Locating Colonization at the Jacobean Inns of Court

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the behaviours and customs of the indigenous peoples of North and South American began to appear, not only in printed cosmographies and travel accounts, but in the commonplace books, diaries, and marginalia of statesmen in England. Those who compiled notes on Walter Ralegh's accounts of his South American voyage in 1595 did not only express an interest in English territorial expansion, but in the cultural practices of Amerindians themselves. One anonymous transcriber copied out the customs of the Arawaks and Caribs, who 'are wont to make war vpon all Nations, and especially w[i]th the Caniballs', and noted the indigenous practice of decorating skulls with feathers as memorials to dead rulers.[1] Between adages on civility and sociability in his commonplace book, the courtier and member of the Middle Temple, Sir Edward Hoby, copied news from North and South America, including a tract by George Popham, future leader of the short-lived Sagadahoc colony in Maine, that Popham had written promoting English affairs in South America.[2] Colonization would partly be achieved through a knowledge of the 'statutes conditions apparell and manners of foode, w[hi]ch of them be men eaters…what manner they arme and order them selves in warres and who oure friendes or enemies [are] to each other of them'.[3] During the brief time when Amerindians were still considered to be receptive to English ways of life, 'civilizing' indigenous peoples became one of the primary stated aims through which English colonization might be achieved.

Identifying colonial promotion by London gentlemen, especially those affiliated with the Inns of Court, offers a means of examining how the theories of savagery and civility prevalent in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century political discourse informed political

[1] An abstract of diuerse memorable thinges, worth the noting, selected out of S[i]r Walter Raleighes first booke of his discoverie of Guyana [after 1595], BL: Sloane MS B 3272, f. 7r.
[2] Sir Edward Hoby's commonplace book, 1582-1596, BL: Add MS 38823, ff. 1r-5v; also ff. 5v-8r, 93r-94v.
[3] Ibid., ff. 1r-v.

behaviour, particularly among a demographic of young men seeking political careers. Though J.G.A. Pocock called for a 'New British History' that eschewed the one-way process of Anglicisation delineated in traditional narratives of political development, colonization is still assumed to exercise little influence on English political practice prior to the more confident vision of empire apparent in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[4] Scholars who do approach English colonization in its earliest stages tend to focus on its intellectual origins, or on the administrative side of imperial policy. Andrew Fitzmaurice's *Humanism and America* demonstrated how the language of colonization espoused moral and commercial considerations that impelled humanists to pursue these projects in political spheres, but little has been done to connect these ideas to actual changes to the social lives of gentlemen in the metropolis.[5]

While scholars have long accepted the role of the Inns of Court in educating members of the gentry and aristocracy, not only in the law but in the arts and graces deemed necessary for political access and careers in service to the state, the significance and impact of colonial promotion by gentlemen in these circles has been overlooked.[6] Rumours and news of 'the wilde and sauage people themselues newly discouered' imbued classical notions of civility with contemporary urgency, and members of the Inns, encouraged to engage creatively with current affairs and to project themselves as promoters of a civil and urbane society, were enthusiastic promoters of overseas projects that proposed to subdue 'savages'.[7] Rather than explore the humanist rhetoric of savagery from the context of cosmographies and printed propaganda, as historians of empire have already done, this article examines the shaping

[4] J.G.A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject: Reply', *The Journal of Modern History*, 47:4 (1975), pp. 626-8, at p. 626; David Armitage, 'Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?', *The American Historical Review, 104:2* (1999), pp. 427-45; J.H. Elliott, T*he Old World and the New, 1492 – 1650*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1992.

[5] Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: an Intellectual History of English Colonization, 1500 – 1625* (Cambridge, 2003); L.H. Roper, *The English Empire in America, 1602-1658: Beyond Jamestown* (London, 2009).

[6] *The intellectual and cultural world of the early modern Inns of Court*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer et al. (Manchester, 2011); Wilfred R. Prest, T*he Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts, 1590 – 1640* (London, 1972); *Inns of Court*, eds. Alan H. Nelson and John R. Elliott (Cambridge, 2010); Philip Finkelpearl, *John Marston of the Middle Temple: an Elizabethan dramatist in his social setting* (Cambridge, MA, 1969).

[7] John Dickenson, *Aristotles politiques* (1598; STC 760), sigs. F6v, D3v.

force of America on the mental worlds of Jacobean gentlemen in London, but also on how engaging with colonization and civility influenced actual political practice, at a time when members of the political elite considered the reformation of manners to be a key strategy in achieving societal control and reinforcing hierarchical order.[8]

By incorporating on the performative politics of poetry and court masques at the Inns, and considering the rising popularity for smoking among members of the elite, this article examines some of the ways through which members of the Inns of Court appropriated Amerindian tropes in ways that informed political discourse while also shaping their own articulations of civility and urbanity. How, exactly, did Amerindian imagery, and concepts of savagery as they were informed by westward exploration, actually function in political discourse and masculine sociability in early Stuart England, and to what purpose? The concept of an Elizabethan empire is an enduring component of the myths surrounding an Elizabethan 'golden age', while English historians tend to locate English ascendancy in the Atlantic as a consequence of Oliver Cromwell's Western Design of the 1650s, in which the Council of State decided on a series of initiatives that targeted Dutch and Spanish control of the Caribbean.[9] Couched between Elizabeth's endorsement of anti-Spanish activities in the Indies, and the economic crises and religious controversies that drove the Great Migration to New England and the Chesapeake from the 1630s to the 1650s, the overseas projects propounded by James fail to do justice to the level of activity undertaken in the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

[8] Michael Braddick, *State formation in early modern England, 1550 – 1700* (Cambridge, 2000); David Armitage, *The ideological origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000); J.H. Elliott, *The old world and the new, 1492 – 1650*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1992); Nicholas Canny, 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (1973), pp. 575-98; Steve Hindle, *The state and social change, 1550 – 1640* (Basingstoke, 2002).

[9] David L. Smith, *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1603 – 1707: The Double Crown* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 188; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

The Jacobean period saw the creation, and demise, of the Virginia Company (1606 – 1624), and the hundreds of subscribers created a pitch of interest in investing in Virginia. Gentlemen sat on colonial councils and hotly disputed Virginian affairs in parliament and the privy council until James officially declared it a royal colony in 1624. Though a commercially-driven enterprise, heightened cultural exchange between the English and Algonquian Indians was one consequence of consistent activity in North America. Alongside the more expected images of James of horseback, and peers of the realm processing to parliament, one European visitor incorporated an Algonquian man within his presentation of Jacobean London, including a watercolour of an Algonquian wandering through St James' Park in indigenous clothing in his commonplace book of 1614-1615.[10] Pocahontas and an entourage of another dozen Algonquian men and women arrived in London in 1616, where they were received with enthusiasm at court, and entertained in the London homes of Virginia Company investors.[11] In 1628, the lawyer and pamphleteer, William Prynne, attributed the fashion for long hair at the Inns of Court to students' desire to imitate the styles of Algonquian priests. Prynne entered the Inns in 1621, precisely when authorities were clamping down on the more flamboyant sartorial displays from students insistent on wearing long boots and growing their hair. 'A Virginian comming [*sic*] into England', Prynne recounted, had entered discussion with gentlemen who now sought to imitate the coveted 'loue-locke'.[12] Whether or not this was actually the case, gentlemanly engagement with America in their commonplace books, poetry, masques, and parliament speeches suggests a sometimes subversive enthusiasm for promoting colonial projects through engaging with Amerindian peoples. The gentlemanly engagement with Amerindian styles and habits, their willingness to exploit the Protestant emphasis on 'civilizing' Amerindians in order to

[10] Michael van Meer, *Album amicorum*, 1614-1615, Edinburgh University Library, MS.La.III.283, ff. 149v, 254v.
[11] John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 22 June 1616, TNA: PRO, SP 14/87, f. 135v; John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 18 January 1617, TNA: PRO, SP 14/90, f. 56r.
[12] William Prynne, *The vnlouelinesse, of loue-lockes* (London, 1628; STC 20477), sigs B2v, B3v.

promote their own urbanity, and the rise of colonization in America has not yet been integrated within historians' understanding of early Stuart history.

As scholars of early modern civility and urbanity have recognise, formal and informal codes of conduct consistently informed political actions.[13] By focusing on the enthusiasm for colonization amongst gentlemen in the immediate aftermath of the establishment of Jamestown, the first successful English colony in North America, this article **maintains** that gentlemen at the Inns of Court creatively engaged with America and its peoples in ways that shaped gentlemanly concepts of sociability and political participation from the earliest phases of expansion. The use of Amerindian customs and tropes in a range of material suggests that scholarly discussions of English civility cannot be disentangled from post-Reformation English initiatives to 'civilize' others. Approaching English political culture in its broadest sense, through performances and poems, the contentious social habit of tobacco smoking and lawyers' tireless attempts to promote colonization in parliament, demonstrates a decisive moment in the way longstanding English claims to *imperium* began to materialize, and suggests that members of the Inns played a significant role in promoting expansion. This article subscribes to the idea, informed by cultural history, that metaphors, images, and social practices are all 'the materials of the political theorist', and that an assessment of politics through sociability and literature allows historians to ''interrogate the changes in, and tensions between, a range of texts and terms, discourses and concepts in early modernity'.[14] This enables historians to think further about the effects, both on theory and action, of intercultural engagement on metropolitan culture and government, and puts colonization as a dynamic, active part of Jacobean history. Gentlemen actively projected their civil state as one that might be strengthened, rather than weakened, by incorporating America into it,

[13] Phil Withington, 'Two Renaissances: Urban Political Culture in Post-Reformation England Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 44:1 (2001), pp. 239-67, p. 244. Anna Bryson, *From courtesy to civility: changing codes of conduct in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1998).
[14] Kevin Sharpe, 'Virtues, Passions and Politics in Early Modern England', *History of Political Thought,* 32:5 (2011), pp. 773-98, pp. 798, 774.

consciously reconciling the allure of the exotic with the language of duty and good conduct, and turning colonization into a recognizable – and, for the first time, fashionable – element of early seventeenth century political culture.

I

While fears of Spanish ascendancy brought continental wars to the fore of English foreign policy in the second half of Elizabeth's reign, the territories of North and South America were fast becoming a theatre for conflicting European interests. A generation of well-educated younger sons, suffering from the system of primogeniture and unable to find employment in England, were prime among those who turned to military or administrative service in Ireland or Virginia for their livelihoods.[15] Historians on both sides of the Atlantic have acknowledged young men as a key demographic in early migration to the Chesapeake, following the large number of labourers and political or religious refugees travelling to plantations from the 1630s and during the English Civil War.[16] This has placed emphasis on the consequences, rather than the inception, of an emerging colonial culture in the seventeenth century. As a result, the role that colonization played in shaping English society in its earliest decades of expansion has been overlooked. North American plantation under James is generally projected as the dismal and fraught precedents to the godly Puritan migration to New England in the 1630s and following the outbreak of the civil wars, and while scholars have studied the interlocking histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland in

[15] Rory Rapple, M*artial power and Elizabethan political culture: military men in England and Ireland, 1558 – 1594* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 55; Joan Thirsk, 'Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century', *History*, 54 (1969), pp. 358-77.

[16] Louis Green Carr, 'Emigration and the Standard of Living : The Seventeenth Century Chesapeake', *The Journal of Economic History*, 52 (1992), pp. 271-91; Virginia Bernhard, 'Poverty and Social Order in Seventeenth-Century Virginia', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 85 (1977), pp. 141-55; James Horn, 'Cavalier Culture? The Social Development of Colonial Virginia', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 48 (1991), pp. 238-45; James Horn, *Adapting to a new world: English society in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, 1994).

relation to state formation and empire-building, the effects of intercultural contact in America on London society has hardly been considered relevant to English political history, left out of major studies on James's reign, and Elizabethan and early Stuart histories more generally.[17]

Although James pursued a policy of reconciliation with Spain, his secretary of state, Robert Cecil, continued to patronze and encourage voyages to North and South America. In the Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1604, Cecil deliberately encouraged an ambiguity about Atlantic territorial acquisition that proved vital for subsequent decades of English activity in North America and the Caribbean.[18] Following the establishment of Jamestown in 1607, the first English colony in America to survive beyond its first year, English interests in America were refined through a series of trial-and-error approaches to colonization, as policy-makers and colonists struggled with the practicalities of establishing a functioning means of governing a colony. James's subjects were enthusiastic promoters of westward ventures, proposing projects for fisheries in Newfoundland and silk industries in Virginia, where the language of public good and private benefit were reconciled in ambitious projects to 'improve' America and its inhabitants through the establishment of English law and government.[19] Whereas the Levant Company (1581) and the East India Company (1600) contributed to expanding trade networks to the east in the later sixteenth century, the Virginia Company and Plymouth Company (1606), Newfoundland Company (1610), Somers Islands/Bermuda Company (1612), and the Amazon Company (1619) were Jacobean innovations, contributing to a particular pitch of interest in Atlantic projects at this time.

[17] Pauline Croft, *King James* (New York, 2003); Linda Levy Peck, *The mental world of the Jacobean court* (Cambridge, 1991); *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke, 1994); *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke (Aldershot, 2006); J.G.A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *The Journal of Modern History*, 47:4 (1975), pp. 601-21.
[18] Pauline Croft, 'Cecil, Robert, first earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 10* (Oxford, 2004), p. 751.
[19] John Cramsie, 'Commercial Projects and the Fiscal Policy of James VI and I', *The Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), pp. 345-64; Joan Thirsk, Eco*nomic policy and projects: the development of a consumer society in early modern England* (Oxford, 2008).

The particular milieu of the Inns, with its reverence for civic humanism alongside an often scathing wit culture, played a crucial role in incorporating America and its peoples within Jacobean discourse, but it also created a framework through which gentlemen in London thought about themselves and conceived of their political responsibilities. Historians' attention to global networks of exchange, and the influence of trade with Russia or the Ottoman Empire on English conceptions of government, should not distract from the fact that America, and the question of governing Amerindian peoples, presented a very different set of problems than relations with peoples in the east.[20] In their translation of Philip de Mornay's *A woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian religion* (1587), Philip Sidney of Gray's Inn, and Arthur Golding of the Inner Temple, wrote that '[o]ur poore *Americans*' were 'the sauagest people of the world'.[21] Those 'whome wee at this day call Sauages', especially the '*Caribies* and *Cannibals*', were considered less culturally developed than the '*Turkes, Arabians,* or *Persians*', who at least possessed a written culture through which to preserve their holy book.[22] While gentlemen often articulated their political ideals in relation to other countries, invoking tyrannous or weak regimes in order to comment on their own realm, the westward enterprises were unique in that they attempts to create 'a new BRITAINE in another world'.[23]

Gentlemen saw America as a solution, rather than a parallel, to the tyrannous regimes that seemed to beset parts of Europe and the East. The religious wars ravaging the continent convinced many Protestants in England that the survival of the reformed Church depended on 'the international cooperation of Protestantism' against the oppressive regime of Spanish, and Catholic, ascendancy, and made involvement in America an imperative to the survival of English values and institutions.[24] In the 1580s, Philip Sidney, **despairing over the state of the realm,** sought to emigrate to America himself, though Elizabeth prevented him from doing so.[25] The only Elizabethan colony in America, Roanoke, failed after its first year; with the establishment of Jamestown in 1607, gentlemanly involvement in colonization was far more viable, becoming less of an escapist fantasy than a real problem to be confronted. This

[20] For a discussion on 'thinking with Russia' as a criticism or endorsement of Elizabethan politics, see Felicity Jane Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan commonwealth: the Muscovy Company and Giles Fletcher, the elder (1546 – 1611)* (Manchester University Press, 2015). Also Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish history in early modern England* (Baskingstoke, 2015); Alison Games, *The web of empire: English cosmopolitans in an ae of expansion, 1560 – 1660* (Oxford, 2008).
[21] Philippe de Mornay, *A woorke concerning the trewenesse of the Christian religion* (1587; STC 18149), sig.G6r. .
[22] Ibid., sigs. G8r, S2r.
[23] Richard Crakanthorpe, *A sermon at the solemnizing of the happie inauguration* (1609; STC 5979), sig. D3v.
[24] Blair Worden, *The sound of virtue: Philip Sidney's* Arcadia *and Elizabethan politics* (New Haven, 1996), p. 57.
[25] Ibid., p. 55-7.

enabled Samuel Purchas to deliver a sermon at Paul's Cross in 1622 that saw Virginia as a legitimate component to James' sense of *imperium*, where Purchas defined monarchical sovereignty as the ability to create order from wilderness, and converting savagery o obedience. A legitimate king, proclaimed Purchas, was not a king without a territory, 'as the *American Caciques* and *Werowances*…the Sauages' were.[26] The king was a man with the power to subdue those who 'bordered on the confines of Humanitie', for 'how great a parte of wide and wilde *America,* is now new-encompassed with *this*, with *His* Crowne?'[27] Preaching on the anniversary of James' deliverance from the Gowrie Conspiracy over twenty years before, Purchas reinforced to his audience that James' monarchical power was both bestowed by God, surviving even attempts on James' life, and favoured by God, apparent in James' success at uniting the wilderness territories under his control. '*Ireland,* where sometime Treason had her Throne…where Warres had made a Wildernesse, and wilder Nature,' Purchas declared, 'now submitteth…to our Language, Discipline, Customes, Habitation'.[28] Similarly, the cartographer John Speed's rhetoric, in which he praised 'the royall Person of our now-*Soueraigne'* for unifying 'Britannia' was commonplace, where '[t]he Cordes of whose *Royall Tents,* we pray, may be further extended, that those naked *Virginians* may be couered vnder the Curtaines of his most Christian Gouernment'.[29] BOLD CLAIMS, BUT NOT UNTENABLE ONES BY THEN. WHAT ARE *IMPLICATIONS* OF THIS MOMENT, BETWEEN LACKING TERRITORIES AND DEFINING THEMSELVES IN RELATION OF THIS NEW POSSESSION. **PEOPLE *USED* AMERICA TO THINK ABOUT THE CIVIL STATE, and it was contingent on *participation*.**

The geographer and Anglican minister Richard Hakluyt, responsible for the massive compendia of English overseas exploits, *The principal nauigations* (1589; extended 1598-1600), attributed his interests in colonization to his visits to his cousin's chambers at the Middle Temple. There, the lawyer showed the schoolboy a cosmography and explained to him the opportunities that lay in the uncharted territories beyond England.[30] This left a deep impression on the younger Hakluyt. Linking his nascent interest in colonization to divine revelation, the place of Hakluyt's 'awakening', like the moment of religious conversion,

[26] Samuel Purchas, *The kings towre* (London, 1623; STC 20502), sig. D4v.
[27] Ibid., sigs. D4v-D5r.
[28] Ibid., sig. D5r.
[29] John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1612; STC 23041), sig. Ppppp3r.
[30] Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations, voiages and discoueries of the English nation* (Oxford, 1589; STC 12625), sig. *2r.

plays an important part in his narrative. The 'words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse' were especially effective, Hakluyt acknowledged, because these were 'things of high and rare delight to my yong nature'.[31] The interest in colonization at the Inns from the 1580s were driven largely by influential statesmen like Elizabeth's privy councillors Sir Francis Walsingham and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, as well as Elizabeth's keeper of the privy seal, Thomas Smith, and William Cecil's son, Robert, who later became James's secretary of state. Walsingham, Burghley, and Smith were all heavily involved in colonizing Ireland from the second half of the sixteenth century, and the influence of these men were key. Robert Cecil would oversee the colonial projects of James' early reign, and Henry Wriothesley, third early of Southampton, was a ward of Burghley's. He entered Gray's Inn in 1589, and eventually became treasurer of the Virginia Company.[32]

The Irish colonization projects of the later sixteenth century were heavily influenced by the humanist reverence for Greek and Roman histories, which advocated expansion alongside a strong strain of civic responsibility.[33] As David Quinn argued, it was only in the 1570s, largely through the networks fostered by William Cecil and Walsingham, that the idea of 'planting' came to be accepted as the dominant policy to achieve territorial expansion.[34] Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a member of one of the Inns of Chancery, had fought in Ireland with the lord deputy and friend of Cecil, Henry Sidney, and future Virginia colonist Thomas Harriot entered Walter Ralegh's employment in the early 1580s.[35] The method of planting colonies was propagated by the elder Hakluyt at the Middle Temple as well as the younger Hakluyt's 'Discourse on Western Planting' of 1584, and though Elizabeth may never have

[31] Ibid; 'An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia' in Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations*, sig. X5v.
[32] Park Honan, 'Wriothesley, Henry, third earl of Southampton (1573-1624)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 60* (Oxford, 2004), p. 516.
[33] D.B. Quinn, 'Renaissance Influences in English Colonization: The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (1976), pp. 73-93, at p. 73.
[34] Ibid., p. 81.
[35] Rory Rapple, 'Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1537-1583)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 22* (Oxford, 2004), p. 176; J.J. Roche, 'Hariot, Thomas (1560-1621)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 25* (Oxford, 2004), p. 395.

read the document that had been written to her, the text, like others at the time, created 'social blueprints' for colonies that indelibly influenced the language and rhetoric of future projects.[36] Events in Ireland during the Nine Years' War (1594-1603) led to more stringent policies against native peoples, and treatises by William Herbert, and especially those of Richard Beacon of Gray's Inn and Sir John Davies of the Middle Temple, argued that the colonies had hitherto failed precisely because colonists were accepting and even imitating the inferior morals of native peoples.[37] As attorney-general in Ireland, Davies drew clear connections between the strict implementation of English law and the stabilising effects of cultural conformity.

Links between the Inns of Court and westward enterprises were apparent from the beginnings of the Virginia Company in 1606. Lawyers and affiliates of the Inns were heavily involved with drafting and signing the charters issued in 1606, 1609, and 1612, many of them investing in the voyages, while select others travelled to the Chesapeake or Bermuda themselves. Members who supported colonization, whether through joint-stock investment or serving on committees in parliament for the Virginia Company, included Gabriel Archer of Gray's Inn, one of the initial colonists in Jamestown who died during the Starving Time of 1609/10; Christopher Brooke of Lincoln's Inn, a friend of John Donne's and a devoted member of the Virginia Company; Henry Wriothesley of Gray's Inn, treasurer of the Virginia Company; Francis Wyatt of Gray's Inn, royal governor of Virginia under James and Charles; Nathaniel Rich of Gray's Inn, involved in the administration of the Virginia and Bermuda companies; George Calvert of Lincoln's Inn, who owned land in Newfoundland and secured a charter for settlement in Maryland; and William Strachey of Gray's Inn, secretary in

[36] Quinn, 'Renaissance Influences in English Colonization: the Prothero Lecture', p. 83.
[37] Ibid., p. 85; John Davies, *A discourse of the true causes why Ireland was neuer entirely subdued* (1612; STC 6348); Edmund Spenser, *A view of the state of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford, 1997); Richard Becon, *Solon his follie, or a politique discourse* (Oxford, 1594; STC 1653).

Jamestown.[38] The Middle Temple, a particularly strong locus for colonizing projects, accommodated numerous affiliates including George Sandys, colonist in Virginia and brother to the parliamentarian Sir Edwin Sandys; the Virginia councillor George Percy, younger brother to Sir Walter Ralegh's friend the imprisoned 'Wizard Earl' of Northumberland; and the parliamentarian George Thorpe, a staunch advocate of Algonquian education until his death in Virginia in 1622. William Crashaw served as a preacher to the Inner and Middle Temple from 1605, where he invested in the Virginia Company and advocated the colonization of Virginia and Bermuda from the pulpit.[39]

The attention to the customs and manners of peoples perceived to live on the fringes of human government – 'savages' – that were apparent in cosmographies and travel literature were developed in relation to long-held notions of *civilitas* and the importance of moral conduct in the maintenance of a stable polity. Attitudes towards Amerindians, as with the Irish, were rooted in Greco-Roman political theory. 'You can see for yourselves that a happy life', Aristotle wrote, 'belongs more to those who have cultivated their character and minds to the uppermost', whereas 'the man who is isolated, who is unable to share in the benefits of political associations' was a 'savage being'.[40] *Civilitas* involved a theory of historical progression, expressed by most classical philosophers and adapted by humanists, who argued that men had evolved from feral creatures to town-dwelling citizens capable of structured government and society.[41] The humanist and privy councillor Thomas Wilson's *Arte of rhetorique* (1553) presented a vision of civil society that had been transformed by God's

[38] *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521 – 1889*, ed. Joseph Foster (London, 1889); *A calendar of the Inner Temple records, vol. 2, James I – Restoration*, ed. F. A. Inderwick (London, 1898); *Register of admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, from the fifteenth century to the year 1944*, ed. H. A. C. Sturgess (London, 1949); *The records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: the Black Books, vol. 2, 1586 – 1660*, ed. James Douglas Walker (London, 1898).
[39] William Crashaw, *A sermon preached in London* (1610; STC 6029); also Alexander Whitaker, *Good newes from Virginia* (1613; STC 25354).
[40] Aristotle, *Politics*, tr. Ernest Baker (Oxford, 1995), pp. 252, 11.
[41] *Civil histories*, ed. Peter Burke, Brian Harrison, and Paul Slack (Oxford, 2000), p. v. For a conventional and popular example of this view, see Thomas Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique* (1553; STC 25799), which Gabriel Harvey termed

direct intervention. In the beginning, Wilson wrote, 'al thinges waxed sauage, the earth vntilled', but language and speech transformed men into articulate beings, capable of rule and endowed with the eloquence to persuade others to virtue.[42] Twenty years later, the humanist Gabriel Harvey called Wilson's work 'the dailie bread of owr common pleaders & discourses' at the Inns of Court, where the close association with the revelation of the Word – Protestantism – and an enthusiasm for the English language contributed to a growing self-confidence in England as a nation.[43] The wilderness, as the antithesis to civil society, necessitated cultivation, a view that fuelled English designs in the Atlantic. At the same time, as Anthony Pagden noted, classical and biblical myths of the 'savage' were modified as a result of 'the dual experience of administration and acculturation' that colonization and settlement occasioned.[44] Practices like cannibalism and tobacco-smoking specifically alluded to particular elements of American 'savagery' that appeared in continental cosmographies but also, increasingly, in English travel reports and letters from the colonies.

As historians have noted, gentlemen often 'joined an inn for fashion's sake', and it is worth asking what made an engagement with colonization part of the fashionable milieu of elite political culture at this time.[45] The Inns created spaces where colonial networks might be forged and encouraged through mutual interests and often intense personal friendships. As Hakluyt had acknowledged, youthful enthusiasm also fostered the allure of exploration. In August 1586, Francis Drake returned from his brutal raids on the West Indies and entered Middle Temple hall, where benchers broke into applause halfway through their meal.[46] Christopher Brooke and John Donne shared lodgings at Lincoln's Inn, and became active

[42] Thomas Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique* (1553; STC 25799), sig. Aiir.
[43] Quoted in Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: his life, marginalia, and library* (Oxford, 1979), p. 239. For a discussion of humanists and English 'nationalism', see Cathy Shrank, *Writing the nation in Reformation England, 1530 – 1580* (Oxford, 2004).
[44] Anthony Pagden, *European encounters with the new world: from Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, 1993), p. 13.
[45] Prest, *The Inns of Court*, p. 156.
[46] *The Middle Temple Records, Vol. I: 1501 – 1603,* ed. Charles Henry Hopwood (London: Butterworth & Co, 1904), pp. 285-6.

proponents of Virginian plantation, Brooke in parliament and Donne from the pulpit. Francis Bacon and Walter Ralegh reportedly discussed Ralegh's fateful voyage to Guiana in 1617 in the gardens and walks of Gray's Inn.[47] Support for colonization remained especially strong at the Middle Temple, perhaps because of its large demographic of gentlemen from the West Country, where explorers like Ralegh, Drake, and Humphrey Gilbert originated.[48] The 'Drake lantern', ostensibly from Drake's ship *The Golden Hind*, continues to hang in the Middle Temple Hall today, where an oak desk said to contain a part of the deck also survives.

Colonial promotion allowed members of the Inns of Court to find suitable arenas for their martial interests while fostering the image of the Inns as a 'civilized' sphere that combated the disorders of society through measured reason. Inns members' fascination with, and revulsion to, the behaviour exhibited in cannibal rituals or Algonquian dances is apparent in comments made in commonplace books, diaries, and treatises, as well as the reactions of those who travelled to Virginia themselves. 'An old Savage made a long Oration', George Percy observed from Jamestown in 1607, 'making a foule noise, uttering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what these meant'.[49] The desire to combat the literal threat of savagery occurred precisely at a time when English subjects were themselves being 'weaned from violence' under a peace-loving king who projected violence as the mark of vulgarity rather than honour.[50] As Norbert Elias maintained, there were clear connections between the codes of behaviour that facilitated access to the court and the king's person, and the growing authority of the Crown as an institution, where the knightly ethos of feudal violence was channelled into state service and the language of public responsibility to the

[47] Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh: in life and legend* (London, 2011), p. 288.
[48] Middle Temple was also one of the Inns that was believed to harbour the fewest Catholics. See Prest, *The Inns of Court*, pp. 37, 176.
[49] George Percy, 'Observations gathered out of a discourse' (1607), in *Narratives of early Virginia, 1606 – 1625*, ed. Lyon Gardiner Tyler (New York, 1907), p. 13.
[50] Lawrence Stone, *The crisis of the aristocracy, 1558 – 1641* (Oxford, 1967), p. 125. Phil Withington, *Society in early modern England: the vernacular origins of some powerful ideas* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), p. 174; Bryson, *From courtesy to civility*.

monarch and commonwealth.[51] Ideals of manhood were increasingly articulated in terms of civility and social status, with self-control and urbanity seen to reflect political maturity.[52]

Projects to convert native peoples to civility and Protestantism converged with the post-Reformation emphasis on manners and good conduct as important tenants of the godly life, and lent themselves to articulations of behaviour within England itself. Descriptions of the Algonquian possessing 'little of Humanitie but shape, ignorant of Ciuilitie, of Arts, of Religion' and 'more brutish then the beasts they hunt, more wild and vnmanly then that vnmanned wild Country' attributed the natives' seeming unsophistication to their tendency to roam, rather than settle, the land.[53] Such descriptions of Amerindians as 'vnmanly' also drew explicit links between the Algonquians' presumed lack of self-possession with their inability to operate in a political realm. This would undoubtedly have appealed to the gentlemen who styled themselves in highly stratified terms, and who, after 1600, ridiculed even the lower branches of the Inns of Chancery for failing to maintain the urbane image that Inns members cultivated in themselves, while social and cultural barriers became more codified.[54] James fostered this image of himself as a civilizing monarch, condemning the use of weapons at court, imposing heavy fines on duelling, and often drawing on the rhetoric of savagery when addressing the manners of his subjects. In 1604, the year after ascending the English throne, he published his *Counterblaste to tobacco*, criticising the corrupting effects of smoking on his subjects' behaviour and directly attributing smoking to treason, an association that authors seeking royal favour often invoked in the years after the Gunpowder Plot. 'I think you will ill live like Cannibals vpon raw flesh,' James teasingly told parliament in 1610, in response to

[51] Norbert Elias, *The civilizing process*, tr. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1978), p. xvi.
[52] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of manhood in early modern England* (Oxford, 2003), p. 252-3; Greg Koabel, 'Youth, Manhood, Political Authority, and the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham', *The Historical Journal*, 57 (2014), pp. 595-614.
[53] Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimes*, sig. Mmmmmmm2v.
[54] Christopher W. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and vipers of the commonwealth: the 'lower branch' of the legal profession in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 275, 181. See also Shepard, *Meanings of manhood, pp. 252-3.*

their restrictions on his bill on forestry, 'for the education of this people is farre from that'.[55] James explicitly framed his vision of a civil society as one in which savagery had no place, and his subjects did the same.

By James's reign, then, an investment in Atlantic colonization was already affecting the English 'process of becoming'.[56] Humanism encouraged gentlemen to think politically, but also to impose constraints and judgements on the self. Noah Millstone locates conversation, reading, and travel as three modes through which subjects in early Stuart England developed a 'politic interpretive frame'.[57] Colonization, and an engagement with intercultural difference through their understanding of savagery as a political evil, might be seen as a further framework through which gentlemen learned to 'see' and think like statesmen, especially after the establishment of Jamestown in 1607. Until Virginia stabilised in the 1620s, fears of the English polity being consumed by literal 'savages' provoked intense discussions in the metropolis over governance, both of the self and others. Only through privy council investigations and prolonged parliamentary debates, in which policy-makers amassed reports and treatises written by besieged colonists in Virginia, did it become possible to decide on the best means to 'tie Virginia as fast to England as if it were one terra firma with itt', at a time when 'o[u]r Colonyes were almost made subiectes to the Sauages'.[58] From then on, territorial expansion in North America became incorporated regularly into matters of state, as did subjugating dissidents in Virginia, whether English or Algonquian. Policies towards Amerindians and English subjects in the colonies were discussed in parliament and in the privy council alongside domestic matters, and would continue to for well over a

[55] James I, 'A speach at Whitehall', in *The workes of the most high and mightie prince* (1616; STC 14344), sig. Zz3v.
[56] Elias, *The civilizing process*, p. 303.
[57] Noah Millstone, 'Seeing Like a Statesman in Early Stuart England', *Past and Present*, 22 (2014), pp. 77-127, at p. 100; *The politics of the public sphere in early modern England*, ed. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester, 2007); Thomas Cogswell, 'Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 60 (1997), pp. 303-26.
[58] 'Right ho[nora]ble I haue tendered to my Lord President…', 9 Dece[m]b[er] 1622, BL Add MS 12496, fo. 433r; 'Draft of Instructions to the Commissioners to Investigate Virginia Affairs', 14 April 1623, in *Records of the Virginia Company, volume IV*, ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury (Washington DC, 1935) p. 118.

century. George Wyatt, father to the Jamestown governor and Gray's Inn member Francis, wrote a letter to his son in 1624 that contained the stylistic devices characteristic of sixteenth and seventeenth-century advice manuals and political tracts. Yet the letter contained a distinct element in its discussion of encounters with the Powhatan. Wyatt adapted commonplace attitudes towards rule and government by applying them to a world that had not been part of the English governing landscape even twenty years before. 'Your brow of Providence is to looke with Janus two waies', Wyatt wrote, 'on your owen Countrimen Christians, and on the Salvage Infidels'.[59] In their representations of others and themselves, the English saw the need to rule 'Salvage Infidels' in Virginia as a distinct marker of their own civility and political sophistication.

II

While much recent scholarship remains attuned to the way that manners created 'modes of urbanity' through which politics were discussed and accessed, curiously little has been made of the ways in which involvement with America affected these changing modes, especially on a demographic of impressionable young men.[60] Ciceronian ideals of manhood in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not just defined against the supposed tempestuousness of youth, as well as against subordinates and women, but against those societies that seemed to possess no political systems at all. To gentlemen who framed themselves as the upholders of a well-governed society, the reality of American 'savages' not only seemed to invite intervention, but fed into a sense of superiority towards their own abilities in assisting with affairs of the realm. This was reinforced by the fact that the English, even in their rigorous debates over the rights and liberties afforded Englishmen under the common law, never

[59] 'A Letter of Advice to the Governor of Virginia, 1624', ed. J. Frederick Fausz and John Kukla, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 34 (1977), pp. 104-29, at p. 114.
[60] Warren, 'The English Landed Elite and the Social Environment of London', p. 46.

engaged in serious debate over property rights or the treatment of Amerindians. Rather, they adopted tropes of savagery to reflect on their own responsibilities as active proponents of a '"civilising" agency', in a milieu where good manners were cultivated in preparation for political careers.[61] Michelle O'Callaghan made the connection between the rise of sociability in London and members' close associations with corporations like the Virginia Company, especially at the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn.[62] Students and barristers including Robert Phelips, John Hoskyns, John Donne, Francis Bacon, Christopher Brooke, and Richard Martin served the Virginia Company in various legal capacities and invested in the company themselves, likely encouraged by patrons like Robert Cecil or Sir Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, who had extensive connections with merchants in the City.[63]

What to make, then, of the celebration of tobacco, and the popularity of certain Amerindian tropes and fashions in London at this time? Surviving works, and ample archaeological evidence, suggest that tobacco smoking was widely adopted in London by the early seventeenth century.[64] While the healthful benefits of smoking were debated by physicians, smoking also retained strong associations with native American ritual until the 1620s, and moralists frequently complained of the fumes of smoke now filling taverns, theatres, and private homes, lamenting that the city had become a conduit to a social practice that seemed to threaten the integrity of the realm as a whole.[65] The second half of this article explores how the intellectual and political interest in colonization, as examined above, actually informed social practices in Jacobean London, becoming a distinct part of how gentlemen framed their vision of civility in the context of *imperium*. The contentious but

[61] Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English wits: literature and sociability in early modern England* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 13.
[62] O'Callaghan, *The English wits*, p. 4. See also Withington, *Society in early modern England*, ch. 6.
[63] O'Callaghan, *The English wits*, p. 16.
[64] License to Philip Foote to sell clay for making tobacco pipes, 24 July 1618, London, TNA, SP, 14/141; John Skelton, *Elynour Rummin, the famous ale-wife of England* (1624; STC 22614), sig. A2v; Sir George Carewe to Viscount Cranborne, May 1605, Hatfield, Cecil Papers (CP), 189/81r; *A new and short defense of tabacco* (1602; STC 6468.5).
[65] Philaretes, *Work for chimny-sweepers* (1602; STC 12571).

evident fashion for tobacco at the Inns indicates that gentlemanly attitudes towards civility and savagery were more complex than merely adhering to the rhetoric found in the travel literature they often read. As Phil Withington has observed, sociability in the early seventeenth century did not just involve the meeting of friends, but networks of professional and informal associations that fuelled social interaction and political debate.[66] The term 'company' or 'fraternity' suggested 'a politics (in the broad sense of the term) of social participation involving inclusions, exclusions and the construction of boundaries', and the engagement with America in these settings played a role in the way that civil behaviour was conceived and enacted.[67]

While large cross-sections of society adopted tobacco-smoking, nowhere did this seem more popular than among the city's gentlemen. Jacobean satire frequently noted the vain puffing – of the ego and the pipe – to which the young and moneyed seemed inclined.[68] Caricatures of the Inns man in the early seventeenth century consistently included the 'Indian weed': 'His Recreations…are his only studies (as Plaies, Dancing, Fencing, Tauerns, and Tobacco)'.[69] Students smoked frequently, and records indicate that authorities sought to curb the boys' smoking in the dining hall, though they were less successful in private chambers and taverns.[70]

While poems written by teenage members of the Inns, like the Inner Templar John Beaumont's *Metamorphosis of tabacco* (1602), certainly contained a streak of youthful resistance to authoritarian control, smoking also provided a means of identifying with contemporary politics, an aspect of smoking that is generally left out of studies on sociability. Members of the Inns drove colonial interest by explicitly subscribing to, and participating in,

[66] Phil Withington, 'Company and Sociability in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 32 (2007), pp. 291-307.
[67] Ibid., p. 302.
[68] Henry Parrot, *Laquei ridiculosi: or Springes for woodcocks Caueat emptor* (1613; STC 19332), sig. D7v.
[69] Francis Lenton, *Characterismi* (1631; STC 15463), sig. F5r.
[70] Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts*, p. 93.

debates about state expansion, as Richard Martin, Henry Wriothesley, and George Sandys did in their capacities as representatives of the Virginia Company in parliament and on the king's council for Virginia.[71] Those who represented the Company, invested in its shares, and even travelled to America themselves, did not see the commodity as divorced from its imperial context. John Donne may have eroticised the American landscape in his sonnets and reduced Irish colonization to a playful metaphor in privately-circulated manuscripts, but he also sought the position of treasurer for the Virginia Company.[72] This post demanded conformity to the dominating Protestant attitude that sought to convert and 'civilize' natives according to English customs, a stance Donne publicly promoted as dean of St Paul's in his sermon to the Virginia Company in 1622.[73] Men who scribbled odes to tobacco at tavern dinners were also faced with the task, in parliament, of finding the best policies to benefit the realm without letting the Virginia Company flounder. Even a praise of tobacco involved the need to condemn indigenous savagery: 'In the farre countries, where *Tabacco* growes', the English must assert their presence 'ouer *Virginia* and the *New-found-land'* to '[tame] the sauage nations of the West'.[74]

Though exoticism seemed to indulge, rather than reject, what authorities perceived to be uncivil behaviour, smoking therefore became part of a complex interplay between metropolitan sociability and political action. Work by historians on the rise of tobacco smoking in England in relation to conviviality must consider the context of seventeenth-century colonization in shaping sociability in England, and the rapidly changing relationship between politics and tobacco in the 1610s and 1620s offers one way of doing so.[75] In

[71] Ibid.
[72] See 'To His Mistress Going to Bed' and 'Loves Warre', *The poems of John Donne: vol. I*, ed. Robin Robbins (New York, 2008).
[73] John Donne, *Foure sermons vpon special occasions* (1625; STC 7042).
[74] John Beaumont, *The metamorphosis of tabacco* (1602; STC 1695), sig. E3v.
[75] Peter Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told in Sixteenth-Century Europe', *Environmental History*, 9 (2004), pp. 648-78; Jeffrey Knapp, 'Elizabethan Tobacco', *Representations*, 21 (1988), pp. 26-66; Sandra Bell, 'The Subject of Smoke: Tobacco and Early Modern England', in *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, ed.

parliament, Edwin Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar advanced tobacco as a means of salvaging the colony while curbing Spanish power. The English dependence on Spanish tobacco had served, in effect, to finance part of Spain's costly wars against Protestant regimes, while English 'mony [was] transformed into a Smoking weed'.[76] While a substantial number of those sitting in the House of Commons advocated banishing tobacco altogether because of 'the spoiling of the subjects Manners by it', John Ferrar reminded the House that '4,000 English [in Virginia]…have no Means, as yet, to live' without it.[77] By granting the Virginia Company a monopoly on tobacco in 1624, the king could increase his revenues and show support for his planters in Virginia, while depriving the Spanish of a significant source of income. The lengthy debates in parliament over tobacco in 1621 and 1624 reveal how deeply imbedded with colonial support the issue of tobacco had become. Though he 'loveth Tobacco as ill as any', proclaimed Thomas Jermyn, it was 'fit to be given [to] Virginia'.[78]

Students of the law were encouraged to enact debates over political authority in representative forms, and their enthusiasm for new fashions and trends further manifested itself in their use of American tropes in their plays and speeches.[79] This included a masque performed in 1613, where fifty 'Virginians' – elaborately-apparelled students of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn – paraded before the king at Whitehall, their skin stained brown and feathers entwined in their hair.[80] These performances were not contained to the Inns themselves, but overlapped with politics at court and in parliament, where participants presented lavish visions of triumphant civility while bring imperial agendas to the court at significant state occasions, including James's daughter, Elizabeth's, marriage to the

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Helen Ostovich et al (New Jersey, 2008), pp. 153-69; Phil Withington, 'Introduction: Cultures of Intoxication', *Past and Present* 222, supplement 9 (2014), pp. 9-33.

[76] 'The Parliamentary Papers of Nicholas Ferrar, 1624', in *Seventeenth-century political and financial papers, Camden miscellany XXXIII, Camden fifth series, vol. 7*, ed. David R. Ransome (Cambridge, 1996), p. 90.

[77] 18 April 1621, in *Journal of the House of Commons: vol. 1, 1547 – 1629* (London, 1802), pp. 579-82.

[78] 'Tobacco trade', 18 April 1621, in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1, 1547 – 1629* (London: History of Parliament Trust, 1802), pp. 579-82.

[79] Paul Raffield, *Images and cultures of law in early modern England: justice and political power, 1558 – 1660* (Cambridge, 2004)

[80] George Chapman, *The memorable masque of the two honourable houses or Innes of Court* (1614; STC 4982).

Protestant king of Bohemia, Frederick V. The chief participants in the Virginian masque were accomplished students and barristers – the 'gentlemen [of] best choise out of both houses' – and their 'gallant and glorious shew' so impressed James that he allowed them to kiss his hand afterwards.[81] Since James kept the law one of the most-closely regulated professions of his reign, members' promotion of the Virginia colony in Whitehall may actually have advanced plantation more immediately in the royal sphere as a result.[82]

Forms of creative expression, including masques, have been described as paradoxes of state, whereby licence and contained lawlessness ultimately reinforced hierarchy and authority.[83] It is no coincidence that the barristers cast Eunomia as the figure who urged the 'Virginian Princes' to 'renounce/Your superstitious worship of these Sunnes…[and turn] to this our Britain *Phoebus*', for *eunomia* was Greek for good governance through the law.[84] In the context of westward expansion, the Inns members' willingness to glamourize exoticism while condemning savagery, and their adoption of tobacco-smoking into their complex codes of status interaction, served to develop notions of civility while simultaneously and often ruthlessly condemning uncivil behaviour in Amerindians and Englishmen alike. The savagery invoked in Chapman's 'De Guiana', for example, belonged both to that 'world of Savadges' in South America, but also to disloyal or disinterested subjects: 'How easie t'is to be an Infidell'.[85] Reports of Algonquian sun-worship and Carib cannibalism appeared repeatedly in polemic against Catholic idolatry especially. For the 'naturall and carnall body of Cryst to be so eatin' seemed akin to 'the barbarus Bresilians…[who] eate men and women', both groups portrayed as performing illegitimate, and brutal, rites of worship.[86] Smoking, however

[81] John Chamberlain to Alice Carleton, 18 February 1613, London, TNA, SP, 14/17, fo. 47r.
[82] Brooke, *Pettifoggers and vipers of the commonwealth*, p. 161.
[83] Hugh Craig, 'Jonson, the Antimasque and the "Rules of Flattery"', in *The politics of the Stuart court masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holybrook (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 176-96, at p. 179.
[84] Chapman, *The memorable masque*, sig. Fv.
[85] Kemys, *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana*, sigs. A2v, A4r.
[86] John Colville, *The paraenese of admonition of Jo: Coluille* (Paris, 1602; STC 5589), sig. L3r; William Attersoll, *The badges of Christianity* (1606; STC 889), sig. Y6r.

praised, was still considered a pastime to be indulged in moderation. A Cambridge graduate and subsequent member of Gray's Inn, Sir John Melton, considered tobacco unfit for gentlemen concerned with state affairs, whereas 'common people' were quick to delight in such excess. Popular print, Melton complained, had cheapened political discourse, and reflected 'the mushroom conceptions of idle braines, most of them are begotten ouer night in Tobacco smoake and muld-sacke…[pamphlets] sauour of no study, and lesse iudgement'.[87]

Scholars of colonial and imperial history tend to focus on how English subjects drew on the rhetoric of savagery to subjugate cultural others. Jacobean authors and policy-makers, however, adopted and engaged with these tropes just as often to condemn the behaviour of their peers than to criticise native Americans themselves. The satiric wit culture fostered at by members of the Inns of Court and their networks of associates seem largely responsible, at a time when the neo-Petrarchan verse forms favoured under Elizabeth seemed increasingly insufficient to capture the moody and often xenophobic spirit of late Jacobean political culture. One result was the widespread use of Amerindian imagery in political discourse beyond the expected propaganda, in contexts that might encourage expansion while equally finding parallels that addressed domestic concerns over degenerative, and therefore apolitical, behaviour. The damaging power of savagery on the lives of civil subjects was a persistent concern in early seventeenth century political discourse, and the 'smirking wit of an all-male society', though callous towards Amerindians, was just as inclined to turn its claws to attack incivility within the realm itself.[88]

It was after hearing news of the Powhatan massacre in 1622, in which an alliance of Algonquian warriors killed 347 colonists in Virginia, that the lawyer Christopher Brooke wrote his startlingly genocidal poem advocating the complete eradication of native society. Yet guiltier than the 'savages', Brooke maintained, were his fellow English, those too willing

[87] John Melton, *A sixe-folde politician* (1609; STC 17805), sig. D2v.
[88] Wayne A. Rebhorn, *The emperor of men's minds: literature and the Renaissance discourse of rhetoric* (Ithaca, 1997), p. 86.

to indulge destructive behaviour themselves. Christians must perform 'in Manners, Life, and Act, those parts/That really confirme you', or watch their own societies collapse, as the English in Virginia seemed to be doing at that very moment.[89] Similarly, George Chapman's later works were less concerned with blatant English imperial glory than with the inability, or unwillingness, for Englishmen to resist the allure of uncivil behaviour, something Drayton also adopted in his later works. 'Of his Ladies Not Coming to London', and Song 16 of *Poly-Olbion*,, drew on concepts of savagery to promote English conformity in ways that Drayton's earlier 'Ode to a Virginia Voyage' did not. 'For thankes and curt'sies sell you presence then/To tatling women, and to things like men', the narrator complained, 'And be more foolish then the *Indians* are/For Bells, for Knives, for Glasses, and such ware'.[90] Elsewhere, Drayton complained that the gentry failed to uphold their responsibilities for trifles like tobacco, where the ancient mistrust of luxury offered up new vices to spoil the lives of those meant to govern with moderation and clear-headed discernment.[91] The vision of *imperium* at the Inns, largely influenced by members like Bacon, Ralegh, and Donne, consistently sought to project 'a *Conquest* without bloud', where manners and Protestantism would render native peoples 'ciuill after our *English* manner' and 'well instructed in Christianitie', as the Powhatan princess Pocahontas seemed to embody with such elegance during her visit to London in 1616, where she appeared at court apparelled in Jacobean aristocratic fashion.[92] Smoking, dressing up like Amerindians, and invoking cannibalism in discourse reinforced English religious and political conformity, but it also contributed to notions of what civility and urbanity *were*, and how they might be expressed, both in politics as in gesture and style. As gentlemen drew on ideas of savagery and incivility to assess their own behaviour, they

[89] Christopher Brooke, 'A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia (1622)', sig. B2r, printed in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 72 (1964), pp. 259-92.
[90] Joan Rees, 'Hogs, Gulls, and Englishmen: Drayton and the Virginian Voyages', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 13 (1983), pp. 20-31, at pp. 29-30.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Lawrence Kemys, *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana* (1596; STC 14947), sigs. Av, A4r; John Smith, *The general historie of Virginia* (1624; STC 22790), sig. Rr.

simultaneously presented a complex and imaginative vision of *imperium* in Jacobean London, one that subscribed to the subjugation of Amerindian peoples while engaging with news and rumours from America in ways that celebrated, and revelled in, a conquest that hinged on English civility.

III

By James's death in 1625, Jamestown – now eighteen years old – was coming of age. Nearly two decades of intermittent famine, disease, Anglo-Algonquian war, and internal political disputes, alongside James's decision to bring the colony under royal control following the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1624, had rendered Atlantic colonization a nascent but familiar part of English political culture. Younger sons and members of the lesser gentry, struggling to find employment in England, articulated colonization as a means of acting upon the humanist ideal of service to the state. 'What else shall become of Gentlemens younger sons?' Edwin Sandys asked the House of Commons in 1604, 'who cannot live by Arms, when there is no wars, and Learning preferments are common to all, and mean? Nothing remains fit for them, save only Merchandize'.[93] Sandys appointed his own younger brother, George, as treasurer to the Virginia Company in 1621.

As this article has suggested, however, colonial promoters advocated colonization for reasons beyond the need for employment. Gentlemen framed their political responsibilities and even a sense of moral duty in relation to participating in colonial projects. In Virginia, a desperate George Sandys urged his friends in London to 'aduenture not to [*sic*] much in ioynt stockes, nor in those projectes w[hi]ch ever fayle'.[94] Yet many of the initial failures in Virginia – so often used by historians as evidence of lacklustre colonial involvement in

[93] Quoted in Theodore Rabb, *Jacobean gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561 – 1629* (Princeton, 1998), p. 94.
[94] George Sandys to M[aste]r Farrer, March 1623, in *Records of the Virginia Company, vol. IV*, ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury (Washington DC, 1935), p. 25.

Jacobean England – were not the cause of too little interest, but too much. The irony, as Sandys recognised in complaints to his brothers in various reports, was that many of the hardships besetting Virginia were a direct result of the vogue for colonization currently underway in London. The Virginia council were sending too many migrants, when colonists could barely clothe, much less feed, themselves. Writing to another correspondent around the same time, Sandys complained that the sins of colonists were matched by 'too much vaine glorie and presumption at home'.[95] This 'vaine glorie' was a characteristic critique of gentlemen at the Inns, who explicitly framed themselves as urbane upholders of civil society, and who played a significant role in advancing colonization at a time when English projects in North America might otherwise have failed. These men were the recipients of a university education that had first begun to incorporate cosmography within its core curricula in the second half of the sixteenth century, in humanist programmes that encouraged them to 'envisage a world in which England was both morally and actually superior and where other parts of the globe were inferior and available to be controlled'.[96]

The influence of colonization on testing and ultimately reinforcing the bounds of civil behaviour can be situated partly within the wit culture of early seventeenth century metropolitan culture, and the 'fluid discursive spheres' that London sociability and the Inns encouraged.[97] The growth of London as a metropolis, with its fashionable 'seasons', brought Inns members, their friends, and courtly patrons through the halls and chambers of the Inns for tutelage and social occasions. Studying the Inns of Court in of themselves will not fully explain how colonization became a part of seventeenth century political culture. They were not, after all, contained and distinct entities; part of their appeal was their association with centres like parliament and the royal court, and further investigation is required into the

[95] George Sandys to Sir Samuel Sandys, 30 March 1623, ibid., p. 74.
[96] Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580 – 1620* (Chicago, 1997), p. 47.
[97] Michelle O'Callaghan, '"Talking Politics": Tyranny, Parliament, and Christopher's Brooke's The Ghost of Richard the Third (1614)', *Historical Journal,* 41:1 (1998), pp. 97-120, p. 104.

converging networks between members and the privy council, parliament, and the court, including the courts of Queen Anne and Prince Henry, as well as the ties between company investors and City merchants who made these colonial ventures possible. Nonetheless, the rise of an imperial impulse in seventeenth century London did not spring from nowhere, and evidence points to the Inns as a significant space for both thinking about the place of America in articulations of the *vita ciuile*, and for promoting actual projects.

This intellectual and social milieu was particularly conductive to students producing satires, elegies, and plays that daringly drew on the sensual exoticism of Amerindian cultures in the context of refined urbanity. Performances brought Atlantic peoples out of cosmographies and into material forms, enacted by those well-situated to advance their interests at Whitehall and parliament. Performances at the Inns, though notoriously riotous, were a means through which to enact debates over political authority, and it is telling that the two Jacobean masques that included heavy Virginian motifs, Chapman's *Memorable masque* (1613) and Francis Bacon's *Maske of flowers* (1614), were conceived of, and performed, by members of the Inns.[98] Some of parliament's staunchest supporters of Virginia, including Richard Martin and Christopher Brooke, were lawyers. Members propagated a specific vision of *imperium* that was distinctly contemporary and heavily Protestant; it was also performative and relational, in that they explicitly engaged with the gestures and acts associated with savagery when articulating and defining their own civil mores and political ambitions. The enthusiasm for painting their skin, weaving feathers in their hair, and parading to Whitehall dressed as Virginians, as in their elaborate smoking rites, allowed aspiring members of the political elite to enact savagery in order to ultimately reject it, while developing metropolitan ideas of civility that directly engaged with products and news from the Atlantic.

[98] Raffield, *Images and Cultures of Law*, p. 87.

Though Anna Bryson remarked that John Dickenson's translation of Aristotle's *Politics* (1598) included mention of the newly-discovered 'savages' of America, noting that the dichotomies of civility and savagery must have been 'elaborated partly through the discovery of the New World', this relationship played a larger role on the development of civility and political participation than Bryson cursorily implies.[99] The role these gentlemen played in securing a future for Virginia was especially crucial in the second half of James's reign, after both James's principle secretary, Robert Cecil, and the king's own son, Henry, died in 1612. Cecil and Henry had cultivated an enthusiasm for aggressive state expansion into the Atlantic, and the tireless devotion to the Virginia Company shown by lawyers including Brooke and Martin were doubtlessly crucial to Commons acknowledging, in 1614, that the affairs 'of the Plantation [are] well accepted, and looked upon with the Eyes of our Love'.[100] This occurred the same week during which 'Dicke [Richard] Martin came to the parlement house…to plead for some course to be held for the vpholding of Virginia', and Martin remained passionately involved with the Virginia Company and the Middle Temple throughout his career, giving the name to Martin's Hundred in Virginia.[101]

Young men at the Inns of Court were learning to 'see like statesmen', and they were confident enough in their own civil mores to promote a vision of society that looked beyond the boundaries of the realm. While the Inner Temple poet John Beaumont, brother to the popular playwright Francis, had praised tobacco in 1602, imagining himself glorying in the bacchanal of a cannibal feast with '[c]ircles of a sauage round/With iarring songs', the America of the 1620s in the minds of gentlemen occupied a more complex relationship between pleasing abandon and political allegiance.[102] Rather than eschewing the influences of 'savage' practices altogether, gentlemen now celebrated their ability to indulge in the fruits of

[99] Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, pp. 51-2.
[100] 18 May 1614, *Journal of the House of Commons, vol. I*, p. 487-8.
[101] John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 19 May 1614, TNA: PRO, SP 14/77, fo. 41v.
[102] Beaumont, *The metamorphosis of tabacco*, sig. Bv.

colonialism without losing their own political identity. As Virginia went from a fledgling trading outpost to a more populated and settled colony, with tobacco forming the basis of its economy, the fantasies of expansion were subject to a different sort of imagining, whereby the English increasingly understood their own civility in relation to their ability to govern others.[103] Smoking came to lose its close associations with the Algonquian, as English colonists increasingly produced their own crops, while a monopoly on the trade by 1624 allowed Virginia and Bermuda to become a more regular and feature of the political realm, after intense parliamentary debates where advocates of colonization were key in preventing the real possibility of prohibiting all tobacco importation into England.[104] When, in 1614, Sir Roger Owen asked the lawyer Christopher Brooke to leave the chamber while Commons deliberated Virginian affairs, Brooke refused. He would not, Brooke reasoned, be asked to leave if the House set about discussing York, which he also represented, and so he would not withdraw here: 'for that [Virginia] concerneth the Commonwealth'.[105]

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[103] For the visual manifestation of this ideal in tobacco advertisements, see Catherine Molineux, 'Pleasures of the Smoke: "Black Virginians" in Georgian London Tobacco Shops', *William and Mary Quarterly,* 64 (2007), pp. 327-76.
[104] Wesley Frank Craven, *The dissolution of the Virginia Company: the failure of a colonial experiment* (New York, 1932), p. 53.
[105] 17 May 1614, *Journal of the House of Commons, vol. I*, p. 487-8.