.
- ¹⁰⁹ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, January 23, 1608, in John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman McClure, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), 283.
- ¹¹⁰ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, August 1, 1612, in Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 1, 470–471.
- ¹¹¹ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, June 22, 1616, in Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 2, 12.
- ¹¹² Other Virginia commodities were alluded to on stage, for example, sassafras, which is noted by Gates and many others as a potential commodity, principally because of its healing properties. However, I have not included commodities such as sassafras in this account because they are not specifically associated with Virginia of the Americas—sassafras, for example, was not unique to Virginia.
- ¹¹³ Sir Walter Cope to Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, August 12, 1607, and August 13, 1607, in Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages*, vol. 1, 108–111.
- ¹¹⁴ Ben Jonson, *The New Inn* (1629), ed. Michael Hattaway (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 3.2.260–261.
- ¹¹⁵ *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie*, 23.
- ¹¹⁶ Thomas Dekker, *Match Me in London*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 2.1.198–199.
- ¹¹⁷ *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie*, 30 (my emphasis).
- ¹¹⁸ James Shirley, *The Constant Maid* (1636), in James Shirley, *The Dramatic Works and Poems*, ed. William Gifford and Alexander Dyce, vol. 4 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), 465.
- ¹¹⁹ James I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London: by Robert Barker, 1604).
- ¹²⁰ Henry Glapthorne, *The Tragedy of Albertus Wallenstein* (London: for George Hutton, 1639), Dv.
- ¹²¹ Henry Glapthorne, *The Ladies Privilege* (London: for Francis Constable, 1640), H2.
- ¹²² Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1988), 3.2.155–158.
- ¹²³ On the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England in 1649 and the creation of Massachusetts praying towns, see Linda Gregerson, “The Commonwealth of the Word: New England, Old England, and the Praying Indians,” in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. David J. Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 178–193.
- ¹²⁴ On the “anti-Spanish” plays that sprung up in the early 1620s, and the reaction towards them, see Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*; Margot Heinemann, “Drama and Opinion in the 1620s: Middleton and Massinger,” in *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 237–265; and Levy, “Staging the News.”
- ¹²⁵ Joseph Sigalas has argued that the “the omission of hardship in colonizing Virginia” in *Eastward Ho!*, “which would have lent rhetorical strength to an argument against colonization, suggests, finally, that the play’s ridicule of the colonizers may have been an indictment against greedy, drunken, unprincipled colonizer, and not against colonization in general.” Joseph G. Sigalas, “Sailing Against the Tide: Resistance to Pre-Colonial Constructs and Euphoria in *Eastward Ho!*,” in *Renaissance Papers*, ed. Barbara J. Baines and George Walton Williams (1994): 94.

Chapter Two

“Altogether estrangfull, and Indian like”

Thus, Indian-like,
Religious in mine error, I adore
The sun, that looks upon his worshipper,
But knows of him no more.

William Shakespeare, *All's Well That Ends Well* (1.3.188–191)

I. Indian and Indian-like

On February 15, 1613 George Chapman and Inigo Jones presented a masque in celebration of the wedding of Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I and Anne of Denmark, to Frederick, the County Palatine. As Chapman's description of *The Memorable Maske of the Two Honorable Houses or Innes of Court, the Middle Temple, and Lyncolns Inne* attests, almost everything in the masque was laced with Virginian reference points. The masque commenced with a procession of “two Carrs Triumphall” in which “the choice Musitions of our Kingdome, sixe in each [were] attir'd like Virginean Priests.”¹ Their “Robes were tucked vp before,” they had “strange Hoods of feathers, and scallops about their neckes, and on their heads turbants, strucke with seuerall colour'd feathers, spotted with wings of Flies, of extraordinary bignesse, like those of their countrie.”² The “chiefe Maskers” were also clad “in Indian habits,” but these costumes were even more elaborate than the musicians', “richly embroidered, with golden Sunns and about euey Sunne, ran a traile of gold, imitating Indian worke.” Their clothing was adorned with feathers, including “On their heads high sprig'd feathers, compast in Coronets, like the Virginian Princes they presented.”³ They carried “[i]ntheir Hands [...] cane darts of the finest

gould,” wore “vizerds of oliue collour; but pleasingly visag'd,” and “their hayre [was] blacke and lardge, wauing downe to their shoulders.”⁴ Somewhat improbably, the torchbearers also were dressed in “the *Indian* garb, but more strauagant then those of the Maskers.”⁵ Chapman hailed the spectacle as a “showe at all parts so nouell, conceitfull and glorious, as hath not in this land, (to the proper vse and obiect it had porpos'd) beene euer before beheld.”⁶ The hundreds of people who took part in this procession, bedecked in golden and feathered finery, must have been an astonishing sight, not least because these “nouell” figures were the first dramatic representations of America’s Indians. Indeed, Virginia had not been celebrated on this scale before.

It seems as if Chapman’s boast was not unfounded. James was so impressed by the procession that the masquers and their entourage “made one turn about the yeard [...] for the more ful satisfaction of his Maiesties view” before dismounting and making their way into Whitehall for the masque proper to begin.⁷ The masque was popular enough to be repeated later in 1613 for the wedding of Lady Frances Howard to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. However, if contemporary observations are anything to go by, the masque’s positive reception seems to have had little to do with its Virginian themes. John Chamberlain informed his friend Dudley Carleton on February 18, 1613 that the masquers “made such a gallant and glorious shew that yt is highly recommended.” On February 23, Chamberlain commended “the Middle Templers and Lincolns Ynn” to Sir Ralph Winwood, noting how they “gave great contentment [...] with theyre gracefull coming on horseback, as in all the rest of theyre apt invention, apparel, fashion, and specially their excellent dauncing.” Chamberlain singled out the “dousen little boyes, dresst like babones that served for an antimask [...] [who] performed yt exceedingly well when they came to yt.”⁸ Chamberlain does not mention to either Carleton or Winwood that the masquers were attired as Virginians, nor does he comment upon the masque’s imperialist leanings. This lack of comment could be because he wasn’t in the audience—the boys’ good performance is based on hearsay rather than what he actually saw.⁹ Masques were often hindered by poor acoustics, and attendees were often present to be seen rather than to see. Chamberlain’s source in Whitehall may not have

even noticed that the masquers were Virginians.¹⁰ But Chamberlain's omission of these details also may say something about a general English inability to describe the appearance of Virginian, or indeed any American, natives. The pamphlet *The Mariage of Prince Fredericke and the Kings Daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, vpon Shrouesunday Last*, an account of the wedding celebrations published twice in 1613, recounts how "[t]he Gentleman of the Innes of Court, in the best and rarest manner they could deuise, prepared Maskes and Reuells in the Court" that began with the procession "to *White Hall*, in as royall a manner as euer gallants did to the Court of *England*." The account praises the masquers' attire of "cloth and tissue, most glorious shining," and marvels at how each masquer had "a Blackamore Page attending on horse backe, with torch light burning in their hands." Nowhere does the account mention that the masquers are Virginians—indeed, its author seems confused as to what these figures represent, saying that the masquers wear "most strange Anticke sutes."¹¹

George Chapman himself doesn't sound too sure about what exactly Jones's creations looked like. After his lengthy description of the masquers' attire, he proclaims them "altogether estrangfull, and *Indian* like."¹² The primary meaning of "estrangfull" is probably "wondrous" or "amazing," but the word carries with it a sense of incomprehension—a sense that the Virginians were strange, unknown, and, perhaps, unknowable. This sense is partially cancelled by Chapman's subsequent assertion that the figures are "Indian"—indeed, he uses the word "Indian" to describe their "habits" and "garb" and assures the readers that they were dressed "like those of their country." However, his addition of "like" after the word "Indian" destabilizes this certainty, because even though the word suggests similarities between the appearance of masquers and "real" Indians, it also distances the representation from the real thing. The representations are not Indian in so far as they are masquers from the Inns of Court—but they are not Indian in so far as their appearance only approximates "Indian-likeness." Indeed, the word "estrangfull" suggests this approximation as well.

Chapman's uncertainty about the nature of the Virginians that his entertainment purports to represent is reflected elsewhere in the masque. The gold details on Jones's costume designs had little correlative with Virginian clothing. Indeed, by 1613 it had become clear that Virginia was not mineral-rich, let alone gold-laden, and, as D.J. Gordon has suggested, the masque seems to transfer ideas about Guiana (in particular Walter Raleigh's fantasy of El Dorado) onto Virginia.¹³ Chapman's assertion that the "high sprig'd feathers, compast in coronets" worn by the masquers were "like the Virginian Priests they presented" was incorrect. Virginian Indians did not wear feather-crowns, but instead seem to have favoured single feathers extending from the hair. Jones's designs draw on influences from the south and east rather than the west. The designs resemble the "Indo Africanus" in Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (1598), the source book for many of Jones's costumes (**figures 1 and 2**). Vecellio's depictions of the inhabitants of Virginia in *Habiti Antichi et Moderni*—based heavily on Theodor de Bry's engravings of John White's watercolours from Thomas Harriot's *Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* (1590)—do not appear to have influenced Jones. Vecellio, however, does not include the Virginians, or Floridians, Mexicans or Peruvians, under the heading "Indian." Indeed, he translates the Italian "Indiana" into the Latin "Orientalis," a reminder of the fact that the word Indian was first applied to peoples east of the Indus and had been applied only recently, and not uniformly, to the inhabitants of the Americas.¹⁴ The African origin of the costumes is underscored by the presence of Moors "attir'd like *Indian* slaues" who accompanied each of the masquers.¹⁵ Jones may also have been inspired by a masque performed on January 1, 1604, the first performed at James I's court, which featured "certain Indian and China knights" who wore "loose robes of crimson satin embroidered with gold and bordered with silver laces, dublets and bases of cloth of siluer; buskins, swords and hatts alike and in theyr hats ech of them had an Indian bird for a fether with some jewels."¹⁶ Chapman's description of the "turbants, strucke with seuerall colour'd feathers" in the text of *The Memorable Maske* suggests that the design for the Indians' headwear was different to and more spectacular than those of 1604—"seuerall colour'd feathers"

as opposed to a single “fether with some jewels”—but, regardless, the “turbant” was headwear usually associated with Turks or Persians.¹⁷ The Indians of *The Memorable Maske*, although named “Virginian,” are amalgams of peoples from both hemispheres. The idea of the Indian, therefore, could elicit recognition—Chapman must have expected the phrase “*Indian* like” to conjure some image—but it was at the same time “estrangfull,” as it was an ill-defined composite of tropes that straddled the Atlantic and beyond. Indians are both entirely alien (“altogether estrangfull”) and possess recognizable qualities that are associated with Indianness (“*Indian* like”). Chapman’s oxymoron destabilizes how “Indian” these figures are. Even for an audience at Whitehall whose knowledge of America may have been substantial, the Indian was not an altogether legible category.

This chapter adopts Chapman’s description of the Virginians in *The Memorable Maske* as “altogether estrangfull and *Indian* like” to examine the masques that followed its example and featured Indian-like figures: the masques performed for the wedding of Frances Howard and Robert Carr in 1613, Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones’s *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620), Aurelian Townsend and Jones’s collaborations *Tempe Restord* (1632) and *Florimène* (1635), William Davenant and Jones’s *The Temple of Love* (1635), and Mildmay Fane’s *Raguiallo d’Oceano* (1640). It compares these representations to Lord Mayor’s Shows, many of which also featured Indian-like figures: Thomas Middleton’s *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* (1617), *The Tryumphs of Loue and Antiquity* (1619), and *The Tryumphs Of Honor and Vertue* (1622), Thomas Dekker’s *Londons Tempe, or The Feild of Happines* (1629), and Thomas Heywood’s *Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo* (1632) and *Porta Pietatis, or, The Port or Harbour of Piety* (1638). The representations of Indian-like figures in both court masque and civic pageant reflect and refract Virginia Company propaganda, which placed the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of Virginia at the centre of its Protestant mission. Both genres underline the imperialist aims and ideologies of their sponsors and spectators through employing the figure of the Indian who is assimilated into the Christian faith, or into English mercantilism, or both.

This is evident even when events in the American colonies made it undesirable to pursue a program of conversion. In later masques and pageants writers and designers created more variegated Indian-like figures, even as the characteristics and appearance of the figure of the Indian was becoming more and more uniform: in later masques and pageants, the writers do not deem it necessary to describe the Indian's appearance in any great detail, as if the word "Indian" were sufficient to conjure up the requisite image, even though in these later entertainments the representation of the Indian seems to incorporate traits of various "Indian" peoples from across the Americas and the East Indies. Jones's designs in 1613 may draw on a variety of Indian-likenesses, but the figures are named "Virginian": the origins of later manifestations of Indian-like figures are rarely specified, and are designated by the geographically non-descript but ideologically-rich name "Indian." This chapter examines the development of this figure—the movement, as it were, from "Indian-like" to "Indian"—in both forms of dramatic representation.

This chapter also addresses the apparent anomaly that, while the formation of the Indian in the English imagination can be dated to the era of the first professional playing companies, one medium that does not seem to have participated in this formation was playhouse drama. The first Indian character to speak on stage did not appear until William Davenant's *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* was mounted at the Cockpit Theatre in 1658. The first Indians to feature as major characters in an English play are those depicted in Howard and Dryden's *The Indian Queen* in 1664. Prior to the closure of the theatres in 1642, Indians appear rarely: fleetingly in *Four Plays, or Moral Interludes, in One*, by John Fletcher and Nathaniel Field, in 1613, and by proxy in the figure of Caliban in William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in 1611. In Massinger's *The City Madam*, performed by the King's Men at The Globe and at Blackfriar's in 1632, and in the anonymous *The Fatal Marriage*, if it was performed at all, Indians characters are exposed as Europeans in disguise. Even though playhouses represented numerous other Others with some regularity, most especially Jews, Turks, and Moors, and even though masques and pageants

included Indian-like figures, playhouse drama did not sustain an interest in staging Indian characters.¹⁸

However, while Indians may be more or less absent from the playhouse, Indian-likeness abounds. The comparison of someone's behaviour to an Indian was commonplace—the epigraph to this chapter from Shakespeare's *All's Well that End's Well* is one of many such examples. These allusions may only flicker momentarily—of all the characters who display Indian-like traits, perhaps only Caliban's likeness is sustained, and he, we may recall, was born on a geographically unspecified, magical island somewhere in the Mediterranean to an Algerian mother—but cumulatively these allusions allow us to understand the ways in which Indian-likeness was constructed in playhouse drama and how these constructions related to representations in other dramatic genres and in promotional literature. They provide a glimpse into popular notions of Indian-like appearance, character, and behaviour, and into how these notions evolved in the first decades of colonization. Caliban also serves as an ideal test-case to understand how playhouse drama constructed stranger figures, and what the raw materials for characterization were.¹⁹

II. Indian Conversion in *The Memorable Maske*

English motives for colonization were varied and many. Some advocates emphasized the importance of finding a vent for England's increasing population and increasingly disordered society. Others believed that settling in the New World would enable the English to mimic Spanish success and establish trade routes that would line English coffers. Others (particularly those in Henry, Prince of Wales's circle) believed that gaining a foothold in America would provide the perfect base from which to attack the Spanish. This last aspect was one that clearly vexed Philip III of Spain. On March 16, 1606 Don Pedro de Zuñiga, the Spanish Ambassador in England, wrote to the king, warning him that the English were proposing “to send 500 or 600 men, private individuals of this kingdom to people Virginia in the Indies, close to Florida.”²⁰

Zuñiga's concern and his desire to forewarn his king were understandable. Even though England and Spain were nominally at peace following the Treaty of London in 1604, the Spanish were wary of any nation forging across the Atlantic, muscling its way onto American soil, and threatening their trade routes. Virginia could provide the English with the perfect vantage from which to disrupt and potentially cripple the Spanish, hence why Zuñiga stresses the potential colony's proximity "to Florida" and its location "in the Indies." The ambassador reminded Philip that the English had "sent to that country some small number of men in years gone by," a reference perhaps to the Roanoke settlers, perhaps to the frequent English sorties against Spanish ships in the Caribbean in the previous century, but most likely to the recent reconnaissance voyages at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Samuel Mace and Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602, by Raleigh Gilbert and Martin Pring in 1603, and by George Waymouth in 1605.²¹

Zuñiga's letter also reveals a fourth, and crucial, motive for colonization. Advocates of colonization, Zuñiga writes, were using Native Americans as part of a publicity campaign: "They brought 14 or 15 months ago about ten natives, that they might learn English and they have kept some here [in London] and others in the country, teaching and training them to say how good that country is for people to go there and inhabit it."²² This group of captives was not the first to make the journey across the Atlantic. Other Native Americans had been brought to London and taught English so as to provide valuable reconnaissance. Manteo and Wanchese, for example, were taken from Roanoke by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe in 1584 and provided valuable information about the area. Other visitors were accorded celebrity status. Four Inuit (Kalicho, Arnaq, and Nutaaq, plus a captive whose name was not recorded) brought back by Martin Frobisher from northeastern Canada in 1576 and 1577 became "a wonder to the whole city," according to Michael Lok, one of the backers of the voyages.²³ In 1611 Captain Edward Harlow returned from New England with around ten natives, one of whom, Epenow, was "shewed up and downe London for money as a wonder," and was probably the "Indian" with the "great tool" who was alleged to have titillated his female audience in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII, or All*

is True (5.3.32–33).²⁴ However, the Indians referred to in Zuñiga's letter stand out as the first to be specifically employed in a publicity campaign rather than as objects of "wonder." Indians, he feared, were becoming central to the new wave of colonial propaganda pushing for settlement in "Virginia in the Indies." They were being taught to extol the virtues of their land in English to the English, less to make it seem like an exotic otherworld than to make it seem like a potential new home.²⁵

Other Native American visitors were employed for promotional purposes. *A Declaration for the Certain Time in Drawing the Great Standing Lottery* (1615), a broadside promoting the standing lottery for raising funds for the Virginia Company, was published with engravings of two Indians, Eiakintomino and Matahan, who beckoned potential English investors, encouraging them to "Bring *Light, and Sight, to Vs yet / Leade Vs, by Doctrine and Behauoiur, blinde / Into one Sion, to one SAVIOVR.*"²⁶ The broadside includes the names of the Indians, suggesting perhaps that there was name recognition: Eiakintomino is almost certain to have resided in London, as there is a contemporaneous painting of him standing in St. James's Park amid birds and animals.²⁷ The visit of Pocahontas and ten or twelve other delegates and attendees from the Powhatan to London in 1616 was, as far as the Virginia Company was concerned, "a publicity tour."²⁸ The Virginia Company defrayed part of the cost of transportation from Jamestown, paid Pocahontas a stipend of four pounds a week while she was in London, and housed her at the Bell Savage Inn just off Fleet Street, thereby placing her in a central and highly visible location.²⁹

Indians were consistently alluded to in promotional literature from this period. Indeed, they were one of the key justifications for the work of the Virginia Company. The propaganda campaign conducted from the pulpit in 1609–10 stressed the necessity of converting the Virginians to Christianity and saving their souls: it was, pleaded Robert Tynley, "the principall scope of this business," and would prove, according to Richard Crackanthorpe, "happie and glorious worke."³⁰ The promotional pamphlet *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (1610) asked its readers if they were able to "select a more excellent subiect, then to cast

downe the altars of Diuels, that you may raise vp the Altar of Christ: to forbid the sacrifice of men, that they may offer vp the sacrifice of contrite spirites; to reduce Barbarisme and infidelity, to ciuill gouernement and Christianity.”³¹ *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* (1610) placed the plight of the natives at the forefront of the Company’s mission, maintaining that

The *Principall* and *Maine Ends* [...] weare *first* to preach, & baptize into *Christian Religion*, and by propagation of the *Gospell*, to recouer out of the armes of Diuell, a number of poore and miserable soules, wrapt vpp vnto death, in almost *inuinceable ignorance*; to endeauour the fulfilling, and accomplishment of the number of the elect, which shall be gathered from out all corners of the earth; and to add our myte to the treasury of Heauen, that as we pray for the comming of the kingdome of glory, so to expresse in our actions, the same desire, if God haue pleased, to vse so weak instruments, to the ripening & consummation thereof.³²

Lesser pieces of publicity were equally forceful. The aforementioned broadside of 1615 announcing the lottery stressed that the purpose of “the plantation of that country with an English Colonie [...] [was] for the establishing of the Gospell, and the honour of our king and country.”³³ The two Virginian Indians represented on the proclamation spoke directly to this purpose. A proclamation of 1620 by James I announcing the cessation of the lottery scheme also reminded readers that the monarchy had supported the venture “for the inlarging of Our Government, increase of Nauigation and Trade, and especially for the reducing of the Sauage and barbarous people of those partes to the Christian faith.”³⁴

The importance of Indians to the promotional campaigns of the Virginia Company in the first decades of the seventeenth century is reflected by their presence in court entertainment. Given the connections between the court and the colonies, it is perhaps to be expected that masques in particular addressed transatlantic enterprise and settlement and featured Indian-like

figures. Prominent court figures like John Dee, Humphrey Gilbert, Philip Sidney, and Walter Raleigh generated much of the enthusiasm for colonization in the late sixteenth century. Raleigh's interests stirred the young Prince Henry, around whom many hawkish courtiers assembled in the first years of James I's reign. Among the investors in the Virginia Company were Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (who invested £333 6s 8d), William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (£400), and Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk (£200), alongside numerous other notables who became part of Prince Henry's circle.³⁵ Many American visitors were afforded welcomes at court, and others entered prominent households, such as Towaye, who became part of Sir Richard Grenville's household in Devon and was given the name "Raleigh," having arrived from the (Raleigh-sponsored) Roanoke settlement in 1585. At Whitehall on January 18, 1617 "The Virginian woman Poca-huntas" was "well placed at the maske," Jonson and Jones's *The Vision of Delight*.³⁶

Not that court entertainments reflected the interests of their audiences in a simplistic, fawning fashion. As a number of critics have argued, masques were frequently sites of contestation rather than affirmation. Masques were mounted not simply for the king's entertainment, and, even though, as Stephen Orgel has argued, the king was afforded the prime seat in the auditorium, many masques negotiated the competing interests at court.³⁷ Both Prince Henry and Queen Anne put on and danced in masques that reflected their own interests, which were sometimes in conflict with the King's and each other's. Graham Parry sees Samuel Daniel's *Tethys' Festival*, a masque commissioned by Anne and performed in June 1610, as a direct challenge to her son's militaristic leanings. Through Daniel's verse Anne encourages Henry that "within the large extent / Of these thy waves and wat'ry government, / More treasure and more certain riches got / Than all the Indies to Iberus bought": Henry should put aside his infatuation with foreign fields and turn instead to domestic matters, in particular the development of the fishing industry, which will "turne fish to gold."³⁸ Henry also employed masques to further his cause. Two other entertainments, *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* and *Prince Henry's Barriers*, both mounted by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones to celebrate Henry's coming-of-age in 1611, presented

the Prince (who danced in both) as visual challenges to James's foreign policy, which was pacifist and thus infuriating to the more bellicose factions at court (the most prominent of which was Henry's own). Masques were not simply self-congratulatory affairs: in Martin Butler's words, they were "courtly negotiations" of power, place, policy, and prestige.³⁹

The Memorable Maske is another example of such courtly negotiation. The masques' American themes were carefully chosen: the marriage of an English princess to a Protestant prince mirrored that of a "virgin" land to a Protestant court. The choice was also geo-political. As Parry suggests, "Chapman, by linking the Palatine marriage with Virginia, was in effect trying to draw the Elector Frederick (and behind him the German princes of the Protestant Union) into an anti-Spanish grouping."⁴⁰ The masque's political edge was not lost on Philip III, who wrote to Zuñiga's successor Don Alonso de Velasco (who had been present at the masque) to tell him "I am well pleased with the zeal which you show in keeping me informed of all that comes to your knowledge" about "the marriage of the Palatine and [...] the preparations made for Virginia."⁴¹ The masque's call to arms was no doubt the work of Henry, who supervised his sister's wedding celebrations. The Prince had long been a supporter of colonization and exploration. He sponsored George Waymouth's exploratory voyage in 1605 and welcomed Henry Hudson's interest in the Northwest Passage by becoming supreme protector of the Company of Merchant Discoverers of the Northwest Passage in 1611.⁴² He had shown considerable interest in the emerging Virginia colony, and was known as "Patron of the Virginia Plantation," according to one observer putting "some money in" the Virginia Company "so that he may, some day, when he comes to the crown have a claim over the colony."⁴³ Sir Thomas Dale, one of the colony's founders, was one of his former servants; Robert Tyndall sent a manuscript map of Virginia directly to him in 1607; Henrico College, Henricopolis, Fort Henry, and Cape Henry were named after him. The outpouring of public grief at Henry's death in November 1612 alluded to Henry's imperialist interests. Chapman's lengthy encomium, *An Epicede or Funerall Song on the Most Disastrous Death of [...] HENRY, Prince of Wales*, compared the visitation of death upon Henry to the

shipwreck of “The poore *Verginian*, miserable sayle,” a reference to the shipwreck of *The Sea Venture* in 1609.⁴⁴ Sir John Holles, a member of Henry’s household, wrote on February 13, 1613 (two days before the *The Memorable Maske* was performed) that “all actions profitable or honourable for the Kingdom were fomented by him, witness the North West passage, Virginia, Guiana, The Newfoundland, etc. to all, which he gave his money as well as his good word.”⁴⁵ *The Memorable Maske* mourned his loss and commemorated his life by celebrating the recent “marriage” of England to Virginia.

As Tristan Marshall notes, *The Memorable Maske* “synthesises everything positive about the overseas potential of the Americas, as represented in propaganda dating from the earliest period of Elizabethan expansionism.”⁴⁶ It does so through the figure of the Virginian Indian, which, although drawing on a variety of Indian-like typologies, encapsulated the fantasies of early English transatlantic colonization. In the masque, “A / troupe of the noblest Virginians,” Indian princes and “*the Phoebades* (or Priests of the Sunne),” arrive in England with Plutus, god of riches, to commend the royal wedding.⁴⁷ The Virginians first sing a “superstitious Hymne” in honour of their deity, the “faire Sun.”⁴⁸ In response, Eunomia, the goddess of Law, exhorts the “Virgine Knights” to

turne the euent

To this our Britan *Phoebus*, whose bright skie

(Enlightned with a Christian Piety)

Is neuer subiect to black Errors night,

And hath already offer'd heauens true light,

To your darke Region, which acknowledge now;

Descend, and to him all your homage vow.⁴⁹

Under Honor’s instruction, the Virginian troop honour the sun in attendance at Whitehall, “cleere Phoebus; whose true piety, / Enioyes from heauen an earthly deity.”⁵⁰ At the end of the masque, Plutus praises their “homage [...] to *Loue* and *Bewty*, and our Britan Sun,” after they have

“renounce[d]” their previous “superstitious worship of these Sunnes, / Subject to cloudy darknings,” an allusion either to Indians as sun-worshippers, or to their possible conversion to Catholicism if the English did not get to them first.⁵¹ In Chapman and Jones’s masque, Virginian Indians are converts to the British King, to Protestantism, and also to the English cause in Virginia, willingly giving up their superstitions to follow their new masters, bequeathing to them the riches that their land offered.

The Memorable Maske reflected Virginia Company policy towards the conversion of the native Virginians in the early years of the colony. It is tempting to dismiss Company statements of purpose as colonial cant, and conclude that venturers hid behind religious rhetoric in order to exploit the native populations and to gain financially as much as they possibly could: after all, the early years of the Jamestown settlement were hardly free of violent encounters. For some, including Prince Henry, American settlement fit into a chivalric ideal that had been handed down by his heroes Raleigh, Sidney, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex: in this version of colonization, the natives were little more than nuisances. However, it seems as if many who supported the Virginia Company believed in its religious mission statements, however murky their other motives.⁵² Many investments in the Company were made with religion in mind. In 1617 John and Rebecca Rolfe (Pocahontas) were bequeathed £100 by the Company to begin a mission in Virginia “partely in doing honor to that good example of her conversion, and to encourage other of her kindred and nation to do the like, And partely upon promise made by the said Mr. Rolfe on behalfe of him selfe and the said Ladye [...] that [...] they would employe their best endeavours to the winning of that People to the knowledge of God.”⁵³ A broadside of 1619, *A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions, Sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company*, specified the arrival of fifty men “sent by their labours to beare vp the charge of bringing vp Thirty of the Infidels children in true Religion and ciuility.” The broadside proudly noted the gifts bestowed upon the Company for the expressed purpose of converting Indians. An “unknowne person” had “lately sent to the *Treasurer* 550. pounds in gold for the bringing vp of children of

the Infidels: first in the knowledge of God and true Religion, and next, in fit trades whereby honestly to liue.” Virginia Company member Nicholas Ferrar bequeathed “300. pounds to the Colledge in Virginia, to bee paid, when there shall be ten of the Infidels children placed in it,” as well as money “to be distributed vnto three discreet and Godly men in the Colony, which shall honestly bring vp three of the Infidels children in Christian Religion, and some good course to liue by.”⁵⁴ By 1620 £3,000 had been invested in the Company specifically for religious uses.⁵⁵ There seems to have been a genuine desire among certain colonial advocates to establish the colony as a Christian commonwealth that would benefit both Indian and English alike.

The Memorable Maske also negotiated court politics through its Virginian figures. Whether the masque performed in February 1613 was the same one that Prince Henry had envisaged is impossible to say.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, as Parry suggests, it was “very much the Prince’s masque,” and its appeal to Virginian and Guianan venturing (and by extension its evocation of the now-captive Sir Walter Raleigh) “cannot have been very pleasing to the king.”⁵⁷ The masque’s appeal to honour would no doubt have appealed to Henry, who was obsessed with chivalry. Plutus arrives at Whitehall not as “the blind Deity” depicted “by *Aristophanes* [and] *Lucian*” (a reference to Aristophanes’ play *Plutus*), but a recent convert, gifted sight and wisdom through “late being / in loue, with the louely Goddess / Honor.”⁵⁸ His conversion does not extend to a rejection of riches—far from it; he is still to be found guarding his golden mines—but rather to a better, more honourable use of riches. At the same time, given that Henry had tended to use masques to promote an aggressive foreign policy, Chapman and Jones may have toned down some of the elements for a court that was now focused on the King and not his charismatic, but now deceased, son. The unforced conversion of the Virginians reflected James’s foreign policy. Fearful of provoking the Spanish following the Treaty of London, 1604, and wary lest England become embroiled in the continental wars or, worse, descend into internecine chaos all its own, James steered a diplomatic rather than bellicose course, looking for security in dynastic matches (of which Elizabeth and Frederick was one). James nominally supported American settlement, as

his granting of charters to the Virginia Company in 1606, 1609, and 1612 suggests, and he was certainly no great champion of native rights: his *Counterblaste to Tobacco* railed against “the barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slauish Indians.”⁵⁹ However, *The Memorable Maske*’s appeal to peaceful conquest of native souls may well have appealed to James. The masque staged a fantasy of conquest where the natives bloodlessly yielded to the British King: as D.J. Gordon suggests, “[i]t is a reconciliation rather than a violent conversion.”⁶⁰ The sun/son worshipped at the masque’s conclusion no doubt recalled the late Prince Henry, in whose name these acts of devotion (the marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick, and the union of England to Virginia under the auspices of James I) were silently solemnized. The sun was Frederick, who (in the eyes of Henry) could unite Protestants across Europe through marrying James’s daughter. But Phoebus was James above all others, sitting at the end of the banqueting hall in the prime seat. While the masque harped on themes dear to the late Prince of Wales’s heart, at its conclusion it promoted not only the Christian duty of the English to convert the natives of the New World and to save them from their own idolatry and the Catholic threat, but also James I’s role in that process—not as a military Caesar but as a benevolent, loving vassal of God.⁶¹

III. Civic Indians

Native conversion was also thematized in civic pageantry, but with an emphasis more on mercantilism than on missionary zeal. This is exemplified in Thomas Middleton’s mayoral pageant *The Triumphs of Truth*, mounted for the accession of Sir Thomas Middleton from the Company of Grocers in 1613. The show featured “a King of the Moores, his Queene, and two Attendants of their owne colour, [and] the rest of their followers,” who appeared on a “Castle that stands in the middle Iland” on the Thames. The King greeted the assembled crowds, noting “amazement set vpon the faces / Of these white people” because “So many Christian Eyes [...] neuer saw / A King so blacke before.” He assured them that he and the Queen followed the “true

Religion” and had turned their back on “Error” (who is personified elsewhere in the pageant). He recounted how they were “wun, / By the Religious Conuersation / Of English Merchants, Factors, Trauailers, / Whose Truth did with our Spirits hold Commerse[.]”⁶² Their conversion was stimulated by neither James I nor churchmen acting in his name, but by traders and travellers—people like Sir Thomas Middleton, who was an incorporator of the East India Company in 1599, as well as member of and proselytizer for the Virginia Company. Their religious virtue held “commerse” with the King and Queen—Middleton plays here on the dual meaning of “commerse” to underscore the financial nature of Christian transformations. Thus the King of the Moor’s conversion is both spiritual and financial. He is converted not just into the Christian religion, but into a Christ-approved system of financial transaction.

The mercantilist mode of colonization may seem at complete odds with the Christian virtues espoused in the sermonizing that accompanied early colonization. However, colonial propaganda stressed the financial alongside the spiritual possibilities. The focus of Robert Johnson’s *Nova Britannia* (1609), *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia*, and *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (both 1610) was also on the commodities that Virginia might yield. All three tracts include lengthy passages describing the “abundance of wood,” the “diuers sorts of Minerals,” “the hempe or flax,” the “Sturgeon” and other fish, the “pretious fures [of] Beauers, Foxes, [...] Squirrils, [...] Otters,” and the “corne [which] yeeldeth a treble encrease more then ours.”⁶³ Religion and commerce were inextricably linked. The benefit to the Indians may have been spiritual, but the benefit to the English was both spiritual and economic—a Christian Indian well-versed in the protocols of transactions and trade would be far easier to live alongside and barter with. For the Virginia Company this was not hypocrisy, but good, Christian, business sense. As Tristan Marshall argues, the rhetoric of “English Protestantism [...] was to be forgotten quickly by the majority of settlers [...] [but] the theory of this religious mission remained alive back in London, [...] [and] [t]hough we should be aware of its ultimate failings when it was brought there,

Protestantism was indeed to be the first of the commodities shipped to the New World.”⁶⁴ By establishing this commodity, the English could import and re-export American commodities.

The mercantilist emphasis to the Indian-like figures employed in Lord Mayor’s Shows underscores how these civic pageants celebrated the possibilities of colonization from a global-economic perspective. These shows were lavish affairs, costing hundreds of pounds paid for by the livery company to which the mayor belonged, and were performed every year on October 29 to welcome the new mayor into the City. Each pageant consisted of a procession through the streets of the capitol, stopping at various stations (some of which were floating on the Thames, as with the castle on the floating island in *The Triumphs of Truth*) for speeches, scenes, and spectacular displays. They were not, however, simplistic puff-pieces. While their main aim was to present the mayor and his company in the best possible light, they also represented and negotiated concerns dear to the hearts of London’s mercantile community.⁶⁵ A number of pageants made allusions to America, reflecting the fact that London’s merchants were supportive of these new ventures in their early years. During his tenure as mayor between 1608 and 1609, Mayor Sir Humphrey Weld pressured the London guilds to invest in the ailing Virginia Company. The Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Grocers’ Company records how Weld made “a most worthie and pithie exortacon unto the generallitie,” which persuaded the Company to make “Some voluntary contribution out of the best disposed and most able of the companies towards the sayde plantacon.”⁶⁶ As a result of “exortacons” such as this, fifty-six companies and six hundred and fifty-nine individuals took shares costing £12 10s, which were used to finance three voyages to Virginia in 1609. According to Virginia Company records, the London guilds invested £2,085 15s 8d by 1618.⁶⁷ Members of guilds were also prominent in the formation of the other overseas trading corporations, the Eastland Company, the Russia Company, the Levant Company, the Africa Company, and the East India Company. Civic entertainments, like the entertainments at court, exhibited the investments made by their patrons and constituents for the City as a whole to enjoy.

Shows mounted at the inauguration of mayors from the Company of Drapers and Company of Grocers particularly incorporated American themes. The Drapers' were major contributors to multiple overseas ventures. They enjoyed a close relationship with the Merchant Adventurers', as both companies wished to combat the dominance of the Hanseatic League monopoly on European trade, and were moved to invest in foreign trade because of the depression of the English cloth market. Richard Poynter, Drapers' Company warden in 1562, was among the first members of the Russia Company, and Drapers Sir William Chester and John Dimmocke had shares in one of the Russian voyages. Chester also invested in John Hawkins' 1564 slaving mission "to the parts of Africa and Ethiopia where the king of Spain hath no present dominion," along with four other Drapers.⁶⁸ By 1600, nine Drapers were members of the Levant Company, and eight were among the original 218 members of the East India Company. They contributed funds to Raleigh-led anti-Spanish privateering ventures in Atlantic waters in 1592 which culminated in the seizure of the Portuguese carrack the *Madre de Dios*, at that point the largest ship seen in an English port (of the £141,200 seized, the Drapers were awarded £926 5s).⁶⁹ Seven Drapers were incorporators of the Company for the Plantation of the Somer Isles in 1615 (all of whom had invested in the Virginia Company). Between six and eight Drapers formed the Company of the North-West Passage in 1612. In addition to these investments, the Drapers' were the fifth highest contributors to the Virginia Company in 1609, raising £150. They contributed £30 to the Virginia lotteries on June 15, 1612 and May 11, 1614, and in 1620 they paid for two subscriptions of 16s 3d for "the charges of transporting one hundred vagrant boys and girls to be there industrially employed."⁷⁰

American themes made their way into a number of Drapers' mayoral pageants. Sir Francis Drake, for example, featured in three Middleton shows, *The Sunne in Aries* in 1621, *The Triumphs of Integrity* in 1623, and *The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity* in 1626, all of which included the popular national figure because he came from a family of Drapers.⁷¹ The figure of the Indian was also employed to mark the contributions of specific Drapers' Company mayors.

Sir Maurice Abbott, Draper, was heavily involved in overseas venturing. He was among the Warwick faction of investors in the Virginia Company and the Company for the Plantation of the Somer Isles. Prior to becoming mayor in 1638 he was Governor of the East India Company, and Alexander Brown notes “the English merchant service was largely under his control, and he was a constant advancer of English colonization and commerce.”⁷² For Abbott’s accession Thomas Heywood devised a pageant, *Porta Pietati, or, The Port or Harbour of Piety*, which incorporated motifs celebrating his investments. Its second show featured an Indian who thanked the “honourd Sir [...] / By whose commerce our Nation hath beene fam'd.” He lauded the mercantile community in general through the figure of the Merchant, “who from all Coasts [...] rich materialls brings, / For ornament or profit,” and praised his mercantilist-missionary zeal: “By Land he makes discovery of all Nations, / Their Manners, and their Countries scituations, / And with those savage natures so complies, / That there's no rarity from thence can rise / But he makes frequent with us.”⁷³ The Indian’s praise is not directed at the Merchant’s ability to convert the native but rather to converse with the native. The mutual compliance between trader and savage enables “commerce,” which in turn enables England to become a global, financial player—the advancement of which people like Abbott were at the forefront.

Strong as it was, the Drapers’ support was eclipsed by the enthusiasm of the Grocers’ Company. Among the “Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia” listed in the 1609 Virginia Company charter were thirty individual investors from the Grocers’ Company. In contrast, only nine haberdashers, five drapers, five fishmongers, five ironmongers, four mercers, three merchant-tailors, two brewers, and two cloth-workers invested individually.⁷⁴ The Grocers’ seemed to readily dip their hands in their pockets. In March 1610 Mayor Sir Thomas Campbell from the Ironmongers’ Company exhorted the Grocers’ “to rayse some voluntary contribution out of the best disposed & most able of the Companie towards the sayd plantacon.” According to a note dated April 25, 1610, the Grocers’ Company donated a further £100 to the Virginia Company.⁷⁵ The Grocers’ also contributed to the Virginia Company

lottery schemes. On April 29, 1612, the Wardens' Accounts recorded an agreement, "upon the [speciall] mocon and request of S^r Thomas Smyth Knight"—the Treasurer of the Virginia Company—for "£57 – 10 to be adventured for 500 shares in Lottery for Virginia." As a result of their adventuring, "A faire round salt and cover, all of silver guylt. weighing 44¼ ounces 1dwt., was received [...] in regard of £13.10. happening to them in the late lotterie, made for the plantation in Virginia, upon their adventure of putting in of £62.5. and for 19s. 6d. more paid by the Master and Wardens for the same."⁷⁶ On April 20, 1614, "a true declaracon of the present estate of the Englishe Colony planted in Virginia," penned by the Privy Council, was "publickly read to the whole assembly": the authors told the Company

Wee hartily pray you to employ yo^r good endes amongst the Brethren of yo^r company to adventure in the sayd Lottery destined for soe good a purpose sure reasonable sumes of money as each of them may conveniently and cann willingly spare [...] wherein hapily they May be gainers, and whatsoever any shall loose, shalbe bestowed on soe good a worke and soe behovefull to the whole realme.⁷⁷

By 1618 the Company had invested £487 10s, more than any other livery company and over £300 in excess of the amount donated by the Drapers'.⁷⁸

Pageants inaugurating mayors elected from the Grocers' regularly marked the Company's involvement and investment in the new colony in Virginia. Again the figure of the Indian was used to praise these investments and the labour that they required and engendered. Middleton's *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* (1617) was performed for the accession of Grocer George Bowles, who, like Abbott, was a Virginia Company member, listed among the membership in 1609 while he was Sheriff of London and as an investor to the tune of £37 10s (he was also an incorporator of the East India Company).⁷⁹ The argument of his inauguration pageant stated that acting industriously "gets both wealth, and loue, which ouerflows / With such a streame of Amity an a peace, / (Not onely to it selfe adding increase) / But severall nations where commerce abounds / Taste the harmonious peace, so sweetly sounds."⁸⁰ Virginia was one such "nation."

This industrious quality is personified in the pageant's first invention, which opens with "A Company of *Indians*, attired according to the true Nature of their Country, seeming for the most part naked." These Indians are industrious, "set at worke in an Iland of growing spices; [...] euery one seuerally imploide." They also engage in stereotypical Indian-like behaviour, as they "dance about the trees, both to giue content to themselues and the spectators."⁸¹ The earliest images of Virginia (such as John White's watercolours) and accounts of the Jamestown settlement (such as John Smith's *True Relation*) depicted Indian rituals that involved lengthy periods of dancing.⁸² This pageant presents Indians as industrious but also as people able to take pleasure in work, gathering spices that will then be sold to bolster the Grocers' coffers.

While the Indians of *The Memorable Maske* converted their sun-worship to sun/son worship, the Indians of *Honor and Industry* and *Porta Pietatis* have been converted to becoming workers for the London companies and have been given some kind of understanding of English commerce. Indeed, they have come to understand conversion, which the English believed to be the key to bartering, itself. To be able to deal with the Indians the English believed that they needed to convert them to Christianity, to teach them English, and give them an understanding of trade. Or, to put it another way, converting the Indians to Christianity would have the happy consequence of incorporating them within a system of Christian brotherhood, which would facilitate trade with the English in America. As the writer of pamphlet *The Merchants New-Royall Exchange* (1604) explained to his "louing Country-men, but especially [...] the Merchants of London": "the vertue of Comerse, is to discouer countries [...] for both the forrein & the free-borne are crowned with wealth by it: the black Indians, & the white Englishman, filll their purses by one & the same bargaine."⁸³ The Indians of *Honor and Industry* and *Porta Pietatis* reflect this manifold "vertue," as do other Indian-like figures in Lord Mayor's Shows of the period.

IV. Indians "singing and dancing wildly": *Four Plays, or Moral Interludes, in One*

Like the masques and pageants, the only example of playhouse drama to feature Indians (as opposed to plays in which Virginians are Europeans in disguise) employs themes of conversion, commerce, and colonialism. The play in question also includes what seems to have been a familiar association of the early modern period—namely that between the Greek-Roman god Pluto/Plutus and the mineral wealth of the New World. In Fletcher and Field's *Four Plays, or Moral Interludes, in One*, performed at Blackfriar's in 1613, a troop of actors present, as the title suggests, four plays to celebrate the "sacred union" of the "brave King of *Portugal, Emanuel*" and "his worthie mate Isabella, the King of Castiles Daughter."⁸⁴ The gaps between playlets are punctuated by commentary from the newly married couple, who note the lesson that each playlet has taught them. The first, "The Triumph of Honour," teaches Emanuel to be "A lawful lover void of jealousie" and Isabella to be "a constant wife" (1.INT.28–30); the second, "The Triumph of Love," teaches them what "true love [can] doe" (2.INT.1); the third, "The Triumph of Death," warns the King and Queen against "the two imposthumes / That choke a kingdoms welfare; Ease and Wantonnesse" (3.INT.1–2); the fourth and final playlet, "The Triumph of Time," shows to Emanuel and Isabella the "weaknesse" in rulers who make themselves prone to becoming "master'd by abuses" such as greed, desire, ostentation, and excessive materialism (4.INT.2–3). In the middle of the final playlet Plutus enters accompanied "*with a troop of Indians singing and dancing wildly about him, and bowing to him*" (4.3.SD). This moment marks the first entrance of an Indian onto a playhouse stage.

The plot of "The Triumph of Time" centres on the plight of Anthropos, who is lured by his false friends Desire and Vain Delight into wasting his money on fripperies. As a result he is forced to accompany Poverty "to purge [his] pleasures" (4.1.102). He calls upon Jupiter for assistance, and Jupiter urges Plutus and Time to release him from Poverty, Humility, and Simplicity. Plutus and Time take Anthropos to a rock, which is revealed to be "A glorious mine of metal" (4.4.38). The false friends flock back to Anthropos in disguise, hoping that his newly discovered wealth will line their coffers, but Jupiter unmask them and forces them to become

part of Time's Triumph, thus ensuring that "Their memories [will] be here forgot for ever" (4.4.57). To ensure that Anthropos "never more [...] shalt [...] feel want," Jupiter makes him "Live in that rock of gold" (i.e., the mine) (4.4.64). The abuses (represented by false friends), which the watching monarchs conclude rulers must master, are defeated, and Anthropos can forever live in peace and limitless wealth.

As such, "The Triumph of Time" follows the trajectory of *The Memorable Maske* in celebrating the wealth that the New World can offer and the peace it can bestow. At the conclusion of both Anthropos and James are assured success and riches. Like *The Memorable Maske*, "The Triumph of Time" features a troop of Indian masquers: like *The Memorable Maske* the god Plutus plays a prominent role, and in neither is he the blind, old, crippled figure of Aristophanes's *Plutus*. Nonetheless, audiences at Blackfriar's would have witnessed a very different group of Indians and a very different incarnation of Plutus to those which had adorned Whitehall that same year: indeed, Fletcher and Field's employment of American themes in the playhouse contrasts markedly from Chapman and Jones's court masque.

Whereas the Virginian priests and princes were central to *The Memorable Maske*, the Indians' appearance at Blackfriar's is brief, amounting to no more than a few minutes of stage time. The Indians' behaviour is stereotypical, their entrance "*singing and dancing wildly*" according with several accounts of Indian ceremonies. It is not clear what they looked like, and they do not even speak. The play-text lacks the detailed descriptions of Chapman's, although this may be explained by the fact that it was first published thirty-four years after its first performance as part of *The Comedies and Tragedies of Beaumont and Fletcher*. The character of Jupiter describes them as "sunburnt Indians," which perhaps indicates that the players wore some kind of blackface. No other character mentions anything else pertaining to the Indians' appearance, and the stage directions are no more forthcoming. The costumes may have been inspired by the designs of Inigo Jones for the *Memorable Maske*. It would have been viewed as appropriate for these Indians to be adorned with the very same gold-and-feather-laced costumes, to wear the very

same long black hair and olive-coloured vizards, and to carry the very same “cane darts of the finest gould” as their counterparts at Whitehall—they are, after all, worshippers of Plutus, the god of riches. Some audience members may have recognized these figures from the publicity campaigns in the first years of the Virginia Company (including the personal appearances noted by Zuñiga), some would have heard about the lavish procession and masque that accompanied the wedding of Princess Elizabeth earlier in the year, and some may have been in attendance at that masque, as the Blackfriar’s was noted for attracting a higher social class of audience than the amphitheatres.

The Indians, however, highlight a key difference between the masque and the play. In the *Memorable Maske* the realignment of allegiance from sun to king justifies the English in proclaiming not just territorial but spiritual dominion over Virginia. The Virginians’ turn away from sun-worship is a declaration of the godliness of crown-sponsored colonial pursuit. The wealth that Plutus offers the English is therefore justified because James, as the anointed servant of God upon the English throne, has been the approved beneficiary. This form of wealth-accumulation is contrasted favourably to that promoted by Capriccio, the “Man of Wit,” whom the Plutus of *The Memorable Maske* rejects as “an attendant / for reward” rather than for honour (C4v). The bellows that Capriccio wears on his head signify both that he can “puffe vp with glory / all those that affect mee” (i.e., he is an avid promoter of people whose pay he is in) and that he is a “Religion-forger,” whose puritanical outbursts against the sins of wealth mask a thirst for riches and a desire to “blow vp the settled / governments of kingdomes” (B4v). Capriccio, the masque suggests, is not a justified beneficiary of Virginian wealth precisely because of his abject materialism and his bankrupt religiosity.⁸⁵

In contrast, in “The Triumph of Time” no native conversion takes place. Instead, the Indians persist in worshipping Plutus, albeit that “They know [him] not, nor hurt [him] not, yet hug [him]” (4.2.21–22). Jupiter describes the Indians as “idly” adoring the god of riches—they are “innocent people / Not knowing yet what power and weight he carries” (18–19). The Indians’

reverence resembles not the Virginian worship of Kiwasa (whom European observers did not associate with the accumulation of wealth), but rather Nahua worship of Quetzalcoatl in Mexico. The Jesuit missionary and natural historian José de Acosta, describing Quetzalcoatl as “the god of merchandise, being to this day greatly given to trafficke” (inaccurately, as it happens, as Quetzalcoatl was the sky and creator god), recorded that the god’s idol was made from “golde, silver, jewells, very rich feathers, and habites of divers colour, [...] and they worshipt it, for that hee enriched whome hee pleased, as *Memnon* and *Plutus*.”⁸⁶ In contrast to the Nahua, however, the Indians of “The Triumph of Time do not worship Plutus for reasons of self-enrichment. They adore Plutus “idly”—meaning both “as an idol” and “emptily”—because they do not know “yet” his “power and weight.” When Time approaches Plutus to get him to help Anthropos, he asks whether there is “some fool [...] some *Midas* / That to no purpose I must choke with riches,” but it does not appear that he has choked the Indians who worship him in “innocence” (24–25). However, Jupiter’s “yet” suggests a future Indian conversion, but this would be to worship Plutus’s “power and weight” rather than to the Christian god.

In addition, the Plutus of “The Triumph of Time” is not converted. The god of riches, who was usually associated with (in poet John Davies’s phrase) “th’infernall deepes” of the underworld, was often linked with the New World, primarily in relation to the Spanish mines.⁸⁷ The concept that Plutus’s home is in the occident seems to have predated 1492. Robert Albott, explaining the division of “heaven, earth, and water” between the Greek gods in *Wits Theatre of the World* (1610), described how “the west part fell to *Pluto* [the Greek Plutus]” a “partition” from which sprung “the fiction of the Poets, calling [...] *Pluto* God infernall, or *dis pater*, or that the west or falling of the sunne, is more dark and cloudy, and more base and low then the East.”⁸⁸ This world-division narrative, and the general idea that Spanish mines and Plutus’s realm were one and the same, is repeated elsewhere in early modern texts, underpinning the oft-rehearsed and derogatory link between the Spanish Americas and excessive, almost diabolical, wealth. In Edward Daunce’s *A Briefe Discourse of the Spanish State* (1590), Plutus is declared “the

Hesperian [i.e., western] god,” who allows New Spain to abound “with fruitfull fields and rich mines.” Thomas Dekker Spanishifies “Don Pluto” in *Newes from Hell* (1606), although his riches are not mineral but tobacco—he is “that great Tobacconist the Prince of Smoake & darknes.”⁸⁹ Pluto/Plutus was not always located in the west. In Thomas Carew’s and Inigo Jones’s court masque, *Coelum Britannicum* (performed in February 1633), Mercury describes Plutus as toiling in the more generalized “undiscover’d Worlds [...] Filling the World with tumult, blood, and warre,” as a result of which he is “from heaven banish’d.”⁹⁰ In Aurelian Townsend and Jones’s masque *Albions Triumph*, performed at Whitehall on January 8, 1632, Pluto is commanded to “let both Indies [...] meete / And lay their wealth at ALBAS feete.”⁹¹ But despite these conflation of Plutus’s domain (and he was himself a figure conflated from Roman and Greek deities), the notion that the god presides over all wealth to be found at the edges of the world is a consistent thread. Also consistent is the idea that Plutus was a diabolic figure, even though the deity was not regarded as necessarily evil in ancient Greece and Rome. This is evident in the examples quoted above from Albott, Dekker, and Carew: Plutus ruled over the mines of the New World; Plutus ruled over the underworld; Plutus was therefore another name for the devil, tempting and corrupting people with the promise of (new) worldly wealth—a false idol.

In *The Memorable Maske* Plutus is co-opted by the English, and, while he helps persuade the Virginians to turn their worship to the court and not to the sun, he is not depicted as their or anyone else’s false god. Indeed, Plutus’s status as an idol is mollified in the masque by the fact that before the masque begins he has been converted to the goddess Honor’s cause. To follow Plutus in the *Memorable Maske* is itself honourable, because by so doing one maintains obeisance to the crown in celebrating New World promise. However, Fletcher and Field’s Plutus is a Protean shape-shifter, who when needed can “change my figure” either to one “goodly and full of glory” when “I willingly befriend a creature” or to one “old, and decrepit” if “I am compell’d” (4.3.16–17). (I take “compell’d” here to mean “by necessity” rather than Plutus being actively forced to change shape—Plutus earlier refuses to obey “Jove’s command,” suggesting a degree of

autonomy (1).) In comparison to his *Memorable Maske* incarnation, Plutus transforms *himself*—he is not a convert, his advocacy of wealth has not been coloured as honourable, he changes himself for his own benefit. And an unconverted Plutus was, to all intents and purposes, the devil.

That Fletcher and Field's re-imagining of *The Memorable Maske* omits both of its conversion narratives may seem a marginal concern as, after all, the main figure in the playlet does undergo a lasting transformation: Anthropos turns away from the vanity of "Desire" and "Vain Delight" to work at the "glorious mine of metal" with "hook and mattock" (4.4.38–45). As Gordon McMullan suggest, the primary target of critique in this play seems to be James's court, which famously indulged in "Desire" and "Vain Delight," ruining itself, as Anthropos himself does, "on clothes, and Coaches, / Perfumes, and powder'd pates," on "an endlesse troop of Tailors, / Mercers, Embroiderers, Feathermakers, Fumers" (4.1.21–30): Chapman and Jones's masque was an example of this waste, costing a princely £1,182.⁹² The play's framing device of the wedding of Emanuel and Isabel comments not only indirectly on the most famous wedding of the year, that of Elizabeth and Frederick, but also directly on James, astonishingly announcing in the opening exchanges that it "will censure not onely the King in the Play here, that reigns his two hours; but the King himself, that is to rule his life time" (IND.64–66).

Nevertheless, a further undercurrent of "censure" can be detected in the play's New World passages, which again is visible through the close relationship between "The Triumph of Time" and Chapman and Jones's masque. Anthropos's new (world) wealth may be acquired by hard work and the rejection of a certain kind of materialism, but it is achieved without any form of conversion of the natives. His industry and his rejection of his *faux-amis* may be rewarded with the goldmine, but Jupiter's declaration that Anthropos's conversion to industriousness allows him to "Live in that rock of gold, and still enjoy it" seems in many ways menacing (4.4.64). The meaning here is somewhat obscure, but, seeing as Anthropos has already been awarded custody of Plutus's mine after promising to be industrious, it is unlikely that Jupiter is restating

Anthropos's ownership. Given that Anthropos is not accorded an exit in the stage directions, we might conclude that he leaves the stage by being encased *in* the mine—Jupiter's words would certainly seem to indicate this. This does not indicate a triumphant conversion, but rather an excessive, Midas-like greed—and this is, after all, Plutus's mine. Without any conversion of the Indians, or of Plutus, Anthropos is entrapped in a mountain of gold. Significantly, in *The Memorable Maske*, Capriccio makes his first appearance by cracking out of a rock (Plutus's mine). Anthropos makes the same journey in reverse.

As the previous chapter has shown, promoters of colonization strived hard to dispel the notion that venturers and settlers only saw in Virginia its lucrative possibilities, and they advanced the idea that the mission was not simply about accumulation but was one of spirituality and communion, with the plight of the native inhabitants at its core. One of the main reasons for the Virginia Company's disgust with the players was their insistence that anybody interested in colonial endeavour was a rogue, as it deflected from its major *raison d'être*. Fletcher and Field's refusal to rehearse the centrality of the Indians to Virginia Company propaganda, their focus on the importance of Anthropos's conversion, and his eventual subterranean encasement highlight key differences between the *modus operandi* of the masque and playhouse drama. In *Four Plays* Plutus's train are imagined as sun-worshipping heathens resolutely unaffected by the advance of English Protestantism. While these Indians' actions may seem innocent enough, their unconvertedness serves to dismiss the religious protestations of the Virginia Company as a mask, and exposed its money-grabbing, "true" nature. Fletcher and Field, I would argue, re-imagine Chapman and Jones's masque to expose its propagandistic ideology.

V. The Salvage and Deformed Slave

Another Indian-like figure appeared at Blackfriar's and at court in the 1610s. *The Tempest* was part of the repertory of the King's Men, it was selected for performance at Whitehall on November 1, 1611, and it was remounted at court as part of the marriage celebrations of

Elizabeth and Frederick in 1613, on the same bill of entertainment as *The Memorable Maske*. However, this Indian-like figure was very different from the subservient, newly-converted Virginians of Chapman and Jones, or even the innocent, unconverted, “yet” innocent Indians of Fletcher and Field. Caliban is far from innocent—his attempted rape of Miranda confirms this. He is far from placid, as his plot against Prospero proves. He is far from the gleaming, gold-laced representatives of Virginia of *The Memorable Maske*, as constant allusions to his fishy odour attest. He does not take to learning, hurling back at his teachers the fact that he knows only “how to curse” (1.2.367). He chooses to follow not Prospero, who sought to impart knowledge to him, “To name the bigger light, and [...] the less” (1.2.338) in exchange for information about the island’s environment and ecology, but rather to follow the doltish Stephano, whose chief characteristic appears to be a love of sack. He refuses to be taught, he is deviant, violent, and disgusting (at least in the eyes of the Milanese and Neapolitans in the play). In short, he is the antithesis of the image of the Indians perpetuated by Virginia Company propaganda. How those Virginia Company supporters must have squirmed when Caliban entered the scene, representing so many characteristics of Indianness that their propaganda sought to counteract. The sermons, pamphlets, and broadsides insisted that while the Indian was brutish, he was also eagerly awaiting grace and would gladly assist the English in return. Caliban only sues for grace at the very end of the play, after his nefarious plot has been exposed.

Except, of course, Caliban is not an Indian. He is referred to as a “salvage” in the *dramatis personae* and by Miranda (1.2.358), and Stephano alludes to “savages and men of Ind” when he encounters Caliban and Trinculo’s four-legged beast (2.2.56).⁹³ The term “sa(l)vage” was frequently applied to Virginian Indians. Martin Pring and James Rosier use the term in their accounts of their reconnaissance missions of 1602 and 1605; Robert Gray, Richard Crackanthorpe, and William Crashaw call the inhabitants of the Americas “savages” in their sermons, and Robert Johnson does likewise in *Nova Britannia* (1609); first-hand accounts of the colony such as *The Proceedings of the Colony* (appended to Smith’s *Map of Virginia*, 1612) and

Ralph Hamor's *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1615) employ the term with some frequency. At a later point in the play, Trinculo classifies Caliban as a "natural," the term used by the first settlers of Jamestown and also in early Virginia Company documents and policies (3.2.31).⁹⁴ His name, as many have pointed out, is almost an anagram of "Cannibal." His god is Setebos, a deity worshipped in Patagonia according to the reports by Antonio Pigafetta, who was on the Magellan voyage of 1519–1522. But while these associations are significant, they do not conclusively establish Caliban's ethnicity. Caliban's mother was Sycorax, an African witch. While he was born on the island following his mother's banishment from Algiers, the island itself is located somewhere between Naples and Tunis. The gabardine that Caliban wears when Trinculo and Stephano discover him recalls both the clothing worn by the Irish Cairns and by Jews.⁹⁵ He bears more than a passing resemblance to the traditional figure of the wild man.⁹⁶ Prospero doubts his humanity, calling him "got by the devil himself" and a "thing of darkness" (1.2.322, 5.1.278), and Alonso calls him "a strange thing as e'er I looked on" (5.1.292). Nowhere is he called an Indian. Indeed, his body's deformity conforms little with the descriptions of Virginian Indians whom, as Karen Kupperman points out, were admired by English settlers for their countenance and bearing.⁹⁷ If anything, Shakespeare's Caliban was ahead of his time. As Tristan Marshall points out, "[t]he Indian as the bogeyman [...] does not enter into contemporary writing until after 1622," eleven years after Caliban's first stage entrance, when Opechancanough mobilized against the English plantations in a bid to remove the settlers for good.⁹⁸ The only Indian in *The Tempest* is the dead one alluded to by Trinculo.

The Caliban conundrum has vexed critics ranging from those who insist that *The Tempest* is a New World play and that Prospero and Caliban embody the Hegelian dialectic of master and slave to those who resist the idea entirely as being historically slipshod.⁹⁹ Few, however, have placed the representation of Caliban in relation to other Indian-like dramatic representations. It is not my purpose to claim that Caliban is an Indian, as the fact that he can be associated with so many different typologies and ethnicities cannot be dismissed. Nor is it my wish to denounce him

as insufficiently Indian, because the allusions listed above linking him to the Americas are far from incidental. The fact that Caliban doesn't behave in the ways in which Indians were believed to behave does not disqualify him from being an Indian-like figure. Caliban's confused ethnicity leads us to question not whether he is sufficiently Indian or not, but why he is not sufficiently one thing or the Other.

To ask why Caliban is not an Indian but is Indian-like brings into focus the wider question of why Indians were by and large absent from the early modern stage—why, after 1613 and *Four Plays*, they do not seem to have graced the stage. Some answers to this are straightforward enough. It seems likely that playhouse audiences had only marginal interest in English colonial venturing; hence playwrights were less inclined to include Indians. Many of the audience members at the masques were invested—financially, ideologically, both—in English colonization. The companies who commissioned and paid for the lavish Lord Mayor's Shows had economic interest in the Atlantic world. The playhouse audience probably sometimes included members of the aristocracy: Shakespeare's patron Henry Wriostheley, the Earl of Southampton, and Fletcher's patrons the Huntingdons were prominent movers and shakers in overseas settlement and enterprise—the former was Treasurer of the Virginia Company and was among its largest private investors at £350, while Henry Hastings, Fifth Earl of Huntingdon, contributed the not inconsiderable sum of £120.¹⁰⁰ Although there are no records of any mayors attending the theatre, the fact that so many writers composed both for civic pageants and for the playhouses indicates that there was a synergy between the two dramatic genres. Nevertheless, the playing companies were not writing specifically for constituencies who had direct involvement in colonization. Indeed, even though different theatres had specific types of audiences—the greater citizen constituency of the amphitheatre playhouse; the greater aristocratic constituency of the indoor playhouse—their target audience was more disparate and the incentives behind the performance less directed than either masque or pageant. In addition, the playhouse audience may have been less knowledgeable about Indians. For those who moved in circles where colonization

in the Americas was a topic of interest—the court, the Royal Exchange, the guilds, or among Virginia Company members and supporters—the Indian had by 1613 gained some degree of legibility. In other circles of English society the Indian was a hazy, ill-formed figure, with a few consistent characteristics but little sharp distinctiveness. Playhouse drama both mirrored and contributed to this ignorance.

The visual record is also scanty. Images of Indians were printed rarely in English accounts. Neither Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1599) nor *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625) includes a single illustration, nor do George Best's *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, Vnder the Conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall* (1578), Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596), and the accounts of Virginian exploration prior to the settlement at Jamestown by Martin Pring (1603) and James Rosier (1605). French and Spanish travel accounts that were illustrated in their original French and Spanish editions did not include the images when they were "Englished," for example André Thevet's *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (1574), which features a number of woodcuts that were not reproduced in the English translation, *The New Found Worlde, or Antarticke* (1568). One of the most famous English accounts of North America, Thomas Harriot's *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590 edition), is richly illustrated with Theodor de Bry's engravings based on John White's watercolours of the Secota and Pomeooc who lived to the south of the English settlement at Roanoke. However, as Christian E. Feest has shown, only a handful of images of Virginia Indians seem to have been in circulation in this period, and these emanated from *A Brief and True Report*.¹⁰¹ John Smith's 1612 *Map of Virginia* and the map which accompanied his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Isles* (1624) both include vignettes of the Powhatan and Susquehanna that derive from the White/de Bry images, even though the Powhatan and Susquehanna were distinct from the Secota and Pomeiooc. The influence of de Bry and White can also be detected on *A Declaration for the Certaine Time in Drawing the Great*

Standing Lottery from 1615, although Feest argues that there are sufficient differences to suggest that these images were pressed from completely new plates. The only other non-de Bry influenced image of a Virginian Indian in this period is the engraving of Pocahontas by Simon van de Passe, which was included in Smith's *Generall Historie*. In the picture Pocahontas is dressed as an English noblewoman. John Chamberlain mocked her appearance at the time, declaring the engraving a picture "of no fayre Lady and yet her tricking up and high stile and titles you might thincke her and her worshipfull husband to be somebody."¹⁰² Although the plume of feathers that she bears in her right hand and her pearl ear-rings may be a concession to her origins, and her features, as Camilla Townsend points out, seem to be "indigenous," her picture may not have seemed immediately Other to Smith's readers.¹⁰³ It is worth noting that Jones's designs for *The Memorable Maske* and his later Indian-like designs for *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620) and *Tempe Restord* (1632) are indebted to European costume and emblem books imported from the continent which were probably not commonly circulating among most English consumers. In sum, the Americas and Americans do not seem to have exercised the visual imagination of the English.

Even if the English were deprived of visualizations of America's inhabitants, numerous textual descriptions of Indians published in English enabled them to visualize these peoples for themselves. However, even well into the seventeenth century, many English men and women would not have been entirely clear what an Indian was, simply because the word "Indian" was employed infrequently to describe the peoples of America whom the English encountered. The word was consistently used by English writers in relation to the Spanish Americas or Florida. Richard Eden, translator of *Decades of the New World* (1555), persisted with Columbus's geographical mistake by translating the word *Indios* as "Indian." Richard Hakluyt does likewise in *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582) when translating his French sources, such as Jean Verrazanus's relation to Francis I of a voyage to Norumbega in 1524 and Jean Ribault's voyage to Florida in 1562 (even though, as Robert Berkhofer points out, the word

“*sauvage*” was more often employed by French observers than the word “Indian”).¹⁰⁴ First-hand English accounts seldom employed the word “Indian.” George Best, in his account of Frobisher’s first voyage in 1576, calls the inhabitants “the sauage people.”¹⁰⁵ Dionyse Settle, in his account of Frobisher’s second voyage to find the Northwest Passage, calls them “countrie people,” perhaps because their skin colour “is not much unlike the Sunne burnt Countrie man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his liuing.”¹⁰⁶ Voyagers to Virginia in the 1580s also did not describe the inhabitants as “Indians.” Both Arthur Barlowe, in his account of the reconnaissance voyage to Virginia 1584, and Ralph Lane, in his “Account of the Particularities of the Implyments of the Englishmen left in Virginia” (1586) use proper names to describe the peoples whom they encounter: the word “Indian” is nowhere to be found in either. Thomas Harriot’s *Brief and True Report* calls them “the naturall inhabitants” or “the people.”¹⁰⁷ Virginia, like Newfoundland, was thus full of people, savages, and infidels, but it had not yet become inhabited by “Indians.”

The word migrated north in the early years of the seventeenth century, but this process happened slowly. John Brereton uses the word in his account of Bartholomew Gosnold’s voyage in 1602, but Martin Pring’s *A Voyage Set Out from the Citie of Bristoll, 1603* and James Rosier’s *True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage [...] by Captaine George Waymouth, in the Discovery of the Land of Virginia* prefer the term “savage/salvage” instead.¹⁰⁸ Early accounts of Jamestown by George Percy and Gabriel Archer rarely use the word Indian, preferring to name the people with whom they met (Arrohattoc, Powhatan, Navirans, the Werowance of Rapahanna and Pasiphae) rather than grouping them under a single nomenclature.¹⁰⁹ The “Instructions Given by Way of Advice” to the first wave of Virginia colonists setting out in 1606 used the term “naturals” to describe the local inhabitant.¹¹⁰ Only in the 1610s does the word “Indian” emerge with some consistency. Both Alexander Whitaker’s *Good Newes From Virginia* (1613) and Ralph Hamor’s *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* use the word but they do so along with a variety of other terms.¹¹¹ Even by the 1640s the word was not consistently employed, as Roger Williams’s *Key to the Languages of Virginia* (1643) shows: words like “*Natives, Salvages,*

[...] *Wild-men*, (so the *Dutch* call them *Wilden*) *Abergeny men*, *Pagans*, *Barbarians*, *Heathen*” were in consistent usage well into the middle of the seventeenth century alongside the word “Indian.”¹¹² This suggests not only that “Indian” was one among many terms employed by English settlers, but also that the word seems to have been employed less as an ethnic than a descriptive category—it could after all encompass a variety of peoples from America, Asia, and even Africa, as Vecellio’s “Indo Africanus” suggests. To be Indian-like suggested patterns of behaviour usually understood as outlandish, strange, or just plain incomprehensible, but did not necessarily signify a bounded social or ethnic group. The word “Indian” seems to have been more rarely used in London than in the Americas. It does crop up in reference to the inhabitants of Virginia once or twice. In *Eastward Ho!* (1605) Seagull refers to the Virginians as “Indians” in his lengthy extolling of the glories that await him, Spendall, and Sir Petronel when they land in the colony. Although written in Virginia, the tracts by Whitaker and Hamor (mentioned above), which use the word “Indian,” were of course printed and circulated in England. However, the sermons and promotional tracts performed and composed in London refrain from calling the inhabitants “Indians” (with the exception of Johnson’s *Nova Britannia*). Some called them Virginians, some Americans. Many insisted on calling them “Savage” or “Infidel”—befitting their status as the justifiers of an evangelical model of colonization. In short, as Leslie Fiedler has argued, “the age had not been able to decide what in fact Indians were,” and the absence of the word “Indian” in many publications circulating in England in the early years of colonization that described the inhabitants of the Americas underlines this point.¹¹³

These gaps in knowledge and in classification, and the differences in audience expectation, explain in part why Indians were such rarities on the English stage while other strangers were so prominent, and why Indians featured in court and civic entertainment only. One further reason for this disjunction can be ascertained through comparing the construction of Indians in promotional literature with the modes of representation available to masque and pageant on the one hand, and playhouse drama on the other. Colonialist propaganda described the

Indian in a variety of ways, but it tended not to bequeath them the capacity for complex thought. Indeed, this was part of the point of such propaganda. In *Nova Britannia*, Johnson paints a picture for his audience of a land “inhabited with wild and sauage people, that liue and lie vp and downe in troupes like heards of Deare in a Forrest: they haue no law but nature, their apparrell skinnes of beasts, but most goe naked: the better sort, but poore ones, they have no Arts nor Sciences.” Johnson did not intend to suggest that they were a violent people: he stresses that “they are generally very louing and gentle,” which leads him to conclude that “they are easy to be brought to good, and would fayne embrace a better condition.”¹¹⁴ But they were simple and brutish, “facts” which encouraged and justified colonization and conversion.¹¹⁵ In *A Good Speed to Virginia* (1609) Robert Gray told his congregation that they had “to bring the barbarous and savage people to a civill and Christian kinde of government, under which they may learne how to live holily, iustly, and soberly in this world, and to apprehend the meanes to save their soules in the world to come.”¹¹⁶ The suggestion here is that Indians did not have the ability to apprehend their plights without Christian, English intervention. Crackanthorpe and Tynley also stressed the limited nature and inhumanness of the Indians whom they hoped to save. Crackanthorpe praised the work “of planting, among those poore and sauage, and to be pittied *Virginians*, not onely humanities, instead of brutish inciuity, but Religion also, Piety, the true knowledge of sincere worship of GOD, where in his name is not heard of: and reducing those to Faith and saluation by Christ.”¹¹⁷ According to Tynley, the settlers were duty-bound to “reduc[e] vnto a ciuill societie (as hope may iustly conceiue) [...] so many thousands of those sillie, brutish, and ignorant soules.”¹¹⁸ For the purposes of the colonialists in London, and for their possible investors, Indians were ignorant brutes, with the capacity for kindness and the ability to serve, but with no ability for rational thought: how else might one explain their lack of divine grace, and how better to justify their conversion.¹¹⁹

Both the masques and the pageants construct the Indians as lacking rational thought by presenting the Indian as an emblem.¹²⁰ Emblems demanded interpretation: according to Geffrey

Whitney, author of the influential *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devices* (1586), the emblem was a “wittie devise expressed with cunning workmanship, something obscure to be perceived at the first, whereby, when with further consideration it is vnderstood, it maie the greater delighte the beholder.” This “delighte” revolved around readers’ recognition of “the profitable moralles” beneath the “pleasaunte deuises.”¹²¹ Similar expectations were demanded of masque attendees. According to Ben Jonson, in his preface to his masque *Hymenaei* (1606), masques were “heartie inventions, [designed] to furnish the inward parts.”¹²² Learned audience members should enjoy the spectacle because “their sense or doth or should always lay hold on more removed mysteries”—i.e., the deeper meaning behind the splendour. The masque’s emblems both delighted the audience but also provided them with moral lessons that reflected the court’s greatness and potential (although the degree to which these lessons were understood or heeded is unclear: Jonson berated those who “squeamishly cry out” against “all endeavor of learning, and sharpness in these transitory devices, especially where it steps beyond their little or (let me not wrong ‘hem) no brain at all).”¹²³ Masques, according to Jonson, relied on the ability of their audiences to process emblems inwardly—that is, they stressed their audience’s capacity for rationality and interiority. The figures that masques represented enabled this in their viewers, but the Indian-like figures in the masques possessed little in the way of interiority in and of themselves.

Indian-like figures were not featured in emblem books of the period, but this didn’t stop devisers of court and civic entertainment from employing them in emblematic ways. In *The Memorable Maske* the Virginian Indians switch their allegiance from sun to crown and sing of their gratitude to the English court. They are emblems of political and divine transformation underscoring the power and reach of the monarchy. In Middleton’s *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* Indians busy themselves at work collecting spices for the benefit of English trade. They are emblems of the power and reach of London’s mercantile community, who command their willing labour. Civic pageants include Indians with speaking roles, but their speeches are far from

being soliloquies detailing their inner thought processes. In Heywood's *Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo* (1632) an Indian explains the meaning of the elephant as an emblem of London, asking "What Hieroglificke can a man inuent, / Embleame or Symbole, for a Gouernment / In this high nature, apter or more fit / Deuis'd before, or to be thought of yet" than the Elephant.¹²⁴ In Heywood's *Porta Pietatis. or, the Port or Harbour of Piety* another Indian describes the rhinoceros that accompanies him in terms of the new mayor's duties and abilities. Mildmay Fane's masque, *Raguaillo D'Oceano*, mounted in 1640 at his Apthorpe, Northamptonshire home, includes a sequence of representations of "How each Countrey is habbitted Together with their Emblematicall Scutchons"—a sequence that includes Indians, Guianans, Amazons, and Brazilians.¹²⁵ None of these representations give any insight into the Indians' obeisance. The Indians act in this way because that is how each pageant and masque requires them to function.

This contrasts markedly with how characterization developed in the playhouse, which was more complex than strict emblematic representation would allow. Characters displayed interiority, even if the manifestation of this interiority revolved around the fact that they could not fully express it. Hamlet, for example, in his opening speech, makes the distinction between the outward "trappings" and "actions that a man might play" and his inner emotions, "that within which passeth show" (1.2.84–86). As Katharine Eisaman Maus has shown, this distinction between the "unexpressed interior and theatricalized exterior" was not unusual in this period—indeed, it is one of the assumptions behind antitheatricalism that people could hide their inner nature through performance.¹²⁶ This in turn seems to suggest a form of naturalistic acting. Hamlet famously decries those who "saw the air," but he is not the only one to stress the need to hold "the mirror up to nature" (3.2.4, 20). Heywood wrote in *An Apology for Actors* (1612) that "the action behouuefull in any that professe this quality [...] [was not to] vse any impudent or forced motion in any part of the body, no rough, or other violent gesture, nor on the contrary, to stand like a stiffe starcht man, but to qualifie euey thing according to the nature of the person

personated.” The actor should not indulge in “violent absurdities” to express the emotions of the character: instead, he should convey the inner workings of the character’s mind in a more naturalistic fashion.¹²⁷ This style of acting was in many ways more threatening to the anti-theatricalist lobby because it blurred the boundaries between seeming and being. In a response to Heywood’s *Apology* printed in 1615, John Greene holds up one Episanus, a Roman actor to Emperor Augustus, as a (dangerous) model for contemporary players: he “so truly counterfeited euery thing, that it seemed to bee the very persons whom he acted.”¹²⁸ Greene’s criticism stems from the fact that Episanus could seem to be someone whom he was not, so naturalistic was his acting. This development in acting style seems to have been understood in the period by the term “personation,” a new coinage which, according to Andrew Gurr, was “an art distinct from the orator’s display of passions or the academic actor’s portrayal of [...] character-types.”¹²⁹

To construct a character—that is, someone who possesses interiority, however basic—the person personated requires certain properties—that is, they must have the capacity for interiority, which itself implies the capacity for rational thought. For most characters this is not an issue. Other stranger figures such as Turks and Moors may have been deemed barbarous and violent, but they were understood to possess the capacity for rational thought. Indians, however, were not. While the stage employed personation, even for non-white, non-European figures, it could not do so for Indians (at least, not yet). How could an Indian express himself if he or she had no interiority? What would an Indian soliloquy sound like? The Indians dancing and bowing down to Plutus in *Four Plays* do not speak. The English stressed the importance of language-learning repeatedly in promotional materials. Knowing English would enable the Indians to be better-suited trade partners, but it would also elevate them to a level of civility, as many believed that the natives’ language was rudimentary and barely constituted a language at all.¹³⁰ As the plays *The Fatal Marriage* and especially *The City Madam* would show in the 1630s, the Indian facility with language learning allowed them to exploit gaps between seeming and being. But in the first decade of American colonization the idea of Indian brutishness was consistently emphasized.

Caliban, however, speaks. He protests his enslavement, he elects Stephano as his “new master,” and he plots against Prospero. He is able to evoke the isle as being “full of noises / Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not” (3.2.130–131). He was, it seems, rather like the “simple” but “very loving and gentle” Indians imagined by Robert Johnson and other colonialist promoters when Prospero first encountered him. He lacked “Arts and Sciences,” hence why he was enthralled by Prospero’s astronomy lessons. He even lacked language, or rather he lacked Prospero and Miranda’s language. But *The Tempest* imagines a different outcome to the idyll painted by the propagandists (and also to Gonzalo’s utopian vision of a “Plantation”), where the savage is not fully converted—he may learn the master’s language, but only to curse. Furthermore, he is not fully incorporated into the island economy—he abandons his labour, log-bearing, to become someone else’s slave. Paradoxically, for Caliban to express interiority, for him to speak, for him to comment on the experiences of one whose purported island rights have been taken away, of one who is pushed into servitude, of one who seeks to rebel against his master, and for him to sue for “grace” of his own volition (Prospero does not compel him to do so), he can only be personated as Indian-like—not simply because these experiences had not yet been encountered by Virginian Indians, but because the capacity for these kinds of experience could not be imagined for Indians. Given the incompatibility of what was known about Native Americans to the dominant mode of stage representation (coupled with the lack of knowledge about and the muted interest in Native Americans), it is perhaps not surprising that Caliban is a “scrambled Cannibal.”¹³¹

VI. From Indian-like to Indian

Shakespeare’s experiment in Indian-like personation was not repeated. The early modern stage represented a considerable array of stranger figures, but, with the exception of Fletcher and Field’s concluding playlet to *Four Plays, or Moral Interludes, in One*, none were Indian characters. Even Pocahontas, a figure who for a brief while in 1616–17 seemed to have captured

the public imagination (and who has done so ever since in an endless stream of biographies and critical studies, films and cartoons) receives one cursory mention, years after her death, in Jonson's *Staple of News* (1626), when Pennyboy Canter briefly recalls "The blessed / Pocahontas (as the historian calls her) / [the] great king's daughter of Virginia."¹³² The Indian was alluded to as a point of comparison either for a characters' savage or irreligious nature or for someone's folly and inability to tell the true worth of objects, or used as a metaphor for blind devotion. Yet Caliban is the closest that the playhouse got to staging an Indian character, which is as much to say that it did not get very far at all.

In contrast, both Chapman and Jones's *Memorable Maske* of 1613 and Middleton's Lord Mayor's Show *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* of 1617 were trend-setters. *The Memorable Maske* was the first of nine presentations of Indian-like figures at Whitehall and other masque venues. Two masques performed for the wedding of Lady Frances Howard and Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, in December 1613 and January 1614, drew on American themes, perhaps in reference to Frances's father, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who was a Virginia Company investor. The first masque (title unknown), contrived by Thomas Campion and the Florentine Constantine de' Servi, featured a figuration of "America in a skin coate of the colour of the iuyce of Mulberies, on her head large round brims of many coloured feathers, and in the midst of it a small Crowne."¹³³ The second, *The Masque of Flowers* (author unknown: the masque was bankrolled by Francis Bacon) featured a procession of Floridian Indians advocating the benefits of tobacco, personified by a figure named Kawasha, in a sing-off against Silenus, who advocates the superiority of wine.¹³⁴ Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones's *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, performed twice for James I on January 6, 1620 and February 11, 1620, centers around the news of the discovery (as the title suggests) "of a new world [...] And new creatures in that world [...] In the orb of the moon."¹³⁵ Jones's designs for these figures incorporate American themes. Aurelian Townsend and Jones's masque *Tempe Restord*, presented by Henrietta Maria at Whitehall in 1632, featured an antimasque of Indians, and the antimasque to their 1635

collaboration, *Florimène*, included a native Canadian.¹³⁶ William Davenant and Jones's masque *The Temple of Love*, also performed by Henrietta Maria at Whitehall in 1635, included an "invention [...] consisting of Indian Trophies," and another Davenant and Jones collaboration, *The Triumphs of Prince D'Amour*, performed at Middle Temple for Charles I on February 24 of the following year, opened in "a Village consisting of Alehouses and Tobacco shops, each fronted with a red Lettice, on which blacke Indian Boyes sate bestriding Roles of Tobacco."¹³⁷ The procession of emblems of "How each Countrey is habited" in Mildmay Fane's *Raguaillo D'Oceano* (1640) included figurations of an Indian, a Guianan, an Amazon, and a Brazilian.¹³⁸

Indian-like figures were featured in five Lord Mayor's Shows. Middleton brought Indian figures to the pageant in 1617's *Honor and Industry*, in 1619's *The Triumphs of Loue and Antiquity*, and in 1622's *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue*.¹³⁹ Thomas Dekker followed Middleton's example by incorporating an Indian into his *London's Tempe, or The Feild of Happines* in honour of James Campbell of the Ironmongers' Company in 1629. In his pageant of 1632, *Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo*, Thomas Heywood included an Indian who speaks to the new incumbent, Nicolas Raynton of the Haberdashers' Company, and praises his "Judgement and Experience, / [his] Grauity, and vnchang'd Temperance."¹⁴⁰ This figure was the precursor to the Indian figure in Heywood's *Porta Pietatis, or, the Port or Harbour of Piety*, which I discussed earlier.

Not that masque and pageant representations of Indians would have been recognizable to Native Americans had they been in attendance at Whitehall or had they followed a mayoral procession.¹⁴¹ The Indians in these masques and pageants often bare only tangential relations to actual Native Americans, and Virginian reference points are few. The writers and designers of these entertainments drew on assorted iconographies with little care for authenticity. Certain details of appearance predominate—feathers, gold, elaborate ornamentation, darts, bows and arrows, and (despite these lengthy descriptions of attire) "nakedness"—and certain traits recur—irreligiousness, coupled with a willingness for salvation, industriousness, and dancing and

singing—but these amalgamate a welter of visual and written sources on the Americas and beyond. Jones’s costume designs for *The Memorable Maske*, discussed above, are an important example, but other costume designs conflated various and conflicting Indian traits. Jonson and Jones’s *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620) combines tropes from across the eastern seaboard. The masque features the Volatees, inhabitants of “the isle of the Epicoenes,” who are described by Jonson as resembling “a race of creatures like men, but are indeed a sort of fowl, in part covered with feathers.” Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong suggest that Jones “dressed these anti-masquers as Indians based probably on Vecellio’s *Principale del Campo* and *Habito da Centurione*,” both images which Vecellio classifies as Floridian.¹⁴² At the same time the costumes worn by the inhabitants “of a new world [...] In the orb of the moon” are bedecked with icicles, possibly a nod towards the Inuit whom the English had encountered in their various attempts to forge a Northwest passage to China.¹⁴³

The confusions of peoples extend across to the East Indies. We have already seen this with the turbans worn by the Virginians in *The Memorable Maske*. An even greater East Indian accent is placed on the Indians of Davenant and Jones’s *The Temple of Love*. The masque, performed by Henrietta Maria and her Ladies at Whitehall in 1635, included an “invention [...] consisting of Indian Trophées,” on one side of which “sate a naked Indian on a whitish Elephant, his legges shortning towards the necke of the beast, his tire and bases of severall coloured feathers, representing the Indian monarchy.” The Indians in this masque have an “Asiatique” bent—the central character, Indamora, is the Queen of Narsinga (in Southern India).¹⁴⁴ However, the feathered nature of the male Indian’s garb, the stress on nakedness, and the prominence of feathers and pearls on the costume worn by Indamora (as shown on another of Jones’s surviving sketches) suggest that they also had American associations. Indeed, Orgel and Strong’s argument that “[t]he headdress [worn by Indamora] is based on Vecellio’s *Donzella Africana del’Indie*,” a source for the Virginians in *The Memorable Maske* (**figure 2**), suggests that *The Temple of Love*’s orientalist fantasies were not devoid of American traits.¹⁴⁵ Fane’s masque, *Raguaillo D’Oceano*,

includes a sequence of representations of “How each Countrey is habbitted Together with their Emblematicall Scutchons,” which would seem to suggest there might be a modicum of ethnographic detail. Fane’s “Indian” hails from Asia and wears “a Light thinne skarlett Coulour’d Iackett, his Armes and thyes Naked and Black as lett.” Confusingly he also holds in one of his hands “A Conooe [canoe] in a scutcheon,” a vessel associated with Native Americans and something on which the English bestowed a great deal of interest and praise: Sir Walter Cope, for example, had a “long narrow Indian canoe, with the oars and sliding planks,” in his London home, according to a visitor.¹⁴⁶ The sequence also features figures from the American continent. The “Guianian” wears “a Skarfe of white Athwart his Midle girt by Bases of seuerall Coulored feathers and a Cap suteable, A sheafe of Arrowes at his Backe, A Bowe in one hand, Sheild in the other, with Mountaines drawne in it”—“seuerall Coulored feathers,” “Bowe,” “Arrowes”—but he is also represented as “A Tawney Moor.”¹⁴⁷ In these figures Occident and Orient combine.

This conglomeration of east and west, increasingly evident not only in masques but also in civic entertainment, is unsurprising given the fact that the word Indian was originally applied to peoples living east of the Indus. Columbus famously believed that he had landed in Asia and first used the term *Indios* in his 1493 letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, and his geographical error stuck. But the perpetuation of Columbus’s mistake is not wholly indicative of a lack of knowledge on the part of the writers and designers of the masques and pageants. Although information was scant about the populations of America, the belief that they were East Indians had long since been disproved, so the melding of east and west in the figure of the Indian was a conscious decision rather than one borne of error. According to Rebecca Ann Bach, the various typologies in court and city entertainments and in playhouse drama “all become signs of a precolonized, pre-English dominated world that will be saved by the Companies’ and the English multitudes’ efforts in both the new Atlantic world and the East [...] Combining an undifferentiated East with an undifferentiated West, masques and pageants display a completely imaginary imperial domination that was, however, unfortunately proleptic.”¹⁴⁸ Thus they

presented an image of the Indians of North and South America and of the East Indies (and in other entertainments of the Irish, the Anglo-Irish, and Africans) who would willingly be dominated by and yield wealth to the English people. For Bach, such representations of obeisance in masque and pageant were productive because they “continued to motivate English colonial efforts.”¹⁴⁹

I wish here to build on Bach’s argument about the undifferentiated nature of the Indian and to suggest that the conflation of Indianness *both* enlarged the scope of English imperial ambition by stretching its reach into both eastern and western hemispheres *and* masked surreptitiously the impossibilities of realizing this broad-winged ambition. The conflation unmoored the figure of the Indian from the peoples of North and South America and of the East Indies. And in many ways it exposed the fact that the Indians of America did not conform to the constructions of them espoused in colonial propaganda, that they refused to yield sovereignty to the English settlers, and that they were ready to engage in long and bloody periods of warfare to resist them. As any reader of Smith’s *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia* in 1608 (the first publication about the new-born colony) would have been able to tell, Wahunsenacawh and his confederacy were far from innocent or brutish, but the belief was still promoted that they would prove valuable allies. By the time that Smith published his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Isles* in 1624, nobody would have been in much doubt that the majority of Virginians were unlikely to be willing converts to Christianity or to English mercantile pursuits. The first Indian war of 1608–1613, a series of scuffles throughout the 1610s, and most of all the attacks orchestrated by Opechancanough against the English plantations in March 1622 had put paid to that. If the Indian of the masque and the pageant was to fulfill the criteria of being a vassal to the English court and the capital city, it could not be as an American. The figure that Bach calls the “undifferentiated Indian” appears in masques and pageants not just as a fantasy of imperialism; it appears because this fantasy of imperialism could not be made real in the face of American resistance. Native

Americans behaved more like Calibans than “Virgine Princes,” and the non-appearance of the latter figures after the early 1610s suggests that there was a recognition that, even in an imperialist fantasy, their presence was unbelievable, or inconceivable.

It is possible to trace the transition from the confident pronouncements about the convertibility of Native Americans to the realization of their resistance through the shifting representation of Indianness in court and city entertainment. This becomes especially evident when we compare two Middleton pageants, *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* (1617) and *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue* (1622). As has already been noted, industrious, naked Indians feature in *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry*. Their singing and dancing and their naked appearance indicates that they have American origins. After their entrance “a rich personage, presenting *India*” appears, holding “in her hand a wedge of golde,” accompanied by personifications of “*trafficke or merchandize*” and “*Industry*.”¹⁵⁰ Her name, *India*, was used in connection with both hemispheres. Her gold suggests the Americas, given the frequency with which the New World was associated with new wealth, but the pepper and nutmeg that her Indians are collecting suggest the East Indian spice trade.¹⁵¹ This *India* seems to straddle east and west. In a similar scene in *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue*, performed for the inauguration of Peter Proby of the Grocers’ Company, again *India* is flanked by personages representing commercial expansion, “*Commerce, Aduenture and Traffique*, three habited like Merchants,” to honour the “*English Merchants*” who “first enlightened” her. She is “the Queene of Merchandise”—in the earlier pageant she was “the Seate of Merchandise.”¹⁵² But in 1622 *India* and her train have undergone a number of transformations. She is now “A blacke Personage.” *India*’s coloration is nowhere mentioned in *Honor and Industry* and it seems likely that no racial prosthesis was employed in that pageant given the fact that both *Honor and Vertue*’s *India* and the King of the Moors in Middleton’s earlier *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613) speak of their blackness. *Honor and Vertue*’s *India* exhorts her audience to recognize that “this blacke is but my natiue dye, / But view me with an Intellectuall eye,” and, in a manner recalling the Song of

Solomon, declares “I’me beauteous in my blacknesse.”¹⁵³ There were numerous debates about the coloration of Native Americans, but the one thing that was stressed in colonial writing consistently was the fact that Americans were not black, even though such writers could not decide what colour they actually were.¹⁵⁴ *Honor and Vertue*’s India acclaims “blest Commerce, / That by Exchange settles such happinesse, / Of Gummes and fragrant Spices”—commodities more connected with the east than with the west—and describes how she commands “The Riches and the Sweetnesse of the East”—perhaps reflecting the fact that Peter Proby was a prominent member of the East India Company. As in *Honor and Industry*, India is also joined by Indians, but these are not the naked ones of 1617. Middleton describes them as being “in Antique habits,” suggesting that they wear something outlandish and strange. Between 1617 and 1622, India and the Indians have become less American and more eastern.

The reason for this shift from west to east in the representation of India and Indians might be attributed to the fact that the London guilds’ interest in transatlantic trade and settlement waned in the 1610s. In marked contrast to the Virginia Company charter of 1609, the charter of 1612 did not feature any names of the London companies. The Ulster plantation, in which the guilds had been forced to invest in 1609, became known as “the City of London’s Colony,” and its promise of allotting space for “multitudes of men” that might be “employed proportionable to theis comodites w^{ch} might be there by their industrie atteyned” appealed more to the London guilds. It sapped considerable funds which may otherwise have been contributed to Virginia.¹⁵⁵ The Minutes from the Drapers’ Company Court of Assistants for 1610 and 1611 show how discussion in the Company was dominated by Ireland—in the same period, Virginia scarcely gets a mention. The East India Company, founded in 1600, went from strength to strength in this period, no doubt because, unlike the New World, the East Indies were proving profitable. Between 1601 and 1612, the £517,784 invested in the East India Company yielded a 155% profit. Between 1613 and 1623 the yield declined, but the Company still accrued 87% profits. By 1630 it had become the largest English overseas chartered company, raising nearly £3 million. And while

the Thirty Years War dramatically cut the Company's yield (down to 12% by 1632), nevertheless it stayed in the black.¹⁵⁶ East India Company interests mirrored those of the transatlantic trading companies to some extent. In 1602 the Company hired George Waymouth for the "discovery of a nearer passage into the East Indies by seas by the way of the North-west" and promised him £500 if he was successful (he wasn't), and in 1610 the Company was listed on the grant made to Henry Hudson "to search and find out a passage by the North-west of America."¹⁵⁷ The Court Minutes of the East India Company reveal that the Company repeatedly gave small hand-outs to the Virginia Company. The Virginia Company was in no position to reciprocate. By 1625 the Virginia Company had lurched into virtual bankruptcy, had been dissolved, to be taken over by the crown. In comparison to other overseas enterprises, Virginia was not a thriving concern.

That this shift in representation should be evident in a pageant staged in 1622 is no coincidence. Only six months prior to the presentation of *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue* Opechancanough's attacks against the Virginia plantations took the lives of approximately a quarter of the colonists and traumatized those who survived. A "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia" from the London-based Virginia Company members dated August 1, 1622 shows how Indian policy was shifting as a result of these attacks. There is a sense in the letter of the hopelessness of the prior policy of conversion—whoever perpetrated the killings were people "the saving of whose Soules, we haue so zealousy affected"—coupled with fresh resolve to permanently remove the Indians from the environs of Jamestown: "we must advise you to roote out from being any longer a people, so cursed a nation, vngratefull to all benefitts, and vncapable of all goodness."¹⁵⁸ These letter-writers were not the only people in the colony and in London to hold these views. In late 1622 colonist John Martin circulated "The Manner Howe to Bringe the Indians into Subiection," a tract which promoted a sequence of preventative measures against further assaults. Martin argued that English settlers should not allow Indians to return to fishing grounds or to grow and trade corn. That way they would be forced to move from English-claimed lands. Francis Wyatt, the Governor of Virginia, believed that the restoration of the colony

required drastic offensive action against the Indians: “first worke is expulsion of the Salvages to gaine the free range of the country for encrease of Cattle, swine &c which will more then restore us, for it is infinitely better to have no heathen among us, who at best were but as thornes in our sides, then to be at peace and league with them.”¹⁵⁹ Others proposed bloodier forms of retaliation. In a letter to the Virginia Council dated October 7, 1622 Nicholas Ferrar and Edward Collingwood proposed “a sharp revenge upon the bloody miscreants, even to the measure that they intended against vs, the rooting them out for being longer a people vppon the face of the Earth.”¹⁶⁰ There followed ten years of warfare, as the colony’s leaders adopted a slash-and-burn policy, in Martin’s words “Contynuallie harrowinge and burneing all their Townes in winter, and spoileinge their weares” and, on one occasion, poisoning a group of 200 natives during a ceasefire.¹⁶¹ The natives, in response, attacked settlers on a regular basis, using guerilla-style tactics. Eventually the English would recover and prosper, and transatlantic commerce would become the cornerstone of England’s boom economy, even though the Native Americans were never fully rooted out. But even into the 1630s the prospect of Virginia being an English-dominated, and continually prosperous, territory may have seemed a very long way off.¹⁶²

The orientaling of India and the Indians in *Honor and Vertue* might not seem significant if Virginia did not feature elsewhere in the pageant. En route to St. Paul’s, where the procession ended, the new mayor encountered “the *Throne of Vertue*, and the *Globe of Honor*,” the outermost parts of which showed “the Worlds Type, in Countries, Seas and Shipping, whereon is depicted or drawne Ships that haue bene fortunate to this Kingdome, by their happy and successefull Voyages; as also that prosperous Plantation in the Colonie of *Virginia*, and the *Bermudaes*, with all good wishes to the Gouvernors, Traders and Aduenturers vnto those Christianly Reformed Islands.”¹⁶³ The “Globe of Honor” represented the glory of “the Governors, Traders and Aduenturers vnto those Christianly Reformed Islands,” among whom was the incoming mayor Peter Proby. Yet there are no inhabitants of the Americas present. The representation of Virginia on the Globe of Honor device has been voided of its native inhabitants.

Middleton reflects the colonists' desire for an Indian-free Virginia through representing a people-less Virginia.

In contrast, the East Indian had been converted, not to Christianity (there was little missionary zeal attached to East India Company policy), but into willing trade partners of English merchants. The setbacks that befell the East India Company were not due to poor relations with native peoples, but instead were the result of attacks perpetrated by its European competitors (for example, the Amboyna Massacre, committed by the Dutch in 1623), of adverse environments (for example, the famine that befell Gujarat in 1630 which resulted in the closure of the factory at Surat), or of crown interference (for example, James's granting of a charter to the Scottish East India Company in 1618). The East India Company dealt quite successfully with the peoples with whom it traded, in part through its policy of aggressive diplomacy and in part because it had no intention of establishing colonies in other people's lands at this stage. After 1622 the Native American could no longer be a credible emblem of colonial mastery and flourishing trade; a less specified, or more eastern, "Indian" could.

In mayoral pageants post-1622 Indians are less distinctly American and more eastern. Thomas Dekker's *Londons Tempe, or The Feild of Happines* (1629) features an Indian who carries a tobacco pipe and dart and wearing clothes "proper to the country," properties that seem to suggest he is western in origin.¹⁶⁴ He rides, however, on an ostrich, a bird native to Africa, albeit that some reports of the New World suggested that a similar bird could be found in South America.¹⁶⁵ In Thomas Heywood's *Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo* (1632), an Indian enters leading an "Elephant" upon whose "backe is a faire Castle furnisht with change and variety of obiects."¹⁶⁶ The Indian's association with the elephant, whom he unravels as an "Embleame or Symbole, for a Gouvernment," suggests that he might hail from the east, but no information about his dress is given, and nothing that he says betrays his origins. His indistinctness is comparable to the Indian boy in Heywood's *Porta Pietatis* (1638), who enters alongside "an *Indian* Beast, called a Rinoceros," which he argues is an "embleme of the Prætorship" of the new mayor, Sir Maurice

Abbot. Heywood earlier records Abbot's governorship of the East India Company, and since the rhinoceros is not an American creature, the success of the East India Company was being marked through the emblem.¹⁶⁷ By the 1630s the Indian had ceased to be either eastern or western, but an amalgam of both. That is, he stood as a figure whose origins have been emptied out.

Masques featured more American Indian-like figures. However, after *The Memorable Maske*, none are Virginian. In *The Masque of Flowers*, the tobacco advocate Kawasha owes his name to Kiwasa, an idol of the Virginian Indians according to de Bry's engravings of White in Harriot's *A Brief and True Report*.¹⁶⁸ However, his carriers are "attired like Floridans," which might suggest some degree of specificity in their costume, but Kawasha himself wears a mish-mash of dress associated with a variety of indigenous peoples of the Americas.¹⁶⁹ His garb, "a night-cap of red-cloth of gold, close to his skull, tied under his chin" resembles that worn by the Floridians in Vecellio's *Habiti Antichi et Moderni*.¹⁷⁰ He wears a "glass chain about his neck," designs seemingly inspired by reports of Indians' fascination with trinkets and worthless things. For example, James Rosier reported in his account of George Waymouth's 1605 voyage to New England that in his traffic with the Indians, "for knives, glasses, combes and other trifles to the valew of foure or five shillings, we had 40 good Beauers skins, Otter skins, Sables, and other small skins, which we knewe not how to call."¹⁷¹ The "Indian bow and arrow" he carries with him were common not only to "Floridans" but associated with all Indian peoples. Specificity is further undermined by the rest of Kawasha's train, "a skipper, a fencer, a pedlar, a barber [...] a blind harper and his boy," who are joined in the antimasque dance by a "Bawd," a "Roaring Boy," a "mountebank" and a "Chimney Sweeper and his Wench," all of whom have little connection with the Americas.¹⁷² And beyond Kawasha's name, nothing that he wears, or sings, links him directly to Virginia.

The presence of Floridians in *The Masque of Flowers* is strange because the English had no claims to the region, which had been occupied by French and Spanish troops since the mid-1500s. The creators may have named them Floridians because Vecellio's images of Florida

natives were more visually appealing than his images of Virginian peoples. Feathers, for example, were something of a staple of masque costumes: Penthesilea, Camilla, Thomyris, and Berenice in Jonson and Jones's *Masque of Queens* (1609), Prince Henry as the titular *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* (1611), and Chloris in their *Chloridia* (1631) all wore costumes with feathery motifs.¹⁷³ Vecellio's designs for Floridians incorporate feathers, while his Virginians wear only a single feather, and were perhaps considered less visually arresting.

The choice of Floridian design may also reflect a desire to extend England's colonial reach beyond Virginia. This is perhaps the case in Aurelian Townsend's antimasques to Jones's pastoral masque *Florimène*, performed in honour of Charles I's birthday on December 21, 1635. *Florimène*'s antimasque featured a "Man of Canada / [...] both rough and rude / [...] with bare and nimble feet." He has come to greet "Those Amazonian maids" (the masque proper was performed by Henrietta Maria's French ladies-in-waiting, although the Queen herself did not perform as she was heavily pregnant at the time) who have just "conquered them that us subdued" with their dancing and performing in the masque proper.¹⁷⁴ Townsend may have been inspired by the visitation of Sagama Segipt, an Inuit chief, who was brought to England in 1629 to petition the King for protection against the French. Joseph Mead recorded the event in a letter to Sir Martin Stuteville of Christ's College on February 12, 1630, telling him that there "came to London the King, queen, and young prince of New Scotland [...] [who] comes [...] to submit his kingdom to [James I] and to become a homager for the same."¹⁷⁵ In reality the English barely held any claim in Canada at all. The English had long been interested in settling and trading in the region around the Canada (now St. Lawrence) River—the territory to which the word "Canada" was usually applied—and a settlement was established in Newfoundland in 1610. In August 1621 James I granted a charter for "landes lying betweene our Colonies of New England and Newfoundland," territory which became known as New Scotland, or Nova Scotia. However, neither the Newfoundland nor New Scotland colony was a great success. Newfoundland settlers endured harsh winters and piracy, somehow clinging on even after the Company was wound up in

1632, but it would be a gross overstatement to call it a thriving colony. Settlement in New Scotland proved difficult to secure, and in 1631 Charles I agreed to cede New Scotland and the other Canadian territories to the French, not because of military pressure but because of a dowry dispute dating back to his wedding to Henrietta Maria in 1625. Thus by 1635 the English had no presence in Canada. The Man of Canada's deference to the English court seems misplaced, although it may reflect Charles's determination that New Scotland would again be an English territory before long. It was a hollow gesture, but it signalled a court that wanted to be seen stamping its authority on Canada, even though for the moment this seemed like something of a lost cause. It may also reflect a court turning away from Virginia. Other places on the map of the Americas were of more interest: other places had yet to prove so difficult to control, at least as far as Indian-English relations were concerned.

With Floridians and Canadians, masques pushed American Indian-like figures beyond the borders of the English colonies. They also pushed American Indian-like figures to the antimasque. As Orgel and Strong state, "[e]very masque makes a visual progress from disorder to order, or from order to disorder and back to a higher order."¹⁷⁶ The antimasque was the moment of disorder, which was subsequently re-ordered through the arrival of the masquers, singing, music, and dancing. In *The Memorable Maske*, the antimasquers are Capriccio and a band of apes. Their antic behaviour is banished by Plutus so that the Virginians can appear on stage to sing their devotion to the sun and then to the king. In contrast, the masques performed for the wedding for Lady Frances Howard and Robert Carr later in 1613 and in early 1614 include Indian-like figures as part of the antimasque. In *Campion's masque*, the figure representing "America" is joined on stage by figures representing the other continents, the four winds, and the four elements, all of whom dance "confusedly."¹⁷⁷ Order is only restored once a figure representing Harmony appears on stage. The antimasque to *The Masque of Flowers* features a raucous sing-song debate between Silenus and Kawasha over the merits of wine and tobacco. While in all of these entertainments the American Indian-like figures offer comic relief and

entertainment, the fact that these figures are dispatched from the masque as disorder gives way to order is itself significant.

The connection between Indians and (dis)order is especially evident in Aurelian Townsend and Inigo Jones's *Tempe Restord*, performed at Whitehall by Henrietta Maria and her ladies-in-waiting on February 14, 1632. The origins of this masque's Indians' are not made obvious in Townsend's text—it lists them only as part of the antimasque “consisting of Indians, and Barbarians”—but Inigo Jones's costume designs indicate their transatlantic origins (**figure 3**). The Indian has a bow slung over his shoulder, and an inscription of the right-hand side of the design describes the costume as “a scincote of / olive fleshcoller / feathers on a bend a color / of tin[s]jell of gould / in s[c]alopes about / the neck.” The “scincote” could be a coat made from animal skins, but Jones's design suggests that it was an item of costuming that represented the tawny skin of the naked Indian.¹⁷⁸ The Indians perform alongside hares, hounds, lions, apes, “An Asse like a Pedante, teaching them Prick-song,” barbarians and hogs. They are thus associated with bestiality: like their counterparts in *The Memorable Maske* they are linked to Africa, but as Barbarians rather than the civil Virginian priests modelled (in appearance at least) on Cesare Vecellio's “Indo Africanus.” Rather than being devotees to the English crown and worshippers of a Christian god, they are depicted as heathens, “adoring their Pagole.”¹⁷⁹ While the Virginian priests of *The Memorable Maske* are heroic figures central to the masque, the Indians of *Tempe Restord* are comic grotesques.

The same might be said of Kawasha and his Floridians in *The Masque of Flowers*, but there is one notable difference. When the antimasque portion of *The Masque of Flowers* ends, there is no indication that Kawasha leaves the stage. The description at this point merely indicates that when the dancing ends “a garden of a glorious and strange beauty” is revealed, but no mention is made about his exit. Indeed, James I was so taken with the antimasque that he called “for the Antick-Masque of song and dance, which was again presented” at the end of the masque—this despite the fact that he was well-known to loath tobacco.¹⁸⁰ Thus the Floridians are

not cast out of the garden, and not removed from the marriage celebrations. In contrast, in *Tempe Restord* the Indians exit the Whitehall stage and are replaced by harmony. While there was a place for the Virginians and Floridians in James's court in 1613 and 1614, there is no place for the Indians in Charles's court in 1632. They must be cast out of Tempe for it to be restored.

In Stuart court and civic entertainment the Indian became a common figure. Especially in those masques and pageants performed after 1622, the figure either became less American, an amalgamation of tropes from east and west and thus divorced from any real location, or it became relegated to the antimasque, to be marginalized or entirely swept away once the masque proper commenced. The Indian was a figure around which imperial imaginings revolved, but in order to construct these imperialist imaginings, Americans themselves needed to be absent.

VII. The Invention of the Indian

In his landmark study *The White Man's Indian*, Robert Berkhofer claims that, while "Native Americans were and are real [...] the *Indian* was a White invention and still remains largely a White image, if not stereotype." As Berkhofer argues, "[w]ith the printing press purveying such images in print and picture, the idea of the Indian as different from the European quickly developed in the minds of Europeans even before they knew for sure that these people did not live off Asia."¹⁸¹ In registering these differences white Europeans did not construct a well-defined alterity. The image/stereotype of the Indian soon became bloated with details drawn from encounters with different peoples in the Caribbean and across the Americas and from preconceived notions of eastern Indianness. Indians were noted both for their irreligiousness and their desire to become Christian, their savagery and their latent civility, their pliability and their resistance, their ignorance of trade and their facility with it, their tattoos and bodily adornments. The figure of the Indian, then, was frequently contradictory, often incoherent, invented by whites, for whites, and circulated through a variety of media among whites.

The representations of Indian-likeness in civic and court entertainment, however, complicate Berkhofer's notion of the "White Man's Indian." The constructions of Indians in masques and pageants are of course by white English people for white English people. They reveal little about the natures of the native peoples of the Americas and show little interest in doing so. Instead, they reveal much about the fantasies of the English court and London's mercantile community. However, later entertainments, particularly those performed after 1622, reveal how the actions of actual Native American peoples troubled these fantasies. The entertainments employed a figuration of the Indian that downplayed or eradicated its Americanness, that owed little to the English transatlantic colonies, or that was marginalized as a savage (if comic) idolater. The playhouse meanwhile exposed these fantasies in allusion through its representations of Indian-like peoples. The suggestion that Indians were recalcitrant and remained idolaters circulated in drama of this period, no doubt reflecting the beliefs of many Londoners who were skeptical towards and even dismissive of colonial projects. Caliban stands as an eloquent rebuke to those who believed that the native would conform easily to colonialist policy.

Berkhofer is right that constructions of Indian-likeness were far removed from any consideration of Native Americans' actual nature, and that this enabled colonizers to enact and justify their actions, but this interpretation of the relationship between the English and Native Americans does not fully account for the evolution of these constructions, and how they reflected (even if they did not represent) the behaviour of actual Native Americans. Thus while the staging practices of masque, pageant, and playhouse are very different, by the closure of the theatres in 1642 they were united in their inability to stage Native Americans. In the playhouse, the Indians' lack of interiority (according at least to promotional literature) meant that one could not take center stage. In court and civic entertainment, the Native Americans' resistance to the fantasies of colonization necessitated the construction of the "Indian," a figure who amalgamates both east

and west, and effectively is displaced from either hemisphere, or who is restricted to being a figure of the antimasque and is displaced once the masquers take to the stage.

¹ George Chapman, *The Memorable Maske of the Two Honorable Houses or Inns of Court* (London: for George Norton, 1613), Av.

² *Ibid.*, A2. Sir Walter Cope's "apartment, stuffed with queer foreign objects in every corner" included "Flies which glow at night from Virginia instead of lights since there is often no day there for over a month," according to the Swiss traveller Thomas Platter (although the reference to a night-less Virginia suggests that Platter was referring to more northerly territory—this is another example of the elasticity of the word Virginia discussed in the previous chapter). Thomas Platter, *The Travels of Thomas Platter*, trans. Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), 172.

³ *Ibid.*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, A2v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, A3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, A5v.

⁷ *Ibid.*.

⁸ Letters quoted in Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 1. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 255.

⁹ Chamberlain informed Winwood that "they say" the boys performed well as the baboons. We have no indication who "they" were.

¹⁰ Barbara Ravelhofer argues that such was the ostentation of both masquers and masque attendees, "[i]t must sometimes have been difficult to determine which side of the hall was the stage and which the auditorium." Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 131.

¹¹ *The Mariage of Prince Fredericke and the Kings Daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, vpon Shrouesunday Last* (London: for W. Wright, 1613), B3–B3v.

¹² Chapman, *Memorable Maske*, A2v.

¹³ See D.J. Gordon, "Chapman's *Memorable Masque*," in Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 194–202.

¹⁴ Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni di Tutto Mondo* (Venice: Giovanni Bernardo Sessa, 1598), 472–477.

¹⁵ Chapman, *Memorable Maske*, A2v.

¹⁶ The text of this masque does not survive, but Sir Dudley Carleton recorded what few details we have in a letter to John Chamberlain dated January 15, 1604. However, his subsequent description of their costume does not differentiate between the Indian and Chinese knights. Carleton's description of the knights as Indian and Chinese is cumulative: they are *both* Indian *and* Chinese, but they are *not* American. Letter quoted in E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 279–280.

¹⁷ The term "turban" is applied by the English to the national costume of a variety of peoples, but not, it seems, to peoples of the Americas. The majority of references to turbans in this period seem to associate them with Turks: thus, for example, in his lexicon *World of Words* John Florio defined "Turbant" as "a wreathed round attire of white linnen, as all the Turkes weare on their head. It is iust like a top or gig that children play withall turned vpside downe." Ghaggi Mehmet, a Persian merchant whose account was translated first by the Venetian compiler of travel accounts Giovanni Ramusio and then included in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* in 1625, described how the Persians wore red turbans and the Tartars greens ones, "so making a difference betwixt them." Susan Castillo points out that the attire worn in *The Memorable Maske* is "a curious mixture of accuracy [...] and inaccuracy," and cites the turban as evidence of the former attribute, because "turbans were actually worn by the Cherokees, one of the Five Civilized Tribes." However, this "accuracy" is entirely inadvertent—the English had limited contact with the Cherokee until the mid-seventeenth century. John Florio, *World of Words* (London: for Edward Blount, 1598), 436; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London: for Henry Featherstone, 1625), 166; Susan Castillo, *Performing America: Colonial Encounters in New World Writing, 1500–1786* (London: Routledge, 2006), 148.

¹⁸ I am using the term “Indian” to refer to the peoples of America as described by the English—thus the word should be understood not to refer to actual peoples who were inhabitants of the Americas at the time of European-American contact and but to those peoples as they are observed or and imagined by English interpreters and subsequently who they are staged. The term “Native American” is employed in reference to actual peoples who were inhabitants of the Americas in the period of EuropeanEuro-American contact. I hope that it is understood that for most of this chapter I refer to Indians, and hence English observations and imaginings of the native inhabitants of the Americas, and not Native American peoples themselves.

¹⁹ My use of the term Indian-like, rather than Indian or indeed Native American, borrows not only from Chapman, whose uncertainty over Jones’s creations is, I believe, symptomatic of the period. It also borrows Judith M. Bennett’s category “lesbian-like,” which both captures experiences that might otherwise be ignored and destabilizes the very notion of lesbianism: “The ‘lesbian’ in ‘lesbian-like’ articulates the often-unnamed, forcing historians who might prefer otherwise to deal with their own heterosexist assumptions and with the possibility of lesbian expressions in the past. Yet at the same time as the term forthrightly names the unnamed, the ‘like’ in ‘lesbian-like’ decenters ‘lesbian,’ introducing into historical research a productive uncertainty born of likeness and resemblance not identity.” Bennett is a medieval historian and defines her project as the recovery of experiences of ordinary “women whose lives might have particularly offered opportunities for same-sex love; women who resisted norms of feminine behavior based on heterosexual marriage; women who lived in circumstances that allowed them to nurture and support other women.” The substitution of “Indian” for “lesbian” is hardly straightforward—this chapter does not seek to recover Native American experience and indeed doubts that such experience can be resuscitated through early modern drama. Nonetheless Bennett’s category is useful precisely because, like Chapman four hundred years earlier, it both names something that was not a stable category (and by doing so suggests a certain stability to that category) while at the same time destabilizing that category (by appending the suffix “-like”). This chapter adapts Bennett’s “productive uncertainty” to consider how the category “Indian-like” enables us to not only “spot the Indian” in sixteenth and seventeenth century drama but also to examine a range of experiences, practices, traits, and representations that were associated with Native American peoples. Judith M. Bennett, “‘Lesbian-Like’ and the Social History of Lesbianism,” in *The Feminist History Reader*, ed. Sue Morgan (London: Routledge, 2006), 251, 248.

²⁰ Don Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, March 16, 1606 in *The Genesis of the United States, 1605–1616*, ed. Alexander Brown, vol. 1 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 45–46.

²¹ Zuñiga, it turns out, was right to be fearful, because the English were resuming their interest in establishing a base in the Americas. Less than a month after Zuñiga dispatched his letter, James I issued the first charters to the London and Plymouth Charters, and less than a year later the first settlers arrived in Virginia under the leadership of Captain Christopher Newport. Zuñiga, was, however, wrong that Virginia would provide the English with a strong enough base to attack the Spanish in the Caribbean, so tentative was their hold on the colony in its early years. Indeed, it appears as if the colonists lived under perpetual fear that the Spanish would attack them rather than the other way around.

²² Zuñiga to Philip III, March 16, 1606, 46. Zuñiga, it seems, was exaggerating the numbers, as the Indians in question were probably the five Abenakis—Maneddo, Skicowaros, Tahanedo, Amoret, and Sassacomoit (Assacomoit)—who were captured by Captain George Weymouth and taken to England in 1605.

²³ Quoted in Rachel Doggett, *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas 1492–1700* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 39.

²⁴ John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Iles* (1624), in *The Works of John Smith*, ed. Philip Barbour, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 403. Sidney Lee was the first to claim Epenow was a source for the Indian allusion in *Henry VIII* in “The American Indian in Elizabethan England,” in *Elizabethan and Other Essays* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1929), 284. See also Alden T. Vaughan, “Trinculo’s Indian: American Natives in Shakespeare’s England,” in *The Tempest and its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 49.

²⁵ Undoubtedly the display of Native Americans at court, in the city, or even in aristocratic households had a propagandistic edge. However, the Native Americans about whom Zuñiga wrote were the first peoples specifically employed for promotional purposes.

²⁶ *A Declaration for the Certaine Time of Drawing the Great Standing Lottery* (London: for William Welby, 1615).

- ²⁷ The painting *Eiakintomino in St. James Park c.1614* exists only as a watercolour copy and is held in the Special Collections of Edinburgh University Library.
- ²⁸ Camilla Townsend, *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 139. According to Townsend, the Powhatan viewed Pocahontas's trip to London as an embassy and a reconnaissance mission—Wahunsenacawh had previously complained that earlier visitors to London such as Namontack had failed to return with any reports of England. See Townsend, especially "In London Town," 135–158.
- ²⁹ The Bell Savage Inn was also a performance venue, but not, it seems, in the period of Pocahontas's residency.
- ³⁰ Robert Tynley, *Two Learned Sermons, The One, of the Mischeuious Subtiltie, and Barborous Crueltie, the other of the False Doctrines, and Refined Heresies of the Romish Synagogue* (London: for Thomas Adams, 1609), 67–68; Richard Crackanthorpe, *A Sermon at the Solemnizing of the Happie Inauguration of our Most Gracious and Religious Sovereign King James* (London: for Thomas Adams, 1609), D2v.
- ³¹ *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (London: for William Barret, 1610), 67.
- ³² *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* (London: for I. Stepneth, 1610), 2–3.
- ³³ *By His Maiesties Councell for VIRGINIA* (1613), in *Three Proclamations Concerning the Lottery in Virginia 1613–21* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1907).
- ³⁴ *By The King: Whereas at the Humble Suit and Request of Sundry Our Loving and Well Disposed Subjects, Intending to Deduce a Colony, and Make a Plantation in Virginia* (London: Robert Barker and John Bill, 1620).
- ³⁵ These investments are noted among "The Names of the Adventurers" in *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in the Virginia* (London: Thomas Snodham and Felix Kingston, 1620), 23.
- ³⁶ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, January 18, 1617, in John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman McClure, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), 49–50.
- ³⁷ Stephen Orgel famously argues that "[i]n a theatre employing perspective, there is only one focal point, one perfect place in the hall from which the illusion achieves its fullest effect. At court performances this is where the king sat, and the audience around him at once became a living emblem of the structure of the court. [...] The central experience of drama at court, then, involved not simply the action of a play, but the interaction between the play and the monarch, and the structured organization of the other spectators around him." Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: the Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 10–11. Subsequent critics have expanded on Orgel's theory on the relationship between spectators, performers, and patrons to suggest that the form was not just "an expression of the royal mind" and that the relationship between masque and king was not the only relationship at stake (Orgel, *Illusion*, 43). See Martin Butler, "The Invention of Britain and the Early Stuart Masque," in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 65–85; essays collected in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), especially by Bevington and Holbrook, "Introduction" (1–19), Martin Butler, "Courtly Negotiations" (20–40), Tom Bishop, "The Gingerbread Host: Tradition and Novelty in the Jacobean Masque" (88–120), and Hugh Craig, "Jonson, the Antimasque and the 'Rules of Flattery'" (176–196); Graham Parry, "The Politics of the Jacobean Masque," in *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts*, ed. J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 87–117; Martin Butler "Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque," in *Theatre and Government*, 118–156.
- ³⁸ Samuel Daniel, *Tethys Festival: or, the Queenes Wake*, in *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and Mightie Prince Henrie* (London: for John Budge, 1610), F; Parry, "Politics of the Jacobean Masque," 104.
- ³⁹ Martin Butler, "Courtly Negotiations," 20.
- ⁴⁰ Parry, "Politics of the Jacobean Masque," 104.
- ⁴¹ Philip III to Don Alonso de Velasco, April 1, 1613, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 610.
- ⁴² See Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Pimlico, 200), 39, 41.
- ⁴³ Quoted in Tristan Marshall, *Theatre and Empire: Great Britain on the London Stages under James VI and I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 93, 136 n. 49.

- ⁴⁴ George Chapman, *An Epicede or Funerall Song: On the Most Disastrous Death, of the High-borne Prince of Men, HENRY Prince of Wales* (London: for John Budge, 1612), D3v.
- ⁴⁵ Quoted in Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, 2.
- ⁴⁶ Marshall, *Theatre and Empire*, 129.
- ⁴⁷ Chapman, *Memorable Maske*, B3v.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, D3v.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, D4v.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, D3v.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, D4v.
- ⁵² On the Christian humanism inherent to colonial ideology, see Andrew Fitzmaurice, “The Moral Philosophy of Jacobean Colonisation,” in *Humanism and America: an Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 58–101.
- ⁵³ Quoted in Townsend, *Pocahontas*, 156. See also David R. Ransome, “Pocahontas and the Mission to the Indians,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 99, no. 1 (1991): 81–94.
- ⁵⁴ *A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions, Sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company, in the Yeere 1619*, in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, ed. Susan M. Kingsbury, vol. 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 115–118.
- ⁵⁵ The source for this figure is James Horn, *A Land as God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 250.
- ⁵⁶ Other aspects of the celebrations—the tilts, sea-fights, fireworks—would undoubtedly have met with Henry’s approval, as his own coming-of-age celebrations a few years earlier had featured similar entertainments.
- ⁵⁷ Parry, “Politics of the Jacobean Masque,” 105. Chapman himself was very much part of the Raleigh faction (the infamous “School of Night”). He penned “De Guianam, Carmen Epicum,” a poem at the beginning of Lawrence Kemys’s *A Relation to the Second Voyage to Guiana* (the first voyage was Raleigh’s in 1595). The poem “sing[s]” of “Riches, and Conquest, and Renowne,” and encourages “Eliza” to “create / A golden worlde in this our yron age.” George Chapman, “De Guianam, Carmen Epicum,” in Lawrence Kemys, *A Relation to the Second Voyage to Guiana* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1596), Av–A4.
- ⁵⁸ Chapman, *Memorable Maske*, A4.
- ⁵⁹ James I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London: R. Barker, 1604), Bv.
- ⁶⁰ D.J. Gordon, “Chapman’s *Memorable Masque*,” 200.
- ⁶¹ Chapman’s “De Guianam” also called for “Conquest without blood” and imagines in Guiana a place “Where [...] / A world of Sauadges fall tame before them” (see Chapman, “De Guianam,” Av–A4). Such appeals to pacifism are complicated however by his appeal to Elizabeth to “let thy soueraigne Empire be encrease, / And with Iberian Neptune part the stake.” No such anti-Spanish appeals are apparent in *The Memorable Maske*, perhaps because there was an Iberian presence in the banqueting house. Spanish ambassadors often attended masques—indeed, one masque, *Neptune’s Triumph for the Return of Albion* (1624) was cancelled on account of a dispute over seating arrangements at Whitehall between Spanish and French ambassadors. Whatever the reasons, the stress on peaceful transformation would seem to accord more with James’s viewpoint than Henry’s.
- ⁶² Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Truth* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1813), B5v–C. There is no familial link between the playwright and the mayor. Moors seem to have been regular features of Lord Mayor’s Shows. In one of the four pageants as part of the Midsummer Watch festivities marking the election of Mayor Sir John Brugge of the Drapers’ Company in 1520, the King of the Moors appears wearing “a mantle of red satin, a turban of black satin adorned with white feathers, and shoes of silver paper. He wore a sword, a canopy was carried over his head, and he was accompanied by a display of wildfire.” The account of the pageant is quoted in Arthur Henry Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914–1922), 10. Anthony Munday’s *Chrysanaleia: the Golden Fishing, or, Honour of Fishmongers* (1616) also employs the figure of the King of the Moors to celebrate the new incumbent, John Leman, and the links between the Company of Fishmongers and the Goldsmiths’. Munday describes how, “gallantly mounted on a golden Leopard,” the King “hurl[s] gold and siluer euery way about him. Before, on either side, and behinde him, ride sixe other his tributarie Kings on horse-backe, gorgeously attired in faire guilt Armour, and apt furniture thereto belonging. They carry Ingots of golde and siluer, and each one his dart, and in this order they attend on him: shewing thereby, that the Fishmongers are not vnmindfull of their combined brethren, the worthy

Company of Golde-Smithes, in this solemne day of triumph.” Neither pageant, however, comments upon the Moor’s conversion to Christianity, although both comment on the importance on far-flung trade and its contributions to London’s wealth. Anthony Munday, *Chrysanaleia: the Golden Fishing, or, Honour of Fishmongers* (London: George Purslowe, 1616), Bv.

⁶³ *True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*, 54–56. Robert Johnson includes a similar list in *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia* (1609), in *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, ed. Peter Force (New York: Peter Smith, 1947), 11–12.

⁶⁴ Marshall, *Theatre and Empire*, 12.

⁶⁵ In particular the pageants expressed a desire for peace and order to return to the capital after the repeated turbulence of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean period. As James Knowles argues, “[c]ivic ceremony seeks to embody reconciliation and inculcate order, not simply in its explicit rhetoric, but in its very form, especially the processional element, which actually manifested the whole social body and constitution of the City for its citizens. It acted in its content, its imagery and its performance to provide models by which both governors and governed might behave, and understand their place within the urban structure.” James Knowles, “The Spectacle of the Realm: Civic Consciousness, Rhetoric and Ritual in Early Modern London,” in *Theatre and Government*, 182.

⁶⁶ Grocers’ Company, *Minutes of the Court of Assistants 1556–1591*, volume 2 (July 19, 1591–July 14, 1616), 528.

⁶⁷ See *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 80–90.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Johnson, *History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, vol. 2, 189.

⁶⁹ See Johnson, *History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, vol. 2, 153. They also contributed £460 16s to the Cadiz expedition in 1596.

⁷⁰ Quoted in Johnson, *History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, vol. 3, 61. My summary of Drapers’ activities is indebted to Johnson.

⁷¹ Other pageants marked the new incumbent through the figure of Sir Francis Drake. In John Webster’s *Monuments of Honor*, presented to welcome John Gore of the guild of Merchant-Tailors to the mayoralty in 1624, Drake was joined by other (dead) voyager luminaries, “Sr. John Haukins, Sr. Martine Furbisher, Sr. Humfery Gilbert, Captaine Thomas Cauendish, Captaine Christopher Carlile, and Captaine John Daus.” See John Webster, *Monuments of Honor* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1924), A3v. The front matter to Thomas Heywood’s *Londini Status Pacatus; Or, Londons Peacable Estate*, a pageant marking the succession of Sir Henry Garway of the Drapers’ Company in 1639, encompassed the effect that investment in American enterprise had had on American colonization, and, by extension, on the City of London. Heywood compared London to “the most famous Cities of the World, Athens, Thebes, Lacedemon, [...] Rome” and concluded that London was superior to all not just in “its beautifull Architectures, Pallaces, Rialtoes, Guilds, Arcenalls, Temples, Cathedralls, Aquæducts &c.” but also in its “commerce in al Countries, Christian or Heathen; discoveries, plantations, (as in Ireland, Virginia, Bromoos, or Summers Islands, St. Christophers, New England, Harbergrace in new-found Land &c.)” The Drapers’ Company, who had collectively and individually invested in the Virginia Company, were being commended for making London the greatest city on earth. See Thomas Heywood, *Londini Status Pacatus, or, Londons Peacable Estate* (London: for John Okes, 1639), A3–A3v.

⁷² Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 812.

⁷³ Thomas Heywood, *Porta Pietatis, or, The Port or Harbour of Pity*, (London: John Okes, 1638), B2v–B3v.

⁷⁴ The Virginia Company second charter of 1609 is reprinted in Brown, *Genesis*, vol 2, 206–240 (for names of members, see 209–228).

⁷⁵ Records quoted in *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, ed. David B. Quinn, vol. 4 (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 234.

⁷⁶ Quoted in John Benjamin Heath, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London* (London, 1829), 72.

⁷⁷ Grocers’ Company, *Minutes of the Court of Assistants*, 809–810.

⁷⁸ Abbott’s investment is noted among “The Names of the Adventurers” in *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in the Virginia*, 12.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁰ Thomas Middleton, *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1617), B.

⁸¹ Ibid., A4v.

⁸² Even writing on English poetics draws on the beauty of Indian “poetry” to lament the poverty of English verse: Philip Sidney, in his *Defence of Poesy*, for example, argued that “[e]ven among the most barbarous and simple Indians where no writing is, yet have they their Poets who make and sing songs which they call *areytos*, both of their ancestors’ deeds, and praises of their Gods.” Sidney was probably inspired by contemporary reports of the Taino who were famed for their songs honouring their ancestors (called, by the Spanish, *areitos*). See Philip Sidney, “A Defence of Poesy, 1595,” in *English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 340, n.14.

⁸³ *The Merchants New-Royall Exchange* (London: for Cuthbert Burbey, 1604), A2–A2v.

⁸⁴ John Fletcher and Nathaniel Field, *Four Plays, or Moral Interludes, in One*, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966–), IND. 46–54. All subsequent citations are referenced parenthetically.

⁸⁵ In Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, which along with Vecellio is one of the key sources for Inigo Jones, the figure of Capriccio has far more positive connotations. As D.J. Gordon points out, Capriccio in *The Memorable Maske* “stands for impractical wit [...] working at the service of the highest bidder. The bellows, which in Ripa show willingness to praise virtue, here shows that Capriccio can puff up to glory all who affect him, and the spur, which had indicated capacity to punish vice, has become an instrument for punishing those who will have nothing to do with him. To pay for the services of such a creature is to buy—the wrong use of wealth—fake honour.” Not that Chapman and Jones’s Capriccio is the villain of the piece—he does bring in the “baboonerie,” the antimasque, which was very well received—but it seems clear that his views on wealth and preferment are at odds with Plutus, Eunomia, and Honor (and by extension Chapman and Jones). See Gordon, “Chapman’s *Memorable Masque*,” 198. Capriccio features in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (1603) (New York: Garland Press, 1976), 55.

⁸⁶ José de Acosta, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*, trans. Edward Grimestone (London: for Edward Blount and William Aspley, 1604), 354.

⁸⁷ John Davies, *Microcosmos: The Discovery of the Little World* (Oxford: for Joseph Barnes, 1603), 250.

⁸⁸ Robert Albott, *Wits Theater of the Little World* (London: for Nicholas Ling, 1599), 142–142v. Albott’s claims for Pluto’s westerly dominion may stem not just from the association of the New World with hell but from St. Augustine, who in *The City of God* records how “Dis or Pluto [were bequeathed] the west part of the realme fained to bee hell.” St Augustine, *Of the Citie of God* (London: for George Eld, 1610), 166.

⁸⁹ Thomas Dekker, *Newes from Hell Brought by the Diuells Carrier* (London: for W. Ferebrand, 1606), A4v. Dekker, in his opening address, compares his “discouery of a strange country” (i.e. Hell) to “both Indyees” (A3v). Dekker also associates the New World with hell in *If It Be Not A Good Play, The Devil Is In It*, when Charon tells Pluto that “men to find hell, now, new waies haue sought,” such as the “Spanish did to the Indies.” Thomas Dekker, *If It Be Not A Good Play, The Devil Is In It* (1611), in Thomas Dekker, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 1.1.17–18.

⁹⁰ Thomas Carew, *Coelum Britannicum* (1633), in *Poems By Thomas Carew, Esquire* (London: for Thomas Walkley, 1640), 232–233.

⁹¹ Aurelian Townsend, *Albions Triumph* (London: for Robert Allot, 1632), 21 (emphasis added).

⁹² See Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 215, 219. Figures for the cost of the masque from Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, 253. The masque’s cost is dwarfed, however, by Jones’s designs for *News of the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620). Three suits for this show alone cost £205 17s 7d (source: Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, 42).

⁹³ The description of Caliban as a “Salvage and deformed slave” post-dates the play’s first performance by twelve years and Shakespeare’s death by seven— thus it may have been added by the compilers of the first folio, Henry Condell and John Heminges, or even Ralph Crane, the scrivener. As Tristan Marshall states, “[t]his is in fact the first critical interpretation we have of the character and it should not lead us to believe that this was Shakespeare’s intent. We have no evidence that his manuscript of the play as it was first transcribed from the prompt-book bears any such description of Caliban at all.” See Tristan Marshall, “*The Tempest* and the British Imperium in 1611,” *The Historical Journal* 4, no. 2 (1998): 381.

⁹⁴ For example, the Virginia Company was encouraged about settling because where “the *naturals* be Srong and Clean made it is a true sign of a wholesome Soil.” See “Instructions Given by way of Advice,” 1606, in

The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, ed. Philip Barbour, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 52–53 (emphasis added).

⁹⁵ Shylock complains about having his gabardine spat upon in *The Merchant of Venice* (1.3.108). Edmund Spenser noted how the Irish gabardine was “a fit house for an out-law, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a theife.” Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, in *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition: The Prose Works*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner, vol. 10 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949), 100.

⁹⁶ On Caliban as wild man, see Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Caliban: a Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 60–75. On the development of the figure of the wild man, see Hayden White, “The Formation of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea,” in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 3–38.

⁹⁷ As Karen Kupperman states, “[p]hysique and carriage provided valuable indicators of one’s place in the world. [...] The shape and presentation of the body reflected the reality of the inner self. Thus when English colonists described the Indians, their descriptions began with physique, and it is noteworthy that Indian bodies were universally praised. Readers steeped in the manuals of gentility would have seen their ideal reflected in these descriptions.” Karen Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 46.

⁹⁸ Marshall, “*The Tempest* and British Imperium,” 385.

⁹⁹ On Caliban and his relation to Indian figures, see Paul Brown, “‘This Thing of Darkness I Acknowledge Mine’: *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism,” in *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 48–71; Alden T. Vaughan, “Shakespeare’s Indian: The Americanization of Caliban,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1988): 137–153; Meredith Anne Skura, “Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1989): 42–69; John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan*, exp. ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ These investments are noted among “The Names of the Adventurers” in *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in the Virginia*, 250, 13.

¹⁰¹ See Christian F. Feest, “The Virginia Indian in Pictures, 1612–1624,” *The Smithsonian Journal of History* 2, no. 1 (1967): 1–30.

¹⁰² John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, February 22, 1617, in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 2, 57.

¹⁰³ Townsend, *Pocahontas*, 153–154.

¹⁰⁴ Richard Hakluyt, *Diuers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (London: for Thomas Woodcocke, 1582); Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 13.

¹⁰⁵ George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathay, by the Northwest, Vnder the Conduct of Martin Frobisher, Generall* (London: for Henry Bynnyman, 1578), 60.

¹⁰⁶ “Dionyse Settle’s account of the 2nd voyage,” in Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599), 626–627.

¹⁰⁷ Harriot, *Briefe and True Report*, 5, 24.

¹⁰⁸ John Brereton, *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia* (1605), in *Early English and French Voyages, Chiefly from Hakluyt, 1535–1608*, ed. Henry S. Burrage (Barnes and Noble: New York, 1959), 325–340; Martin Pring, *A Voyage Set Out from the Citie of Bristol, 1603*, in *Early English and French Voyages*, 341–352; James Rosier, *True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made this Present Yeere 1605, by Captaine George Waymouth, in the Discovery of the Land of Virginia* (London: George Bishop, 1605).

¹⁰⁹ Accounts by Percy and Archer collected in *The Jamestown Voyages*, vol 1, 80–98, 98–102, and 129–146.

¹¹⁰ “Instructions Given by Way of Advice,” in *The Jamestown Voyages*, vol. 1, 52–53.

¹¹¹ Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes From Virginia* (London: for William Welby, 1613); Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London: for William Welby, 1615).

¹¹² Roger Williams, *Key into the Languages of America* (London: George Dexter, 1643).

¹¹³ Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Stranger in Shakespeare* (New York: Stein and Day, 1973), 205.

¹¹⁴ Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, 11.

¹¹⁵ Indeed, the recurrence of the word “brute” (either as noun or adjective) in a number of promotional tracts itself suggests that there was believed to be a lack of rational thought in the Native Americans, as according to the *O.E.D.* the word’s earliest usage in the mid-sixteenth century has this connotation. “Brute” also means “inarticulate sound,” which would indicate a belief that the natives had no language systems (hence the urgency in teaching them English).

¹¹⁶ Robert Gray, *A Good Speed to Virginia* (London: for William Welby), C2.

¹¹⁷ Crackanthorpe, *Happie Inauguration*, D2v.

¹¹⁸ Tynley, *Two Learned Sermons*, D2v–D3.

¹¹⁹ This contrasts with a number of first-hand accounts from this period which, although often shot through with missionary zeal, were far less likely to agree with the notion that the Indians were “dumb animals.” These accounts noted, often with incredulity, the organization that they found amongst the Indians. Few doubted that these peoples were anything less than human. As Karen Kupperman confirms, “[c]olonists, English men and women who actually tried to make a go of establishing themselves in America, could not simply dismiss the American natives as negligible or as cultureless savages—and none did.” Investors who approached settlement from a more mercantilist rather than spiritual perspective would have been happy to know that the natives were well-organized, otherwise trade opportunities might have been limited—thus overplaying the brutishness of the Indians may have put off this substantial sector of investors. See Kupperman, *Indians and English*, 2.

¹²⁰ Peter Daly argues that, “[d]uring the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drama in its various forms was the most emblematic of all the literary arts, combining as it does a visual experience of character and gesture, silent tableau and active scenes, with a verbal experience of the unspoken and occasionally the written word.” Daly follows Glynne Wickham’s argument that the playhouse housed an “Emblematic stage”—but he too points out that masques and pageants abounded with figures whose existence was owed to the emblematic tradition. See Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 4, 162.

¹²¹ Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devices* (Leyden: Christopher Plantyn, 1586), **4.

¹²² Ben Jonson, *Hymenaei, or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage* (1606), in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 75–76.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹²⁴ Thomas Heywood, *Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), B4v–C.

¹²⁵ Mildmay Fane, *Raguillo d’Oceano, 1640, and Candy Restored, 1641*, ed. Clifford Leech (Louvain: Ch. Krystpryst, 1938), 68–69.

¹²⁶ Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 1–3.

¹²⁷ Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1612), C4.

¹²⁸ John Greene, *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (London: W. White, 1615), 36. Greene’s use of the neuter pronoun “it” indicates his uncertainty about what exactly Episcopus became in performance.

¹²⁹ Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 99–100. There are of course numerous pitfalls in recreating acting styles from the early modern period. There are so few accounts of performances that basing anything on them is liable to garner little of much use. B.L. Joseph’s *Elizabethan Acting* uses a number of texts on oratory and gesture to reconstruct what the early modern period considered to be “good” acting. While much of what Joseph argues makes sense, he never really theorizes why texts on oratory and gesture might shed light (or indeed, might not shed light) on drama beyond stating drama’s indebtedness to the oratorical tradition. It seems as if Edward Alleyn’s acting was oft-parodied—*Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy* are often referenced with tongue firmly in cheek, through, for example, the character of Pistol in *Henry IV*—but that doesn’t mean that this form of acting dated—*Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy* were frequently revived. What we can glean is that over-acting, by which I mean acting in an untruthful manner, rather than in a heavily-gestural manner was frowned upon (we now think of this as overacting, but it seems as if acting “big” was fine as long as the

truth behind that acting was apparent). B.L. Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951). I am grateful for Bill Ingram's wise counsel on this issue.

¹³⁰ As Karen Kupperman notes, "many of the colonists displayed tremendous interest in Indian languages." But it seems as if most of the "armchair" propaganda, rather than first hand accounts, dismissed Indians' ability to form civil, godly societies. The wild man stereotype—that is, "a renegade from human society" who "needed no government" and who "had no language"—predominated in second-hand literature. This literature tells us little about Indian-Native American relations, but it does tell us a great deal about opinions held in England. Kupperman, *Indians and English*, 79.

¹³¹ I borrow the phrase from Paul Brown, "This Thing of Darkness," 62.

¹³² Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News* (1626), ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 2.5.121–123. The historian in question is John Smith, whose *Generall Historie* had been published in 1624, two years prior to the first performance of *The Staple of News*.

¹³³ Campion, *Description of a Maske*, B. Mulberry was no doubt chosen because it was an Native American dye. Mulberry was also prominent in Virginia. It was, noted Thomas Harriot, one of the "Commodities [...] known to yeelde for victual and sustenance of mans life." He also argued that the proliferation of mulberry bushes would benefit the mooted silk industry: "seeing that the countrey doth naturally breede and nourish [silk worms], there is no doubt but if art be added in plantig of mulberry trees and others fitte for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourishing." See Harriot, *Brief and True Report*, 8, 13. While the silk trade never really took off, it was still being talked up as late as 1650, in Edward Williams's *Virginia's Discovery of Silke-worms* (London: for John Stephenson, 1650).

¹³⁴ This was not first dramatic representation of tobacco. Thomas Tomkis's *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue, and the Fiue Senses for Superiority*, a play performed at Cambridge University in the early 1600s (and published in 1607), includes a personification of "the mighty Emperour Tobacco, King of Trinidado," who is "apparelled in a taffata mantle, his armes browne and naked, buskins made of the pilling of Osiers, his necke bare, hung with Indian leaues, his face browne painted with blewe stripes, in his nose swines teeth, on his head a painted wicker crowne, with Tobacco pipes set in it, plumes of Tobacco leaues." Thomas Tomkis, *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue, and the Fiue Senses for Superiority* (London: for Simon Waterson. 1607), 4.4.

¹³⁵ Ben Jonson, *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620), in *Complete Masques*, 296.

¹³⁶ Aurelian Townsend, *Tempe Restord: A Masque Presented by the Qveene, and Foureteene Ladies, to the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall on Shrove-Tuesday* (London: for Robert Allot and George Baker, 1631); Inigo Jones and Aurelian Townsend, *Florimène* (1635), in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 2. *Tempe Restord* is most notable in English stage history as being the first dramatic performance to feature female singers, "Madame Coniack and Mistress Shepherd." See Roy Booth, "The first female professional singers: Madam Coniack," *Notes and Queries* 44, no. 4 (1997): 533.

¹³⁷ William Davenant and Inigo Jones, *The Temple of Love. A Masque. Presented by the Qveenes Majesty, and her Ladies, at White-hall on Shrove-Tuesday* (London: for Thomas Walkley, 1635), A3; William Davenant, *The Triumphs of the Prince D'Amour* (London: for Richard Meighen, 1635), 3.

¹³⁸ Fane, *Raguiallo D'Oceano*, 68–69.

¹³⁹ The presence of Indians in *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity* is debatable. In the pageant, Orpheus breaks off from praising the election of Sir William Cockayn of the Skinners' Company to the position of Lord Mayor of London to honour James I and to acknowledge "The seuerall Countries" who owe "Fealty" to him. "All louingly assembled" at the pageant were the English, the Scots, the Welsh, the French, the Irish, and "that kind Sauage, the Virginian." No description of these nations is given—indeed, the text for this pageant is far less detailed than that of other pageants—so it is not at all clear how they were represented or whether they were even there. However, Orpheus's description of turning and seeing these figures ("See, herein honors his Maiestie / Are not forgotten, when I turne, and see, / The seuerall Countries") suggests that they were present as part of the pageant. Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1619), B3v.

¹⁴⁰ Heywood, *Londini Artium*, B4v.

¹⁴¹ As already mentioned, Pocahontas attended Jonson and Jones's masque, *The Vision of Delight*, in 1617. No Indian-like figures feature in this masque.

¹⁴² Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, 312.

¹⁴³ Jonson, *News from the New World*, 296, 303

¹⁴⁴ William Davenant and Inigo Jones, *The Temple of Love* (London: for Thomas Walkley, 1635), A3.

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- ¹⁴⁵ Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 2, 624.
- ¹⁴⁶ Platter, *The Travels of Thomas Platter*, 172–173.
- ¹⁴⁷ Fane, *Raguallo D’Oceano*, 69.
- ¹⁴⁸ Rebecca Ann Bach, *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World 1580–1640* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 149–150.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 190.
- ¹⁵⁰ Middleton, *Tryumphs of Honor and Industry*, B.
- ¹⁵¹ On the nutmeg trade, see Giles Milton, *Nathaniel’s Nutmeg: How One Man’s Courage Changed the Course of History* (London: Sceptre, 1999).
- ¹⁵² Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1622), Bv.
- ¹⁵³ Middleton, *Triumphs of Truth*, B5v–C. On the song of Solomon and the discourses of blackness and beauty, see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
- ¹⁵⁴ See Alden T. Vaughan “From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian,” in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3–33.
- ¹⁵⁵ From a precept distributed by the Mayor in June 1609 to encourage the guilds to invest in the Ulster plantation, reprinted in Heath, *History of the Worshipful Company of the Grocers*, 342.
- ¹⁵⁶ Figures from Peter Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London; New York: Longman, 1993), 29–30.
- ¹⁵⁷ Court Minutes of the East India Company. April 10, 1602, in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616*, ed. William Noël Sainsbury (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), §303; Charter for Henry Hudson, April 1610, in *Calendar of State Papers*, §616. East India Company interest in the Northwest Passage persisted. Records for December 1614 show how “The governor reminds the Company that three years towards the discovery of the north-west passage, which business hath not succeeded according to desire, through the negligence or ignorance of the commanders, and being returned, somewhat is brought home which belongs to the Company.” The hopes and probability of finding it hereafter encourage many adventurers to undertake a voyage this year; hope of the governor that the Company will not refuse to adventure again somewhat more, considering it were dishonourable to withdraw from so worthy a work, and that the honour and benefit will be great if found.” Court Minutes of the East India Company, December 3–6, 1602, in *Calendar of State Papers*, §817.
- ¹⁵⁸ Treasurer and Council for Virginia to Governor and Council in Virginia, August 1, 1622, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 671.
- ¹⁵⁹ “Letter of Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor of Virginia, 1621–1626,” in *William and Mary Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1926): 118. It is not clear to whom Wyatt’s letter was addressed.
- ¹⁶⁰ Nicholas Ferrar and Edward Collingwood, October 7th 1622, to the Virginia Ccouncil, 7 October 1622,, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 683.
- ¹⁶¹ John Martin, “The Manner Howe to Bringe the Indians into Subiection,” in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 704.
- ¹⁶² The degree to which 1622 changed policy in Virginia is debatable. James Horn contends that after March 1622 “Company policy changed significantly” (*Land as God Made It*, 264). However, the policy was revived in Virginia in 1655 when legislation was passed that “all Indian children by leave of their parents shall be taken as servants for such a terme as shall be agreed on by the said parents and master as aforesaid; Provided that due respect and care be had that they the said Indian servants be educated and brought vp in the Christian religion.” Nor was it abandoned in New England, where colonists took Native American boys and girls into their homes as domestic servants. The pamphlet *New Englands First Fruits* reported that “Divers of the *Indians* Children, Boyes and Girles we have received into our houses, who are long since civilized”: however, the pamphlet also revealed that the New Englanders in general “keep [the Indians] at such a distance, (knowing they serve the Devill and are led by him) as not to imbolden them too much or trust them too farr: though we do them what good we can.” Acts of Assembly, March 31, 1655, “in *The Statutes at Large, being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, ed.. Waller William Hening, vol. 1 (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 410; *New Englands First Fruits* (London: for Henry Overton, 1643), 3, 8.
- ¹⁶³ Middleton, *Triumphs of Honor and Vertue*, C2.
- ¹⁶⁴ Thomas Dekker, *Londons Tempe, or the Feild of Happines* (Londong: Nicholas Okes, 1629), B2.

- ¹⁶⁵ Some accounts placed ostriches or ostrich-like birds in the Americas, although this was a result of the ostrich's similarity to the Rhea (a New World bird). Jean de Lery describes the Tupinamba wearing "outfitting" made from "great gray-hued ostrich feathers (which shows that there are some of these huge, heavy birds in certain parts of those lands, where, however, not to misrepresent anything, I myself have not seen any)." In his translation of José de Acosta, Edward Grimestone writes that "at the Indies there are great birds, very heauie, as Estridges, whereof there are many in *Peru*; which doe vse sometimes to terrifie the *Indian* sheepe as they doe goe with their burthens." The English translation "as" makes it ambiguous as to whether the birds are like ostriches or whether they are ostriches. Jean de Lery, De Lery, Jean, *A History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 61; de Acosta, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*, 305.
- ¹⁶⁶ Heywood, *Londini Artium*, B4v.
- ¹⁶⁷ Heywood, *Porta Pietatis*, A4, B2v– B3v.
- ¹⁶⁸ Harriot, *Brief and True Report*. The idol also features in the top left-hand corner of Smith's 1612 *Map of Virginia*.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Masque of Flowers* (1613), in *English Masques*, ed. Herbert Arthur Evans, (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 100–113.
- ¹⁷⁰ See in particular "Habito da Soldati, e Capitani," "Habito de Centruione," and "Principale del Campo," in Vecellio, *Habiti*, 499–503.
- ¹⁷¹ Rosier, *True Relation*, C.
- ¹⁷² *Masque of Flowers*, 106, 109.
- ¹⁷³ See Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, 140–145; vol. 2, 444–445; vol. 2, 504.
- ¹⁷⁴ Inigo Jones and Aurelian Townsend, *Florimène* (1635), in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* vol. 2. The text of the full masque no longer survives, although *The Argument of the Pastorall of Florimene* was printed (London: for Thomas Walkley, 1635). The anti-masque was not included in this publication and only survives in manuscript, but Stephen Orgel argues that it was "a tiny comic epilogue to *Florimène*, which served to conclude the queen's elegant French pastoral with a courtly version of an English jig." The Man of Canada's description of Amazons probably refers to the cross-dressing title character. See Stephen Orgel, "Florimène and the Anti-Masque," *Renaissance Drama*, new series 4 (1971): 137.
- ¹⁷⁵ Quoted in Thomas H. McGrail, *Sir William Alexander, First Earl of Stirling: A Biographical Study* (Edinburgh; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1940), 113.
- ¹⁷⁶ Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, 39.
- ¹⁷⁷ Campion, *Description of a Masque*, A5.
- ¹⁷⁸ Orgel and Strong argue that "[t]he costumes are based on the Indians in Matthew Greuters's engravings of *Il Guoco del Ponte*, a mock battle fought by Pisan noblemen" in Florence 1608. Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 2, 490.
- ¹⁷⁹ Rebecca Ann Bach suggests that the word "pagole" is a misprint for pagode, which according to the *O.E.D.* was a type of idol worshipped in the East Indies and China. See Bach, *Colonial Transformations*, 179. The design for the Pagole appears to have little in common with the designs for Kawasha, and seems to have more in common with the Star figures in 1613's *The Lord's Masque* and the fiery spirits of *The Temple of Love* (1635). See Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, 240; vol. 2, 618–619.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Masque of Flowers*, 113. In his *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, published shortly after his accession in 1604, James rails against "the vile vse (or rather abuse) of taking Tobacco in this Kingdome," describing it as "A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, daungerous to the Lungs and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomelesse." The endorsement of Kawasha (named after one such Indian "devil") of tobacco as a "fumigation / [which] Doth chase away ill spirits" (108) present a verbal and visual challenge to James's loathing. Except, of course, this is not the Masque of Tobacco but the *Masque of Flowers*. Kawasha and Silenus are part of the antimasque. Kawasha's celebration of tobacco (and, for that matter, Silenus's celebration of wine) is undercut by the fact that he performs his songs as part of the comic interlude prior to the commencement of the central inventions of the masque proper. *The Masque of Flowers* offers tacit approval for James's opinions. James I, *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, D2, B2.
- ¹⁸¹ Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*, 4, 10.

Chapter Three

Playing Indian

These were clothed in beasts skins, and did eat rawe flesh, and spake such speech that no man could understand them, and in their demeanor like to brute beastes, whom the King kept after a time. Of the which upon two yeeres after, I saw two appavelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster palace, which that time I could not discern from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were, but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word.

Robert Fabian, “Of the Sauages which *Cabot* brought home presented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his raigne,” in Hakluyt’s *Principle Navigations*

ils ne portent point de haut de chauffes.

Michel de Montaigne, “Des Canibales”

I. The Naked Indian?

The English had minimal contact with and knew little about Native Americans in the early years of the Virginia and New England colonies, with the exceptions of the men and women who migrated across the Atlantic and those few, like Samuel Purchas, who spent any period of time conversing with American visitors to England.¹ But if there was one thing that the English were sure of, it was that Indians were naked. The word “naked” had a range of connotations in this period, and was not a synonym of “nude.” The word could be used to suggest (this from the *O.E.D.*) “the absence of normal clothing”: thus in *King Lear* Edgar describes his “presented nakedness” but also that he “Blankets his loins”—he is naked in the sense that he wears rags, and

hence clothing not befitting his social rank as the son of the Duke of Gloucester, and is not naked in the sense that he wears nothing at all (2.3.10–11). In the case of reports about Indians, often the term “naked” is accompanied with by descriptions of physical appearance that include items of what we would perhaps consider to be clothing. First-hand reports by Spanish, French, and English explorers commented upon Indians’ lack of attire, and a number of advocates of colonialism described Indians in terms of their animal skins and furs, their tattoos and dyeing, and their hairstyles, while at the same time stressing that they were “naked.”

The nakedness of Indians was repeated throughout colonial propaganda. For missionaries, backers, and settlers alike it was convenient to maintain the fiction of nakedness, although the rationale for doing so depended on the interests of each group. In some accounts nakedness signified the Indians’ innocence, in particular in descriptions of the Spanish Americas in which was contrasted the simple, naked Indian to the brutal Spanish *conquistadores*. Nakedness was regarded as proof of the Indians’ backwardness: clothing was a marker of civility, and thus to go naked was to be savage. It was employed to spur the missionary effort: the Indians’ apparent lack of shame about their nakedness implied that they had been deprived of the basic lessons of the Book of Genesis and therefore had not received the Word of God. It was used to remind the English that North America was a “naked” land unclaimed by any other Christian prince, that only “naked” peoples lived there, and that it was the English nation’s duty to “dress” both the New World’s inhabitants and its territory. The trope of the naked Indian was present also in non-propagandistic material, often in an almost throwaway manner, in poetry, prose, and in plays, as if the word “Indian” (or its collocates “Savage” and “Natural”) could not be divorced from the word “naked.”² So pervasive was the idea that the Indians were naked that, as Karen Kupperman has pointed out, Samuel Purchas even substituted James Rosier’s description of Indian clothing from his eye-witness account with the assertion that the Indians were in fact naked when he included Rosier’s account in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*.³

It is strange therefore to find that three plays from this period feature European characters who disguise themselves as Indians. In Robert Greene's loose adaptation of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1593) three characters wear Indian clothing. Orlando is "disguis'd in base or Indian shape" in order to defeat his enemy, Sacrepant (5.2.1384).⁴ Marsilius and Mandreard briefly appear as "Indian Palmers" when they encounter Orlando's fellow Peers of France (4.1.1008). In the anonymous *The Fatal Marriage* Iaspero dresses up as "some virginia straunger / or remoted Indian falne vpon these Coasts" so as to sneak into his beloved Laura's home undetected by her father (11.96–97).⁵ In *The City Madam* by Philip Massinger (1632) Sir John Frugal and his friends Sir Maurice Lacy and Mr. Plenty disguise themselves as "Indians / Lately sent [...] from Virginia" who have arrived in London to be "Assisted by the aids of our divines, / To make 'em Christians" (3.3.73–74).⁶ These disguise plots resemble those in John Webster's *The White Devil* (1612) and Richard Brome's *The English Moor* (1637), in both of which Europeans dress up as Moors. But whereas drama from this period represents Moorish characters, it does not represent Indian characters. Indians appear only as disguises—that is, they only appear as "Indians."⁷ And Moors, unlike Indians, were not usually described in terms of their nakedness.⁸

These "Indian" plays beg the question, what did the actors wear when they "dressed-up" as Indians? Quite possibly they wore skincoats like those used in masques to cover performers who portrayed nudes.⁹ The accounts for Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson's *The Entertainment Given By Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury* in 1608, for example, list "3 ells of Tany Taffaty [tawny taffeta] for a skynne Coate" to cover the body of one of the performers.¹⁰ However, the three plays give away little about what the "Indians" look like. When Orlando enters in his "Indian shape" in *Orlando Furioso* he wears "a scarfe before his face" to signify his transformation (5.1.1224SD). Few other clues are given as to what constitutes his disguise, and indeed when other characters describe what he looks like they use other categories: he is described as a "swain" (5.2.1297) and a "moore" (5.1.1245) as well as an "Indian." Marsilius and Mandreard

may put on a costume similar to Orlando's when they appear as "Indian Palmers," but their entrance is not accompanied by a descriptive stage direction. The only indication in *The Fatal Marriage* as to what the actor playing Iaspero wore comes when it is revealed that "his hands are white, his neck and breast lik ours" because "the tawny that soild ouer his face comes of" (19.118–119). This indicates that the actor wears some kind of blackening cosmetic. The "Indians" in *The City Madam* also seem to wear blackface, as their identity is revealed when Sir John exclaims "This wash'd off" (5.3.110). The make-up used by the actors in *The Fatal Marriage* and *The City Madam* could have been what Dympna Callaghan calls "burnt cork negritude" (the clown wonders whether Iaspero-as-Indian's "blood be as black as [his] fface" (19.78)) or it could have involved a lighter skin tone akin to the "ointment / Made and laid on" the "tawny" gypsy characters by Johann Wolfgang Rumler, the King's apothecary, in Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones's masque *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1621).¹¹ Colin Gibson has argued that Inigo Jones's Indian costumes for *Tempe Restord* (**figure 3**), which consisted of "a scincote of / olive fleshcoller / feathers on a bend a color / of tin[s]jell of gould / in s[c]alopes about / the neck," may have been used in *The City Madam*, although beyond the fact that both were performed in 1632 there is no firm evidence for this.¹² While it is possible to glean a sense of what the actors who originally played Orlando, Marsilius, Mandrecard, Iaspero, Sir John, Lacy, and Plenty might have worn while disguised as Indians, a full reconstruction of how the characters were staged does not appear possible.

Rather than attempting to account for original performance practices, this chapter questions why these three plays feature characters who dress up and disguise themselves as Indians when Indians were culturally coded as naked. Whatever the actors actually wore, they must have worn some kind of prostheses to signify their transformation to the audience and mask their identity from the other characters. The fact that they wore prostheses presents a visual paradox that a reconstruction of stage practices can only partially unravel. These plays force the

question, how can a character dress up as a “naked” Indian? What did this apparent contradiction mean? What did dressing up, or undressing, as a “naked” Indian reveal?¹³

Indian disguise draws attention to the identity adopted, the identity beneath, and the relationship between the two. As Philip Deloria has argued in *Playing Indian*, his account (from which this chapter takes its name) of “the persistent tradition in American culture” of white Americans adopting Native American dress, disguise “can have extraordinary transformative qualities [...] [and] readily calls the notion of fixed identity into question,” but “[a]t the same time, however, wearing a mask also makes one self-conscious of a *real* “me” underneath.”¹⁴ He further argues that “the performance of Indianness” has been instrumental in American identity formation: “Those engaged in playing Indian sought essentials, but they were also busily inventing new identities [...]. Indianness, a powerful indicator of the timeless and the unchanging, has been an equally compelling sign of transformation, rebellion, and creation.”¹⁵ Although Deloria writes about the period after the American Revolution (his jumping-off point is the Boston Tea Party), much of what he has to say about questions of identity and Indian disguise correlates with what can be found at the heart of much English (and indeed continental) colonialist writing about Indians from the early modern period. Commentators and observers regularly compared Indian and European behavioural patterns and appearance and used the Indian as a yardstick against which the civility (or lack therein) of their own countrymen and women could be measured. The Indian was savage, but then so was the European; the Indian was heathen, but then so were many Europeans (either Catholic or Protestant, depending on the writer’s denomination); Indians were simple people, but in many ways this was preferable to the ostentation of many Europeans who wore outlandish clothing. However, commentators and observers stopped short of recommending to English men and women that they should dress (or undress) like Indians. In contrast to the later period discussed by Deloria, when the adoption of Native American dress was a positive act for white Americans desiring some form of self-definition, to dress up as an Indian in the early colonial period was deemed a dangerous act. It

suggested that the wearer's allegiance was compromised, a possibility that was feared in the colonies where some settlers fled to live with, or illegally trade with, neighbouring tribes and sometimes adopted the appearance of those tribes. It also suggested that the wearer's civility and sense of Christian, European identity was dissipating. As many critics and historians have pointed out, items of apparel (from clothing to other forms of prostheses) were constitutive of identity in the period.¹⁶ The three "Indian" plays rehearse these debates by stressing how the identities of the wearers of Indian disguise are not only formed and articulated in the manner that Deloria proposes but also threatened by the disguise. That is, these characters dress like Indians and as a result either come to question their identity and/or begin to behave like Indians.

The employment of disguise in the three "Indians" plays also draws attention to the prostheses by which transformation is achieved: cosmetics, hairpieces, headdresses, and clothing. That Orlando, Marsilius, Mandrecard, Iaspero, Sir John, Lacy, and Plenty dress up as Indians in the only plays in the period to feature Indians prominently is significant because what Indians wore, or did not wear, and what they could be made to wear and what this might signify were key issues of contention both in the colonies and in England. Early colonial propaganda advocated that clothing the Indians in English garb would lead them to civility, cement their amity against the Spanish, and confirm their conversion to Christianity. Orlando's "Indian shape" and Marsilius and Mandrecard's "Indian Palmer" disguises in *Orlando Furioso* rehearse this desire. But by the 1620s and 1630s considerable doubts had arisen in the colonies and in England as to whether the Indian could be clothed at all. If clothing could be put on as well as taken off, was a clothed Indian really converted? Could an Indian use clothing for the purposes of disguise? These anxieties are reflected in the two later plays, but most particularly in *The City Madam*, one of the few plays in this period to engage fully with colonial America, in which the "Indian" visitors refuse to become Christians and persist with their devil-worshipping, idolatrous ways.

This chapter explores the significance of these "Indian" plays in three, interlocking ways. First, it briefly traces the ways in which English-Native American encounters were mediated

through clothing. Second, it tracks how perceptions of cultural cross-dressing, that is, Indians dressing in English apparel and English people dressing in Indian apparel (or going naked like Indians), changed between the 1590s and the 1630s, by placing *Orlando Furioso*, *The Fatal Marriage*, and *The City Madam* in contact with emerging and evolving discourses of nakedness and clothing.¹⁷ Third, it contends that these three “Indians” plays reflect and refract ideas about clothing and colonialism, and the relationship between Native American and English men and women, through their employment of disguise. None of the plays specifically mention the “Indians” nakedness, just as they do not describe what they wore, but all three plays thematize clothing and nakedness through disguise, a dramatic trope all the more resonant because the Indian was understood to be naked.

II. Clothing the Indian

Clothing was a crucial factor in transatlantic relations.¹⁸ The fur-trade proved to be a money-spinner, particularly in New England. Projectors advocated that the colonies should manufacture clothing for export, and sericulture was an oft-proposed alternative industry.¹⁹ The colonies also offered new markets for the exporting of English cloth. The cloth trade was very much in decline in this period, and many saw America as a possible outlet. As noted in the previous chapter, the possibilities for transatlantic trade explain the appeal of American settlement for certain guilds like the Grocers’ and the Drapers’. Richard Hakluyt, who was a pensioner of the Clothworkers’ Company, encouraged Robert Cecil in the dedication to the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* (1599) to support enterprise in the “Westerne Atlantis or America,” in particular the Northwest Passage, through which “I thinke the best vtterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be.”²⁰ America was also viewed as a potential destination for cloth exports. The promotional pamphlet *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (1610) asked its readers (and potential backers of the Virginia Company) “whither shall wee transport our cloth” when “Some priuate and deceitfull auarice

hath discredited our merchandize” among the Turks, when “Spaine [...] aboundeth with sheepe and wooll,” when “The daunger doth ouer-balance the gaine in times of contention” in “Poland and Muscovy,” and when “Fraunce and Germany [...] are for the most parte supplied by their owne peace.” The answer was Virginia, which, once “peopled,” would serve as an excellent trading partner: “*mutabit vellera merces*, we shall exchange our store of cloth for other merchandize.”²¹ In *Nova Britannia*, Robert Johnson pointed out to potential investors that the English colonies will have a “want of cloth, [which] must always bee supplied from England.”²² While the colony was a potential growth market for the English economy, it was not just the English colonists who required clothing. As Johnson pointed out, the Indians wore “skinnes of beast, but most goe naked.”²³ They too might be cajoled into entering trade agreements for clothing. Both an increase in the number of colonists and an increase in the number of converted Indians “will cause a mighty vent of English clothes, a great benefit to our Nation, and raising againe of that auncient trade of clothing, so much decayed in England.”²⁴

The hope that Indians might be interested in buying and wearing English cloth and English clothing was not just founded on economic necessity. Apparel was understood as central to the broader purpose of colonization, namely the establishment of a Christian commonwealth in the New World. Many commentators argued that the “fact” that the Indians “goe naked” was evidence of their innocence. After all, had not Adam and Eve been happily naked before the Fall? The question as to whether the Indians might be prelapsarian is hinted at in Theodor de Bry’s series of engravings based on John White’s watercolours that accompanied the 1590 edition of Thomas Harriot’s *Brief and True Report of the New-found Land of Virginia*. The series begins with an engraving of a naked Adam and Eve on the verge of eating the apple from the Tree of Knowledge (**figure 4**): therein follows a series of engravings of the inhabitants of Secota and Pomeiooc who went “naked,” which implies that the Indians were like Adam and Eve prior to the Fall. For other projectors, the Indians’ nakedness was proof of their savagery and godlessness. In the words of Alexander Whitaker, Preacher to the Colony at Henrico and tutor of Pocahontas,

“[t]hey liue naked in bodie, as if their shame of their sinne deserued no couering.” While Adam and Eve wished for clothing to cover their shame the Indians did not. Their “miserable condition” would inevitably lead them “to be partakers with the diuell and his angels in hell for euermore.”²⁵ At the same time it was noted that the Indians had vestiges of civility: they lived in fully-formed polities and were governed by laws and customs. And even if they persisted with Edenic nakedness, did they not, argued Whitaker, have “Adam” as a “common parent?”²⁶ Their nakedness implied that they were without some but not all of the fundamental aspects of European culture that they would need in order to achieve salvation and to live alongside the English. To convert the Indians, the English needed to lead them away from nakedness, to be literally clothed in Christianity.

Promotional literature regularly employed clothing as a metaphor for civility and conversion. In *A Trve Reporte, of the Late Discoueries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes* (1583), George Peckham, writing to persuade Elizabeth I of the viability of colonization in America, argued that when “all savages [...] shall begin but a little to taste of civilitie, [they] will take mervailous delight in any garment be it never so simple: As a shirt, a blewe, yellow, redde, or greene Cotton cassocke, a cappe or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.”²⁷ Similar conflations of Christianity, civility, and clothing occur in much of the Virginia Company’s propaganda. A tract delivered to engage the support of the merchants of the Muscovy and the East India Companies in 1609 outlined the Virginia Company’s intention “to communicate to [the Indians] first (as has been said) divine riches, and after that, to cover their nakedness and relieve their poverty by using human clothing and human food.”²⁸ William Crashaw argued in his sermon of 1610 delivered to the assembled Virginia Company members that God had directed the English “to a land where is want of inhabitants, and consequently roome both for them and vs,” and had made the task of settlement and propagation all the more easy by placing them aside “a people inclinable (as we see by some

experience already) first to civility, and so to religion.” The work of the Protestant missionary was to institute

1. Civilitie for their bodies, 2. Christianitie for their soules: The first to make them men: the second happy men; the first to couer their bodies from the shame of the world: the second, to couer their soules from the wrath of God: the lesse of these two (being that for the bodie) will make them richer then we finde them.²⁹

Civility was to be worn as well as learned: covering the Indians’ bodies would result in the salvation of their souls. Johnson concurred with Crashaw, encouraging his fellow investors to “impart our diuine riches [...] to couer their naked miserie with ciuill vse of foode, and clothing.”³⁰ Whitaker, who unlike Crashaw and Johnson had experience of living in Virginia, felt that the Indians would resist being “clothed” but argued that this should be no deterrent. Taking a lesson from Paul, he stressed that “we must feed and cloath our enemies and persecutors” as well as friends, and argued that “the miserable condition of these naked slaues of the diuell [should] moue you to compassion toward them.”³¹ John Rolfe, writing to Governor Thomas Dale in 1614, justified his marriage to Pocahontas in similar terms. He argued that while marrying an infidel might be deemed an abomination, if it resulted in conversion then it could be deemed an act of charity: after all, asked Rolfe, could he be “so vnnaturall, as not to giue bread to the hungrie? or vncharitable, as not to couer the naked?”³²

The belief that the Indians would readily wear English clothing had its basis in anecdotal evidence prior to settlement in the seventeenth century. An account of an expedition led by Jacques Cartier (and translated in Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations*) recorded that the “Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga” was gifted “a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles.” A marginal note in Cartier’s account added by Hakluyt draws the reader’s attention to the fact that “They delight in red cloth.”³³ Nicholas Burgoignon, rescued from Saint Augustine, Florida, by Sir Francis Drake in 1586, told Hakluyt and Thomas Harriot that “the Floridians” (the Timuaca Indians) had

similar predilections: they “make most account of [...] red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or girdles.”³⁴ In his *History of the World* (1617), Walter Raleigh described how the original name given to Virginia by the English, the native word “*Wingandacon*,” was a mistranslation attributed to the natives’ interest in what the English settlers wore. When the party “sent vnder Sir *Richard Greeneuile* to inhabite *Virginia* asked the name of that Countrie, one of the Saluages answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as, *You weare good clothes*, or gay clothes.”³⁵ Only once the mistake had been made apparent did Raleigh change the area’s name to Virginia in honour of Elizabeth I. Other Englishmen sent to Roanoke wrote about how the Indians were fascinated with English clothing. Ralph Lane, governor of the first colony at Roanoke, reported that the natives were “very desirous to haue clothes, but especially of course cloth rather than silke.”³⁶ Lane’s news about the Indians’ clothing preferences implied that English cloth might prove to be a viable commodity in Virginia and that the natives, in rejecting silk, had simple tastes. Other reports indicated that the Indians understood the English to be superior to them precisely because they wore clothing. The account of Drake’s circumnavigation included in *The Principle Navigations* reports how in 1579 the English met the natives of *Nova Albion* and “liberally bestowed on them necessary things to couer their nakednesse.” So amazed were the Indians that “they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary.”³⁷ “Proofs” such as these gave license to subsequent projectors and promoters to propagate the idea that the natives of America held the appearance of the English in wonderment and recognized them as their masters, as a result of which they would happily wear English clothing and willingly embrace Christianity.

Clothing was initially used to mark alliances in the colonies. For example, Chickahominy counsellors (in the words of Thomas Dale) consented to wearing “a suit of red cloath, which did much please them” through which “they pronounced them selues English men, and King Iames his men.”³⁸ Ralph Hamor described this clothing as “liuery,” as if to suggest that the Chickahominy had been incorporated into the English Christian Commonwealth because they had

consented to wear clothing that signified their subordinate position within the hierarchies of the Virginia settlement.³⁹ The English repeatedly attempted to control the Powhatan through sartorial means. At the “Coronation of Powhatan” in 1608 Captain Christopher Newport crowned Wahunsenacawh so as to make him a vassal of the court of James I and to confirm him as an ally against their mutual enemies the Monacans. John Smith recorded that among the “presents” bestowed upon the Powhatan chief (a “Bason and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead, [...] and such costly novelties”) were “clothes”—a “scarlet Cloke and apparel”—which he was expected to wear during the ceremony.⁴⁰ Wahunsenacawh seemed to the English to recognize the importance of clothing-based gifts and “gave his old shooes and his mantell to Captaine Newport” in exchange.⁴¹

As the Virginia plantations became more established, so their focus turned to converting native souls by dressing them up as English men and women. In 1621 George Thorpe, “Deputie of the Colledge lands” and in Edward Waterhouse’s estimation one who “so truly and earnestly affects [the Indians’] conuersion, and was so tender ouer them, that whosoouer vnder his authority had giuen them but the least displeasure or discontent, he punished them seuerely,” reported back to the Virginia Council the successes of the missionary effort.⁴² Thorpe disputed the “violent misp[er]swation [...] that these poore people haue done vnto vs all the wronge and iniurie that the malice of the Deuill or man cann afford” and argued that the Indians “begin more and more to affect English ffassions.” If the Virginia Company distributed “apparell & househouldestufe” among the Indians “it woulde make a good entrance into their affections.”⁴³ Later missionary projects were also punctuated by attempts to convert the natives through clothing. In Rhode Island, Roger Williams attempted to convince the Narragansett that “Clothes” were god-given.⁴⁴ Father Andrew White of Maryland wrote with much confidence that the Indians of Maryland “exceedingly desire civill life and Christian apparrell.”⁴⁵ According to the pamphlet *New Englands First Fruits* (1643), “Divers of the *Indians* Children, Boyes and Girles we have received into our houses, who are long since civilized”: one of their number, William, “would not

goe naked like the *Indians*, but cloathed just as one of our selves.”⁴⁶ Throughout the seventeenth century a number of missionaries across British North America were convinced that the Indians who wore the attire of English Christians would become English Christians. Indeed, they argued that it behoved the English Christian to enable this transformation. Without proper clothing, the Indians, however innocent, however simple, would be eternally damned.

By the 1630s, however, this clothing project seems to have stalled. In part this was a result of a lack of sufficient clothing supplies among the English colonists. At various points colonial authorities sanctioned against trading cloth with or giving cloth to Native Americans. Under Dale’s martial law 1611–18 it was forbidden to take from “the store [...] any commodities therein” including “Apparrell, Linnen, or Wollen, Hose or Shooes, Hats or Caps” or to trade such items with local tribes without warrant from the Council on pain of death.⁴⁷ The right to trade cloth was curbed even when the colony was not under military rule. “An Act that no Cloath be sould to the Indians” was passed on August 16, 1633, which stipulated that nobody could “trade or trucke any such cloathe, cotton or bayes, unto any Indians which is or shall be bought into this colony, as marchandize intended to be sould to the planters here.”⁴⁸

In part the project of clothing the Indians stalled because of the inability of the English to get across what the act of clothing signified to them. As Ann Little states, while “the use of cloth and English-made clothing in Indian apparel was commonplace by the end of the seventeenth century [...] the Indians did not tailor or wear these items as English men and women did.”⁴⁹ In Rhode Island, Roger Williams noted how the Narragansett thought “Our English clothes are so strange.” Their word for Englishmen literally translated as “Coat-men, or clothed.” Yet despite the Indians’ fascination with these “coat-men,” Williams noticed that there were limits to using apparel to civilize them. When the Narragansett wore “an English mantle [...] all else [was] open and naked,” as “in a showre of raine, [...] [they] rather expose their skins to the wet then their cloaths, and therefore pull them off, and keep them drie.” They only wore “the English apparel” when meeting with the English, but “pull of all, as soone as they come againe into their owne

Houses, and Company.”⁵⁰ Karen Kupperman illustrates how the incorporation of the Chickahominy of Virginia by Thomas Dale (described above) was a fantasy of the English. Instead of confirming the ascendancy of the English, “[t]he entire relationship was shaped and managed by the Chickahominies [...] [and] the negotiations actually produced an alliance and trading pact under which the Chickahominies governed themselves as before.”⁵¹ The “Coronation of Powhatan” was far from proof of Wahunsenacawh’s obeisance towards James I. John Smith described Wahunsenacawh as refusing to kneel despite “many perswasions, examples, and instructions.” The Powhatan chief was eventually convinced to do so when “the warning of a Pistoll [...] [made] the King start vp in a horrible feare.” Despite these threats Wahunsenacawh did not agree to the terms of the coronation, refusing to give the English any information about the whereabouts of the Monacan and informing Newport that “I can revenge my owne iniuries” and that “I also am a King, and this is my land.”⁵² As Smith admitted, the crown neither solidified nor signified an alliance between the Powhatan and the English. Instead, Wahunsenacawh used the crown to symbolize his own alliances with the various Native American tribes that formed his confederacy. Helen Rountree describes how “[f]rom 1609 onward” he thanked his people for planting corn “while wearing the paste-jewel crown that James I of England sent him in the fall of 1608.”⁵³

Ann Little and Jill Lepore have argued that Native Americans not only understood the English “gifts” of clothes in ways that the English did not intend but also resisted the English *through* clothing, especially in times of war. Native Americans stripped the bodies and acculturated their captives by reclothing them in native apparel. For the English these acts of stripping and reclothing were disastrous. As Lepore argues, “[l]eft naked, English bodies and English land were no longer recognizable—naked men, after all, were barbarians.” It had been “the ‘nakedness’ of America and of its native peoples that had made English colonization possible in the first place.”⁵⁴ Because clothing was central to English identity, as Little points out, “[n]aked bodies were bodies out of context, bodies stripped of their Englishness.” Corpses often

had their clothing removed, but survivors described the experience of being stripped “as an experience almost as painful and obliterating as death itself.”⁵⁵ The practices of stripping and re-clothing that Little and Lepore describe relate to a slightly later period in colonial American history, but there are examples from early seventeenth century colonial writing in which Indians are described attacking their English enemies through the clothing which defined them as English and which they had enforced on the Native Americans. For example, in 1623 Opechancanough returned one “M^rs [B]oyse [...] appareled like one of their Queens w^{ch} they desired we should take notice of.”⁵⁶ The clothing of captives was often removed while under torture. George Percy recalled witnessing Captain John Ratcliffe being captured and executed by the Powhatan in 1609: he was “bownd unto a tree *naked* w[i]th a fyer before.”⁵⁷

III. Orlando’s “Indian Shape”

All three “Indian” plays tap into colonial fantasies about civilizing, educating, converting, and clothing the Indians. In *The Fatal Marriage* the “Indian” (Iaspero) enters the household of the Duke of “Plazenza” (Piacenza) so that “he may in time / perfect another language [i.e. English]” (11.119–120). In *The City Madam* the three “Virginian Indians” arrive in London to receive religious instruction. But whereas *The City Madam* and *The Fatal Marriage* express both doubt that the processes of civilizing and conversion are attainable and concern about what the end result of such processes might be, Robert Greene’s *Orlando Furioso*, written and performed over a decade before the English settled in Virginia, engages in the fantasy that Indians could be converted and become allies of the English. When “disguisd in base or Indian shape,” Orlando launches an uprising against an invading oppressor. By including in the play a character who defeats an oppressor in the “shape” of an “Indian,” and by stretching the play’s bounds to incorporate New World reference points, Greene places the world of the play in the context of Spanish colonial oppression and harkens to the hope that American natives might be enlisted as English allies.

The play's plot, which differs greatly from Ariosto's poem, revolves around the eponymous hero, one of the Twelve Peers of France, who wins the heart of Angelica, daughter of Marsilius, the Emperor of Africa, at the beginning of the play. He is duped by a rival suitor, the courtier Sacrepant, into believing that his beloved "doth none but Medor [an adviser to her father] love," and as a result Orlando's eponymous Furioso emerges (2.1.656). Orlando only recovers his senses when a sorceress called Melissa reveals the wrongdoing. In the meantime Sacrepant wages war against Marsilius. The now-sane Orlando, "disguisd in base or Indian shape," passes undetected into Sacrepant's camp and kills him (5.2.1384). The disguise also allows Orlando to infiltrate the camp of the other eleven Peers of France. Yet when he faces them in single combat, his martial prowess is recognized and his identity is revealed: his friend Oger states that he "can well discern thee by thy blowes, / For either thou art Orlando or the diuell" (5.2.1385–1386). At the conclusion of the play Orlando and Angelica are reconciled.⁵⁸

While this happy ending is enabled by Orlando's "Indian shape," the shape itself seems at first to have little to do with the Americas. The action of *Orlando Furioso* is located in the play's opening lines "within the Continent of Africa, [...] / From seauenfold Nylus to Taprobany" and "From Gadis Islands [...] / To Tanais," and when the disguised Orlando challenges the Peers to a fight in the play's concluding scene Turpin encourages Oliver to "learne him know / We are not like the boyes of Africa" (1.1.2–8; 5.2.1370–1371).⁵⁹ Later in the play various characters welcome each other to "India," and Marsilius and Mandrecard dress up as "Indian Palmers," but the word "India" was sometimes used in reference to East Africa as well as to the East or West Indies. Thus, as discussed in chapter two, Cesare Vecellio's famous costume book *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (1588) designates the national dress of the East African as "African Indian"—a design that inspired Jones's designs for *The Memorable Maske*. In *Orlando Furioso* "India" and "Africa" refer to the same place. Marsilius and Mandrecard's Indian disguise may resemble less Americans than natives of Ethiopia, the home of the legendary Christian missionary-king Prester John. Orlando, in addition to be called an Indian, is called a "moore," a term more commonly

referring to North Africans, although many authors (including Greene) employed the term in an American context as well.⁶⁰ To claim that *Orlando Furioso*'s "Indians" are American would seem to be a gross exaggeration, as there is considerable internal evidence in the play to position this "shape" as African as well.

It is not my intention to argue that *Orlando Furioso* is a play fixated on the transatlantic to the exclusion of Africa or the East. However, the fact that the three disguises are described as "Indian," albeit alongside other terms, is significant because of the recurrence of New World allusions at the margins of the play. To deny the possibility that the "Indian shapes" bear a resemblance to English notions of *American* Indianness in the 1590s would be to ignore the ways in which Greene engages with contemporary fantasies about the possibilities for the English in the Americas. It would be to ignore how *Orlando Furioso* alludes to contemporary ideas about American savagery and civility, and how the play employs tropes of clothing and undressing to connote the transformation of both Indian and European subjects from one state to the other. It would also be to ignore the degree to which Greene peppers the play with allusions to the Spanish New World and draws from the writings of Bartholomae de las Casas in particular, whose *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de Las Indias* had recently been translated into English.

The first "Indians" to appear in the play resemble the type of Indian idealized in much English colonialist writing of the sixteenth century. Marsilius and his ally Mandrecard, king of Mexico, briefly appear as "Indian Palmers" when they encounter the Peers of France, who have arrived to avenge Orlando (4.1.1008).⁶¹ In Greene's *Philomela, The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale*, a prose narrative published one year prior to the first performances of *Orlando Furioso*, "The Duke of Milaine and Lutesio" come (punningly enough) to Palermo "disguised like two palmers" and as a result "passed through many places" undetected.⁶² Presumably in *Orlando Furioso* the Emperor and the King adopt Palmer disguises so that they too can pass incognito, as at this stage in the play Africa is plagued by "Fierce Sacrepant [...] / [who] Warres on Marsilius," and they do not know who their allies are (4.1.1011–1012). Their disguise also makes them trusted by others.

Like the Duke of Milan and Lutesio in *Philomela*, Marsilius and Mandrecard are deemed trustworthy by those whom they meet: the Peers inquire about “the state of Matchles Indian” and ask the Indian Palmers to “resolue our hidden doubts” (4.1. 1023, 1009, 1024). This trust can be put down to their appearance as pilgrims. Yet the fact that they are dressed as Indian Palmers, and not just as “garden-variety” pilgrims, is significant. The “Indian Palmers,” although strangers to the French Peers, act as Christian allies to European invaders. Their “simple weeds” signify that they are converted Indians. For a fleeting moment before revealing their identity, Marsilius and Mandrecard embody, or materialize, the colonialist fantasy of clothed, Christian Indians.

Orlando appears to be a flipside image of the Christian Indian. His behaviour resembles that of the medieval wild man, an archetype that was employed often to describe Native Americans. As Alden T. Vaughan contends, “[f]rom Columbus on, European narratives of America emphasized Indian characteristics that mirrored the wild men’s deplored qualities.” While the wild man image of Indians was obviously mangled, it “spread rapidly through Europe, partly because the explorers so often arrived with wild-man expectations and partly because European listeners’ and readers’ preconceived notions of the wild man encouraged them to add wild-man characteristics to their mental picture of the Indian as soon as a few truly similar characteristics—nakedness, most obviously—were put before them.”⁶³ Greene codes Orlando’s descent into wild man-like savagery by having his madness come upon him in a wood. While in the wood he takes a passing shepherd (actually a spy working for Sacrepant) “by the heeles,” drags him offstage, and “rends him as one would teare a lark,” returning onstage “with a leg on his necke” (2.1.707–710). He also kills Brandemart, a rival suitor, and attacks his servant Orgalio on a number of occasions (once when Orgalio is dressed as Angelica), two clowns called Thomas and Rafe, and a fiddler (whose fiddle he uses as his sword). The location of Orlando’s madness links him to the “savage,” because the root of the word “savage” is the Latin *silva*, meaning “wood” or “forest.” This choice of location also plays on the fact that in this period “wood” could also mean (according to the *O.E.D.*) “out of one’s mind, insane, lunatic” and “extremely fierce or

violent, ferocious; irascible, passionate.” Greene uses the pun repeatedly. Orgalio describes Orlando running “madding into the woods” (2.1.722). Orlando enters at one point “*like a madman*” incanting “Woods, trees, leaues; leaues, trees, woods” (3.1.787SD, 787). Brandemart dismisses Orlando’s frenzied challenge to “Combate” by calling him “lunatick and wood” (3.2.903–904). Orlando thus behaves like a savage in a space that is associated with savagery.⁶⁴

However, despite Orlando’s resemblance to the wild man archetype, his savagery is specifically *not* Indian. This can be seen through the way in which his mental state is materialized through what he wears. Prior to Melissa’s intervention, Orlando’s savagery is sartorially signified by his state of dress. After descending into his first bout of madness Orlando enters the stage “*attired like a mad-man*” (3.1.788SD). He appears at one point “*like a Poet*” and, when Melissa charms him to release him from his madness, he wonders why he is “thus disguised, / Like made [mad] Orestes, quaintly thus disguisd” (4.2.1074SD, 1185–1186). Having calmed him and shown him his errors, Melissa states that he must “finde redresse,” a pun directed both at Orlando’s desire “to be reuengd” and at his need to literally re-dress, that is, to put on attire more suited to his returning sanity (4.2.1130). This attire is what constitutes his “Indian shape.” Thus when Orlando adopts his Indian disguise he can finally reform himself: “[I] assure you that I am no diuel, / Heres your friend and companion Orlando” (5.2. 1387–1388). Oger can see who he is—he “can well discern thee by thy blowes” (5.2.1385–1386). Orlando’s “Indian shape” is not symptomatic of the diminution of his mental state; instead it enables its restoration. It is through this disguise that he can pass unrecognized into Sacrepant’s military camp, defeat his enemy, and emerge as a hero. It is through this disguise that, paradoxically, he can cast off his savage self.

Although Greene’s separation of “Indian” and “savage/wild man” contradicts the paradigm described by Vaughan, it does conform to other debates about the relationship between Indian civility and savagery. Jean de Lery in his *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil* (1578) compared the Tupinamba whom he encountered in Brazil to the Catholics who victimized the Huguenots in France, and concluded that, however cruel “the anthropophagous,” their behaviour

was more civil than that of Europeans, because “there are some here in our midst even worse and more detestable than those who, as we have seen, attack only enemy nations, while the ones over here have plunged into the blood of their kinsmen, neighbors, and compatriots.” After his experiences in Brazil and in France (he was present during the siege of Sancerre 1572–2), he concluded that “one need not go beyond one’s own country, nor as far as America, to see such monstrous and prodigious things.”⁶⁵ Michel de Montaigne concurred with de Lery in his famous essay <*Des Canibales*>. He questioned who was the true savage, the European or the cannibal, and argued that “there is more barbarity in eating a man alive than in eating him dead.”⁶⁶ While this quasi-relativist interpretation of American behaviour does not seem to have been accorded as much weight in late sixteenth-century England, the comparison between the English and the Indian does occur in English descriptions of the New World in terms favourable to the latter.⁶⁷ John White’s series of watercolours of Roanoke (later engraved by Theodor de Bry) compared the inhabitants of Secota and Pomeiooc to other notable savages from history, the ancient Britons (**figures 5 and 6**). As Joyce Chaplin argues, by juxtaposing Indians with “[t]hese remote ancestors of the English [who] are all painted blue and all carry weapons” (or in the case of figures 4 and 5 a decapitated head), White makes “the Roanoke Indians’ clothing and only partial tattooing [...] seem quite tame.”⁶⁸ For a prospective colonist the implications of the White/de Bry images no doubt came as a welcome relief. They suggested that settlers in Roanoke would not be met with much resistance, and that the task of civilizing the natives would not be that arduous, as they were already half-way civil, and half-way clothed.

Greene’s interpretation of Indianness tallies with White’s rendering of the Roanoke Indians and de Lery’s and Montaigne’s comparison between the “cannibals” in America and in Europe. Just as White’s Indians are less savage than the ancient Britons, and just as de Lery and Montaigne felt that the cannibals were less savage than the French Catholics, Orlando’s “Indian shape” is less savage than his previous incarnation as an enraged wild-man, and he is also less savage than the bellicose, devious, and murderous Sacrepant. The “Indian shape” is a transitional

stage that helps him to recover his senses. As an “Indian” Orlando is not fully restored to sanity. He still behaves violently—he wipes out Sacrepant’s army single-handedly—and it is only after he removes his disguise that he is restored to civility, returned to the Peers, and reunited with Angelica.

Orlando’s “Indian shape” should also be placed in the context of English concerns about the relationship between the Spanish and the Indians in the Americas. Despite the fact that the play is set in “Africa” Greene incorporates American and transatlantic elements. This is especially evident when Greene’s play is compared with Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, which was translated into English by Sir John Harington and published in 1591. Greene’s version strays far from Ariosto in all kinds of ways, and one aspect to which he appears to have made particular deviations is in the geography of the play. While Ariosto’s world is European and Mediterranean, Greene expands this world to include not only African but also New World locales. He changes “*Rodomont king of Algier*” to Rodamant, King of Cuba and “*Mandricard sonne of Agricane king of Tartarie*” to Mandrecard, King of Mexico.⁶⁹ The Sultan of Egypt, who has no corollary in Ariosto, describes his journey to witness “the matchlesse beauty of Angelica” which “forst [him] to crosse and cut th’atlanticke Seas, / To ouersearch the fearefull Ocean”—a rather circuitous route given that Egypt is *in Africa* (1.1.22–26). The first usage of the word “India” occurs when the Peers arrive in “the rich and wealthie Indian clime” from France (4.1.996). While presumably they arrive in Africa (there is no indication in the play that the location has shifted), Oger’s description of their journey incorporates “the watrie Occident,” which suggests that, like the Sultan, they took a somewhat roundabout voyage via the Atlantic (997). In the plays concluding lines, Orlando describes the French fleet as richly rigged with “the glorious wealth / That is transported by the Western bounds,” a reference to New World riches (5.2.1441–1442).

Orlando Furioso’s geographical elasticity suggests that Greene is going out of his way to extend the world in which the play is set, so that its characters span the known world, including the Americas. This is especially evident in the play’s persistent strain of anti-Spanish sentiment.

The seemingly British Brandemart, “Master of all the Iles,” makes the most conspicuous Hispanophobic allusion when he attempts to woo Angelica. In the opening scene of the play, in a moment recalling the recent English success against the Spanish Armada, Brandemart recounts how the

Spaniard [...] mand with mighty Fleetes,
Came to subdue my Ilands to their King,
Filling our Seas with stately Argosies,
Caruels and Magars, hulkes of burden great;
Which Brandemart rebated from his coast,
And sent home ballast with little wealth. (1.1.83–88)

In addition, Brandemart proclaims that “his Country seas” by far exceed “The sands of Tagus,” the longest river on the Iberian Peninsula (77–80). The opening scene of the play also contains digs against Spanish imperialism in the New World, particularly in the wooing speeches of Rodamant and Mandre-card. While both are identified as kings of Cuba and Mexico respectively, their language suggests that Greene conceived of them either as Spanish or as mouthpieces for Spanish dominion—both Cuba and Mexico were of course part of the Spanish Empire. Mandre-card, who at this stage of the play is a villain (he later becomes an ally of Marsilius), describes his journey “from the South” aboard a “Spanish barke” which “furrowed Neptunes Seas, / Northeast” (1.1.63–66). Rodamant tells Angelica about his kingdom, “a Region so inricht / With Sauours sparkling from the smiling heauens, / As those that seeke for trafficke to my Coast / Accounted like that wealthy Paradice / From whence floweth Gyhon and swift Paradice” (1.2.35–40). He boasts that this Earthly paradise is ripe for exploitation: “The earth within her bowels hath inwrapt, / As in the massie storehowse of the world, / Millions of Gold” (41–43). Rodamant’s and Mandre-card’s attempts to appeal to Angelica through the wealth of their countries is contrasted to Orlando, whose desire to see “The matchles beautie of Angelica” overcomes his desire to stay in his own country, which he describes as “deerer [to him] than

pearle / Or mynes of gold” (105–106)—that is, Orlando prices Angelica above the riches of his homeland. Angelica prefers him to the “The prince of Cuba, and of Mexico, / Whose welthie crownes might win a womans will,” but in her case do not (149–150). Orlando trumps the gold-obsessed Spaniards, who offer only New World riches rather than “true” love. This anti-Spanish sentiment would no doubt have played well to London audiences of the 1590s, for whom the Armada was a recent memory and who were also aware that Spain’s economic and military might was bankrolled by gold and silver from her American mines.

Orlando’s “Indian shape” can also be read as anti-Spanish because of the way he embodies the English understanding of Spanish abuses in the Americas, in particular their reading of *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de Las Indias* by Bartholomae de las Casas (1552), first published in English as *The Spanish Colonie* in 1583.⁷⁰ De las Casas, a Dominican Friar who was the first Bishop of Chiapas and had witnessed imperialism in action, described how the Indians had suffered at the hands of the Spanish, who came to the Americas “as wolves, as lions, & as tigers most cruel if long time famished.” De las Casas calculated that since the arrival of Columbus, when there had been “above three Millions of soules [...] in the Iles of Hispaniola,” the population had fallen so that “there are not nowe two hundreth natives of the countrey.”⁷¹ De las Casas was an influential eye-witness for English imperialist ideologues. Richard Hakluyt’s *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodityes that are like to Growe to the Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted*, a state paper commissioned by Francis Walsingham in 1584 to outline the possibilities of colonialism in the Americas, draws on accounts of the Spanish Americas from “whole bookes extant in printe not onley of straungers but also even of their owne contrymen (as of Bartholomewe de las Casas a Bisshope in Nova Spania).” Cribbing from *The Spanish Colonie*, Hakluyt reports the “many and [...] monstrous [...] Spanish cruelties, suche straunge slaughters and murders [...], which haue bene most vngodly perpetrated in the west Indies, as also diuers others no lesse terrible matters, that to describe the least parte of them woulde require more then one chapter.”⁷² Walter Raleigh

alludes to *The Spanish Colonie* in his account of “The trueth of the fight about the Isles of *Açores*, the last of August 1591. betwixt the *Reuenge*, one of her Maiesties shippes, and an *Armada* of the king of *Spaine*.” He reports the violence of the Spanish campaigns in the New World, before noting his source to be “a Bishop of their owne nation called *Bartholomew de las Casas*, [...] translated into *English* and many other languages, intituled *The Spanish Cruelties*.”⁷³ In a sermon of 1592 the preacher and antiquary William Burton condemned the Spanish “cruelties vpon the poore Indians” and noted that they were “reported by one of their owne Bishops (in a booke that he wrote to the king of Spaine, for the redresse of these things).”⁷⁴ In the tract *Discoverie of the Vnnatural and Traiterous Conspiracie of Scottish Papists, Against God, His Church, Their Natiue Countrie, the Kings Maiesties Person and Estate* (1593), the publisher John Norton compared the bad elements in Scotland to “the cruel barbarousnes of the Spaniards [...] whereof let the monument written by one of their own Friars against the Spanish cruelties.”⁷⁵ Later colonialist projectors also harped on Spanish cruelties. George Benson warned his congregation at Paul’s Cross in 1609 that there were “a people of the like qualitie (with the naturall inhabitants of Virginia) poore and naked things, (I call them so, the more to indeare your affections),” and that there was “crueltie vsed vnto them, that scandall was giuen vnto the name of Christ, the name of Christianity grewe odious vnto them, by reason of that cruelty they would let it haue no roome in their thoughts.” Benson did not go into more detail, directing his congregation instead to “what *Benzo* and *Bartholomeus a Casa* write of.”⁷⁶ Greene himself was well aware of *The Spanish Colonie*. His satirical tract *The Spanish Masquerado*, published in 1589, draws on de las Casas when detailing an episode illustrating Spanish cruelty in “The Indies.” It recounts how the Spanish “inuaded a company of naked Moores without armour or knowledge of vse of weapon,” and sent “these naked men flying into the woods and Mountaines,” and “like brute beasts, caused the Indians to be hunted with dogs, some to be torne with horses, some to haue their handes cut off, and so many sundry Massaquers as greeueth any good minde to report.”⁷⁷

For all his loyalty to his “liege Lord” the Emperor of Africa, Orlando-as-Indian may

seem to have little in common with the Indians as described in *The Spanish Colonie*, who were “very simple without sutteltie, or craft, without malice, [...] very desirous of peace making, and peacefull, without brawls and struglings, without quarrelles, without strife, without rancour or hatred, by no meanes desirous of revengement.”⁷⁸ Orlando by contrast desires to “be reuengd” and when relating his defeat of his enemy to the Peers he describes how “Reuenge [...] / Hath powrde those treasons iustly on [Sacrepan’t]’s head” (4.2.1218; 5.2.1421–1423). However, English colonial propaganda cited *The Spanish Colonie* not only to underscore the plight of the poor Indians and to spur the Protestant nation into action to save them from the villainous Papist Spanish but also to illustrate how the Indians were “desirous of revengement” and were willing to act as allies to the English against the Spanish. In *A Particular Discourse* Hakluyt highlights “somme fewe” examples of those who have stood up against the Spanish “out of that mightie masse and huge heap of massacres” listed by de las Casas and others. These examples allow his readers to “consider what cause the small remainder of those moste afflicted Indians haue to revolte from the obedience of the Spaniardes and to shake of from their shoulders the moste intolerable and insupportable yoke of Spaine, which in many places they haue already begonne to doo of them selues withoute the helpe of any Prynce.”⁷⁹ Hakluyt’s confidence in the ability and desire of the Indians to rise up against oppression was spurred by accounts coming out of the Americas such as the one written by Miles Philips, who was left behind in the West Indies by John Hawkins in 1567 and who spent fifteen years in New Spain. While in Mexico Philips struck up a “great familiaritie with many of [the Indians], whom I found to be a courteous and louing kind of people, ingenious, and of great vnderstanding,” and discovered that they “hate and abhorre the Spaniardes with all their hearts, they haue vsed such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subiection and seruitude, that they and the Negros also doe daily lie in waite to practise their deliuerance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniardes doe keepe them in.”⁸⁰ These promises of alliance were not without grounds. In 1573 Sir Francis Drake received assistance from another group of inhabitants of the Americas, the Cimarrons,

“certaine Negros which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios”—the same “Negros” seeking “deliuerance out of that thraldome and bondage” alongside the Indians alluded to by Miles Philips.⁸¹ With the Cimarrons’ help Drake plundered Spanish gold and silver. Sixteenth century English projectors hoped that the oppressed peoples of the Americas would rise up with the English to displace Spanish wealth and, eventually, Spanish colonists from the New World. Orlando-as-Indian resembles the hopes placed in Indian and Cimarron resistance, but whereas the Indian and Cimarron fought alongside the English on a handful of occasions and inflicted blows whose impact was felt only in the short-term, Orlando ousts Sacrepant for good.

Orlando Furioso contains one further echo of English appropriations of de las Casas. *The Spanish Colonie* was not published with the intention of propelling the English into action in the Americas (although that is how Hakluyt and others came to read it), nor was it intended just to inform the English about the atrocities in the New World and the possibility that they might find significant allies over there. Instead it was published “to serue as a President and warning to the xii Prouinces of the lowe Countries” so that they might awaken “themselus out of their sleep, may begin to thinke vpon Gods iudgements” and “consider with what enemie they are to deale, and so to beholde as it were in a picture or table, what stay they are like to bee at, when through their rechlesnesse, quarrels, controuersies, and partialities themselues have opened the way to such an enemie.”⁸² The enemy alluded to in the opening address was of course the Spanish. The publishers of *The Spanish Colonie* link the Americas and the Netherlands because the Spaniards had ravaged the former and the latter were threatened with a similar fate.⁸³

Greene added The Twelve Peers of France to the plot of his version of *Orlando Furioso*. They are not present in Ariosto, nor is Orlando a member of the order. Of the three other Peers who are named in Greene’s play, Turpin is “Archbishop of France” in Ariosto’s poem, and Oliver, as “Olivero,” is “prisoner to Biserta,” while Oger, the Peer with the most lines besides Orlando, has no equivalent.⁸⁴ Greene’s inclusion of The Twelve Peers in a play containing anti-Spanish sentiment seems to be a conscious echo not so much of the Americas, nor even of the

French, but of the Netherlands. By the Twelve Peers of France we may understand the Twelve Provinces of the Netherlands. In a sense Orlando-as-Indian is enacting the English preface to *The Spanish Colonie*. But whereas for the English publishers de las Casas offers a model for the twelve Dutch provinces on how not to behave in the face of a Spanish invasion (because the Indians, according to de las Casas, were weak), Orlando-as-Indian offers a model of bravery in the face of Sacrepant's invasion of Africa.⁸⁵

IV. "Christians imitating Saluages": Becoming Indian In *The Fatal Marriage*

The Indian Palmers of *Orlando Furioso* present an image drawn out of the desire that Indians might be clothed in Christian civility, while the "Indian shape" adopted by Orlando harkens to the desire for an uprising of the Indians of the Americas. In addition, the characters' decisions to dress up as Indians appear to have no detrimental effects, and in the case of Orlando the experience appears to be beneficial. The same could not be said for Iaspero in *The Fatal Marriage*. Between the performance of *Orlando Furioso* and the probable composition date (and possible performance) of *The Fatal Marriage* attitudes towards Indians and towards Europeans who wore Indian attire shifted. Unlike Orlando, Iaspero's decision to dress up as an Indian endangers him, both because he is sentenced to death while dressed as and mistaken for an Indian and because his choice of disguise threatens his sense of self.

At the beginning of *The Fatal Marriage* Iaspero, son of the Marshal, has fallen in love with the daughter of the Duke of Piacenza, Laura. The couple are denied access to each other because of the difference in rank—both Marshal and Duke are in agreement about the inappropriateness of the match—so they hatch a plan to dress Iaspero up as "some virginia straunger / or remoted Indian falne vpon these Coasts" (11.96–97). Iaspero not only dresses "like an Indian" but speaks like one too, if in a nonsense dialect (11. 95SD). Laura offers to take in the "virginia straunger" and "make him of my traine" so that "he may in time / perfect another language [i.e. English]" (11.119–120). Her deception is discovered when she is overheard giving

Iaspero her “heart” and “constant hand,” and the pair are arrested, but everybody is convinced by the disguise and believes that Laura’s lover is “an Indian slave” (17. 44, 52). The Duke, who has had his fill of children running off with unsuitable lovers (his son Lodowick has previously been caught cavorting with the woodsman’s daughter, Isabella), sentences them all to “perish since all guilty are” (60). They are lead “to the block” to be beheaded (81). Iaspero only survives decapitation because the clown, who has been left in charge of the execution, fails to complete the job, and Iaspero’s disguise comes off, revealing that the Indian is an “impostor” after all (19.120).⁸⁶ As a result, the Duke relents, believing that “nothing can separate yo^r hearts” and tells them to “long liue, still loue, and may the blest heauens guide you” (131–133).⁸⁷

Iaspero’s choice of disguise reflects the savagery that is to be found elsewhere. Although Iaspero-as-Indian is called a “monster amongst men,” it is the Duke who behaves in an unnatural way (19.96). He decides to kill his own children, declaring that he is “noe more a ffather that name's lost” and is now “a tyrant / that feedes vpon the entralles of his owne / nay worse, a turke an infidel” (85, 89–90). His description of himself as one who “feedes vpon the entralles of his own” associates his behaviour with cannibalism—indeed, he is worse than cannibals because they feed “vpon the entralles of” their enemies and not their “own.” Iaspero’s “infidel” guise contrasts with the Duke’s monstrosity. Through dressing Iaspero up as an Indian, the play asks, like Montaigne and de Lery, who the real savage is. Iaspero may look like an Indian, or (in the Duke’s words) “worse then the ffuries offspring,” but it is the Duke who acts like a savage, offering up his own children for death and (metaphorically) feasting upon them (17. 52).

The Fatal Marriage taps into a further anxiety about clothing and colonial life, which we can see through a comparison of types of disguise in the play. In the counterpart to the Iaspero-Laura love-plot, the Duke’s son Lodowick disguises himself as a ranger and his companion the clown dresses as a doctor so as to rescue the imprisoned Isabella. The disguises are initially successful, as Isabella’s guards, who have been told that they will recognize the ranger and the doctor “by their habitts,” do not bat an eyelid when Lodowick and the clown approach them in

costume (13.2–3). However, the disguises prove ultimately to be inadequate, as the Duke has no trouble in “see[ing] where they are” and recognising them (15. 58). By contrast, Iaspero’s Indian disguise proves to be too effective. Nobody sees through Iaspero’s disguise (he is not even recognized by his own father) until “the tawny that soild ouer his fface comes of” (19.119). Iaspero’s life is not endangered because he dresses up as an Indian, but rather because when he is dressed up as an Indian he is indistinguishable from an Indian.

That nobody notices that Iaspero is the Indian is consistent with the suggestions of many commentators that the distance between the English and the Indians was not so yawning. John White’s watercolours and Theodor de Bry’s engravings depicting Indians and Picts continued to circulate in the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ Robert Johnson picked up the theme in *Nova Britannia*, arguing that England’s “present happinesse” should be compared “with our former ancient miseries, wherein wee had continued brutish, poore and naked Britanes to this day, if Iulius Caesar with his Roman Legions (or some other) had not laid the ground to make vs tame and ciuill.”⁸⁹ The commonality between English and Indians was evoked to spur the English into action in the Americas. In his 1610 sermon William Crashaw recalled the time “when wee were sauage and vnciuill, and worshipped the diuell, as now they do.” If the Romans and the Christians “had not been sent vs we had yet continued wild and vnciuill, and worshippers of the diuell: for our *ciuilitie* wee were beholden to the Romanes, for our *religion* to the Apostles and their disciples.” It thus behoved the English to act: “shall we not be sensible of those that are still as we were then?”⁹⁰ On the broadsheet *A Declaration for the Certaine Time of Drawing the Great Standing Lottery* (1615) Eiakintomino and Matahan reminded their English readers that they were “Once, in one State, as of one Stem,” both “Meere *Strangers* from JERUSALEM, / As *Wee*, were *Yee*” until the Romans arrived to saved them and eventually bring them “to *That Cittie*.”⁹¹

These comparisons between the Britons then and the Indians now were made with the intention of encouraging the English to come to the Indians’ spiritual aid. The comparison also indicated a proximity between the English and the Indians that was troubling to many, especially

given the spread of Indian fashion in England. The Stuart era was dominated by what Aileen Ribeiro has wittily dubbed “sartorial Esperanto,” when the fashionable elite wore Dutch slops, Spanish stops, Polish boots, “the French standing collar,” “the *Danish sléue*,” and “the *Switzers* blistred Cod-péce,” many of these items together as part of an ensemble.⁹² Also popular from the 1590s onwards were a variety of fashions inspired by the Americas. Furs and skins were significant products in transatlantic trade both in the colonies and in Europe.⁹³ Hairstyles took their cue from across the Atlantic. The lovelock—a strand of pleated hair hanging to one side of the forehead—became popular in the late sixteenth century and was associated with Virginians. Portraits of Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, and Henry Wriostheley, the Earl of Southampton, show them sporting this style, as does a painting of Sir Thomas Hanmer by Cornelius Johnson from 1631 (**figure 7**). In his epigram “In Ciprium” Sir John Davies links the lovelock with other New World fashions and mocked the affectations of the youth who pursues “the newest fashion” and “takes Tobacco, and doth weare a locke.”⁹⁴

In common with most foreign fashion imports these styles were met with scorn. At the heart of the concerns expressed about Indian fashion was the confusion as to why (in the words of James I) the English might be moved “to imitate the barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slauish *Indians*.”⁹⁵ Samuel Purchas expressed his disgust with the love-lock when recounting his conversation with Uttamatomakkin (called Tomocomo by Purchas), “a Virginian, an experienced Man and Counseller to *Opochancanough* their King and Gouvernour” who was among the Pocahontas party visiting London in 1616. Uttamatomakkin explained that “the Virginians weare these sinister locks” with “a long blacke lock on the left side, hanging downe neere to the foote” in deference to their god Okeus who was believed to wear his hair in this fashion. Purchas was horrified that the “faire vnlovely generation of the *love-locke*” had been “borrowed from these Saluages”: “Christians [were] imitating Saluages” who were in turn imitating Okeus, whom Purchas believed to be the devil leading the Virginians (and now the English) astray. In contrast, Uttamatomakkin (Purchas wrote) “obiected to our GOD this defect,

that he had not taught vs so to weare our haire.”⁹⁶ William Prynne took the idea of Indian imitation one stage further. In 1628 he published *The Vnlovelinesse of Lovelockes [...] Proouing: the Wearing, and Nourishing of a Locke, or Loue-Locke, to be Altogether Vnseemely, and Vnlawfull vnto Christians*, in which he wondered why the English, “who professe our selues Christians [...] turne such prodigious, and incarnate Deuils, as to imitate the very Deuill himselfe, in this his guise and portraiture, which wee haue so seriously renounced in our very first initiation, and admittance into the Church of Christ?”⁹⁷ To Prynne the wearing of the lovelock was not only a symbol of the transformation of England from a Christian to a godless society but also the very article through which this transformation occurred. Prynne’s contention that the wearers of lovelocks “turne such prodigious, and incarnate Deuils” implies that for him at least the wearing of fashions associated with Indians might also make the wearer “turn Indian.”

It is perhaps unwise to treat Prynne as a cultural barometer given that his opinions were often extreme even in relation to other radical Puritan commentators. However, his sense that the English could “turn Indian” through imitation was not without precedent. Ann Jones and Peter Stallybrass have argued that in this period “[c]lothes inscribe[d] themselves upon a person who [came] into being through that inscription”: fashion certified social position, and, as it were, fashioned the wearer.⁹⁸ But while clothing established one’s identity in early modern culture, it could also undo that sense of identity, precisely because “clothes are detachable, [...] they can move from body to body. That is precisely their danger and their value: they are bearers of identity, ritual, and social memory, even as they confuse social categories.”⁹⁹ Thus wearing clothing not associated with one’s social rank, gender, or even culture, altered the wearer. Will Fisher expands this concept to other forms of prostheses (beards, hair, handkerchiefs, and codpieces). He argues that Prynne’s pamphlet on lovelocks taps into contemporary notions that gender was materialized through certain prostheses, including hair: “it becomes evident that Prynne’s hyperbole lies in suggesting that a change in hair length *in and of itself* could move an individual from one sexual category to the other, not in suggesting that such a transformation was

possible in the first place or that a change in hair length might help instantiate it.”¹⁰⁰ While Fisher’s focus is on the materialization of gender in the early modern period, it is possible to conclude that the relationship between cultural affiliation and attire worked in an analogous way. Wearing the clothing of the Other or prostheses coded as Other, it was feared, might move an individual from one category of alterity to another: as Jones and Stallybrass put it, “[i]f one was permeated by what one wore,” then wearing foreign clothing meant “that one was permeated by the material forms of heresy.”¹⁰¹ If clothing and other forms of prostheses could alter the wearer then according to that logic someone who wore Indian clothing could become Indian.

The English had witnessed the impact of “going native” in their botched colonial and civilizing efforts in Ireland. As Edmund Spenser summed up in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596), the Old English who had come to Ireland in the twelfth century as part of a civilizing mission had failed to meet the remit of their charge. Instead of instating “Civill fashions” and abolishing “most of the olde badd Irishe Customes,” they had adopted Irish habits, including “the wearinge of mantels and long glibbes, which is a thicke Curled bushe of haire hanginge downe over their eyes and monstrouslye disguisinge them.”¹⁰² As Spenser (through one of his speakers Irenius) explained, “the Cheifest abuses which are now in that realme are growen from the Englishe and the Englishe that weare are now muche more Lawles and Licentious then the verie wilde Irish.”¹⁰³ These people, originally sent over as part of the solution centuries before, had become the problem: the chief Irish rebels of the sixteenth and seventeenth century such as the Earl of Tyrone had all descended from the Old English. Rather than convert the Irish the Old English had “converted” to Irish ways. As a result they had made the native Irish, and the situation in Ireland in general, much worse.

Something similar was deemed to be on the verge of happening in Virginia. A handful of settlers across North America willingly became what James Axtell has dubbed “white Indians,” either for their own protection or because they felt that life with the Native Americans was far preferable to life among their own.¹⁰⁴ As Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel Richter have argued, it is

difficult to quantify the number of “white Indians,” and “documented cases of voluntary transculturation are rare.”¹⁰⁵ The low number of “white Indians” did not prevent speculation from arising that the English were mixing with the natives, however. Pedro de Zuñiga wrote to Philip III on August 1, 1612 informing him that he had heard from “a friend, who tells me the truth” that the “Englishmen after being put among them have become savages,” and he repeated his claim about “other English [who] intermingled with them” in a letter dated Sept 22, 1612.¹⁰⁶ Nor did the low number of “white Indians” ease fears about what would happen if the colonists crossed over and “became Indian.” During the Colony’s colony’s period of martial law 1611–18 anyone “Running vnto the enemy, or intending, and plotting to runne albeit preuented,” or “any one taken prisoner by the enemy, hauing meanes to escape, & not returning to the Colony againe” could expect severe sanctions: “No man or woman, (vpon paine of death) shall runne away from the Colonie, to Powhathan, or any sauage Weroance else whatsoeuer.”¹⁰⁷ George Percy, Deputy Governor of the Virginia Colony, described the tortures meted out on “dyvers of his men beinge idell and nott willeinge to take paynes [who] did Runne away unto the Indyans”: Some were “hanged,” others “burned,” others “broken upon wheles,” others were “Staked,” others were “shott to death.” These punishments were “extreme and crewell,” but for a colony on the verge of collapse they seemed to the leaders to be the only solution. Making an example of runaways would, in Percy’s phrase, “terrefy the reste for attempteing the Lyke.”¹⁰⁸ The authorities regarded people who consorted with the Powhatan as undermining the colony and threatening its survival, in some cases with good reason. John Smith’s *The Proceedings of The English Colony in Virginia*, a compendium of accounts by fellow colonists printed along with Smith’s own *Map of Virginia* in 1612, records the treachery of a group of “Dutchmen” (in fact Poles and Germans), some among whom came “disguised Salvage like” to convey “powder, shot, swords, and tooles” to the Powhatan despite the fact that this was strictly prohibited by the colonial authorities.¹⁰⁹

Colonists who spent time with native tribes as envoys or spies were accused of turning Indian. These accusations were directed at English boys who were employed to infiltrate Native

American tribes (hence they had to dress in native garb) in order to provide intelligence for the English colonists and to intervene as negotiators when relations broke down. The boys were often mistrusted precisely because of their proximity to native families: if they could provide intelligence about the Indians, could they not do the same *for* the Indians? In 1619 Henry Spelman, an English boy who had lived with and dressed as a Powhatan Indian, was charged with conspiring with Opechancanough because of an overheard comment made about the current Governor of Virginia, Sir Francis Wyatt. Spelman was threatened with the death penalty but was eventually convicted of bringing the government of the colony into disrepute. He was stripped of his rank as captain and “condemned to performe seven years service to the Colony in the nature of Interpreter to the Governour.” His language skills, and his usefulness as an interpreter, may have been what saved his life. Yet according to the account of the trial written by John Pory, Secretary of Virginia, Spelman was still not to be trusted. He was “one that had in him more of the Savage then of the Christian” and showed no “remorse for his offense, nor yet any thankfulness to the Assembly for their so favourable censure.”¹¹⁰ Ironically Spelman’s accuser, Robert Poole, who had also lived with the Powhatan and acted as an interpreter (hence why he had understood conversations Spelman had had with Opechancanough), was likewise thought of as untrustworthy. According to John Rolfe in a letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, the Treasurer of the Virginia Company, recording the incidents that lead to Spelman’s trial, Poole had “turned heathen.”¹¹¹ Pory described Poole to Sandys as “a publique, and as it were a neutral person,” terminology which Karen Kupperman interprets as meaning that Poole was “a man not fully belonging to either Indian or English culture.”¹¹² Both Spelman and Poole were accused not only of conspiring with the Indians but also of effectively becoming Indians.¹¹³

The anxiety about runaways and “white Indians” did not just revolve around security issues. As in Ireland, Colonists had arrived in Virginia on the pretext of undertaking a civilizing mission but were in danger of becoming de-civilized themselves. Colonists who dressed up as Indians were not immediately recognizable to their fellow colonists. Ralph Hamor recalled

meeting with William Parker, who had “almost three yeeres before that time [been] surprised, as he was at worke neere Fort Henrie.” His time with the Powhatan had radically altered him, as he had “growen so like both in complexion and habite to the Indians, that I onely knew him by his tongue to be an Englishman.”¹¹⁴ Hamor’s confusion might have stemmed from the fact that many observers concurred that the Indians were, like the English, born white-skinned, after which their mothers dyed and adorned them. In *A Map of Virginia* (1612) John Smith observes that “the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia” were “of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white.”¹¹⁵ In *A Historie of Travell in Virginea Britannia* (1612) William Strachey, basing his observations on Smith who had lived “sometyme amongst” the Powhatan, states that the Indians were “from the woumb indifferent white.” Strachey affirms that both men and women “dye and disguise themselues, into this tawny colour,” and the dye that causes this change in coloration is “like a kind of Murrey [mulberry].”¹¹⁶ So if the white Indian wore Indian attire, and changed their “complexion” through dyeing, then the Englishman and the Indian might prove to be indistinguishable.¹¹⁷

Just as Hamor did not recognize William Parker, so the Duke and the Marshal do not recognize Iaspero. But this raises a further question: why doesn’t Iaspero simply tell them who he is? Of course, there is no guarantee that by revealing himself Iaspero will be let off the hook. Iaspero is supposed to have been “dispatch’d for banishm^b” (11.73). He might fear that the Duke, who has already expressed his desire to execute his own son Lodowick for disguising himself so as to continue a prohibited liaison, might feel the same way about him. However, when the Duke catches Laura and Iaspero-as-Indian together, he proclaims that Iaspero, “tho most vnworthy, hee had better bene” than the Indian and that “of too illes” he is “the least” (17. 53–54). Iaspero says nothing in response as he is carted off to execution. Given the Duke’s more favourable words, it seems strange that he doesn’t choose this moment to confess who he is.

This decision could be attributed to dramatic license. If Iaspero did reveal who he was, and if the Duke reacted in the same way as he does in the play’s closing scene and finally

relented, then the play would be denied its dénouement. But the fact that there is no revelation at this point also recalls the ways in which dressing up in Indian attire impacted the wearers of Indian attire, who found it difficult to re-assimilate when they returned to the English. As Ann Little notes, “[w]hen redeemed captives returned to their Euro-American communities, they often performed a similarly transformative stripping and re-dressing [...] [because] [m]any captives reported feeling very self-conscious about their appearance upon leaving Indian captivity and were eager to re-establish their identities as English people through their clothing.”¹¹⁸ But these acts of re-clothing were not always completed easily. As Karen Kupperman notes, redeemed captives “wanted to save their long hair after it was cut off; or they were uncomfortable wearing European clothes. [...] Some part of themselves was embodied in those alien forms, and it was not to be given up by a simple act of divestiture.”¹¹⁹ Many cultural cross-dressers returned to the prostheses associated with their capture, a phenomenon we might categorize as sartorial Stockholm Syndrome.¹²⁰

Iaspero does little to indicate that he is “turning Indian,” he does little that resembles archetypal Indian behaviour, and his response to his period of dressing “like an Indian” is limited to a handful of lines (and some of these, particularly on his first appearance, are nonsense words designed to convey his inability as the “Indian” to speak English). However, it is possible to trace through his few utterances while dressed as an Indian—a disguise that nobody can see through—a sense that his disguise is impacting on his sense of self, which recalls the crisis of identity experienced by some English colonists forced to undergo cultural cross-dressing. He refers to himself as a “prodigious Monster” (19.30). He does so in part to maintain the fiction that he is an Indian. The phrase also (from a thematic point of view) highlights the monstrousness of the Duke. But given the fact that the Duke has expressed his preference for Iaspero over the Indian, it seems strange that he refers to himself as such. It is almost as if he has forgotten that he is not the persona that he has adopted. When he is about to be executed he states that his “teares are not my own” (9). This separation of self from bodily act suggests some form of disconnect between his

emotional and physical state. Whose tears are they if they are not “my owne”? If Iaspero is speaking as an Indian (and his address to Laura as “royall m^{rs}” indicates a certain formality that they do not have when they are alone together) then this statement means that the tears shed do not belong to the Indian but to Iaspero beneath the disguise. If Iaspero is speaking as himself (and he is speaking in English, a language that he is not supposed to know—learning it is the pretence for the “virginia straunger” to enter Laura’s company), then this disavowal of tears means that they belong to the fictional Indian. Both interpretations could be true. Iaspero’s words draw attention to his ambiguous, divided self. Only when his Indian make-up is removed does he reveal who he is. When his father realises that the Indian is an “impostor,” he states that “I love too truly to deserve that name [of impostor] / Iaspero was neuer such” (19.122–123). Iaspero’s maintaining of the fiction of his Indian identity, his self-naming as a “prodigious monster,” and his confusion as to who is producing “teares” suggests that to some degree he has trouble distinguishing himself from his Indian identity. Only when the axe comes down and the Indian side of him is excised and “the tawny that soild ouer his face comes of” does he separate himself from his disguise and articulate his own name.

V. “Enter [...] as Indians”: *The City Madam*

Orlando’s “Indian shape” mirrors the longing of the English in the late sixteenth century that the peoples of the Americas would rise up and overturn their Spanish masters, and Iaspero’s Indian disguise reflects the anxieties of the English that there was too great a proximity between Indians and English. Philip Massinger’s *The City Madam*, first performed at Blackfriar’s in 1632, is a rare example of a play to feature Indians who act as converts. I write “act as converts” advisedly, both because English characters perform the role of converted Indians by dressing up as them, and also because these “Indians”—such as they are—pretend to be converts in order to pursue their own agendas. The play focuses on the family of Sir John Frugal, a London merchant whose fortune and reputation has been forged in overseas trade in commodities such as “Tissue,

gold, silver, velvets, satins, taffetas” (2.1.72). His knighthood gives his wife, the eponymous City Madam, and his daughters, Anne and Mary, “hopes above their birth and scale,” and rather than behaving in a manner befitting their social status, and (in the case of the daughters) marrying two men of whom Sir John approves (Lacy and Plenty), they follow the latest courtly fashions with the hope of catching the eye of courtiers (1.1.17). Less than happy with his wife and daughter’s conduct, which is somewhat ironic as by virtue of his business he imports the materials which are used for the various items of clothing that the women desire, Sir John announces that he will withdraw from the household to a monastery. He leaves in charge of the household his brother Luke, a reformed bankrupt who claims to have renounced his high-spending ways and to be “a pious and honest man” (3.3.103–104). Sir John’s withdrawal is, however, a ruse, as his real intention is to “minister” some “physic [...] / To my wife, and daughters,” and to his brother (2.3.3–4). Sir John returns to the household, along with the two suitors to his daughters, disguised as “Indians / Lately sent [...] from Virginia” who have arrived at the Frugal home to be “Assisted by the aids of our divines, / To make ‘em Christians” (3.3.73–74). These “Indians,” or fake Indians, soon reveal that they have no intention of converting to Christianity. They are in league with the Devil and have come to London to procure “Two Christian virgins” and “a third [...] Married” to sacrifice to him (5.1.36–39). Lady Frugal, Mary, and Anne fit the bill nicely. The “Virginians” tell Luke of their diabolical intentions and enlist his help with the promise of untold riches. Luke is all too willing to be converted to their cause, showing that despite his pronouncements about his reformed character he hasn’t forgotten his spendthrift ways. Luke persuades Lady Frugal and her daughters to travel to Virginia, hiding what is intended for them by telling them that they will become queens to “Kings of such spacious territories and dominions, / As our great Britain measur’d will appear / A garden to’t” (5.1.62, 115–117). In the final scene of the play, when the women are on the verge of transportation, and when Luke has let his new-found wealth go to his head—he also has begun to dress in an extravagant manner—the “Indians” stage an entertainment. At the conclusion of the festivities, when Luke has had several

chances to relent change from his villainous ways, Sir John removes his Indian disguise, reveals his plot, and regains control of the household. As a result, Lady Frugal and her daughters abandon their profligate ways and promise to “move in their own spheres” (5.3.155). The daughters vow to become “humble wives” (157). The now-penitent Luke is banished and threatened with deportation to Virginia.¹²¹

In many ways the appearance of the “Virginian Indians” mirrors that of the English characters. Both wear make-up. Lady Frugal, Anne, and Mary first enter the play “*with looking glasses*” (1.1.48SD), checking their appearance before the arrival of their suitors. They are described by Luke as indulging in “idolatry / Paid to a painted room” (i.e. the court), implying that their love for fashion extends to cosmetics (4.4.117–118). Their fascination with bodily adornment echoes Shave’em, a prostitute, who, when making herself up in anticipation of the arrival of a guest/client, wishes that her doctor had “brought me some fresh oil of talc; / These ceruses are common” (4.2.14–15). Her bawd Secret reassures her that “The colors are well laid on,” and that she is suitably decorated for her imminent visitor (16). Luke arranges for Shave’em to be sent to Bridewell prison, where her “soft hands, / When they are inur’d to beating hemp, [will] be scour’d / In your penitent tears” and she will “quite forget / Powders and bitter almonds”—again a reference to her “paintedness” (100–104). But the Frugal women’s link with cosmetics does not just imply that they are like Shave’em. As Frances Dolan points out, in anti-cosmetic tracts such as Thomas Tuke’s *A Discourse Against Painting and Tincturing of Women* (1616) the use of cosmetics was attacked because “they were costly and imported (hence “foreign” and corrupting); they encouraged an emphasis on physical beauty at the expense of the soul, an objection constantly reiterated; and many were corrosive and thus actually damaging to women’s beauty and health, as some contemporaries were well aware.” Most significantly, however, anti-cosmetic tracts emphasized “that a woman who paints herself refuses to submit to her passive role as a creature, a being with no legitimate capacity for self-transformation or self-determination, and insists on herself as a creator.”¹²² A similar thing happens in *The City Madam*,

in which it is made clear that Sir John's household has been usurped by his wife and daughters. According to Young Goldwire, before Sir John received his knighthood "there was some shape and proportion / Of a merchant's house" (1.1. 20–24). Following his knighthood the women take over the Frugal household and transform it, so that it is "grown a little court in bravery, / Variety of fashions, and those rich ones" (1.1.24–25). An indulgence in fashion, including cosmetics, is the sign of the women's mastery of the household.

The "Virginian Indians" too wear cosmetics, as in the play's final scene Sir John reveals himself with the words "this wash'd off," which suggests that he wipes away whatever it is that is covering his face and creating the illusion of Indianness. Through these comparative uses of cosmetics, *The City Madam* draws on the association between painted Indian bodies and painted English female bodies that was often made in colonial accounts. For example, William Strachey compares "our great Ladies" who keep secret "their oyle of Talchum, or other Paynting white and redd" to the Indians who "freindly communicate the secret [of their coloration], and teach yt one another."¹²³ Roger Williams argues that "It hath been the foolish Custome of all barbarous Nations to paint and figure their Faces and Bodies," but included the English in his list of nations because the women wore "Jesabell's face."¹²⁴ In *The City Madam* not only are the Frugal women presented as no better than prostitutes, but they are also no better than Indians. Both are threats to the household: Lady Frugal and her daughters have control of the household at the beginning of the play, and the "Indians" take over the household half-way through.

Luke's accusation that the Frugal women indulge in "idolatry / Paid in a painted room" recalls the ways in which women and men who delighted in dressing up were accused of encouraging idolatry. According to Richard Braithwaite in his conduct book *The English Gentleman* (1631), "*Court-comets*" desired only "to admire themselves."¹²⁵ They replaced their worship of God with self-worship, offering "their *Morning-prayers* to the *Glasse*, eying themselves till *Narcissus*-like they fall in love with their owne shadowes." Women in particular were "*Idolls* of vanitie."¹²⁶ For John Williams, Dean of Westminster, in his *Sermon of Apparell*

delivered in the presence of James I and Prince Charles in February 1620, it was dismaying to see that churches had become less places of worship and more fora for fashionable display, where men and women could show off the latest trends for the edification of each other and themselves. People “*cloathed in soft rayments*” corrupted others, taking “vp the powers of their soules when they should be *praying*”: “And thus (instead of worshiping God) they worshiped (with Ieroboam) a golden Calfe.” In particular Williams worried that “*Men [...]* must be distracted in his Church-deuotions, at the *prodigious* apparition of our *women*,” because women were coming “vnto a Church, *Chimara-like*, halfe male, and halfe female; or as the Priests of the *Indian Venus*, halfe black, halfe white, as it were.”¹²⁷

As Williams’s comment about the “Indian Venus” reminds us, idolatry was associated not just with fashionistas but also with Indians.¹²⁸ Robert Gray voiced the thoughts of many in *A Good Speed to Virginia* (1609) when he argued that Virginia was populated by “by brutish sauages” who displayed “godles ignorance, & blasphemous Idolatrie.”¹²⁹ The Virginians “worship the diuell, [and] offer their young children in sacrifice vnto him.”¹³⁰ Their devotion to the devil was such that, as Uttamatomakkin explained to Samuel Purchas, they dressed to imitate him. The Indians also indulged in “Many sacrifices,” reported Purchas, “and in some cases kill children.”¹³¹ This image of the idolatrous, devil-worshipping Indian is oft-repeated in drama of this period. It is alluded to in *Orlando Furioso* when Oger questions whether the Indian-shaped Orlando is “Orlando or the diuel” (5.2.1386) and in *The Fatal Marriage* when the Duke brands Iaspero in his Indian guise as “worse then the ffuries offspring” and calls the loving words exchanged between him and Laura “harsher discords then the panges of hell” (17. 52, 45). The image is even more explicit in *The City Madam*, as the “Indians” are self-professed devil-worshippers, with Sir John acting the role of a “priest” of “The devil, [...] and by him made / A deep magician (for I can do wonders)” (5.1.26–30). They come to London to facilitate the ultimate in idol-worship, sacrifice to the devil: they long to “dye his horrid altars” with the “pure blood” of “Two Christian virgins” (36–37). These lines recall the rumours about native devil-

worship and virgin sacrifice, but they also reflect the household's idolatry. While the "Indians" worship the devil, and worship at his altar, Lady Frugal, Anne, Mary, and Luke worship material goods.

Michael Neill has noted that "Massinger's London [...] is repeatedly shown as an idolatrous society, [...] [and] its true mirror is the 'Virginia' conjured up by Sir John Frugal and his fellow 'Indians.'" ¹³² To be sure, the three "Indian" converts seem to bring out the latent "Virginian-ness" of London. However, the mirror that the play holds up does not just show the resemblances between the English and the Indians but also those between Londoners and the Virginia colonists. The Frugal women, the play's other female characters, and Virginia's first female settlers are compared unfavourably. Early attempts to rectify the gender imbalance of Jamestown were, as David Ransome contends, "neither well planned nor generally welcomed," and the first women sent over by the Virginia Company were dismissed reported as being "corrupt." ¹³³ Ransome argues that the women who were shipped to Virginia as wives in 1620–21 were "from a noticeably different level of society, daughters of the gentry or of artisans and tradesmen, who were recommended by the prosperous and well placed for their virtues and skills." ¹³⁴ Yet the earlier slurring of English women in Virginia as "corrupt" still registered in the 1630s. When Lady Frugal, Anne, and Mary find out that they are due to be transported over the Atlantic, they complain that "Strumpets and bawds, / For the abomination of their life, / [are] Spew'd out of their own country" and "shipp'd thither" to Virginia (5.1.108–110). London as represented in the play is hardly much better than the Virginia described here. The city has its own "strumpets and bawds," the prostitute Shave'em and her bawd Secret. What's more, Shave'em bears a distinct resemblance to the Frugal women. Like the "strumpets" the Frugal women despise, they are also to be shipped to Virginia.

Luke's conduct also links the household to Virginia, insofar as he behaves like the worst kind of colonist. Lady Frugal describes Virginia as full of "Condemned wretches / Forfeited to the law," which would be a good description of Luke (5.1.107–108). Luke is possibly a

drunkard—he denies Lady Frugal’s belief that he was “drunk last night,” but the fact that she asks implies that he is not unknown for being so (1.1.107). He is a gambler: Lord Lacy recalls how there was “No meeting at the horse race, cocking, hunting, / Shooting, or bowling, at which Master Luke / Was not a principal gamester” (1.2.113–116). Both drinking and gaming were often associated with Virginia, despite (or perhaps because) laws and ordinances passed by the Virginia Council periodically prohibited such behaviour in the colony. Under martial law, a corporal was expected to “haue a vigilant eye vpon the good behaiour of his company, not suffering them to vse any vnlawfull and prohibited games, nor that they giue them selues to excesse of drinking, surfitting and ryot.”¹³⁵ Even after martial law ended in 1618 colonial authorities were expected to curb the drinking and gaming habits of the settlers: Governor Francis Wyatt was issued instructions on July 24, 1621 to “suppress drunkenness [and] gaming.”¹³⁶

As much as the “Virginian Indians” mirror the conduct of the English, they also stand in relief to the Londoners’ excessive self-fashioning, their very presence embodying Luke’s belief that they “are learn’d Europeans, and we worse / Than ignorant Americans” (3.3.127–128). This superiority is manifest through the play’s attention to apparel as something to be lusted after. The Frugal women attempt to fashion a place for themselves at court by dressing in the latest styles: in the plays first scene we see them dispatch Luke to “the Old Exchange,” “the Tower,” and “Westminster” to pick up “a curious fan,” “garters,” and shoes “made of the Spanish perfum’d skins” (1.1.128–129; 131–133; 97). Their obsessions for these foreign fashions are cast in terms of desire. One of the daughters, Anne, demands “a fresh habit, / Of a fashion never seen before, to draw / The gallants’ eyes that sit on the stage upon me” (2.2.120–122). With this language the women are encoded as vain and upstart, and (especially Anne) sexually transgressive. Luke also displays a taste for fine clothing that signifies his own predilection for deception and hypocrisy. He extols what “ravishing lechery it is to enter / An ordinary, cap-a-pe, trimm’d like a gallant” (2.1. 80–81). Again, like Anne, we see here an association between sexual voraciousness (“ravishing lechery”) and the desire for well-trimmed attire.

Lust for apparel was not only associated with London. Virginia too was plagued by fashionistas, at least according to its many critics. Under martial law the colonial authorities insisted that settlers “furnish[ed] themselves in comely and decent manner, with apparell and other necessaries fitte and requisite for them.”¹³⁷ Governor Wyatt’s instructions required him to suppress “excess in cloaths”: Wyatt had to prohibit “any but the council and heads of hundreds to wear gold in their cloaths, or to wear silk till they make it themselves.”¹³⁸ In 1619 John Pory mocked “our Cowe-keeper here of Iames citty,” who “on Sundayes goes acowterd all in fresh flaming silke,” and the wife “of a collier of Croydon,” who “weares her rough beuer hatt wth a faire perle hatband, and a silken suit therto correspondent.”¹³⁹ Three years later the condemnation of excessive apparel took a more serious tone: Opechancanough’s attacks of March 22, 1622 were interpreted as a blow from “the heavie hand of Allmightie God,” which required the Colony to performed “the speedie redresse of those two enormous exesses of apparel and drinkeinge.”¹⁴⁰

By contrast to the colonists, Indians were famously indifferent to clothes, a “fact” which a number of commentators used to imply that they were preferable to the ostentatious English. Roger Williams moralized that “The best clad English-man, / Not cloth'd with Christ, more naked is: / Then naked Indian.”¹⁴¹ However “Fowle” Williams found “the *Indians* Haire and painted Faces,” more foul still was “such Haire, such Face” in England.¹⁴² Many argued that, unlike the English, and despite their predilection for body ornamentation, the Indians did not take pride in their appearance. Braithwaite paid homage to “[s]uch as have travelled, and upon exact survey of the Natures of forraine Countries, have brought the rich fraught of knowledge stored with choicest observations to their native home,” especially because they can inform the English people that only “we idolatrize our owne formes.” Indians “idolatrize” their god through what they wore, a custom far preferable to self-worship. Other peoples, even heathens, were sober in their approach to clothing: Braithwaite reported that “the *Russian, Muscovian, Ionian*, yea even the barbarous *Indian* [...] [are] loth, it seemes, to introduce any new custome, or to lose their

antiquitie for any vainglorious or affected Noveltie.” Instead they “continue their ancient Habite.”¹⁴³ The Indians rejected some of the fashions that were initially associated with them and had become popular in England. According to James I in *The Counterblaste to Tobacco*, tobacco was “accounted so effeminate among the Indians themselues, as in the market they will offer no price for a slaue to be sold, whome they finde to be a great Tobacco taker.”¹⁴⁴ The lovelock too was not adopted by all Indians, some of whom rejected the style outright. According to Thomas Hall in his tract *The Loathsomnesse of Long Haire* (1654) “[t]he Indians in New England have made a law, that all these men which weare long haire, shall pay 5. s. and every woman that shall cut her hair, or let it hang loose, shall pay 5. s.” Hall summed up neatly the general view of those who used the Indian as a symbol of English savagery and depravity: “Now what a shamefull thing is it, that faith should not enable us to do that which Infidels have done?”¹⁴⁵

VI. “This Wash’d Off”: Removing Disguise, Rooting out Indians

Thus far I have considered the ways in which the Indian “naked” disguise adopted by Sir John and his aides mirrors the excesses of the London characters, who in turn incarnate the accusations of excess that surrounded Virginia’s settlers. So what happens when the disguise is removed? At the end of the play the Frugal women and Luke redress their ways by reforming their sartorial intemperance. Lady Frugal and her daughters agree to adopt more sober attire befitting their social status. They agree to alter “their habits, manners, and their highest port,” to maintain “A distance ‘twixt the City, and the Court” (5.3.155). Luke proclaims that he has been “stripped bare” (114). Both Virginia and the Frugal home are amended also: Sir John is restored to his position as head of the household; Virginia, imagined initially as place of strumpets and bawds, becomes a place where Luke might be able to “repent” at the play’s conclusion (145). The colony is no longer a place where a villain like Luke might make hay, but rather it is a place in which Luke might be able to find salvation, and Luke’s admittance of grief for his actions implies

that he will be a good penitent. All of these reformations occur when the “Indians” reveal who they really are—that is, once the Indians have been removed from the household.

The idea in *The City Madam* that the “Virginians” have come to London under the pretence of being “Assisted by the aids of our best divines” and instead turn the household upside down had a resonance beyond the mirroring of Indian and English mores. The few Native Americans brought across the Atlantic were taught English (rather like Iaspero), but there are few records of native converts who spent time in English households.¹⁴⁶ The practice was however far more common in the colonies, where it was believed that housing Indians, along with clothing them, would lead to their civilizing and conversion. Edward Waterhouse reported how George Thorpe had ordered “a fayre house” to be built for Opechancanough “according to the English fashion” to replace his “cottage, or rather a denne or hog-stye, made with a few poles and stickes, and couered with mats after their wyld manner”: the house was designed “to ciuilize him.”¹⁴⁷ As a result of Thorpe’s enthusiasm, the Virginia Company and Council permitted and encouraged the natives to live among and even with the English. The Company and Council also launched a policy to resettle native children in English homes. A report of a meeting of the Virginia Council dated August 2, 1619 records that it was

enacted [...] that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, eache towne, citty, Borrough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certine number of the natives’ children to be educated by them in true religion and civile course of life—of which children the most towardly boyes in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature, so to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them that from thence they may be sente to that worke of conversion.¹⁴⁸

In May 1620 it was decided that native children should be placed in the care of the Puritan separatists who were due to arrive in Virginia later that year—a plan that never reached fruition because the Puritans landed at Plymouth instead.

The re-housing policy provided Opechancanough with the perfect cover—or disguise—to launch the attacks of March 22, 1622. A letter from the Council in Virginia to the Virginia Company in London reported “the trecherie of the Indyans, who [...] attempted vnder the Colour oof vnsuspected amytie, in some by Surprize, to haue cutt us all and to haue Swept us away at once through owte the whole lande.”¹⁴⁹ According to Waterhouse’s official report of the attacks, the Indians knew “in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity, and resort to vs for trading and other negotiations.” Waterhouse noted with heavy irony that the English had in some ways brought this disaster upon themselves “for the desire we had of effecting that great master-peece of workes, their conuersion.”¹⁵⁰

The City Madam re-imagines the 1622 attacks in a London-based comedy. Three Indians arrive in disguise at an English home, pretend to be willing Christian converts, and then actually turn the household on its head and endanger the women and children then attack the household from the inside. The parallels even extend beyond the plot, and there are some notable verbal echoes. Upon hearing that the Indians are about to arrive at the house, Luke objects, believing that it is hardly “Religious charity [...] to send infidels, / Like hungry locusts, to devour the bread / Should feed his family” (3.3.78–80). Bread has obvious religious connotations. It was part of the communion, which the Indians would have to take in order to convert. Luke’s allusion to the biblical plague of locusts suggests that the Indians will devour and destroy the bread rather than learn to consume it in the correct manner. In addition to these biblical connotations, bread was linked to the 1622 attacks in a more material way. As Waterhouse reported, the attacks began when the Indians “sate downe at Breakfast with our people at their tables” and then “immediatly with their [i.e. the settlers’] owne tooles and weapons eyther laid downe, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murdered, not sparing eyther age or sexe, man, woman or childe; so sodaine in their cruell execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction.”¹⁵¹ Bread would almost certainly have formed part of the breakfasts on the table when the Indians turned the English weapons against them.¹⁵²

The City Madam not only mirrors events in the Virginia colony's recent history, and seemingly criticizes the policy of inviting Indian "converts" into the home, but it also advocates something of a solution, which is manifest through its employment of disguise. As discussed in chapter two, following the attacks the English changed their strategy towards the Native Americans. Rather than cohabit with them, dress them, civilize them, and convert them, Company members like Governor Francis Wyatt, Nicholas Ferrar, and John Martin voiced their desire to root them out (see chapter two). As Alden T. Vaughan argues, judgements such as these theirs were "widely shared by the London Company and by [...] fellow colonists," and it "forecast Virginia's posture for the remainder of the century": "For ten years after the massacre, the colony, abetted by the company and the crown, waged merciless war against its neighboring tribes, whether or not they had participated in the uprising. [...] All prospects of an integrated society had vanished."¹⁵³ It seems to me not a coincidence that *The City Madam* was first staged as the decade-long fighting between the forces of Opechancanough and the English was coming to a close, nor that it the play concludes with the removal of an Indian threat from an English household. But while *The City Madam* the play features "Indians" who reject religious teaching and threaten the lives of the Frugal family, it stages the expulsion as an effortless act. In the play's final scene Sir John, having given his brother enough rope with which to hang himself, announces his identity with the words "This wash'd off" (5.3.110). With this one line of dialogue, and with one physical movement of washing off, the Indians are removed from the scene—indeed, they were never really there in the first place.

The moment of Sir John's washing away of his Indian disguise occurs at the end of a masque-within-a-play, which the "Virginians" put on in the play's final scene to "celebrate" Luke's new-found wealth (and also to test him further, as the subtext of the masque is charity). This sequence echoes the conclusion of many Stuart masques. We have already seen in the previous chapter that masques regularly presented foreign peoples who bowed down before their royal masters and converted to their cause, as in *The Memorable Maske*, when the Virginians

come to Whitehall to solemnize the wedding of Frederick and Elizabeth. More chillingly, however, the masque at the end of *The City Madam* resembles Jones and Jonson's *The Irish Masque at Court* and *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*. Both of these masques involve the removal of clothing and make-up to represent the conversion and obeisance of troublesome subjects. *The Irish Masque at Court*, performed for the wedding of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard in 1613, features "Gentlemen [who] dance forth a dance in their Irish mantles."¹⁵⁴ The Irish presence is subsequently removed when, under the influence of an Irish bard, "the Masquers let fall their mantles and discover their masquing apparel," at which moment they are transformed as "new-born creatures all" through the bard's song. This act of divestiture represents the "end [of] our countries most unnatural broils."¹⁵⁵ The gypsies in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, a masque performed for James I twice in 1621, undergo a similar transformation. As Mark Netzloff argues, the masque re-imagines contemporary concerns about England's border regions, as is evident in the head gypsy Patrico's declaration that he is a "bringer / Of bound to the border."¹⁵⁶ Writes Netzloff, "[t]he border counties presented a threat to civil order and ideas of cultural unity because of the ease with which the cultures of gypsies, vagrants, and reivers could interact and mix together, even forming the possibility of an alternative community."¹⁵⁷ The masque resolves this threat to national stability when the gypsies are "transformed." The "transformation" is "Assisted by a Barber, and a Taylor," as not only are their gypsy rags changed but so are their complexions. The "make-up that "dyed our faces" to make them seem as if they had "tawny faces" "was fetched off with water and a ball."¹⁵⁸ Thus in both masques a potential threat to James's sovereignty, represented by disruptive subjects, is staged only for it to be abated through removing the very accoutrements that mark out the difference. The bloody colonial project is rendered as a simple act of acquiescence. At the conclusion of both masques the raggedly dressed and tawny-faced Irish and gypsies are revealed to be well-dressed masquers. The troublesome elements of English colonialism are expelled and ultimately discarded as courtiers take their place.

The “Indians” of *The City Madam* not only mirror the conduct of the Londoners and settlers but also re-play the infamous “Indian massacre” of 1622. In their unmasking at the conclusion of the play they both reiterate the emerging realisation that the Indian could not be clothed and also replicate the emerging fantasy that the Indian threat could be removed. Sir John washes off his Indianness, and thus washes away the Indians. By doing so he reclaims his rightful position, replicating the colonialist desire to remove the Indians from their land in the Americas and place in their stead a rightful, and now appropriately attired, master.

VII. Playing Indian, Playing Christian

Between the 1580s and the 1630s English popular perceptions of Indians shifted. Whereas Richard Hakluyt wrote confidently that the Indians would rise up alongside the English to combat the Spanish in the New World in his *Discourse of Western Planting* in 1584, his successor as editor of travel compendia Samuel Purchas labelled Indians treacherous, deceitful, “so naked and cowardly a people,” in *Purchas His Pilgrims* in 1625.¹⁵⁹ While in the early years of the Atlantic colonies many projectors such as William Crashaw and Robert Johnson advocated that Indians would prove to be willing converts and could be integrated into English colonial life, later ones, including prominent Virginia Company and Council members, branded them as devil-worshippers and instead pushed for their expulsion. Both forms of perception were often expressed in terms of Indians’ nakedness. According to some, the naked Indians wished to be clothed (and hence to be civilized and converted); according to others the Indians revelled in their nakedness (and hence wished to remain savage and heathen). That some Indians took to wearing English clothing was no guarantee of their allegiance. They could, after all, just as easily take the clothing off, or even use the clothing to mask their way into English homes and then violate them.

The Indians also functioned as a yardstick against which English mores were measured. The emphasis on clothing in colonial writing underscored not only the belief that the English and the Indians were vastly different—one group wore clothes, the other did not—but also,

paradoxically, their commonality. The English had once been as naked as the Indians before the Romans and the Christians civilized and converted them. The English were white-skinned, as were Indians at birth. The English adorned their bodies with cosmetics, just as the Indians coloured their bodies with dyes and tattoos. But English ornamentation had gone one step further: London's fashionistas, and even Virginia's settlers, wore expensive attire and dressed themselves lavishly (including, ironically, certain items associated with the Americas, such as the lovelock hairstyle). Even though Indians' lack of clothing marked them as uncivil, their simplicity was contrasted favourably with the English, who worshipped clothing—just as the Indians worshipped their heathen gods.

The evolution of the figure of the Indian and the importance of clothing in the construction of this figure is made clear in the three “Indian” plays through the ways in which each employs disguise, as disguise draws attention both to the relationship between the persona adopted and the person beneath and to the materials from which the disguise is fashioned. Indians are represented as converts and allies in *Orlando Furioso* but as devil-worshippers in *The Fatal Marriage* and *The City Madam*. These plays thus enable us to understand the effects of “playing Indian.” Orlando is affected by “playing Indian” positively, as he benefits from his brief adoption of an “Indian shape,” whereas the effect on Iaspero is negative, as he almost dies and seems to lose his sense of self when he dresses as a “Virginian stranger.” Finally, the ways in which Indians were understood as mirror-images of the English evolved over time. Sacrepant's and the Duke of Plazenza's savagery is implicitly compared to Orlando's and Iaspero's Indian. Indian nakedness could contrast favourably to English ostentation of dress and irreligiousness. But these plays' employment of disguise also allows for the removal of the Indian elements. This is especially evident in *The City Madam*, a restaging of the attacks against the Virginia plantations in 1622 in which the Indian threat (alongside the ostentation and irreligiousness of the English characters) is removed at the moment when the Indian disguise is washed away.

¹ Samuel Purchas wrote, “I haue often conuersed” with Uttamatonakin (Tomocomo) “at my good friends Master Doctor *Goldstone*, where he was a frequent guest.” Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 4 (London: for Henrie Fetherstone, 1625), 1774.

⁴ A search on *Early English Books Online* reveals that the term “naked Indian” occurs not only in travel writing but also in sermons and religious tracts, natural histories, medical treatises, plays, masques, civic pageants, and dictionaries. The term appears in works whose origins predate Columbus, such as St. Augustine’s *Of The City of God* (“Englished” in 1610), which suggests that American “Indians” were naked even before they were “discovered.” The term “naked Indian” crops up in books on armour and military technology, when authors compare the technologically-advanced European nations to the “primitive” Indians who lacked body-armour (because they were naked). It is probably in the sense of “unarmed” that Robert Greene describes “a company of naked Moores without armour or knowledge of vse of weapon” in *The Spanish Masquerado*. In his book on the *Formes and Effects of Diuers Sorts of Weapons*, John Smythe explains that the Spanish “with Cros-bowes, Harquebuze shot, & other weapons, haue conquered a great part of the west Indies” because “those Indians were simple people, that went naked, and had no vse of yron nor steele.” By contrast, in the debate between Amias and Eustace that structures *The Elements of Armories* by Edmund Bolton, Amias lists the various “tricks of painting,” including “The naked INDIANS” such as the “naked FLORIDIANS” whose “shoulders [...] are badged with the markes of their Lords.” Robert Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado* (London: for Thomas Cadman, 1589), Ev; Edmund Bolton, *The Elements of Armories* (London: George Eld, 1610), 20–21, 24; John Smythe, *Certain Discourses [...] Concerning the Formes and Effects of Diuers Sorts of Weapons* (London: for Richard Johnes, 1590), 42v (marginal note).

³ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 50.

⁴ Robert Greene, *The Historie of Orlando Furioso, One of the Twelve Pieres of France*, in *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, ed. J. Churlton Collins, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905). All references to *Orlando Furioso* are cited in parentheses in the main body of the chapter.

⁵ Anonymous, *The Fatal Marriage, or The Second Lucretia*, ed. S. Brigid Young Hughes, Harold Jenkins, and F. P. Wilson (Oxford: The Malone Society, 1958). The editors divide the play only into scenes—it has no act divisions. All references to *The Fatal Marriage* are cited in parentheses in the main body of the chapter. The precise performance dates of *The Fatal Marriage* are unknown—indeed, the Malone Society editors suggest that the play was never performed and may not even have been intended for performance, as it exists only in an undated manuscript. While the date is uncertain, it must have been written in the 1620s or later. The city of Piacenza, the setting of the play, was incorporated into the Duchy of Parma in 1545 (effectively this is what happens at the end of the play when Isabella’s father, Ferdinand, the disguised Duke of Parma, unmask himself and Lodowick, the Duke of Piacenza’s son, and Isabella are married). But Piacenza underwent a massive famine in the 1620s, possibly making it a newsworthy locale. More importantly the inclusion of the “Indian” subplot dates it after 1622, as this is a clear allusion to the 1622 attacks on the Virginia plantation.

⁶ Philip Massinger, *The City Madam*, ed. Cyrus Hoy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1964). All references to *The City Madam* are cited in parentheses in the main body of the chapter.

⁷ I use quotation marks around the word Indian in this chapter to denote the characters who dress up as Indians while they are wearing their disguise (therefore “Indian” means European-disguised-as-an-Indian).

⁸ There are a handful of references in this period to “naked Moors.” In *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, Richard Knolles describes “the naked Moores [who] were no souldiors, but a light and vnconstant people.” Knolles compares the unarmed (or relatively unarmed) Moors and the technologically advanced Turks. In John Cooke’s play *Greenes Tu-Quoque, or the City Gallant*, Spendall challenges Staines to fight “As naked as a Mauritanian Moore.” In his elegy “Teares for Sir Tho.[mas] O.[verbury],” John Hagthorpe asked “the naked Moore, / Or wilde Arabian” to “Lend me your powres combind, that I with cries / May rend the Marble Mountaines, and the Skies.” The word Moor is, however, notoriously slippery, and we find it in a number of New World contexts. Thus one account in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* describes the African “King of *Rehita* [...] apparelled like a Moore, all naked (sauing a Pintado about his loines),” while another account describes indigenous peoples working in the mines of Potosi as “*Moores* [who] are all naked as long as they worke, because he shall not hide any precious stone.” Robert Greene records the treatment of

“a company of naked Moores without armour or knowledge of vse of weapon” in New Spain in his *The Spanish Masquerado*. Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1603), 635; John Cooke, *Greenes Tu-Quoque, or the City Gallant* (New York: AMS Press, 1914), F3v; John Hagthorpe, “Teares for Sir Tho.[mas] O.[verbury],” in *Diuine Meditations and Elegies* (London: Bernard Alsop, 1622), 92; Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 349, 1242; Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado*, Ev.

⁹ This type of costume is noted in Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 42.

¹⁰ See Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, 123. The accounts record that “1 ell 3 quarters of Tany Taffety” were required in all, but do not state whether these were used for skin coats. Jones’s own accounts for the show records that 8-16-6 was spent on the costume for “the Blac fellow,” which could be same figure who wears the “Tany Taffaty”—although this would mean that his costume is far more elaborate than a skincoat which costs only £2 17s. See Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, vol. 1, 126.

¹¹ Dymrna Callaghan, *Shakespeare Without Women* (London: Routledge, 1999), 78; Ben Jonson, *A Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies*, in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), l. 1387–1388. The “Indians” in *The Fatal Marriage* and *The City Madam* could be wearing a mask or no make-up at all—the actors could be miming the removal of make-up, or could signify this washing by removing other Indian accoutrements. I favour make-up, especially in the case of *The City Madam*, because (as this chapter argues) it is full of allusions to bodily adornment. The only thing that might complicate this assertion is that both plays require the speedy removal of make-up onstage, but Andrea Stevens has recently argued that make-up was easy to remove thanks to recent innovations at court. Jonson in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* indicates that make-up removal requires “water and a ball” of soap (1391). Dudley Carleton, a disapproving member of the audience for Jonson’s *Masque of Blackness* (1605), mocked an encounter between the Spanish Ambassador and Queen Anne, who was one of the black-faced masquers: “He took out the Queen, and forgot not to kiss her Hand, though there was Danger it would have left a Mark on his Lips.” Eldred Jones is wise to caution against taking this comment too literally, but it could suggest that stage make-up rubbed off fairly easily. However, in *The City Madam* a quick wiping away would be sufficient—Sir John does not need to remove all of the make-up to reveal who he is. Andrea R. Stevens, “‘Assisted by a Barber’: the Court Apothecary, Special Effects and *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*,” *Theatre Notebook* 61, no.1 (2007): 2–11; Eldred Jones, *Othello’s Countrymen: The African in English Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 121. Many thanks to Andrea Stevens for sharing her work with me prior to publication.

¹² See Colin Gibson, “Introduction to *The City Madam*,” in *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, ed. Colin Gibson, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 5.

¹³ I use the term “prosthesis” because of the uncertainty about what the actors wore. Calling a skin-coat an item of clothing when it is designed to signify the absence of clothing seems confusing and counterproductive. Prosthesis can mean clothing but is not limited to clothing. I also employ the term prosthesis in his chapter because of the way that the term has been employed in theory and criticism. Here I follow Will Fisher’s usage of the term as referring to items that “are both integral to the subject’s sense of identity or self, and at the same time resolutely detachable or ‘auxiliary.’” Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 26.

¹⁴ Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 183–184.

¹⁶ See Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Fisher, *Materializing Gender*; Amanda Bailey, *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

¹⁷ I borrow the term “cultural cross-dressing” from Beth Fowkes Tobin, “Cultural Cross-Dressing in British America: Portraits of British Officers and Mohawk Warriors,” in *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-century British Painting* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 81–109.

¹⁸ On the importance of clothing in early English colonialism, see Timothy J. Shannon, “Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson and the Indian fashion,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series, 53, no. 1 (1996): 13–42; Joan Pong Linton, “*Jack of Newberry* and Drake in

California: Domestic and Colonial Narratives of English Cloth and Manhood,” in *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 62–83; Jill Lepore, “Habitations of Cruelty,” in *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage, 1999), 71–96; Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*; Ann M. Little, “‘Shoot that Rogue, for he hath an Englishman’s Coat on!’: Cultural Cross-Dressing on the New England Frontier, 1620–1760,” *The New England Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (2001): 238–273.

¹⁹ Thomas Harriot noted how the English settlers at Roanoke “found silke wormes fayre and great; as bigge as our ordinary walnuttes” and recommended the “plantig of mulbery trees and others fitte for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourishing.” As a result of careful husbanding “there will rise as great profite in time to the Virginians [English settlers in Virginia], as there of doth now to the Persians, Turkes, Italians and Spaniards.” Later colonial entrepreneurs took up Harriot’s call, but profits from sericulture were slow in coming. Tobacco became the dominant export instead. Thomas Harriot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: The Complete 1590 Theodor de Bry Edition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), 9–10.

²⁰ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* 2nd edition (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599), A3. Hakluyt had an especial interest in furthering the cloth-trade. As Joan Pong Linton explains, “Hakluyt was from 1577 a pensioner of the Clothworkers’ Company; as a student of Christ Church, Oxford, he was subsidized by the company in his theological studies. The pension continued until 1586 despite overtly non-theological activities, such as his 1582 publication of *Diuers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*. Theology was not at odds with commerce, however; as preacher, Hakluyt would repay the Clothworkers’ kindness in his colonial promotion.” See Linton, *Romance of the New World*, 62.

²¹ *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (London: for William Barret, 1610), 64.

²² Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia* (1609), 22, in *Tracts and other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, ed. Peter Force (New York: Peter Smith, 1947).

²³ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁵ Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes from Virginia* (London: William Welby, 1613), 24.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁷ George Peckham, *A Trve Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes* (London: for John Charlewood, 1583), Eii.

²⁸ “New Britain: with a Statement of the great advantages which must follow the Colonizing of Virginia. Addressed (Dedicated) to the chief Treasurer of this Colony and of the Merchants of the Moscovite and the East India Company,” in Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, ed. Alexander Brown, vol. 1 (New York; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), 266.

²⁹ William Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached in London Before the Right Honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and Others of his Maiesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the Rest of the Aduenturers in that Plantation* (London: for William Welby, 1610), C3v, D3.

³⁰ Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, 13.

³¹ Whitaker, *Good Newes From Virginia*, 20, 23–24.

³² John Rolfe to Thomas Dale, 1614, in Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London: for William Welby, 1615), 66.

³³ “The Third Voyage of Discouery Made by Captaine Iaques Cartier, 1540. vnto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay,” in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), vol. 3 235.

³⁴ “The Relation of Nicholas Burgoignon,” in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), vol. 3, 361.

³⁵ Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (London: for Walter Burre, 1617), 175–176.

³⁶ “An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia,” Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), vol. 3 255.

³⁷ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), vol. 3, 440–441.

³⁸ Thomas Dale to Mr D.M., June 18, 1614, in Hamor, *A True Discourse*, 56.

³⁹ Hamor, *A True Discourse*, 14.

- ⁴⁰ John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Somer Iles* (1624), in *The Complete Works of John Smith (1580–1631)*, ed. Philip Barbour, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 181.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 184.
- ⁴² Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London: for Robert Mylbourne, 1622), 15.
- ⁴³ George Thorpe to Edwin Sandys, May 15, 1621, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, ed. Susan M. Kingsbury, vol. 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 446.
- ⁴⁴ Roger Williams, *A Key to the Languages of America* (London: Gregory Dexter, 1643), A3v–A4.
- ⁴⁵ Andrew White, *A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland*, in *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1925), 44. STC 32224(1).
- ⁴⁶ *New Englands First Fruits* (London: for Henry Overton, 1643), 3–4.
- ⁴⁷ William Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia, Lawes Diuine, Morall and Martiall* (London: for Walter Burre, 1612), 5–6.
- ⁴⁸ *The Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, ed. William Waller Hening, vol. 1 (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 219.
- ⁴⁹ Little, “Shoot That Rogue,” 249.
- ⁵⁰ Williams, *Key into the Languages of America*, 113.
- ⁵¹ Kupperman, *Indians and English*, 72.
- ⁵² Smith, *Generall Historie*, 184.
- ⁵³ Helen Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1992), 110.
- ⁵⁴ Lepore, *Name of War*, 79.
- ⁵⁵ Little, “Shoot That Rogue,” 259–260.
- ⁵⁶ Council in Virginia to the Virginia Company, April 1623, in *Virginia Company Records*, vol. 4, 98–99.
- ⁵⁷ George Percy, “George Percy’s “Trewe Realcyon”: A Primary Source for the Jamestown Settlement,” ed. Mark Nicholls, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 113, no. 3 (2004): 247–248 (emphasis added). Stripping and re-clothing in native attire were not the only forms of “torture.” As Linda Colley notes, Indians “stripped white captives naked and forced them to cover their genitals with pages ripped out of the Bible”: “they were making clear their opinion of Christianity, and of the white clergymen who sought to impose it on Indian bodies and souls.” Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002), 145.
- ⁵⁸ The fact that the play differs so much from the poem has not prevented critics from focusing on Greene’s indebtedness to Ariosto. Morris Robert Morrison for example notes how Greene’s main source is the story of Ariodantes and Genevra in Canto Five of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, but there is no analogue for the Indian disguises in this canto or indeed anywhere in the poem. Most other criticism on *Orlando Furioso* argues for its importance in bibliographic studies, because the original part of Orlando as played by Edward Alleyn was discovered in amongst his papers housed at Dulwich College (the educational institution he founded). The part suggests that actors were only given their lines to learn and did not have a full script. See Morris Robert Morrison, “Greene’s Use of Ariosto in *Orlando Furioso*,” *Modern Language Notes* 49, no. 7 (1934): 449–451. On the importance of the Alleyn part, see W.W. Greg, *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar and Orlando Furioso* (London: The Malone Society, 1922); and Michael Warren, “Greene’s *Orlando*: W.W. Greg’s *Furioso*,” in *Textual Formations and Reformations*, ed. Laurie E. Maguire and Thomas L. Berger (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), 67–91.
- ⁵⁹ The bounds of Marsilius’s kingdom spread far beyond what we now consider Africa, and indeed beyond how atlases contemporary to *Orlando Furioso* such as Ortelius’s and Mercator’s defined the continent. Greene draws from classical geography, particularly Strabo’s *Geographica* (see Collins’s notes, *Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, vol. 2, 304). The western border of Marsilius’s empire is Cadiz (“Gadis island”), “where stowt Hercules / Imblasde his trophees on two posts of brasse,” a reference to the notion that on the pillars of Hercules were marked a list of his achievements (“his trophees”) as well as the inscription *non plus ultra*. The southernmost point, “Taprobany” was the classical name for Sri Lanka, and was a term still employed in the early modern period: thus Raphael Hythloday “arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Calicut [Calcutta]” in Thomas More’s *Utopia*. The eastern border of Marsilius’s territory, “Tanais,”

the modern River Don in Russia, was the classical boundary-marker between Europe and Asia, but was still alluded to as such in the sixteenth century—for example, Peter Martyr dedicates a whole section to “the famous ryuer of Tanais,” which “dyuydeth Europe from Asia” in *The Decades*. Marsilius’s African empire thus extends beyond the bounds of continental Africa into the Mediterranean, Europe, Asia, and the subcontinent. Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. Ralph Robinson (1556), in *Three Early Modern Utopias*, ed. Susan Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 12; Peter Martyr, *The Decades of the New Worlde or West India*, trans. Richard Eden (London: for Edward Sutton, 1555), 297.

⁶⁰ Eldred Jones concludes, presumably with this reference in mind, that Orlando is “disguised as a Moor.” But the term “Moor,” like the term “Indian,” is an elastic one in this period, and was sometimes used to describe Native Americans. Greene employs the term in *The Spanish Masquerado* to describe Spanish cruelties towards Indians. At one point in *The Fatal Marriage* Iaspero-as-Indian is described as a “moore” even though the alleged birthplace of the “Indian” is “Virginia” (19.21). Also it should be noted that in Jamestown “20. and odd Negroes” were exchanged for food with a Dutch vessel in 1619—the first known African presence in Virginia, and the first example of black slavery in the British Americas. However, it seems doubtful that the author of *The Fatal Marriage* had this in mind: rather, Iaspero’s Indian is confused with a Moor presumably because of his blackface make-up. Jones, *Othello’s Countrymen*, 121; Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado*, Ev. On the first black slaves in Virginia, see Tim Hashaw, *The Birth of Black America: the First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2007).

⁶¹ Robert Greene’s *Greenes Neuer Too Late* may offer a clue as to what the Palmers wore or what Greene had in mind. Greene describes a Palmer wearing “a surcoate all of gray,” “A hat of straw,” “Sandalls on his feete” with “Legs [...] bare, [and] armes vnclad.” However, this description does not explain how Marsilius and MandreCARD might have registered as Indians. Robert Greene, *Greenes Neuer Too Late* (London: for Nicholas Ling and John Busbie, 1592), 1–2.

⁶² Robert Greene, *Philomela, the Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale* (London: for Edward White, 1592), E2. The literary trope of people disguising themselves as palmers (or pilgrims) is common in this period. In Heywood and Drayton’s *The True Chronicle History of King Leir* for example, the French King and Lord Mumford “go disguisde in Palmers weeds, / That no man shall mistrust vs what we are.” Thomas Heywood and Michael Drayton, *The True Chronicle History of King Leir* (London: for John Wright, 1605), B3.

⁶³ Alden T. Vaughan, “Early English Paradigms for New World Natives,” in *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 36–38. Susi Collin argues that this association between wild man and Native American was fostered by sixteenth century publications which featured stock illustrations of the wild man to go alongside New World accounts: “to the illustrators at the beginning of the sixteenth century, who could not verify the descriptions of the New World travellers nor rely on their own personal observation, the image of the Wild Man, who shared many qualities with the American Savage, was the one which fitted best.” Susi Collin, “The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustrations,” in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987), 28–29.

⁶⁴ The pun is also used in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* when Demetrius states that he is “wood within this wood, / Because I cannot meet my Hermia,” before threatening Helena that he will “do [her] mischief in the wood” (2.1.192). A similar pun occurs in *The Fatal Marriage* when the Clown states that the disguised Prince Lodowick looks like a madman because he “is like a woodman” (13.22).

⁶⁵ Jean de Lery, *A History Of A Voyage To The Land of Brazil*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 133.

⁶⁶ Michel de Montaigne, “Of the Cannibals,” in *The Complete Works*, trans. Donald M. Frame (London: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 189.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that John Florio’s English translation of Montaigne’s *Essais* was not published until 1603. De Lery’s *Histoire d’un Voyage fait en la terra de Brésil* first appeared in English in the 1611 translation of Johann Boemus’s *Mores, Leges et Ritus Omnium Gentium* and then in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). However, his *Histoire d’un Voyage* was published, alongside engravings (based on the woodcuts in the 1578 edition), as part of the fourth volume of Theodor de Bry’s *America*. Whether this volume received wide circulation in England is perhaps unlikely, although Girolamo Benzoni’s *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, another volume in the *America* series, was sufficiently well-known for the preacher (and future Bishop of

London) John King to reference “Benzo” in his thirteenth lecture “vpon Ionas” in 1594 and for the preacher George Benson to recommend it to his congregation in 1609—and while French, German, Latin, and Italian editions of Benzoni appeared, there is no English edition from this period. Jan Huygen van Linschoten makes considerable use of “Lerius” in his description of “What lawes and pollicies are vsed among the Brasilians.” Linschoten was translated into English by William Philips in 1598. George Abbot (future Archbishop of Canterbury) uses de Lery as a source for his description of Villegagnon in his 1604 polemic *The Reasons Which Doctour Hill Hath Brought, for the Vpholding of Papistry, which is Falselie Termed the Catholike Religion*. John King, *Lectures vpon Jonas* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1594), 160; George Benson, *Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the Seaventh of May, M.DC.IX* (London: for Richard Moore, 1609), 92; Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *His Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies*, trans. William Philips (London: for John Wolfe, 1598), 259; George Abbot, *The Reasons Which Doctour Hill Hath Brought, for the Vpholding of Papistry, which is Falselie Termed the Catholike Religion* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1604), 130.

⁶⁸ Joyce E. Chaplin, “Roanoke ‘Counterfeited According to the Truth,’” in *A New World: England’s First View of America*, ed. Kim Sloan (London: The British Museum Press, 2007), 56.

⁶⁹ Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, trans. John Harington (London: for John Norton and Simon Waterson, 1607), Oo ii v, Oo v.

⁷⁰ William Maltby argues that de las Casas “has been widely celebrated as a cornerstone of the Black Legend,” although Anti-Spanish sentiment pre-existed the translations of de las Casas. In addition, we should remember that the term “Black Legend” was coined in 1912 and subsequently backdated to the sixteenth century. See William Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: the Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558–1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1971), 12; Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, “Introduction,” *Rereading the Black Legend: the Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1.

⁷¹ Bartholomae de las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie*, trans. M.M.S. (London: for William Brome, 1583), Av–A2.

⁷² Richard Hakluyt, *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodityes that are like to Growe to the Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted* (1584), reprinted as *Discourse of Western Planting*, ed. D.B. Quinn and A.M. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993), 53–55.

⁷³ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), vol. 2, 174. Raleigh’s title change of *The Spanish Colonie* to *The Spanish Cruelties*, whether deliberate or no, is a slip that reveals how de las Casas’s account was thought of: indeed, the phrase “the Spanish Cruelties” occupies the title-position of the address to the reader in *The Spanish Colonie* (§2).

⁷⁴ William Burton, *Dauids Euidence, or, The Assurance of Gods Loue Declared in Seuen Sermons* (London: for T. Cook, 1592), 25–26.

⁷⁵ *Discoverie of the Vnnatural and Traiterous Conspiracie of Scottish Papists, Against God, His Church, their Natiue Countrie, the Kings Maiesties Person and Estate of its Authors, George Ker and David Grahame* (London: for John Norton, 1593), Aiii.

⁷⁶ Benson, *Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse*, 92.

⁷⁷ Greene, *Spanish Masquerado*, Ev.

⁷⁸ De las Casas, *Spanish Colonie*, A.

⁷⁹ Hakluyt, *A Particuler Discourse*, 55.

⁸⁰ “A Discourse Written by One Miles Philips Englishman,” in *Principal Navigations* (1599), vol. 3, 481.

⁸¹ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), vol. 3, 526.

⁸² De las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie*, §2v. There were in fact seventeen and not twelve Dutch provinces. The framing of de las Casas within a Dutch context originates from Jacques de Migrode’s translation of *Brevissima Relación* into French (as *Tyrannies et cruauitez des Espagnols, Perpetrees ès Indes Occidentale*), which was published in Antwerp in 1578. The address to the reader in *The Spanish Colonie* notes that the English translation is based on what was “faithfully translated by Iames Allegrodo” (§2). The second English translation of de las Casas was published in 1656 in response to the “Blood and Tyrannie” of “the Spanish Monarch” and in support of Cromwell’s campaign in Ireland and the Western Design—all

of Miggrode's Dutch references are excised in this translation. Bartholomae de las Casas, *The Tears of the Indians*, trans. John Philips (London: for Nathaniel Brook, 1656), c–cv.

⁸³ The publishers of *The Spanish Colonie* were not the only ones to point out that the Dutch and the Native Americans were in a similar position. Colonel Anthony Winkfield's account of his voyage to Spain and Portugal (1589) stated that the Spanish wars against "the barbarous *Moores*, the naked *Indians*, and the unarmed *Netherlanders*" had "made their name so terrible," thus uniting three peoples who had been abused by the Spanish. The association between the Spanish treatment of the Dutch and the Indians is also commented upon in *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation* (1603), in which the author (simply given as "a Gentleman of France") contends that "if any one thinke that the courages of the Spaniards haue been so inuenomed against those of the low countries, for the different of Religion, he shoves that he is as little acquainted with their naturall disposition, as with the state of their affaires," and proceeds to list "the new and enormous cruelties" committed in "this new Indian and American world." The comparison between the Dutch and the Indians is also made in *A True Historie of the Memorable Siege of Ostend* (1604), which records how the besieged citizens were "in a manner like vnto the Indians which goe naked, which nakednesse by reason of the great colde in these partes is not very tollerable." In *The Baiting of the Popes Bull* (1627) Henry Burton, the rector of St. Martins, prominent anti-Laudian and former tutor to Princes Henry and Charles (future Charles I), berated the Spanish in "The West Indies whose wretched slauery hath been the subiect of large volumes, [...] enough to cause euen those barbarous heathens to abhorre heauen it selfe." This behaviour was comparable to "our neighbour Netherlands, once vnder the Spaniard, but whose saluage and treacherous crueltie grew so intollerable, that they shooke him quite besides the saddle." Among Burton's "large volumes" may have been *The Spanish Colonie*. "A True Discourse Written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield Employed in the Voiage to *Spaine* and *Portugall*, 1589," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1599), vol. 2, 135; "A Gentleman of France," *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation* (for T. M[an] and H. L[ownes], 1603), 23; *A True Historie of the Memorable Siege of Ostend*, trans. Edward Grimestone (London: for Edward Blount, 1604), 157; Henry Burton, *The Baiting of the Popes Bull* (London: for Michael Sparke, 1627), 76.

⁸⁴ Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, Oo iii, Oo ii.

⁸⁵ *Orlando Furioso* is not the only play from this period to draw from de las Casas. In John Lyly's *Midas*, the title-character is an ersatz Philip II, whose greed is condemned. Edmund Valentine Campos has noted that a comparison made in the play between Midas and "the fox, [...] the tiger [...] the wolf," echoes the language of *The Spanish Colonie*. Edmund Valentine Campos, "West of Eden: America Gold, Spanish Greed, and the Discourses of English Imperialism," in *Rereading the Black Legend*, 261–262

⁸⁶ It is not entirely clear what happens at the moment of execution. The clown's exclamation "why then haue at it" and Iaspero's "oh" implies some contact, as does the Marshal's statement "the Indian's sounded" (19.112–114). But the blow is clearly not decisive, as the Duke tells the Marshal to "helpe to recouer him to perish by the law / for such his sentence was" (19.115–116), and Iaspero speaks afterwards, apparently unharmed.

⁸⁷ It should be noted that the Iaspero-Laura storyline is only a subplot—the main action of *The Fatal Marriage* revolves around a love triangle that results in the "fatal marriage" of the play's title, and it has neither a disguise theme nor any connection with Indians.

The Duke's reaction to his daughter and Iaspero-as-Indian running off together could be seen as an echo of fears about non-European, non-Christian men wooing European women. I have found a handful of references to English women living as wives to Indian men: in two letters sent in 1612 informing Philip III about the "40 or 50 [men] thus married" to "the women of the savages of that country [Virginia]," Pedro de Zuñiga noted that "the [English] women whom they took out, haue also gone among the savages"; in *Eastward Ho!* the lost colonists of Roanoke are believed to have "married with the Indians," a claim that implicates both English men and women, as Roanoke's 110 settlers included 17 women (3.3.18). However, the early colonial American period does not seem to have been marked particularly by anxieties about relations between English women and Indian men. As Dorothy A. Mays points out, "[f]ew white women entered relationships with Indian men. The exception was when women were captured and adopted into Indian communities." Nor did there seem to be anxiety about Indian men sexually attacking English women, even though a number of English captives were women. Mays points out that "sexual abuse was almost never an issue for female captives." Mary Rowlandson wrote that "not one of [her male captors]

ever offered the least abuse of unchastity to me, in word or action” during her captivity in 1675. However, Rowlandson’s defence of her chastity and her assertion that while “some are ready to say, I speak it for my own credit” might suggest that she was wary of being accused of sexual congress with her captors (she doesn’t say what the “some” are “ready to say,” but we might infer that the missing term here is “otherwise”). While the life of female captives could be harsh, for some life in the English colonies was just as bad. One captive, Jane Dickenson, who was “Caried away wth the Cruell saluages in the bloody Masacre” of 1622, complained to the Virginia Council that her life after her return had been just as bad as during her time of captivity: her enforced servitude to pay off her ransom “differeth not from her slauery wth the Indians.” Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, August 1, 1612, in Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 572–573; Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, September 22, 1612, in Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 632–633; Dorothy A. Mays, *Women in Early America: Struggle, Survival, and Freedom in a New World* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 213, 200; Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682), in *So Dreadful a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip’s War 1676–1677*, ed. Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 361; Jane Dickenson, Petition to the Governor and Council, March 30, 1624, in *Virginia Company Records*, vol. 4, 473.

⁸⁸ On the circulation of the White/de Bry images, see Christian F. Feest, “The Virginia Indian in Pictures, 1612–1624,” *The Smithsonian Journal of History* 2, no. 1 (1967): 1–30.

⁸⁹ Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, 14.

⁹⁰ Crashaw, *Sermon*, C5v.

⁹¹ *A Declaration for the Certaine Time of Drawing the Great Standing Lottery* (London: for William Welby, 1615).

⁹² Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (London; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 165; quotations taken from Thomas Dekker, *The Gull’s Horn-book* (London: for R.S., 1609), 6.

⁹³ In *A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* Thomas Harriot reported that among Virginia’s abundant “Marchantable commodities” was a “great store of Otters, which beeyng taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, will yeelde good profite,” and he also suggested to his readers that “Deare skinnes [...] are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yeerely by way of trafficke for trifles.” Karen Kupperman notes that “[b]eaver pelts were highly valued in Europe because of the beautiful lustrous felt that was made from their downy hair, so American furs underpinned the vogue for large felt hats.” Harriot, *A Brief and True Report*, 9–10; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge: The Belnap Press, 2007), 213.

⁹⁴ Sir John Davies, *Epigrammes and Elegies* (at Middleborough, 1599), B4. The precise origins of the style were contested. In an account from 1630 Francis Higginson, a Puritan minister based in Salem, Massachusetts, described the local Algonquian population’s “Haire” as “generally black, and cut before like our Gentlewomen, and one lock longer then the rest, much like our Gentelmen, which fashion I thinke came from hence into *England*.” An account of a voyage to New Scotland (Nova Scotia) in 1628 led by the son of William Alexander of Menstrie (the future first Earl of Stirling) features a lengthy description of the local Mi-kmaq’s customs and appearance, and concludes by noting that they had “Long blacke heare cut to a lenth before after the fashion of the court of England (that yee would sweare they had Perrukes [wigs]).” In *Purchas his Pilgrimes* Samuel Purchas compared the English hairstyles to those the Cannibals of Brazil who “weare their haire (as now we doe in *England*) below their eares, and so doe the women.” But in contrast to Higginson and the account of the New Scotland voyage, Purchas believed that the lovelock had come to England from Roanoke, borrowed from Virginians “by our Men in the first Plantation, little about thirtie yeeres since.” Though Purchas was writing over three decades after the disappearance of the Raleigh City settlement, Thomas Harriot’s description of “The Princes of Virginia [...] [who] weare the haire of their heades long and bynde opp the ende of the same in a knot vnder thier eares” confirms that a hairstyle very similar to the lovelock was worn by the Secota and Pomeiooc Indians. Whatever the true origins of the hairstyle, all commentators agreed that the fashion had been imported from the New World. Francis Higginson, *New-Englands Plantation, or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Countrey* (1630), in *New England’s Plantation, with The Sea Journal and Other Writings* (Salem: the Essex Book and Print Club, 1908), 105; “Account of Alexander’s Voyage,” in Thomas H. McGrail, *Sir William Alexander, First Earl of Stirling: A Biographical Study*

(Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940), 237; Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 4, 1230; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, vol. 4 (London: for Henry Fetherstone, 1617), 954; Harriot, *A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia*, 46.

⁹⁵ James I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London: Robert Barker, 1604), Bv. I have refrained from discussing tobacco in this chapter (none of the “Indians” smoke or are associated with smoking) but complaints about tobacco do in some places (as here) echo complaints against other forms of Indian fashion.

⁹⁶ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, vol. 4, 954. Purchas drops the correlation between English and Indian hairstyles in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. He does however recount his conversation with Uttamatomakkin in the later rendering, including the origins of the love-lock, which was “taught them [by Okeeus] (by his owne so appearing) to wear their Deuill-lock at the left eare.” Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 4, 1774.

⁹⁷ William Prynne, *The Vnlovelinesse of Lovelockes [...] Prouing: The Wearing, and Nourishing of a Locke, or Loue-Locke, to be a altogether vnseemely, and vnlawfull vnto Christians* (London, 1628), 4.

⁹⁸ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, 2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Fisher, *Materializing Gender*, 135. The italics are Fisher’s.

¹⁰¹ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, 59.

¹⁰² Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, in *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition: The Prose Works*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner, vol. 10 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949), 113, 99.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁰⁴ James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 302–327.

¹⁰⁵ Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel Richter, “Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605–1763,” in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 215. Vaughan and Richter argue “[m]ost New Englanders who defected to the Indians were evidently marginal figures in colonial society—fur traders, inhabitants of isolated outposts, or others who never found a place in the characteristically close-knit New England villages. They left no clear track for historians to follow, nor is there reason to believe that their numbers were large. And among families who lived in stable communities—even among servants of such families—converts to Indian life seem almost nonexistent. Voluntary transculturations were greatly feared by New England authorities, but the instances were probably only frequent enough to lend those fears a touch of reality” (228). They count 1,641 New England prisoners, mostly in the four Anglo-French conflicts, of whom 229 remained in exile, but at most “52 of the recorded New England captives, or 3.2 percent, underwent completely the cultural transition from British American to American Indian” (233). The remaining captives lived with French Canadians: “French Canada, not Indian Canada, caught the New England captive’s fancy” (234).

¹⁰⁶ Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, August 1 1612, in Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 572–573; Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, September 22, 1612, in Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 632–633. There is also the assumption in *Eastward Ho!*, noted above, that the Roanoke colony “married with the Indians” (3.3.18).

¹⁰⁷ Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia*, 42, 14.

¹⁰⁸ Percy, “A Trewe Relacyon,” 261–262.

¹⁰⁹ John Smith, *The Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia* (1612), in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, vol. 1, 259–260.

¹¹⁰ John Pory, Report of the First Meeting of the Virginia Assembly, July 30 to August 4, 1619, in *Virginia Company Records*, vol. 3, 175.

¹¹¹ John Rolfe to Edwin Sandys, January 1620, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 245.

¹¹² John Pory to Edwin Sandys, January 13, 1620, *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 253; Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*, 290.

¹¹³ To claim that the English feared that they might “turn Indian” might seem on the surface to be fanciful. The comparisons between the Indians and the ancient Britons did not necessarily signify an imminent threat to English civility. After all, the ancient Britons were, as their name suggested, ancient. The Romans and the Christians had come to Britain and the English had been civilized many centuries before. However, as

Deborah Shuger has argued, the idea that England had once been as uncivil and barbaric as the Indians of America was a recent historiographical discovery. The English has rediscovered their barbarian origins as recently as the 1586 publication of William Camden's *Britannia*. Beforehand the legend of Brutus had dominated as a prevailing origin myth, tying the English not to barbarism but to a classical past. The English were far from assured that they held superior status. Mary Floyd-Wilson has argued in her account of geohumoural theory and English drama that English whiteness "was not a badge of superiority but cast [them] instead on the margins as uncivil, slow-witted, and more bodily determined than those people living in more temperate zones." The tenets of humouralism also suggested that people's physiognomy could change if the climate changed. Colonial propaganda argued that the climate of the Americas would favour the English, as it was not too different from England—it would not, that is, transform them into Indians. The fear that the English might turn Indian also can be linked to the anxieties about conversion and Islam that have been articulated by Jonathan Burton and by Daniel Vitkus, who argues that "[t]he Mediterranean littoral in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a place where identity—in terms of political and religious affiliation—was frighteningly unstable." Of course these anxieties are based more on religion than on race. However, as Ania Loomba argues convincingly, constructions of religious difference were becoming increasingly colour-coded in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: "religion should not obscure or undermine the place of somatic difference; instead, we need to locate how the two come together and transform each other in the early modern period." Thus to "turn Turk" was not just an act of religious conversion; to "turn Indian" involved not only a bodily transformation enabled by the addition of certain forms of clothing and prostheses and the stripping away of other items constitutive of identity, but also a spiritual transformation, as Indians were thought of as heathens. Deborah Shuger, "Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1997): 496; Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4–5; Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 36; Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 46. On Islam and "turning Turk" see also Jonathon Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

¹¹⁴ Hamor, *A True Discourse*, 44.

¹¹⁵ John Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, vol. 1, 160.

¹¹⁶ William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953), 70.

¹¹⁷ Given the emphasis on Indian painting found in so much colonialist writing we might expect to see a transposition of the "washing the Ethiop/Moor white" metaphor. I have found only one instance, but it is instructive. In the sonnet "To the Right Honorable, the Lords of the Councell of Virginea" that begins *For The Colony in Virginea Britannia, Lawes Diuine, Morall, Martiall*, William Strachey writes, "where white Christians turne in maners Mores / You wash Mores white with sacred Christ[jan] blood." Strachey praises the Virginia Council for their godly work in converting the native peoples—with the Moors standing in for the Indians. But his choice of words is curious here. Although the word "Moor" was used to describe native peoples of the Americas, this seems to be a far less common appellation used by colonists—and Strachey had lived in Virginia for a time. Strachey's turn to the "washed-white" Moor rather than the "washed-white" Indian is instructive for two reasons: first, it speaks to the lack of native conversion in Virginia by 1612, but more interestingly it speaks to a confusion as to whether it was possible to wash an Indian white. Wasn't the Indian white anyway? Strachey, following John Smith's observations, certainly thought so. But did the amount of painting and tattooing mean that the Indians' coloration had been permanently altered? Strachey's praise for the Virginia Council persisting with their religious mission where other "white Christians turne in maners Mores" might be a veiled criticism of the Spanish—but it may be a reference to English Christians who ran away to live with the Indians or who adopted Indian habits (perhaps even body-painting). Strachey, *For The Colony in Virginea Britannia*, A.

¹¹⁸ Little, "Shoot That Rogue," 257–258.

¹¹⁹ Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*, 108.

¹²⁰ The experience of captivity, and the enforced exchange of clothing, was of course not limited to America but was also something to which the English were subjected along the Barbary Coast and later in India. See Colley, *Captives*.

¹²¹ Like *Orlando Furioso* and *The Fatal Marriage*, Massinger's play has received little critical attention. T.S. Eliot held it as one of only two saving graces in the Massinger canon (the other being *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*), yet even then he argued that the characterization of Luke was flawed not because of "the extravagant hocus-pocus of supposed Indian necromancers by which he is so easily duped, but the premature disclosure of villainy in his temptation of the two apprentices of his brother." The majority of criticism has tried to defend Massinger on the grounds of his moral fortitude, as Eliot's overall thesis is that Massinger's political and moral convictions were weak, but it has not addressed Eliot's doubts about the presence of "Indian necromancers." Only Michael Neill and Martin Butler have assessed the relationship between Virginia, London, the Indians, and the English, challenging Eliot's dismissal of this as "hocus pocus" and arguing for the embeddedness of knowledge and anxieties about Indian behaviour within *The City Madam*. See T.S. Eliot, "Philip Massinger," in *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1964), 142; Michael Neill, "Charity and Social Order in *The City Madam*," in *Philip Massinger: A Critical Reassessment*, ed. Douglas Howard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 193–220; Martin Butler, "Massinger's *The City Madam* and the Caroline Audience," *Renaissance Drama* 13 (1982): 157–187.

¹²² Frances E. Dolan, "Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand: Art, Nature, and the Face-Painting Debate in Early Modern England," *PMLA* 10, no.2 (1993): 229–230. On anti-cosmetic discourse, see Shirley Nelson Garner, "Let Her Paint an Inch Thick": Painted Ladies in Renaissance Drama and Society," *Renaissance Drama* 20 (1989): 123–139; Annette Drew-Bear, *Painted Faces on the Renaissance Stage: The Moral Significance of Face-painting Conventions* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1994); Callaghan, *Shakespeare without Women*, 75–96; and Farah Kareem-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

¹²³ Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, 70–71.

¹²⁴ Williams, *A Key into the Languages of America*, 114.

¹²⁵ Richard Braithwaite, *The English Gentleman* (London: for Robert Bostock, 1630), 332.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹²⁷ John Williams, *Sermon of Apparell* (London: Robert Barker and John Bill, 1620), 19–21.

¹²⁸ We cannot be entirely sure to what type of Indian Williams is referring. Elsewhere in the sermon Williams complains that so excessive had fashion become that "the *Indians* [...] must bee continually busied to tricke vp and trimme [the English man]. In spinning of their *trees* for silke to apparell him, in diuing to their *seas* for pearles to adorne him, in picking their rockes for *diamonds* to sparkle him, in digging to their Center, for *golde* to lace him, in hunting their vermin for smels to *fume* him." The Indians to which Williams referred are generalized in his sermon as "the remotest people of the world," and most likely he had in mind silk manufacturers from the east as there are no records of Native Americans manufacturing clothing goods specifically for export in the early years of colonization. Williams, *Sermon of Apparell*, 15–16.

¹²⁹ Robert Gray, *A Good Speed to Virginia* (London: for Felix Kyngston, 1609), Bv.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, C2v.

¹³¹ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 4, 1868.

¹³² Neill, "Charity and Social Order in *The City Madam*," 209.

¹³³ David R. Ransome, "Wives for Virginia, 1621," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series, 48, no. 1 (1991): 4–5.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³⁵ Strachey, *For The Colony in Virginea Britannia*, 75.

¹³⁶ Instructions to Governor Wyatt, July 24, 1621, in *The Statutes at Large*, vol. 1, 114.

¹³⁷ Strachey, *For The Colony in Virginea Britannia*, 75.

¹³⁸ Instructions to Governor Wyatt, July 24, 1621, 114.

¹³⁹ John Pory to "the Right Honble and my Singular Good Lorde," September 30, 1619, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 612.

¹⁴⁰ Treasurer and Council for Virginia to Governor and Council for Virginia, August 1, 1622, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 666.

¹⁴¹ Williams, *Key into the Languages of America*, 114.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 185.

¹⁴³ Braithwaite, *English Gentleman*, 16–17.

¹⁴⁴ James I, *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, C5v.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Hall, *Comarum Akosmia the Loathsomnesse of Long Haire* (London: for Nathanael Webb and William Grantham, 1654), 23.

¹⁴⁶ The only example I have come across is Towaye, an Algonquian man housed by Sir Richard Grenville at his estate in Bideford, Devon. He was baptised on March 27, 1588 and buried on April 7, 1589 under the name “Raleigh/Rawly” and is the only known native convert to live and die in an English household. See Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 26–27.

¹⁴⁷ Waterhouse, *Declaration of the State of the Colony*, 16. This was not the first time that the settlers built an English house for the Powhatan. In a bid to curry favour early settlers sent a party, including the soon-to-be notorious “four Dutch-men,” to “build the house for Powhatan against our Arrivall.” The house was a gesture of friendship, although after the building project was compromised by the behaviour of the “Dutchmen” the house was burnt down by the English. Smith, *Generall Historie*, 74.

¹⁴⁸ Report of a meeting of the Virginia Council, August 2, 1919, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 165–166.

¹⁴⁹ Council in Virginia to the Virginia Company in London, April 1622, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 612.

¹⁵⁰ Waterhouse, *Declaration of the State of the Colony*, 14.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13–14.

¹⁵² “The morning meal was a simple affair, because women rarely had time to prepare anything elaborate. Leftover bread, cheese, and cider usually sufficed.” Mays, *Women in Early America*, 104.

¹⁵³ Alden T. Vaughan, “‘Expulsion of the Salvages’: English Policy and the Virginia Massacre,” in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 106–107.

¹⁵⁴ Ben Jonson, *The Irish Masque at Court*, in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, l. 212.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 166, 141.

¹⁵⁶ Jonson, *Gypsies*, l. 134–135.

¹⁵⁷ Mark Netzloff, “‘Counterfeit Egyptians’ and Imagined Borders: Jonson’s *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*,” *English Literary History* 68, no. 4 (2001): 763. Netzloff’s overall interpretation of the masque differs from my own. He argues that the masque reveals the faultlines and failures of incorporation: “As with Jonson’s earlier depiction of the Irish, the emphasis on the counterfeited cultural identity of gypsies ultimately reflects back on the incapacity to constitute a Jacobean imperial identity founded on an Anglo-Scottish imagined community. [...] Therefore, despite James’s best efforts to expel, eliminate, or assimilate gypsies and other vagrants in early modern England and Scotland, their cultural difference did more than simply persist and subvert any attempted incorporation. More importantly, gypsy identity, in both its performativity and its practices of naturalization, provided a model of the reconstitution of borders and political affiliations necessary for an imagined Anglo-Scottish national community. Ultimately, the representation of ‘counterfeit Egyptians’ therefore served to mirror the failure to imaginatively construct a British form of nationhood in the Jacobean period” (783–785). While I agree with Netzloff that the masque exposes the hollowness in the structuring of British identity, I contend that delusions of this nature were important in structuring said identity, and that masques performed ideological work in this construction. We may now be able to pick apart these delusions, but I doubt the degree to which these fictions were understood as delusions at the time. The deracinating of the Irish, of the gypsies, and of the Indians at the end of *The City Madam* were positive ideological acts, even if they did not have any basis in the realities of colonial life.

¹⁵⁸ Jonson, *Gypsies*, l. 143, 1385–1391.

¹⁵⁹ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 4, 1790.

Chapter Four

Staging America

A map had binn very proper to this Book. For all men love to see the country as well as to heare of it.

Nicholas Ferrar, marginal note to his edition of Edward Williams's *Virgo Triumphans: or, Virginia Richly and Truly Valued* (1650)

I personally believe that U.S. Americans are unable to [locate the U.S.A. on a map] because, um, some people out there in our nation don't have maps.

Caitlin Upton, Miss Teen South Carolina, August 2007

I. "You frequent Plays, Do you not?"

In act two scene one of Aston Cockayn's play *The Obstinate Lady* (1639), a London gallant named Lorece, finding himself "marvellously enamoured" with Vandona, a wealthy widow, sets about winning her hand in marriage.¹ Knowing that she has a taste for the theatrical, he tries to woo her by telling a tall tale about "The habits, conditions, and situations of many great kingdoms, [which] I have exactly gathered into my Table-Books; and also my Fortnights observation of the *Antipodes*." The tale, although confusing, is worth repeating here in its entirety because of how it posits Lorece as a consumer both of travel literature and of playhouse drama. That his tale is so confusing is central to this chapter.

Lorece tells Vandona that he began his voyage to the Antipodes in "*Asia at Tlaxcallan*," even though Tlaxcala is in Mexico—the Tlaxcalteca abetted the Spanish conquest of Mexico in

1519–21. From “there we took ship,” crossing either the Atlantic or the Indian Ocean (depending on wherever “there” is: Asia? Mexico?) to “*Madrid*, the Catholick King’s Court.” The crossing was undertaken “in a pair of Oars,” even though a transoceanic voyage would have required something far more substantial than what sounds like a rowboat. In the same “pair of Oars” Lorece criss-crossed the Mediterranean until a shipwreck in Alexandria forced him to adopt the more apposite “Phalake,” or Felucca, the small sailing boat used throughout the Mediterranean.² This switch to a more suitable vessel does not signal that the journey takes on any more of a logical bent: Lorece steered the “Phalake” to more unlikely destinations—to Frankfurt and Mantua, both of which are landlocked. He alighted at the Antipodes, where he saw “So many sights (dear lady) that they almost made me blinde,” including “the Emperours Palace, where Sir *Francis Drake* was entertain’d.”³ He returned to London via the “*South-Indies*,” a term which produces confusion, as Vandona interprets it as referring to where “the *Mogul of Persia* [has] his Bread,” whereas Lorece claims that it is where “The King of *Spain* hath his Gold [...], of which Hollanders took a great Prize, when they won the Silver-Fleet,” a reference to the fleet captured by the Dutch West India Company as it returned from New Spain in 1628.⁴ However, despite his insistence on its New World location, Lorece’s description of “the *South-Indies*” fuses multiple geographies. He reports that “(in stead of Cherry-stones) Children play with Pearls,” a fantasy of conspicuous wealth that mirrors Seagull’s vision of Virginia, where the Indians place “rubies and diamonds [...] on their children’s coats, and [...] in their caps,” in Jonson, Chapman, and Marston’s *Eastward Ho!* (3.3.28–31). Yet according to Lorece the “*South-Indies*” are bounded by eastern limits, “the *Calydonian* Forests, [...] the *Venetian* Gulf, and [...] *China*,” borders which imply that (just as with “*Tlaxcalan*”) Lorece is conflating America and Asia. When he describes “the situation of the Countrey” he draws on classical European mythology: the “*South-Indies*” water supply comes from Aganippe, Hypocrene, Scamander, and Simoeis, its surrounding hills are Olympus, Ida, and Parnassus, and its only valley is the Vale of Tempe.⁵ Following a brief and fittingly topsy-turvy epitome of various national characteristics of, for example, the Dutch

(“sober”), the Italians (“chaste”), and the Irish (“cleanly”), Lorece concludes his account with a final, nonsensical flourish. He describes how “I came at last to *Virginia*,” where, from “*James Town Port*” he “took Horse, and the next morning after a long and tedious journey arrived in *Wales*,” where he visited “*Merlin’s Cave*, which is obscurely situated on the top of a Beach.”⁶

That Lorece has not travelled to “the South-*Indies*” is abundantly clear, especially to Vandona, although that doesn’t stop her from being smitten. Lorece’s account evokes multiple geographies, combining (relatively) contemporary events (the seizure of the Silver Fleet, Drake’s circumnavigation, the conquest of Mexico) with classical, mythological, and entirely imaginary locales. That confusion abounds about the “the situation of the Countrey” of “the South-*Indies*” should perhaps be of no surprise; the “Indies” (whether West, East, South, or “undifferentiated”) had no fixed location in the early modern imagination. What interests me here is why Lorece’s travel tale revolves around a sequence of muddled geographies. When Lorece finishes his account, Vandona asks him whether he “frequent[s] Plays,” to which Lorece answers that playgoing is “most commonly my after-noons employment,” and she asks him whether he has “read many Histories,” to which he replies that he is “a Worm in a book, I go through ‘em.”⁷ Lorece’s responses imply that he has travelled no further than the book-stall and the playhouse.

The first half of this chapter examines which “many Histories” (a term I take to mean historical chronicles, atlases, and travel literature) someone like Lorece may have wormed his way through and, more specifically, what geographical information, particularly information relating to the Americas, may have circulated within and without them. When giving “the situation of the Countrey” of the “South-*Indies*,” Lorece itemizes a bizarre bibliography of “ancient Geographers” and “modern writers,” which suggests that his garbled geography could be attributed to faulty reading habits. He credits Heliodorus, the Greek progenitor of the romance genre, and the romances *Amadis de Gaul* and *Palmerin d’Oliva* as his “ancient” sources. Among his “modern writers” are Don Quixote, a fictional character, and Merlin, a mythological one. He misuses the one contemporary source he cites, explaining how “*Holinshed* affirms [...] the South-

Indians, are separated from *Armenia* by the *Calydonian* Forest, from *Asia Minor* by the *Venetian* Gulf, and from *China* by a great Brick-wall”: Raphael Holinshed, the chronicler of Britain’s history, does no such thing.⁸ Compare his list to the personal collection of John Smith, who wrote in 1631 that he had “more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps” at his disposal in order to persuade potential investors of the viability of transatlantic settlement, a claim that suggests that there was a great deal of geographical information about America out there.⁹ The Virginia Company alone was responsible for the publication of multiple first-hand accounts and second-hand commentaries, many of which had first been performed from the pulpit. Had Lorece’s collection of “Histories” included Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* or Purchas’s *Purchas his Pilgrimes* he would have read about how the Tlaxcalteca aided the Spanish in the conquest of Mexico.¹⁰ That Lorece’s voyage is a fiction is made all the more obvious by his recourse to inapt sources: indeed, Lorece’s description of the “South-*Indies*” resembles in kind that of Bishop Joseph Hall, whose Antipodean satire *Mundus alter et idem sive Terra Australis* was first published in 1605 and translated by John Healey as *The Discovery of a New World or A Description of the South Indies* in 1608.¹¹

As John Gillies has argued, ancient geographical epistemologies held sway over early modern geographers and over other forms of cultural production: “The Shakespearean moment [...] coincided with a moment of unprecedented hermeneutic instability in the *imago mundi*, in which a new geographic poetic was now emerging from, now being swallowed by, the old poetic geography.”¹² As Lorece’s travel tale suggests, this instability affected geographers and poets and also the consumers of geographies and poetics, which in turn impacted their capacity to imagine the New World. The confusions were in part the result of trends in book-selling. As John Parker argues, “[t]he reasons for the persistence and popularity of outmoded geographies, when Virginia or the East Indies might have been expected to find a ready audience, must lie in the conservatism of the great majority of Englishmen who bought books.”¹³ Lorece’s bibliography of “modern” and “ancient Geographers” might mark him out as a typical, “conservative,” mid-seventeenth

century consumer of travel literature, and his imagining of the “South-Indies” parodies the ways in which early modern geographers and readers conflated competing models of the world.

However, Lorece’s reading habits need not simply be a reflection of the period’s lack of intellectual adventure. John Smith accumulated his vast amount of material “to my great labour, cost, and losse,” a phrase which suggests that some, if not most, of his “seven thousand Bookes and Maps” were not readily available to less fervent collectors. In addition, even had Lorece assembled a comparable collection, the information in these sources may not have made the task of comprehending the New World any easier. In his *Of the Circumference of the Earth*, a tract printed in 1612, Sir Dudley Digges objects to “all our moderne Globes and Mappes” which “shew no passage” either Northwest or Northeast, and employs Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy) as one of his central authorities, even though he admits that “*Ptolemeys Hemisphere* reacht little beyond Sumatra and Siam.” Digges defends his decision to turn to the second century geographer and astronomer because he did not want to rely “on the reports of Trauellers (which *Ptolomey* calls *Historiani Peregrinationis*), [because] Trauellours be seldome *Mathematicians*.”¹⁴ Digges’s complaint is in some ways a more charitable way of saying that travellers are not to be trusted. The lack of veracity in travel tales was a common trope in this period—act two scene one of *The Obstinate Lady* parodies this idea, as Lorece’s journey to the Antipodes is entirely fictional—and travel writers had to continually steal themselves against accusations that they had (in New England settler and advocate William Wood’s phrase) “travailed no further than the smoake of their owne native chimnies.”¹⁵ Digges does not reject contemporary sources entirely, and holds the accounts of “Merchants, Saylours, Souldiers” in high regard, but he does so because such people “vse common Rules & Instruments,” that is, like Ptolemy, they gave form to the world by empirical means.¹⁶ Classical geography was a legitimate, longstanding system for comprehending the world, for all its obvious deficiencies, and “*Historiani Peregrinationis*” had not (yet) provided an equivalent system. Digges’s distrust of travellers as “seldome *Mathematicians*” may also reflect the ways in which travel accounts represented the world, in particular the New World, in

multiple and conflicting ways: the same place might be described in different and contradictory ways by different authors or even in different and contradictory ways *by the same author in the same work*. As I will show, maps and travel accounts regularly house such contradictions: even if Digges's turn to Ptolemy led him to make numerous miscalculations about the circumference of the earth, he was in some senses right to distrust "moderne Globes and Mappes" and "the reports of Trauellers."

The second half of this chapter takes up the idea that Lorece's wayward geography derives from his playgoing habit. Vandona asks him whether he "frequent[s] Plays" *before* she asks him about his taste for reading "Histories," intimating that she thinks it is more likely that his descriptions of journeying (confused though they may be) stem from daily visits to the playhouse than from "Histories." Lorece's journey to the Antipodes is most obviously a reference to Richard Brome's *The Antipodes*, performed one year before *The Obstinate Lady* at Salisbury Court, in which the character Peregrine Joyless (like Lorece, a devotee of travel writing, albeit one whose devotion reaches obsessive levels) voyages to what he thinks is anti-London, but which is in fact a theatrical show put on by his family at the house of Letoy (whose fantastical nature also parallels Lorece's). The idea that Lorece has acquired his waywardness from playgoing has a broader relevance to our understanding of early modern dramaturgy that extends beyond the immediate relationship between these two plays. As this study has argued throughout, the playhouse rarely dwelt on the Americas, and no extant plays are set there. I find no specific references in other plays to Tlaxcala or to the Silver-Fleet, nor any that place Jamestown and Merlin's Cave in close proximity. The only plays that draw on American geographies do so in a circumspect manner: for all its American asides, *The Tempest* is not set in the Atlantic; for all the parallels it draws between Virginia and London, *The City Madam* is set in the latter city; *Orlando Furioso*'s setting harkens to a generalized "India" at certain points, but, as its opening lines indicate, the action takes place "within the continent of Africa" (1.1.2). Maybe Cockayn's play suggests that there was a whole host of plays that represented (or misrepresented) the Atlantic

world, from which Lorece has developed his convoluted tale: that we have titles for *The New World's Tragedy* (1595), *The Conquest of the West Indies* (1601), and *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia* (1623) suggests that perhaps American-set drama was not entirely unknown. Cockayn's joke about Lorece's geographical knowledge emanating from the playhouse may also be more generally about theatrical representation. As Douglas Bruster reminds us, "[t]he Renaissance stage remained notorious for its ability to compress, mingle, alter, interchange, and disguise geographic places."¹⁷ This was, after all, a theatre that gave Bohemia a coastline in *The Winter's Tale*. To take geographical lessons from the playhouse may well have been considered to be a rather foolish endeavour.

But even if Cockayn does not have specific plays in mind, and even if the joke is a general one, I would like to persist with the possibility that Lorece's mismappings can be attributed to the playhouse as much as to his books and, further, that they can be attributed to the intersections between the two sources of knowledge. The early modern playhouse was a space in which could be imagined a magical island, nominally located in the Mediterranean, that owed much of its geography to the New World, in which could be imagined a London which mirrored the English colonies, in which a variety of locales bled into one another. Even if no early modern dramatist wrote a play in which Tlaxcala is placed in Asia, in which "the South-*Indies*" is a setting, or in which a character rides overnight from the New World to the Old, it is conceivable that an early modern dramatist could have done so—there was a dramatic possibility for such a play to have been written. That Lorece learns such fantastical, bizarre, and nonsensical geographies from play-going is significant precisely because early modern dramaturgy revelled in fantastical, bizarre, and nonsensical geographies. And America was, for many early modern playgoers, one such landscape, as it was removed from direct experience and mediated by (often incoherent) first- and second-hand accounts.

Moreover, as I will argue in this chapter, a few playwrights were attuned to the dramatic possibilities and representational impossibilities of the New World, precisely because of the

multiple, conflicting, and inchoate images that emerged in early colonial propaganda, in first-hand observations, and in cartographic documents. Early modern drama relied on its audiences to piece out with their minds the geographies of its worlds, a necessity borne of the relatively rudimentary nature of stage mechanics (relative, that is, to the elaborate, and from the 1610s, perspectival scenery employed by Inigo Jones at Whitehall) and an inheritance from rhetorical traditions and earlier forms of stage-craft dating back to the medieval period. This reliance on audiences' capacities to imagine in and of itself probably led to the lack of plays set in the New World—after all, how exactly could an audience member imagine America as a setting when its geography was made up of disparate, even contradictory, attributes? But a handful of playwrights—Ben Jonson, John Fletcher, Philip Massinger—employed this seeming impossibility to their own dramaturgical advantage. America existed for the majority of English men and women in the imagination, as they had little or no direct experience of it: where better to stage such a space than the theatre, a place which represented imagined spaces and (non-) represented actual ones, a space which in the course of performance could hold multiple geographies *in the same place at the same time*. These geographical-theatrical multiplicities were not solely exercises in dramatic virtuosity. Throughout this chapter I return to the reading and playgoing habits of Lorece and Vandona, but my focus in the second half is Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) and Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* (1622), both of which play with the (im)possibilities of staging America, imagining America, investing in America, and settling in America.

II. “A true Mapp and face of the whole country”: Cartography and Colonialism

Cartography, contends Wye Saltonstall in his “Englished” version of Gerardus Mercator's atlas, *Historia Mundi* (1635), allows readers “in their eye-travell, and viewing of severall Countryes, [...] [to] consider the scituation and disposition of countries.” With the aid of a map, curious readers who “heare some relation of this or that Country, of any strange unknowne

people,” such as those who “doe reade the wonderfull histories of the East and West Indies, (in which there are many things which doe rather seeme fabulous than true) [can] apprehend them with such great admiration, and give such earnest attention thereunto, out of the desire which they have to heare such novelties.” Mercator’s *Historia Mundi*, and the maps that it housed, allowed readers to gaze at landscapes like never before, as it “doth containe and represent the whole Globe of the Earth, with all the Countries, Kingdomes, Dominions, Woods, Mountaines, Valleys, Rivers, Lakes, People, Citties and innumerable Townes thereof, with the Seas flowing about it.” Cartography made it possible to behold, and hold, the world. As far as Saltonstall was concerned, “the great and manifold benefits of this Art of Geography” were easy to “discerne.”¹⁸

We find analogous extollings of the benefits of cartographic “eye-travell” elsewhere in the period. In his poem “A Country-Life,” Robert Herrick alludes to the pleasures of travelling experienced by his brother Thomas “at home, without or tide or gale,” as he “Can’st in thy map securely sail”: by “Seeing those painted countries, / [...] And, from thy compass taking small advice,” Thomas can “Buy’st travel at the lowest price.”¹⁹ We might imagine Lorece to be a similar eye-traveller to Thomas Herrick, poring over maps, considering “the situation and disposition of countries,” and recreating imaginary transoceanic voyages at his leisure with the aid of “Histories” like Mercator’s *Historia Mundi*. Yet “eye-travell” was not just the passive experience idealized by Herrick and Saltonstall. London’s mercantile community used maps to “securely sail” between their various international trading interests: for instance Antonio, the titular character in Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice*, is described “Peering in maps for ports, and piers, and roads” (albeit that his sails prove none too secure) (1.1.19). Maps were used in matters of state: William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was an avid map collector and was heavily involved in the composition of Christopher Saxton’s *Atlas of England and Wales* (1579), even annotating Saxton’s manuscript originals at great length. Maps were symbols of power: the “Ditchley Portrait” by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (c. 1592), which depicts Elizabeth I bestriding Saxton’s map of the British Isles, is one of many such examples in the period. The

power that maps wielded had real-world consequences, which would have been most apparent to English men and women through the rise of the estate map: in the words of map historian and theorist J.B. Harley, “[a]ccurate, large-scale plans were a means by which land could be more efficiently exploited, by which rent rolls could be increased, and by which legal obligations could be enforced or tenures modified.”²⁰

Cartography was also a key technology of empire, serving, in the words of Harley, “to prepare the way for European settlement.”²¹ The representation of a vast but cultivatable wilderness encouraged readers to imagine foreign lands as unclaimed, uninhabited, and submissive, just waiting for their arrival. From the late sixteenth century onwards, reconnaissance voyages regularly included surveyors who were expected to map accurately what they observed. The surveyor Thomas Bavin was to have accompanied an expedition in 1583, although all that can be certain about the voyage is that Bavin was issued a series of instructions about how and what to record in his maps.²² Both Thomas Harriot and John White were adept surveyors. Reconnaissance missions elicited the aid of Native American peoples on numerous occasions in order to map territory to which the English subsequently laid claim. In New England in 1602 a map that “described the Coast thereabouts” was drawn by “the sauages [...] with a piece of Chalke” for Bartholomew Gosnold.²³ In 1607 the newly arrived English in Virginia requested information about the Chesapeake Bay from a guide who “offred with his foote to describe the river to vs” and then “layd out the whole River from Chesseian bay to the end of it” with “a pen and paper.”²⁴ In his *Map of Virginia* (1612) John Smith openly credited his Algonquian sources; pointing his readers to the map itself, Smith wrote “that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places have beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe, according to their instructions.”²⁵

After settlement in Virginia, the colonial authorities confirmed the importance of mapping to the governance, concord, and survival of the plantations. On July 24, 1621, William Claiborne was confirmed as the first Surveyor General of Virginia by the Virginia Council. The

job description included taking care “both of Generall and p[ar]ticular Surveyes, whereby [...] a true Mapp and face of the whole country [...] may bee exactlie discoverid.” Claiborne and his successors were required to map the “Creeke riuers highe ground & Lowe ground &c..” They also had to show “y^e Boundaries of the Severall Hundreds and Plantacons [...] to preuent therby future differences that arise vpon questions of possession.” The job also resembled that of the town-planner: the Surveyor General had to “Cast an Imaginarye eye and view, wher and w^{ch} way the grand highwayes may bee like to strike and passe through the Dominions.” The Surveyor General was thus expected to show the Council the lay of the land, the property that the various planters had claimed, and how best to navigate through the terrain, all “for y^e better sattisfaction of the planters.”²⁶ To map the land was in some sense to lay claim to that land and to enable the planters to lay claim to their “possession.” We see this in particular with Claiborne’s instructions, which denote a threefold process: map what is there, divide what is there between settlers, and then project ownership over as yet unclaimed territory and imagine a future infrastructure.

However, the formation of “a true Mapp” of America was compromised by a number of factors. Geographical information could be warped by the distortions and omissions that arose through the many stages of transmission from the colonial surveyor’s eye to the eye-travelling map-reader. Maps were only as reliable as their surveys, and surveyors only as reliable as their “Imaginarye eye and view,” a limitation that was exposed in colonial America in particular, as the territory that the English had actually encountered was small and confined to coastal regions. As William Cronon notes in relation to New England, “[o]nly when settlement began in the 1620s did fuller descriptions start to appear, and even then they were limited to areas within a few miles of the coast or along a few major rivers,” with the result that “the only New England known to Europe was near salt water.”²⁷ The same could be said of Virginia. These gaps in knowledge are also apparent at the other end of the process, as it was not uncommon for maps to fill blank space with vignettes or cartouches—as for example on Mercator’s world map in his atlas, “Orbis Terrae Compendiosa Descriptio,” which features the words “Anno D.’ 1492 a Chistophero Columbo

nominee Regis Castelle Primum Detecta” plastered not over the territory which Columbus claimed for Castile but over continental North America, which Columbus neither encountered nor claimed as Castilian. Other maps fill the large blank spaces of America with hopes and fears: thus on Mercator’s map of South America (or “America Meridionalis”), the space is filled with vignettes of cannibal acts and information that “Ubi Canibales id est”; on the map “De Virginia et La Floride” the space is filled with repeated promises of gold in the Appalachian Mountains “in quibus es aurum & argentum invenitur [in which can be found gold and silver],” and “in hoc lacu Indigene argenti grana inveniunt [in this lake where can be found grains of silver].”²⁸

Cartographic noise impacted map production as far back as the initial data gathering stage. Surveyors like Claiborne faced considerable impediments in the field: the arduous and often insurmountable physical obstacles, the lack of roads and bridges, swamps, and either the unavailability of local guides or the possibility for their misguidance (deliberate or otherwise). In addition, the quality of surveyors was low, even as concerns Claiborne, who according to historian Sarah Hughes seems to have used the position more for his own advancement and “proved to have only a transient interest in measuring land.”²⁹ Things did not improve after he left office in 1625, as even his “minimal standards [...] were abandoned for haphazard descriptions that often left in question whether the surveyor had even been on the land.”³⁰ The tools that became common amongst surveyors in seventeenth century England were not common in the colonies, and there was “little direct transference of surveying skills through immigration.”³¹ Considerable limitations also seem to have afflicted coastal maps. Although Portolans had been crafted for several centuries, the quality of maps of American shorelines was often criticized. In his record of the 1605 George Waymouth reconnaissance mission James Rosier complained that when the ships “stood in directly with the land” off the coast of New England “the crew much marvelled we descried it [i.e., land] not, wherein we found our sea charts very false, putting land where none is.”³² The lack of accurate maps of New England’s coast does not seem to have been rectified by the following decade. John Smith noted in his *A Description of New England* (1616),

a relation of his 1614 Atlantic voyage, that “I have had six or seaven severall plots [maps] of those Northern parts, so unlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did mee no more good, then so much waste paper, though they cost me more.” Smith’s poor stock of maps made him decide to draw “a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, & Land-marks” based on what he saw “as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat.” Yet even here Smith confessed that he had omitted certain things and that his map was not complete: “there be many things to bee observed which the haste of other affaires did cause me omit: for, being sent more to get present commodities, then knowledge by discoveries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would.”³³

In order to explain why his “six or seaven severall plots [...] [were] so unlike each to other,” Smith wondered whether “[i]t may be it was not my chance to see the best.”³⁴ As Smith’s rationale implies, what geographical information there was did not disseminate freely, and explorers could not guarantee that they would “see the best” information. This problem afflicted not just reconnaissance missions, but also, at the other end of the scale, geographers and atlas-compilers. Not all geographers had access to the same information. In a show of humility that contrasts to the boasts of comprehensiveness to be found in Saltonstall’s translation of Mercator’s *Historia Mundi*, Abraham Ortelius, compiler of the first modern atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570; first English edition in 1608), informed his readers that “descriptions of particular Countreys [...] which are here missing, are not missing and omitted, either by our negligence, or that we were lothe to be at that cost and charges: but because that either we never saw any such, or at leastways for that there neuer came any such to our hands.” Ortelius concludes his caveat with a plea to his readers that “If there be any man, which either hath any such, or knoweth where there may be had” the missing geographical information, “we would earnestly entreate, that he would be the meanes to helpe vs vnto them, assuredly promising him, that we will, at our owne cost and charges, not without great thanks to him, and a most honourable mention of his name,

cause them to be cut and imprinted apart and by themselves, that hereafter they may be inserted into this our Booke.”³⁵

Ortelius and Smith never met—indeed, Ortelius was dead long before Smith began his literary career—but there is no guarantee had they been contemporaries that Smith would have come to Ortelius’s “helpe” and shared his library. Maps were often hoarded by rival map-makers keen to preserve the novelty of their publications. Sometimes maps were prohibited from circulating for political reasons, because the information that was on them was politically sensitive. In his 1605 account James Rosier apologizes to his readers that he has had to exclude what was “most exactly obserued by our Captaine [Waymouth] with sundrie instruments” because “some forrein Nation” (he doubtless had Spain in mind) “haue hoped hereby to gaine some knowledge of the place, seeing they could not allure our Captaine or any speciall man of our Company to combine with them for their direction, nor obtaine their purpose, in conueying away our Saluages, which was busily in practise.” Rosier promised that Waymouth “entendeth hereafter to set forth” his “perfect Geographically Map of the countrey,” but the map never saw print, perhaps because the information Waymouth had “most exactly obserued” was an issue of national security.³⁶ These cartographic silences were not unique to England: as J.B. Harley notes, “one of the paradoxes of map history” lies in the fact that “[j]ust as the printing press was facilitating the much wider dissemination of survey data, and just as regional topographical maps were being made for the first time, so, some states and their princes were determinedly keeping their maps secret through prohibiting their publication.”³⁷

Smith’s complaint about his “six or seaven maps” also underscores how maps of the same area were “not only differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the Countrey,” but differed from one to the other. The coastline of Virginia is a case in point. The detailed information about “Virginia” (modern-day North Carolina) present on John White/Theodor de Bry’s map of 1590 resurfaces on subsequent maps from continental Europe, but the information is repeatedly mishandled. As Philip Burden has observed, numerous maps placed the entire

coastline too far north. This error emanates from Cornelius de Jode's "Americae Pars Borealis, Florida, Baccalaos, Canada, Coreterlis," published in Antwerp in 1593 as part of his *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* atlas, which was the first map to use the information on the White/de Bry map. De Jode's error in placing the Chesapeake Bay too far north reappears on Cornelis Van Wytfliet's map of "Norumbega et Virginia" in his atlas *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae Augmentum* (1597), and on Johannes Matalius Metellus's map of "Norumbega et Virginia" printed as part of the German edition of José de Acosta's *De Natura Nova Orbis* (1598). His error in placing the nomenclature Virginia too far north is also apparent on Matthias Quad's map *Novi Orbis Pars Borealis* (1600). Some mapmakers placed the name Virginia right up against the coast, suggesting that the region was small and close to shore: others placed the name lengthwise, in the manner that one might now find mountain ranges recorded on maps, suggesting that the region was extensive. Another map of the period, Hendrik van Schoel's *America* (Paris, 1609), features the name Virginia twice, one set slightly inland, the other closer to the east coast, as if van Schoel can't quite decide where to put it (**figures 8 and 9**). By contrast other maps failed to include Virginia at all—even Jodocus Hondius's *America Novissima Descriptio* (printed 1602), created when he was "[r]esident in London [...] and certainly moving in [Sir Francis] Drake's circle."³⁸ Map accumulators like Smith who had a number of maps of the same place at their disposal would have had a continually shifting perception of the location of Virginia as it moved around from map to map.

Atlases also contained multiple maps of the same region that were (to borrow again from Smith) "so unlike one to other." Confusions about the shape and place of the English colonies are notable in the various editions of Mercator's atlas. In its 1609 edition, on both the general world map ("Orbis Terrae Compendiosa Descriptio") and the map of North and South America ("America Sive India Nova") the name "Virginia" is absent.³⁹ On the "Orbis Terrae Compendiosa Descriptio" and "America Sive India Nova" maps of the 1613 (fourth) edition of the atlas, the colourist leaves an unnamed space between Nova Francia and Florida that mark where Virginia ought to be, but the word is not included.⁴⁰ This absence is not consistent. Mercator did not ignore

Virginia altogether, as all editions include maps dedicated solely to Virginia and Florida, which are composites of the White/de Bry map and Jacques le Moyne's map of Florida (also engraved by de Bry). The various editions of Mercator's atlas house a variety of maps that depict the eastern seaboard, but in most editions the only maps that feature *and name* Virginia are those specifically *of* Virginia. This remains true of editions of Mercator that were printed in the 1630s. Thus twenty-three years after the English settled in Jamestown, and nearly fifty years after the English laid claim to Virginia, the region, and indeed the place-name, only has a sporadic and shifting presence.

Wye Saltonstall's English translation of Mercator (1635) ironed out some of the creases. Saltonstall, Michael Sparke, and Samuel Cartwright (the publishers of the volume) availed—or attempted to avail, as we will see—themselves of up-to-date information about the English colonies to rectify the errors and omissions of their source material. Pre-existing maps are altered. The World map includes the word Virginia in place of the word Norumbega.⁴¹ The map of America features the letters “VIR” nestled in between “Florida,” “Apalchen,” and “Norumbega.” New maps are added. Following the map and description of Virginia and Florida is appended “The Description of New Virginia,” based on “Captaine Smiths last Voyage into this Country,” a new section not found in Mercator, which is included so “that these things may appeare more clearly.”⁴² A map of “New Virginia” is also listed in the Table of Contents. Smith's 1616 map of New England is incorporated in the edition, as is a new map of “The Summer Ilands,” along with a description added because “now seeing they have gotten a peculiar table of their owne, it will not be impertinent to adde this narration thereunto.”⁴³ The “Englished” edition of Mercator slots in English-America place-names and gives England a presence in the New World that other maps, produced on the continent, did not.

However, even in the “Englished” edition the publishers' access to more current information seems to have been compromised. The new maps had troubled histories. The map of “New Virginia” was not included in the volume's initial print run. In the *Errata* that close the

edition, the publishers admit that “there is no Map of *Virginia*, in regard where is a more exact map drawing in that Country whose Platforme is not yet come over, but when it comes, every buyer of the Booke shall have it given him gratis.”⁴⁴ True to their word, the map was printed afterwards and the British Library copy that I consulted has one sown into the binding (**figure 10**). However, it seems as if the map that the publishers had in mind—one that was “in that Country” (i.e. Virginia) and had “not yet come over” by the time that the atlas hit the press—was not the one that they ended up distributing. The Virginia map was engraved by Ralph Hall, who had never been to Virginia. It is a reduced, uncredited derivative of John Smith’s *Map of Virginia*, which had “come over” in 1608 and the “Platforme” of which had been in circulation since the map’s publication of 1612 (**figure 11**). Smith’s map had already been used in eight different publications: although Hall’s map has a few new details, including some re-namings—Rappahannock is renamed Pembroke, and the James River becomes, for some reason, “Willowbyes flu”—along with figures of Indians and English men firing at each other across the territory (appropriate after the decade of fighting between the two following the 1622 attacks), and a leopard split in two halves divided by a river), as John Hébert notes, it “provided no significantly new geographical information.”⁴⁵ We’ll never know if the publishers were attempting to cover their tracks by presenting an old map as new, or if they were expecting a “more exact map” that never emerged, but Hall’s map of Virginia was not the map that was advertised.

Just as Virginia occupies a strange place (or sometimes does not occupy any place at all) in the earlier versions of Mercator’s atlas, so does New England in the “Englished” edition. While the word Virginia is added to the World map and America map, New England is not: “Norumbega,” an older word for the region, has not yet been supplanted by the region’s new nomenclature.⁴⁶ The edition includes a specific map of the region, John Smith’s “Description of New England,” in the last pages. However, unlike “New Virginia” and Bermuda, which according to the publishers are worthy of further explanation, the New England map has no

written description appended. Indeed, the map is not even in the list of contents, although it does feature in the index. As such, the map seems like an after-thought: like the Virginia map it is stitched into the book seemingly after printing, but unlike the Virginia map there is no *erratum* note explaining its origins or its format. Thus even in as authoritative a volume as Mercator's *Atlas*, and even in as wide-ranging a volume as the 1635 English edition, there are gaps in maps, in particular maps relating to America, even (in the case of the latter edition) on maps that depicted English possessions.

For all Saltonstall's boasts about "eye-travell," cartographies of the America were far from accurate or comprehensive. Large swaths of land remained unknown, unexplored, unmapped. What land had been mapped might also be little known, as the vagaries of surveying and the existence of multiple cartographies of the same landscape created an image of America that was frequently contradictory. The state of geographical information about America thus oscillated between two poles: there was both a lack of information and a surfeit; a lack in terms of how little was actually known about the lay of the land; a surfeit, because what was known existed in multiple and often conflicting versions and was based on projections from a range of "Imaginary eyes." To construct a vision of America necessitated the arguably almost impossible task of both projecting onto its unmarked territory and sifting through its various "unlike" representations.

III. "Two or three hours travaile over a few leaves": Reading and Writing the New World

I have interpreted Lorece's "Histories" as a term inclusive of works like Mercator's *Historia Mundi* because it seems logical that anyone interested in engaging in "eye-travelling" and considering "the scituation and disposition of countries" would turn to maps and atlases. This may, however, be an anachronistic assumption. Abraham Ortelius envisioned that "every student would afford a place in his Library" for his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, but not many students, nor indeed many people in general, could afford libraries.⁴⁷ In Catherine Delano-Smith's investigation of probate inventories at Cambridge University in the sixteenth century, only one

Fellow, Andrew Perne of Peterhouse College, had a copy of Ortelius's and Saxton's atlases. Delano-Smith concludes that "[a]tlases can be deemed too expensive for the average Fellow, let alone junior college member."⁴⁸ Atlases were large folio books, which even if they were not bound would still have demanded a significant outlay.⁴⁹ The number of maps to be found in cheaper pamphlets is surprisingly small.⁵⁰ Nicholas Ferrar inserted a copy of his own manuscript map into his copy of Edward Williams's *Virgo Triumphans: or, Virginia Richly and Truly Valued* (1650) because there wasn't one there originally: he noted in the margins of his copy that "a map had binn very proper to this Book. For all men love to see the country as well as to heare of it."⁵¹ Ferrar may not have been alone in doctoring map-less documents—indeed, a number of maps from this period appear only in one copy of the book in question, suggesting that they were later additions—for example the first map of America printed in England, Jean Bellère's "Brevis Exactaq Totius Novi Orbis Eiusq Insularum Descriptio," which is to be found in a single copy of Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's *The Decades of the New World* housed at the New York Public Library.⁵² It is probably fair to say that the majority of English men and women encountered America less through the graphic medium of cartography than through words—that is, they would not have been able to "see a country" but would have had to rely on what they could "heare of it." For the vast majority of the population who encountered America at a remove, the encounter was mediated through language.

On the title-page to *New Englands Prospect* (1634) William Wood announced his intention to "enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling Reader." Wood's intended reader echoes that imagined by Saltonstall, although the organ of travel in this case is not the eye but the mind (Wood's tract does include a map should anybody wish to "eye-travell," although this is not a phrase that Wood uses). Also like Saltonstall, Wood conceives of a reader who "mayest in two or three houres travaile over a few leaves, [and] see and know that, which cost him that writ it, yeaes and travaile, over Sea and Land before he knew it."⁵³ We might remember the complaint of Archbishop Matthew quoted in chapter one about there being too "many tractates, human,

historical, political, or call them as you please” about Virginia in circulation.⁵⁴ There was notable synergy between the book trade and the overseas trading companies. The bookseller William Welby, for example, not only invested in the Virginia Company but was also in the pay of Company Treasurer Sir Thomas Smith to produce materials “intended for distribution about London and the provincial towns where people were likely to be interested either in the speculation or in the colony.”⁵⁵ As the directive to Welby indicates, the circulation of these tracts about the Americas was not just limited to London’s book trade. As Catherine Armstrong has argued, “[s]maller books and pamphlets were carried from London to the provincial markets and fairs by itinerant pedlars, and in many cases the same pedlars carried news from the provinces to be distributed at Paul’s Walk.” There is little evidence to suggest that these networks of distribution carried information about the New World in any systematic way, but news about particular events may have been distributed widely in newsheets or recorded in ballads.⁵⁶ In 1624 John Smith famously travelled the country on what was possibly the world’s first book tour to promote his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*. Wood’s mind-travelling reader would, it seems, have had plenty of matter with which to sate his or her imagination.

The enablement of readerly “mind-travel” was not the only benefit to printing and circulating first-hand observations like Wood’s *New Englands Prospect* or the swath of tracts produced by John Smith. These writings served to define and package the area that the English claimed for themselves and to defend the colonies from alternative, and to many minds’ slanderous, reports about the harsh conditions and unproductive ecology endured by the settlers that led, in Smith’s words, to “thousands [who] can by opinion proportion Kingdomes, Cities, and Lordships, that never durst adventure to see them.”⁵⁷ Wood too sought to stave off the “many scandalous and false reports past upon the Country,” including “relations heretofore past the Presse,” that “doe disprarrage the land” and “condemne it of barrennesse.”⁵⁸ Relations by the likes of Smith and Wood attempted to give the colonies form *through writing*, to correct the

misinformation swirling about a world of which only a few people had first-hand experience, and to streamline the image of America. We see this perhaps most clearly in the structures employed by Smith throughout his literary career. Each section of Smith's *Generall Historie* begins in more or less the same way, with a description of the territory under discussion in terms of its latitude, general geographical characteristics, and chief natural resources, before furnishing an in-depth, systematic discussion of the specific locations within the frame that he has set up. Throughout his writing Smith references others of his works—in *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith* (1630), for example, proclaiming that he “would be sorrie to trouble you with repeating one thing twice” and directing readers “to the Generall Historie, where you shall finde all this at large.”⁵⁹ While doubtless as canny a self-promoter as Smith recognized the lucrative possibilities of cross-promotional marketing, his attempts to establish and legitimate a library of recent colonial history also underscores his desire to surpass and invalidate alternative and competing forms of knowledge. As Ralph Bauer argues, “the cultural anxiety about new empirical knowledge that challenged the received authorities, and the problem of trust and verifiability across vast spatial distances, resulted in an effort to discipline the traveler's account of firsthand testimony in ‘trusting’ networks that imposed certain scientific rules on scientific observation generally and geographic language particularly.”⁶⁰ Smith, as well as numerous other travellers, attempted to impose form onto the landscapes he observed by imposing form on his observations.

Nevertheless, despite the undoubted wider circulation of written tracts in comparison to maps, we still find breakdowns in the transmission of geographical information that are analogous to those that affected American cartographies. Much of the information emanating from exploration and reconnaissance was lost or received only minimal circulation. A number of explorations had no written record: as Catherine Armstrong notes, “[e]xplorers themselves were often not interested in recording their experiences in print.”⁶¹ In other cases, accounts were lost in transit. In his *Description of New England* John Smith apologized to those “divers others” who

had “a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place some in another” but whose “kenning” Smith had had to omit, because “their true descriptions are concealed, or never well observed, or died with the Authors.”⁶² Publishers regularly commandeered texts that had not been intended for promotional purposes.⁶³ The first stage of Smith’s literary career, his *True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia* (1608), was not intended for print (Smith would not return to England for another a year), but rather, wrote John Healey in the tract’s address to the reader, the publishers (John Tappe and William Welby) had happened “upon this relation by chance [...] [and] thought good to publish it.” The publishers decided to print it even though “the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults have escaped in the printing.”⁶⁴ Alexander Whitaker’s *Good Newes From Virginia* (1613) originally “was spoken there” (it seems to be based on one of his sermons: Whitaker was the minister for the Henrico plantation) and was sent to London for “priuate vse and encouragement” and not “with any intent to make it publike.” The London council decided that Whitaker’s account would be a useful tool to promote the colony more widely and to ward against “the cunning and coloured falshoods deuised by the enemies of this Plantation.”⁶⁵

That Smith’s and Whitaker’s accounts saw print may be testament to the commercial savvy of London’s booksellers keen to capitalize on recent, newsworthy events, but it may also testify to the desperation of London’s booksellers to generate matter about the English in the New World in compensation for the relative lack of written information available for print and circulation. At least Whitaker’s and Smith’s accounts were relevant to the Virginia colony. In other cases publishers turned to works that said little or nothing about the “enterprise” directly, because such information was not readily available, and some of the texts that booksellers appropriated in support of colonization were tangential at best. Richard Hakluyt masterminded the publication of *Virginia Richly Valued* in 1609, whose title sounds like so many other tracts written in this year of mass-promotion, but its subtitle, “... A Description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour,” bears out the fact that Virginia has little or nothing to do with the

main body of the text. The narrative at the heart of *Virginia Richly Valued*, written by a Portuguese “Gentleman of Elvas” and translated by Hakluyt, describes the voyage of Hernando de Soto who traversed west from modern-day St. Petersburg in western Florida, crossed the Rio Grande, and ended up in Mexico City. The Dedicatory Epistle notes that “[t]he distances of places, the qualities of the soiles, the situations of the regions, the diuersities and goodnesse of the fruits” will be “set downe in the conclusion of this booke,” but the concluding chapter features only a bare-bones itinerary of the Portuguese party and omits information about how what they encountered *en route* related to Virginia.⁶⁶ The Virginia of *Virginia Richly Valued* is a void-space, only given partial form through its relationship to other spaces (Florida, Mexico).⁶⁷ *Virginia Richly Valued* may be a rather extreme example, but its publication implies that there was not an inexhaustible wealth of narratives about the English in America for people like Hakluyt to translate or publishers like William Welby to sell.

Other tracts of the period contribute to the sense that the English knew little about the territory that they claimed for themselves. This seems to be particularly the case with Virginia. Whereas John Smith was apologetic to those whose information he had not been able to use in his *Description of New England*, he was less forgiving of the ignorance of the Virginia settlers. According to Smith, the English were “ignorant” about “the goodnes and true substances of the Land.” Smith complained that anybody who thinks that “every one which hath bin at Virginia understandeth or knowes what Virginia is” would be mistaken, as there was much that the English had not ventured to know.⁶⁸ While he repeatedly attempted to redress this ignorance in subsequent publications, he confessed in a later text, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith* (1630), that he had “tired my selfe in seeking and discoursing with those returned thence,” but found that “few can tell me any thing, but of that place or places they have inhabited, and he is a great traveller that hath gone up & downe the river of James Towne, been at Pamaunke, Smiths Iles, or Accomack”—regions which Smith had experienced for himself during his two years in the colony over twenty years earlier.⁶⁹ Smith

apologized to his readers for the limited sense of Virginia in his volume, but his hands were tied because of the paucity of the information at his disposal.

That knowledge about the English colonies was constrained was not just the result of colonists' indifference towards exploring further afield into the "unknown." William Wood's address to his readers in his *New Englands Prospect* is instructive in this regard. The appeal to a general "mind-travelling" reader on the title page of *New Englands Prospect*, and the tract's very title, signals that the intention of the tract is to provide an extensive overview of the colony. The word "prospect" suggests that Wood will provide a vantage point from which a reader can see the entire colony. But the word also has financial connotations, as does the note also on the title-page that the book will "benefit the future Voyager."⁷⁰ Despite Wood's initial appeal to the leisured reader, *New Englands Prospect* imagines a particular and more proactive readership whom are encouraged to envision New England's economic prospects. The sense is confirmed at the beginning of the first chapter, when Wood describes that his reason for writing was "for the further encouragement of those that hereafter, either by Purse, or Person shall helpe forward the Plantation."⁷¹ Here it seems that Wood's objective is to cater not to "mind-travelling readers" so much as to prospective investors ("by Purse") or prospective migrants (by "Person").

The appeal to "Purse, or Person" is common throughout English colonialist tracts, unsurprisingly given that the various Atlantic trading companies needed to woo investors and settlers: for them the accumulation of geographical data was not a leisurely pursuit. One side-effect of this economically-minded appeal was that many accounts of the New World were little more than lists of what products could be grown there, what could be exported from there, and what might be imported. The first two sections of Thomas Harriot's *A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* (1588; 1590) are devoted to "Marchantable Commodities." Some of these commodities had English analogues, but many—beaver furs, cod, sassafras, wood, mulberry trees for use in sericulture—were scarce in Europe. This categorizing of American landscapes was designed to make settlement in America an alluring possibility. As William

Cronon has argued, “[d]escriptions framed on such a basis were bound to say as much about the markets of Europe as they did about the [local] ecology.” This limited sense of the landscape had detrimental effects on the ecology of New England (and that of Virginia), because “[s]eeing landscapes in terms of commodities meant [...] treat[ing] members of an ecosystem as isolated and extractable units.” America was reduced to a series of moveable commodities: as Cronon notes in relation to the preponderance of tree-lists in colonialist writing, it would not be possible to use them “to describe what the forest actually looked like,” but it would be possible “to detail resources for the interest of future undertakings.”⁷²

Just as an appeal to potential patrons frequently delimited the scope of the “prospect” of the New World, so did the interests of the current backers. This particularly affected the Roanoke mission. As Michael G. Moran has argued, the various and contrasting reports of Roanoke can be attributed to the various and contrasting models of overseas expansion at stake for the primary instigators of the expedition. Walter Raleigh, the chief backer, imagined “full-fledged colonial plantations inhabited by English men, women, and children under English law [that would] form an agrarian society.”⁷³ As a result, people in the Raleigh faction like Arthur Barlowe, Harriot, and John White stressed in their reports the area’s economic and agricultural potential, the ease of living with native tribes, and the likelihood of a colony’s longevity. In the opposing camp stood Francis Walsingham, a chief proponent of establishing “a series of smaller commercial centers along a transcontinental passage that he supposed connected with the Pacific Ocean.” His man in Roanoke, the Governor of the first colony Ralph Lane, concluded that “the area lacked anything of value to support an agricultural settlement of the kind that Raleigh envisioned [...] [and] was worth settling only if a deep water port, a working mine, or a passage to Cathay were discovered.”⁷⁴ Thus the very same landscape was described in dichotomous terms: Roanoke was a pastoral haven and/or an enervating desert, a region rich with commodities and/or a land where it was impossible to grow anything, a paradise and/or a hell.

By the seventeenth century most officially-sanctioned reports of America stressed its abundance and dismissed claims of barrenness as hearsay. Nevertheless, confusion about the nature and productivity of the land continued to abound. Spanish Ambassador Pedro de Zuñiga informed Philip III on October 8, 1607 that “the soil [of Virginia] was very sterile and that those have been sadly deceived who had hoped to find there great riches,” and concluded that “there can be no other purpose connected with that place than that it appears to them good for pirates.”⁷⁵ Zuñiga’s successor, Alonso de Velasco, had heard differently. In a letter dated March 22, 1611, he related to the King of Spain that he had gathered information “[t]hat the province is very fertile in all that may be planted and of a good climate—that there is much wild growing fruit and great quantity of grapes, and thus it is believed, that they would try to have vineyards—there is a great abundance of fish along the coast and in the rivers, and good oak timber as well as all the main necessities for ship building.”⁷⁶ The purported fecundity about which Velasco wrote pricked the interests of many English who came to believe that Virginia so teemed that it required little effort on the colonists’ part. This had a detrimental effect. William Wood blamed the problems that arose in New England on “many hundreds hearing of the plenty of the Country [...] [who] ventured thither in hope to live in plenty and idlenesse.” When this lack of industry resulted in hardships, rumours circulated that “the people have beene often driven to great wants and extremities.”⁷⁷ Promotional materials about the colonies had done their work too well, which resulted in a backlash that depicted the colony as barren and harsh. In addition, the same recorder described America in contradictory ways. In an official report, Lord de la Warr recorded that “[t]he Countrey [of Virginia] is wonderfull fertile and very rich, and makes good whatsoever heretofore hath beene reported of it.” He blamed the illness that had necessitated his speedy return to England on “the state of my body” rather than the state of the colony.⁷⁸ However, in a letter to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, September 1610, de la Warr presented a different image, describing how “uppon the tenth of June I landed at James Towne being a verie noisome and unholosome place occasioned much bie the mortalitie and Idlenes of our owne people.”⁷⁹ In his

printed report de la Warr, on the defensive because of his sudden homecoming, toed the company line: in his letter to Cecil, de la Warr let his guard down.

Similar contradictions about the barrenness and fecundity of the land can be found even in the same account by the same author. We find lingering traces of the notion of the empty land waiting to be filled in promotional material describing the agricultural possibilities of New World settlement, even as it propagated the abundance of the land's natural resources. In describing Virginia in *Nova Britannia* (1609), Robert Johnson dispels the claims of the Spanish "ouer all other partes of *America*, which containe sundrie vast and barbarous Regions, many of which (to this day) they neuer knew, nor did euer setle foote therein," because they "neuer stretch[ed] to compasse or replenish the hundreth part thereof." These unclaimed, "barbarous Regions" included Virginia, "a wildernes, subiect (for the most part) but to wilde beasts and fowles of the ayre, and to sauage people."⁸⁰ While Johnson describes Virginia as empty in order to rubbish Spanish claims on the territory, he also tries to appeal to his auditors and readers, some of whom may have wanted to invest in the colony, some of whom may have wished to migrate; he thus describes Virginia as a "land [which] yeeldeth naturallie for the sustentation of man, abundance of fish, both scale and shell: of land and water fowles, infinite store: of Deere, Raine and fallow, Stags, Coneys, and Hares, with many fruits and rootes good for meate."⁸¹ In Johnson's report Virginia is characterized both by barrenness and plenitude. Of course, this need not be contradictory. That Virginia was a wilderness, hence uncultivated, need not mean that it was impossible to cultivate nor that it was irredeemably desolate—Johnson wanted, after all, to stress the land's potential. The result, however, was that colonialist propaganda described America paradoxically as both empty and occupied, a blank slate and a haven filled with commodities, oscillating between the two poles depending on the particular interests being expressed and elicited.

English knowledge of the New World was limited to the colonies, and even then there were significant absences and incoherences. Smith complained that, like Apelles, who "by the

proportion of a foot, could make the whole proportion of a man,” men and women in England concluded certain things inaccurately about the geography of the English colonies, spurred on by newsmongers “betwixt the *Exchange, Pauls* and *Westminster*” who would “tell as well what all England is by seeing but *Milford* haven, as what *Apelles* was by the picture of his great toe.”⁸² However, for the most part, a Milford Haven-esque hallux was all that the English could discern of the New World: the imagination had to fill in the rest, and, indeed, had to knit together what was known about America, so incoherent was much of the information that migrated across the Atlantic. That these inconsistencies emerged can be attributed to the various and competing interests of people attracted to investing in or migrating to America. It can also be put down to the taxonomic strain that the New World placed on its European observers. Like the Virginia evoked-in-absence in Hakluyt’s translation of “The Gentleman of Elvas,” it was in a sense a *tabula rasa* onto which various explorers, writers, investors, migrants, and even “mind-travellers” projected landscapes that they wanted (or in some cases feared) to see.

IV. “Or else the tale will not be conceived”: Imagining America

The oclusions and confusions manifest in maps of and reports about the New World may explain why Lorece muddles his geographies in *The Obstinate Lady*. It does not explain the implication in the scene that his mistakes derive from his visits to the playhouse. So what might Vandona’s question about Lorece’s tendency for the theatrical imply? And in particular why do so many of his errors revolve around mismapping the Americas if there are no plays set across the Atlantic? A number of plays invoke America and its cognates as a distant, mysterious, and by and large unknown place. In John Fletcher’s *Rule a Wife and have a Wife* (1624), for example, the character Michael Perez recounts his two visits to the Indies, where he was baffled by many “strange things.”⁸³ As discussed in chapter one, the Americas were associated with vast, almost unimaginable wealth, for which characters pledge their longing or through the rejection of which characters express their love for another. At the conclusion of another Fletcher play, *The Knight*

of *Malta* (1619), the villainess Abdella, a Moor, is described as “the Picture of America.” The categories “Moor” and “Indian” were slippery in this period: Abdella has nothing to do with the Americas, the play is set (as its title suggests) in Malta, and this American allusion is perhaps similar to Lorece’s conflation of South and West Indies. But also Abdella is called “the picture of America” because her conduct can barely be imagined in the normal run of things: she is described as “Succuba” and the “devils seed” as well.⁸⁴ Playhouses not only circulated inaccurate and ill-informed information about America (at least according to *The Obstinate Lady*), but also stressed how strange and unknown the continent was.

If the popular impression of America was that it was strange and unknown then perhaps it is no wonder that we find no plays set there. Playhouse drama did not employ elaborate scenography in the manner of Inigo Jones and his contemporary masque-makers: there is no “Indian scene” to compare with that witnessed as part of Jones’s collaboration with William Davenant, *The Temple of Love* (1635). Perspective scenery seems to have first been introduced to the professional stage in John Suckling’s *Aglaura* at Blackfriar’s in 1637—designed by none other than Inigo Jones—but it did not become widely used until the late interregnum.⁸⁵ Instead place and space were established by costume, movement, and words. Playhouse drama required its audience to, as it were, fill in what it could not represent directly. For example, the Chorus in Thomas Heywood’s *The Fair Maid of the West Part One* (1604) apologizes that “Our Stage so lamely can express a sea / That we are forc’d by Chorus to discourse / What should have been in action”: the Chorus commands the audience to “Now Imagine” what the play cannot, or will not, represent.⁸⁶ The Chorus in Thomas Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus* (1599) asks the audience to “clap on [the] wonted wings” of Andelocia with its “swift thoughts” to take “this fugitive” from Genoa to England. Having described Andelocia and Agryppine’s reunion, the Chorus then asks the audience to “Imagine this”—by which he means the stage—to be the “wilderness” to where they have fled.⁸⁷ Most famously, in Shakespeare’s *Henry V* (1599) the Chorus apologizes that the theatre cannot “hold the vasty fields of France,” and asks the audience to use their “imaginary

forces” to transform the “wooden O” of the theatre into Agincourt, one player into “a thousand parts,” and “talk of horses” into real ones. The Chorus articulates how geography will work in the ensuing drama. To “piece out [...] imperfections” requires an imaginative process, whereby “one man” can stand in for “a thousand” (Prologue 27–29).⁸⁸

Given the inchoate accounts about the unknown New World, would it even have been possible for a playgoer to form a coherent image of America? If the stage could not “cram / Within this wooden O the very casques / That did affright the air at Agincourt” (14–15), what hope that it could hold America? What equation would have enabled the audience’s “imaginary forces [to] work” (19) to create an America in its mind? It seems likely that the lack of knowledge in circulation about the Americas, and the circumscribed nature of what was in circulation, restricted the possibility for the New World to be represented as a theatrical setting. The deictic “imagine this” required some form of cognitive response from the audience: without a reciprocating “that,” the theatrical projection faltered. Perhaps then the joke in *The Obstinate Lady* about Lorece’s mismappings revolves around the limitations in the circulation of information about the Americas, and Vandona’s question as to whether Lorece goes to plays is a response to his theatrical manner.

However, I want to persist with the idea that the joke about Lorece’s journey is also a joke about theatrical representation. Early modern drama repeatedly challenged its own representational capacities by setting plays that moved through a variety of generic spaces like homes, streets, forests, and islands, and through specific places like London, Athens, Ormuz, or maybe even America. Peter Holland has pointed out that “[p]lacing a voyage on stage is, of course, a direct route to dramaturgical difficulty,” because “[t]he readiest way of demonstrating the limitations of the stage is to try to move spaces.”⁸⁹ Yet, as Holland points out too, dramatists repeatedly invoked travel and movement. Drama could do this *because* it asked its audiences to imagine location: it was not lumbered with excessive scenery (as were masques, which took

hours to complete because of the elaborate designs and complicated machineries); its very limitations enabled its fluidity and flexibility.

Moreover, early modern drama was frequently explicit about its limitations. Philip Sidney famously mocked plays for their ludicrously expansive geographies, “where you shall have Asia on the one side, and Afric on the other, and so many other under-kingdoms, that the player, when he cometh in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived.”⁹⁰ And yet early modern drama seemed to revel in such apparent follies. Self-conscious manipulation of space and time was part and parcel of theatrical representation; the employment of characters and choruses “telling” the audience “where he is” was not a source of embarrassment, but rather a central component in the creation of stage space. Indeed, the imaginative engagement that playhouse drama required of an audience was perhaps a source for much of the pleasure of playgoing.

To present “Asia and Afric” on the same stage, albeit on “one side, and [...] on the other,” is also to highlight that the playhouse *can* hold such spaces *at the same time*. Take the closing scene of John Day’s *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607), which demonstrates how such effects are fundamental to theatrical performance by representing Persia, England, and Spain simultaneously. In the closing moments the eponymous Shirley siblings are separated by considerable distance, but are present together on the same stage. In dumb-show, Robert enters “with the state of Persia as before,” Anthony enters with the King of Spain from whom “he receives the Order of Saint Iago, and other offices,” and Sir Thomas is “in England with his father and others.” That all three characters are in different places but that all three actors occupy the same stage space is explicitly addressed. When Fame asks the audience to use their “apprehensions [to] help poor art / Into three parts dividing this our stage,” she bequeaths to each brother “a perspective glass,” through which “they seem to see one another.” So convinced are they of their proximity that they “offer to embrace,” but Fame prevents them from so-doing and “parts them,” at which point they exit.⁹¹ In one sense, Fame’s intervention prevents the brothers

from breaking the theatrical illusion that the stage has been divided into Persia, Spain, and England and that the brothers are separated by vast distances. However, through intervening Fame shatters the illusion of distance by making it apparent that the actors *could* have embraced had they not been parted. *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* exposes its own theatricality: the Shirley brothers are actors and the distance separating them is sustained only by dint of a theatrical wager: without the audience's "apprehension" the scene would collapse, but the fact that the scene announces its reliance on the audience's "apprehension" causes the illusion at the heart of the scene to collapse anyway. Rather than denounce its inability to represent three different places at once, the closing moments of *Three Brothers* celebrates the fact that the theatre is the only place where such tricks can be performed.

In whatever play Sidney saw, "Asia and Afric" were on stage at the same time; so too, Asia and Europe are on the same stage at the end of Day's play. So what about America? In *The Obstinate Lady*, Lorece's account of his journey concludes with a description of his homeward return, an overnight horse-ride from Jamestown to Wales. This misplacement of Virginia so that it is so close to the British Isles that a journey between the two takes a night and is possible to complete by land could be attributed to the proximity—both spatial and dispositional—that much colonialist propaganda insisted upon between the two. Promoters claimed that Virginia and England were not far apart in terms of distance; thus William Wood described Massachusetts Bay as being reachable simply by "bearing South-west from the Lands end of *England*."⁹² They also stressed that Virginia and England were not far apart in terms of their respective environments, landscapes, and ecologies. Lorece's misplacement also ties in with the ways in which playhouse drama played with and manipulated the proximities between the New World and the Old. We have already seen these proximities at play in Massinger's *The City Madam*, in which disguised "Indians" take over an English household and reveal that Londoners, Virginia settlers, and Virginians resemble one another in not altogether flattering ways. In the following section, I will turn to another such play, Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), in which oscillates the spatial

and dispositional distance between London and Jamestown, so much so that at points the eponymous Fair at Smithfield begins to resemble the colony. The play ridicules the characters who go to Bartholomew Fair (in particular those who denounce the Fair only to become drawn to its “enormities”) and mocks Virginia’s early settlers by taking the idea that Virginia and England were proximate to logical extremes. Through these oscillations Jonson explores the resemblances between city and colony, and the ways in which the imagination—of the playgoer, and of the venturer in overseas colonization projects—structures these resemblances.

Lorece’s description of his journey conflates Asia and America: a Mexican city is located in Asia, Vandona and Lorece cannot agree whether the South-Indies are where the Spanish king keeps his gold or where the Mogul of Persia keeps his bread, and “the situation of the Countrey” incorporates elements of both east and west. Such confusions between geographies appear common in this period, as I have argued earlier in this chapter and elsewhere in this study. However, if Lorece’s confusions of Asian and American places do stem from what he has picked up while playgoing, then presumably he saw a play or plays that announced “Asia on the one side, and America on the other.” While we do not have any plays set in America, we do have a handful of plays that employ the early modern stage’s capacity for staging multiple places *in the same place at the same time*. We have seen this already in chapter three in Robert Greene’s *Orlando Furioso*, which although nominally set in Africa contains transatlantic elements in its geography. The geography of *The Tempest* draws from a variety of topographies from the Mediterranean world to the Atlantic world. The play to which I turn in my final section, Fletcher and Massinger’s *The Sea Voyage* (1622), is set on two unnamed islands, one barren and one fertile, which recall the ways in which foreign climes—particularly transatlantic ones—were described in promotional matter.

I am not here claiming that Cockayn’s joke about playgoing is a deliberate nod to either *Bartholomew Fair* or *The Sea Voyage*. Neither is set in America, nor do they conflate Asia and America. Jonson’s play is set in London; Fletcher and Massinger’s is set on islands that may or

may not be located somewhere in the Atlantic. I don't think Cockayn is making anything more than a general, parodic point about early modern dramaturgy in the manner of Philip Sidney's complaint; if there is any play lurking behind Lorece's travel tale it is Brome's *The Antipodes*. My claim for *Bartholomew Fair* and *The Sea Voyage* is not that both are effectively set in America—importantly they are not—but that the stage's capacity to draw on multiple locations at the same time makes it possible for both plays to hint at, and at points even incorporate, American locales that in turn echo or resemble other spaces and places. These plays are of particular interest because of the ways in which they attend to how the Americas were reported and recorded, which is to say that they seem to acknowledge the confused and incoherent character of the reports and records. By so doing, both plays offer something of a critique of colonialist enterprise, most particularly *The Sea Voyage*, which through its attention to conflicting accounts of the Americas seems in its final moments to deny the very possibility of lasting settlement in the New World.

V. “You were e'en as good go to Virginia ...”: Investing in America in *Bartholomew Fair*

In early colonialist propaganda, the geography of the New World was frequently explained in terms of the Old, not just to make America legible to untravelled readers, but also to sell America to potential investors and settlers. In *New Englands Prospect* for example, William Wood describes the areas of settlement in New England as “the best ground and sweetest Climate in all those parts, bearing the name of *New England*, agreeing well with the temper of our *English* bodies, being high land, and sharpe Ayre”: “In publike assemblies it is strange to heare a man sneeze or cough as ordinarily they doe in old *England*.”⁹³ Such comparisons were employed to convince readers that the New World was not so different from what they already knew. Thus in describing New England, Wood argued that the plantation suited “*English* tillage” as “the corne [was] very good especially the Barly, Rye, and Oates.”⁹⁴ The effect of passages such as this was to make the landscape seem familiar. In other passages Wood makes it seem as if New England

actively welcomes English ships, for example when he describes how “[t]he Mariners having sayled two or three Leagues towards the bottome, may behold the two Capes embracing their welcome Ships in their Armes, which thrust themselves out into the Sea in forme of a halfe-moone”: so hospitable is New England that its coast even reaches out to greet newcomers.⁹⁵

These associations between Old Worlds and New are present, and parodied, in Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*, first performed at The Hope on Bankside in 1614. Smithfield, as represented by Jonson, comes to resemble the Americas on a number of occasions. Justice Overdo’s crusade against the Fair is cast in terms of New World exploration. He sets about discovering the “enormities” of the Fair and grandiosely compares his “labours” and “discoveries” to “Columbus; Magellan; or our countryman Drake of latter times” (5.6.32–34).⁹⁶ There are numerous references to tobacco in the play, and it is explicitly linked to the Americas when Overdo rails against “that tawny weed, tobacco [...] whose complexion is like the Indians’ that vents it!” (2.6.19–21) According to Wasp, London is full of “a kind o’ civil savages, that will part with their children for rattles, pipes, and knives” (3.4. 28–31): thus the English resemble the Indians, as their “civil savagery” mirrors the by-now common assumption that Indians could be engaged in trade for trinkets. The play’s allusions to America, and Overdo’s comparisons of the Fair to the New World in particular, recall one of the rationales for transatlantic colonization, which was that the colonies would allow the English to vent their excess population who would then be given the opportunity for self-reform by building up a colony. As Spanish Ambassador Don Alonso de Velasco wrote in 1611, “[t]heir principal reason for colonizing these parts is to give an outlet to so many idle and wretched people as they have in England.”⁹⁷ As discussed in the last chapter, at the conclusion of *The City Madam* Luke is threatened with deportation to Virginia where he might be able to repent for his misdeeds. In *Bartholomew Fair* Jonson seems to imply that there is a resemblance between the Fair and Virginia: both are riddled with crime and misdemeanour, both are tobacco-ridden, and both are plagued with “enormities.” As Rebecca Ann Bach notes, *Bartholomew Fair* rehearses the rumours that dogged the Company “by incorporating the

colony's wildness into representations of the metropolis and metropolitan wildness into representations of the colony." Jonson's play taps into these analogies between London and Virginia: "Both London and Virginia looked like a new world, addicted to tobacco, drinking, gambling, and other forms of 'savagery.'⁹⁸

But it is not just the criminal elements populating the Fair who succumb to the "enormities" on show and behave like "civil savages." Bartholomew Cokes, described in the *dramatis personae* of the 1631 quarto edition of the play as "An Esquire of Harrow," is obsessed with the worthless baubles of the Fair. Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, a Puritan, enters the Fair so that "we may be religious in midst of the profane" (1.6.64–65), but he effectively becomes indistinguishable from the criminals when he is arrested and placed in the stocks. Win Littlewit and Justice Overdo's wife dress up as prostitutes, and the latter gets so inebriated that she vomits at the very end of the play. As Mathew Martin argues, "the Fair's visitors struggle to trope the Fair as alien, but as they are drawn into the Fair through desire and revulsion, the alien reveals itself to be very familiar while the visitors themselves become part of its strangeness."⁹⁹ Jonson appropriates the notion that England and Virginia were proximate and that the colony was a place to which the English might vent their unwanted, to suggest that the similarities idealized in promotional matter could not mask the less flattering ties between colony and city.

I want to focus here on the first two references to Virginia in *Bartholomew Fair*, which occur in the play's Induction. I concentrate on these two references because they address the limitations both of theatrical representation and of the English engagement (imaginative and economic) with the New World. I also concentrate on them because they have been by and large under-read by critics. Before the play-proper begins, the Stage-keeper offers an apology for what the audience is about to experience at The Hope Theatre. According to his testimony, what the play *Bartholomew Fair* depicts is far removed from what goes on in the real Bartholomew Fair. The play is "a very conceited scurvy one," and "the poet [...] has not hit the humours, he does not know 'em." He has omitted key facets of the real Fair: there is no "sword and buckler man, [...],

nor a little Davy, to take toll o' the bawds there, nor a Kindheart, if anybody's teeth should chance to ache in his play [...] Nor a juggler with a well-educated ape." There is, in short, "None o' these fine sights!": "When 't comes to the Fair, once: you were e'en as good go to Virginia, for anything there is of Smithfield" (IND. 8–18).

As critics like Bach and Martin have pointed out, the Stage-keeper's allusion sets in motion a sequence of comparatives between Virginia and England. Bach, for example, claims that "[a]ccording to the play's denigrating Stage-keeper, the play's fair resembles the Virginia colony as much as it resembles London's Smithfield."¹⁰⁰ But although Jonson plants the idea of resemblance between the Fair and the colony in the very first speech of the play, the Stage-keeper does not (quite) make the comparison Bach claims for him. In upbraiding "the poet" (I use the term "the poet" here to distinguish the object of the Stage-keeper's complaints and Jonson himself, who of course scripted the lines spoken by the Stage-keeper), the Stage-keeper does not tell the audience that *Bartholomew Fair* mirrors Virginia more than the real Fair; rather, he tells them that Virginia resembles the real Fair *more* than *Bartholomew Fair* does—thus the audience might as well "go to Virginia" rather than stay at the theatre to watch the rest of the play. Thus, in a sense, *Bartholomew Fair* and the colony are better analogues of each other than *Bartholomew Fair*.

So why does the Stage-keeper allude to Virginia? In some ways the Stage-keeper's allusion is similar to saying that you might as well go "to the moon" to see the Fair as go to the theatre to see the Fair. Nevertheless, as the play progresses the distinction between colony and fair begins to collapse—indeed, we could argue that the Stage-keeper gets it the wrong way around, as the playgoers encounter Virginia by going to the theatre and experiencing *Bartholomew Fair*, rather than actually having to go to Virginia to experience *Bartholomew Fair*. What I think gets lost, however, if the distinction between Fair and colony is collapsed too soon is how Jonson uses the Induction, with its complaints delivered by the Stage-keeper and the subsequent defence of "the poet" given by the Scrivener and the Book-holder, to frame a

questioning of the playhouse's capacity to represent space and place. The Stage-keeper's complaint revolves around the limitations in stage representation: he complains that "the poet's" representation of the Fair is inadequate because of the absence of key criteria that define the Fair. "The poet" has not, in the Stage-keeper's estimation, gone about collecting appropriate data: "he has not conversed with the Bartholomew-birds" (11–12). Moreover, "the poet" has relied on his imagination and craft, his "absurd courses," and has neglected the "experience" of the Stage-keeper, who has been to the Fair and claims to know it well (23–26). As a result of "the poet's" arrogance and bulliness, the play is at best an approximation, something that "the poet's" defenders in the Induction, the Book-holder and Scrivener, only partially resolve when they note the resemblance between the playhouse and the Fair on the basis that The Hope Theatre is "as dirty as Smithfield, and as stinking every whit" (140). Indeed, the Scrivener almost concedes the point when he wards against "the expectation" that there will be "better ware than a Fair will afford" in *Bartholomew Fair* (102).

The fact that that the Stage-keeper invokes Virginia (rather than, say, the moon) is telling, not just because the colony was topical but also because so little was known about it. The Stage-keeper's complaint about Bartholomew Fair is that "the poet's" knowledge of it is lacking; knowledge about Virginia was also fragmentary: so bad is "the poet's" representation of Smithfield that Virginia, also incoherent and incomplete, would serve as a better representative. After all, how did or could one "go to Virginia" in the early decades of the seventeenth century? For most people, to encounter the colony was to encounter it at a remove through the varying reports returning in print sources and circulating by word of mouth. It required, somewhat in the manner of the playgoer attending *Henry V*, the piecing together of partial, disparate topographies. Lurking beneath the Stage-keeper's comparison of playgoing to Virginia-going is the fact that for most people Virginia was a place accessible only through "imaginary puissance" (*Henry V*, Prologue, 30). Virginia was in a sense close at hand because London was filled with "civil savages"; but it was far removed from the majority of Londoners' experience, and existed only as

something to be conjured up in the imagination—and this in turn could result in absurdities akin to “the poet’s” misrepresentation of Smithfield.

The Induction continues to thematize the experience of playgoing and to compare it to the experience of “going to Virginia” in its second reference to Virginia. Having shoed the Stage-keeper off the stage, the Scrivener and Book-holder announce the “Articles of Agreement, indented, between the Spectators or Hearers,” that “the Author of *Bartholomew Fair*” has drafted. The “Articles” both mock the audience—not the first or last time that Jonson would take his audience to task for misunderstanding his plays or not appreciating his talent—but also Jonson’s own desire to control the reactions of his audience. The second article mandates that “every person here [...] [can] have his or their free-will of censure,” i.e., that the audience is permitted to “like or dislike” the play “at their own charge” (75–76). However, this article is not all that it seems: it allows “censure” (a word which carries with it the sense both of “adverse or condemnatory judgement” and also, given the quasi-legalistic language of the Articles, “expert judgement”) only in accordance with the money that has been paid by the audience member (“their own charge”).¹⁰¹ The Scrivener announces that whoever pays the highest ticket price can “like or dislike” the play the most: “it shall be lawful for any man to judge his six pennorth [penny-worth], his twelve pennorth” (80–82). He warns against people who do not obey this rule and “censure” to a greater value than their price of entry: “if he drop but sixpence at the door, and will censure a crown’s worth, it is thought there is no conscience, or justice in that.” He compares paying to enter the theatre, and the “free-will of censure” that is permitted with the price of admission, to buying into lotteries: “He shall put in for censures here, as they do for lots at the lottery” (82–85).

While travelling to Virginia was impossible for most English men and women in the first decades of the colony’s existence, venturing money towards the Virginia Company was possible, even for those with relatively low incomes. “The lottery” alluded to in *Bartholomew Fair* is the Virginia Company lottery scheme that was launched in 1612. Article XVI of the third charter of

the Virginia Company (1612) decreed that “for the more effectual advancing of the said plantation” the Treasurer and Company could “set forth, erect, and publish, one or more lottery or lotteries to have continuance, and to endure and be held, for the space of one whole year.”¹⁰² The lotteries were heavily publicized (at least eleven Virginia Company tracts were printed to promote them) and proved popular, as for the relatively inexpensive sum of twelve pence an individual might stand a chance of winning the vast sum of 4,500 crowns. Pedro de Zuñiga informed Philip III in August 1612 that the Virginia Company “have established a lottery from which they will obtain sixty thousand ducats, and by these means they will dispatch six ships, with as many people as they can get by such pretexts”; two weeks later he wrote to his king that so lucrative was the scheme that “another lottery worth 120.000 ducats” had been granted so that the Company can “send more than two thousand men to that country, because they wish to make another fortification on the river below.”¹⁰³ Through these lotteries, which were drawn in Smithfield (the location of Bartholomew Fair) and in Southwark (the location of The Hope Theatre), the Company raised £8,000 by 1621—almost half of its £17,800 budget. Upon their cessation by parliamentary order in 1621, John Smith commented in a Virginia Company meeting that the lotteries had been the “reall and substantiall food, by which Virginia hath been nourished.”¹⁰⁴

A contemporary report celebrated the lottery as being “so plainely carried, and honestly performed, that it gave full satisfaction to all persons.”¹⁰⁵ Yet for all the lotteries’ popularity, there seems to have also been scepticism about them. There were problems collecting pledges. London guilds, for example, were not keen on matching their initial investment in the Virginia Company: the Grocers’ for example contributed £60, whereas in 1609 they ventured £100. Some refused to pay up: the Drapers’ Company minutes dated January 16, 1614 records a complaint against “div^rs of the Company” for being “very backward and vnwillinge to payr in theirre plantacon money.” The Company advised that “whosoever doth not, after the second warnynge bring in theirre plantacon money, [...] M^r Wardens in the name of the Lo: Maio^r should comit

them to prison.”¹⁰⁶ The refusal to pay may have been the result of stinginess, but there also seems to have been scepticism about the lotteries’ misuse and misappropriation: in 1622, for example, a suit was brought against the Virginia Company which alleged that “the publique stock,” which was drawn from “y^e publique lottarie moneys,” had been squandered.¹⁰⁷ A draft report to the Virginia Council drawn up by Edward Sandys, Edward Harwood, John Wolstenholme, Robert Rich, and Robert Johnson on April 27, 1619, noted pessimistically that “y^e lotteryes are determined and [...] y^e Cash like to be little.”¹⁰⁸

Mistrust in the lotteries may also have arisen because there was no fixed return to buying a lot. Spanish Ambassador Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, described some of the ill-feeling surrounding the lotteries in letters to Philip III. In contrast to his predecessors Zuñiga and Velasco, who expressed some anxiety about the effect that the lotteries might have on England’s hold on Virginia, Gondomar doubted their worth and longevity, based on the lack of enthusiasm he was detecting. He told the Spanish King on October 5, 1613 that “forty-six thousand pound sterling in this enterprise” had been raised from the lotteries, but that investors were increasingly “weary of spending so much money without any hope of reaping a profit, because the soil produces nothing.”¹⁰⁹ On March 17, 1614, he wrote, “they have gone back and tried a kind of fortune, which here they call a Lottery, to succor and maintain that colony of Virginia.”¹¹⁰ Count Gondomar’s claim that investors were leery of investing “without any hope of reaping a profit,” and his description of the “lottery” as “a kind of fortune,” seem to have resonated. After all, venturing towards transoceanic voyages and settlements was risky business: investors could not be assured of what they would get in return, as Antonio finds out (almost) to his cost in *The Merchant of Venice*. The establishment of lotteries seemed to confirm that the “profit” margins from Virginia would be negligible, at least in the short term. The lotteries allured because a large windfall could be won for the price of a single lot, but buying into them would far from guarantee a return. Lot-buyers might win big, like Thomas Sharpliffe, the London tailor who was the first lottery jack-pot winner: they might win nothing at all.

Why does the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* compare venturing to playgoing? Buying lots and paying admission to the theatre are analogous, perhaps, but not in the way that Scrivener suggests. The idea that the ticket-price should accord with the level of censure is, of course, an absurdity that Jonson, for all his oft-expressed desire to micro-manage his audiences, seems to recognize. “Censure” or judgement could not be monitored or mandated by the amount paid for the right of entrance. Playgoers paid to go to the theatre to experience something for which the returns could not be calculated: to attempt to regulate “censure” on the basis of cost of admission was doomed to failure. Conversely, according to the logic of the Scrivener’s analogy, to put in “for lots at the lottery” is also absurd because, like the theatre, there was every chance that there would be no payback on the investment, and what payback there was may have little in common with the amount ventured in the first place. Virginia Company investors were putting money into the imaginary construct known as Virginia, and it could not be guaranteed that there would be any returns on their investment: playgoers paid to see a theatrical event, which is as much to say that they paid to imagine what was not actually there. *Bartholomew Fair*’s comparison reflects the ways in which the theatre was implicated within and responsive to the market—indeed, as Douglas Bruster reminds us, “the theater was, *a priori*, a market,” “a place of business [...] [selling] dramatic literature.”¹¹¹ Colonial trading companies like the Virginia Company resembled playing companies in their structure, and both were, in a sense, operating in overlapping markets and competing for the disposable income of Londoners. To invest in either the theatre or America was, in a sense, to invest in the imaginary. To buy lots in the Virginia Company and to pay for entrance at the theatre were, in this sense, analogous investments: both playgoing and lot-buying were investments in absences.

Bartholomew Fair hints at a form of travel-experience offered by the playhouse, one that came into being through a combination of imaginative projection and economic concern. In the debate about the accuracy of *Bartholomew Fair*’s representation of Bartholomew Fair, and the simultaneous discussion of what was expected and allowed of playgoers, Jonson seems to be

contending not just that the playhouse provided consumers with the opportunity to imagine travel to far and distant places (or to see familiar places anew), but also that *going* to the playhouse was an experience that involved a financial transaction comparable to that of the colonial investor. Jonson, through his proxies the Stage-keeper, the Scrivener, and the Book-holder, implies that buying into Virginia was a folly because you might as well pay to go the playhouse to experience the world: even if *Bartholomew Fair* gets Bartholomew Fair wrong, to pay to experience what was sold in the playhouse involved far lower risks. To invest in Virginia was to invest willingly in false hope: it was better to invest in the real Hope, the venue in which *Bartholomew Fair* was first performed in 1614, for all the limitations inherent to the theatre's ability to represent places accurately and to recreate the "experience" of going somewhere for real.

VI. The Two (or Three) Americas of *The Sea Voyage*

There are a number of plays that, like *Bartholomew Fair*, gesture towards American geographies, placing them alongside other analogous landscapes. In the case of Jonson's play (as in the case of Massinger's *The City Madam*), London and Virginia come to mirror one another at certain points; the island of *The Tempest* (1611) may be located in the Mediterranean, but its geography mimics certain elements of the Atlantic world; in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (1593) the African setting is named "India" on a number of occasions in a play that borrows from reports of Spanish cruelty in the New World (as discussed in chapter three). In only one play, Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* (1622), are these gestures to the Atlantic world consistent. The play's island settings resemble actual places (Virginia, Guiana, the West Indies, Brazil) and more importantly integrate a range of conceptualizations of the Americas. Nevertheless, *The Sea Voyage* is coy about its location, incorporating a variety of real and imaginary spaces without landing on specific ones. Jean Feerick argues that the play's "obfuscation of geography" allows it to "represent and seek to resolve the problematic of surviving not in any one specific place but rather in a place far from 'home.'" ¹¹² I agree with Feerick that the geographical obfuscation of

The Sea Voyage allows for a broader engagement, but the play's lack of specificity motions both towards actual relationships between English settlers and alien soil and "the challenge of maintaining English identity outside England," as Feerick outlines, as well as towards the ways in which this alien soil was idealized as plenteous and bountiful and/or disparaged as barren and hostile.¹¹³ That is, the two island settings of *The Sea Voyage* evoke the dichotomous representations in circulation about the geography of the New World in order to critique not only the contradictions and incoherences in much colonialist propaganda but also, by extension, the theory and praxis of long-term transatlantic settlement.

At the beginning of the play, the French crew of a ship—consisting of pirates, their leader captain Albert, a "usuring merchant" called Lamure, "a vainglorious gallant" called Franville, "a shallow-brained gentleman" called Morillat, and a woman called Aminta who has taken to sea to find her long-lost brother Raymond—waits out a storm on a deserted island.¹¹⁴ The island is barren and lifeless, and its sole inhabitants are two Portuguese men, Sebastian and his nephew Nicusa, who have been abandoned there and left to fester in rags. Seizing the opportunity, the Portuguese pair steals the ship and escapes, leaving the French trapped, hungry, and desperate. Albert swims to a neighbouring island across a river that is "Deep, slow, and dangerous, fenced with high rocks" (1.3.153). He is shocked to find a fertile land inhabited by women—Rosellia, her daughter Clarinda, and three waiting women Hippolita, Crocale, and Juletta—who have formed an all-female commonwealth and are "shaped like Amazons" in homage to the island's previous inhabitants (5.4.44).¹¹⁵ The men and women meet, and Rosellia allows the other women to "choose a husband, and enjoy his company / A month" to give them time for procreation to continue Amazonian rule, at the end of which period the men will be banished along with any male progeny—"the females / We will reserve ourselves" (2.2.236–241). However, when Rosellia sees the treasure chest, she recognizes "these caskets and these jewels" as "our own when first we put to sea" and assumes that the French are the very same "pirates / That [...] deprived" her husband Sebastian (the very same Sebastian whom the French encountered on the

first island) “of his treasure / But also took his life” (3.3.378–382). The other quasi-Amazonians refuse to execute the pirates on the spot, so Rosellia decides to torture them and then bid them “fall a sacrifice to vengeance,” although her daughter Clarinda, who has taken a shine to Albert, treats the captives well (4.2.15). Only when Sebastian and Nicusa return to the islands, having been intercepted by Aminta’s brother Raymond, is the sacrifice stopped. Rosellia and her husband are reunited, Albert and Aminta and Raymond and Clarinda are paired up, and both French and Portuguese leave the islands for home.

As a number of critics have argued, the two islands of *The Sea Voyage* mirror a number of circum-Atlantic locations. The reputed conduct of the first Virginia colonists is paralleled through the characters of Lamure, Morillat, and Franville. They express unhappiness when all their goods are thrown overboard during the storm, an early indication that they are more concerned with their own material gain than with communal survival.¹¹⁶ Their plot to feast on Aminta echoes the cannibal-claims made of the Virginia colony’s early years. In addition, that the first island yields little sustenance recalls how inept the English were at planting crops and at making the colony self-sustaining early on.¹¹⁷ The play’s geography also resembles reports of Guiana. The second, Amazonian island recalls the claims made by Sir Walter Raleigh about women whose “chiefest strengths, and retracts are in the Ilands scituate on the south side of the entrance, some 60, leagues within the mouth of the saide riuier” (i.e., the Amazon).¹¹⁸ One further source for the first island may have been John Nicholl’s *An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes* (1605), an account of a disastrous attempt to plant a settlement in Guiana from which only eleven settlers survived. At one point in his narrative Nicholl reports how the English arrived at the desolate Isle of Mayo, where they found Portuguese men who had been robbed by French sailors, just as Sebastian and Nicusa have been at the beginning of *The Sea Voyage*.¹¹⁹ Indeed, there are numerous examples of Europeans being found half-starved on deserted islands up and down the coasts of North and South America. In René Laudonnière’s *A Notable Historie Containing Four Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida* (1587) there is an account of a

Florida plantation helmed by one Captain Albert that turned to cannibalism when “the fleshe” of a soldier called (ironically) La Chere “was deuided equally amongst his fellowes: a thing so pitifull to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.”¹²⁰ In André Thevet’s *Singularitez de la France Antarctique, Autrement Nommée Amérique*, which was translated into English in 1568 as *The New Found Worlde or Antarticke*, the author describes a French fleet’s discovery of two starving Portuguese men, the “onely lefte” of a “Portingall ship” which struck “against a rocke neere to” an island off Brazil, the “Iland of Rats, [...] [which] was unluckely found out to the mishappe of those that first did discover it.”¹²¹

That *The Sea Voyage*’s geography resembles so many Atlantic locations is not just a product of Fletcher and Massinger’s extensive reading. The decision to draw on a number of sources without ever naming a location seems deliberate, a notion that appears to be confirmed by the fact that all mentions of location in the play are obfuscated at the moments when it could be established. As the ship is being wracked by storms, the Master asks “What’s the coast?” to which the Boatswain replies “We know not yet” (1.1.30). When the French ship makes it closer to shore, the Master says that “‘Tis high and rocky, / And full of perils,” but he appears no closer to knowing where he is (145–146). When on the island, none of the sailors ask Sebastian and Nicusa where they are; the question also does not seem to occur to Albert when he swims across the river to the Amazon island—he assumes that he has “passed the Stygian gulf” to “The Elysian shade” (2.2.76–78). In the play’s final scene, Rosellia recalls how “two ships that brought us / To seek new fortunes in an unknown world / Were severed” (5.4.30–32). The language is vague—we don’t know where the initial party of Portuguese were heading, nor where the storm parted them—and is only generally suggestive of the Atlantic. All that we really know about the geographical context of the play is its unknownness.

By refusing to locate its action on any specific islands, the play stages both a broader representation of the English colonial experience and a broader critique. The contrast between the two islands draws on the competing, and inconsistent, ideas about what the New World was like.

The first island is described as a waste-land, where there's "nothing but rocks and barrenness, / Hunger and cold to eat" (1.2.24–25). The island is "wretched" because there are "The greatest plagues that human nature suffers[,] [...] wildness and wants innumerable" (122, 125–126). No sustenance can be found. There is no fresh water, "no crystal rivers" to "refresh" a man's body "[a]fter his labour," only "foul standing waters" (26–27; 1.3.143). Like Gonzalo's vision of his "plantation of this isle" in *The Tempest* there is no "vineyard," but while Gonzalo views this absence as a boon to his utopian society, Sebastian takes a more pragmatic approach: "Here's no vineyards / To cheer the heart of man" (1.2.25–26). Nothing grows on the island, as there is "No summer here to promise anything, / Nor autumn to make full the reaper's hands" (1.3.134–135). The soil is dry, "obdurate to the tears of heaven," and the only things that thrive are "poisoned weeds" and "Roots of malignant tastes": when they "find a fulsome sea-root" they consider it "a delicate!" (136–145) There are "no beasts / [...] that were made for man's use," either for food or for ploughing (138–140). It is a place where "Nature [...] / Dares not come here, nor look on our distresses, / For fear she turn wild like the place and barren" (29–32).

The first impression of the second island is that it is a "blessed shore" and a "blest place" (2.2.77; 196). It teems with plentiful food. Before they discover the stolen treasure, the Amazons feed the French sailors with "meat and sovereign drinks," and later, in a vain attempt to rouse the captives prior to their execution, they give them "substantial bread" (3.3. 163; 5.2.14). It also produces curatives such as the "*simples*" used to restore the ailing Albert (2.2.156SD). That the island provides medicine and abundant food echoes descriptions of the New World in promotional material. Roanoke, for example, was described by Arthur Barlowe as providing "diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good."¹²² Herbalist Nicholas de Monardes in his much translated *Joyfull Newes Out of the Newfound World Wherein are Declared the Rare and Singular Vertues of Diuers and Sundrie Herbs* (1580) and Thomas Harriot in his *A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* (1588, 1590) both itemized the medicinal qualities of American plant-

life. In contrast to the conditions of the barren island, on the “blessed shore” people hunt for pleasure, as is evident in the first scene set on the island when the quasi-Amazons do not seem to overly care that they have lost sight of the stag they have been hunting. This vision of the colonial deer-park is present in a number of New World accounts. Barlowe described Roanoke as an “Island [with] many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, euen in the midst of Summer in incredible abundance.”¹²³ One of the native chiefs, the “king” Wingandocoa’s brother Granganimco “sent vs euery day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world.”¹²⁴ Barlowe’s description of Granganimco’s home makes it seem like a country estate, an association that Barlowe no doubt calculated would appeal to his aristocratic readers such as the colony’s chief backer, Sir Walter Raleigh. The deer-park analogy can be found elsewhere in descriptions of America, for example in Rosier’s account of Waymouth’s voyage of 1605, which compared “North Virginia” to “a stately Parke” notable not just for its variety of trees and copses but because there “[w]e might see in some places where fallow Deere and Hares had beene, and by the rooting of ground we supposed wilde Hogs had ranged there.”¹²⁵ Other writers noted how easy it was to hunt in New England: William Wood, for example, wrote that “in many places, diuers Acres being cleare, [...] one may ride a hunting in most places of the land, if he will venture himselfe for being lost.”¹²⁶

On one level it might be possible to argue that the second island represents the fantasy of colonization (a feminized, fertile territory requiring a male-led plantation) while the first represents the horrific reality (a lifeless place that would not yield to the plough). Many of the attributes of the first island echo contemporary descriptions of the transatlantic colonies during their most difficult periods. Virginia, for example, was plagued with starvation and disease in its early years; Jamestown’s water-source was brackish; attempts to plant vineyards in Virginia were unsuccessful: were it not for the reluctant assistance of the Powhatan, the colony would not have survived. At the same time the “wildness” of the first island reiterates the desire expressed in many colonialist accounts that settlement could be established because America consisted of

waste ground. Yet while the second island seems to represent the allure of a fertile island, *The Sea Voyage* seems to argue that it is no more suited to settlement than the barren island on the other side of the river. The governance of the island is specifically designed to keep men—and male colonists—at bay, first by excluding them and then by threatening to execute them. These exclusions extend to the very soil of the island, which seems to resist male occupancy. The men who piloted the Portuguese women’s ship through the storm to the island “in few months / [...] died” for unknown reasons (5.4.36–37). It is possible that they died at the hands of the Amazons, but Rosellia only describes the previous “real” Amazon inhabitants as keeping “men in subjection” and says nothing about their murdering them (2.2.198). It seems possible that the island itself effectively killed the men off: after all, Crocale reveals that “this place yields / Not fauns nor satyrs, or more lustful men,” suggesting not only that the island is free of men but also that its environment refuses to produce them (14–15). In the hunting scene, the women reveal that they never capture any stag they hunt: Hippolita admits that “Since we lived here, / We ne’er could force on to it [death]” (7–8). Not that this is a concern, as Crocale assumes that the “sight of the black lake” would have “frighted” the stag more than being hunted down by them. This particular creature (the only male native inhabitant we hear about) is “forced” to death by encountering a geographical feature on the island rather than by the female inhabitants.

The first island has “no beasts [...] / for man’s use,” but the second island is also resistant to agricultural settlement. While in captivity on the second island the French pirates describe their predicament in terms of planting and agriculture, comparing themselves to horses that are now too knackered to work a plough. Tibalt tells their jailors to “Knock on our shoes, and turn’s to grass” and informs them that “We are unprofitable, and our ploughs are broken. / There is no hope of harvest this year, ladies” (5.3.7, 36–37). The Ship’s Master picks up the theme, noting how “To be jaded to death is only fit for a hackney,” a reference to mistreated horses only capable of doing drudgework. The pirates’ comparisons of themselves to worn-out horses suggests that they are unsuited to sexual labour, but also to the manual labour that would make

the plantation a success: their ploughs are broken in more ways the one. While the women on the island seem to have thrived, “the fertile earth yielding [them] abundance,” the men do not (5.4.43); and yet without the men being able to perform, the inhabitants will die out. As Clarinda tells her mother in an earlier scene, “should all women” be faced with “this obstinate / Abstinence you would force upon us, in / A few years the whole world would be peopled / Only with beasts” (2.2.207–209). Crocale too notes that this “commonwealth / with us must end” and connects the lack of male company to a lack of food: “imagination [...] [is] all is left for us to feed on; / We might starve else!” (2.2.17–19; 41–43) The first island also, of course, resists this model of agricultural colonialism—Raymond at one point refers to it ironically as a “fruitful farm”—but the seemingly fruitful island of European-Amazonians is every bit as perishable a settlement (4.2.55). *The Sea Voyage* stages two competing ideas of America—the barren and the fecund—but suggests that neither is suited for permanent European plantation.

The play also offers a glimpse of a third America, a vision based on an agricultural model of long-term plantation that will yield annual crops and will support its inhabitants, both male and female, without the need for trade with natives or bringing supplies from across the Atlantic—that is, an America that most resembles what the English imagined for themselves in Virginia and New England (albeit a vision scarcely accomplished by 1622). Just as Rosellia “*takes up a knife from the altar*” in preparation for the sacrifice of the French male captives, Sebastian and Nicusa arrive and reveal that they are the long-lost Portuguese men. As a result Rosellia “gives up / Herself, her power and joys and all to you, / To be discharged of ‘em as too burdensome,” and Sebastian assumes control over the islands’ inhabitants, something he confirms when he gives his daughter (whom he has met for the first time) to Raymond, even though they have not exchanged a word in the entire play (5.4.97–98). For a fleeting moment, the play seems to represent a colony that will perpetuate itself through these new unions. And yet the French and the Portuguese do not stay to continue the colony. As Sebastian says in the play’s concluding lines,

When awhile

We have here refreshed ourselves, we'll return
To our several homes; and well that voyage ends
That makes of deadly enemies, faithful friends. (110–113)

While the play ends with multiple marriages, it also ends with everybody leaving the island. If the world is to be peopled, it is not to be peopled here. *The Sea Voyage* thus represents both the waste-land and the deer-park models of the potential colony, and reveals them as being unsuited in particular to male colonists: it comes close to, but ultimately rejects, the third and by 1622 predominant model of colonialism, one which revolved around husbandry and family. The play concludes with a retreat from the colonial scene. Indeed, the last descriptions we have of colonial activity stress the divisions and unworkability of such environments. Moments before they are scheduled for sacrifice, Raymond and Albert, previously sworn enemies, reconcile in captivity, and remind each other of how colonial enterprise divided their fathers, who were sworn friends before they formed a colony together: “They did begin to quarrel like ill men” and “turn[ed] those swords they oft had bloodied / With innocent gore upon their wretched selves,” becoming “fatal enemies to each other” (5.2.99–107).

Sebastian’s closing words are directed to the other characters, but in a sense they also address the play’s audience. The “several homes” refers to the respective homes of the Portuguese and the French, to the actors retreating from the stage, and to the audience who are to depart the theatre and return to their own “several homes.” We see this form of separation at the end of countless early modern plays, as a signal for the end of the play and the end of the engagement of the audience as participants in the creation of the stage world: this moment in *The Sea Voyage* is one of many echoes of *The Tempest*, which also ends with the breaking of theatrical illusion. *The Sea Voyage* is less self-consciously theatrical than its predecessor and closest analogue: the storm that besets the ship at the beginning of the play is not the product of Aerial’s theatrical magic but a freak of nature (the opening “*tempest, thunder and lightning*” are the product of theatrical effects, but the actors, unlike their *Tempest* counterparts, enter “wet”

[1.2.5]). There are no masques, pageants, or shows as there are in Shakespeare's play.

Nevertheless, Sebastian's words serve to remind us that not only has this been a theatrical experience, but that the two imaginary islands have existed only in a theatrical context: they have been created by the audience's imagination, which has transformed the empty space of the theatre first into a barren island and then into a deer-park. The play's placelessness allows for these two island spaces, and these two models of colonialism, to co-exist on the same stage, but this co-existence seems possible only in the playhouse for the short period of the play's performance. Colonialism in *The Sea Voyage* is impossible to sustain: the play ends, the audience goes home, by which point the dream of the colony has vanished.

¹ Aston Cockayne, *The Obstinate Lady: a New Comedy Never Formerly Published* (London: for Isaac Pridmore, 1657), 7. The place of performance of *The Obstinate Lady* has not been satisfactorily resolved.

² *Ibid.*, 15. I read Lorece's word "Phalake" as a homonym for "felucca." The *O.E.D.* records the first usage of the word felucca in English in 1628—the word probably derives from Arabic. Lorece describes this vessel as "a new Phalake," which might indicate that "the pair of Oars" used for the voyage from Tlaxcala to Madrid was also a felucca—if "new" is used in comparison to the old boat that was shipwrecked in Alexandria. Even if this is the case, a felucca is not a sound enough vessel for a transatlantic voyage, and certainly not for a voyage around Cape Horn.

³ *Ibid.*, 15–16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*. Aganippe was a fountain at the base of Mount Helicon created by the hooves of Pegasus; Hypocrene is the site of the death of Hyacinthus; Scamander and Simoeis were river gods in the *Iliad*. There are two Mount Idas, one on Crete (where Zeus was raised), one in Turkey (where Zeus abducted Ganymede); Mount Olympus was the home of the gods; Parnassus was home of the Muses; Eurydice was bitten by the snake in the Vale of Tempe.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*.

⁸ Lorece's error may be attributed to his mistaking of Caledonia, the Roman name for Scotland, for Calydon, which is in Aetolia, a mountainous region of Greece, home of the mythological Calydonian Boar and hence not far (in comparison to Scotland) to Armenia. If Lorece had been reading Holinshed, then he may have been confused by the homonym.

⁹ John Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England* (1630), in *The Complete Works of John Smith (1580–1631)*, ed. Philip Barbour, vol. 3 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 281.

¹⁰ Hakluyt includes for example "A notable discourse of M. Iohn Chilton, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of New Spaine" which describes the Tlaxcalteca and their war with Mexico. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 3 (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599), 455–462; Purchas devotes a chapter to Cortes's conquest of Mexico and details the assistance he received from the Tlaxcalteca. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 3 (London: for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), 1118–1122.

¹¹ In Bishop Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem sive Terra Australis*, the South Indies and the Antipodes are synonymous. In *The Obstinate Lady* there appears to be a distinction between the two places: Lorece seems to indicate a distinction when, having described some of the sights of the Antipodes (where, as we might expect, everything is topsy-turvy), he tells Vandona that he "will now tell you somewhat of "the South-Indies." The word "now" seems to mark a change of subject, and the following description of the

South Indies has none of the world-in-negative tropes present in his previous description of the Antipodes—although when later in the scene he describes “the conditions of our neighbours” an Antipodean logic prevails. It should be noted that Hall’s *Mundus alter et idem sive Terra Australis* and Lorece’s description of “the South-Indies” resemble each other only in terms of name. The term “South-Indies” is rare enough in this period (in comparison to the East, West, or “non-cardinal” Indies) to suggest that Cockayn is consciously borrowing Hall’s appellation, but it doesn’t seem as if Lorece is cribbing from Hall’s text, but rather from an amalgamation of texts to produce a Hall-like aggregate of otherworldly geographies.

¹² John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 36.

¹³ John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), 233. In 1585–86, years which saw the establishment of the first colony at Roanoke, the publisher Thomas Hacket printed translations of Pomponius Mela’s *De Situ Orbis*, Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* (as *The Secrets and Wonders of the Worlde*), and Solinus’s *Polyhistor*, none of which mention America, even though they were most likely published, argues John Parker, because “the voyages of Drake and the colonial plans of Raleigh and Gilbert stimulated an increased interest in geography, and enterprising translators and publishers capitalized on England’s still medieval mentality which instinctively turned back to the Biblical, the classical, and the legendary for its explanations of the world” (Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 134–135).

¹⁴ Sir Dudley Digges, *Of the Circumference of the Earth, or, A Treatise of the Northeast Passage* (London: for John Barnes, 1612), 2, 20, 9.

¹⁵ William Wood, *New England’s Prospect* (London: for John Bellamie, 1634), A3. Wood distinguished himself from those producers of “voluminous discourse” and hence confirmed the veracity of his account, because in comparison New England had been “my dwelling place where I have lived these foure yeares” (A3v).

¹⁶ Digges, *Of the Circumference of the Earth*, 9. This appraisal of evidence gathered by certain types of observer mirrors that of Francis Bacon (Bensalem has a statue to Columbus alongside statues dedicated to the inventor of ships, gunpowder, music, letters, printing, astronomical devices, etc. in *The New Atlantis*), but in Bacon we see a marked shift away from the sciences of the ancients, which are dismissed as Idols of the Tribe and Idols of the Theatre. The Baconian revolution reached perhaps its apotheosis with the formation of the Royal Society—but in the early seventeenth century it was still in its formative stages.

¹⁷ Douglas Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 32.

¹⁸ Wye Saltonstall, “The Preface to the Courteous Reader,” in Gerardus Mercator, *Historia Mundi or Mercators Atlas Containing his Cosmographical Descriptions of the Fabricke and Figure of the World* (London: for Michael Sparke and Samuel Cartwright, 1635), A2v–A3.

¹⁹ Robert Herrick, “A Country-Life: to his Brother Mr. Thom. Herrick,” in *Hesperides: The Poems and Other Remains of Robert Herrick Now First Collected*, ed. W. Carey Hazlitt (London: John Russell Smith, 1869), 35.

²⁰ J.B. Harley, “Maps, Knowledge and Power,” in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; repr. 1997), 285. On the relationship between maps, politics, and power, see Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (London: Routledge, 1993); Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); and essays in *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).

²¹ J.B. Harley, “Silences and Secrecy: the Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe,” in J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 104–105.

²² On Thomas Bavin see William Sherman, “Stirrings and Searchings (1500–1720),” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17–36.

²³ Gabriel Archer, “The Relation of Captaine GOSNOLS Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begunne the sixe and twentieth of March, Anno 42. ELIZABETHAE Reginae 1602,” in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 4, 1647.

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- ²⁴ Gabriel Archer, "A Relatyon of the Discovery of our River, from James Forte into the Maine," in *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter, 1606–1609*, ed. Phillip L. Barbour, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1969), 82.
- ²⁵ John Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), in *The Complete Works of John Smith*, vol. 1, 151. Indigenous cartographies were significant to the imperial projects of other European nations, most especially the Spanish, who under Philip II commissioned the surveys of the *Relaçiones Geográficas* between 1578 and 1584. See Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaçiones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Other European explorers employed indigenous cartography. In 1540 a map of the lower Colorado River drawn for Hernando de Alarçon; a map of the Seven Cities of Cibola was drawn on skin found by Francisco de Coronado also in 1540; a map was drawn with sticks for Jacques Cartier at the St. Lawrence River in the same year.
- ²⁶ Instructions to the Governor and Council of State in Virginia, July 24, 1621, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, ed. Susan M. Kingsbury, vol. 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 477.
- ²⁷ William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England: Twentieth Anniversary Edition* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 19.
- ²⁸ Gerardus Mercator, *Atlas Sive Cosmographiae Meditationes de Fabrici Mundi* (Paris, 1609), 353v, 355.
- ²⁹ Sarah S. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Surveyors Foundation and the Virginia Association of Surveyors, 1979), 9.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 37.
- ³² James Rosier, *A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made This Present Yeere 1605, by Captaine George Waymouth, in the Discouery of the Land of Virginia* (London: for George Bishop, 1605), A4v.
- ³³ John Smith, *A Description of New England* (1616), in *The Complete Works of John Smith*, vol. 1, 325–326.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*.
- ³⁵ Abraham Ortelius, "To the Courteous Reader," *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, trans. William Bedwell (London: for John Bull and John Norton, 1608).
- ³⁶ Rosier, *Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage*, A2v.
- ³⁷ Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 104–105.
- ³⁸ Burden speculates that aware though Hondius was of the colonial effort, he may also have been sensitive towards its failures, an argument that hinges on the composition date of the map being 1589 and not the generally accepted date of 1602: the absence of a Virginia on the map "could be explained by the fact that in 1589 public interest in it had faded considerably, because of [the colony at Roanoke's] failure, and more importantly by the attempted invasion of the Spanish Armada in 1588 which captured the attention of the nation." Philip D. Burden, *The Mapping of North America: a List of Printed Maps, 1511–1670* (Rickmansworth: Raleigh Publications, 1996), 175. My summary of the various movements of Virginia around, on and off maps of North America from this period is indebted to this source.
- ³⁹ Gerardus Mercator, *Atlas Sive Cosmographiae Meditationes de Fabrici Mundi* (Paris, 1609), 29, 39.
- ⁴⁰ Gerardus Mercator, *Atlas Sive Cosmographiae Meditationes de Fabrici Mundi* (Amsterdam, 1613), 29, 39.
- ⁴¹ Mercator, *Historia Mundi*, 5.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 903.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 919.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Errata.
- ⁴⁵ John R. Hébert, "The Westward Vision: Seventeenth-Century Virginia," in *Virginia in Maps: Four Centuries of Settlement, Growth, and Development*, ed. Richard W. Stephenson and Marianne M. McKee (Richmond: The Library of Virginia, 2000), 14.
- ⁴⁶ "Norembega" was a term used for the Penobscot Bay area, although its range varied. The word first appears on a map on Giacomo Gastaldi's *Tierra Nueva* in an edition of Ptolemy published in Venice in 1548, although it may date back to Giovanni de Verrazzano's exploration of a region called "orenbago" in 1524. The name derives either from Algonquian or from the German city Nuremburg. According to Kristen Seaver, "well into the second half of the seventeenth century, the mythical country of Norumbega continued to appear on maps": "Norumbega was still a part of the European canon as late as 1661, when

the second edition of Sir Robert Dudley's *Dell' Arcano del Mare* [Secrets of the Sea], still featuring the land of Norumbega, was published as originally drawn by its English-educated creator in 1646–1647.” Kristen A. Seaver, “Norumbega and *Harmonia Mundi* in Sixteenth-Century Cartography,” *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 35, 58.

⁴⁷ Abraham Ortelius, “To the Courteous Reader,” *Teatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

⁴⁸ Catherine Delano-Smith, “Map Ownership in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge: the Evidence of Probate Inventories,” *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 77.

⁴⁹ Atlas maps were often sold independent of the atlas: at the bottom of John Speed's map of Asia from the 1646 edition of *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* we find the note that the map was “to be sold in pop[e]s-head alley against the Exchange by G. Humble,” suggesting the map was available for sale (the note does not include the price, however). John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London: for William Humble, 1646), 3. R. V. Tooley estimates that uncoloured maps cost between 3d and 6d, with large sheets costing up to 1s. Colouring and mounting increased the price by c.50%, and wall-maps cost around 5s. These prices are still high, although they suggest that single sheet maps were a far more affordable commodity than their atlas counterpart. R. V. Tooley, *Handbook for Map Collectors: a Subject Index Record* (Chicago: Speculum Orbis, 1985), 97. The cost and circulation of maps in England at the turn of the seventeenth century is something which I address in “‘Give me the map there’: *King Lear* and Cartographic Literacy in Early Modern England,” *The Portolan* 68 (2007): 8–25.

⁵⁰ We find maps illustrating George Best's *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (1578), Walter Bigges's *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian Voyage* (1589; the volume contains a map of the circumnavigation opposite the title page, plus inset maps of the various cities that Drake encountered/sacked), Hakluyt's *Diuers Voyages* (1582), Harriot's *Brief and True Report* (the map of Roanoke and surrounding areas by White and de Bry, originally printed in Nuremberg in 1590 and used as the basis for the Virginia maps in Mercator's atlases), William Alexander's *An Encouragement to Colonies* (1624), and William Wood's *New Englands Prospect* (1634). This is not an insignificant number, to be sure, but there are a number of other tracts published for “encouragement to colonies” (to borrow Alexander's title) that do not rely on maps to describe the landscape they are defining and instead rely on language to do so.

⁵¹ Quotation taken from Hébert, “The Westward Vision,” 15. Ferrar's map ended up in Edward Bland's *Discovery of New Brittain* (1651), even though the geography the map represents has little in common with the journey that Bland undertook.

⁵² Philip Burden writes, “[t]his excessively rare map is identified as belonging to Richard Eden's *The Decades of the New World*, however there is no proof of this. All of the recorded examples are loose with the exception of the New York Public Library Copy where it has been added to the book at a later date. [...] It is one of the earliest printed [maps] in England, being pre-dated by the yet to be discovered earlier state of Thomas Gemini's map of Spain, only known by a 1555 example.” Burden, *The Mapping of North America*, 28–29.

⁵³ Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, A3v.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Edward D. Neill, *The English Colonization of America During the Seventeenth Century* (London: Strahan & Co., 1871), 28.

⁵⁵ Quotation taken from *Three Proclamations Concerning the Lottery for Virginia 1613–21*, ed. George Parker Winship (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1907), 2. Welby was responsible for the publication of John Smith's *True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia* (1608), William Symonds' *Virginia* sermon (1609), William Crashaw's *Sermon* of 1610, Robert Johnson's *The New Life of Virginea* (1612), Ralph Hamor's *A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia* (1615), and Lewis Hughes's *A Letter Sent Into England from the Summer Islands* (1615), and well as broadsheets on behalf of the Virginia Company.

⁵⁶ Catherine Armstrong, “The Bookseller and the Pedlar: the Spread of Knowledge of the New World in Early Modern England, 1580–1640,” in *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production and Distribution since 1500*, ed. John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (Newcastle: Oak Knott Press, 2005), 23–24.

⁵⁷ Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England*, 264.

⁵⁸ Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, A3v, 47, 12.

⁵⁹ John Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith* (1630), in *The Complete Works of John Smith*, vol. 3, 241.

- ⁶⁰ Ralph Bauer, "Of New Worlds and Old Words: Cultural Geography and the Linguistic Discovery of America," in *American Literary Geographies: Spatial Practice and Cultural Production 1500–1900*, ed. Martin Brückner and Hsuan L. Hsy (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 29.
- ⁶¹ Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 5.
- ⁶² John Smith, *Description of New England*, 326.
- ⁶³ As Catherine Armstrong argues, these were often private correspondences that "found their way into the hands of someone who believed that they should be published for the benefit of further colonization." Armstrong, "The Bookseller and the Pedlar," 17.
- ⁶⁴ I.H. [John Healey], "To the Courteous Reader," in John Smith, *True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia* (1608), in *The Complete Works of John Smith*, vol. 1, 24.
- ⁶⁵ Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes From Virginia* (London: for William Welby, 1613), A2v. It should be noted that Whitaker's intention for his tract to offer "priuate vse and encouragement" does not mean that it *not* was intended for circulation, as it was designed to encourage those "whose purses [...] or persons there were engaged in the action." The circulation was thus presumably initially intended to be manuscript only.
- ⁶⁶ "A Gentleman of Elvas," *Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida, her Next Neighbour*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (London: for Matthew Lownes, 1609), A4.
- ⁶⁷ Although it should be noted that Virginia and Florida were often imagined together, and there was no precise boundary between the two: as quoted in chapter two, the Spanish ambassador Don Pedro de Zuñiga warned the Spanish King in a letter of 1606 that the English had designs on "Virginia in the Indies, close to Florida." Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, March 16, 1606, in *The Genesis of the United States, 1605–1616*, ed. Alexander Brown, vol. 1 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 45–46.
- ⁶⁸ Smith, *Description of New England*, 326–327.
- ⁶⁹ Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations*, 215.
- ⁷⁰ According to the *O.E.D.*, one meaning of "Prospect" that dates from this period is "The view (of a landscape, etc.) afforded by a particular location or position; a vista; an extensive or commanding range of sight." This meaning was employed in John Speed's aforementioned *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*. But also in this period the word contains within it a sense of futurity, thus "Prospect" can mean "A mental picture or vista, esp. of something future or expected." The first example in the *O.E.D.* of the more modern meaning of "prospect," "Expectation, or reason to look forward to something; the thing anticipated, a future occasion or event; (in *pl.*) a person's expectations of advancement in life or career," dates from 1665, but I would suggest that the meaning is already inherent in Wood, which both offers a vantage to view New England and as a suggestion about what its future prospects might be.
- ⁷¹ Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, 1.
- ⁷² Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 20–21.
- ⁷³ Michael G. Moran, *Inventing Virginia: Sir Walter Raleigh and the Rhetoric of Colonization, 1584–1590* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), xi–xii.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ⁷⁵ Don Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, October 8, 1607, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 1, 120–123.
- ⁷⁶ Don Alonso de Velasco to Philip III, March 22, 1611, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 455–457.
- ⁷⁷ Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, 47.
- ⁷⁸ Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, *The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-La-Warre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of the Colonie, planted in Virginea* (London: for William Welby), B3v, Cv.
- ⁷⁹ Lord de la Warr to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, September 1610, in *The Genesis of the United States*, 415.
- ⁸⁰ Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia* (1609), in *Tracts and other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, ed. Peter Force (New York: Peter Smith, 1947), 8.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ⁸² Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England*, 264.
- ⁸³ John Fletcher, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* (1624), in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.1.51.

- ⁸⁴ John Fletcher, *The Knight of Malta* (1618), in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 8, 5.2.187.
- ⁸⁵ Shakespeare's early biographer John Aubrey described how Inigo Jones "had some seanes to [Aglaura], which in those days were only used at the masque." See William Grant Keith, "The Designs for the First Movable Scenery on the English Public Stage," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 2, no. 133 (1914): 30.
- ⁸⁶ Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West Part One*, in *The Fair Maid of the West Parts I and II*, ed. Robert K. Turner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 4.5.1–3.
- ⁸⁷ Thomas Dekker, *The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus* (1599), in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 4.0.21–31.
- ⁸⁸ Recent work on the spatial practices of the early modern stage includes Garrett A. Sullivan Jr, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Russell West, *Spatial Representations and the Jacobean Stage* (London: Palgrave, 2002); Russell West-Pavlov, *Bodies and their Spaces: System, Crisis and Transformation in Early Modern Theatre* (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2006); and Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts, 1580–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- ⁸⁹ Peter Holland, "'Travelling Hopefully': the Dramatic Form of Journeys in English Renaissance Drama," in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, ed. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 161.
- ⁹⁰ Sir Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry* (1595), in *English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 381.
- ⁹¹ John Day, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), Epilogue: 6–14.
- ⁹² Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, 2.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, 3, 5.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ⁹⁶ Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), in *Five Plays*, ed. G.A. Wilkes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). All citations to this play are from this edition.
- ⁹⁷ Don Alonso de Velasco to Philip III, March 22, 1611, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 1, 457.
- ⁹⁸ Rebecca Ann Bach, *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World, 1580–1640* (London: Palgrave, 2000), 126.
- ⁹⁹ Mathew R. Martin, *Between Theater and Philosophy: Skepticism in the Major City Comedies* (Dover: University of Delaware Press, 2001), 141.
- ¹⁰⁰ Bach, *Colonial Transformations*, 120.
- ¹⁰¹ The *O.E.D.* gives two now-obsolete meanings for "censure" that date from this period, "A formal judgement or opinion (of an expert, referee, etc.)," and "Judgement; opinion, esp. expressed opinion; criticism," in addition to "Judgement; opinion, esp. expressed opinion; criticism."
- ¹⁰² Third Charter of the Virginia Company, 1612, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 551–552.
- ¹⁰³ Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, August 1, 1612, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 572–573; Pedro de Zuñiga to Philip III, August 16, 1612, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 575.
- ¹⁰⁴ Captain John Smith Proposes to Compile a History, April 12, 1621, in Edward D. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company of London* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1869), 210; see also John Ezell, "The Lottery in Colonial Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 5 no. 2 (1948): 188.
- ¹⁰⁵ "The Lottery Drawing," in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 570–571.
- ¹⁰⁶ Drapers' Company, *Accounts for the Court of Assistant Minutes Sep 1603–July 1640*, Microfilm MB13.
- ¹⁰⁷ Edwin Sandys to John Ferrar, May 1, 1620, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 271; John Bargrave, Charges against the former Government of Virginia, April 12, 1622, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 607.
- ¹⁰⁸ Draft of a Report of a Committee of the Virginia Company, April 27, 1619, in *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3, 141.
- ¹⁰⁹ Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar to Philip III, October 5, 1613, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 662.
- ¹¹⁰ Gondomar to Philip III, March 14, 1614, in *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2, 681.
- ¹¹¹ Bruster, *Drama and the Market*, 10.

¹¹² Jean Feerick, “Divided in Soyle”: Plantation and Degeneracy in *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage*,” *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006): 29.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹¹⁴ John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage* (1622), in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*.

¹¹⁵ The majority of Amazons on the early modern stage were not “real” Amazon characters but were people who “shaped” themselves “like Amazons.” In this regard they are analogous to the Indian-like figures and the Indian-disguised figures I have discussed in chapters two and three. Although many women are described as being “like Amazons,” such as Shakespeare’s Margaret and Joan in the *Henry VI* plays, Hippolyta in Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, his collaboration with Fletcher, is one of the few “real” Amazons to make it on stage. There are, in contrast, a number of Amazons or martial women who featured in masques, in Samuel Daniel’s *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), Jonson’s *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), and Jonson’s *The Masque of Queens* (1609); Shakespeare’s *Timon of Athens* (1607) includes “a masque of Ladies [as] Amazons, with lutes in their hands, dancing and playing” (1.2.122SD). Nevertheless there are plenty of Amazon-disguised characters in the playhouse. Thus in Marston’s *Antonio and Mellida* (1599), Antonio disguises himself as an Amazon from Scythia; in Fletcher’s *The Double Marriage* (1620), the aptly named Martia does likewise; in Shirley’s version of *Arcadia* (1640), Pyrocles dresses up as an Amazon (as he does in Sidney’s *Arcadia*); in *Swetnam, the Woman-Hater* (1618), Iago and Lorenzo disguise themselves as Amazons; and of course, *The Sea Voyage*, as even though two of the women have Amazonian names (Clarinda and Hippolyta: Crocale was part of the goddess Diana’s train, and hence not strictly speaking an Amazon), none of them are actual Amazons—rather they have taken on the Amazonian commonwealth following the death of the actual Amazons. The most recent examination of the role of the Amazon in the early modern imaginary is *Tough Love* by Kathryn Schwarz. Schwarz argues that Amazons expose the props by which gender is performed, show how contested were notions of male dominance in the early modern period, and unsettle male homosocial relations (although Schwarz has little to say about female homosociality). In some ways these disguised Amazons fit into Schwarz’s notion of the domesticated Amazon, but do not seem to perform the kinds of the rupture that Schwarz attributes to them: after all, none of these figures are real Amazons, and whatever threat they represent is ameliorated at the end of the play when their non-Amazon-ness is revealed—thus Rosellia puts down the weapons of sacrifice and is reunited with her husband and re-absorbed into patriarchy. At the same time, it is noticeable just from this list how many of the figures who adopt Amazonian guise are men: thus these disruptors of male relations are often themselves men. While in *The Sea Voyage* the Amazon-like are all women, they stand in contrast to the emasculated men, most of whom (because of the climate and their hunger) cannot stand up for themselves. See Kathryn Schwarz, *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

¹¹⁶ Like Sir Petronel Flash in *Eastward Ho!*, the Frenchmen are further examples of colonists who are in financial difficulties. Lamure complains that “Must my goods over too? / Why, honest master, here lies all my money, / The money I ha’ racked by usury / To buy new lands and lordships in new countries / ‘Cause I was banished from mine own. I ha’ been / This twenty years a-raising it” (1.1. 115–120). Franville says that he sold his “lordship [...] / Put it into clothes and necessaries / To go to sea with” (131–132). The seamen, however (even though they are described as pirates) express no such material longing. The Master gladly throws the “trinkets” overboard, deeming them “These sweet sin-breeders” and “a burden of iniquity” (68–69); Tibalt expresses his disgust with the three vain Frenchmen, saying “I ha’ nothing but my skin / And my clothes, my sword here, and myself” (139–140).

¹¹⁷ Claire Jowitt claims that the play is a conscious response to the 1622 attacks: “it is [...] possible that emendations were made to the play-text in the wake of news of the massacre, and that certain scenes, for example Rosellia’s frenzied plan to sacrifice the French, had additional resonances for a 1622 audience.” This possibility explains the complete absence of native characters in the play: “Thus the threatening force of a native population is textually contained through their absence, and a more palliative substitute, European women, put in their place.” I find Jowitt’s reading of the absence of indigeneity and the presence of “fake” Amazons compelling, but I find her basing of this argument on *The Sea Voyage* being a conscious reaction to 1622 is dubious. *The Sea Voyage* was licensed 22 June 1622, several months after the attacks but several weeks before news of the attacks began circulating—the first reference to the attacks is in a diary entry of a London law student Simon D’Ewes dated July 7, 1622. Any emendations to the play between its approval and its performance must have been minor, or else the play would have risked

censure. It is not impossible that the play was emended between its first performances and its eventual printing in 1647, but while the sacrifice scene bears some of the hall-marks of textual revision (it is, in many ways, a bit of a mess) it does not contain any obvious allusions to 1622. Jowitt argues that Fletcher, as a shareholder in the Virginia Company, “balked at the direct treatment of such subject matter in *The Sea Voyage*” (202). Two John Fletchers feature on a list of investors in the Company published in 1620, one contributing £62 10s and the other contributing £75. However, one of these John Fletchers was a merchant (as listed on the 1609 charter). The other is tantalizingly listed as “John Fletcher and Company.” This could conceivably be John Fletcher, and the Company could be the King’s Men playing company. More likely, however, the entry refers to The Company of Fletchers, which is also listed on the 1609 charter. This is not to say that Fletcher was uninterested in colonization, and the Virginia Company in general. Rather, it is to claim that he seems to have been consistently ambivalent throughout his drama (not just in *The Sea Voyage*), as does Philip Massinger. Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589–1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 202–203; for the list of investors, see *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia* (London: T.S., 1610), Dv–D2; on Simon D’Ewes diary entry, see Robert C. Johnson, “Notes: The Indian Massacre of 1622,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 68, no. 1 (1960): 107–108.

¹¹⁸ Other writers from this period associated Guiana and Amazons. Indeed, ever since Francisco de Orellana named the Amazon following a run-in with what he thought were female warriors in the 1540s, Amazons had been placed somewhat vaguely in South America. Gordon McMullan argues that Fletcher and Massinger drew from Bishop Joseph Hall’s *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605), in particular its depiction of Amazons from the land of *Gynia Nova*, a homonym of Guiana—a view supported by the fact that Fletcher and Hall were in the same circle of literary patronage. In *The Faerie Queene* (another source for *The Sea Voyage* according to McMullan), Edmund Spenser picks up on Raleigh’s description and places “the warlike Amazons” on “that huge Riuer, which doth beare his name” and praises them as “women, which so long / Can from all men so rich a kingdome hold”—“And shame on you, ô men, which boast your strong / And valiant hearts, in thoughts lesse hard and bold, / Yet quaille in conquest of that land of gold.” Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 236; Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (London: Robert Robinson, 1596), 23; Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), III.4.22.

Yet while Amazons were increasingly located in South America, they were also located in other world regions, and were (to borrow from Kathryn Schwarz) “variously imagined as Asian, African, American, and northern European, as black and white, as divinely, monstrosly, parthenogenically conceived” (Schwarz, *Tough Love*, 13). They “originated,” according to Herodotus, in Scythia, an association that we find repeated in the early modern period. In sources contemporary to Fletcher and Massinger, Amazons continue to emerge across the world. In the African kingdom of Sofala, Lopes Duarte found women who “do burne their leaft pappes with fire, because they should bee no hinderaunce vnto them in their shooting, after the vse and manner of the auncient *Amazones*, that are so greatly celebrated by the *Historiographers* of former prophane memories.” Duarte Lopes and Filippo Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo*, trans. Abraham Hartwell (London: John Wolfe, 1597), 195. The traveller Fynes Morrison claimed that Georgian women “are warlike, like the Amazons, and carrying bowes, shew valour both in countenance and behauiour.” Fynes Morrison, *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson* (London: John Beale, 1617), 232. Their borders were not confined: in the previous century, John Knox worried that great men of the past would look at “a woman sitting in iudgement, or riding frome parliament in the midst of men, hauing the royall crowne vpon her head, the sworde and sceptre borne before her, in signe that the administration of iustice was in her power” and as a result would “iudge the hole worlde to be transformed in to Amazones.” John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (Geneva: J. Poullain and A. Rebul, 1558), B2v–B3. Amazons were and continued to be free-floating figures, a race of women who were positioned alluringly, dangerously at whatever at that point constituted the edges of the known world. Amazons—“women [...] turn’d Masculine”—could also be found in England according to antifeminist tracts like *Hic Mulier: or The Man-Woman*: they even “imbroder[ed] the playhouse.” *Hic Mulier: or, The Man-Woman* (London: for I. Trundle, 1620), A3, A4. While the presence of Amazons in a play of 1622 certainly suggests an Atlantic placement, it does not confirm it. As Schwarz has argued, “Amazons work [...] as signs for what is “out there,” at the edge of the world. Talking about Amazons, in early modern England as before and since, is a way of referring to the

unknowable and the unreachable; Amazons are repeatedly associated with such other mythic figures as headless men, cannibals, Prester John, and the lost tribes of Israel” (Schwarz, *Tough Love*, 13). To put it another way, Amazons were floating signs both of the exotic and of the familiar: to base a geographical argument on their location seems unwise given that one of the troubling things about Amazons was that they were native to nowhere and hence could be found anywhere.

¹¹⁹ This case is strengthened by Michael Hattaway’s claim that “the black lake” located in the Amazon commonwealth is a conscious echo of the lake alluded to in Raleigh’s *Discoverie of Guiana* (2.2.3). Michael Hattaway, “‘Seeing Things’: Amazons and Cannibals,” in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare’s Time*, 185.

¹²⁰ René Laudonniere, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587), Ev.

¹²¹ André Thevet, *The New Found Worlde or Antarcticke* (London: for Thomas Hacket, 1568), 107–107v. On the various specific geographical sources of *The Sea Voyage*, see McMullan, *The Politics of Unease*, 235–254; Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589–1642*, 191–213; Parr, “Introduction,” *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, 22–24.

¹²² Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 248. I should stress here that I use the Roanoke accounts not to suggest that these two islands are in effect Roanoke, although I would say that they are Roanoke-like (as well as Guiana-like, Virginia-like, Azores-like, and Canary Island-like).

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 246.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 248.

¹²⁵ Rosier, *A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage*, D3v.

¹²⁶ Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, 15.

Conclusion

The Absence of *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia*

O shall brutish rage

Act Scænes so bloody (sparing Sex nor Age)

On this worlds Theater.

Christopher Brooke, *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia*, 1622

In the autumn of 1599, Thomas Platter, a native of Basel and keen traveller, spent a month in England, visiting the cities and towns of Dover, Canterbury, Rochester, Oxford, Richmond, Greenwich, and Kingston, and the royal palaces of Nonsuch, Hampton Court, and Windsor. Although greatly impressed by all that he saw, Platter reserved most praise, and most space in his diary account of his travels, for London, a city “so superior to other English towns that London is not said to be in England, but rather England to be in London, for England’s most resplendent objects may be seen in and around London.”¹ London accumulated “resplendent objects” from beyond England’s borders through trade: “Most of the inhabitants are employed in commerce; they buy, sell, and trade in all corners of the globe,” with “ships from France, the Netherlands, Germany and other countries [...] bringing goods with them and loading others in exchange for exportation.” According to Platter, London’s commerce led not only to the city becoming “so prosperous, that it is not only the first in the whole realm of England, but is esteemed one of the most famous in all Christendom”; it also led, in Platter’s estimation, to the institution of London as a global city, one whose inhabitants bought, sold, and accumulated international goods and stayed abreast of world events.²

London's global engagement even extended to leisure pursuits. During his stay Platter went to the theatre three times, on September 18, 1599 to see "the bear and bull-baiting," on September 21 to witness "an excellent performance of the tragedy of the first Emperor Julius Caesar," and on an undated occasion to see a play "in the suburb of Bishopsgate [...] in which they presented diverse nations," the plot of which revolved around a love-match between an Englishman and a German, concluding with a dance "very charmingly in English and Irish fashion."³ Platter was just as if not more fascinated by the behaviour of the playgoers and the structures of the playhouses than he was with the plays themselves, noting with interest that the English spend "much time [...] merrily [...] at the play" and that both "men and womenfolk visit such places without scruple."⁴ As a result of these experiences, Platter concluded that the English liked to "pass their time, learning at the play what is happening abroad; [...] since the English for the most part do not travel much, but prefer to learn foreign matters and take their pleasures at home."⁵

Platter's observations about playgoing have spurred many critics to argue that the untravelled English voyaged vicariously by going to plays—an idea we have seen personified in the last chapter in the character of Lorece in Cockayne's *The Obstinate Lady*. Andrew Gurr has suggested that the playhouse was "the first great market for daily journalism."⁶ We see this in plays "ripped from the headlines" such as the anonymous *Arden of Faversham* (1591), *The Yorkshire Tragedy* (1606), and Fletcher and Massinger's 1619 play *John van Oldenbarnevelt*, a re-enactment of the execution of the titular Dutch statesman that had taken place only a few months before the play debuted at The Globe. Ania Loomba has used Platter's observations to argue that "visitors [to the London playhouses] got their images of foreign people from the stage, rather than from books or from real-life interactions."⁷ Steven Mullaney goes further, suggesting that Londoners experienced travelling across the Thames to attend the theatres on the south side of the river as if it was a voyage of exploration to a different country: crossing the river was "a passage into a domain of cultural license as diverse as any wonder-cabinet, a field of ambivalent

cultures and marginal pastimes lodged [...] on the margins of order and community.”⁸ To go to the theatre was thus to encounter the strange, but it was also to engage with the world at large: as we are often reminded, not for nothing was the most famous playhouse of the era named The Globe.

But did the “foreign matters” stretch as far as the New World? As discussed in chapter one, according to the promoters and projectors attempting to spur the English into action in the Atlantic world, playing companies were fascinated with the Americas, but for all the wrong reasons: the players and “Stage poets” “blew abroad” all manner of slanders and lies; they were the enemies of Virginia on a par with the Pope and the Devil. Nevertheless, drama’s engagement with American “foreign matters” was limited, as was the interest of the English in general. The New World greatly attracted a fairly small number of people at court and among the mercantile community, and only sporadically impacted the lives of others. Among the “resplendent objects” that Thomas Platter encountered in London was “an Indian bed, with Indian valance, and an Indian table” at Whitehall, and a number of American objects in “an apartment” at the “fine house” of Sir Walter Cope, such as “[f]lies which glow at night in Virginia instead of lights, since there is often no day there for over a month,” and “[a] long narrow Indian canoe, with the oars and sliding planks.”⁹ However, these objects would not have been in wide circulation: the Indian bed was among the ornaments at a royal palace, and Cope was a well-connected and wealthy collector and investor in overseas enterprise who would become a director of the Virginia Company a few years after Platter visited him.¹⁰ In addition, the degree to which these items are “American” is questionable. In common with many records from this period (as discussed in chapter two) Platter uses the term “Indian” (in German “Indianische”) indiscriminately: among Cope’s collection are “Indian” objects that come from the East, such as the “[b]eautiful Indian plumes, ornaments and clothes from China,” “[a]n Indian chain made of monkey teeth,” and “[t]wo beautifully dyed Indian sheepskins with silken sheen,” and “Indian” objects whose origins are obscure, such as “[a] Madonna made of Indian feathers.”¹¹ The royal “Indian bed” was

probably imported from the east (although whether the bed or the sheets on the bed are Indian is unclear). The general designation of these objects as “Indianische” implies that the men and women who bought Indian objects or invested in the Americas either saw the Atlantic world in relation to the broader context of global discovery, trade, and commerce and/or were uncertain as to what constituted American and non-American (or “Indianische”) objects.

However, even if America was neither a central concern to the majority of English men and women nor a stable figure even among those who were invested in the Atlantic world, that does not mean that news, rumours, and slanders about the New World were not in circulation. Nor does it mean that those who deemed players and playwrights the enemies of the Virginia Company were entirely wrong to suspect that information (or misinformation, as far they were concerned) was being disseminated in the playhouse. For a start, the world of the theatre and the world of transoceanic trade and settlement were not wholly separate from one another. As I have shown, there were a number of links between the court, the mercantile community, and the playing companies, not least in terms of the cross-over in personnel involved in the masques, the pageants, and the plays. Sir Walter Cope, for example, was master to the actor Richard Burbage’s brother Cuthbert, who along with his brother took a half-share in The Globe Theatre; Cope had plays performed at his house, including a production of Shakespeare’s *Love’s Labours Lost* for the entertainment of Queen Anne.¹² But the relationship between America and the early modern stage does not stop at the inter-connections between various sectors of English society.

Again, Thomas Platter’s diary proves instructive. As mentioned above, one of the plays that prompted Platter to conclude that playgoing was popular for the untravelled English because it taught them “foreign matters” was about the death of Julius Caesar (presumably Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*), a performance which took place at one of the Bankside playhouses (if it was Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, which debuted in 1599, then the playhouse in question is The Globe).¹³ It is difficult to see what “foreign matters” the English could learn from a play which staged the assassination of the title character in imperial Rome over sixteen hundred years earlier.

While it is conceivable that people went to watch the Julius Caesar play to witness the death of Caesar—much in the same way that they flocked to see Shakespeare’s *Henry VI Part One* to watch (in the words of Thomas Nashe) “brave Talbot” whose bones were “new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators”—any playgoer who attended the theatre in late 1599 to find out “what was happening” in Rome in late 1599 would have been disappointed.¹⁴ Nevertheless, playgoers may have learned issues of state, international issues, and “foreign matters” from going to the playhouse because a particular play dealt with contemporary affairs through direct or analogous representation, because a play contained snippets of information about current events (asides), or because the playhouse was a gathering place where news, views, rumours, and lies were disseminated from the stage to the audience and among audience members. The fact that a play about Julius Caesar is one of the inspirations for Platter’s comments suggests that the kinds of “foreign matters” that Platter observed to be circulating among the playgoers may have emerged in somewhat circuitous ways, and by extension that play-goers came to the theatre to learn about the world not necessarily by seeing plays that staged contemporary events (although that did happen) but sometimes by experiencing “foreign matters” through indirect means.

The Julius Caesar play would not, one assumes, have been set in or been about the New World (Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* most definitely is not), but there are a number of plays that incorporate American reference points, even if only at the level of the aside. In this study I have pieced out from a variety of sources—first- and second-hand observations, trading company documents, private correspondence, maps, masques, civic pageants, and playhouse drama—a sense of America’s position within the early modern English imaginary. Moreover, I have contended that the playhouse was a site where concern and criticism about early transatlantic ventures was reflected and refracted: trade links are deemed unwise or the purview of the corrupt; colonists and investors are associated with excessive wealth, materialism, lust, corruption, and greed; native conversion is regarded as a failure and a folly. These commentaries about the Americas emerge not in plays set in America (because there are no extant plays set in America),

nor in plays that stage Native American characters (again, because there are none), but rather are to be found at the margins of plays, in asides, through certain costume choices and disguises, and in stage geographies that allude to but do not name American locales.

The fact we can locate America only at the margins does not mean that it had no impact. Indeed, early modern drama's active engagement of its audience's "imagination" meant that what we might now consider at the periphery was in some senses the point of contact between the world invoked by a play and the world outside that play. We find America emerges most often at these points of intersection between stage and audience, between playing-company and playgoer: we see this in the asides discussed in chapter one, which shared jokes about the follies of colonial venturing with the audience; we see this in the Indian disguises discussed in chapter three, meta-dramatic prostheses that either celebrated or denigrated (depending on the play) the attempts to clothe Indians in Christianity; we see this in plays that gesture towards American landscapes but do not use America as a setting, which required their audience to conjure up new worlds in their imagination (as examined in chapter four). Thomas Platter's observation in 1599 that the untravelled English learned "foreign matters" at the play—even from plays that seem ostensibly unrelated to the wider world—reminds us also that what the English might learn about America was, it seems, what the advocates of colonialism dreaded. It is at these points of intersection between playgoer and play that commentary, mockery, parody, and critique about early American colonization emerge—not in any play devoted solely to the English experience in America, nor in drama that overtly denigrated Spanish cruelties against the Indians, but in plays which otherwise have little or nothing to do with America, in plays which feature Christian Europeans disguising themselves as Indians, in plays which are set in London or on unnamed, unknown islands, or in plays in which America seems to be absent.

*

All conclusions about early modern drama are necessarily incomplete. There is evidence for around a thousand plays from the era of the professional playing companies, but this is only a fraction of the likely total number performed. Many plays exist only as titles in the records of the Master of the Revels, and there are many plays all traces of which have been lost to time. In the terms described in this study, America was absent from the early modern stage as far as we can tell, but America is also frequently absent from the archive that remains.

It is to one such lost play that I turn in conclusion: *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia*, which was almost certainly a dramatic response to Opechancanough's devastating attacks against the Virginia colony in 1622. The records of Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, show that a play of this name "contayninge 16 sheets and one leaf" was licensed in August in 1623 "for the Companye at the Curtune," but we don't know who wrote it.¹⁵ The Curtain housed plays performed by the Prince's Men in 1623, so it may have been performed by them, but we cannot be sure of that. We cannot even be sure whether it was performed at all. Herbert's records show that the play was censored so that the "prophaness [was] left out."¹⁶ There is no further information about what constituted this profanity, and the very word suggests something along the lines of a religious slur, even something as simple as the use of the word "God." N.W. Bawcutt notes that Herbert "founde fault with the lengthe" and "commanded a reformation in all their other playes" (i.e., the other plays of whatever company it was that mounted *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia* at the Curtain), so it could be that the play's censoring had something to do with its length.¹⁷ However, the early 1620s was an especially fertile period for drama addressing contemporary political events, so much so that James I released two proclamations, one in 1619 and one the following year, targeting playing companies and other cultural producers for any "excesse of Lavish and Licentious Speech of matters of State."¹⁸ *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia* may have been one such play that pushed these limits too far. We will never know, but it is tempting, perhaps too tempting, to conclude that

whatever was removed from the play was matter uncomplimentary to the Virginia Company and colonists, and that this uncomplimentary matter may be the reason why the play has not survived.

When placed in the context of writings about the “Indian massacre” of 1622, the title and the date of the play enable a speculative reconstruction. News of the attacks against the plantations begun on March 22, 1622 reached England that summer. *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia*, an official Virginia Company pamphlet written by Edward Waterhouse, was published in August. The attacks became the subject of poems, ballads, essays, and sermons. *Virginia Mourning* (now lost) may have been the first literary response to the attacks to emerge in print, and it was licensed July 10, 1622. *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia* by the lawyer Christopher Brooke was published in September 1622: Brooke, most famous for being a friend of John Donne (he is the dedicatee of Donne’s “The Storm” and “The Calm”), was also an investor in the Virginia Company to the tune of £50, perhaps why he chose to write a poem about the “Scænes so bloody (sparing Sex nor Age) / On this worlds Theater.”¹⁹ The more upbeat ballad *Good Newes from Virginia* was “Sent from *Iames* his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman of that Country” and published in that year.²⁰ John Donne was commissioned by the Virginia Company in November 1622 to deliver a sermon to bolster ailing morale. Francis Bacon’s “Of Plantations,” published in his 1625 edition of essays, may not mention Virginia by name, but its appeal to planters to maintain “sufficient guard” towards any “savages” was no doubt prompted by events three years earlier.²¹ Reports of the attacks are also to be found in John Smith’s *A Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (1624) and in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). News of the attacks was not restricted to print. They were noted in diaries and personal correspondences, and were also the subject of gossip: the Reverend Joseph Mead of Christ Church College, Oxford, wrote in July 13, 1622 that “every man [...] that comes from London” brought “ill newes come from Virginia.”²² Waterhouse claimed that he had written his account because the “fame” of the attacks “hath spread it selfe, I doubt not, into all parts abroad, and [...] is talked of of all men.”²³ In sum, as

Robert C. Johnson has argued, “[t]he Indian Massacre of 1622 was one of the few events in the early history of Virginia which captured the attention of the English public.”²⁴

The attacks changed the way that the Virginia colony was perceived in England because they were blamed in part on the spatial peculiarities of the plantations. Accounts of the attacks stressed that the way that the settlers resided (in the words to John Chamberlain) “in scattered and stragling houses far asunder” made them vulnerable to native attacks.²⁵ The distance between plantations did not worry the settlers because they enjoyed generally peaceful relations with the Indians (or so they thought). As Edward Waterhouse reported, they had “set open” their houses so that the Indians might be “entertained at the tables of the English, and commonly lodged in their bed-chambers.” Waterhouse stated that “their familiarity with the Natiues, [seemed] to open a faire gate for their conuersion to Christianitie,” yet it was this “familiarity” that allowed the Indians to take the settlers by surprise when they used English “tooles and weapons” against their hosts.²⁶ The dangerous proximity between Indians and English was much commented upon in England. Simon D’Ewes, a London law student, wrote in his diary on July 7, 1622 about the “exceeding badd newes,” and seemed especially troubled by the fact that “the inhumane wretches” had “burnt some howses & villages & spoiled most of the plantation & corn therabouts.”²⁷ William Wynn, also a law student, wrote to his father Sir John Wynn in Gwydir, Wales on July 12, 1622 that “[i]n Virginia, the savages have by a wile come (as they weare wonte) to traffique into our englishe howses, and with our owne weapons slew 329 of our men.”²⁸ On the same day a letter (author unknown) informed Joseph Mead that the settlers had “been murdered by the Natives [...] under the pretence of friendship.” Mead himself noted in September that the Virginia Council in London had branded the attacks “most barbarous & in the very midst of kindnes on our part &c.”—i.e., the English attempts to save the natives’ souls had been turned against them. Mead appears to have received a slightly garbled account of the attack, writing to a friend that the “the Indians” had invited “our men to their Feasting & merriment” in order to trap them and kill them.²⁹ While the details have been reversed, the point remains the

same: the Indians had violated the rules of hospitality in the most bloody way possible, as guests of, or, in Mead's version of events, as hosts to, the English settlers. As discussed in chapter four, the impact of the attacks on the Virginia plantations can be detected in *The Fatal Marriage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*, both of which involve Indians who enter and violate European households, and which, although not set in Virginia, reinforce the connection between plantation and household.

Judging by these reports, what seems to have troubled the English most was that Indians had committed these crimes against the planters not in some distant, barely imaginable space but rather within a "familiar" setting, the home. By so doing, the Indians had tapped into long-standing anxieties about the vulnerabilities of, and strangeness inherent to, the English household, which we see elsewhere in early modern cultural production. For example, these anxieties were integral to dramas of domesticity, such as Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, the anonymous *Arden of Faversham*, and the anonymous *The Yorkshire Tragedy*.³⁰ In 1622 the Indians had performed a role similar to that of the antagonists in such plays. They had been welcomed into the home so that they might be made "familiar" members of the household; the space had become "strange" when the Indians had turned "familiar" instruments—English "tools and weapons"—against their hosts. Arguably, at this point "the plantation" became a domestic space in the English cultural imaginary. Prior to transatlantic settlement the term "plantation" had described an act (the act of sowing harvestable crops, and, figuratively, the act of spreading God's Word). After 1622 a plantation became a location that was familiar even to people who had not experienced America first-hand, because it had come to bear a resemblance to their own households.

How *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia* staged the attacks (if it did) will never be known. It does not seem beyond the bounds of possibility, however, that the play featured scenes depicting the attacks being perpetrated within English homes to English settlers, both because this aspect seems to have captured the imagination of the majority of commentators (both official and

non-official), and because the ways in which the attacks were reported accorded with how the discourses of domesticity were staged. In dramatizing the attacks, *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia* may have represented a place (the plantation) that had only recently become fully conceivable (the plantation-as-home). Virginia was stageable precisely because it now looked like a familiar, or a familiarly unfamiliar, place.³¹ Ironically, but perhaps not without coincidence, the only time that an English colony seems to have been staged in the era of the professional playhouse was in *A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia*, a play licensed at, and very possibly about, the moment at which the Virginia settlement seemed to be on the verge of permanent dissolution.

¹ Thomas Platter, *The Travels of Thomas Platter*, trans. Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), 153.

² *Ibid.*, 156.

³ *Ibid.*, 166–168. Platter’s second play was performed “at Bishopsgate,” which suggests either *The Curtain* or *The Boar’s Head*. He describes the play as follows: “I beheld a play in which they presented diverse nations and an Englishman struggling together for a maiden; he overcame them all except the German who won the girl in a tussle, and then sat down by her side, when he and his servant drank themselves tipsy, so that they were both fuddled and the servant proceeded to hurl his shoe at his master’s head, whereupon they both fell asleep; meanwhile the Englishman stole into the tent and absconded with the German’s prize, thus in his turn outwitting the German; in conclusion they danced very charmingly in English and Irish fashion.” The play seems to follow the generic expectations of a city comedy in which a stranger figure (in this case the German—who could possibly be a Dutchman as the Dutch were often described by the English as frequently drunk) disrupts the status quo. Although Platter’s description of the Englishman stealing into the German’s “tent” may indicate a battlefield rather than an urban environment, Gabriel Egan suggests that the “tent” may have in fact represented a bed (“the appropriate place for a maiden ‘prize’”), or it could reflect the stage-booth design that may have been used in theatres of this period (especially at *The Boar’s Head*, which welcomed travelling playing companies). See Gabriel Egan, “Thomas Platter’ Account of an Unknown Play at the Curtain or the Boar’s Head,” *Notes and Queries* 47, no. 1 (2000): 53–56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 167, 170.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁶ See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare’s London* 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 146.

⁷ Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 8.

⁸ Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 75.

⁹ Platter, *Travels*, 172–173.

¹⁰ Platter’s claim that Cope had “spent much time in the Indies” seems to be erroneous. Cope had the ear of James I and Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (as he had of the Earl’s father), and his many appointments included Chamberlain of the Exchequer and Master of the Wards. Alexander Brown’s brief biography of Cope notes that “[h]e was one of the leaders of the time, in the efforts to create a foreign commerce for Great Britain, and to establish English colonies in America, [and that he was] a member of the East India, Muscovy, Newfoundland, North West passage, Somers Island, and Virginia Companies” but does not mention anything about Cope’s “Indian voyage [...] carried out with such zeal.” Platter, *Travels*, 171–173; Alexander Brown, ed., *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. 2 (New York; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), 862.

¹¹ Platter, *Travels*, 171–173; Thomas Platter, *Englandfahrt im Jahre 1599*, ed. Hans Hecht (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1929), 43–46.

¹² See Peter G. Platt, *Reason Diminished: Shakespeare and the Marvelous* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 64–65.

¹³ It seems fairly likely that the play in question is Shakespeare's, as Alfred Harbage records no other plays about Caesar performed in the year 1599 in *The Annals of English Drama*. We should not however discount the possibility that Platter saw a different play. According to Thomas Berger, William Bradford, and Sidney Sondergard, Caesar appeared in or his death was prominent in the anonymous *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* (1582 or 1589), Thomas Lodge's *The Wounds of Civil War* (1588), Thomas Kyd's *Cornelia* (1594–1596), Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra* (1594), and Samuel Brandon's *Octavia* (1598), and there is every chance that among the raft of plays now lost to us there were a number dedicated to this popular subject matter. Alfred Harbage, *The Annals of English Drama*, 3rd edition, revised by Samuel Schoenbaum and Sylvia Wagonheim (London: Routledge, 1990); Thomas L. Berger, William C. Bradford, and Sidney G. Sondergard, *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁴ Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil* (1592), in *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, ed. J.B. Steane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 113.

¹⁵ *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: the Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623–73*, ed. N.W. Bawcutt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 141.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*.

¹⁷ N.W. Bawcutt, "Introduction," *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama*, 42.

¹⁸ Quoted in F.J. Levy, "Staging the News," in *Print, Manuscript, & Performance: the Changing Relations of Media in Early Modern England*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 252. On the topical plays of this period, especially those relating to the Spanish match, see Jerzy Limon, *Dangerous Matter: English Drama and Politics 1623–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and Margot Heinemann, "Drama and Opinion in the 1620s: Middleton and Massinger" in *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts*, ed. J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 237–265.

¹⁹ Christopher Brooke, *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia* (1622), in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 72, no.3 (1964): 259–292.

²⁰ *Good Newes from Virginia, sent from Iames his towne this present moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in the country* (London: for John Trundle, 1623).

²¹ Francis Bacon, "Of Plantations," in *The Essays*, ed. John Pitcher (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 164.

²² Joseph Mead to Martin Stuteville, July 13, 1622, in "The Indian Massacre of 1622: Some Correspondence of the Reverend Joseph Mead," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 71, no. 4 (1963): 408.

²³ Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London: for Robert Mylbourne, 1622), A3–A3v.

²⁴ Robert C. Johnson, "Notes: The Indian Massacre of 1622," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 68, no. 1 (1960): 107.

²⁵ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton July 13, 1622, in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman E. McClure, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), 446.

²⁶ Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony*, 13–14.

²⁷ Quoted in Johnson, "Notes: The Indian Massacre of 1622," 107.

²⁸ Quoted in Johnson, "Notes: The Indian Massacre of 1622," 107–108.

²⁹ Mead to Stuteville, July 13, 1622, 408.

³⁰ I am thinking here of work by Frances Dolan, whose examination of "domestic crimes" relocates the predominant cultural anxieties in the English encounter with the familiar, and hence in the household itself: "the threat usually lies in the familiar rather than the strange, in the intimate rather than the invader"; and by Wendy Wall, who argues that the household, a site of bloody work, vernacular language, and female labour, was always already estranged even in its familiarity, and was always already a site of potential conflict, all the while that it was beheld as the physic glue binding people within a community, and hence a central factor in the establishment of national identity. See Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550–1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University

Press, 1994), 4; and Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

³¹ The *O.E.D.* indicates that the word plantation undergoes a shift in meaning in the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century. While its initial meaning (outside of the obvious agricultural sense) implied the institution of an abstract concept, e.g. religion, in the early colonial era the word takes on a sense of physical presence, i.e., “The settling of people, usually in a conquered or dominated country; *esp.* the planting or establishing of a colony; colonization.”

Figures



Figure 1. Inigo Jones, *An Indian Torchbearer*, for George Chapman and Inigo Jones, *The Memorable Maske* (1613).



Figure 2. Cesare Vecellio, “Donzella Africana dell’Indie,” from *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (1598).



Figure 3. Inigo Jones, *Indians*, for Aurelian Townsend and Inigo Jones, *Tempe Restord* (1632).



Figure 4. Theodor de Bry, *Adam and Eve*, from Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590).



Figure 5. John White, *A Pictish warrior holding a human head* (c. 1587).



Figure 6. Theodor de Bry/John White, *The trwe picture of one [Pict]*, from Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590).



Figure 7. Cornelius Johnson, *Sir Thomas Hanmer* (1631).

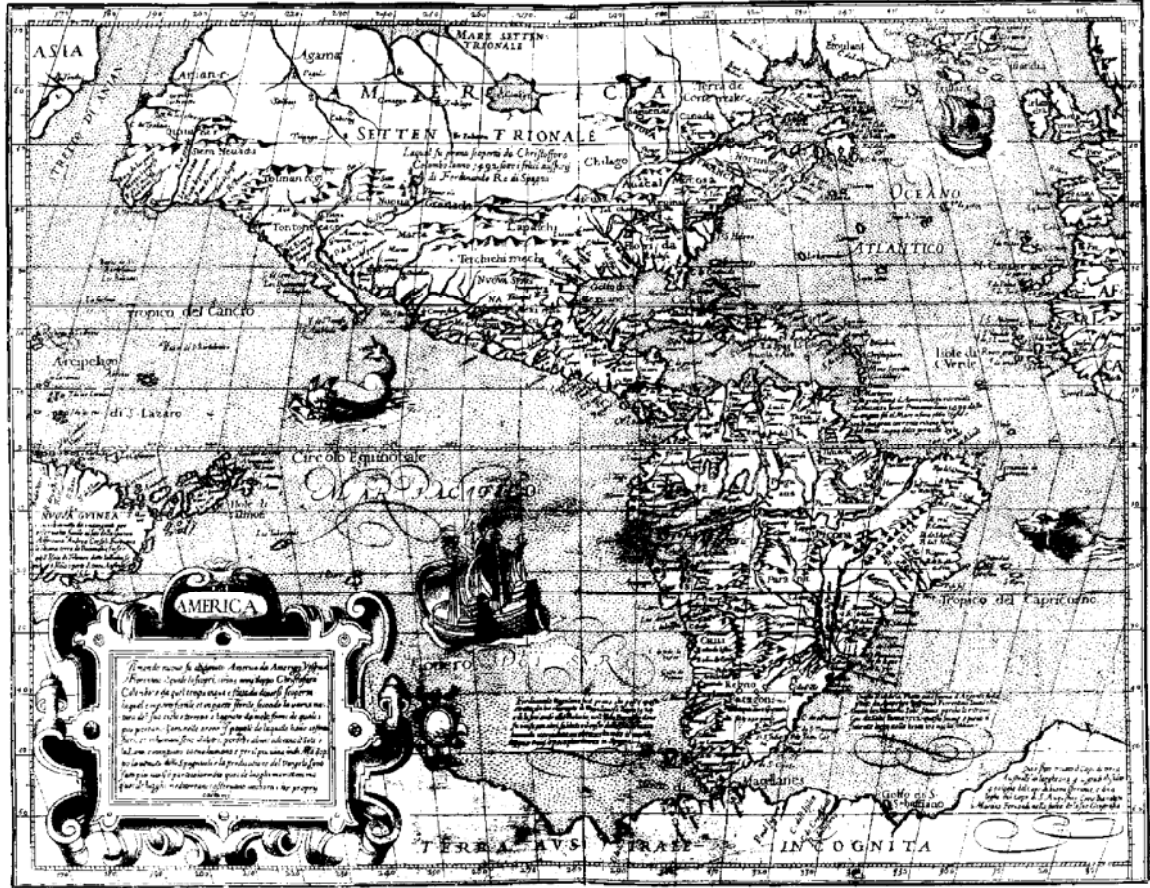


Figure 8. Hendrick van Schoel, *America* (1609).

Figure 9. Hendrick van Schoel, *America*, detail showing two “Virginias.”



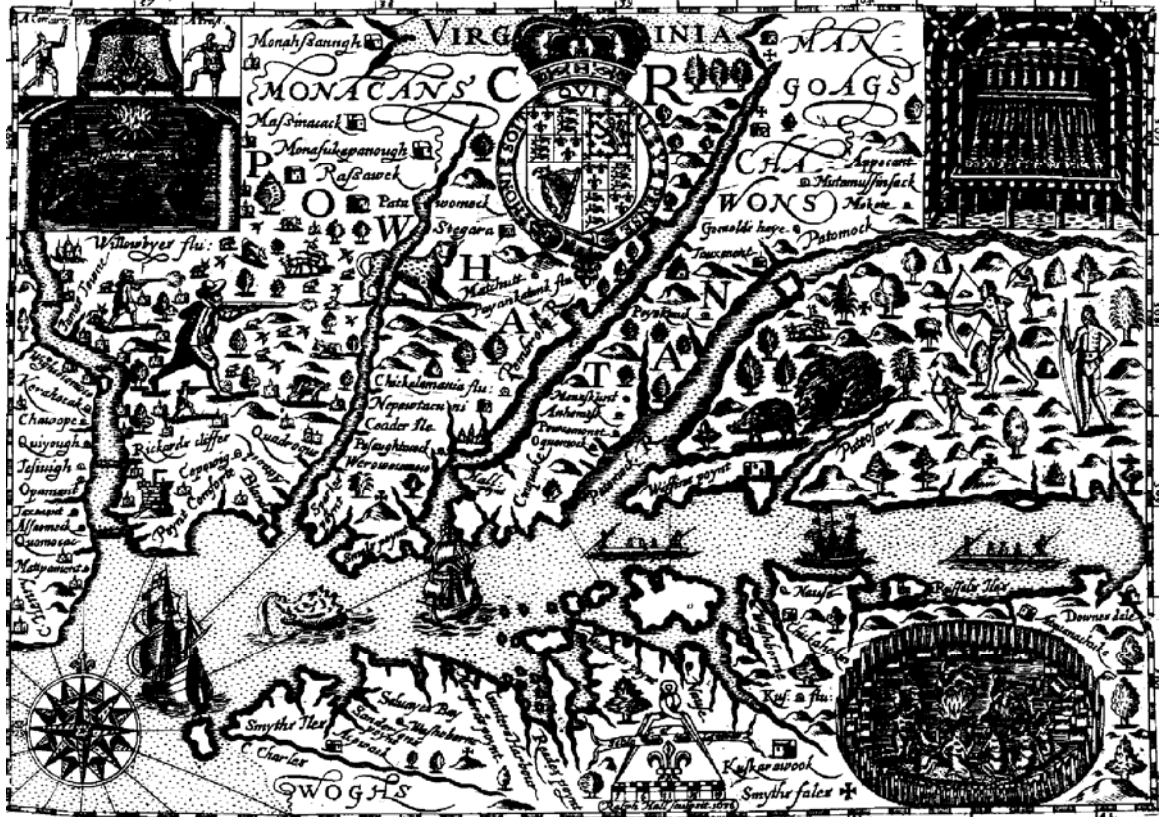


Figure 10. Ralph Hall, *Virginia*, from Gerardus Mercator, *Historia Mundi* (London, 1635).



Figure 11. John Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612).

Appendix

Timeline of English Involvement in the Atlantic World*

<u>1170</u>		Supposed date for the Welsh Prince Madoc's Discovery of America
<u>1481</u>		Possible first landfall of English sailors in North America
<u>1492</u>	Jan	Surrender of Moors at Alhambra
	March	Expulsion of Jews from Spain
	Oct 12	Columbus's first landfall in the Americas
<u>1493</u>	March	Columbus returns to Spain with ten "Indians"
<u>1497</u>	May–Aug	John Cabot's first voyage to North America
<u>1501</u>		Three "Indian" visitors to England granted audience with Henry VII
		Amerigo Vespucci returns to Cadiz with 222 Indians to sell as slaves
<u>1507</u>		Martin Waldseemuller christens America (after Vespucci) on his globe
<u>1513</u>	Sept	First European sighting of the Pacific by Vasco Núñez de Balboa
<u>1516</u>		Publication of Thomas More, <i>Utopia</i>
<u>1517</u>		John Rastell, <i>The Nature of the Four Elements</i>, performed at the court of Henry VIII
<u>1519–1522</u>		Circumnavigation voyage of Ferdinand Magellan

* Dates for plays taken from *The Annals of English Drama*, 3rd edition, ed. Alfred Harbage, revised by Samuel Schoenbaum and Sylvia Wagonheim (London: Routledge, 1990), with the exception of plays by William Shakespeare, the dates for which are taken from *The Norton Shakespeare* (after *The Oxford Shakespeare*), ed. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katherine Eisaman Maus (New York: WW Norton, 1997).

<u>1521</u>	Nov	Hernan Cortes overthrows Aztec Empire in Mexico	
<u>1524</u>	March	Giovanni de Verrazano lands in Norumbega	
<u>1527</u>	June	John Rut voyage leaves for Labrador and the West Indies (returns 1528)	
<u>1531</u>		William Hawkins returns to England from expedition to South America with a “king of Brasil”	
<u>1532</u>	Nov	Francisco Pizarro attacks Inca Empire at Cusco	
<u>1534</u>	May–Sept	Jacques Cartier’s first voyage to the Gulf of St. Lawrence	
<u>1536</u>		William Hore’s voyage to Newfoundland	
<u>1550</u>		Entry of King Henry II and Catherine de Medici of France to Rouen—mock battle featuring fifty naked Brazilian Indians	
<u>1552</u>			Publication of Bartholomae de las Casas, <i>Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de Las Indias</i>
<u>1555</u>		Establishment of the Muscovy Company	
		Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon founds <i>France Antarctique</i> in Brazil	
			Publication of Peter Martyr, <i>The Decades of the New Worlde or West India</i>, translated by Richard Eden
<u>1562</u>		Jean Ribault founds colony of Charlesfort, Florida	
		John Hawkins’ first Atlantic slaving voyage	
<u>1567</u>	Jan	French forced out of Florida by Spanish	
<u>1568</u>			Publication of André Thevet, <i>The New Found Worlde, or Antarticke</i> (first English translation)
<u>1569</u>		The Battle of San Juan de Ulloa	

1570

Publication of Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*

1573 March

Drake (with Cimarrons) captures Spanish Silver Train in Nombre de Dios

1576 Jun

Martin Frobisher sets out on first expedition to Newfoundland

Oct

Frobisher returns with one Inuit captive (names unknown)

Publication of Humphrey Gilbert, *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to New Cataia* (written ten years earlier, printed in the run up to Frobisher's voyage)

1577 May

Frobisher sets out on second expedition to Newfoundland

Sept

Frobisher returns with three Inuit captives (Kalicho, Arnaq, and Nutaaq)

Publication of John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials of Navigation*

1577–1580

Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the world

1578 June–Oct

Frobisher's third expedition to Newfoundland

Publication of Jean de Lery, *Histoire d'un Voyage faict en la terra de Brésil*

Publication of George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathay, by the Northwest, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, Generall*

Publication of Thomas Churchyard, *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk* (including his poems "A Matter Touching the Journey of Sir Humphrey Gilberte, Knight" and "A Welcome Home to Master Martin Frobusher, and all those Gentlemen and Souldiers, that haue bene with him this last journey, in the Countrey called Meta incognita")

<u>1579</u>		Drake claims Nova Albion in the name of Elizabeth I	
<u>1580</u>			Publication of Nicholas de Monardes, <i>Joyfull Newes Out of the Newfound World</i> (first English translation)
<u>1582</u>			Publication of Richard Hakluyt, <i>Diuers Voyages Touching the Discouerie of America</i>
			Publication of Stephen Parmenius, <i>De Navigatione</i>
<u>1583</u>	June–Sept	Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s failed expedition to North America	
			Publication of Bartholomae de las Casas, <i>The Spanish Colonie</i> (first English translation)
			Publication of Thomas Carleill, <i>A Breef and Sommarie Discourse Upon the Entended Voyage to the hethermoste Partes of America</i>
<u>1584</u>		Francis Amadas and Arthur Barlowe’s voyage to North America—first Roanoke voyage, returns with interpreters Manteo and Wanchese (and probably Towaye)	
			Composition of Richard Hakluyt, ’s <i>A Particular Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifoldde Commodityes that are like to Growe to the Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted</i> (circulated manuscript)
<u>1585</u>		First Roanoke settlement under Governor Ralph Lane	
		John Davis’s exploration for Northwest Passage	
			Publication of Henry Roberts, <i>A Most Friendly Farewell giuen by a Welwiller to the Right Worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, [...] and to all the Gentlemen his Followers, and Captaines in this Exploite</i>
<u>1585–1602</u>		Anglo-Spanish War. 200 English ships per year head off to hunt and rob the Spanish, many in the Caribbean	

<u>1586</u>	Drake sacks Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine	
<u>1587</u>	Second Roanoke settlement under John White	
<u>1588</u>	July Spanish Armada Defeated	
<u>1589</u>		Publication of Richard Hakluyt, <i>Principal Navigations</i> (first edition)
		Publication of Walter Bigges, <i>A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian Voyage</i>
<u>1590</u>	John White returns to Roanoke to find it abandoned	
		Publication of Thomas Harriot, <i>A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia</i> (Theodor de Bry edition: first edition published, un-illustrated, in 1588)
<u>1592</u>	The seizure of the <i>Madre de Dios</i>	
		William Shakespeare, <i>The Comedy of Errors</i>, performed by Lord Strange's Men at the Rose
		Publication of George Peckham, <i>A Trve Reporte, of the Late Discoueries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes</i>
<u>1593</u>		Robert Greene, <i>The Historie of Orlando Furioso, One of the Twelve Pieres of France</i>, performed by the Queen's and Strange's Men
<u>1595</u>	Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, returns with Cayowaroco	
	Last Drake and Hawkins voyage to Caribbean	
		Sept 17 Anonymus, <i>The New World Tragedy</i> (lost), performed by the Admiral's Men at the Rose

			Nov 17	Francis Bacon, “The Device Made by the Earl of Essex for the Entertainment of Her Majesty” performed for Elizabeth I’s Accession Day
				Publication of Henry Roberts, <i>The Trumpet of Fame, or Sir Francis Drake’s and Sir John Hawkin’s Farewell</i>
<u>1596</u>		The Earl of Essex’s Cadiz Expedition		
				William Shakespeare, <i>The Merchant of Venice</i>, performed by the Chamberlain’s Men at the Theatre
				Publication of Walter Raleigh, <i>The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and bewtifull Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa</i>
				Publication of Lawrence Kemys, <i>A Relation to the Second Voyage to Guiana</i> (including George Chapman, “De Guianam”)
				Composition of Edmund Spenser, <i>A View of the State of Ireland</i> (not printed until 1633)
<u>1597</u>			Apr 23	William Shakespeare, <i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>, first performed by the Chamberlain’s Men at the Curtain
<u>1598</u>				Publication of Cesare Vecellio, <i>Habiti Antichi et Moderni</i>
<u>1598–1603</u>				Lope de Vega, <i>El Nuevo Mundo Descubriendo por Cristóbal Colón</i>, first performed in Madrid
<u>1599</u>	Sept–Oct	Thomas Platter visits London		
				William Shakespeare, <i>Henry V</i>, performed by the Chamberlain’s Men

		William Shakespeare, <i>Julius Caesar</i>, performed by the Chamberlain's Men at the Globe
		Thomas Dekker, <i>The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus</i>, performed by the Admiral's Men at the Rose
<u>1599–1600</u>		Publication of Richard Hakluyt, <i>Principal Navigations</i> (second edition)
<u>1600</u>	Ottoman embassy to the English court	
	Dec	East India Company chartered
<u>1601</u>		John Day, William Haughton, and Wentworth Smith, <i>The Conquest of the West-Indies</i> (lost), performed by Admiral's Men at the Fortune
<u>1602</u>	Voyages to North America by Samuel Mace, Bartholomew Gosnold, and George Waymouth	
		Publication of Edward Hayes, <i>A Treatise, containing important inducements for the planting of these parts, and find a passage that way to the South Sea and China</i>
		Publication of John Brereton, <i>A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia</i>
<u>1603</u>	Voyages to North America by Raleigh Gilbert and Martin Pring	
	Sept	Display of "Virginian" canoeing on the Thames
		Publication of Martin Pring, <i>A Voyage Set Out from the Citie of Bristoll</i>
		Publication of Michel de Montaigne, "Of the Cannibals" in <i>Essais</i> (English translation by John Florio)
<u>1604</u>	Treaty of London, ending hostilities between Spain and England	

		Thomas Heywood, <i>The Fair Maid of the West Part One</i>, performed by Queen Anne's Men at The Curtain.
	Jan 1	Anonymous, <i>A Masque of the Knights of India and China</i> (lost), performed at court
		Publication of James I, <i>A Counterblaste to Tobacco</i> Publication of Jose de Acosta, <i>The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies</i> (first English translation)
<u>1605</u>	Voyage to North America by George Waymouth, capture of five Abenaki Indians (Tanahedo, Skicowares, Amoret, Sassacomoit, Maneddo)	
		Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and John Marston, <i>Eastward Ho!</i>, performed by the Children of the Queen's Revels at Blackfriar's
		William Shakespeare, <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>, performed by the King's Men at the Globe
	Jan 6	Ben Jonson, <i>The Masque of Blackness</i>, performed at court
		Publication of James Rosier, <i>True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made this Present Yeere 1605</i>
		Publication of John Nicholl, <i>An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes</i>
		Publication of Joseph Hall, <i>Mundus Alter et Idem</i> (translated into English by John Healey in 1608)
<u>1606</u>	London and Plymouth Company Charters granted	
	Voyages to America by Henry Challons and Thomas Hanham	
		Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, <i>Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid</i>, performed by the King's Men at the Globe

			Jan 5	Ben Jonson, <i>Hymenaei, or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage</i>, performed at court
				Composition of Michael Drayton, “On the Virginian Voyage”
				Publication of Abraham Ortelius, <i>Theatrum Orbis Terrarum</i> (first English translation)
<u>1607</u>	June	Jamestown, Virginia founded		
	Aug	Popham or Sagadahoc colony established		
				Thomas Tomkis, <i>Lingua, or The Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority</i>, performed at Trinity College, Cambridge.
				John Day, <i>The Travels of the Three Brothers</i>, performed by Queen Anne’s Men at the Red Bull
<u>1608</u>		Namontack, kinsman of Wahunsenacawh, visits London		
				John Fletcher, <i>The Coxcomb</i>, performed by the Children of the Queen’s Revels at Blackfriar’s or Whitefriar’s
			Jan 10	Ben Jonson, <i>The Masque of Beauty</i>, performed at court
				Publication of John Smith, <i>A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as Happened in Virginia</i>
<u>1609</u>		First Royal Charter for the Virginia Company (also known as the second charter)		
	Apr 12	Zuñiga writes to Philip III to warn him about the English colonial effort in Virginia		
	July	The shipwreck of <i>The Sea Venture</i> on the coast of Bermuda		
		Founding of the Ulster Plantation (“the City of London’s Colony”)		

	Nathaniel Field, <i>A Woman is a Weather-cocke</i>, performed by Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull
	Ben Jonson, <i>Epicoene, or the Silent Woman</i>, performed by the Queen's Revels at Whitefriar's
Feb 2	Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, <i>Masque of Queens</i>, performed at court
	Publication of Robert Johnson, <i>Nova Britannia</i>
	Publication of "A Gentleman of Elvas," <i>Virginia Richly Valued</i>, translated by Richard Hakluyt
	Publication of Marc Lescarbot, <i>Noua Francia</i>, translated by Richard Hakluyt
March 24	Richard Crackanthorpe, <i>A Sermon at the Solemnizing of the Happie Inauguration of our most Gracious and Religious Sovereign King James</i>, at St. Paul's Cross (also published)
April	Robert Gray, <i>A Good Speed to Virginia</i>, at Whitechapel (also published)
April 17	Robert Tynley, <i>Sermon</i> (also published)
April 25	William Symonds, <i>Virginea</i>, at Whitechapel (also published)
May 7	George Benson, <i>Sermon</i>, at St. Paul's Cross (also published)
May 25	Daniel Price, <i>Sauls Prohibition Staide, or the Apprehension, and Examination of Saule</i>, at St. Paul's Cross (also published)

1610 March–Apr Mayor Sir Thomas Campbell requires that all London Guilds must contribute to Virginia Company
 First English settlement in Newfoundland

Arrival of Thomas Gates and Lord De La Warr in Virginia

Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, performed by the King's Men at Blackfriar's

June 5

Samuel Daniel, *Tethys Festival*, performed at court

Publication of Richard Rich, *Newes from Virginia, The Lost Flocke Triumphant* (ballad)

Publication of *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia*

Publication of *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*

February 21

William Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached in London before the Right Honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Majesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the Rest of the Adventurers in that Plantation* (also published)

1611

Institution of Martial Law in Virginia under Governor Thomas Dale

Edward Harlow returns from New England with five coastal Algonquians, including Epenow

John Cooke, *Greenes Tu-Quoque, or the City Gallant*, performed by Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull

Thomas Dekker, *Match Me in London*, performed by Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull

Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girl*, performed by Prince Henry's Men at the Fortune

William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, performed by the King's Men at the Globe, Blackfriar's, and at court (November 11)

		Jan 1	<p>Ben Jonson, <i>Oberon, the Fairy Prince</i>, performed at court</p> <p>Publication of William Strachey, <i>For The Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Diuine, Morall and Martiall</i></p> <p>Publication of <i>The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-La-Warre, Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall of the Colonie, planted in Virginea</i></p>
<u>1612</u>		Settlement of Bermuda begins	
		Third Virginia Company Charter	
		Launch of Virginia Company Lottery	
			<p>Composition of William Strachey, <i>The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania</i> (unpublished)</p>
			<p>Composition of George Percy, <i>A Trewe Realcyon of the proceedings and occurrents of moment which have hap'ned in Virginia</i> (unpublished)</p>
			<p>Publication of John Smith, <i>A Map of Virginia and The Proceedings of The English Colony in Virginia</i></p>
			<p>Publication of Robert Johnson, <i>The New Life of Virginea</i></p>
<u>1613</u>	Feb	Marriage of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth	
			<p>John Fletcher and Nathaniel Field, <i>Four Plays, or Moral Interludes, in One</i>, performed possibly by King's Men at Blackfriar's</p>
		June	<p>Shakespeare and Fletcher <i>Henry VIII: or All is True</i>, performed by the King's Men at Blackfriar's and The Globe</p>

- Feb 21** **Robert Tailor, *The Hogge Hath Lost His Pearl*, performed by the Apprentices at Whitefriar's**
- Feb 14** **Thomas Campion, *Wedding Masque*, performed at court**
- Feb 15** **George Chapman, *The Memorable Maske of the Two Honourable Houses or Inns of Court*, performed at court**
- Dec 26** **Thomas Campion, *The Lord's Masque performed for the Wedding of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard*, performed at court**
- Dec 29** **Ben Jonson, *The Irish Masque*, performed at court**
- Oct 29** **Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Truth*, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of Sir Thomas Middleton from the Company of Grocers**
- Publication of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (first edition)**
- Publication of Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes From Virginia***
- Publication of Robert Harcourt, *A Relation of a Voyage of Guiana***

1614 Apr 5

Marriage of John Rolfe to Pocahontas

John Smith's trading and fishing expedition to New England, capture of Squanto

- John Webster, *The Devil's Law-Case*, performed by Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull**
- October** **Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, performed by Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Hope**
- Jan 6** **Anonymous, *The Masque of Flowers*, performed at court**
- Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (second, expanded edition)**

1615

S.S., *The Honest Lawyer*, performed by Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull

Publication of Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*

Publication of *A Declaration for the Certain Time of Drawing the Great Standing Lottery*

Publication of Lewis Hughes, *A Letter Sent Into England from the Summer Islands*

1616

June

Pocahontas Embassy to London, with Uttamattomakkin

Oct 29

Anthony Munday, *Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing*, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of John Leman from the Company of Fishmongers

Pedro Rejaule y Toledo (as Ricardo de Turia), *La belligera española*, first performed in Madrid

Publication of John Smith, *A Description of New England* (with a map of New England)

1617

Walter Raleigh's Second Voyage to Guiana

March

Death of Pocahontas at Gravesend

Jan 6

Ben Jonson, *The Vision of Delight*, performed at court

Oct 29

Thomas Middleton, *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry*, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of George Bowles from the Company of Grocers

Publication of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (third edition)

1618

The Death of Wahunsenacawh

Martial Law ends in Virginia

Beginning of policy of resettlement of Indians in English homes

Plans begin for an Indian college in Henrico, Virginia

John Fletcher, *The Knight of Malta*, performed by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's

Nov 16

John Fletcher, *The Loyal Subject*, licensed for performance by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's

1619

Aug

First African "slaves" arrive in Jamestown

Oct 29

Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity*, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of William Cockayn from the Company of Skinners

Publication of *A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions, Sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company*

Feb 22

John Williams, *Sermon of Apparell* (published in 1610)

1620

Nov

Establishment of the Plymouth Plantation

Feb–March

Ninety women dispatched from England to Virginia by the Virginia Company

Jan 7

Ben Jonson, *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, performed at court

Publication of *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia*

			Publication of John Mason, <i>A Briefe Discourse of the New-found-land</i>
			Publication of proclamation, <i>By The King: Whereas at the Humble Suit and Request of Sundry Our Loving and Well Disposed Subjects, Intending to Deduce a Colony, and Make a Plantation in Virginia</i>
<u>1621</u>	March 8	Cessation of the Virginia Company Lottery by Royal Ordinance	
		Fifty-seven women dispatched from England to Virginia by the Virginia Company	
			John Fletcher, <i>The Island Princess</i>, performed by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's
			Aug 3, 5 Ben Jonson, <i>The Gypsies Metamorphosed</i>, performed at court
			Oct 29 Thomas Middleton, <i>The Sunne in Aries</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of Edward Barkham from the Company of Drapers
<u>1622</u>	March 22	Opechancanough's uprising, leading to the death of 347 colonists (and hundreds more in the aftermath)	
	July	News of the attacks reaches England	
			June 21 Fletcher and Massinger, <i>The Sea Voyage</i>, licensed for performance by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's
			Oct 29 Thomas Middleton, <i>The Triumphs of Honor and Virtue</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of Peter Proby from the Company of Grocers
			Various, <i>Algunas hazañas de las muchas del marqués de Cañete</i>, first performed in Madrid
			Publication of Richard Whitbourne, <i>Discourse on the Discoverie of the New Found Land</i>

		Publication of Edward Waterhouse, <i>A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia</i>
		Publication of Christopher Brooke, <i>A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia</i>
		Publication of Anonymous, <i>Virginia Mourning</i>
	Apr 18	Patrick Copland, <i>Sermon: Virginia's God Be Thanked</i>
	Nov 13	John Donne, <i>A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation</i>
<u>1623</u>	August	Anonymous, <i>The Plantation of Virginia</i> (lost), licensed for performance at the Curtain
	July 9	Thomas Dekker and John Ford, <i>The Spanish Gypsie</i>, licensed for performance by Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Cockpit
	Oct 29	Thomas Middleton, <i>The Triumphs Of Integrity</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of Martin Lumley from the Company of Drapers
		Publication of Anonymous, <i>Good Newes From Virginia</i> (ballad)
<u>1624</u>	Dissolution of the Virginia Company by Royal Ordinance	
	Oct 29	John Webster, <i>Monuments of Honor</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of John Gore from the Company of Merchant Taylors
		Publication of John Smith, <i>A Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Somer Isles</i>
		Publication of William Alexander, <i>An Encouragement to Colonies</i>
		Publication of Richard Eburne, <i>A Plaine Pathway to Plantations</i>
<u>1625</u>	Virginia declared a Royal Colony under Charles I	

		Lope de Vega, <i>El Brasil Restitudo</i>, performed in Madrid
		Publication of Samuel Purchas, <i>Purchas his Pilgrimes</i>
<u>1626</u>		Ben Jonson, <i>Staple of News</i>, performed by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's
	Oct 29	Thomas Middleton, <i>The Triumphs Of Health and Prosperity</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of Cuthbert Hacket from the Company of Drapers
<u>1626–1632</u>		Tirso de Molina, <i>Todo ed dar en una cosa</i>, performed in Madrid
		Tirso de Molina, <i>La lealtad contra la envidia</i>, performed in Madrid
		Tirso de Molina, <i>Amazonas en las Indias</i>, performed in Madrid
<u>1627</u>	Establishment of the Barbados colony under Francis Wyatt, former Governor of Virginia	
		Publication of Francis Bacon, <i>New Atlantis</i>
<u>1628</u>	Granting of Charter for Massachusetts Bay to the New England Company	
	Founding of the (short-lived) New Scotland colony by William Alexander	
		Publication of William Prynne, <i>The Unloveliness, of Lovelockes</i>
<u>1629</u>	Granting of Carolina colony to Sir Robert Heath	
	Segipt, Mi-kmaq Sagamore, meets Charles I in Plymouth	
	Jan 19	Ben Jonson, <i>The New Inn</i>, licensed for performance by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's

		Oct 29	Thomas Dekker, <i>Londons Tempe, or the Feild of Happines</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of James Campbell from the Company of Ironmongers
<u>1630</u>	Mass migration to Massachusetts Bay begins		
			Publication of Francis Higginson, <i>New-Englands Plantation, or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Countrey</i>
			Publication of Richard Braithwaite, <i>The English Gentleman</i>,
<u>1631</u>	Charles I cedes Nova Scotia to France		
		Feb 22	Ben Jonson, <i>Chloridia</i>, performed at court
			Publication of John Smith, <i>Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England</i>
<u>1632</u>	Granting of Maryland Charter to George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore		
		May 25	Philip Massinger, <i>The City Madam</i>, licensed for performance by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's
		Oct 29	Thomas Heywood, <i>Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of Nicholas Raynton from the Company of Haberdashers
		Jan 8	Aurelian Townsend, <i>Tempe Restord</i>, performed at court
<u>1633</u>			William Prynne, <i>Histrion-Mastix</i>
<u>1634</u>			Henry Glapthorne, <i>The Tragedy of Albertus Wallenstein</i>, performed by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's
			Publication of Andrew White, <i>A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland</i>

		Publication of William Wood, <i>New Englands Prospect</i>
<u>1635</u>	Feb 10	William Davenant, <i>The Temple of Love</i>, performed at court (also published)
	Dec 21	Inigo Jones and Aurelian Townsend, <i>Florimène</i>, performed at court (also published)
		Publication of Gerardus Mercator, <i>Historia Mundi</i> or [...] <i>Atlas Containing His Cosmographicall Descriptions of the Fabricke and Figure of the World</i> (first English translation)
<u>1636</u>	Roger Williams founds Providence Plantation, Rhode Island	
<u>1637–1638</u>	Pequot war between English settlers of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth against Mohegan and Narragansett tribes	
<u>1637</u>		Jasper Mayne, <i>The City Match</i>, performed by the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriar's
<u>1638</u>		Anonymous, <i>The Wasp</i>, performed by the King's Revels
		Richard Brome, <i>The Antipodes</i>, performed by the Queen's Men at Salisbury Court
		James Shirley, <i>The Constant Maid</i>, performed by Ogilby's Men in Dublin
	Oct 29	Thomas Heywood, <i>Porta Pietatis, or, The Port or Harbour of Pity</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of Maurice Abbot from the Company of Drapers
<u>1639</u>		Aston Cockayne, <i>The Obstinate Lady</i> (performance details unknown)

		Oct 29	Thomas Heywood, <i>Londini Status Pacatus; Or, Londons Peacable Estate</i>, Lord Mayor's Show for the accession of Henry Garway from the Company of Drapers
<u>1640</u>			Henry Glapthorne, <i>The Ladies Privilege</i>, performed by Beeston's Boys at the Cockpit Mildmay Fane, <i>Raguaillo d'Ocean</i>, performed at Apthorpe
<u>1641</u>		Beginning of English slave trade to Barbados	
<u>1642</u>		Closure of the playhouses at the beginning of the English Civil War	
			James Shirley, <i>The Court Secret</i>, written but unacted because of the closure of the theatres
<u>1643</u>			Publication of Roger Williams, <i>Key into the Languages of America</i> Publication of Anonymous, <i>New Englands First Fruits</i>
<u>1644</u>	Apr	Indian attack on Virginia lead by Opechancanough; Opechancanough's capture and death	
<u>1646</u>		Defeat of the Powhatan in Virginia	
			Publication of John Eliot, <i>Bible</i> (translated into Massachusetts) Publication of Bartholomae de las Casas, <i>The Tears of the Indians</i> (second English translation)
<u>1650</u>			Publication of Edward Williams, <i>Virgo Triumphans: or, Virginia Richly and Truly Valued</i>
<u>1651</u>		Establishment of Natick, Massachusetts, the first "Praying Town"	
<u>1654</u>		Cromwell's "Western Design" campaign launched	

			Publication of Thomas Hall, <i>Comarum Akosmia the Loathsomnesse of Long Haire</i>
<u>1655</u>	English take possession of Jamaica from the Spanish		
<u>1658</u>			William Davenant, <i>The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru</i> and <i>The History of Sir Francis Drake</i>, both performed at the Cockpit
<u>1660</u>	Re-opening of the playhouses		
<u>1663</u>		August	William Davenant, <i>The Playhouse to be Let</i>, first performed by the Duke's Men at Lisle's Tennis Court in Lincoln's Inn Fields
<u>1664</u>		Jan 25	Robert Howard and John Dryden, <i>The Indian Queen</i>, first performed by the King's Men at the Theatre Royal
<u>1665</u>		April	John Dryden, <i>The Indian Emperor, or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards</i>, performed by the King's Men at the Theatre Royal
<u>1671</u>			Publication of John Eliot, <i>Indian Dialogues</i>
<u>1675–1676</u>	King Philip's War, New England		
<u>1676</u>	Bacon's Rebellion, Virginia		
<u>1682</u>			Publication of Mary Rowlandson, <i>The Sovereignty and Goodness of God</i>
<u>1689</u>			Aphra Behn, <i>The Widdow Ranter, or The History of Bacon in Virginia</i>, performed by the United Company at the Theatre Royal

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