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The Elizabethan Gentlemen Adventurers and Western Planting

by

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A dissertation submitted to The Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Baltimore, Maryland

1971

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Abstract

It was during the Elizabethan period that a large number of Englishmen first became interested in overseas colonization and began to organize expeditions to plant settlements in the Western Hemisphere. While none of these enterprises resulted in the establishment of a permanent colony in the New World, they merit study both because of what they reveal about English society at the time and because they are representative of the particular type of colonizing venture which predominated during the first years of European expansion overseas and as such shed some light upon the conditions that gave rise to that type of western planting.

As may be inferred from the title, the emphasis in this dissertation is primarily on the role of those gentlemen adventurers who led or planned to lead expeditions to the New World: specifically, Thomas Stucley, Richard Grenville, Martin Frobisher, Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Ralegh, Christopher Carleill, Charles Leigh, and Bartholomew Gosnold. The first three of four chapters are devoted to a study of their career profiles, the sources of their self-images, and the relation between these self-images and their ideas on western planting. The decision to focus upon them was made after preliminary research suggested that, in contrast perhaps to the situation in the Jacobean period, they not

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only initiated most of the planting projects but also played the dominant role in planning, organizing, and financing them. Just as in the private military expedition, where the sixteenth century planting project finds its closest structural analogue, the colonizer depended on a relatively small group of major associates — usually men who were members of his family or friends from his locality. Because ships, victuals, and additional financial aid were needed, merchants naturally played a role in planting projects, but very seldom in the Elizabethan period were they the primary instigators of such projects or greatly involved in the planning.

This is not to say that it is unimportant to examine the ancillary groups around the colonization leaders: the courtiers, local gentry, merchants, religious sects, and other groups who invested in these expeditions, went on them or did both. The fourth chapter, therefore, is an analysis of how these Elizabethan enterprises were organized including an investigation of the known participants and an estimate of the money invested in these various projects. The conclusion attempts to make some comparisons between Elizabethan and Jacobean thinking on western planting and mercantile development.

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Preface

The spelling and punctuation in the quotations are the same as in the original source except the short s has been substituted for the long ſ, and u and v as well as i and j have been changed to comply with modern spelling.

The Public Record Office, British Museum, Calendar of State Papers, Acts of the Privy Council, and Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports have been abbreviated as PRO, BM, CSP, APC, and HMC, respectively, in the footnotes.

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Introduction

It was during the Elizabethan period that a large number of Englishmen first became interested in overseas colonization and began to organize expeditions to plant settlements in the Western Hemisphere. While none of these enterprises resulted in the establishment of a permanent colony in the New World, they merit study both because of what they reveal about English society at the time and because they are representative of the particular type of colonizing venture which predominated during the first years of European expansion overseas and as such shed some light upon the conditions that gave rise to that type of western planting.

Elizabethan colonizers were relative latecomers to the international movement westward. Other European gentlemen-soldiers had begun a century and a half earlier: first going into the Atlantic archipelagoes, then to the Carribean islands, and finally to the American mainland, they conquered people and claimed land in the name of their sovereign and, in return, received feudal concessions in the territory they had won. Charles

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Verlinden has traced this westward movement back even further,[1] arguing that there is a high degree of continuity between the medieval colonization of Palestine and Southeast Europe and what he calls modern colonization overseas (that occurring from 1500 to 1800) and putting forth the theory that all forms of colonization from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century had medieval precedents, as techniques pioneered in the Mediterranean were carried over to Atlantic areas. His main interest is in comparing colonial institutions — land systems, trade arrangements, etc. — established in different places at different times. He is not concerned with the social structure or the intellectual climate out of which the colonizers themselves came. In the future, it might be fruitful to investigate to what degree it can be said these adventurers from various countries and city states were responding to like pressures and imperatives present in early modern European society, but that can only be done, it seems, when more specific studies of the backgrounds of the various European colonizers and on the nature of their projects are available. This dissertation is an attempt to provide this kind of study for the first English colonizers and their ventures.

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[1] The Beginnings of Modern Colonization trans. Yvonne Freccero (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970). These essays are a very valuable addition to colonial history although Verlinden's general theory that "modern" colonization is essentially of a piece is directly contrary to what I am arguing in this study.

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Mainly due to the publications of the Hakluyt Society and the assiduous researches of David Quinn, a great many of the documents pertaining to these ventures have been unearthed, and I have drawn heavily on this material in writing this analytic study of Elizabethan western planting. As may be inferred from the title, the emphasis in this dissertation is primarily on the role of those gentlemen adventurers[2] who led or planned to lead expeditions to the New World: the first three of four chapters are devoted to a study of their career profiles, the sources of their self-images, and the relation between these self-images and their ideas on western planting. The decision to focus upon them was made after preliminary research suggested that, in contrast perhaps to the situation in the Jacobean period, they not only initiated most of the planting projects but also played the dominant role in planning, organizing, and financing them. Just as in the private military expedition, where the sixteenth century planting project finds its closest structural analogue, the colonizer depended on a relatively small group of major associates — usually men who were members of his family or friends from his locality. Because ships, victuals, and additional

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[2]The term gentlemen adventurers can refer to any man of gentry status who invested his money or his person in a planting project, but in this dissertation, it refers, in most cases, to the leaders of the projects, and not just to someone who put in a few pounds as an investor.

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financial aid were needed, merchants naturally played a role in planting projects, but very seldom in the Elizabethan period were they the primary instigators of such projects or greatly involved in the planning.

This is not to say that it is unimportant to examine the ancillary groups around the colonization leaders: the courtiers, local gentry, merchants, religious sects, and other groups who invested in these expeditions, went on them, or did both. Chapter four, therefore, is an analysis of how these Elizabethan enterprises were organized including an investigation of the known participants and an estimate of the money invested in these various projects. The conclusion attempts to make some comparisons between Elizabethan and Jacobean thinking on western planting.

In short, I have endeavored to describe both the behavior of the important figures in early English colonization (the two "outside" chapters) and their thinking, as revealed in their writings and those of their time, (the two "inside" chapters), as well as make some tentative connections between the two. I stress the word tentative, because, as one perceptive historian has recently written,

> One may entertain a measure of skepticism as to whether procedures which isolate certain social phenomena, and then seek to show that these were "reflected" in thought [or vice versa], may not impute to contemporary minds processes which it is difficult to show taking place; but there can

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> be no possible objection to procedures which undogmatically explore problems of this kind.[3]

It is this "measure of skepticism," occasioned, in my case at least, by a lack of a satisfactory vocabulary to describe the relationship between social phenomena and thought, which has made me deliberately refrain from being too vociferous in making certain causal assertions.

To give the reader an idea of just who participated in this first generation of English planting, it will be useful to review briefly all the Elizabethan colonization enterprises and describe their primary leaders. Before doing so, however, I should mention one point. In almost all of the expeditions, privateering and attacks on the Spaniards are part of the plans, and several projects degenerated into nothing but such pursuits. As K. R. Andrews has observed, "privateering and American planting were so closely related that no satisfactory history of either could be written without some account of the other."[4] This becomes per-

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[3] J.G.A. Pocock, Politics, Language and Time (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 37. I should add that after making the irenical statement which ends the quotation, Pocock goes on to tell the reader that he personally has no intention of being forced by popular opinion within the historical profession to indulge in such procedures himself.

[4] Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War 1585-1603 (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), p. 187.

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fectly understandable when one considers the motivation of the colonizers and realizes that the gentlemen who attempted planting projects were part of a larger group of gentlemen who chose military activities on either sea or land as their means of advancing themselves in their society. Traditionally, colonization was held to be a form of military conquest.[5] The importance of this link will, I hope, become increasingly obvious as the reader proceeds through this study.

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The first expedition in the Elizabethan period with planting as its alleged goal was the Florida venture of Thomas Stucley (1525?-1578) in 1563. Stucley, from a gentry family in the West Country, had over twenty years of military adventures on the continent for both English and foreign princes behind him when he undertook the Florida expedition with six ships and several hundred men. No merchant company was involved, nor did the Queen give any substantial aid. Stucley sank what remained of his own resources into the project, got some supplies on credit, and induced some other gentlemen to adventure, both in purse and person, with him. His expedition never reached the New World because he and his party began their voyage by indiscriminately

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[5]Verlinden, p. xii.

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plundering foreign ships, and the Queen had them apprehended. Soon after, Stucley went to Ireland searching for office and land, but Elizabeth, feeling he was unreliable, forced the Lord Deputy to deny him a command. At that point, Stucley went over to the side of the Spanish and died in the battle of Alcazar fighting for Sebastian of Portugal.

In 1573 another West Country gentleman, Sir Richard Grenville (1542-1591) associated himself with nine friends and relatives from the Devon-Cornwall area in a project to possess an area in South America. He had already had some experience as a soldier and had made an unsuccessful attempt to start a colony in Ireland. After Grenville had made extensive plans for his trip to the Western Hemisphere and had bought several ships, the Queen, because of a change in the international scene, cancelled his license. Grenville later became involved with Ralegh's Roanoke plantation and in 1585 brought over the first soldier-settlers, after doing some privateering along the way. Subsequently, he made another voyage to the New World, attempted another colony in Ireland, and engaged in several naval campaigns against the Spaniards, the last of which took his life in 1591. None of the planting projects in which he was concerned was successful.

Martin Frobisher's third voyage to America in 1578 involved a plan to settle a hundred men in a fort under the supervision of Edward Fenton, a veteran of the Irish wars. While technically

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Frobisher was a gentleman adventurer — he always insisted upon the label of gentleman — his own background was noticeably different from the other leaders of Elizabethan colonization, though very similar to the career patterns of people like Drake and Hawkins. Frobisher (1539?-1594), a Yorkshireman, started out as a seaman on merchant ships but as soon as the opportunity presented itself, switched to privateering and sea service for the Queen. For many years prior to 1576, the date of his first New World voyage, Frobisher had the idea of an expedition to find a Northwest Passage; but after his first journey had revealed the possibility of finding gold in the Baffin Land area, the court became interested in claiming the land there and mining the gold. A joint stock organization composed of the Queen, courtiers, and important London merchants was formed. Frobisher continued to lead the expeditions over to America, but he was rather like an employee of the company. The organization of this enterprise was different from the other Elizabethan planting projects; nonetheless it too failed in establishing a settlement in America. When the ore Frobisher brought back from the voyage turned out to be worthless, interest in the project dwindled, and the plan for a settlement was abandoned. Frobisher spent most of his remaining years employed by the Crown fighting the Spanish on the sea.

About the same time that Frobisher was making his third and last voyage, Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539-1583) of Devon re-

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ceived a patent from the Queen granting him lands in North America. Gilbert, a familiar figure at court, had fought on the continent and in Ireland where he had also attempted to found a colony, but up until this time he had not had much experience at sea. His associates were primarily gentry friends and relatives, many of whom were going with him to America. Gilbert quarrelled with his principal associate, Henry Knollys, son of Elizabeth's Treasurer of the Household, and Knollys pulled his ships out of the expedition. Further misfortunes beset the rest of Gilbert's small fleet, and his company never made it to America. Undaunted, though somewhat impoverished, Gilbert planned another voyage in 1583. This time he managed to add a group of Southampton merchants and more courtiers to his list of contributors. He also transferred the rights to enormous blocks of land to three gentlemen — Barnard Drake, Sir Philip Sidney, and George Peckham, who was involved with a group of Catholics — each of whom wished to lead his own expedition to America. Philip Sidney was stopped by the Queen from going over, and the others for one reason or another never ventured out to plant either. Gilbert and his company did get as far as Newfoundland, where he claimed the land for England and forced the international community of fishermen there to swear allegiance to the Queen as their sovereign and promise to pay him an annual tribute. He did not, however, get to Norumbega, his destination, nor did he leave behind settlers. Filling his ship with ore from Newfoundland,

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Gilbert waxed great enthusiasm for the New World and vowed to return. Unfortunately, he and his ship went down on the trip back to England.

Christopher Carleill (1549?-1593), a London-bred adventurer, drafted plans for an American plantation in 1583. Carleill's background was also military, having served in the Netherlands and in France. In 1582, he was appointed the military commander on Edward Fenton's voyage to the East, and he was to settle his soldiers somewhere in Cathay; but at the last minute, he dropped out, and the settlement idea was cancelled. Next, Carleill with the support and encouragement of his step-father, Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, turned his sights to America. All during 1583, Carleill and Walsingham were busy contacting court figures and merchant groups for contributions. Carleill did set sail in 1584, but for reasons which have remained obscure, went no further than Ireland where he performed service on the land and sea for the Crown.

The most famous Elizabethan attempts to plant America were, of course, those of Sir Walter Ralegh (1554-1618): his Roanoke colony in the 1580's and his Guiana venture in the 1590's (his second attempt to colonize Guiana in 1618, being beyond the scope of this study, will only be mentioned incidently). He was introduced to American colonization by his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. After Gilbert's death, he obtained a grant for land in America from Elizabeth and invested a large portion of his re-

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cently gained fortune in trying to plant the area, depending on other adventurous gentlemen — West Country or court friends and relatives — for support. The Queen prevented Ralegh from personally going to Virginia, and so Sir Richard Grenville, accompanied by Thomas Cavendish, in his own ship, commanded the expedition to settle the colony. When Grenville left, Ralph Lane, an experienced soldier and Elizabeth's Equerry of the Stables, became governor. The settlement had strong military characteristics, and one of its intended functions was to serve as a base from which raids could be carried out against the Spanish in the West Indies. After a couple of years, Ralegh, needing settlers and funds, gave a grant to a group of men, women, and children who went to settle a portion of his lands under the leadership of John White and gave trading rights to a group of London merchants. At the same time that Ralegh was involved with Roanoke, he also became lord over a large plantation in Ireland and sent many English over to inhabit.

Both plantations ultimately failed, but this did not squelch Ralegh's passion for lordship over vast quantities of land, a passion which, considering the quite settled nature of England, could only be satisfied by Ireland or territory overseas. He chose Guiana, the land of the legendary El Dorado, as a proper target on which to focus his attentions. Ralegh again was his own prime adventurer with help from gentlemen adventurers such as his nephew, John Gilbert (Sir Humphrey's son). In 1595 Ralegh

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sailed to Guiana with soldiers to conquer his golden empire, stopping on the way to attack the West Indies. He failed to reach the spot where he believed the El Dorado was located, but in exploring he made alliances with the local Indians, laying the groundwork for a triumphant return and takeover of the area. To the end of his life, Ralegh retained a belief in the profitability of an English empire in Guiana.

Charles Leigh (1573-1605), who came from a Surrey gentry family, had at least three different plans for planting, two in the St. Lawrence area and one in Guiana. In 1597, he, in conjunction with Dutch merchants living in London, Abraham and Peter Van Harwick, and a group of Brownist sectaries, who were to be colonists, planned a voyage to North America where they intended to claim Ramea, one of the Magdalen Islands, do some fishing, and engage in privateering. They got to the New World, but they only succeeded in accomplishing the last objective. Leigh, on returning, drafted another plan for a colony in the same area; this project, however, came to nothing, and he spent the next few years raiding enemy ships on the seas. In 1602 Leigh became interested in planting Guiana, where he hoped to find gold. With the support of his older brother, Sir Oliph Leigh, he made a settlement there a couple of years later, but when he died in 1605, the colony fell apart.

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The last colonizer of the Elizabethan period was Bartholomew Gosnold (1572-1607), a Suffolk gentleman with some experience at sea as a privateer. In 1602 he persuaded some friends to join him on a small expedition to Norumbega. Upon landing in the New England area, the company set up a modest fort and, to make the voyage profitable, gathered sassafras roots for sale at home. The twenty men who were supposed to plant, expecting to find something more valuable in America, reneged and insisted on sailing back with the ship. Later Gosnold became involved in the Virginia Company and died there in 1607; thus providing in both his person and in the nature of his Norumbega voyage a link with Jacobean planting.

These, then, are the ten expeditions and the eight colonizers with which this study is concerned. In the following chapters, I will explore in detail the character of these ventures.

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CHAPTER I

CAREER PROFILES OF THE GENTLEMEN ADVENTURERS

The main objective of this chapter is to place the gentlemen adventurers in the social structure of the time through analysis of their career profiles. While it is impossible to isolate one factor common to all eight men which is the explanation for their participation in western planting, one can indicate the social circumstances which were both characteristic of the gentlemen who engaged in these enterprises and separated them from at least a fair number of other Elizabethans. With that aim in mind, I have focused on four major elements in their careers: (1) their family background, (2) education, (3) court experience, and (4) their employment choices. I have attempted also to show the role of these elements in structuring the opportunities and the aspirations of these adventurers.

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The social standing of a man's family in sixteenth century England was a crucial element in deciding which employments a man would strive to attain, which he would consider acceptable, and which he would shun as being beneath him. As has been pointed out many times, those claiming gentry status in Elizabethan

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England tended to think of themselves as landowners and servitors of the state, avoiding, if possible, manual labor and direct participation in trade. Although some had weaker claim to the title than others, all eight adventurers claimed gentry status. Christopher Carleill's father was a London vintner, but he died when Christopher was still a boy, and his wife, soon after, married Francis Walsingham, a man destined to become Elizabeth's Secretary of State. A few years later, she too died, leaving Walsingham guardian of her son. Carleill, therefore, grew up in the household of an influential court official and regarded himself as a gentleman.[1] Martin Frobisher's situation was the complete reverse. He was born into a minor gentry family in Yorkshire, but his parents died when he was a child, and he was sent to live with his mother's brother, Sir John Yorke, a prominent merchant in London.[2] This put Martin in an environment of trade, though he never engaged in much merchant activity,

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[1]Alexander Carleill died in 1561 naming Christopher as heir to his property (PRO, Prob 11/44). In 1564 when his wife died, she willed that "my said husband [Francis Walsingham] shall have the custody and tuition of my sonne Christofer Carlyll with all his porcion of landes and encrease of his goodes towards his exhibition and fynding during his minoritie and nonage, instantly praying him (as my whole trust is he will) to se him vertuously brought up in lerning and knowledge during all his saide nonage," PRO, Prob 11/47.

[2]J. W. Walter (ed.), Yorkshire Pedigrees A-F (London, 1942), pp. 187-88 and Vilhjalmur Stefansson (ed.), The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher (London: Argonaut Press, 1948), I, p. 158.

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turning instead to privateering early in life. Frobisher and Carleill, despite the fact that they later accumulated estates in the counties of their ancestors, Yorkshire and Cumberland, respectively,[3] had no real county ties to rely on, and this, as far as organizing a colonization project, proved a disadvantage.

The four families from Devon and Cornwall, the Stucleys, Grenvilles, Raleghs, and Gilberts had an ancient history in the area and were all armigerous and manor holders by the fifteenth century at least.[4] The fathers or the grandfathers (in the case where the father died early) of these adventurers held four major estates or more and many miscellaneous lands in the West Country.[5] Grenville's grandfather, another Sir Richard, had the most substantial estate, rated at £239 by the Court of Wards in 1550.

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[3]Carleill obtained a lease on the confiscated lands of Lord Vaux in Cumberland just before his death, PRO, SO Ind. 6800. Frobisher's will, PRO, Prob 11/86 indicates the extent of the estate he had built up in Yorkshire.

[4]Thomas Westcote, A View of Devonshire in 1630 (Exeter, 1845) pp. 566, 585; A. L. Rowse, Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963, orig. pub. 1937), pp. 17-19; M. J. G. Stanford, "A History of the Ralegh Family of Fardel..." (unpublished Master's dissertation, University of London, 1955), pp. x-xvi.

[5]Selecting the major estates is a risky business: for Grenville I would list Buckland, Bideford, Stowe, and Tynyell (this last one was broken up by Grenville Sr. before his death according to Rowse, p. 37); for Otis Gilbert there is Compton, Greenway, Hanford, Bruxton, Brixham, and Calminton; for Ralegh (using Stanford's table, p. clxxix) Fardel, Bolham, Colaton Ralegh, and Withycombe; and for Hugh Stucley (using the abstract of his Inquisitio Post Mortem at the Exeter Public Library) Bynleigh, Luscombe, Bradford Lacy, and Affeton. The four men also had extensive miscellaneous messuages and lands.

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Both Otis Gilbert and Walter Ralegh Sr. had estates of over £40 annual income in 1541 (how much over is not revealed by the document), and what remains of Sir Hugh Stucley's Inquisitio Post Mortem of 1543 reveals a rated estate substantially over £50.[6] Needless to say, these figures can only be used to indicate above average gentry status and should not be taken as any true estimate of their annual incomes. Grenville's estate which was going into wardship was probably looked at more closely and that accounts for it being so much higher than the others. The elder Grenville was also the only one among the four who was known to have any non-local government positions: he was Sewer of the Chamber and later High Marshal of Calais during the reign of Henry VIII. In the local sphere, Grenville and the elder Walter Ralegh were M.P.'s, Grenville and Sir Hugh Stucley were sheriffs of Cornwall and Devon respectively, and Ralegh was briefly Deputy Vice-Admiral of Devon.[7] They were all also active in military affairs: besides being Marshal of Calais in the 1530's,

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[6]See Rowse, p. 44 for Grenville. The information on Gilbert and Ralegh comes from a list in the PRO, SP/10/2/#29 which names 26 Devon men who held £40 or more in land but had not applied for knighthood. For Hugh Stucley, I add up the rates of the individual holdings listed in his Inquisitio Post Mortem which is badly damaged. Considering that inquisitios did not always include all property and that the damage makes some of the land holdings unreadable, one may conclude that his evaluated property was considerably above the amount listed.

[7]Rowse, pp. 26-33; Stanford, p. 230; CSP, Henry VIII, Foreign and Domestic 1545, part I, p. 568.

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Grenville led the Devon forces going to France in 1546 while his son, the father of the Sir Richard of this study, died in a sea accident during the same war; both Otis Gilbert and Sir Hugh Stucley are believed not only to have helped with the mustering of troops against France in 1543 but also to have fought over there; and Walter Ralegh Sr. engaged in extensive privateering against the French.[8] Adventuring by sea and land was very prevalent in the West Country area. During the French wars Devon led all other counties in licenses for privateering. Many gentry families of Devon including the Carews and Champernownes (this was the family of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's and Sir Walter Ralegh's mother) were extremely mobile, leading private expeditions against the French and the Spanish whenever they had the opportunity.[9] There were religious overtones to many of these expeditions. The families of the four adventurers were all Protestant: Sir Richard Grenville the elder helped prosecute the Catholic West Countrymen in the 1540's, just as his grandson was to do several decades later;[10] and the elder Ralegh, according to a contem-

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[8]Rowse, pp. 38-39; Stanford, pp. 176-179. There is also an article by Stanford, "The Raleghs Take to the Sea," Mariner's Mirror 48 (1962), pp. 18-35, that discusses the privateering activities of Sir Walter Ralegh's father and his half brothers.

[9]Stanford, "Raleghs of Fardel," p. 22.

[10]Rowse, p. 40.

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porary account, constantly threatened Catholics in the area and helped leaders of Wyatt's Rebellion escape after the collapse of that revolt.[11]

Turning to the Surrey family of Charles Leigh, one also finds gentry who had land there since the mid-fourteenth century and definitely a manor and arms by the mid-fifteenth century although the estate had probably never been as healthy as it was by the 1570's when Charles was born. The head of the family, Nicholas Leigh, who was Charles' grandfather, had gotten monastery property in an exchange of lands with Henry VIII enabling him to build Addington Place, and he received a grant of the Manor of Lee near Eltham from Edward VI in 1549. He married Charles' father to a wealthy Kent heiress, the daughter of Sir John Oliph of East Wickham, and her extensive properties came into the family.[12] In the lay subsidy of 1576, Nicholas Leigh was rated at £40, which was an above average amount for a member of the gentry.[13] Nicholas served Surrey as an MP for Bleechingly

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[11]Stanford, "Raleghs of Fardel," pp. 206, 239-240.

[12]Granville Leveson-Gower, "Notices of the Family of Leigh of Addington," Surrey Archeological Collections, VII (1880), pp. 79-88.

[13]PRO, Round Room "Transcript of the Lay Subsidy of 18 Elizabeth."

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Borough in 1529, as a Commissioner for Musters in 1546, and as a Commissioner of Church Goods in the 1540's.[14] The latter office and the advantageous land transactions he made with Henry VIII and Edward VI lead one to suspect the Leighs were strong Protestants. When Nicholas died in 1581, his estate went to his grandson, Oliph Leigh, Charles' eldest brother, who was knighted in 1586.[15]

The Gosnolds of Suffolk had been in that county at least since the middle of the fifteenth century, but they did not become prominent until the sixteenth century. John Gosnold, Bartholomew's granduncle, was the most distinguished family member, being Solicitor-General under Edward VI and a supporter of Lady Jane Grey. In 1566, six years before Bartholomew's birth, the family was the largest landowners in Carlford hundred, and the combined holdings of the senior and junior members of the Gosnold clan were rated at £39. In 1572 Robert Gosnold (Bartholomew's uncle), a former justice of the peace, became head of the family upon the death of his grandfather. Anthony Gosnold (Bartholomew's father) was Robert's younger brother, but the grandfather had left him important properties in both

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[14] Returns. Members of Parliament (London, 1878) I, p. 370; Surrey Archeological Collections, IV (1869) p. 10.

[15] Leveson-Gower, p. 88.

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Clopton and Grundisburgh to which Anthony made, in time, additions, eventually possessing all or part of the manors of Burgh, Cleves, and Grundisburgh Hall.[16]

The family backgrounds of the eight adventurers gave them all some claim to the title of gentleman, and most of the families also provided the resources whereby their sons might maintain that standing. Both Sir Richard Grenville and Bartholomew Gosnold were heirs to landed estates. Christopher Carleill, as his father's heir, was, according to his own testimony, the recipient of a substantial patrimony which should have been sufficient, when combined with the aid of his prominent stepfather, to erase the taint of the wine trade. Thomas Stucley, a third son, was placed in the service of a powerful noble as a very young man. Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Ralegh, younger sons, were both given university educations. Gilbert was also left lands, while Ralegh had a small annuity from his father. Nothing is known of Charles Leigh's education, but he, as a third son, was left one half of his grandfather's livestock.

The most important thing to stress about the position of

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[16] Warner Gookin, "Ancestry of Bartholomew Gosnold," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, CV (1951), pp. 5-22; Warner Gookin and Phillip Barbour, Bartholomew Gosnold (Hamden Conn: Archon Books, 1965), p. 15; Suffolk Green Books XII (1909) p. 90.

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these younger sons is that they had fathers, older brothers, and influential kin who could help establish them, were probably expected to help establish them, and usually did help establish them in some gentlemanly pursuit. In short, they were by no means destitute. Sir Martin Frobisher is again somewhat of an exception. Frobisher, while not exactly destitute either, was not left, from the evidence available, in a particularly good position for an aspiring gentleman: his parents were dead, leaving several children and little or no estate; he was placed with his uncle, an important London merchant and Master of the Mint who had many sons of his own; being in the house of a merchant and having few resources, Martin became a seaman at an early age. So with the exception of Frobisher, the colonizers had family backgrounds which placed them in the politically and socially significant portion of the population; but, on the other hand, none of them had the kind of background or inheritance that enabled them to be especially noted or preferred once they were in a court environment.[17]

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[17]For Grenville see Rowse, p. 48; for Gosnold see Gookin and Barbour, pp. 14-15; for Carleill see Nicholas Carlisle, Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle (London, 1822), p. 25 where Carleill stated in a petition that he had spent £5000 in the Queen's service and that this money was from his "patrimony" and "other meanes." Carleill received the revenue off a windmill from his grandfather (PRO, Prob 11/40) and was in line to get the lease on a London house from his godfather, Sir Christopher Barker, if other heirs died, Inquisitiones Post Mortem...City of London: Tudor Period 1485-1561 (London: British

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The formal education of the adventurers is another element to consider when analyzing their career profile, because, as the Elizabethan period progressed, the universities and the Inns of Court were the meeting places for the sons of leading families from all over England, making these schools an important agent in the socialization of the court gentlemen. Thomas Stucley, having been born in the 1520's, followed the old system by going into the household of a nobleman, but most of the other adventurers, born slightly later, attended a university, an Inn, or both. Gilbert went to Oxford after preparing himself at Eton. Walter Ralegh was at Oriel, and while there, he made friendships with several young gentlemen which were to last him throughout his life. Robert Naunton claimed that Ralegh's sojourns at Oxford and the Inns of Court "were the grounds of his improvement." Christopher Carleill and Bartholomew Gosnold both studied at Cambridge. Two of Gosnold's university contemporaries, Gabriel Archer and John Brereton, were to join him in his 1602 voyage to America. Gilbert, Ralegh, Carleill, Gosnold, and Grenville were all at either the Inns of Court or Chancery at some time. These Inns were situated in London -- the center of

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Record Society, 1896) I, pp. 83-85. For Leigh see Leveson-Gower, p. 86; for Stucley see Richard Simpson, The School of Shakspere (London: Chatto and Windus, 1878), I, p. 7; For Gilbert see PRO Prob 11/31 and below for education; for Ralegh see Stanford, "Raleghs of Fardel," p. 321 and for education see below.

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power, wealth and fashion for the whole country. The education of the adventurers not only exposed them to a stimulating intellectual atmosphere but to a sophisticated life style as well.[18]

Whether as a consequence of their education or their ambition, the adventurers were familiar with the court and court personages early in their careers. In the 1540's, Stucley was in the service of the Dukes of Suffolk and Somerset, and acted as a standard bearer for Edward VI. On intimate terms with several nobles, he played at dice with the Earl of Rutland, was an early associate of Robert Dudley (later the Earl of Leicester), and belonged to the latter's circle at court during the first years

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[18]Gilbert entered Eton circa 1551 and then went on to Oxford, Wasey Sterry, The Eton College Register 1441-1698 (Eton: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and Co. Ltd., 1943) p. 137. Gilbert is recorded as living at one of the Inns of Chancery in 1558, David Quinn (ed.), The Voyages and Colonizing Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert ("Hakluyt Society Series II," Vols. LXXXIII; London: Hakluyt Society, 1940) I, p. 3. Ralegh entered Oriel in 1572 along with his cousin Charles, the son of Arthur Champernowne, and the Untons, Edward and Henry, C. S. Emden, Oriel Papers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948) pp. 12-15; he entered the Middle Temple in 1575 after being at Lyons Inn, H. F. Macgeagh and H. A. C. Sturgess, Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple (London, 1949), I, p. 39. Carleill's Cambridge entrance date is unknown, but he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn around 1573, John Venn, Alumni Cantabrignesis (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), I, p. 293. Gosnold entered Cambridge in 1587, Gookin and Barbour, pp. 17, 71; he entered the Middle Temple in 1593 after being at the New Inn, Macgeagh and Sturgess, I, p. 64. Grenville was admitted at the Inner Temple in 1559, Rowse, p. 51.

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of Elizabeth's reign. Stucley's life style at court was undoubtedly one of the causes for his chronic indebtedness. His knowledge of court life extended beyond the English borders into France and Savoy, and after he went over to the Catholic side in 1568, he frequented the Spanish, Portuguese, and Papal courts.[19] Gilbert was introduced to court life and to the then Princess Elizabeth at the age of seventeen or eighteen by an aunt, Katharine Ashley, who had been Elizabeth's governess, and from that time until his death in 1583, he had constant contact with the court, and kept a residence in London. In Parliament he was considered to be a supporter of the prerogative, and he was singled out by a Puritan member as one who was particularly disposed toward flattering and fawning on the prince. That statement, from the evidence of his court career that remains, appears to be an extreme one probably occasioned by the heat of a parliamentary debate; Gilbert would, however, certainly have to be described as court-oriented.[20] Christopher Carleill was un-

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[19]Simpson, pp. 7-29; HMC, Earl of Rutland Manuscripts (London, 1905) IV, p. 362; CSP, Edward VI Foreign 1547-1553, p. 92; CSP, Elizabeth Foreign 1561-2, pp. 190-192 and the volume for 1563, p. 268. George North, Description of Swedland.... (London, 1561), sig. Aiii complimented Stucley on his great liberality to "everyone, whose nede you knew to want your reliefe."

[20]Quinn, Gilbert, I, pp. 2-3; John Roberts, "The Parliamentary Representation of Devon and Dorset 1559-1601 (unpublished Master's dissertation, University of London, 1958) look under Gilbert's name; J. B. Davidson (ed.) "Hooker's Journal of the Commons," Transactions of the Devon Association, II (1879), pp. 448-449.

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doubtedly familiar with the court scene throughout his life having Sir Francis Walsingham as his stepfather-guardian and living in London.[21] Grenville, apparently, spent the period from his late teens through his early twenties around the court; at least he was sufficiently acquainted with one group of court gallants for him, his cousin, and his servants to have a fray with them in which Grenville killed a man. He was quickly pardoned by the Queen and was able to take his seat in the 1563 parliament. In his early thirties, Grenville was described as the Earl of Arundel's man, and he was evidently involved with that aristocratic circle at the time when they were attempting to block the ascendency of William Cecil. He kept a house in London at least until the late 1570's, and he always had the use of Sir Warham St. Leger's grand residence near London Bridge.[22] Leigh's connections with London and the Court probably began very early in life because his mother re-married when Charles was four years

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[21]The administration order for Christopher Carleill's estate PRO, Prob 6/5 lists him as being of Saint Botolphe's Billingsgate, London. He also signed letters with that address, PRO, SP 84/32/ fols. 207-212.

[22]Rowse, pp. 54-55, 121-22; HMC, Salisbury Manuscripts (London, 1888) part 2, p. 24; the "Transcript of the Lay Subsidy of 18 Elizabeth" in the PRO, Round Room, lists a Mr. Greynfeld holding land rated at £40 St. Dunstans, Faringdon Withowte, London.

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old, and her new husband, John Ownsted, was Sergeant of the Carriages to Queen Elizabeth. There is some evidence that both John Leigh, her second son born in 1568, and Charles, her third son, lived with her and her husband. John Leigh obtained a position at court, was knighted in 1596, and was supposedly associated with the Essex faction. There is no record of Charles being at Elizabeth's court, but there is a peculiar incident in 1600 which indicates that an account of all of Leigh's activities has not reached posterity. In December of 1600, Charles Leigh paid a visit to King James in Scotland. Sir Robert Cecil's correspondent there felt the visit had something to do with the succession. Other evidence indicates that Charles went to offer his services to the Scottish King. Whether Charles was sent by some prominent person or persons in England or he went on his own (it was rather unusual for such a relatively obscure person to seek an audience with a foreign monarch), the whole episode suggests that Charles was familiar with the Elizabethan court and was either dissatisfied with the opportunities it offered or was acting for someone who was.[23] Gosnold was in London from

[23]Leveson-Gower, pp. 86, 88-89. When Nicholas Leigh left his livestock to John and Charles, he requested that the animals be kept at Addington if the Ownsted's did not object indicating that they had custody of the boys. The fact that John and Charles were so young when their mother remarried also makes it likely they lived with them. For John Leigh's rumored association with the Essex faction see HMC, Salisbury Manuscripts (Dublin, 1906) part II, p. 103. For Leigh's Scottish visit see

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1589 to at least 1593 as a student at the Inns, and he had a first cousin who was a gentleman usher to Elizabeth, so he obviously had the opportunity to observe court doings.[24] Martin Frobisher was brought up in London, and his guardian, as Master of the Mint, and important merchant had business relations with the court. Because of his background, it is unlikely that Martin associated with courtier types as a young man, but he was most likely aware of the court's attractions from his position on the social periphery of courtier circles.

Even though most of the adventurers had direct experience with the court, only Sir Walter Ralegh ever became really famous as a courtier, and his connection with Elizabeth is so well known that it is not necessary to belabor it here. Evidently Ralegh stayed in London after attending the Inns, and he was part of the court by 1578. By the early 1580's, he was one of the Queen's favorites, receiving during the next few years a whole bevy of appointments and grants which he continued to hold until James imprisoned him in 1603. Ralegh's rise was rapid and the term upstart was often applied to him by those who felt his

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CSP, Scotland 1597-1603, vol. XIII, ed. J. D. Mackie (Edinburgh, 1969) pp. 666, 669-70, 671, 750-1, 755. The calendar is so detailed that it contains an almost word for word transcription of the letters.

[24]Gookin and Barbour, p. 223; Mr. Shorbel, Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Suffolk (London, 1813), pp. 265-66.

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family background did not merit the attention Elizabeth paid him. In all his years at court, however, he never did sit on the Privy Council nor was elevated to the peerage.[25]

Unlike the adventurers in this study, most Elizabethan gentlemen spent all or almost all of their lives in their locality. They might give service to the state as a justice of the peace, a sheriff, or a commissioner of some sort, but they never entered the court arena nor attempted to fill a national role. In the late sixteenth century with the manorial structure in absolute decline, with Parliament in a relatively undeveloped form, and with the monarchy in a relatively strong position, to be an important figure one almost had to be a court figure. The

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[25]John Cordy Jeafferson (ed.), Middlesex County Records (London, 1886), I, pp. 110-11. Ralegh's favors and appointments were a lease of Durham House and leases for two properties in Oxford in 1583; a monopoly for exporting woolens and a monopoly on wine licensing both beginning in 1584; Warden of the Stanneries, the Lord Lieutenancy of Cornwall, the Vice Admiralcy of Cornwall and Devon in 1585; a lease and later ownership of Sherborne estate; a substantial part of Babington's property which he sold off; Captain of the Queen's Guard in 1587; Governor of the Isle of Portland in 1588; Governor of the Isle of Jersey in 1600; and Keeper of Gillingham Forest. He also, of course, received his grants in Ireland and Virginia. These grants are mentioned in Edward Edwards, The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh (London: Macmillan and Co., 1868), I, passim and in Willard Wallace, Sir Walter Ralegh (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 26-30. For accounts of the attitude of other courtiers toward Ralegh see Sir Robert Naunton, Fragmentia Regalia ("Harleian Miscellany," Vol. 2; London, 1809), p. 99; Francis Bacon, Apophthegmes (London, 1625) pp. 7-8; Harris Nicholas, Life and Times of Christopher Hatton (London: Richard Bentley, 1847), pp. 275, 414.

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two ways most frequently employed by ambitious men to advance themselves at court were secretarial and martial service. Secretarial service, which, because of the growth of central control and the laicization of offices, appears in retrospect to have been the most successful method, included all the "paper work" or administrative positions in the household, the court, law courts, embassies, and Ireland. In a survey of Elizabethans listed in the Dictionary of National Biography, I found that court-oriented men tended to follow either the secretarial or the martial route with little mixing of the two. With the exception of top governing positions such as a Privy Council seat, the presidency of the Council in the North or in Wales, and the Lord Deputyship of Ireland, the only non-martial duties martial men were given or accepted were one shot diplomatic missions and honorary posts in the Queen's household. The eight adventurers fell into the martial category. The opportunities for service they selected tended to be military ones. Many times, especially early in the reign, the martial service was private — that is an expedition financed by themselves and their friends for the Queen or for a foreign monarch often allied with the English Crown where they might get experience, reputation, and spoils. Different decades presented different martial opportunities, and one of the major shifts in the Elizabethan era, reflected in the careers of these adventurers, was the emphasis on sea rather than land warfare, an

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emphasis occasioned by the rivalry with Spain and one that resulted eventually in overseas colonization.

To illustrate and substantiate some of these generalizations, it is necessary to examine the employment or service patterns of the eight adventurers. Thomas Stucley came of age in the 1540's when England's arch-enemy was still France and when most of the fighting was still being done on the Continent. It is difficult to separate fact from fiction in Stucley's life because he was immortalized in several ballads and plays while little remains of his letters and papers.[26] He began his military service under the Duke of Suffolk in France. When that nobleman died, Stucley became attached to the Duke of Somerset (then the Earl of Hertford), and later during the latter's protectorship, he fought at the Scottish borders, was standard bearer for the King, performed courtier functions, and, possibly, engaged in some privateering.[27] All seemed to be going well for the young

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[26]Most of the information about Stucley's life can be found in Richard Simpson's book volume I, pp. 1-139. I have noted only those items that are not mentioned by Simpson or that need further documentation. His book also contains one of the plays about Stucley and several of the ballads concerning him.

[27]There are two entries in the warrant book of the High Court of Admiralty, PRO, HCA/38/2/fols. 76, 102, one in April and the other in December of 1548 which concern Stucley. In the first one a London haberdasher, Thomas Saers, filed a suit against a group of men including Stucley. The second entry is a suit brought by Saers against Stucley alone who is mentioned as a gentleman of Boulogne. Judging from other entries of Saers against some of the other men in the first entry, the suit was probably over stolen goods which strongly suggests privateering or piracy.

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captain until Somerset's imprisonment in 1551. When that event occurred, Stucley went over to the Continent to raise troops for the fallen Protector, though nothing apparently came of this attempt.[28] From this point on, Stucley was faced with both debts and disfavor at court, and he spent the next nineteen years trying to ameliorate both conditions before finally going over to the side of the Spanish in 1568. He offered his services to both Northumberland (who probably wanted nothing to do with him because of his former association with Somerset) and Queen Mary with little success.[29] In 1554 he fought with the Imperial Army at Omer, and then joined the service of the Duke of Savoy. He accompanied that nobleman to England where he desperately tried to better his position by obtaining the wardship of a relative, attacking foreign ships, and, allegedly, counterfeiting coins (the charges on this offense appear to have been dropped).[30]

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[28] CSP, Spanish 1550-52, p. 390.

[29] The documents concerning Stucley's dealings with the Duke of Northumberland are in John Nichols (ed.) The Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth 2 vols. (London: printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1857).

[30] APC, 1554-6, pp. 125, 131, 133, and 152 on the counterfeiting affair. In April of 1556, Stucley and Henricus Poole had to give a bond to the Privy Council, APC 1554-6, p. 259, promising not to do harm to Sir John Yorke, the Master of the Mint (also Frobisher's uncle). This incident might be connected with the counterfeiting matter. In July 1558, Stucley was brought before the Privy Council again along with Henry Strangwishe, APC, 1556-58, p. 340. They were charged by some Spanish merchants of taking goods belonging to them indicating that Stucley and Strangwishe had been engaging in piracy or privateering.

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Around the time of Elizabeth's accession, his fortunes somewhat improved: he came into the estate of his wife's grandfather, Alderman Thomas Curtis, and he became part of the court circle of Lord Robert Dudley.[31] It was at court that he undoubtedly made contact with Jean Ribaut and heard his stories of Florida gold. England and France, at this point, were just beginning to comprehend the great wealth Spain had found in the New World. As the Queen was preparing to make war on Catholic France, Stucley was organizing his overseas project in conjunction with Ribaut who at the last moment refused to go and was imprisoned by the Queen.[32] On his way to Flordia, Stucley captured French vessels carrying some Spanish goods, and he got no further than Ireland before he was stopped by the Queen's authorities. Whatever his understanding with Elizabeth had been concerning his project, she refused, after his Florida exploit, to give him employment despite the entreaties of Sir Henry Sidney and Sir William Cecil. As the latter wrote at one point, "I am sorry to see his [Stucley's] fortune not answerable to his

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[31]On Stucley's relationship with Dudley see CSP, Foreign Elizabeth 1561-62, pp. 190, 192, 224 and 225; and the volume for 1563, p. 268.

[32]CSP, Spanish, 1558-1567, p. 339.

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good corrage, and habilite to serve."[33] Stucley had gone to Ireland in 1566 and bought the estate and office of Sir Nicholas Bagnall for £3000. When the Queen stopped him from taking Bagnall's place, he tried to purchase Nicholas Heron's Irish property and the office of Seneschal of Wexford, but the Queen also disallowed this purchase. Shortly after, he went over to the side of the Spanish to try his fortunes at a new court and get support for an invasion of Ireland. He died in 1578 as the Duke of Ireland (an empty title bestowed on him by the Pope) fighting with the Portuguese King Sebastian against the Moroccans at Alcazar.

It is possible to consider the careers of Grenville, Gilbert, Carleill, Ralegh, and Frobisher together because they were seeking opportunities for adventure around the same time. The first four, like Stucley, got their early military experiences on the Continent, mostly in private expeditions. Gilbert made his reputation at Newhaven in 1563 in the English government's attempt to help the Huguenots and to regain Calais.[34] The

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[33] PRO, SP 63/15/fol. 94, letter dated November 5, 1565 from Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sydney, also printed in Simpson, p. 41.

[34] Much of the information about Gilbert's life can be found in Quinn, Gilbert, I; for Grenville see Rowse; and Ralegh see Edwards. I have noted only those items that do not appear in these works or items that need further documentation. All information about Frobisher and Carleill has been noted.

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attempt was a failure, but reports of Gilbert's valor even reached the ears of Mary Queen of Scots.[35] In 1572 he was sent to Flushing as the leader of an English force of 600 "volunteers" who were in actuality paid by the Queen. It was not a particularly successful campaign, for Gilbert quarrelled with his subaltern and was stopped from conducting a conquest of islands in the Low Countries by the Queen who withdrew her support from the venture. Soon after, Gilbert came home, and, according to Thomas Churchyard, a contemporary, Gilbert and his group "were a long while frowned upon, and could not come to courte."[36] Grenville, in 1567, began his adventuring by joining other West Country gentlemen in Hungary to fight against the Turks. Before going to Oxford, Walter Ralegh followed his Champernowne relatives to France in a futile effort to aid the Protestant cause there. Christopher Carleill's first taste of warfare was on the Continent during the 1570's fighting the Catholic powers, sometimes at his own expense and sometimes at the expense of the Prince of Orange and the Prince of Conde. He left the Low Countries at the end of the decade amid a dispute with another English volunteer captain over money he tried to take out of the country. He returned to the Low Countries in 1589 to inspect

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[35] CSP, Scotland 1563-1569, p. 15, letter from Randolph to Cecil June 19, 1563.

[36] Thomas Churchyard, Wofull Warres in Flaunders (London, 1578), p. 54.

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the fortifications at Ostend and plead with the Queen to keep the city in English control.[37] Both private service and service for the Queen on the Continent had disadvantages. Gilbert and Carleill like many others (most spectacularly, the Earl of Leicester) found out the Queen would only agree to a very limited involvement there. Private service or service financed by one of the Protestant princes frequently offered meager compensation in pay or land or spoil and, in the end, did little for one's reputation at home.

Ireland was another major area for adventuring during the Elizabethan period. Stucley was not the only adventurer to look to Hibernia for salvation. Englishmen poured into the area in the late 1560's and early 1570's with great expectations, but their enthusiasm was quickly dissolved by the conditions they found there. Payment for service in the Queen's army was often slow in coming, and officers found themselves dipping into their own resources to maintain their men. Plunder and conquest were of little profit in a country which was very poor and whose people refused to be dutiful tenants to English landlords. For these reasons, English soldiers became interested in an extreme form of conquest, planting or colonization, as a means to subdue

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[37]Carlisle, p. 27. Carleill's report on Ostend dated May 11, 1589 is in PRO, SP 84/32/fols. 207-212.

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Ireland and make it an asset to the Crown and themselves.[38] Gilbert's first military assignment after Newhaven was in 1566 in Ireland. He fought in both Ulster and Munster where he became famous (or infamous) for his severe military tactics against the Irish rebels. He was rewarded with knighthood and the colonelcy of Munster. Gilbert was also involved in at least two projected planting ventures while he served in Ireland. One was in Ulster with the Champernownes and other West Country gentlemen in 1567; the next year he joined with six other men (Sir Warham St. Leger, Richard Grenville, Thomas Leton, Edward St. Loe, Jacques Wingfield, and George Talbot), most of whom had been soldiers in Ireland, in a scheme for the planting of Munster. Both of these projects failed to materialize, and Gilbert grew dissatisfied with Ireland, declaring it was an obscure place "where neither reputation, nor proffyt, is to be wone." He left his post in 1570, and two years later he was still petitioning the government for money due him and his men.[39]

After his return from Hungary, Grenville joined forces with his wife's relative, Sir Warham St. Leger whose father had been

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[38]For the minute details on the early attempts to colonize Ireland see D. G. White, "The Tudor Plantations in Ireland before 1571," (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 1967).

[39]PRO, SP 63/29/fol. 13, letter from Gilbert to Cecil, July 12, 1569. CSP, Elizabeth Foreign 1572-74, p. 173, letter from Gilbert to Burghley, August 29, 1572.

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a Lord Deputy of Ireland, to occupy the St. Leger Munster lands as well as enlarge their holdings through the colonization plan mentioned above. But St. Leger and Grenville were forced to give up the Munster land when the Irish rebelled against their English Protestant landlords and the Queen refused to give support to St. Leger and Grenville because St. Leger was too friendly with the Earl of Desmond, one of the Anglo-Irish magnates who was causing her trouble. Ralegh went to Ireland for the first time in 1580 to serve the Queen as a captain of 100 men. He soon became disillusioned with his opportunities there and claimed that if it were not for the Queen, he would fancy this service about as much as keeping sheep.[40] He and Grenville, however, were land hungry enough to accept grants of huge chunks of the Earl of Desmond's forfeited estate in the mid-1580's in exchange for promising to plant the supposedly subdued area with English settlers. Despite the great amount of money and effort both men poured into the plantations, they received little benefit from their investment, and the lands eventually passed to other hands. Carleill came to Ireland at the end of his career. He had been there briefly in 1584 after his colonization scheme collapsed -- long enough to get into a quarrel with Lord Deputy Perrott over his salary and command. His real service there, however, began in 1587 when he was appointed Constable of

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[40]Edwards, II, p. 17, Ralegh to Leicester, August 25, 1581.

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Carrickfergus and Seneschal of Clandeboy. Evidently he still held these offices when he died in 1593 although he complained bitterly to the Privy Council about the inequities in Irish service, and he tried to transfer his post at Clandeboy to another man.[41] Frobisher's brief sea service in Ireland will be discussed below.

The conflict with Spain probably offered the most dazzling opportunities for Elizabethan adventurers. Although the war did not begin until 1585, hostilities against the Iberians on the sea and in their colonies had been carried out since the 1550's when English traders like Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher tried to break into the lucrative slave trade. Frobisher's first employment in 1554 was on a ship sent to Guinea by an association of London merchants including Sir John Yorke, Frobisher's uncle and guardian. Frobisher was taken hostage in Guinea and was imprisoned by the Portuguese for some time. A few years later, Frobisher was involved in what was ostensibly a trading venture but was actually a plot to capture the Portuguese fortress of Mina in Guinea. The scheme was halted by the English government; Frobisher, however, continued until the early 1570's to use the

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[41]PRO, SP 63/112/fols. 28-29, 173, 175-6 and SP 63/113/fols. 7-10, all letters from Carleill to Walsingham and Burghley in the fall of 1584 complaining about Lord Deputy Perrott. See APC 1587-88, p. 58 for Carleill's Irish appointments. See APC 1591, p. 380 for Carleill's complaints and recommendations concerning Irish service. See APC 1590-1, p. 172 for Carleill's attempt to transfer his office in Ireland to Captain William Warren.

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pretext of trade to cover his piratical activities against the shipping of Catholic powers. He also obtained privateering commissions from the Princes of Orange and Conde. Frobisher was often thrown in jail by the English authorities, but he never seemed to stay there very long which suggests that the Queen acted against him more for show than out of any real disapproval of his activities.[42] The only sea service Frobisher obtained from the Crown during this time was in Ireland. Between 1572 and 1575, he had some dealings first with the Earl of Desmond and later with Sir Warham St. Leger involving him in service in Ireland in exchange for land there. But the Privy Council put a stop to their deliberations.[43] The next known activity of Frobisher was the Northwest Passage enterprise he planned with merchant Michael Lok in which the Queen and some leading courtiers invested money. It was the third voyage of this project that included a plan for building a fort in America while searching for gold. No planting did in fact take place, the ore turned out not to be gold, and Frobisher, who had invested his wife's fortune in the venture,

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[42] K. M. Eliot, "The First Voyage of Martin Frobisher," English Historical Review, 37 (1917), pp. 89-92; R. G. Marsden, "The Early Career of Frobisher," English Historical Review, 21 (1906), pp. 538-544; BM, Lansdowne MSS # 171 fol. 148-9 contains Frobisher's account of his imprisonment by the Portuguese.

[43] APC 1571-75, pp. 143 and 149; Stefansson, I, pp. xcv-xcvii.

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along with Michael Lok and the other major participants, lost all he had.[44] In 1582, he was going to invest in and lead an expedition to the East Indies, but at the last moment he bowed out, and Edward Fenton took his place.[45] Once the war with Spain began, Frobisher found constant employment with the Queen until his death in 1594. He seemed more satisfied with government service than the other adventurers in this study even though he was never given the top command in an important mission.

It was mainly the traders turned corsairs like Frobisher who first began hostilities against the Spanish, but English gentlemen soon imitated their actions on a grander scale. In 1586 practically one half of the names on a list of captains eligible for sea service (compiled by Lord Burghley) were peers, courtiers, and gentleman soldiers (including all the adventurers in this study who were alive and of age at the time) who had little previous sea experience.[46] By the 1570's the movement of a fair number of gentlemen into oversea enterprise was already underway, but all the projects were private because the Queen refused to become officially involved.

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[44]Stefansson, I, p. cxvii.

[45]E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton ("Hakluyt Society, Series II, Vol. CXIII; Cambridge, 1959), pp. xxxi-ii.

[46]Julian S. Corbett (ed.), Papers Relating to the Navy During the Spanish War 1585-87 (London: Navy Records Society, 1898), pp. 291-99.

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Richard Grenville was one of those gentlemen who saw early on the opportunities for adventure in exploits against the Spanish Empire. Grenville, in the early 1570's, was probably looking for action. He stood little chance of being employed by the Queen who was, in the first place, pursuing a pacific course and, in the second place, was unlikely to employ a man who was rumored to be an associate of the Earl of Arundel. The only other major field for adventure at this time was Ireland, and Grenville had already tried a project there that had ended disastrously. America offered new opportunities, and he began to make plans. In 1573 he obtained support from some other West Countrymen, got a patent from the Queen, and started buying and outfitting ships. At the last minute, the Queen refused to let him go, commanding him to send his ships to Ireland for service there instead. Grenville, at this point, apparently gave up and retired to the West Country, contenting himself with local administration, management of his estate, and financing of occasional privateering ventures. This phase of cultivating his own garden lasted about ten years until hostilities with Spain broke out into the open during the mid-1580's, and he became Ralegh's primary associate in the Roanoke voyages. Afterwards, he rendered service to the Queen in several important campaigns at sea, including one off the Azores which claimed his life in 1591.

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Another adventurer who looked to America at a time when his own career was in the doldrums was Sir Humphrey Gilbert. As has already been noted, Gilbert started off his military life with a stunning performance at Newhaven gaining a reputation for valor and great risk taking. In Ireland he increased that reputation and was knighted, but he found little real advantage in serving there. His experience in the Low Countries was unhappy, and afterwards he temporarily retired from military life occupying his time with West Country offices, investing in an alchemy scheme with some other courtiers, and writing tracts on policies the Crown should pursue in foreign affairs and in education. Earlier, in the 1560's he had written a treatise on the Northwest Passage and had even considered going on an exploratory voyage when he went to Ireland instead. His Northwest Passage paper was published as promotion for the Frobisher voyage in 1576 while Gilbert, taking advantage of the increasingly hostile feelings between England and Spain, was writing a discourse which outlined a much more ambitious role for England in America. Gilbert offered to outfit an expedition that would to to Newfoundland to seize the fishing fleets of the Catholic powers under the guise of a colonization venture and would then proceed to the West Indies where, in conjunction with other English ships, the islands of Santo Domingo and Cuba would be captured and

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claimed for the Crown.[47] The Queen, though she was helping Frobisher and Drake, was not prepared to authorize or help finance such an extensive campaign against the Spanish at that time. Gilbert did, however, get a patent to discover unknown lands, and he probably intended to commit some small scale mayhem in the New World on his 1578 voyage. The failure of this first expedition to reach America did not deter Gilbert from undertaking the 1583 New World venture which resulted in his death.

Around the time that Gilbert set sail on his last voyage, Christopher Carleill, spurred on by his stepfather who had been instrumental in the furthering of Gilbert's venture, began organizing his own American plantation. Carleill had returned from the Low Countries at the beginning of the 1580's, and he soon after became involved in an expedition planned for the East Indies sponsored by some Privy Council members and led by Martin Frobisher. Both Carleill and Frobisher were to invest £300, and Carleill, as commander of the land forces, was to settle himself and his soldiers in the East. As mentioned above, Frobisher pulled out of the venture leaving Edward Fenton as leader, and Carleill also withdrew due to dissatisfaction over his status on

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[47]Quinn, Gilbert I, pp. 170-80: "A discourse how hir Majestie may annoy the king of Spayne" and "A discourse how hir Majestie may meete with and annoy the king of Spayne."

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the voyage.[48] After completing a brief mission for the Muscovy Company defending their ships from the Danish,[49] Carleill turned his attention to America. Despite elaborate planning, the project never materialized, and Carleill sailed off to Ireland to do a short stint for the government. Walsingham called him back in late 1584 to assume the position of land commander on Drake's West Indies raid.[50] Even though Carleill performed well on the expedition, he was sent back to Ireland. The petitions Carleill wrote asking permission to engage in hostile actions against the Spaniards and their allies plus his attempt to transfer his Irish post to another man indicate that he found his position there less than satisfactory. Evidently, Carleill never completely gave up ideas of an American plantation because David Quinn has identified him as one of the co-sponsors of a Newfoundland project put forward sometime before his death in 1593.

Walter Ralegh, who participated in Gilbert's 1578 voyage, was the next adventurer to jump into overseas colonization.

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[48]Taylor, pp. 61-62; "Additional Instructions" states that Carleill is to have authority over the land forces on the voyage and that he is to be governor over the men who were to stay in the East. See p. 41 for a letter from Fenton to Leicester April 22, 1582 on Carleill's withdrawal from voyage.

[49]Carlisle, p. 27.

[50]PRO, SP 63/112/fol. 212 an extract of a letter from Walsingham to Carleill written sometime after November 25, 1584.

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Since his return from Ireland three years earlier he had greatly increased in Elizabeth's esteem, and she had begun to grant him favors. Among the favors she eventually bestowed on Ralegh were the wardenship of the Cornwall stanneries as well as the lord lieutenancy and vice-admiralcy of that county giving him a regional power base. He achieved some influence in Parliament, and in the 1590's controlled some seats in Cornwall and Dorset, the county where his Sherborne estate was located. Ralegh's local influence, however, was principally the product of the Queen's favor and was likely to decline whenever his power at court waned. Sir John Neale has noted Ralegh's inability to hold on to a seat as senior knight of the shire in Parliament and has suggested "In all probability, Raleigh did not possess sufficient tenants himself or sufficient influence over other local gentry to maintain a stable place. He was not of the soil, a territorial magnate."[51] Undoubtedly, Ralegh, early on, sensed his own landed inadequacies, for in the first flush of his new found importance, around 1584, he embarked on two ambitious planting projects -- one in Ireland and the other in America -- both of which offered enormous land holdings and the latter also

[51]Sir John Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons (London: Penguin Books, 1963, orig. ed. 1949), p. 51. For Ralegh's parliamentary influence see the Roberts dissertation.

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involved a possible confrontation with Spain over her West Indian possessions. The Queen prevented Ralegh from personally conducting the expedition to the New World; but he directed the whole enterprise, and a fortified colony was established at Roanoke although it proved to be of short duration.

All through the 1580's and 1590's, Ralegh was very anxious to participate in the Spanish War, whether it was as a fleet commander, a privateer, or a colonizer. He sent out privateering ships, fought briefly against the 1588 Armada with levies from the Cornwall stanneries, and evidently went on the Lisbon Voyage with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris. In 1591 he received his first important naval position from the Crown as Vice-Admiral in Lord Thomas Howard's expedition to the Azores; but in the end the Queen refused, as she did with many of her favorities, to let him go. Then in concert with Elizabeth and the Earl of Cumberland, he planned in 1592 to lead an attack on the West Indies, but the Queen, again reversing herself, forced him to stay at home and let Frobisher head the expedition. It was shortly after this that Ralegh fell into disgrace because of his relationship with one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, Elizabeth Throckmorton, and so when the West Indian expedition returned with the fabulous treasure from the Madre de Dios he received relatively little from it, although he had masterminded the project. After a short spell of imprisonment, Ralegh was freed, but he was not allowed to resume his court position as Captain of the Guard, nor could

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he expect any military employment from the Crown against the Spanish although he still kept requesting to do service. His Roanoke project had failed, and his Irish colony was in poor financial condition.

It was at this low point in his fortunes that he launched his Guiana enterprise. In 1595 he personally led a private expedition of soldiers to find the El Dorado and make a settlement. He did not establish a colony, but he did do extensive exploring along Guiana's rivers and was very enthusiastic about the economic and strategic worth of the area when he returned. In 1596 the Queen relented a bit by allowing him to go on the Cadiz expedition led by his rival Essex and the Lord Admiral, and in 1597 he was readmitted to the court and participated in Essex's Islands Voyage. During the last years of the 1590's and the early 1600's, he kept busy with martial projects that might bring him wealth and reputation: he sent out further exploratory expeditions to Virginia and Guiana; he continued investing in privateering ventures; and when James came to the throne, Ralegh offered to raise 2000 men at his own expense for an invasion of Spanish territory. According to common gossip, Ralegh aspired to a barony and a Privy Council seat,[52] but his arrest in 1603

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[52] HMC, D L'Isle and Dudley Manuscripts, (London, 1934), II, pp. 392 and 497.

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for allegedly plotting treason against the King put an end to all of Ralegh's plans for advancement and ruined his estate; during his fifteen years of imprisonment, however, he never forgot the attractions of the New World, and he began to regard Guiana as his ultimate means of salvation. In actuality it proved to be his undoing. When he was finally released from the Tower in 1618 he immediately set sail for Guiana. On the way, he attacked Spanish ships despite James' warning against doing so, and when Ralegh returned to England he was executed.

By the time Leigh and Gosnold reached maturity, attacking Spain had practically become a national pasttime. Also by the 1590's, Ireland and the Netherlands had become places to be avoided, and the ambitious adventurer's eyes turned more and more to the Spanish confliot and to both emulating and, if possible, conquering Spain's empire. Even though none of the English planting attempts had succeeded, colonization of the New World was no longer the novelty it had once been; younger men with less resources and experience than their colonizing predecessors were willing to risk an attempt because they were more familiar with the situation in America. Leigh and Gosnold both spent their lives alternating planting projects with straight privateering. The first known sea activity of Leigh's was his 1597 colonization attempt (with some privateering on the side) in the St. Lawrence River area on the Isle of Ramea, a place well known to adven-

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turers and fishermen.[53] After he returned in 1598, he presented to the Crown another plan for planting there, but the government apparently was not interested. In 1601 he did receive employment from Sir Robert Cecil and the Lord Admiral to patrol the seas looking for pirates and to do some privateering himself. This employment might have been his reward for informing Cecil about his interview with King James in Scotland.[54] Next Leigh enlisted the aid of his two brothers in a project to search for gold and plant Guiana, the land that Ralegh had made famous. Leigh went on an exploratory voyage there in 1602 and then took a shipload of men over in the early part of 1604. The colony suffered many hardships, and Leigh himself died there a year later.[55]

Bartholomew Gosnold's first recorded sea adventuring was in 1599, when he took part in a privateering voyage, although he might have been involved in martial endeavors earlier for John

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[53]Early in his career, Leigh is referred to as a merchant venturer in one or two places (see CSP, Scotland 1597-1603, vol. XIII, p. 669), an identification that evidently comes from his connection with the Ramea project which was originally supposed to have mercantile aspects. Leigh, himself, played the role of the well-connected gentleman (Ibid., p. 666).

[54]HMC, Salisbury Manuscripts (Dublin: 1906), XI, pp. 408, 453, and (Hereford, 1910), XIII, pp. 25 and 75. As for this service perhaps being a reward, there is Sir Henry Brouncker's statement to Sir Robert Cecil in a letter dated December 20, 1600, CSP, Scotland 1597-1603, XIII, p. 755, saying that if Leigh is well handled, something will be drawn from him.

[55]James A. Williamson, English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon 1604-1668 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 29-41.

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Stow refers to him as a "brave soldier."[56] It was a profitable voyage, and Gosnold, upon returning, began organizing a colonization project in North America, ignoring or ignorant of the terms of Ralegh's Virginia patent. There were a number of exploratory voyages sent out to the Atlantic coast of North America in the first five years of the seventeenth century, but Gosnold's was the only one which attempted a plantation. When his men refused to stay, Gosnold went back to England, but he continued to solicit those he knew to support another planting expedition.[57] These were the efforts which eventually culminated in the formation of the Virginia Company in 1606. Gosnold sailed in the company's first expedition and died in Virginia shortly after his arrival.

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[56] K. R. Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. 198-99; John Stow, The Annales (London, 1615), p. 942.

[57] Phillip Barbour (ed.), The Jamestown Voyages ("Hakluyt Society Series II," Vol. CXXXVI; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), II, p. 378.

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What conclusion might be drawn about colonization leaders of the late sixteenth century from this outline of their backgrounds and career patterns? The most striking characteristic about all eight of the adventurers is their devotion to martial endeavors, a devotion which places them among those Elizabethan gentlemen who sought advancement through the practice of arms. The majority of these would-be colonizers began their careers as soldiers on the Continent and as soldiers and planters in Ireland, but then, following the lead of former traders such as Frobisher, they turned more and more to sea warfare against the Catholic powers, especially Spain, because of the opportunities it offered in gaining reputation and wealth. Catholic Spain was so hated and feared by Englishmen that the adventurers who were victorious over her were particularly celebrated as heroes. Moreover the fortune Spain drew from her New World empire made attacks on her ships and colonies most profitable.

Of course, only a few of those involved in martial activities, whether by sea or land, became interested in claiming and planting parts of the New World. Neither the traders turned privateers (with the exception of Frobisher), nor the martially inclined peers of the realm were particularly interested in leading colonization projects during the Elizabethan period. The would-be colonizers were not great lords; they were from above average gentry families with strong protestant leanings. Half of the men were from the West Country, an area that had been ex-

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tremely active in privateering and overseas trading since the middle of the century, and, was, therefore, full of gentry and merchants who were willing to consider supporting overseas expansion. Connection with the metropolis and the court was another pronounced characteristic of the eight colonizers. The adventurers received their educations at the universities and the Inns bringing them into contact with future court personalities; and later most of them became acquainted with the court itself, although only Ralegh ever achieved any position of influence, and his situation there was often rather tenuous. In other words, they were familiar with the power structure but not an integral part of it. Most of the adventurers entered into western planting projects at a time when Spain was emerging as England's most formidable enemy, and their own public careers were at a standstill. It was not unusual for them to offer to finance military adventurers, for many land and most sea expeditions were privately underwritten. Many of the characteristics possessed by the eight adventurers can also be found among the second rank of potential colonizers -- men who were major associates of the colonizers or made very preliminary plans to form their own expeditions: among others, Henry Knollys, Edward Fenton, Barnard Drake, Sir Philip Sidney, Thomas Cavendish, and Ralph

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Lane.[58]

This chapter has attempted to throw some light on the kind of Elizabethan to whom planting projects appealed. To better understand the attraction of colonization and what the adventurers expected to get out of it, however, it is necessary to analyze the ideas of the colonizers concerning their own self-images and the place of planting in fulfilling those self-images.

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[58]The Dictionary of National Biography has sketches on all these men (Knollys is listed under his father, Sir Francis). In addition, Stanford's Master's dissertation has a great deal of information on Bernard Drake and his ancestors. Gwenyth Dyke has two articles on Thomas Cavendish: "The Finances of a Sixteenth-Century Navigator, Thomas Cavendish of Trimley in Suffolk," Mariner's Mirror, 44 (1958) and another in The Suffolk Review, I (1956) which I have not seen. A book on Cavendish's last voyage will soon be published with an introduction by David Quinn which provides new information on the circumnavigator. There are several biographies of Sidney, the most recent is Roger Howell, Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968). Additional information on Fenton is in Taylor's volume for the Hakluyt Society. Letters and petitions from Knollys and Lane are scattered through the State Papers. Both Knollys and Sidney, through their fathers, had better connections at court than any of the other adventurers, but at the time they were considering colonization, both were deeply dissatisfied with the progress of their careers and were looking for martial adventures. Prior to his association with Gilbert, Knollys accompanied his brother-in-law, Walter, Earl of Essex to Ireland in an attempt to colonize Ulster. On November 2, 1573, Essex wrote to the Queen mentioning that Knollys, due to illness, was returning to England, PRO, SP 63/42/#64. He asked her to show favor to Knollys in order to improve his health, for his sickness was "conceived longe since (as many thinck) upon doubt of your maties ill oppynion." Knollys never did receive much in the way of military preferments from Elizabeth. Sidney, in the early 1580's was extremely anxious to engage in combat, but the Queen kept thwarting his attempts to escape from court.

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CHAPTER II

SOURCES FOR THE ADVENTURERS' SELF-IMAGES: ELIZABETHAN IDEALS OF THE GENTLEMAN

The preceding chapter has argued, among other things, that the careers of the gentlemen who became the leaders of Elizabethan colonization projects were characterized by a relentless pursuit of recognition through martial endeavors. Before going on to analyze the self-images which accompanied such career patterns and the effect they had on the adventurers' ideas about colonization, it might be profitable to spend a chapter discussing the models of behavior offered to these gentlemen for emulation by their society. Such a discussion, I think, will make more understandable the sources and the context of their aspirations.

There have been numerous studies on the ideal of the gentleman in sixteenth century England, and these studies have provided what might be called a consensus view of the subject. Ruth Kelso's The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century, John Mason's Gentlefolk in the Making (chapters one and two), Arthur Ferguson's The Indian Summer of English Chivalry, and Fritz Caspari's Humanism and the Social Order in

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Tudor England[1] have together sketched out a picture of what the English gentleman of the period aspired to be. To these writers the sixteenth century was the time of the "change from the knight to the gentleman."[2] The early Tudor monarchs had successfully stifled the feudal nature of the nobility and only rewarded with offices those subjects whose education was suited to meet the demands of the new centralized state. At the same time, English humanists, influenced by the classical thought of Plato and others, stressed the importance of intellectual training for leadership. By the time of Elizabeth, the ideals of medieval chivalry involving feats of arms and courtly love were only a nostalgic memory.[3] Those of gentle birth valued service to the king above all else; thus, as Kelso explained, "The heaviest responsibility of the English gentleman lay not in attainment of personal perfection (and therein he differed from the Italian courtier), but in the performance of public service." The type of service urged was civil rather than martial -- "the ambas-

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[1]Ruth Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1929); John Mason, Gentlefolk in the Making (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935); Arthur Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry (Durham: Duke University Press, 1960); Fritz Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954). These four works offer the most comprehensive treatment of the subject.

[2]Kelso, p. 14.

[3]Ferguson, p. ix.

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sador, the counsellor, the secretary, the provincial governor, the magistrate were the courtiers of England." It was preparation for these types of occupations and not military ones which were encouraged in the literature of the time. "Outside of the soldiers who are writing for a practical purpose with a definite fear, little is said about arms even in the books which set forth the complete ideal of the gentleman." The fittest profession for the gentleman was the law (but only in its more dignified and important aspects).[4] Legal training and other kinds of education were aspired to in order to qualify oneself for holding office.[5] In brief, this is the picture offered by the scholars who have worked on the ideals of the sixteenth century gentleman. Their interpretation is based almost exclusively on the material in conduct books. Caspari did devote chapters to both Sidney's Arcadia and Spencer's Faerie Queene, but he claimed these two works expressed essentially the same sentiments as the works on conduct.[6]

After briefly surveying some of the more well known Elizabethan literary works, however, I sensed a marked disparity be-

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[4]Kelso, p. 42, 39, 53, 48, 51, 54; Mason, p. 294, also expressed the same ideas.

[5]Caspari, pp. 135-36.

[6]Caspari, p. 177.

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tween the values propounded in some of these works and the ideals of the Elizabethan gentleman as outlined above. Also when I looked at the problem from the other end by consulting studies of Elizabethan social groups and biographies of sixteenth century men,[7] I concluded that there were imperatives, vitally important to a significant number of gentlemen, which were neglected by the existing scholarship on the subject. The trouble was that many overlapping social groups were included under the rubric of gentleman, and the views of some of these groups were not adequately represented in the English conduct books. This situation suggested that it would be profitable to take a new look at the literature pertaining to gentlemanly ideals, and the findings of that investigation are reported in this chapter.

During the sixteenth century, many forms of narrative literature, as their prefaces attest, were consciously designed

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[7]See Lawrence Stone, Crisis of the Aristocracy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); Anthony Esler, The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966); K. R. Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), especially Chapter IV; R. C. Strong and J. A. Van Dorsten, Leicester's Triumph (Leiden: University Press, 1964); Lytton Strachey, Elizabeth and Essex (London: Chatto, 1928); B. M. Ward, The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford 1550-1604 (London: John Murray, 1928); Fredrick Jones, Mountjoy 1563-1606 (Dublin: Claenmore and Reynolds Ltd., 1958); D. W. Davies, Elizabethans Errant (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967). All of these books dealt with people connected with the court that did not readily fit into the prescribed framework. I have not included the biographies of men of yet another type, such as the Duke of Norfolk or the Third Earl of Huntingdon, who still attempted in some ways to conduct themselves as feudal lords.

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to provide, among other things, models of conduct for the gentleman. Whether fiction or history, in verse or prose, literature was considered, like philosophy, to have a moral and didactic function. It seemed important, therefore, to look at all those genres which contained protagonists drawn in an ideal way. To cover such a wide range of material, some kind of sampling technique had to be employed. The works discussed below under the headings of social literature, fictional narratives, histories, and travel histories, therefore, were all selected by a method I devised to provide a random sample.[8]

This chapter does not claim to cover all of the diverse sets of imperatives operating on the Elizabethan gentleman. The printed literature used as the source of this analysis reflected, primarily, the views of the society at court and in London. Gentlemen in remote areas might have been influenced by different sources -- oral traditions for example. Nor do I desire to repudiate completely the view of the gentleman as presented by Kelso and others, for certainly there were many men at court and in the country who seemed to aspire to such conduct. What this chapter does attempt to do, through the use of all types of available printed material intended to provide ideal models of

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[8]See Appendix I for an explanation of the method used and bibliographical information for the works used in the sample.

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behavior, is supplement the old image of the gentleman by bringing out an alternate, yet sometimes overlapping, set of values to which the gentleman at court was exposed.

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Social Literature. This is the literature on which most of the studies of gentlemanly ideals are based and consists largely of conduct books. All these conduct books share certain characteristics: disdain of trade as an occupation, emphasis on education, and interest in state service. Nevertheless, there are substantive differences between what might be called the Italian courtesy tradition, composed of translations of Italian works and English works which are modelled on the Italians, and many of the more "purely" English conduct writers. These differences are observable on several crucial issues, especially on the nature of the gentleman's service to the state. As Lawrence Stone noted in Crisis of the Aristocracy, the "courtly ideal" of the Italians "did not pass unchallenged in sixteenth century England, for running parallel to it was a modified anglicized version in which prime stress was laid on service to the Prince in either the court or the country, and in which piety and virtue played a large part."[9]

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[9]Stone, pp. 400-401.

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The Italian courtesy tradition and the English work it influenced stood apart from the "anglicized version" of conduct in at least three important ways. First, the former, as represented by The Courtier, Edward Hoby's translation of Castiglione's classic, The Courtier's Academie, J. K.'s translation of a book by Hanniball Romei, Gratulationum Valdinesium, Gabriel Harvey's work in Latin verse,[10] with their high-minded models, concentrated on the dignity of the courtier himself rather than just his function in the state. On the other hand, the "anglicized version" of courtesy primarily concerned itself with the commonwealth and how a gentleman could make himself useful in it. Historical examples of admirable conduct were taken from the ancients and not from the medieval or renaissance courts the Italians often used for models; when the courtier was mentioned, it was frequently in a disapproving or disparaging way.[11] Rankin's tract The English Ape, an attack on the Italianated Englishman, indicated that courtier-like refinement was not universally appreciated. Flattery, another evil associated with

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[10]The place of Harvey's Gratulationum Valdinesium in the literature of conduct has been discussed in George Barnett's "Gabriel Harvey's Castilio, Sive Aulicus and De Aulica," Studies in Philology, XLII (1945), pp. 146-163.

[11]Barckley, p. 398; Riche, sig. G2.

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courtiers, was denounced by Churchyard in his A Spark of Friendship and Warm Goodwill. Obviously, what the Italian tradition considered cultivated was considered affectation by many Englishmen. The Italians felt it was refinement and a sense of honor that set the true courtier above other men, brought recognition from the prince, and ultimately resulted in high martial and civil responsibilities in the state. English writers, such as the anonymous author of The Institucion of a Gentleman, seemed to put performance of tasks first, and that was why the author devoted so much space to discussing the various ways one could serve the state -- as judge, magistrate, soldier, ambassador, or justice of the peace. In the "anglicized version," therefore, it was the performance of utilitarian tasks for the state that proved one had gentlemanly qualities; while in the Italian tradition one simply showed that one had elite qualities and on that basis was admitted into the prince's circle of advisors. The court and its rarified atmosphere was indispensible to the Italian courtesy writer and his English counterpart because it provided a showcase for the gentleman's abilities.

Second, the "anglicized version" of gentlemanly conduct tended toward separating the gentleman's governing role into civil and martial functions, concentrating on and favoring the former. The Institucion of the Gentleman, while admitting gentlemen should be fit for both war and peace, went on to divide

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the governing function into the quite specific roles mentioned above. Francis Bacon in his Essaies differentiated between Participies curarum (right hands of the sovereign), Duces belli (military leaders), Gratiosi (favorites), and Negotiis pares (those having great places under the prince). Sir Richard Backley talked about men of war, lawyers, magistrates, and courtiers as if they were all quite separable types.[12]

Not only were the civil and military roles specifically separated by the anglicized conduct books, but the role of the magistrate-counsellor was lifted to new heights and the warrior role somewhat denigrated. Thus the Institucion of the Gentleman stated "although to do valiently in the warres it deserveth greate prayse and recompence, yet to minister justice in the state of peace it is an office worthy of higher commendacion;" Sir Richard Barckly, while critical of all estates, was least harsh on judges and magistrates declaring that they "are honoured above the rest;" Bacon put the Participes curarum before the Duces belli; John Fisher in Three Dialogues, citing Cicero as an example, discussed the great honor one (even of undistinguished birth) could achieve as a counsellor if learning were pursued and idleness shunned;[13] John Case's Sphera Civitatis, inspired

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[12] Institucion, sig. C1-D7; Bacon, pp. 8-10; Barckley, fifth book.

[13] Institucion, sig. D3; Barckley, p. 381, 391; Bacon, pp. 8-10; Fisher, sig. A4^{v}-B1.

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by Aristotle and meant for the courtier, discussed primarily the civil function. Neither Fisher nor Case wrote on the glories of arms. Discussions of arms were left to the martial books. Robert Barret, Barnabe Riche, and Thomas Proctor all treated arms as a profession rather than the automatic duty of a gentleman. One found no mixture of the warrior-courtier in these works. Riche was quite hostile to the court, and Barret was apprehensive that favorites (presumably from court) would get the top positions deserved by professional soldiers.[14]

This English social literature that served to enhance civil employment was supplemented by translations of works on the state from the ancients and contemporary European writers. The authors tended to be men known more for civil than martial exploits: Cicero, Aristotle, Bishop Guervara (whose Dial of Princes was supposed to be Marcus Aurelius' book), and Grimaldus (Bishop Goslicki). They were preoccupied with political action not the glories of arms. Cicero stated "if we mynde to judge truely: there have been many citie matters greater and nobler than martiall." The unknown French author of Politique Discourses praised the political vocation over that of arms. Grimaldus in The Counsellor admitted that those who had both political wisdom and martial knowledge were to be preferred first; but he seemed

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[14]Riche, sig. G2; Barret, p. 24.

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to feel that one usually had to make a choice of one or the other for a leader. He chose the man of civil occupation, writing "those men whose counsell in time of peace, governed the commonweale wisely peaceablie and happilie, were preferred before them, that eyther defended or enlarged the same by armes." He also counselled against those warriors "who lothing their owne lives & leade with a certaine desperation, do rashly adventure themselves to dangers."[15]

The Italian courtesy tradition was different. To Romei, Harvey, and Castiglione the gentleman was both warrior and civil leader, and they made no attempt to play down the former role. These writers did not talk about warfare itself at length -- that task being left to books on military craft such as Machiavelli's The Arte of Warre; rather, there was just the underlying assumption present in these works that the type of gentleman being described would have warrior characteristics. To Romei, the greatest and mightiest men were warriors, and they deserved the highest civil honors in the state. Lawyers, civilians, and doctors were put in a different category altogether. They were part of the divine sphere due to their special

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[15]Cicero [1558 ed.] fol. 33; Politique Discourses, fol. 58; Grimaldus, pp. 37, 126. La Perriere's Mirror of Policie, like Grimaldus' work, was addressed to the magistrate and heavily influenced by Aristotle.

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learning.[16] Harvey, spending a number of lines on the importance of duplicating the acts of ancient warriors and distinguishing oneself in battle by high-minded and courageous behavior, also acknowledged arms to be the gentleman's first vocation.[17] Castiglione declared "arms to bee his [the courtier's] principall profession, and all the other good qualities for an ornament thereof." Unlike Grimaldus, who warned gentlemen not to "rashly adventure themselves to dangers," Castiglione encouraged such martial conduct:

> ...That where the Courtier is at skirmish or assault, or battaile upon the lande, or in such other places of enterprise, he ought to worke the matter wisely in separating himself from the multitude and undertake notable and bold feates which hee hath to doe, with as little company as he can, in the sight of noble men that be of most estimation in the camp, and especially in the presence (if it were possible) before the very eyes of his king...for in deede it is meete to set forth to shew things wel done.[18]

In this passage the essence of the courtier's code of honor was captured. There was a certain magic in risking one's life, for it was the final test of one's worthiness. It would follow automatically that such a person would be in the ruling elite.

The final important difference between the Italian courtesy

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[16] Romei, pp. 294-95.

[17] Harvey, p. 19.

[18] Castiglione, sig. G7, K5v.

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tradition and the "anglicized version" was in regard to courtly love. The former idealized love and wrote on it extensively: Castiglione devoted over one third of his book to court women and love; one of Romei's six chapters was on love; Alberti's book was called Hecantonphila, The Arte of Love, and it made the ideal lover synonymous with the ideal gentleman; and Harvey dedicated a long Latin narrative passage to the court woman telling how she inspired the poet-courtier to create art.[19] Love was a positive force because it motivated gentlemen to chivalrous deeds, artistic endeavors, and virtuous behavior in general. The ability to love in a graceful manner was another test of one's civility and one's honor. The "anglicized version" of conduct ignored the alleged purifying effects of love on the gentleman. They reserved discussions of relations between men and women to books on marriage.

All of these differences pointed to the fact that in the Italian tradition, which enjoyed some popularity in England, the model courtier defined himself as a member of an elite first and as a servitor of the state second. He might no longer be a manorial lord, but he had certain inherent qualities which proved his superiority over other men just as conclusively as

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[19]Harvey, p. 22.

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his domain and retinue had done in past times. He used his adventuring in war and, to a lesser extent, his civility in love as proof of his high degree. Traditionally, the martial adventure was the ultimate test of superiority because it involved putting one's life on the line. Learning, while necessary for the courtier, did not replace arms as his principal means of distinguishing himself. Once the courtier had made his qualities apparent, it seemed to be assumed that the prince would turn to him, as a member of the elite, for guidance. This model gave much more independence and stature to the gentleman-courtier than the "anglicized version" of conduct which, with its concern for the commonwealth, elevated the image of the useful, professionalized court servant to new heights, and played down the adventurous hero. The Italian courtesy tradition, however, cannot be ignored, not only because it enjoyed great popularity in England and sparked some imitations, but because elements in the model it espoused reinforced ideals incorporated in the heroes presented in fictional narratives and history.

Fictional Narratives (epics, romances, poetry). To Englishmen of the sixteenth century, one of the primary functions of imaginative literature was to furnish model heroes which gentlemen could emulate. The prefaces to almost all the epics and romances contained claims that the characters in the works served such a purpose. Sir Philip Sidney, adopting a Neoplatonic

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aesthetic stance, believed that fiction was better equipped to inspire men than either philosophy or history because the poet could illustrate perfect conduct in his stories; the philosophers, on the other hand, could only lay down rules which were vague or ambiguous; and the historian, confined to the facts (more or less), had to portray conduct as it was rather than how it should be.[20]

The majority of the protagonists in the sample narratives were presented in the mode of the "romance hero," defined by Northrop Frye as one who was superior in degree to other men and to the environment.[21] He was superior in degree to other men because in him certain virtues had been developed to perfection. The virtues of the hero of romance enabled him to overcome his environment, and he triumphed even when facing overwhelming odds

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[20]Philip Sidney, "Defense of Poesie," The Complete Works ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge: University Press, 1923) III, pp. 12-17. By poesie Sidney meant all imaginative works whether in prose or verse (see pp. 10-11). The idea that poetry was a more exalted form than history can be found in Aristotle's Poetics.

[21]Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (New York: Atheneum, 1969, orig. published 1957), p. 33. Although Frye often connects the Renaissance court with the high mimetic mode, he is thinking of the seventeenth century and its drama from Shakespeare to Racine. He associates the development of tragic drama with (p. 37) "a period of social history in which an artistocracy is fast losing its effective power but still retains a good deal of ideological prestige." English tragic drama was only beginning to emerge at the end of the Elizabethan period.

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or supernatural beings such as enchantresses and dragons. With the classical epic hero, the Elizabethans tended to ignore the "flaw" in his character which then made him, in effect, a hero of romance. A good example of this attitude can be found in George Chapman's preface to his translation of the Illiad where he complimented Essex by hailing him as the "now living instance of the Achilleian vertues eternalized by divine Homere."[22]

The heroes of these narratives invariably had the following similar characteristics: they were reasonably young, noble (usually princes), and warriors. It would have been hard for the Elizabethan reader not to notice the incessant coupling of nobility with warlike conduct in the characters who were setup as ideal models. Whether one read classical epics like The Illiad and The Aeneid, or a late medieval romance by Chaucer, or the chivalric romances of the Renaissance such as Palmerin de Oliva, Palladine of England, Bollianis de Grecia, Mirror of Knighthood, Gerileon of England, Britannia Sive De Appollonica..., Parimus of Bohemia, or Edward of Lancaster, the hero had these characteristics. The medieval romances had added the role of courtly lover to the list of the hero's attributes, and this trait was retained in the Renaissance narratives. The chivalric romances' version of the hero, therefore, was a knight who mixed

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[22]Homer, Seaven Bookes of the Illiades trans. George Chapman, sig. A3.

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feats of arms with love entanglements. These knights errant who sought adventures in exotic settings for honor and love rather than for any clearly defined religious or national cause were protectors and deliverers of justice by the sword (or lance) wherever or whenever protection or justice was needed although the knight sometimes took on an adventure not to protect or avenge but just because a challenge was made. It was not the cause but the adventure itself which was significant, for putting one's life in jeopardy was irrefutable proof that one was of noble or gentle birth. In many romances, the hero, through some mix-up, did not know about his noble ancestry until after he had accomplished some amazing feat of arms. The assumption was that, even if he was unaware of his own high birth, his noble blood would lead him to perform knightly deeds anyway.[23] A whole etiquette of arms was set down in these romances, the most important feature being the single combat where the knight dazzled a court audience or won the heart of a princess with his skill and daring in a tournament or in a battle against other knights, monsters, or supernatural beings. The far-fetched nature of the romance did not seem to bother the sixteenth century reader as long as the knights were valiant, courteous, and worthy of imitation. The main criticism of these tales came from the humanistic

[23]Both Palmerin d'Oliva and Bellianis de Grecia were princes who at the beginning of their adventures did not know of their royal birth.

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intellectual elite in the schools, not the social elite at court.[24]

There were a number of other romances in the sample that deviated from the traditional chivalric romance by stressing the theme of love until it became the main subject of the narrative. The hero was usually a noble warrior, but his principal activity had to do with the celebration (or sometimes the mourning) of love. This celebration of love, often, as in Montemayor's Diana, took place in a pastoral setting -- a convention adopted from the Hellenic romances. Frequently, as in Greene's Pandosto, Lodge's Rosalynde, and the translated segment of Boiardo's Orlando Inamorato, there was a constant shifting between the court and the buccolic landscape. In the former setting any combat or feats of arms were done, and in the latter all of the love scenes took place. What was being shown in these romances as well as poems like Shakespeare's Lucrece, Rous' Thule, and Marlowe's Ovidian-influenced Hero and Leander were models of

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[24]Edith McShane in Tudor Opinions of the Chivalric Romances (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1950, on microcard at the Library of Congress), pp. 4-8, identified men who would be considered spokesmen for courtiers, and they approved of the romances. Anthony Esler in The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation, p. 109, discussed the question of who read the romances, and he came to the conclusion that "These endless anthologies of chivalric exploits were therefore eminently available to the generation of 1560 [almost all of whom were gentlemen or nobles in his sample] during their youth and apparently had a considerable influence on them."

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ideal love which were of great interest to the court.[25] The translator of A Courtlie Controversy of Cupids Cautels (a collection of romances interspersed with arguments of love and sonnets) claimed his subject was one in which "it seemth a shame into all Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, nurtured in the schole of curtesie, but principally into courtiers to be ignorant thereof."[26] Love was a subject that had to be mastered by the courtier. Love, of course was not just the pursuit of women; it was an exalted state which showed that the person involved in the emotion was sensitive to art and could appreciate beauty. It was closely associated with poetry and music, for the true lover was usually expert in these things. It was an end to which one put one's education. It was a test of one's civility.

Although the primary action in these romances centered around love, the authors were loath to give up the pretense of a martial role for their hero. Charlotte Morgan's observation about seventeenth century romances can be applied equally well to those of the late sixteenth century; she noted that their most important deviation from the Greek romances was in the matter of the hero: "the passive Greek hero, devoted solely to love, did

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[25] Lucrece was included in this group because of the heroine's concept of true love.

[26] sig. A4.

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not conform to the Western ideal."[27] Thus Rosander in Lodge's romance and Leander in Petowe's poem each performed at least one martial exercise at court to exhibit their knightly skills and to win their loved ones. Dorastus in Pandosto never actually picked up a lance, but he was described as preferring "to die with Mars in the fielde then to dally with Venus in the Chamber."[28] Drayton chose mostly English warrior kings and nobles to write the love epistles. In the epistle of Edward IV to Jane Shore, Drayton excused himself for not writing more about martial affairs by claiming that he could not have Edward IV discuss his battles against the Lancastrians for that would make him seem more like "a Plautus boasting Souldiour then a Kingly Courtier."[29]

A whole new dimension was added to the hero of romance in Sidney's Arcadia.[30] Unlike the other romances in the sample which only considered the martial and amatory side of their heroes, the

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[27]Charlotte Morgan, The Rise of the Novel of Manners (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), pp. 30-31. I have noticed that in some of the Ovidian poetry of the Elizabethan period the hero is a hunter rather than a warrior.

[28]Greene, p. 28.

[29]fol. 72.

[30]The 1598 Arcadia, like the 1593 edition, contained the revised Arcadia plus part of book three, books four and five of the original Arcadia with some alterations made either from Sidney's notes or by his sister. This was the Arcadia with which the Elizabethan reader was familiar.

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Arcadia dealt also with their civil side. To Sidney, civil virtue consisted primarily of having a keen sense of justice and an abhorrence of favoritism. He treated the subject of governing, like everything else, in an ideal, not a realistic, manner so that none of the actual administrative tasks of governors were portrayed. Also, Sidney did not fully develop, in any one character, the three roles that made up the ideal hero -- chivalric knight, ardent lover, and just governor. Pyrocles and Mucedorus, the young princes, filled the first two roles, but they never really took on any position that revealed their civil competence. King Euarchus, Pyrocles father, on the other hand, was seen mainly as a civil ruler; the reader was told in passing that he was a valiant soldier, but there were never any actual scenes of him behaving as a chivalric knight or fanciful lover. Even if Sidney, in fact, had wished to incorporate in one person all the desirable qualities of the leader, it would have been very hard to reconcile the rashness and passion of the ideal warrior-lover with the ideal civil governor whose air of somber responsibility would have seemed to preclude him from indulging in martial and amatory adventures of the type common to the heroes of romance. By splitting up these roles between youthful and mature characters, Sidney created the impression that adventurous behavior was expected primarily from young warriors who had to prove themselves worthy. As age set in, the hero was transformed into a sedate governor.

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Besides providing a new dimension to the hero of romance, Sidney also gave the most penetrating analysis of what the adventure meant to young nobles, in this case, Pyrocles and Mucedorus:

> ....but as high honor is not onlie gotten and borne by paine and danger, but must be nurst by the like, or else vanisheth as soone as it appeares to the world: so the naturall hunger thereof (which was in Pyrocles) suffered him not to account a resting seat of that, which ever either riseth or falleth, but still to make one occasion beget another; whereby his doings might send his praise to others mouthes to rebound againe true contentment to his spirit. And therfore having well established those kingdomes under good governors, and rid them by their valure of such giants and monsters, as before time armies were not able to subdue, they determined in unknowne order to see more of the world, and to imploy these gifts esteemed rare in them, to the good of mankind; and therfore would themselves (understanding that King Euarchus was passed al the cumber of his warres) go privately to seeke exercises of their vertue, thinking it not so worthie to be brought to heroicall effects by fortune, or necessitie, (like Ulysses and Aeneas) as by ones own choice and working.[31]

In this relatively brief passage, Sidney described the need for "high honor" on the part of the noble Pyrocles as a "natural hunger" which had to be continually satisfied by doing deeds which involved "paine and danger." An appreciative audience of these deeds was also necessary: "whereby his doings might send

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[31]p. 133.

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his praise to others mouthes to rebound againe true contentmēt to his spirit." The young princes, therefore, "go privately to seeke exercises of their vertue" once their own country had been made secure. The last phrase in the passage, where Sidney found even some of the ancient heroes wanting in spirit, showed that he considered heroic conduct to be aggressive action. Defense of one's country in time of invasion was not enough for a true knight; one had to go out and actively seek perilous adventures to establish real honor.

There was a whole group of narratives produced in this period which, for one reason or another, conflicted with the ideals advanced in the common romance or epic. One type in the sample diverged from the ordinary romance because of the nature of the ideal models presented in its narrative. John Lyly's Euphues, and Euphues and His England were presented in a prose format similar to the romance and employed a very elaborate syntactic style associated with courtly writing; Euphues began in a quite typical way: "There dwelt in Athens a young gentleman of great patrimony & of so comelye a personage...." But a few lines later, it became plain that the book was to be more of a sermon against, rather than a panegyric for, the courtly sort: "This young gallaunt...seeing himselfe inferiour to none in pleasant conceits, though[t] himselfe superiour to all his [sic, substitute "in"] honest conditions, insomuch...that he gave himselfe almost to nothing but...fine phrases, smooth quippes,

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merry taunting...."[32] Lyly was highly critical of romantic love and court life, and at the end of the book, he had Euphues, by then a paragon of virtue, renounce fickle love for serious study. Another example was a Huguenot, Sallustc Du Bartas, whose works La Semaine and La Seconde Semaine were translated into English segment by segment during the 1590's. He wrote in an elaborate epic form modelled after Ovid; but he used the Christian creation stories as the plot and biblical characters as his heroes rather than the usual romance themes and protagonists.

Other narratives of various sorts went contrary to the romance tradition because of the manner in which the traditional heroes were treated. In the English translation of Circe, Ulysses was not engaged in exploits but rather in arguments with his men concerning whether they should return to human form. The whole Circe legend was transformed into a didactic discussion on the excesses and sins of men. Greene in Perimedes brought down the heroic level of the romances in the book by having them told by a blacksmith and his wife who emphasized plot complications and the moral at the end rather than the perfection of the knightly characters. In the two parts of the Mirror for Magistrates, a long poem featuring the stories of famous English rulers who had flaws that brought on their downfall, the romantic hero was converted into a tragic one, providing a sort of nega-

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[32] sig. Bl.

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tive model. Another negative model was furnished in Dickenson's Greene in Conceipt...Tragique Historie of faire Valeria of London. The narrative moralized against the "wanton" Valeria, the wife of a London citizen, whose pursuit of love with a young gallant led to disaster. The author attributed her wicked ways to the fact that rather than being taught practical matters such as sewing, she was educated in singing, writing, dancing, and playing the lute. The only similarity these works had to one another was that they were all asserting values antithetical to the narratives containing heroes of romance and, at the same time, moving very close to the ideas of Christian humanists such as Erasmus, More, Vives, and Ascham who were skeptical of valor in war, court life, and romantic love.

Histories. Histories, in the sixteenth century, were considered an excellent source for providing examples of desirable conduct. Until the end of the Elizabethan period when new interests developed, the histories in this sample were predominantly occupied with the acts of warriors and were directed toward the nobility and gentry. The titles were very revealing of this tendency: Sir Anthony Cope's The Historie of Two the most Noble Captaines of the World, Anniball and Scipio [taken primarily from Livy]; Polybius' The Hystories...the warres betwixt the Romanes & Carthaginenses...annexed life & worthy acts...King Henry the Fift; Appian's An Auncient Historie and

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exquisite Chronicle of the Romanes warres, both Civile and Foren; Trogus Pompeius' The Abridgement of the Historyes of Trogus Pompeius, a history centered around the exploits of the Macedonians Phillip and Alexander; and John Polemon's All the famous Battels that have bene fought in our age [drawn from histories of contemporary continentals]. The terms the translators and printers used in their prefaces to describe the historical characters, as well as some of the words in the translation itself, showed their inclination to think of all warriors as medieval knights bound by a chivalric etiquette. Thus John Polemon assured the reader that only "worthy battels" were included in his work and that those battles where the victory was obtained by ambush or where the opponent fled the field were omitted.[33] The translator of Trogus Pompeius claimed that the deeds of Alexander and the others contained therein were a great enforcement to "chivalry." The word "chivalry" actually crept into the translation as did "courtesye," and "liberality."[34] The printer's introductory poem to Cope's work read in part:

> Lo thus maie menne playnly here beholde,
> That wyly wytte, power, guyle, nor policie
> Could Anniball [Hannibal] ever styll upholde,
> But that by Scipios woorthy chivalrie,
> His manhode, vertu, and dede knyghtly

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[33] sig. Uu4v.

[34] Sig. A2v, fol. 59v, fol. 62, fol. 70.

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> He was subdued, there is no more to sayne,
> And yet to speake, as throut he wyll verifie
> There was never founde a better capitayne.

The printer was only echoing Cope's interpretation of the Roman-Carthaginian War as given in his preface. The translator had made the whole conflict into a personal contest between knights: "crafty, politike, peynfull, and hardy" Hannibal versus "wise, chaste, liberal and valiant" Scipio. Cope then proceeded to restructure Livy along these lines.[35] Christopher Watson's translation of Polybius' account of the Roman-Carthagenian War was relatively straightforward; but when he got to the history of Henry the Fifth, which was his own rendering of a section from Hall's Chronicles, he imbued it with a chivalric romance quality by eliminating the details Hall had so assiduously set down while, at the same time, adding to and doctoring Hall's already quite laudatory passages on Henry to emphasize his virtues. He then added alliterative phrases and colorful

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[35]Introductory poem, no page; Cope's preface, sig. A3. Cope's cutting up of Livy made the wars seem like individual adventures. There are anachronisms throughout the work. For example, Cope writes of a "noble baron" of Carthage (fol. 36) and a tower furnished with "crossebowes and other ordynance," (fol. 4). F. J. Levy, in his book Tudor Historical Thought (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1967) noted on p. 203 that Alexander Barclay's translation of Sallust's Jurgurtha also was recommended to readers for its encouragement to chivalry. Levy felt that this "was not quite the point" of these Roman works. Undoubtedly he is right, but what is important is that the sixteenth century translators and printers of these works did think that it was the point.

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language. The end result was a legendary rather than a historical Henry the Fifth.[36]

These sixteenth century translators and adapters were not concerned with placing them in an historical context of time, place, and circumstance as much as extracting them out of that context to serve as examples of valiant conduct for English gentlemen.[37] When lay chroniclers such as Grafton and Stow diluted their books on English warrior kings with accounts of prominent townspeople, crimes, strange occurences, and other details that gave a certain flavor to the times they were discussing, they earned the scorn of certain of their contemporaries. Thomas Nashe, a late sixteenth century critic, wrote:

> Gentles, it is not your lay-chronigraphers,
> that write of nothing but of Mayors and Sheriefs,
> and the deare yeere, and the great Frost, that
> can endowe your names with never dated glory:...
> so much it is better for nobleman, or Gentleman,
> to have his honours story related, and his deedes
> emblazond, by a Poet than a Citizen.[38]

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[36]For example, Watson changed Hall's "This Henry was a Kyng whose life was immaculate & in his livyng without spot" (Hall's Chronicles, London: 1809 ed. a collation of 1548 and 1550 editions, p. 112) to the even stronger statement that "This haughty Henry was a king, whose life was exempt from al faults," (fol. 104v). His alliterative phrases included "a coragious Captaine, against whome fickle Fortune never fraudulently frowned," and "this warlike Captaine was a sincere shepherd, whome his fawning flocke faithfully favored," (fol. 104v).

[37]For the uses made of ancient histories by the English, see Henry Webb, "Classical Histories and Elizabethan Soldiers" Notes and Queries, new series 2, vol. 200 (1955), pp. 466-69.

[38]Thomas Nashe, "Pierce Penilesse," Works, rev'd. ed. Ronald McKerrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), I, p. 194.

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Nashe's comment showed how common the assumption was in the Elizabethan period that true history was to be primarily concerned with the honorable deeds of gentles.

At the end of the Elizabethan period there were examples of a slightly different type of history which was still directed to the ruling class but which concerned the civil rather than the martial role of that group. In the sample, the works of Tacitus and a French work entitled An Historical Collection, of the Most Memorable Accidents and Tragical Massacres of France were of this type. War was pushed out of the spotlight to make way for descriptions of the political state which was often pictured in a sick condition. The emphasis was less on the positive image of rulers as valiant warriors and more on the negative examples of rulers as civil tyrants and evil conspirators. F. J. Levy has called this type of work "political history" because it dealt with the problems of statecraft.[39] Earlier in the period, when the English wanted an analysis of the sick state, they had to depend on books like Joseph Ben Gorion's [pseudonym] A Compendious...History...of the Jewes Communeweale... and Gildas' De excido et conquestu Britanniae which treated national misfortune as the result of a turning

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[39]F. J. Levy, Chapter VII. Both Levy, p. 249, and Peter Burke, in "A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians 1450-1700," History and Theory, 5 (1966), p. 152 attributed the popularity of Tacitus to a new interest in politics and the causes of civil unrest.

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away from God, meaning that they gave little or no attention to political analysis. Politic history, on the other hand, dealt with the temporal causes of civil unrest and, consequently, made the administrative function appear more crucial than it had in the past.

Travel Histories. Much of the travel literature during this period was just a variant form of the regular histories, and travel histories, like the plain histories and the romances, were considered by their authors and translators to contain examples of worthy, noble behavior. The travel pieces analyzed in this section were only those which centered at least some part of their narrative around the adventurer and his party. Eliminated were those works, usually on the East Indies or China, which did not provide models of the gentlemanly adventurer because they were solely devoted to descriptions of the new lands and native peoples or because they were directed to the merchant.[40]

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[40]Solely descriptive works included those by Cesare Federici, John Linschoten, Bernard Langenes, Cornelius Geraldson, and Gonzalez de Mendoza -- all on the East Indies or China; and Thomas Hariot's report on Virginia. The books on the East Indies were directed toward the merchant. John Parker in Books to Build an Empire (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), p. 161, states that forerunners of the East India Co. helped finance some of these books which came out in 1598. Also eliminated because it was solely descriptive was the one remaining travel account from the era of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, The Voiage and Travayle of Syr John Maundeville.

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The adventurers in the travel books, whether by foreign authors in translation or by English writers, resembled in certain ways the heroes of epics, romances, and histories. The preface writers compared the adventurers to Alcides [Hercules], Jason, Ulyssess, Aeneas, the Ottoman, and Alexander.[41] The adventurer was portrayed as being of novle or gentle birth and of warrior background or aspiration. For example, the first chapter of Lopez de Gomara's The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India sounded much like the opening of a romance when telling of the background of Cortez:

> They [the parents of Cortez] were bothe of good byrth, and proceeded from foure principall houses...which foure houses are auncient, noble, and honorable: yet these parents but poore in goods, but riche in vertue & goodlife, for whice cause they were much esteemed and beloved among theyr neighbours...his father...in his youth applied himselfe to the warres...

Cortez was sent to study law, but he was "high minded and a lover of chivalrie, for which cause he determined with himselfe to wander abroad to seek adventures."[42] Cortez's adventuring, unlike that of many of the heroes in romances, was linked up

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[41] See Ellis, sig. A1V, B8-C1; Thevet, sign A3; Churchyard, Prayse...Forbisher, sig. A7V.

[42] pp. 1-2. For links between the Spaniards' reading of romances and the deeds of the conquistadores see Irving Leonard, Books of the Brave (New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1964).

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with service to the Christian nation-state. Like the classical warrior in the histories, Cortez frequently delivered orations to his soldiers on the broader meaning of their actions. Another noteworthy thing about the figure of Cortez in this narrative was that he was not only shown as a warrior but as a governor too. In the New World, he able to acquire powers that only kings had in Europe. The English translator, T. Nicholas, sensing that the example Cortez set was in some ways new, declared that the history was "a Mirrour and an excellent president, for all such as shall take in hande to governe newe Discoveries."[43] Yet Cortez' actions had been enough in line with previous models of noble behavior that his conduct was immediately recognized as worthwhile for the gentleman to imitate. Like the chivalric knight, the Cortez of Gomara's history went out of his way to seek adventure. The deliberate risking of life especially impressed the translator who noted now Cortez showed that true "Glory, renowne, and perfite felicitie" could not be gotten without "great paines, travaile, perill and daunger of life," combined with the qualities of "wisdom, curtesie, valour, and pollicie." Nicholas emphasized that it was not just the gold Cortez obtained that made him great but the spirit he had shown in conqueroring and habitating the new lands:

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[43]Sig. A2.

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> The Grijalva [the man Governor Velasquez of Cuba had first sent to New Spain] pretended not to conquer, nor yet to inhabite, but onely to fill his hungry belly with golde and silver, for if he had pretended honor, then Cortez had not enjoyed the perpetuall fame which now is his.[44]

The conquest was to Cortez' credit because it showed his knightly industry. The habitation was a noble accomplishment because it secured land for the prince and drew the Indians into the Christian sphere. The imperatives of knightly chivalry, church, and state were all fulfilled.

In other accounts, the Spaniards in America were portrayed as being moved by the same imperatives as Cortez, and reflected the same kind of image, if on a less grand scale. Martin Fernandez de Enciso claimed in his own narrative to have made war against the Cenu Indians "in the behalfe of the King of Castile" to get them to "obey" the King and to accept Christian instruction. The Indians were fierce and fought with poisoned arrows, but the Spaniards prevailed. After performing his chivalric, Christian, and patriotic duty by conquering the Indians and inhabiting the town, he quite naturally appropriated the gold, stating "and after this sort are all the warres of those Countreys."[45] Another account about a young Spanish

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[44] Sig. A2, B1.

[45] Sig. D1.

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captain, almost legendary in nature, was included in Andre Thevet's description of French discoveries. This Spaniard, finding himself in the vicinity of Peru under the aegis of the King, was not stopped by high mountains, wild beasts, or any other danger from "executing of this high enterprise [conquest of areas around Rio de la Plata] beside the wonderful riches, which being done he should get himselfe an immortall fame, for him and all his posteritie." This Spanish party had many adventures with the Indians and with Amazon women before they got to the area where the silver was. They did not just take the available silver and leave, but rather inhabited the place and built "castles and holdes."[46]

The English travel literature seemed even more fervent about portraying the overseas adventurer as a worthy model for gentlemenly behavior, perhaps because the English expeditions had not met with the success of the Spanish. What the authors of the travel works stressed over and over was their industriousness, their aggressiveness, and their willingness to risk their life in pursuit of adventures. This adventurousness was associated with "noble-mindedness" and with giving service to the state. George Best in his history of the Frobisher voyages wrote of the connection between the adventuring and royal

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[46] Fol. 199^{v} -104^{v}.

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service:

> even in this (if no otherwise) hyr most excellent Maiestie hath reaped no small profit that she may now stand assured, to have many more tried, able & sufficient men against time of need, that are,... of valour gret, for any great adveture, & of governemet good for any good place of service.[47]

Best felt that overseas adventures were a way of proving men were fit to be in the ruling elite. Frobisher and the other adventurers were referred to by Churchyard as "noble minded gentlemen" who had the fortitude to be "conquerors" like Alexander.[48] "Noble-minded" was used again by Churchyard to describe Sir Humphrey Gilbert who willingly left court to sail overseas for adventure.[49] A poem on Frobisher included in Thomas Ellis' book read:

> A Martiall Knight, adventurous,
> whose valure great as such
> That hazards hard he light esteemd,
> his country to inrich
>
> He monster fierce hath brought to wracke,
> and savage men doth tame
> and seekes to bring them to the trueth,
> if Fates permit the same.[50]

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[47] Sig. B1.

[48] Prayse...Forbisher, Sig. A7.

[49] "A Discourse of the Queene Maiesties entertainment... commendation of Sir Humfrey Gilberts ventrous journey" reprinted in Quinn, Gilbert I, p. 216.

[50] Sig. $C2^{v}$ - C3.

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The accounts of the Frobisher expedition told of how the men marched into Meta Incognita (Baffin Land area), conducted an ancient martial ceremony, and claimed the land for England. After skirmishes with the natives, some of the gentlemen soldiers wished to proceed further into the interior to "do some acceptable service for their country."[51] Like the knights in romances, the adventurers were set on proving themselves through combat and conquest in magical, exotic settings. This spirit in the English voyagers was applauded by Richard Hakluyt in his preface to the first volume of Principal Navigations. It was obvious that he connected this type of spirit with aggressiveness in war because he appended accounts of the Spanish Armada battle and Essex' Cadiz expedition to his collection of voyage narratives. All the travel literature seemed to depict the overseas adventurer as a variant form of the warrior, and the former carried the same connotations of nobility as the latter.[52]

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[51] Best, p. 16.

[52] The psychology of the adventurer will be discussed in more detail in the third chapter.

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This review of the sample works has indicated that there were models presented in sixteenth century literature which differed considerably from those in the majority of English conduct books, and some attempt has been made to identify the nature of the differences. Much of the literature depicted a type of gentleman who showed an inordinate amount of concern over his honor and the proper way to exhibit it. Because most of the heroes were warriors, it seemed that arms was still being advocated as a principal means of distinguishing oneself. The literature that featured this type of gentlemanly model was rather vague about civil roles. For characters who were portrayed idealistically in the mode of romance, most civil tasks would have seemed too pedestrian. In the fictional narratives the knightly heroes often became kings. Conquering generals in histories became rulers or governors. It seemed to be assumed that the successful completion of an adventure would bring a lordly position in government; therefore, the focus was on the martial enterprise itself.

The quest for honor through the adventuring of one's person was stressed in the social literature by writers like Castiglione who urged the courtier to separate himself from the others in battle and distinguish himself in front of his king by performing some daring feat. Chivalric romances were essentially accounts of princes who were compelled to prove their nobility by seeking

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adventures as a justification of their position. The adventure had to be perilous and was usually terminated by the hero engaging in single combat. Marriage to a princess, riches, and a kingdom to rule were the rewards gathered by a hero who had proven himself the most valiant warrior in the land. The hero's deeds did not necessarily have to be connected with saving the nation or providing defense. In fact, it was thought more worthy, as Sidney's quote about Pyrocles and Mucedorus showed, to search for noble acts to perform rather than to wait and act out of necessity. Gentlemen were encouraged to show "industry" and "enterprise" in their martial affairs. It is interesting to note that in subsequent years, as the last vestiges of manorial organization disappeared and the market economy grew, these terms became more associated with business than with war.

In the Elizabethan period, the tradition of the warrior hero was sufficiently strong to make even the authors writing straight love romances endow their male protagonists with martial characteristics. This practice suggested that martial prowess was not only an indication of a gentleman's honor but also of his desirability as a lover. Besides romances, there were the ancient histories with their accounts of Roman and Macedonian conquests which also provided examples of aggressive martial conduct suited to those of noble spirit. The travel histories offered the Elizabethans contemporary equivalents to the adven-

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tures of ancient warriors and heroes of romances.[53] The deeds of the Spanish conquistadores were so celebrated because their alleged actions and the conditions under which they were performed coincided very closely with the feats of heroes of romance: their deeds were sought out, not performed out of necessity; they were achieved in a faraway exotic land which provided all sorts of strange obstacles and oddities; a conquest was accomplished; and the heroes were rewarded with great riches and titles to new lands. The conquistadores' standing in their own country was great - Leicester Bradner has noted that Spain and Portugal were the only countries who chose contemporaries, mostly the overseas adventurers, as subjects for their epics[54]—

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[53]See above p. 89. Also see William Segar, Honor, Military and Civil (London, 1602), p. 58 for further evidence of conquistadores and adventurers being considered in the same category as legendary heroes. Segar wrote "...Howsoever that be, I verely thinke the actes and enterprises of Ulysses, Aeneas, Hector, and other famous captaines (of whome Poets and profane writers have written so many woonders) were indeed of notable men, and some part of their doings such as writers have made mention. Much lesse doe I doubt, that some egregious acts atchieved and written in the books of Amadis de Gaule, Aristo, Tasso, King Arthur of England, and such others doe containe many things, which deserve not to be discredited. But omitting to meddle with time so long since past, and with countreye so farre from our Climate, wee will remeber some few Actions which worthy men of our owne Nation or our neighbors (as that of Hernando Cortez, Pisarro, and others) have (within our knowledge) to the eternizing of their fame and honour, performed. The greater part of which enterprises have bene atchieved in this present age and shall no doubt hereafter when men are less industrious) be thought rather fabulous then matters credible."

[54]Leicester Bradner, "From Petrarch to Shakespeare," The Renaissance: Six Essays (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 108-109.

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and their reputations were spread to countries like England by translations. The English, in turn, built up the reputations of their own overseas adventurers in their travel literature.

As this survey has shown, however, not all of the literature of the period looked upon the gentleman's code of honor and the place of adventure in that code with admiration. The "anglicized version" of gentlemanly conduct stressed the performance of civil tasks directly related to national business rather than daring feats of arms as the best means to achieve a place in the state. Toward the end of the century, history plays and satiric verse also became critical of the chivalric ideal. In the plays, chivalrous conduct was seen as a threat to the stability of the state. In the satires the courtier was chastized for talking of great deeds instead of accomplishing them, and some satirists even questioned whether the quest for adventure was worthwhile in the first place. The imperatives of the state seemed to be hedging in on the imperatives of honor. Nevertheless, the sample showed that the tradition of adventurous martial conduct as a necessary proof of one's honor and as a way to power, wealth, and fame, for the gentleman was deeply embedded in Elizabethan literature, and, one may safely assume, in the minds of many Elizabethan gentlemen and nobles. It was an ideal that only slowly receded from the historical scene.

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CHAPTER III

THE SELF-IMAGES AND COLONIZATION ATTITUDES OF THE GENTLEMEN ADVENTURERS

In the summer of 1591, Queen Elizabeth sent a group of vessels under the command of Lord Thomas Howard to the Azores for the purpose of intercepting the treasure fleet coming from New Spain. After months of cruising around the islands waiting for the Spanish (who deliberately postponed the journey until late in the year), the English were forced to stop at Flores to clean their ships and care for the many crew members who had come down with the plague. While they were docked, a fleet out of Spain, comprised of over 50 vessels including 20 fighters, descended on them. Howard, realizing they were vastly outnumbered by the enemy and having some advanced warning of their approach, decided to set sail and avoid a confrontation. Sir Richard Grenville, vice-admiral of the expedition, was the last to leave, and instead of attempting a graceless escape, along with the rest of the company, he decided to try and pass through the enemy making them give way. As a result, his ship, the "Revenge," was encircled by the Spanish fleet and, after fifteen hours of constant barrages and several attempted boardings by the Spanish, was completely wrecked. Grenville, badly hurt, wanted to blow up the vessel, but his crew refused to follow his orders. Everyone was transferred aboard the Spanish ships including

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Grenville who died a couple of days later. The sailors were returned to England reasonably quickly, and the gentlemen were retained for ransom, as was the custom.

The news of the "Revenge's" last fight created quite a stir in England, for it was the first time a ship of the Queen's had been captured by the Spaniards. Some Englishmen, such as William Monson, who later wrote an account of the battle which accused Grenville of "wilful rashness" for engaging in combat with the enemy,[1] were highly critical of the vice-admiral. Others considered Lord Thomas a coward and a supporter of the King of Spain for running away from the fight and not joining Grenville. Ralegh, who had originally been slated to go on the expedition and had victualled several of the ships, was evidently of the latter opinion: it was reported that he quarrelled with the Lord Admiral, Lord Thomas' uncle, and there was even talk of a duel between the two men.[2] Ultimately, Ralegh decided to use his pen rather than his sword to express his feelings on the subject, and the result was A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles

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[1]Monson's comments are reprinted in Edward Arber (ed.), The Last Fight of the Revenge at Sea (London, 1871), p. 5.

[2]CSP, Domestic Elizabeth 1591-94, p. 117, a letter from Thomas Phelippes to Thomas Barnes, October 31, 1591.

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of Acores...[3] one of the most famous military apologies in English history.

Historians have interpreted the tract as being little more than an attempt by Ralegh to vindicate an old associate.[4] However, if Ralegh had wished only to defend Grenville, he could have chosen other grounds than he did. He could have argued that the vice-admiral had no choice and had simply gotten caught in an extremely difficult situation. Instead, Ralegh emphasized that Grenville had acted deliberately, indicating that Ralegh was interested in defending not just Grenville but also adventurous behavior in general, a form of behavior Ralegh had good reason to want to justify. Ralegh and Grenville had more than a West Country background and a remote ancestor in common. They also shared a lifestyle. As a result, one senses in the pages of the narrative a strong identification between the author and the image of Grenville he presents. It is worthwhile, therefore, to take some space to examine Ralegh's piece, not just because of what it reveals about the two men, but also because the detailed and well-defined image of Grenville presented by Ralegh provides

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[3]Reprinted in Arber.

[4]John Stibbs, "Raleigh's Account of Grenville's Fight at the Azores in 1591," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXVII (1950), pp. 30-31; A. L. Rowse, Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963, orig. ed. 1936), p. 302; Pierre Lefranc, Sir Walter Ralegh Ecrivain (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1968), p. 30; Leonard Casper, "Ralegh's 'Revenge': Great Victories in Words," Renaissance News, 13-14 (1960-61), pp. 129-133.

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a good introduction to a discussion of the adventurers' conceptions about themselves, a discussion which in turn helps explain their attitudes toward western planting.

At the very beginning of his tract, Ralegh expressed unhappiness over the way people at home and abroad were belittling and misrepresenting the "Revenge" incident ("the rumours are diversly spred, as well in England as in the lowe countries and els where, of this late encounter...").[5] He did not, however, immediately launch upon a defense of Grenville's conduct. Instead, he set the stage for it by reviewing past acts of English valor -- the Lord Admiral against the Spanish Armada, Sir Francis Drake in the West Indies, John Norris and the Earl of Essex at Lisbon -- and by discussing the superiority of the English over the Spanish in matters of honor.

After creating this context for Grenville's actions, Ralegh went on to tell the story of the vice-admiral's heroism. Sir Richard was a man who refused "to turn from the enimie, alledging that he would rather chose to dye then to dishonour him selfe, his countrie, and her Maiesties shippe." He kept on the upper deck of the "Revenge" through almost all of the battle although wounded, he inspired his men to slay 2000 Spaniards, as

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[5]This quotation and the following ones are from the Arber edition of "Report of the Truth...."

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well as sink three ships,[6] and, in the end, he urged them not to capitulate to the Spaniards but to blow up the ship for "the honour of their nation." Grenville's performance, Ralegh tells the reader, impressed everyone including the enemy. The Spanish commander made a generous offer to save the lives of the sailors and send them back to England, not only for fear of further losses, but also "for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Grinvile; whom for his notable valure he seemed greatly to honour and admire." As he was being moved to the Spanish vessel, Grenville supposedly exclaimed, in a dying burst of eloquence, that they could do what they liked with his body for he "esteemed it not." According to Ralegh, Grenville's friends could be comforted by the fact that he "ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation wonne to his nation and country and of the same to his posteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outlived his own honour." They could also find comfort in the fact that God himself, or so Ralegh claimed, revenged the English defeat by shortly after sending a storm to the Azores which destroyed many of the enemy's ships.

Ralegh's Grenville was a proud, daring and lordly man of war completely innocent of any trace of military professionalism

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[6] Ralegh exaggerated the number of Spaniards killed and ships sunk. On the matter of the factual accuracy of Ralegh's account see Stibbs, pp. 28-29. In addition to the contemporary accounts of the battle Stibbs mentions, there is a commonplace book at the Folger Library (Folger MSS V.a 321, fol. 66) which includes a copy of an account of the Revenge battle by a member of the crew.

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or discipline. More cautious men found these characteristics dangerous, but Ralegh found them admirable; what Monson called Grenville's "wilful rashness," Ralegh considered "greatness of mind." Ralegh admitted that "the other course [fleeing with the rest of the fleet] had beene the better and might right well have beene answered in so great an impossibilitie of prevailing," but, he added in eulogy of Grenville, "out of the greatness of his minde, he could not bee perswaded." "Greatness of mind" is the key term in Ralegh's explanation of Grenville's conduct as well as in his evaluation of the vice-admiral's worth, and all of Grenville's utterances recorded in the tract serve to underline this quality in the brave Cornishman and to set him apart from ordinary men. It is difficult fully to comprehend the importance sixteenth century men such as Ralegh attached to "greatness of mind" and its natural concomittant, aggressive martial conduct or adventurousnesss. Part of the problem is that Ralegh was presupposing here something he never bothered to state explicitly: he was assuming that the welfare and prosperity of the society, not to mention that of the warrior, was dependent on such conduct. This was what he implied when, at the beginning of the tract, he wrote about English honor and its role in triumphing over the Spaniards. It was spirit like Grenville's which brought success, in Ralegh's mind, and when the enemy ganged up and tried unfairly to extinguish such true Christian valor as Grenville's, God could be depended upon

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eventually to right the wrong by sending a storm or some other condign catastrophe to punish the undeserving victors.

There is a striking resemblance between this portrait of Grenville and the way Ralegh presented himself in his letters and papers. He was continually requesting to go on adventures where his martial virtuosity would be put to the test and frequently vowing that his life meant little to him.[7] In his relation of the Cadiz voyage in 1596, he unabashedly told how he was constantly putting himself in the center of the decision making and at the front of the action, elbowing out Essex, the Lord Admiral, and Lord Thomas Howard. In regard to his position in the fleet, he boasted, "Always I must, without glory, say for myself, that I held single in the head of all."[8] Ralegh was an ambitious man, and he thought that an aggressive martial pose was the way to advance himself. At the same time as he was building up his adventurer's image, he was also building up his family background by, among other things, having John Hooker trace back his pedigree to the Plantagenets and creating an "ancestral" home from grants

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[7]For example see Pierre Lefranc, "Un Inedit de Ralegh sur la Conduite de la Guerre 1596-97," Etudes Anglaises, 8 (1955), pp. 193-211; and Edwards, II, pp. 13, 49-50, 94-95, 95-96, 178, and 191. Unless I state otherwise in the text, all quotations from Ralegh in this chapter come from the pre-1603 period.

[8]Edwards, II, pp. 146-156, quotation on p. 151. Ralegh wrote another letter about his role in the battle which is in the same spirit. It is printed in Pierre Lefranc, "Ralegh in 1596 and 1603: Three Unprinted Letters in the Huntington Library," Huntington Library Quarterly, 29 (1965-6), pp. 337-345.

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he received from Queen Elizabeth.[9] One of the favorite poses of the adventurers, Ralegh being a good example, was that their families in the past had been truly great, but that their fortunes had decayed forcing them to live, temporarily, in a fashion slightly below their true rank in society.[10] As a result, they were quick to feel a slight when they did not receive the favors and the deference they expected. At one point Ralegh became so carried away with his own importance that he declared in a letter, "I am in a place to be believed not inferior to any man."[11] Ralegh's contemporaries, however, even or perhaps especially those who tried to effect the same pose, were not

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[9]John Hooker, Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicles, (London, 1586). See the Epistola to the Chronicles of Ireland for the pedigree. Originally Ralegh tried to buy Hayes Barton in Devon, the place where he was born, and build his country estate there, Edwards, II, p. 26, letter from Ralegh to Mr. Richard Duke, July 26, 1584. That plan never worked out, and eventually he obtained Sherbourne in Dorset from the Queen which he made into a great house. Later, during James' reign when he was imprisoned, it was Sherbourne that he tried the hardest to hold on to for his heir.

[10]Hooker, in the process of manufacturing Ralegh's grand pedigree, spoke of Ralegh's family being once famous but long decayed until Sir Walter came along. Thomas Stucley was portrayed in Robert Seall's Commendations... (London, 1563) as a "noble hart" whose fortune had fallen into decay. Carleill wrote to Burghley asking for a favor "to relieve my most ruyned and distressed estate withall" which had become ruined through spending money on the Queen's service or so he claimed. He also complained that favors were given to every "common person" while he did without, (reprinted in Nicholas Carlisle, Collections for a History..., (London, 1822) pp. 25-6.

[11]Edwards, II, p. 41, Ralegh to Sir George Carew, December 27, 1589.

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about to take him at his own evaluation. His commander in Ireland, Lord Grey of Wilton, put it succinctly when he said "I nether like his carriage nor his company." An anonymous writer from the West Country told Burghley what the Cornish populace thought of Ralegh:

> no man ys more hated generally then thy aforesaid, none more cursyd dayly of the poore, of whom infynite nombers ar broght to extream poverty throgh the gift of the cloathe to hym, hys pride intollerable without regard of any the world knows.

It might have been this letter Burghley was thinking of when he cautioned his son "not to affect nor neglect popularity too much. Seek not to be E[ssex] and shun to be R[alegh]." "Rawlie? that in pride exceedeth all men alive..." was the estimation of that court gossip, Lord Henry Howard.[12] On one thing Ralegh and his detractors would probably have agreed, his image was one of a man who did not enjoy being second to anyone.

Judging from the statements they made and the way in which they presented themselves to the world, the other colonizers, at least those for whom there is information of this type extant,

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[12]Grey's letter is reprinted in Edwards II, p. 5; Anonymous West Country letter to Burghley, SP 15/29/#126, July 7, 1586; Lord Burghley, "Certain Precepts for Well Ordering of a Man's Life," Advice to a Son, ed. Louis Wright (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962) p. 13; Letter of Howard to Sir Robert Cecil in 1602 reprinted in Edwards, II, p. 439.

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entertained conceptions of themselves similar to those of Ralegh. Grenville would undoubtedly have been delighted with Ralegh's tract on his brave conduct and independent spirit during the "Revenge" fight, because much of his past behavior had been designed to leave the impression that he was a proud man of war. According to a story told by the Dutchman Linschoten, Grenville, while on a raid, amazed a captive Spanish audience at dinner by taking wine glasses between his teeth, crashing them into pieces, swallowing them, and then ignoring the blood that gushed from his mouth. Linschoten described Grenville as "unquiet in his mind [i.e. restless] and greatly affected to warre,"[13] and he reported that Grenville, on his death bed, expressed satisfaction over the fact that he would have the everlasting fame of a valiant soldier while "the others of my company have done as traitors and dogs, for which they shall be reproached all their lives and leave a shameful name for ever." Whether this is an exact transciption of his last words can be disputed, but the important point is, as R. L. Rowse has noted, that the speech was not out of character for Grenville.[14]

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[13]Linschoten's account reprinted in Arber pp. 90-96. Quotation from pp. 91-2.

[14]This quotation from Linschoten is taken from a translation of the foreign edition which A. L. Rowse gives on p. 315. It was left out of the English translation for obvious reasons. Very little survives of things written by Grenville himself. Rowse, in his biography of Grenville, printed two poems about sea-

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So interse was Grenville's pride that he evidently refused to go on an expedition against the Spaniards because he would be serving under Sir Francis Drake, a man of great sea experience but of humble West Country origins.[15] It is not surprising to find that the same complaint -- excessive pride -- was made about Grenville as was made about Ralegh: Ralph Lane, the Governor of Virginia, wrote to Walsingham asking in the future "to bee freedde from that place where Sir Richard Greenefeelde ys to carry any authorytye in cheyeffe," for Lane could not stand his "intollerable prydde, and unsaciable ambycione."[16]

Thomas Stucley was described by one of his servants, in a preface to a travel book, as "a trym courtier" and a "worthy soldier,"[17] but such bland accolades really fail to capture the tone of the image Stucley projected. It has been noted that one of his favorite sayings was "I had rather be king of a mole-hill than subject to a mountain," a statement which more than any

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faring men which he claimed were written by Grenville. These poems are side by side on one page of a commonplace book in the British Museum (Sloane MSS 2497 fol. 48). At the bottom of the first poem, "In praise of Seafaring Men..." are the words "Sir Richard Grynfillde's farwell finis Sir Richard." This is all that links Grenville with these poems. They were very typical of the kind of poems printed on broadsides for popular consumption. I think it is very likely these poems were circulated around the time of the "Revenge" episode, but I doubt if they were written by Grenville.

[15] CSP, Spanish 1580-1603, p. 93.

[16] Quinn, Roanoke, I, p. 212, letter of September 8, 1585.

[17] George North, A Description of Swedland (London, 1561), sig. Aiii^{v}.

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other gives some indication of Stucley's pride and the character of his ambition. Thomas Westcote, the early seventeenth-century Devon antiquarian, said of him that "his spirit was of so high a strain that it villified subjection (though in the highest and chiefest degree) as contemptible, aiming (as high as the moon,) at no less than sovereignty." Stucley, through his words and actions, had defined himself so well that he became the archetypal figure of the glory-seeking adventurer in the literature of the period, appearing as a leading character in the Famous History of the Life and Death of Thomas Stucley, The Battle of Alcazar, and another non-extant play, as well as being the subject of broadsides and later, chapbooks.[18] He was portrayed alternately as a heroic figure and a Platean miles gloriosus, depending upon the viewpoint of the writer.

The rhetoric which encased portions of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's letters and tracts often seems borrowed from a chivalric romance. For example, in one of his pieces on expansion

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[18]The molehill quotation along with Westcote's description comes from the antiquarian's View of Devonshire in 1630 ed. Reverend George Oliver and Pitman Jones (Exeter, 1845), p. 271. The saying in slightly different form appears in Gabriel Harvey "Pierces Supererogation," The Works of Gabriel Harvey ed. Alexander Grosart (London, 1884), II, p. 146: "or discover not the humour of aspiring Stukely, that would rather be the king of a moulhill, then the second in Ireland, or England." George Peele in his play Battle of Alcazar (Printed in 1594, but written five or six years earlier) has Stucley saying "King of a mole-hill had I rather be, than the richest subject of a monarchie," (ed. Frank Hook and John Yoklavich The Dramatic Works of George Peele (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), II, p. 313.

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overseas, he wrote "he is not worthy to live at all, that for feare, or daunger of death, shunneth his countrey service, and his owne honour, seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortall,"[19] and there is every indication that his own conceptions about himself were built upon such a credo. As a result nothing was too daring or risky to take on if it brought victory, honor, and reputation. When he was in Flushing, he pleaded with Burghley to allow him to carry out a farfetched scheme which involved fomenting a mutiny in the town to drive out the French, claiming he would "leysse [lose] my lyeffe rather than the Freynse shoulde have ytt" and promising, what Burghley had undoubtedly already surmised, that he would "at all tymes be reddy to taecke any thynge in hande with Gedion's fayethe, not resspectynge danger...."[20] When one of his more timid allies balked at one of his projected campaigns in the Low Countries, he wrote to England complaining that his associate did not want to do any thing that was "acopanyd with danger."[21] After the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, he wanted England to take on all of

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[19]Quinn, Gilbert, I, pp. 163-4.

[20]Le Baron Kervyn De Lettenhove (ed.), Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de L'Angleterre (Brussels, 1888), VI, pp. 488-89, letter of August 13, 1572.

[21]Lettenhove VI, p. 500, letter to Burghley, August 29, 1572.

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Catholic France in a holy war to prevent "la tragique ruine de tous les protestants dedans Europe."[22]

People and events never moved fast enough nor on a grand enough scale for this Elizabethan Gideon. He had been equally adventurous and impatient about his Irish service. Lord Deputy Sidney reported that Gilbert "thought nothing to hard for him [Gilbert]" and told of how the Irish feared the English since Gilbert had subdued them.[23] Gilbert, proud of his image as a fearless commander and severe subjugator, believed that a "cōquered" people obeyed "rather for feare then through love."[24] In a letter to the Lord Deputy, he outlined in detail how he had acted as a conqueror: he demanded complete surrender; he forced the Irish lords to kneel before him; and he used the sword frequently with a minimum of discrimination to discourage rebellion. Gilbert's proud demeanor evidently did not alter too much even when he returned to England, for one friend at court complained

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[22]PRO, SP 70/125/#556 fol. 13 dated September 6, 1572.

[23]PRO, SP 63/29/#86, letter to Privy Council, December 27, 1569 and SP 63/30/#2 letter to Cecil, January 4, 1570.

[24]This phrase is found twice in his papers: first in PRO, SP 63/29/#83 which is an extract of one of his letters to Sidney, dated December 6, 1569; second in a tract, BM Additional MSS. 48015, fol. 379. The tract is entitled "A discorse for the reformacō particularly of Munster in Ireland...." The Queen evidently requested that Gilbert write only on Munster, but this discourse is really on all of Ireland and is dated "February 1, 1573" (old style). The tract is full of literary allusions one of the most interesting being a reference to the military tactics of Tamberlaine.

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in a letter about his boasting and his great vanity.[25]

One of the most informative documents concerning Christopher Carleill is the summary of his career contained in his 1593 grant of arms.[26] The detailed nature of the summary suggests Carleill himself was the source of the information. Its function, obviously, was to legitimate the questionable pedigree he had concocted — the assumption being that such a valiant fellow as was portrayed in the summary had to be descended from nobility (in this case one Lord Carleill of Cumberland living at the time of Edward I). The summary begins with a description of how Carleill, receiving little or no financial compensation, helped save the Protestant princes, Orange and Condé, from the Catholic forces of France and Spain. Next he restrained the Danish from attacking English ships that were trading with Russia. He left out his unsuccessful American venture, preferring to tell how he volunteered for an Irish assignment which other captains had turned down as too difficult. The summary ended with an account of the towns he conquered in the West Indies and an estimate of

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[25]PRO, SP 63/29/#83. PRO, SP 70/146/#431, Sir Thomas Smith to Cecil February 8, 1572. Smith resorted to Latin in order to describe Gilbert: "plaenissimus, Inconstantiae, iactantiae, profusionis vanitatis," and hints about his homosexuality.

[26]Grant reprinted in Carlisle, pp. 27-28.

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the treasure he captured, omitting any mention of the expedition's commander, Sir Francis Drake. Carleill was trying to present himself as a gentleman who thrived on daring martial endeavors and who was almost singlehandedly responsible for the success of the exploits related. One might pass the summary off as pedigree propaganda except the same conceptions about himself appear in his letters.[27] Carleill chose to see himself in that way, and it was the way he wished to project himself to the world.

The material on the other three adventurers is too scant to probe, in any meaningful way, their conceptions about themselves. But their behavior and career patterns as outlined in the first chapter indicate that they hoped to further themselves through the exercise of arms, particularly at sea. We also know that both Frobisher and Leigh were at least to some degree court-oriented. The youth and inexperience of Gosnold and Leigh and Frobisher's weak family background probably mitigated against

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[27] In his letters to Walsingham from Ireland, Carleill stresses how he accepted assignments there which others had turned down in order to preserve the Lord Deputy's honor and to add to his own even though it was harmful to his financial position, PRO, SP 63/112/#14 dated October 17, 1584 and SP 63/112/#76 dated November 16, 1584. In his report to Burghley about Ostend in PRO, SP 84/32/fol. 207-212, he wrote: "I had rather spend one of my joyntes to wynne suche a place then be spoken of to have been the instrument of leaving it to the enmy although it be by her Maties expresse comandement" indicating again Carleill's tendency to interpret every piece of service as a test of his honor.

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their having quite so grand a conception of themselves as, for instance, Ralegh. But Leigh's journey to James' court and Frobisher's proud behavior on several expeditions suggests they had no mean image of themselves.[28]

I have suggested in the preceding chapter that the concept of adventure was still an important component of one type of gentlemanly model presented as an object for emulation by Elizabethan literature. Judging from the writings of the colonizers and the stories of their actions, the outlines of this gentlemanly model are clearly reflected in their images of themselves. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, there was something rather anachronistic about the adventurers entertaining such self-images. Tudor society had crushed the martial lord, raised up a strong monarchical court which put a premium on administrative skills, and developed to some degree a market economy which was rapidly replacing the manorial tie with the cash nexus. Yet many Englishmen continued for some time to adopt martial lords

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[28]Frobisher was described by Michael Lok as being "arrogant in his government" and "so imperious in his doinges" during the 1578 voyage, Michael Lok, "The Abuses of Captayn Furbusher agaynst the Companye," The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, ed. Viljhamur Stefansson, II, p. 210. Frobisher was a vice-admiral under Sir Francis Drake on the 1586 expedition to the West Indies and resented his subordinate position, Irene Wright (ed.), Further English Voyages to Spanish America 1583-1594 ("Hakluyt Society, series II," CXIX (London, 1951), p. 114. For Leigh see chapter I.

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and knights as a normative reference group,[29] ignoring the fact that there were potent forces in English society which were rendering the model or the image of that reference group obsolete. The adventurers sensed no incongruity in trying to adapt the image of this reference group to the Elizabethan court situation because the independent, aggressive gentleman whose status was measured by the greatness of mind he displayed in martial endeavors fell into a time honored tradition, and Elizabethan culture, most noticeably through its literature, was still transmitting with approval such models for behavior.[30]

In actuality, the adventurers seemed to have some difficulty in fulfilling their self-images and, at the same time, winning the approval of the Queen. The men in this study, as I have mentioned before, tended to be court-oriented. This orientation comes out in their accounts of their actions. They invariably claimed they were not only being motivated by honor but by their feelings for Queen and country, and their letters took

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[29]Reference group is defined as a group "to which the individual relates himself as a part on to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically," Muzafer Sherif, The Concept of Reference Groups in Human Relations," Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research, ed. Herbert Hyman and Eleanor Singer (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 86. On the nature of the normative reference groups, see Harold Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," pp. 77-83 in the same volume.

[30]It is interesting to note similarities between the adventurers' images of themselves and the aspirations of the twelfth century French "Jeunes" discussed in Georges Duby, "Au XII[e]: les "jeunes" dans la societe aristocratique," Annales, XIX (July-Dec. 1964), pp. 835-846.

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on a real tone of desperation when they felt they were being excluded from the court and its favors.[31] The court was where the action was, and they wanted to be in on it. Sir Humphrey Gilbert at one point in the 1570's was so concerned about the subject of court preferment that he wrote a tract, Elizabeth's Achademy,[32] in which he proposed a system of education that would insure that the Queen's wards and other worthy noblemen and gentlemen (those with at least five descents) would be influential members of the royal circle. As a result of their concern about the court, the adventurers tried to accommodate their own self-images to its imperatives while at the same time refusing to take on the demeanor of the semi-professionalized civil servant. Their image of themselves led them into looking for conquest opportunities while the Protestant nationalism of the Elizabethan court stopped them from becoming wandering knights who presented their plans at every European court and kept their aggressive tendencies directed toward England's principal enemy,

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[31]See Carleill's letters in HMC, Cecil MSS, IV, p. 277, in Nicholas Carlisle, Collections for a History..., p. 25; in APC, XXI (1591), p. 380. For Gilbert see letters to Cecil from Ireland: SP 63/29/nos. 9 and 67. Also see Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 241. For Ralegh see Edwards, II, pp. 50-54, letters written during his disgrace at court.

[32]Humphrey Gilbert, "Queen Elizabethes Achademy," Early English Text Society [Publications], ed. F. J. Furnivall, extra series VIII (1869), pp. 1-12.

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Spain. Only Thomas Stucley, the oldest of the adventurers in this study, became sufficiently disgusted with his own opportunities, or lack thereof, to change sides.

Although there is no indication that the adventurers ever fully perceived the potential disharmony between their martial aspirations and the civil imperatives demanded by the court, they did notice and constantly complain about being blocked, ignored, and not appreciated. Ralegh, years later, was still bitter over the fact that when it came to policy, Elizabeth preferred to listen to her "scribes" rather than her "men of war."[33] What Ralegh only slowly began to understand after some time spent in the Tower, and judging from the manner of his death, never completely accepted, was that strong monarchs did not find independent martially inclined gentlemen with lordly ambitions and biases against civil service politically useful. The men in this study, of course, were not the only ones who were having problems adjusting to the centralized monarchical state as the works of J. H. Hexter, Lawrence Stone, Anthony Esler among others have

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[33]Sir Walter Ralegh, "Discourse Touching a Marriage Between Prince Henry of England and a Daughter of Savoy," Works, ed. T. Birch and William Oldys (Oxford, 1829) VIII, p. 246.

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shown.[34] In the end, both sides gave way: gentlemen and lords, changing models and images, found new ways to compete for power and influence, principally through the use of Parliament; and the monarchs, being forced to alter their own conceptions about sovereignty, relinquished portions of their monopoly on the role of caretaker of the nation. The Elizabethans, however, were in on only the very beginning of this development which was to take many, many years to come to fruition.

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[34]See Hexter's Reappraisals in History (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), and Stone's Crisis of The Aristocracy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). Anthony Esler's book, The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), is most valuable for its discussion and illustrations of the mood and sensibilities of the men at the Elizabethan court, topics that are unfortunately ignored by most historians. Esler argues that the young Elizabethan courtiers, specifically those born between 1552 and 1566 were particularly driven to obtain power and high honor in a grand, conspicuous manner which Esler thinks was a generational reaction to the slow cautious methods of their fathers' period. But as Esler himself points out, men of the earlier generations with grandiose aspirations were often executed or did not appear at court, suggesting that high aspirations for honor and power was a chronic not a generational problem among lords and gentlemen under the Tudor monarchs. The principal change that had occurred by the 1580's was that the court had unquestionably become the place to be; aspirations were court-oriented, and the man with lofty ambitions was eminently noticeable.

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For the adventurers, colonization became one way to reconcile the conflicting imperatives working upon them: they could fulfill the war lord image they had of themselves and at the same time remain loyal servitors of the English Queen and state. The reward for their military prowess would be a domain in the New World inhabited by Indians rich in gold and, perhaps eventually, many Englishmen paying rents. The first Elizabethan to become interested in overseas planting was Thomas Stucley, who learned about America in 1562 from the Frenchman, Jean Ribaut, while the latter was visiting the English court. Ribaut had just returned from helping found a Huguenot sponsored colony in what we now know as Port Royal Island, South Carolina but what he referred to as Florida, and the account of his voyage circulated around the court before it was published in 1563.[35] As one can see from the narrative, the Frenchman had been very interested in finding a treasure in Florida, and he reported that the Indians had told him Cibola [the legendary seven cities of gold] was only a twenty day journey from the place where the French had made their settlement. He also noted that these Indians were willing

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[35]The manuscript of Ribaut's journey is in BM, Sloane MSS 3624 and is printed in H. P. Biggar, "Jean Ribaut's Discovery of Terra Florida," English Historical Review, XXXII (1917), pp. 253-270.

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to obey and content to serve Europeans who treated them well. Although Ribaut did not mention it in any of his accounts, the area was also an excellent base for conducting raids on the Spanish treasure fleet.

Ribaut's visit coincided, by no accident, with the period in which Elizabeth was considering war with Catholic France. Stucley, as a member of the Leicester circle, undoubtedly knew about plans being made, and the Florida project was one way of getting into the action. Coming to the aid of the Protestant French in Florida offered lordship over land which might include an empire of gold and the possibility of plundering Spanish ships, an activity with which Stucley was already familiar. The whole enterprise had the aspect of a military expedition. A commendatory poem written about Stucley at the time of his departure used the same language that was employed in praise of martial heroes and exploits: Stucley was referred to as a "young Eneas," and it was claimed his valor would be rewarded with riches.[36] Ribaut was to sail with Stucley and was to turn over to him the French fort in Florida inhabited by 30 soldiers in exchange for a house and income from the Queen. At the last minute Ribaut backed out, but Stucley still intended to try for America even though the desertion greatly weakened the expedition. He

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[36]Seall's broadside.

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sailed with his ships in early July after personally bidding the Queen farewell.[37] Once on the seas, he immediately began attacking Catholic ships for loot and supplies, and soon after, the Queen, pressured by the Spaniards whose goods were being carried by some of the French and Portuguese ships Stucley attacked, had Stucley stopped in Ireland before he could progress further.

Florida was Stucley's bid for big gains in land and wealth while keeping in the good graces of the Queen who initially approved of his scheme and who may have even issued him a formal grant.[38] His desire for lordship persisted and next manifested itself in his attempts to get territories in Ireland, first from the Queen and then through the Spaniards and the Pope. There is no indication that Stucley had any elaborate theory of colonization. He organized what was essentially a military or naval expedition in 1563, and he undoubtedly thought of planting in the

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[37]CSP, Spanish 1558-1567, p. 339, Bishop Quadra to King Phillip, June 26, 1563. Before he left, Stucley also entertained the Queen with drums and trumpets from his ship while she was sailing towards Greenwich, John Gough Nicols, (ed.), Diary of Henry Machyn (London: for the Camden Society, 1898), p. 309.

[38]Queen Elizabeth on June 30, 1563 wrote to the Lord Deputy of Ireland telling him to cooperate with Stucley if the latter came to Ireland and saying that Stucley had agreed to do any service for the Crown that was needed there before he left for Florida, Samuel Haynes, (ed.), A Collection of State Papers ...1542 to 1570 (London, 1740), p. 401. For mention of a grant to Stucley see Grenville's petition directly below in text. Stucley also obtained official authorization from the Lord Admiral to have "full power, rule and aucthoritie" over his men on the expedition, PRO, HCA 14/6, March 25, 1563.

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New World in much the way he thought of conquering in the old.

Stucley's enterprise may have not gotten very far, but it set a precedent for English occupation in the New World. When Grenville and his West Country associates petitioned the Queen in 1573 to discover lands around the South Sea (Pacific Ocean), they cited Stucley's project as proof that the English had a right to inhabit overseas:

> Besyde that not onelie trafyke but also possession, plantinge of people and habitacion hathe ben alredie judged lawfull for other nations in such places as the Spaniardas or Portugals have not alredie added to ther possession. As is proved by her Maties most honorable and lawfull graunte to Thomas Stucle and his companie for terra florida.[39]

Grenville, a friend and distant relative of Stucley, had, for a few months in 1564, custody of the French pilots who were to lead Stucley to Terra Florida, and it was probably through them that he first heard about the opportunities in the New World.[40] His first attempts at planting, however, were in Ireland. In 1568 he went with Sir Warham St. Leger, a relation by marriage, to settle Kerrycurrihy, an area in Munster, where

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[39]There was a distant family connection between Stucley and Grenville: Stucley's nephew was married to Grenville's sister. The petition is printed by R. Pease-Chope, "New Light on Sir Richard Grenville," Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, XLIX (1917), pp. 247-251. Quotation is on p. 240.

[40]John Izon, Sir Thomas Stucley (London: Andrew Melrose, 1956), p. 50.

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the latter held the mortgage on several large estates belonging to the Earl of Desmond. Because the Irish refused to be dutiful tenants, Grenville brought in his family and soldier-settlers from the West Country to plant and defend the land.[41] Around the same time St. Leger and Grenville, along with Humphrey Gilbert, Edward St. Loe, Thomas Leighton, Jacques Wingfield, and Gilbert Talbot (most of whom had been soldiers in Ireland) sought to obtain a grant of a vast area in the province of Munster which they promised to subdue, fortify, "plant & inhabit...with naturall English men, or at least with sutche of Ireland birth as are descended of Inglish nacion."[42] They would hold the land under knight's service paying rent for the land and for the prerogative over fishing and promising to serve the Queen in Ireland with ships and eventually with 500 footmen for six weeks

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[41] CSP, Ireland 1509-1573, p. 413, a letter dated July 12, 1569 mentions that the Irish hope to drive out all the "Hugnettes" including Grenville's wife and children. Another letter PRO, SP 63/28/#38 dated June 18, 1569 again warns that Mrs. Grenville, Mrs. St. Leger and all other Englishmen had to leave showing that Grenville had brought people over, although obviously not enough.

[42] The documents concerning this venture can be found in SP 63/26/81 and in SP 63/28/#'s 2,3,4,5,9, and 61 abstracted by Quinn in Gilbert, I, pp. 122-23 and II, pp. 490-97. The quotation is on p. 493. There are also a number of letters in the Irish State Papers around this time from Sir Warham St. Leger and a man who was acting as his agent (and sometimes independently), Jerome Brett, which pertain to this venture, see SP 63/26/52 and 53 especially. St. Leger, in addition had his own schemes, SP 63/28/#18.

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a year. Among the privileges they requested were the right to employ martial law, the right to make laws and ordinances in towns they incorporated, the right to export grain to foreign nations without custom duties, the right to levy artificers and laborer-soldiers, exemption from customs on provisions forever, and exemption from subsidies for 20 years. In short, they offered defense and the payment of rents in exchange for control over a sizeable portion of Ireland. They wished to be Irish lords, but significantly, they did not want to be personally required to stay there any longer than three years.[43] In the end nothing came of the project because the adventurers could not, without the help of the Queen, underwrite it. Grenville and St. Leger could not even hold Kerrycurrihy against the rebels by themselves and were forced to leave Ireland in defeat two years after they had come.

Three years later, Grenville was making plans for possessing lands in the Western Hemisphere, plans that were conceived during a period in which England's relations with Spain were poor and when Grenville, having aligned himself with the doomed Duke of Norfolk - Earl of Arundel faction at court, needed something to boost his stock. He had already been to Ireland; con-

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[43]Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 496. They say they do not want to be "banished men."

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quest in the New World, if not exactly the next logical step, was a predictable choice for someone of Grenville's disposition. According to the petition submitted to the Crown by Grenville and his West Country associates (Piers Edgecombe, Arthur Bassett, John Fitz, Edmonde Iremayne, William Hawkins, Alexander Arundel, Thomas Digges, Martyn Dare, and Domynike Chester) the purpose of the voyage was

> The discoverie traffique and enjoyenge for the Quenes Matie and her subjectes of all or anie Landes Islandes and Countries southewarde beyonde the oequinoctiall or where the Pole Antartik hathe anie elevation above the Horison and wch Landes Islandes and Countries be not alredie possessed or subdued by or to ye use of anie Christian Prince in Europe as by the Charts and Descriptions shall appere.[44]

Grenville, like many of his contemporaries, believed that what we now know as Antarctica and Australia was one piece of land possessing a temperate climate and extending from the Magellan Straits to Asia, making the Pacific Ocean a sea (the South Sea). This was the land Grenville claimed he wanted to fortify arguing that the Portugese had the eastern part of the New World, Spain had the western part, France the northern, and England, therefore, was entitled to the southern lands.[45]

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[44] R. Pease-Chope, p. 237.

[45] Ibid., p. 238.

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Grenville had another avowed purpose for making such a voyage, and it was put forward in two documents both in manuscript: one endorsed as "Mr. Greynfeld's Voyadg" (undated) and the other, appearing in a commonplace book, endorsed as "A discours of a voiage intended by Rychard Grenefld es[q] by sea/ a 1573."[46] These two pieces are arguments for reaching the Northwest Passage, the so-called Straits of Anian, by a southern route around South America rather than going through the freezing Arctic region where it was believed a North Sea was located. The warm temperatures en route would enable one to make charts of all the lands passed and to plan "fortification" around the Straits of Magellan. In the patent Grenville and his associates were finally issued however, the claiming of land takes precedent over discovery of a route to the east.

Grenville's plans for taking possession of a part of the New World were much more vague than those drawn up for the Munster project, but both were military in character and lordly in purpose. The patent said they were to discover unclaimed lands and people which, hopefully, would bring "greate Treasures and richesse" to England, indicating they anticipated finding a

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[46] "Mr. Grynfeld's voyadg" is printed in Pease-Chope, pp. 233-236, and "A discours of a voiage..." is in BM Additional MSS. 48151, Henry Velverton's book.

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native population to conquer. Grenville and his associates were the "governors" of the enterprise, and those among them who were to go on the expedition (Grenville is the only petitioner known to have been planning on making the journey personally) could make all rules governing the men and had the power to invoke martial law.[47] Beside the mariners, there were also to be soldiers on the voyage, presumably for the subduing of the new country, but it is possible Grenville also intended to use them against the Spanish. Fellow West Countrymen John Hawkins and Francis Drake were already busily engaged in attacking the Spanish American Empire in the Caribbean, and Grenville, whose projected route would take him right past the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in South America, might have been considering a raid or a conquest of portions of their territory, rather than looking for a continent that he had little information about. We know Grenville possessed a great deal of knowledge about South America because he tells us that some mariners involved in the Frenchman Villegaignon's Brazilian colony had spent six months in his household giving him details about the area.[48] An English seaman, several years later, told the Spanish

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[47] PRO, SP 12/235/1 printed in Pease-Chope, pp. 241-245.

[48] BM, Additional MSS. 48151.

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that Grenville had planned to make a settlement on the River Plate and then pass the Straits and found other settlements.[49] Grenville could not have made any declaration of planned intrusions into Iberian territories because Elizabeth, by the time he was ready to go, was in the process of arranging a rapprochement with King Philip. It was probably fear about what he might do on his journey which finally made her cancel his grant. Grenville's lordly ambitions reappeared in 1584 when he became involved in the Roanoke colony and then slightly later when he brought over West Country settlers to defend and plant his new royal grant in Munster.[50]

To a man such as Frobisher, a project for conquest and planting came less naturally than it did to someone like Grenville. This was not because Frobisher was necessarily less ambitious, but because it was felt at the time that only fairly wealthy and powerful men could claim land in the New World, men who had at least some family and connections in back of them.[51]

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[49]Statements of John Butler and John Oxenham to the Spanish in Zelia Nuttall (ed.) New Light on Drake ("Hakluyt Society series II," Vol. XXXIV; London, 1914), pp. 6-10. Butler says Oxenham was to go with Grenville, but Oxenham, for obvious reasons, denied it.

[50]SP 63/28/39 contains a list of the men. This document is erroneously catalogued under the year 1569 in the Irish State Papers.

[51]This was a commonly held belief in the early years of English expansion. John Butler, the English seaman captured by the Spanish, told his inquisitors that people like Francis

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His original purpose in going to North America in 1576, therefore, was to search for the Northwest Passage; however, when one of the rocks he brought back on his first voyage was declared by experts to contain gold, the whole nature of the project changed.[52] A joint stock organization, made up of the Queen, courtiers, and merchants was formed in 1577, and it was officials of the company and certain courtiers who directed things from then on. Consequently, the instructions issued for Frobisher's second and third voyages to America were not necessarily his ideas, but rather those of the company's commissioners and the Privy Council.[53] The area Frobisher discovered was being heralded as

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Drake were unlikely to try overseas settlements because "Only a man having great power could possibly come here." The deposition is printed in Nuttall, p. 7.

[52]George Best, "A True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie...," in Stefansson, I, p. 46.

[53]The orders for the third voyage, "Instructiones geven to or lovinge Frind Martine Ffrobisher, Esquier,,,," Stefansson, II, pp. 155-161. The instructions were from the commissioners of the company and included marginal notes by Lord Burghley. Michael Lok in Stefansson, II, p. 186 tells how nothing could be done without the permission of the Privy Council. George Best, in his narrative of the venture, mentions a couple of times that Frobisher was held back by his instructions from discovering the passage, Stefansson, I, pp. 72 and 93.

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a new Peru,[54] and the company became anxious to settle the area. On his second voyage in 1577, he took possession of the islands and the territory around a bay (Frobisher thought the bay was a strait leading into the South Sea) in what now is known as Baffin Island by marching through the country with his men, piling up stones in various places on the land, conducting ceremonies, and naming islands, capes, and other portions of land after prominent noblemen and officers on the expedition. He did not, however, neglect his most important duty which was to fill his three ships with ore. The Queen christened the new land Meta Incognita, and Frobisher was ordered to "plante and fortefye" 100 soldiers, miners, and artisans there on his third voyage. He did not have complete authority on either sea or land on these expeditions. Certain gentlemen in the party were appointed as "assistants" and Frobisher needed the assent of any two of

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[54]Sir Philip Sidney wrote to Hubert Languet, October 10, 1577 that the land had more gold and metals than Peru (certum indicium tulit, insulam adeo metalliferam esse ut Pervinas regiones saltem ut nuno sunt longe superare videatur"), Sir Philip Sidney, Works ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge: University Press, 1923), III, p. 117. Frobisher's activities created a lot of attention from the very first. There is a letter in the Folger Library's Bagot Collection, L.a. 987 from a Thomas Wood to Richard Bagot, a Staffordshire gentleman, reporting about the first Frobisher voyage. The letter tells nothing new about the expedition, but it shows that the expedition was being discussed by the literate populace in London and was being spread to the provinces.

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them to make a major decision. Edward Fenton, an experienced military man, was to be left in charge of the settlement.[55]

The whole purpose of the settlement, judging from the instructions, was to engage in mining and to defend the land from hostile natives and other Europeans (especially the Spaniards and the Danes.)[56] The men were to have a minister, but there were no women sent over nor any plans made for land distribution, political bodies, nor trade. Most of the instructions concerned the protection of the ore and the transporting of it to England, indicating that the company intended little more than a military settlement and mining camp to begin with. In the end, no settlement at all was made because, according to one account, the ships carrying the supplies were lost. Later, merchant Michael Lok, the heaviest investor in the project and governor of the company, charged that Frobisher had actually sabotaged the founding of a settlement out of jealousy that Fenton would get all the glory.[57] Frobisher was undoubtedly more dedicated

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[55]Dionise Settle, "The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher...," Richard Hakluyt, The Principall Navigations Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, ed. David Quinn and R. A. Skelton (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), pp. 624-25. The company grant is in Stefansson, II, pp. 103-106.

[56]Sidney, III, p. 117 tells in his letter to Languet that the company was particularly concerned about the Spanish and the Danes attacking the area.

[57]Michael Lok, "The Abuses of Captayne Furbusher agaynst the Companye," Stefansson, II, pp. 208-9.

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to the success of the venture than Lok was willing to admit, but he, having little personal support in either court or country, was less obsessive about claiming and conquering land in the New World than some of the other adventurers. He never again attempted a settlement overseas although the Catholic group who obtained a grant from Gilbert did at one time consider hiring him to lead their expedition to America.[58]

One of the tracts printed as publicity for the first Frobisher voyage in 1576 was A New Passage to Cataia written by Humphrey Gilbert ten years earlier. The strong prejudice against New World projects existing at the time Gilbert composed the pamphlet compelled him to preface his treatise with a defense of the journey in the form of an open letter to his supposedly skeptical brother, Sir John Gilbert. In that letter, which shows by its arguments the kind of objections the English had to such ventures, the Devon adventurer contended that all educated men now know that Cathay was a real place, not just some imaginary "Utopia," and that his project was not "so rashe, or foolishe, as you [Sir John] heretofore have deemed." The tract itself, which went on for many pages displaying Gilbert's familiarity with the discoveries of Verrazzano, Coronado, and other foreigners, was, among other things, a plea for more English in-

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[58]See Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 258.

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involvement overseas. Gilbert, as a 1566 petition by him to the Queen shows, not only wanted to look for a passage but also wanted to claim land in America. He asked for 1/10th of the territory discovered while on a passage journey, a monopoly of trade, and the "Capteneshippe" of the area for life to be exercised by himself or a deputy.[59]

His project never got any further than petitions because the Muscovy Company, who held a patent on all such discoveries, wanted Gilbert to work under them rather than lead his own expedition[60] and because he had military responsibilities in Ireland. While he served in that Elizabethan troublespot, he became interested in the possibility of acquiring vast amounts of land there through privately financed conquest and planting of Englishmen. His first idea was to join with some other West Country gentlemen including his uncle, Arthur Champernowne, in obtaining a portion of rebel infested Ulster which they would subdue and settle with people from their locality in England.[61] When this plan collapsed, he became involved with Grenville and and the others in the Munster project described above. Although

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[59]Quinn, Gilbert, I, p. 134. Quinn prints the whole tract. "Humphrey Gilbert's Petition to the Queen with the Comments of the Muscovy Company," Quinn, Gilbert, I, pp. 111-115.

[60]Ibid., pp. 112-113.

[61]Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sidney, July 20, 1567, Quinn, Gilbert, I, pp. 121-122.

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he left his military position in Ireland in 1570, he still showed some interest in a private scheme for settling land there as is shown by the 1572 plan (a slightly altered, less ambitious version of the earlier Munster project) again in conjunction with Arthur Champernowne to plant a military company on the Island of Baltimore.[62]

England's worsening relations with Spain in the 1570's gave new life to Gilbert's territorial ambitions in the New World. In 1577, as Drake was about to leave on his voyage around the world, Gilbert presented to the Queen "A Discourse How Hir Majestie May Annoy the King of Spayne."[63] What Gilbert had in mind, however, was quite a bit more than just "annoying" the King; he wanted, with the Crown's support, to attack the Spanish fishing fleets in Newfoundland and then join up with other English ships for an assault on the West Indies with the aim of conquering Santo Domingo and Cuba and making them English possessions. He then proposed to use them as bases for destroying the Spaniards on the American mainland. Gilbert was obviously trying to push the Queen into an all out war with Spain, a

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[62]Humphrey Gilbert, "The Discourse of Ireland," Quinn, Gilbert, I, pp. 124-28.

[63]Quinn, Gilbert, I, pp. 170-75. Gilbert also wrote another anti-Spanish piece around the same time which mentioned attacking the West Indies but not Newfoundland, I, pp. 176-80.

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country which he claimed was already "at open and professed warre with god himselfe," but Elizabeth was not ready for such an extreme step.

Although he failed to get the Queen's approval for what amounted to a conquest of Spain's American empire, Gilbert, in 1578, did receive a patent to claim and possess unoccupied territory in the New World. Because in his plan to annoy the King of Spain he had suggested that the expedition could be disguised as a planting project, one might suppose that this patent was just such a cover, and that he really had in mind attacking the Spanish. He might have had some intentions in that direction — Edward Hayes, an associate, said his fleet was originally supposed to be able to "encounter a Kings power by sea" — but in the end he could not have meant to follow the scheme he presented in the 1577 discourse, because his expedition, after numerous defections and accidents, was too small, and, as Professor Gillian Cell has pointed out, his ships left England in November, after the Newfoundland fishing season had ended.[64]

His plans for the second voyage were much more extensive and directed more towards finding his own American empire rather

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[64]"Edward Hayes' narrative of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's last expedition," Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 390; Gillian Cell, "The English in Newfoundland 1577-1660" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1964), pp. 91-92; Gilbert to Walsingham, February 7, 1583, Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 339, reveals that Gilbert had given his word to the Queen that he would not attack the Spanish.

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than conquering the Spanish one. The fact that Gilbert was still enthusiastic about going over to North America, even after he knew he could not make it the occasion for a major attack on Spanish possessions there, may be at least partially the result of rumors reaching him about a legendary Indian city called Norumbega located somewhere on the northeastern coast of America along an important river. The French, drawing on accounts of Verrazzano, Gomez, and Allefonsce, first popularized the story of this city which was supposedly inhabited by very civilized natives who were rich in precious metals and furs, and the myth caught on enough for Mercator to put Norumbega on his widely circulated and copied 1569 map and to draw a large castle by the name denoting that there was a big Indian enclave there.[65] Originally Gilbert had a prejudice against the northern parts of America[66] (probably because it was believed gold was only found in warm places), but Norumbega was not believed to be that far north and was reputed to have a wonderfully termperate climate. Gilbert was told by John Walker, an Englishman who had journeyed to the coast of North America that there were silver mines along the Norumbega River. Gilbert also learned about the wealth of

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[65] See Sigmund Diamond, "Norumbega: New England Xanadu," The American Neptune, XI (1951), pp. 95-107.

[66] See Edward Hayes' narrative in Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 390.

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Norumbega from David Ingram, an English seaman who reported among other things that its inhabitants lived in domed houses of crystal and silver.[67] Fantastic as the stories might be, Gilbert was eager to believe and the discovery of Norumbega became the object of his second expedition.[68]

Reinforced in his belief that there was still something left in the New World worth conquering, Gilbert proceeded to make elaborate plans for the organization of his settlements once they were established. His 1578 patent, which was the one he was still operating under in 1583, was extremely vague and put few limitations on him. He had six years to make his "conquest" of territories on the eastern coast of North America; he could not claim the whole coast but only lands in a two hundred league radius of the site in which he made a settlement. Other than having to give the Queen, to whom he pledged allegiance, one-fifth of all ore found on the land and swear that he would not make attacks on the possessions of countries in amity with the Crown (there is some question how seriously this was to be taken), Gilbert was really not accountable to the royal authorities. He had the

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[67] "Sondrie reports of the contrie which Sir Humfrey Gilbert goeth to Discover," Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 287 and 309.

[68] BM, Additional MSS 39823, Edward Hoby's commonplace book, has a tract in it entitled "Things knowen by experyence to be in the countryes about the Ryver of Norrinberge" which was probably circulated to build up support for Gilbert's voyage and indicates Norumbega was his destination. Also Richard Clarke and John Carter, both members of the crew, state that Gilbert was "going for the discovery of Norumbega," Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 378 and 423.

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power to dispose of all land in "free simple or otherwise," drive out all interlopers, control trade, and govern the inhabitants under laws "as neare as coveniently maye agreable to the forme of the lawes and pollicies of England/And also as they be not against the true christian faith."[69]

Gilbert's vision of what his New World settlement would be like after the conquest when it was no longer necessary to maintain an armed camp is set forth in a unique document — unique in that none of the other adventurers left such detailed plans — written in 1582 for his executors' information in case of his death.[70] He pictured himself and his heirs ultimately ruling over an agriculturally based society peopled with all sorts from gentlemen bringing tenants with them to the poor sent over at the charge of the realm. The latter along with voluntaries who paid their own way over became tenants of Gilbert receiving 60 and 120 acres respectively for the term of three lives. In return, they were to pay rent, relief, and heriot. Gentlemen who also had to "be an adventurer in the next to voyages", received upwards of 1000 acres of land, depending on the number of men they brought over, paying a fine upon receiving the land, and a

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[69]"Letters patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert," Quinn, Gilbert, I, pp. 188-93.

[70]"Grant of authority by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, regarding his rights in America, to Sir John Gilbert, Sir George Peckham and William Aucher," Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 266-277.

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yearly rent, plus having to build a townhouse if they had over 4000 acres. Each of Gilbert's younger children and his wife, if widowed, were to receive the profits from a "seignorie" along with special privileges and duties.[71] Everyone had to furnish military equipment, pay ½d. per annum after 10 years on every acre of land and woods "possessed and manured" for the maintenance of the army and navy, and give 2/5 of all gold, silver, and precious stones, as well as 1/10th of all metals to Gilbert. Estates were to be set aside for ministers, bishops, and an archbishop. Land was to be divided into parishes, and there were to be tithes. For the support of maimed soldiers, lecturers, scholars, and learning in general, the landlords were to reserve the profits from 1/40th of their land and ministers were to set aside 1/20th of their livings.

Gilbert was in charge of defense and the maintenance of order. He intended to have 13 Counsellors for Marshal and Marine Causes chosen by the inhabitants. But beyond the statement that there were to be "cheife magistrates and lawe makers," his plans

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[71]The terms under which Gilbert's younger children held their seignories were different from the other land grants. They each had the exercise of justice on their estate, they only had to reserve 1/5 of the precious metals and stones to Gilbert and his heir, they only paid 4d. per 1000 acre rent, and they had to give 40 days service at war under the Chief Lord with one soldier for every 5000 acres possessed and manured. There was no residency requirement, so there was nothing to prevent them from being absentee landlords.

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contained no specific measures for government and the administration of justice.

Despite the fact that the use of money, such as in the payment of rents, was an integral part of the system, Gilbert's design, or more accurately Gilbert's role in the design, can be said to have several feudal[72] characteristics. First, Gilbert's vast power in America vis-a-vis that of the Crown was more reminiscent of the relationship between earlier English noblemen and the pre-Tudor monarchy than it was of the contemporary distribution of power between lords and the Queen in Elizabethan England. Second, Gilbert was to have power in the New World primarily because he was to perform a military service: his principal duties were to lead the conquest, keep order once the settlement was made, and direct all warlike activities. To make sure that everyone would know what he had rights by conquest, Gilbert brought Stephen Parmenius, a Hungarian poet, along on his second voyage "to record in the Latin tongue, the gests and things worthy of rembrance happening in this discoverie."[73] Third, Gilbert had a very limited interest in the mercantile

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[72]Feudal is being used here to describe that situation in which great power over land and men is not purchased with money but obtained through the rendering of exceptional military service.

[73]The source for this quotation and most of the other information in this paragraph is Edward Hayes' narrative, Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 385-423.

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development of his settlement and, in exchange for badly needed capital, turned over the monopoly on trade to a group of Southampton merchants.[74] They were to be known as Merchant Adventurers with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and in addition to directing trade, they were granted land on better terms than those outlined in the plan above. Gilbert did, however, have ultimate control over the company being able to appoint its officers, receiving one-fifth of the fines exacted on entrance to the company, and one-half of the customs on goods, while the company, except in trade, had little control over him. This agreement, of course, along with the rest of Gilbert's elaborate plans evaporated when he died during the 1583 voyage.

About the time Gilbert was preparing to leave on his second voyage to the New World, Christopher Carleill was making his own plans for settling one hundred men in the "southern part" of North America, somewhere in the area of 40° north. The tract he wrote on his projected voyage, A Briefe and Summary Discourse Upon the Intended Voyage to the Hithermost Parts of America,[75] is less helpful in comprehending Carleill's ideas on

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[74]"Agreement between Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the Merchant Adventurers of Southampton [November 2, 1582]," and "Additional Articles of Agreement between Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the Adventurers, with his instructions for the voyage," Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 313-335.

[75]Reprinted in Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 351-64 as is "Articles of the Muscovy Company Relative to Christopher Carleill's Project," pp. 365-69, which also gives some information about the project.

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planting than one might suppose because it was written to persuade the Muscovy Company merchants, whose shipping he had recently defended from the Danes, to help finance his expedition. Thus it discussed America as a source of new commodities, as an outlet for home products, and as a dumping ground for the English poor -- all topics, especially the first two, which would be of interest to merchants; but it did not tell how the colony would be organized nor how it would commercially exploit the New World, leading one to suspect Carleill's immediate interests were not with trade at all. Considering that England was on the verge of war with Spain, that Carleill's background was entirely military, that his step-father and major backer was Sir Francis Walsingham, an ardent advocate of hostile actions against Catholic powers, and that the plans particularly specified that the men were not only to be victualed but to be furnished with "munitions,"[76] it seems rather evident that the settlement, in the beginning at least, was to be military in nature. In the end, Carleill did not join forces with the Muscovy Company but looked to private men such as the Earl of Shrewsbury for assistance.[77] By April

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[76] Ibid., p. 366.

[77] Letter from Earl of Shrewsbury to Thomas Bawdewyn, May 20, 1583, Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 373-4. Horatio Palavicio was also solicited through Richard Hakluyt, E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ("Hakluyt Society Series II," Vol. LXXVI; London, 1935), I, pp. 209-10.

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1584, Carleill had fitted out four ships,[78] but sometime in the summer he cancelled the project, perhaps because of inadequate support.

In 1584 Walter Ralegh decided to follow up on what his half-brother had begun in America and obtained a patent from the Queen which was almost identical to Gilbert's[79] although Ralegh was determined to make his settlement much to the south of where Gilbert had planned to stop. There are no surviving plans in his own hand, but there are some legal documents and several papers commissioned by Ralegh which shed considerable light on his intentions in the New World. First, there are the words carved on the seal Ralegh obtained for Virginia which state unequivocally the role he envisioned for himself: "Propria insihnia [insignia] Walteri Ralegh Militis Domini & Gubernatoris Virginiae," — Sir Walter Ralegh Lord and Governor of Virginia.[80] Also there is the tract he recruited Richard Hakluyt the younger to write for the Queen requesting her support in the planting of America. This tract became known as The Discourse of Western

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[78] David Quinn (ed.), The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590, ("Hakluyt Society Series II," Vol. CIV; London, 1955), I, pp. 725-6. Hereafter cited as Quinn, Roanoke.

[79] Ibid., I, pp. 82-89, March 26, 1584, letters patent to Walter Ralegh. As Quinn points out the patent does not control those fishing in the Newfoundland area as Gilbert's patent did.

[80] Ibid., I, p. 147.

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Planting, and while not all the sentiments expressed by Hakluyt were necessarily shared by Ralegh, certainly Hakluyt's principal argument, that fortified settlements in the New World were needed to check Spain's power, was also one of Ralegh's basic convictions. Hakluyt suggested that "two or three strong fortes" be put up between Cape Breton and Florida: one to serve as a base for intercepting treasure fleets and eventually to send out troops to join with Florida Indians in fighting the Spanish; and the other further north to function as a base for a fleet which would seize the fishing vessels of Spain and Portugal.[81]

Ralegh ignored Hakluyt's recommendation that a marketable commodity be found immediately, and he made no provisions for land distribution. His first settlers were to be soldiers who would pursue the dual objectives of conquering new territory in North America and helping drive the Spanish out. Ralegh had a military expert write out notes on fortifying a place in America. This expert advised that 800 soldiers be sent over armed "to deall with naked men" as well as with the Spaniardes and provisioned to build a fort. The military commander was to be in charge of the government. Discovery trips on to the mainland were suggested, and on every such trip there was to be an offi-

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[81]Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting," ed. Taylor, II, pp. 240, 242, 243, and 323.

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cer who was to make sure the Queen received her one-fifth, indicating that it was assumed the explorers would find precious metals.[82]

The actions of the planting expedition Ralegh sent out under the supervision of Sir Richard Grenville proceeded along the lines set down in the above notes. On the way to North America, Grenville stopped in the West Indies to take prizes and get supplies. After reaching Roanoke Island, a site chosen by a discovery party sent out in 1584 by Ralegh, and erecting a fort, Grenville returned home, leaving Ralph Lane in command of 107 soldiers. Lane led the discovery trips on to the mainland himself, suggesting that he considered them of more importance than further development of the settlement on Roanoke. He felt the settlement would ultimately have to be moved due to the fact that it did not have a good harbor which was important if the base was to serve as a stopping point for English vessels as there was some evidence that it was supposed to do.[83] Lane's primary goal in making the discovery trips was to find a tribe of Indians living along the Roanoke River who were said to have access to mines of a very pure form of copper. In his opinion, only the

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[82]"For Master Rawleys Viage," Quinn, Roanoke, I, pp. 130-39.

[83]Privateering vessels sent out by Sir George Carey as well as Sir Francis Drake were scheduled to stop there, Ibid., pp. 32 and 63-64.

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discovery of metals, or at the very least, a discovery of a passage to the East would bring a large number of inhabitants to America. Wood or sassafras for trade would not be worth shipping if a valuable ore was not found.[84] Lane, of course, like most of his men, was a soldier. The non-military types, such as Thomas Hariot and John White, the two surveyors on the voyage, were more interested in exploiting the land and its commodities.

In 1586, when Sir Francis Drake stopped at Roanoke to deliver Negroes, Indians, and tools purloined from the Spanish in the West Indies, Lane and his men, discouraged by unproductive discovery trips and lack of supplies, decided to leave the settlement and return to England with him.[85] A short time later, Grenville returned to Roanoke with aid and left 15 soldiers at the abandoned site, who were never heard from by the English again.

Ralegh, preoccupied with his military settlements which he continued to try and send over through 1588, had little time or money to devote to the group of people, including women and children, who went over to Virginia in 1587 under the leadership of John White. According to the agreement Ralegh made with them,

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[84]Ralph Lane, "Discourse of the First Colony," Ibid., pp. 268 and 272-74.

[85]Bernard Drake, an old associate of Gilbert's, was supposed to bring a shipment of supplies and men to Lane earlier, but he was ordered by the Queen to go to Newfoundland instead and destroy the fishing fleet there, Ibid., p. 235.

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he retained lordship over the land, granted them estates of about 500 acres per person, and agreed to help them with some ships and supplies, but he had little say in their government or their other activities.[86] Later, in 1589 Ralegh turned over most of his financial responsibility for the settlement to some London merchants, the same merchants to whom Ralegh, running short of funds, gave trading rights in Virginia. The White group though its destination was supposed to be around the Chesapeake, was left on Roanoke and established themselves there, but that is about all that is known about the settlement; like the 15 soldiers left by Grenville, they mysteriously disappeared. Ralegh undoubtedly hoped eventually to have not just a mere fort but a real settled domain in Virginia, similar to what he was trying to erect on his 12,000 acre estate in Munster.[87] However, like his brother Humphrey, he was deeply influenced by the Spanish achievement in America, and as a result, he tended to concentrate his resources on the employment of soldiers both because this was

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[86]Grant of Arms for the City of Raleigh in Virginia...," Ibid., II, pp. 506-512. Hariot claimed that the least any man who adventured his person received was 500 acres, I, p. 385.

[87]On the Munster project of the 1580's see Robert Dunlop, "Plantation of Munster 1584-1589," English Historical Review, 3 (1898), pp. 250-269; David Quinn, Sir Walter Raleigh and the British Empire (New York: Collier Books, 1962 rev. ed.), pp. 111-132; and Edwards, I, pp. 84-108.

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the way he felt one established a new domain and because in the back of his mind, he always had hopes of being able to take over the empire of the Spaniards.

Ralegh was never satisfied with the kind of hit and run exploit pioneered by Drake, feeling that "it had sorted ill with the offices of Honor, which by her maiesties grace, I hold this day in England, to rune from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinarie prizes."[88] While not above organizing an occasional privateering expedition, Ralegh was happiest when planning a conquest. In 1594, after his disgrace at court and his failures in Virginia and Ireland, he turned to Guiana. For some time, he had read in histories and heard from Spanish and English captains about the fabulous golden land of El Dorado which was ruled by runaway descendants of the Emperor of Peru whom Pizarro had conquered.[89] There had been a long succession of gentlemen adventurers from various countries who had tried to reach the legendary Guiana, and Ralegh decided to add the name of an Englishman to the list. He led an expedition

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[88]Walter Ralegh, "The Discoverie of the large and bewtiful Empire of Guiana," The Discovery of Guiana, ed. V. T. Harlow (London: Argonaut Press, 1928), p. 4.

[89]Ibid., 13ff. In 1586 Ralegh had the opportunity to talk with Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, a Spanish adventurer captured by the English, who knew about Guiana. In his tract, Ralegh mentions the New World books of Thevet, Lopez de Gomara who wrote Cronica de Indies as well as the history of Cortez's conquest, and Pedro de Cieza who wrote on Pizarro. While Ralegh was in Guiana he captured Don Antonio de Berrio who had been a relentless pursuer of the El Dorado for many years and filled Ralegh in on the many previous attempts that had been made by Germans and Spaniards.

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over there in 1595. He did not find the El Dorado, but he was convinced of its existence and on his trip tried to lay the foundation for a conquest by befriending all the tribes of Indians with which he came into contact.

After returning, he published a tract, The Discoverie of the large and bewtiful Empire of Guiana, in which he pleaded for an English conquest of the area. The tract was primarily aimed at interesting soldiers in the exploit. He promised that the common soldiers "shal here fight for gold, and pay himself in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a boote brode, wheras he breaketh his bones in other warres for provant and penury." Gentlemen adventurers would also benefit:

> Those commanders and Chieftaines, that shoote at honour, and abundance, shal find there more rich and bewtifull cities, more temples adorned with golden Images, more sepulchers filled with treasure, then either Cortes found in Mesico or Pazzaro in Peru and the shining glorie of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation.[90]

For the Queen, Ralegh had one of his servants draw up a fuller statement of what he really wanted to do in Guiana. It seems that Ralegh's ultimate object was not just to claim the Guiana area but to drive the Spanish out of their Peruvian empire with the help of all the natives including the Guianians. Therefore, the author of the piece Ralegh submitted to the Crown ad-

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[90]Ralegh, "Discoverie...of Guiana," p. 71.

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vised against trying to take the Guianians by force. Instead he hoped to get those Indians to agree to being "tributories" of the English Crown

> rendering yearly to her Majestie and her successors a great tribute allotting to her use some rich mines and rivers of gold, pearle, silver, rocks of pretious stones etc. with some large fruitful countryes for the planting of her colonyes.[91]

In exchange the English would arm and lead the Indians against their old oppressors the Spaniards. Ralegh felt that the English could never assemble enough soldiers in South America to drive out the Spanish, so the only alternative was to arm the natives. In this way, England could get lordship over all the treasures on the continent and deal a severe blow to Spanish power.

In all it was a highly audacious plan completely true to a man who put a high value on greatness of mind, but at times the logic of the argument became rather convoluted as the author tried to justify a conquest of Spain's South American empire. He claimed, citing biblical passages as authority, that Europeans could not take away the land of heathens just because they were heathens, and that, therefore, the Spaniards had no right to their empire in the first place and could legitimately be dispossessed. The English would be better lords, for they would not treat the Indians inhumanely nor conquer them but make them

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[91] "Of the Voyage for Guiana," Harlow, p. 146.

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tributories which was, to his mind, different.[92] He ignores the fact that Spanish conquistadores originally used Indian allies to win their empires and employed a tribute system.[93] Ralegh evidently felt the need to have his man couch the argument in these terms in order to dispel any lingering notions that the Spaniards had a right to Peru. This plan of course required the full support of the monarch who, despite Ralegh's impassioned pleas, refused to give her endorsement, leaving the out-of-favor courtier to depend on private sources for any further incursions into the area.[94]

Ralegh's promotional efforts for Guiana were not a complete loss, for they attracted the attention of Charles Leigh, who in 1602 made an exploratory voyage there as a preliminary step for a settlement he was to plant two years later on the Wiapoco River.[95] Guiana was not Leigh's first planting experiment; in

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[92] Ibid., pp. 140-43.

[93] The histories of the conquests bring this out, plus there is a manuscript version of John Chilton's relation written around 1586 (BM, Additional MSS 22904) which outlines in detail the tribute system of the Spanish Empire. Chilton's piece was printed in Hakluyt's Principall Voyages, but much of the tribute information was omitted.

[94] In 1596 Ralegh sent Lawrence Keymis on an exploratory voyage, and in 1598 Ralegh's nephew, John Gilbert, was supposed to lead another colonizing expedition which ultimately failed to materialize, CSP, Domestic Elizabeth, 1598-1601, pp. 110 and 121. Ralegh's letters to Sir Robert Cecil begging for support from the Queen in the Guiana endeavor are in Edwards, II, pp. 108, 109-11, and 117-18.

[95] John Nicholl, An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes (London, 1607), $B1^{v}$.

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1597 he had been involved in a venture to inhabit Ramea, an island in the St. Lawrence River. No plans for this project have survived, but there are a couple of accounts of the journey, a Privy Council entry and a petition extant.[96] Leigh wished to plant a colony on Ramea peopled with Brownists, a religious sect in disfavor in England, and by doing so to gain control of the fishing in the St. Lawrence area as well as annoy "that bloody and persecuting Spaniard." The journey over to the New World, however, ended up in being a confrontation between the Leigh group and the Basque fishermen with the former taking back several prizes but failing to plant the sectaries. In October of 1597 shortly after he returned to London, Leigh presented to the Crown a new plan, one which no longer included the Brownists.[97] He proposed to take three ships to Ramea, fortify the island, and use it as a year around base for fishing and privateering.

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[96]Richard Hakluyt, Principal Navigations ("Hakluyt Society Extra Series," Glasgow, 1904), pp. 166-180; George Johnson, A discourse of some troubles and excommunications in the English church at Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1603); APC, XXVII, pp. 5-6; Champlin Burrage, English Dissenters (Cambridge, 1912), II, pp. 125-26. David Quinn has written two articles on this expedition: "England and the St. Lawrence, 1577 to 1602," Merchants and Scholars, ed. John Parker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), pp. 117-144; and "The First Pilgrims," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, Vol. 23 (1966), pp. 359-390.

[97]"A Briefe Platforme for a voyadge w^{the} three ships unto the Iland of Ramea," BM, Additional MSS, 12505.

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His aim was to obtain possession of the area for England and prevent French fishermen from supplying the Spanish fleet. Leigh's plan, which was more belligerent in nature than his first voyage, would have inevitably involved his settlers in hostilities with non-Spanish ships, and, as David Quinn has pointed out, it was probably this aspect which made the whole project unacceptable to the Crown and resulted in its being shelved.

A few years later, Leigh became interested in Guiana. His actual colony was planted in 1604, after the death of Elizabeth, but he began planning it two years earlier. Guiana's primary attraction was gold; as one of the men involved in the project wrote, it was "reputed to bee the chiefest place for golde Mines in all the West India."[98] Leigh planned to settle his 35 men (more were to be sent subsequently) some miles down the Wiapoco or, as he called it, the Caroleigh River, and intended to make discovery trips around the area looking for Indians who knew about or possessed gold.[99] However, he made the settlement near

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[98]Nicholl, Bl[v]. In a letter to the Privy Council dated July 2, 1604, Leigh states that "the greevous Remembraunces of my untymly fortunes at home emforced me to undertake A veryе dangerus enterprise," but he gives no hint as to what these "remembraunces" were, SP 14/8/fol. 87.

[99]Three accounts of the Guiana colony, Charles Leigh's letter to his brother Sir Oliph Leigh, and a brief mention of the fate of the colony in William Turner's treatise are in Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimes ("Hakluyt Society Extra Series;" Glasgow, 1906), XVI, pp. 309-357. The best secondary account is James A. Williamson, English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon 1604-1668 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 29-41 which gives a short bibliographical sketch of all materials available on the project.

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the mouth of the river when the local Indians offered to provide houses, gardens, and victuals if Leigh and his company would help them fight the Caribes. The narratives concerning the project reveal that once Leigh had settled in Guiana, he became interested in developing the country agriculturally perhaps realizing that the story of gold might turn out to be a chimera. He wrote to his brother about the possibility of developing flax as a marketable commodity, as the Dutch were doing, and asked him to make the 100 men he was to send over "all laboring men and gardners and a few carpenters." He also requested that preachers "such as are well perswaded of the Church government in England"[100] be transported over, indicating that Leigh's formerly critical attitude toward the Anglicans, as manifested in his sympathy for the Brownists and by his comments while at James' court in Scotland in 1600,[101] had at least been mollified and was not a significant factor in the Guiana project.

His men, however, were not entirely happy with the way Leigh, who they had sworn to acknowledge as their "chief general,"[102] was neglecting the search for precious metals. They did not believe that there were "any commodities the Country

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[100]Letter from Charles Leigh to Sir Oliph Leigh, July 2, 1604, Purchas, XVI, pp. 316-23.

[101]See above, chapter I.

[102]"The Relation of Master John Wilson of Wansteed in Essex...," Purchas, XVI, p. 340.

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yeelded which would afoord them present benefit," and so they pushed Leigh into leading an expedition of Englishmen and Indians against the Caribes who were rumored to have gold.[103] Earlier, they had wanted to go after spoil in the West Indies, but Leigh, perhaps fearing James' wrath, prevented them. Nothing came of the campaign against the Caribes, and sickness as well as lack of supplies further weakened the settlement. Leigh's death in 1605, just as he was preparing to go to England to plead for more support, put an end to the venture although a few men stayed on for a couple of years.

Leigh was not the only colonization leader who, rather than have his project fail, began moving away from the conquest pattern and considered other ways to exploit the resources of the New World once it began clear that the old model was not adaptable to the situation. Bartholomew Gosnold tried to make a similar type of adjustment. He was originally attracted to North America because of the Norumbega legend. In making plans for his voyage, Gosnold was evidently most influenced by Verrazzano's account which pinpointed the area around 41° north latitude as being the dwelling place of the most advanced group of Indians on the Eastern coast, Indians who supposedly possessed copper plates and precious stones and who had a great disdain for

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[103] Ibid., pp. 338, 340-341.

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gold.[104] Gosnold and his small company sailed to America in 1602, dropped anchor at the latitude Verrazzano had specified, and proceeded to build a modest fort on one of the islands off the coast of what we now call New England, going on to the mainland periodically to make discovery trips.

Two narratives by gentlemen on the expedition, Gabriel Archer and John Brereton, have survived. Archer carefully noted every time there was some small hint that precious metals might be found in the area. He reported (incorrectly) that "these Indians call Gold Wassador, which argueth there is thereof in the Countrey" and that two main rivers had been found which "(as we judge" may haply become good Harbours, and conduct us to the hopes men so greedily doe thirst after."[105] However, what the two narratives, which were obviously designed to promote further ventures, stressed more than anything else were the healthfulness of the country and the variety as well as the plentifulness of animal and vegetable life. Gosnold had not spent all his time looking for precious metals; he had his men collect sassafras and

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[104]Gosnold mentions Verrazzano as the authority for the area in a letter to his father, September 7, 1602, Purchas, XVIII, pp. 300-02. Richard Hakluyt's Divers Voyages was reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, 7 (London, 1850). The Verrazzano tract is on pp. 55-71.

[105]Gabriel Archer, "The Relation of Captaine Gosnols Voyage to the North part of Virginia..." Purchas, XVIII, p. 309.

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traded with the Indians to obtain skins for sale in England. He was looking for ways to make the New World profitable other than gold and conquest. Unfortunately, his new outlook had evidently not filtered down to all of his men who, hoping to make "a saving voyage" and entertaining "ambitious conceits," refused to make a settlement.[106] Gosnold was undaunted by the failure of the venture and immediately upon returning began to agitate for a larger project in Virginia.

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It may be redundant at this point to state that the Elizabethan adventurers viewed planting or (as we would say but they would not) colonization as a military activity. The accounts of their projects tell the story: they are histories of conquests that never materialized, victories that failed to come off, adventures that ended as fiascos. Often the leaders of the expeditions could not decide whether they should invade new territory or try to capture the American empire of the Spanish. Paradoxically, the immediate source of inspiration for their New World ventures came from their greatest enemy. The information they

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[106]John Brereton, A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia (London, 1602), p. 12 and Archer, pp. 311-12. These writers, friends of Gosnold's, were sympathetic towards his efforts to settle the land and critical of those who refused to stay.

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derived from reading the numerous histories available on the discoveries, most of which centered on the exploits of Cortes and Pizarro, and from interrogating Iberian and French soldier-seamen was not only used to ornament their own tracts but made a great impact on the adventurers' thinking. The success of the conquistadores rendered the fantastic stories about Cibola, Norumbega, and Guiana believable; it convinced men like Ralegh and Lane that the discovery of precious metals was a sine qua non for getting large numbers of Englishmen over to America; and it assured the adventurers that private men could indeed conquer an empire without direct assistance from the state.[107] The authority of the Spanish experience was so great that even Richard Hakluyt, an inveterate "Hispaniphobe," suggested the English adopt for their own use the governing rules the Iberians had employed in their first plantations.[108]

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[107]The anonymous manuscript, probably authored by Edward Hayes, Gilbert's associate, in Cambridge Library Dd. 3.85 states "we nede not be discouraged, havyng not the help of a prynces purse, and being but pryvat men. Seeing that veary mean persons amonst the Spanyards (for no better was Hernan Cortes nor many besyds) have attempted to discover, and obtayned conquest w^t possession of many ample kingdoms...to theyr perpetuall fame in the West Indes." Also Sir George Peckham, another Gilbert associate, in "A true report of the late discoveries," Quinn, Gilbert II, p. 471, stresses that Cortes and the others were private gentlemen.

[108]"Discourse of Western Planting," Taylor, Hakluyt II, p. 355. He says, "...it is wisshed that it were learned oute what course bothe the Spaniardes and Portingales tooke in their discoveries for government, and that the same were delivered to

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It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that it was the Spanish experience alone that made Englishmen think of planting as a military activity. The conduct of the conquistadores only served to reinforce conventional notions about the nature of expansion. It was assumed in the sixteenth century that, historically, men had acquired new territory through the employment of armed force and had held the territory by planting soldier-settlers. This was what Englishmen believed had been done in Ireland in the 12th century[109] and what had been done in Calais and had been attempted in the rest of France under

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learned men, that had perused most of the lawes of the empire and of other princes Lawes, and that thereupon some speciall orders fitt for voyadges and begynninges, mighte upon deliberation be sett downe and allowed by the Q. most excellent majestie and her wise counsell and faire ingrossed mighte in a Table be sette before the eyes of suche as goe in the voyadge, that no man poonished or executed may justly complaine of manifeste and open wronge offred."

[109]Sir George Peckham, "A true report of the late discoveries," Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 471 writes "...a Noble man, beeing but a subjecte in this Realme, (in the time of our King Henrie the second) by name Strangebowe, then Earle of Chepstowe in South Wales, by himselfe and his Alleis and assistaunts, at their owne proper charges, passed over into Ireland, and there made conquest of the nowe Countrey, and then kingdom of Lympster, at which time it was verie populous and strong; which historie, our owne Chronicles doo witnes." Also see David Quinn, "Ireland and Sixteenth Century European Expansion," Historical Studies, ed. T. D. Williams (London, 1958), pp. 20-32 for many quotations showing that the English considered the first planting had been in the 12th century.

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Edward III.[110] It is probably rather misguided to talk, as some historians have done[111] about the Elizabethans getting the idea for "colonization" (a word they did not use) from 16th century Ireland or Roman political theory because the adventurers do not really seem to think they are doing anything particularly new. They appropriated the word "colony" but employed it very seldom and then in a very restrictive sense. "Colony" comes from the Latin "colonia," a word which referred to the Roman citizens, usually soldiers, sent over to a hostile or newly conquered country to settle and defend the land. Although "colonia" was retained and Anglicized by Richard Eden in his 1555 translation

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[110]This is Ralegh's assumption in "A Discourse of the Original and Fundamental Cause of Natural, Arbitrary, Necessary, and Unnatural War," Works ed William Oldys and Thomas Birch (Oxford, 1829) Vol. VIII, p. 258: "...if our king Edward III had prospered in his French wars, and peopled with English the towns which he won, as he began at Calais, driving out the French; the kings (as his successors) holding the same course, would by this time have filled all France with our nation, without any notable emptying of this island."

[111]See especially Howard Mumford Jones, "Brigins of the Colonial Idea in England," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 85 (1942), pp. 448-465. Jones' article is an extremely valuable one, but I do think that the implication that the Elizabethans had to get the very limited idea they had of a colony from the Irish or Roman experience overlooks the fact that such activities were assumed to be a part of conquest behavior by the Elizabethans. What the English did have to acquire was an expanded idea of colony which occurred in the 17th century. I am not saying that the Elizabethans did not use Ireland and Rome as examples and as points of reference when writing about the New World occasionally to bolster their arguments in the Elizabethan period.

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of Latin and Italian works on overseas activities,[112] the word never obtained widespread usage in the sixteenth century, and as late as 1598, the poet, Michael Drayton, in a work unrelated to New World expansion, considered it necessary when using the phrase "of those industrious Romaine Colonies," to define the word "colony" in a footnote. He wrote, "a colony is a fort or number of people that come to inhabite a place before not inhabited" and associated it with "subversion" (i.e. invasion) of the land.[113] When Elizabethans like Hakluyt occasionally employed the word, they kept to its strict Latin meaning and used it primarily to refer to the group sent over to inhabit and not to the territory they occupied.[114]

Likewise, "proprietary" and "proprietor" are not used. "Plantation," according to the OED was first used in 1586 in reference to Ireland and it is significant that it's use coincided with the Munster project, where for the first time settlers were going to plant land that had, supposedly, already been subdued and were to function primarily as farmers. "Plantation"

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[112]Richard Eden, The Decades... (London, 1955), fol. 56. Eden is translating from an account of the conquest by Pizarro written by Peter Martyr d'Anghiera in Latin. This passage in d'Anghiera does not contain the word "colonia," but the word is used continually by Anghiera in other places throughout his work, see his De Orbe Novo.

[113]Michael Drayton, England's Heroical Epistles (London, 1598), sig. E1.

[114]For an example, see in the text above the quotation from the tract written by a protege of Ralegh's, "Of the Voyage for Guiana".

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was not used in connection with America until after 1600 when both Leigh and Gabriel Archer employed it to denote their respective places of habitation.[115] Again this usage occurred when settlements began to be thought of as economic units and suppliers of raw materials to the mother country.

The reluctance of sixteenth century adventurers and their associates to develop a new vocabulary for their overseas activities, a reluctance first noted by Howard Mumford Jones,[116] is further evidence that they, at the beginning, did not make any sharp distinction between planting activities and other forms of warfare involving the acquisition of territory. The words the adventurers most commonly used to describe what they were doing were ones with either military connotations or no specialized meaning at all — conquering, subduing, possessing, inhabiting, settling, and planting (used in the sense of setting down).

David Quinn has argued that during most of the sixteenth century Ireland did not have colonial status,[117] and I think this

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[115]"Leigh's letter to Sir Oliph Leigh," Purchas, XVI, p. 319. He wrote, "This agreed upon, I went ashoare to the Indians, to provide victuals, and other necessaries for our Plantation." In "Relation of Captaine Gosnols Voyage..." Purchas XVIII, p. 308, Archer stated "The eight and twentieth we entred counsell about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the West part of Elizabeths Iland."

[116]See "Origins of the Colonial Idea in England."

[117]See "Ireland and Sixteenth Century European Expansion."

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applies to the New World as well, simply because the adventurers did not have any real conception of colonial status or of a colonial system. Most of the adventurers in making their plans barely got any further than the initial conquest, but when they did, as in the case of Gilbert and Ralegh, they seemed to conceive of their settlements as lordly domains in which the authority of the adventurers was legitimated by their performance of a military rather than an economic function, the organization was manorial with limited mercantile goals, and the principal connection with England was through the Queen. This kind of thinking is illustrated by the preface to the Faerie Queene where Edmund Spencer, a Ralegh protege, hails Elizabeth as Queen of "England, France, Ireland, and Virginia," putting Ralegh's grant on an equal footing with the Queen's other domains. While at the end of the period, some of the adventurers began thinking about finding marketable raw materials to make the New World valuable to England, they had not yet developed any very elaborate theory of the relationship between the mother country and the colonies or the mercantile basis of that relationship.

The attitudes of the adventurers toward western planting — their conception of it as a military endeavor and their vision of the settlement as a domain — fitted in well with their own lordly aspirations. New World planting, as they pictured it, offered them the opportunity to be both proud, lordly warrior and loyal

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servant of the Queen. They could acquire a minor empire while still remaining an obedient, and possibly becoming an influential, member of the court. While America involved greater risks than any other kind of endeavor, it also, in their eyes, potentially offered the greatest rewards.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF ENGLISH PLANTING EXPEDITIONS TO THE NEW WORLD

The lordly aspirations of the colonizers predetermined the kind of governing framework, method of recruiting participants, and mode of financing — in short, the entire organizational structure — that would be employed in the western planting ventures of the Elizabethans. Armed with his patent or license,[1] the colonization leader dominated the project in the sense that he had ultimate control over the direction of the venture, even if he could not always control his major associates, most of whom were kinsmen or gentlemen soldiers from his county or court. The categories of participant and investor tended to overlap in these ventures; men volunteered their bodies and sometimes their property in exchange for a share of the spoils of war and conquest. These undertakings resembled nothing so much as the

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[1]The patents or licenses given the projects were usually in the name of the leader only. In Grenville's case, where his associates were also on the patent, he still had extraordinary authority on the expedition and over the settlement. The patent is reprinted in R. Pease-Chope, "New Light on Sir Richard Grenville," Transactions of the Devonshire Association, XLIX (1917), p. 243. The patent says that all those patentees who were actually going on the voyage were to have full authority to rule over the people on the expedition according to the laws set down and were to have the power to make ordinances by "dyscression" when no regulations had been written down. Seeings Grenville was the only patentee known to be going, this power would fall to him alone.

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private military expedition with which most of the colonizers had had a great deal of experience.

Gilbert's first voyage in 1578 was a good example of this kind of arrangement. The chart on the next page shows that at least 549 men were assembled for the expedition.[2] Gilbert collected over half the men and supplied two large ships (one commanded by his half-brother, Carew Ralegh and the other by him), two small ships, and a pinnace. His half-brother Walter Ralegh had one of the Queen's ships and supplied it with men and equipment. A court acquaintance, Henry Knollys, joined in with two ships and 131 men. Edward Denys, a wealthy Devon gentleman, related to Gilbert, captained his own ship with 30 men, and a Welshman, Myles Morgan, probably related to Sir William Morgan with whom Gilbert had fought along side on the Continent, adventured himself, a ship, and 53 men.[3] The men who staffed the

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[2]The figures and names given for the expedition are from SP 12/126/49, reprinted in Quinn, Gilbert, I, pp. 209-212. There is some disagreement about the number of men who accompanied Gilbert. The figures in the documents add up to 388 and with Knollys' and Denys men it makes 549 -- the figure I have used. However, the totals given in the document state Gilbert had 365 men with him, and Quinn, p. 43, claims 409 finally went, perhaps figuring that the captain and major officers were not included in the totals.

[3]Sir William Morgan contributed funds to the voyage, Ibid., II, p. 332. Gilbert held lands in Wales which also might have connected him with the Morgans.

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ESTIMATED SIZE AND COST OF THE PLANTING PROJECTS

Project	# Ships Sent Over	# Active Participants	# Settlers Landed	Cost
Stucley	6	400?		£5110
Frobisher	20	1000?		£20494
Gilbert – 1st Project	10	549		£7696
" – 2nd Project	6	271		£3312
Ralegh – Roanoke	23	1350?	274	£22295
Ralegh – Guiana	13	800?	2	£9870
Leigh – Ramea	2	95?		£1330
Leigh – Guiana	3	153	65	£3340
Gosnold	1	32		£774

Number of Ships. These figures include all ships that left port even if they subsequently deserted the project. Ships are counted twice if they went out on more than one voyage. For example, in Leigh's Guiana project, I have listed 3 ships although there were only two ships used, one of which made two voyages, one in 1604 and one in 1605. Pinnaces are counted as ships because sometimes they were almost as big as the regular ships. For a list of the ships, their tonnage, and owners (if known) see Appendix II.

Number of Active Participants. This includes everyone (soldiers, mariners, settlers) who was assembled for the voyages and left port, even if they went off and deserted the project later. No allowance was made for overlap in personnel which often occurred

when there was more than one voyage in a project. When there were no figures for participants nor any suggestions given, I based my figures on the tonnage of the ship (1 person per 2 tons burden).

Number of Settlers Landed. These figures include the number of men actually planted in America not the number who set out to plant.

Cost. The estimates on the cost (except for the Frobisher voyages) are based on K. R. Andrews' calculations on the cost of setting out privateers in his book, Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War 1585-1603 (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), p. 49. For figures on planting costs, I used the Frobisher Accounts, 3rd voyage which has totals for implements, housing, and victuals for 100 men for one year (Huntington Library MSS 715, fol. 26). The costs for this planting was a little over £2000; thus I figured planting costs for those expeditions that had them at £20 per man for a year. Like Andrews, I have not made any allowance for mariners wages except in the few instances I list below, operating on the supposition that most of the crews were paid out of their privateering profits. Any attempt for me to make an estimate on wages paid out, other than the ones I feel are almost certain to have been given, would be just guesswork on my part.

As Andrews has pointed out, costs increase at a higher rate the bigger the ship gets, because it costs more proportionally to build and arm a large (over 200 tons) ship. Thus I have multiplied the tonnage on ships up to 200 tons burden by 7 to get the cost in £'s, and those of 200 tons to 250 tons by 9. In other words, a ship of 60 tons burden would be multiplied by 7 to get a cost of £420. These figures are for a 6 month voyage which was approximately the length of most of the trips made by each ship. Stucley stayed out, stopping at ports at various times, for about 18 months, but his project was only together for about 6 months, if that long.

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In addition, I added to Leigh's Guiana project and Gosnold's project 10s. a month per man wages for the mariners (and no one else) because no privateering, as far as is known, was attempted (though the adventurers wished to). I also added planting costs of £20 per man for a year into the costs of the Roanoke project, Leigh's Guiana project, and Gosnold's project (a fort was constructed). Finally wages of £1 10s. a month per man for a year for the 1585-86 Grenville-Lane colony of soldiers was also added to the Roanoke project.

I should remind the reader that a fair amount of the "cost" I have put down for the projects was not put out by the adventurers but by those persons, mostly foreign merchants, whose ships were spoiled by the English adventurers.

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ships as gentlemen soldiers — men such as Charles Champernowne, John Roberts, James Fulford — were usually connected by blood, county, or court with Gilbert or with the associate of Gilbert's whose ship they were on. Most of these men were volunteers and many probably paid their own expenses in addition to contributing in other ways to the voyage.[4] It is likely that a good part of the crew, in exchange for their 1/3 of the privateering spoil, served without wages. Sir John Gilbert, Humphrey's older brother, stayed home and managed much of the mechanics of the expedition. A few merchants, mostly from Exeter made some sort of contribution in money or goods, but they do not appear to have been involved in the planning of the venture.[5] The main difficulty with the kind of expedition Gilbert organized was that his gentlemen associates could easily go their own way if they did not like the arrangements. In this case, Henry Knollys, objecting to his subordinate position in the venture and, declaring himself more of a

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[4]Edward Hayes, in referring to Gilbert's first voyage, says there were "a multitude of voluntary men," Ibid., II, p. 390. Thomas Churchyard's poem, written at the time the voyage was in preparation, indicates that Gilbert recruited adventurers at court, Ibid., I, pp. 216-18.

[5]A list of investors in the first voyage, without the amounts of either the money or commodities they contributed, is printed in Ibid., II, pp. 332-33. The list is not complete, the men with whom Gilbert broke, Knollys and Denys, are not included, nor is Myles Morgan who died at sea. At least one third of the contributors on the list also went on the voyage or at one time or another had intended to go. A number of Gilbert's relatives are also on the list.

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gentleman than any of the others, pulled out to do some privateering (for which neither he nor Gilbert had an actual license) on his own, taking Denys with him.[6] The expedition collapsed when Gilbert had to return to port due to ship damage. Walter Ralegh, hoping to salvage something from the venture, set out with his men for the West Indies to take prizes, but he, too, had to come back because of shortage of victuals (a chronic problem in these expeditions).[7]

Stucley's expedition, along with those of Grenville, Carleill, Ralegh to Guiana, Leigh to Guiana, and Gosnold were all essentially of this type. In each, the colonizer, his family, and his gentlemen acquaintances put in most of the capital and recruited a good many of the participants through their own connections. Stucley got gentlemen volunteers from the court and the West Country.[8] He used two of his own ships and hired three others from London merchants who selected the mariners for their

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[6] Ibid., I, pp. 206-09.

[7] Ibid., I, p. 237.

[8] From the court, Henry Cobham reported that one Barnardine Young was going to Terra Florida with Stucley, who had furnished five ships and a pinnace, CSP, Foreign 1563, p. 338. SP 70/78/fols. 97-102 gives the names of men who were spoiling foreign ships around 1563, and it appears that Thomas Mallet, a West Country man was in company with Stucley. It is also possible that Stucley's kinsman John Pollard was also with him. The High Court of Admiralty Papers (PRO, HCA 13/15/416 and HCA 13/95, May, 1564) give a few names, but as yet I have been unable to identify the men except for Andrew White (PRO, HCA 14/7/#140) who was referred to in CSP, Foreign 1564-65, p. 305, as a "Scottish pirate."

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own vessels. These merchants were the ones who brought suits against Stucley, later, for money he owed them.[9] It is reasonably certain that Stucley could not have put together an expedition at all if privateering had not been on the agenda. He did want to get to Terra Florida eventually. Otherwise, he would not have put up a £300 bond to keep custody of the French pilots who were to lead him there.[10] But with his own limited resources and the kind of personnel he recruited, he would have had to take prizes even if his natural inclinations were against it, which they were not. During the year or so he was on the seas, he depended on his West Country connections for occasional financing: thus Richard Grenville came up with an additional bond to allow Stucley to continue to have custody of the pilots, and William

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[9]John Izon, Sir Thomas Stucley (London, Andrew Melrose, 1956), p. 32 says Stucley had two ships of his own, the "Ann Stuceley" and the "Fortune Stucley" and hired the "Bark Samuel" and the "Mary Ann John" from Thomas Pratt and Edward Castlyn, London merchants as well as an unnamed ship from the Coppersmiths. By 1564 Pratt and Edward Castlyn were after Stucley for payment (see Izon, p. 46 and PRO, HCA 13/15/416^{v}-18). John Elyot, the Queen's Victualler and Purveyor also must have supplied Stucley because he had a warrant against him for £1000, Izon, p. 46. George Thorneton, a London merchant and member of the Ironmonger Company, was looking for Stucley too, PRO, HCA 3/11/fols. 84^{v}, 89, 95, 101, 106^{v}, and 24/34/#73. We know the merchants selected the mariners on their own ships by what Thomas Pratt says in HCA 13/15/416^{v}.

[10]Izon, p. 38.

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Hawkins loaned him money when Stucley stopped in Plymouth.[11] All during the period he was roaming the seas, Stucley appeared to be operating on a day to day basis, never getting enough ahead to proceed with his Florida project.

Grenville's associates -- Piers Edgecombe, Arthur Basset, John Fitz (a cousin), Edmonde Tremayne, William Hawkins, Alexander Arundell (a half-brother), Thomas Digges, Martyn Dare, and Dominike Chester -- were, with the exception of the last who was a Bristol merchant, gentlemen from Devon and Cornwall, where Grenville had great influence, and it seems he also assembled his crew from his home base.[12] It was an expedition which almost completely depended on his own personal connections. Considering the nature of his exploit (see Chapter III), its projected size (four or more ships), and the limited number of people backing him, it is almost certain some spoiling of foreign vessels and/or an attack on Spanish possessions was an essential part of the plans. But it was also the part which doomed the project, because the Crown, fearing the results of such activities, cancelled his license.[13]

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[11] Ibid., p. 50, Grenville signed a £2000 bond. William Hawkins testified that he lent Stucley "certeine money to pay his debts and diett," PRO, HCA 13/15/fol. 334.

[12] The names come from the patent, Pease-Chope, p. 241. Grenville's fleet was being assembled in the West Country. John Oxenham a Cornishman, had agreed to go on the expedition, Zelia Nuttall (ed.), New Light on Drake ("Hakluyt Society Series II," Vol. XXXIV; London, 1914), p. 7.

[13] Ibid., p. 9.

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Little is known about the prospective participants of Christopher Carleill's abortive projected, but it is known his biggest supporter was his stepfather, Sir Francis Walsingham. At first, Walsingham and Carleill tried to get investors from the merchant companies of various cities and from the Muscovy Company in which Carleill's brother-in-law, Christopher Hoddesdon, was an important member; the Bristol merchants and the Muscovy Company showed some interest but insisted upon terms which Carleill could not accept.[14] In his efforts to find other financing, Carleill was hampered by the fact that he had no strong ties with a county to fall back on. His father's family originally came from Cumberland where Carleill was later granted land by the Crown, but his father had made his home in London. As a result, Carleill had no local base of support. His only hope was that his own small and Walsingham's large circle of connections at court would

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[14]Carleill received his first offer of help from the city of Bristol who agreed to contribute 1000 marks which they later raised to £1000, but they wanted Carleill to leave as soon as possible; see letter of Thomas Aldworth, March 27, 1583, Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 350-51. Carleill hoped to get an additional £3000 from the Muscovy Company, but they demanded that he obtain a patent from the Queen which would have been difficult to get because of Gilbert's rights, "Articles...Mouscovian Marchants," Quinn, Gilbert, II, 365-69. The city of Chester merchants turned Carleill down flatly, "Minutes of the Assembly of Chester 1584," Chester City Record Office class A/B/1 in survey report #CH4 microfilms of documents in English archives relating to Virginia deposited in the Research Department of Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia.

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bring enough supporters. Whether or not inadequate financing was the reason he called the project off, he evidently did get sufficient investors to furnish at least four ships before giving up.[15]

Ralegh, unlike Carleill, was well-connected both in his locality and at court and depended on his connections to support him in his Roanoke enterprise (to be discussed later in the Chapter) and his Guiana project. Ralegh had a number of men in his service whom he employed as captains and soldiers on his 1595 expedition to find the El Dorado as well as on the three small exploratory voyages he sent out in 1594, 1596, and 1597. In addition, his 1595 expedition included both relatives -- John Gilbert (the son of Humphrey), Butshcade Gorges, and John Grenville -- and acquaintances once from the court and West Country, many of whom were volunteers and contributed toward the outfitting of the expedition.[16] The peril of having gentlemen

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[15]The Earl of Shrewsbury promised 100 marks and Horatio Palavincio was to contribute £100 or more, Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 374 and E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ("Hakluyt Society Series II," Vol. LXXVI; London, 1935), I, pp. 209-210. Thomas Middleton, the famous privateering entrepreneur also gave aid to Carleill, K. R. Andrews (ed.), English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies, 1588-1595 ("Hakluyt Society Series II," Vol. CXI; Cambridge, 1959), p. 339.

[16]The names of some of the gentlemen on the voyage are in a list reprinted by Robert Schomburgh (ed.), The Discovery...of Guiana ("Hakluyt Society Series I," Vol. 3; London, 1848), pp. lxvii-viii. Among the men involved with Guiana who were constantly in Ralegh's service were Jacob Whiddon, Lawrence Keymis,

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who provided their own ships is again illustrated by this expedition where Amias Preston and George Somers, who were in charge of three of their own ships and in consort with two others, never joined up with Ralegh in 1595 as they were supposed to but pursued their own course in the West Indies.[17]

Despite the fact that some of the participants as well as a few courtiers and one merchant, who were not going on the voyage, contributed to the venture,[18] Ralegh had to take out loans in order to finance the project. Some glimpse into Ralegh's muddled financial affairs at this time is offered by several documents pertaining to suits heard in Chancery and in the Star Chamber around 1611 between Ralegh's agents (the men who acted for him when he was in the Tower) and William Sanderson, a London

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Captain Facy, Samuel Mace and William Downes. Even some of these men adventured more than just their service, as can be seen by a letter concerning the latter two in Edwards, II, p. 423. Another letter in Edwards, II, pp. 131-32 from Ralegh to Sir Robert Cecil asking favor to be shown to an unnamed friend and kinsman whose "charge was great in the last Discovery" offers further proof of the role volunteer gentlemen played in supporting the project.

[17]For the adventures of Amias Preston and company see Andrews, English Privateering, pp. 381-392.

[18]Besides Lord Admiral Howard, Robert Cecil had half interest in a ship, the Darling with Ralegh, and Lord Burghley supposedly invest £500, HMC, Delisle and Dudley, II, p. 198. Other than William Sanderson, who was a servant of Ralegh's, Thomas Middleton was the only major London merchant who invested money in the project (£300), as far as is known, Andrews, English Privateering, p. 340. Of course many merchants were involved in loaning Ralegh money.

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merchant and relative of Ralegh's.[19] Sanderson had been Ralegh's financial manager from the late 1580's until 1595, during which time he claimed he stood bond for £50,000 for Ralegh and obtained £30,000 in money and goods for the courtier as well as adventuring £700-800 in the Guiana project. He charged that he never received any return on his adventure, was left to pay the interest on some of Ralegh's loans, and ended up being chronically in debt himself. It is almost impossible to tell from the figures Sanderson gave how much of the money went into the Guiana exploit and how much was spent on other activities such as Ireland, Roanoke, straight privateering, and household expenses. Also, it is probable that a fair portion of the money was for bonds and does not represent actual money laid out. Considering the above and that the size of the project was smaller than Roanoke, that raids on the Spanish provided some provisions for the ships, that much of the labor was volunteer, and that no settlement was actually made, the figure of £50,000 for Guiana, cited by some historians,[20] seems too high, and I have suggested

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[19]The two principal sources for these suits are PRO, St. Ch. 8/260/4 and C 24/372/#'s 125 and 126. Two articles have been written discussing the incident: J. W. Shirley, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Guiana Finances," Huntington Library Quarterly, 13 (1949-1950), 55-69; and Ruth McIntyre, "William Sanderson: Elizabethan Financier of Discovery," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XIII (1956), pp. 184-201.

[20]Shirley, as MacIntyre has pointed out (p. 199), assumed that the loans were all for Guiana when actually they covered over a seven year period. Rabb, p. 60, using Shirley, came up with the figure £50,000.

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a lower figure in my chart. The Sanderson material does reveal, however, that Ralegh poured great amounts of borrowed money into his enterprises and that others, usually merchants, were often left holding the bag.

Charles Leigh's Guiana project was almost solely a family affair with the ships and supplies being furnished principally by Leigh himself, his eldest brother, Sir Oliph Leigh, and possibly his other brother, Sir John Leigh. Many of the participants were volunteers, some of whom also adventured in purse, and they were probably recruited in the main from the Surrey and London areas.[21] This was one of the projects which actually succeeded

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[21]Leigh's letter to his brother Oliph [Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimes ("Hakluyt Society Extra Series;" Glasgow, 1906), XVI, pp. 316-23] reveals how deeply the two of them, and probably their brother John, were involved in the financing. Charles instructed that any money his wife collected from her suit with the King and the money "Gifford" owned him should go into the project. He also expressed the hope that the 100 men to be sent over would be "voluntarie men to ease the charge of the Voyage." John Nicholl in An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes (London, 1607), B1v, revealed that the ship carrying him and 66 others who never got to Guiana was sent at the charge "of Sir Olive Leigh, and certaine other adventurers of which companie myselfe was one," showing that some of the participants also invested. There is no complete list of the participants, but from the names available it is known one man at least was a servant of the Leigh family, James Lusher (Granville Leveson-Gower, "Notices of the Family of Leigh of Addington," Surrey Archeological Collections, VII (1880), 92, and other men, Owen Goldwell, Edward Huntley, Edward Greene, and Nicholas St. John, for example, had family names which show up in parishes in and near the Leigh property. Many of the names are so common that no positive identifications can be made. This is definitely, however, a Southeastern as opposed to a West Country expedition. In Leigh's letter to the Privy Council, PRO, SP 14/8/87, he asks that the King allow free passage "unto suche of my countrie men and frinds

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in planting men for a time, and it was claimed that most of the settlers had been householders in England.[22] As volunteers with householder status at home, they were willing to engage in any action which would lead to the capture of a treasure in Guiana but were not prepared for a situation in which the only opportunity seemed to be farming land in an intemperate climate under Leigh's "generalship."[23] Therefore, even if Leigh had not died and if the third supply ship carrying 67 settlers had not been wrecked, it is likely the plantation would have failed because the inhabitants were not reconciled to performing agricultural labor. Just as the colony was breaking up a Dutch boat came by to sell Negroes, but the settlers chose to ride home with the captain rather than buy his merchandise.[24]

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as will voluntarylie com unto me," indicating the Leighs were recruiting among those they knew.

[22]John Wilson, Purchas, XVI, p. 338.

[23]Ibid., Wilson says when the second shipment of men came they found settlers sick "which caused very much discontent amongst our fresh water Souldiers aboord, and they were the more discontented, because they could not advertise them of any commodities the Country yeelded which would afoord them present benefit, insomuch that they wished themselves in England again." The commodities of present benefit of course was gold what Guiana was famous for. Both Leigh and Wilson tell of how the settlers pushed Leigh to hostile actions against the Caribes who were to have access to the precious metal.

[24]Wilson, p. 343.

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Gosnold's project was the smallest of the Elizabethan ventures, and from all indications the primary participants — Gosnold, Bartholomew Gilbert, John Brereton and Gabriel Archer — were also its major investors.[25] Only one ship and 32 men were involved, so the capital outlay could not have been too great. Gosnold, like Leigh, had trouble controlling his men, who wished to go after spoils rather than inhabit the small fort which was erected, indicating they had probably gone over more with the idea of being soldier adventurers than farmers.[26] The sassafras

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[25]Warner Gookin and Phillip Barbour, Bartholomew Gosnold (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965), pp. 71, 73 and 253. Bartholomew Gilbert (no relation to Humphrey) was related by marriage to Gosnold's aunt, Dorothy Gilbert. Brereton and Archer both wrote promotional tracts on the project after they returned, indicating their interest in the success of the venture was more than a paid employee's would have been. Gosnold through his numerous relatives was distantly connected with any number of important figures who might have made some contribution towards the venture. The names most often suggested are Thomas Smith (the East Indies Company Governor), the Earl of Southampton (see Gookin, p. 64), and Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham (Gookin, pp. 167-9) whose servant was Bartholomew Gilbert. Richard Hakluyt also might have been involved. However, at this point there is no direct evidence for any of these speculations. It is quite possible Gosnold made this expedition on his own with the hope of attracting an important patron which he most certainly would have needed to launch a full-size expedition later. The only names of other participants we know about from the narratives are Robert Saltern, Robert Merriton, William Streete (the master), a man named Tucker and one named Hill.

[26]See Chapter III.

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carried back could have brought a profit to the adventurers unless Ralegh, whose Virginia patent still gave him a monopoly on all American trade, was successful in getting the London authorities to confiscate it.[27]

To get a sufficient number of settlers and adequate financing, three of the projects — Gilbert's second project, Ralegh's Roanoke venture, and Leigh's voyage to Ramea, had to move somewhat beyond the normal limits of the type of organization just discussed to include some "outside" groups: religious sects, merchant companies, and forced labor (impressed men and captured foreign seamen). The members of such groups often had aims and ambitions very different from the gentlemen adventurers with the result that these alliances were frequently unhappy ones for everyone involved.

In the early 1580's, a group of English Catholics and Sir Humphrey Gilbert made a series of agreements in which the former purchased from the latter, for an undisclosed sum of money, a huge tract of land in North America to be used as a refuge for

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[27]Ralegh to Sir Robert Cecil, August 21, 1602, Edwards, II, pp. 251-2, Gosnold brought back 2200 lbs. of sassafras and 36 cedar trees to Southampton, and evidently each adventurer took his share and headed for London to sell it. Ralegh who had sent a ship out at the same time for sassafras wanted the Gosnold adventurers stopped because he feared the market would be flooded and the price would go down. He estimated that under normal circumstances the sassafras was worth from 10s. to 20s. a pound. Ralegh found out about the cargo from Gilbert who soon joined Ralegh's service.

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recusants being persecuted and prosecuted in England.[28] The agreements were more or less a necessity for both sides: the Catholics, who had previously shown no desire to emigrate, were being fined into bankruptcy by the Crown who had begun to enforce strictly the uniformity laws;[29] and Gilbert had no sympathy with their cause, but he had exhausted much of his financial and manpower resources in the first voyage and could not afford to overlook any available support. George Peckham, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, became leader of the Catholic project and the chief organizer.[30] The Catholics were to go to America at the same time as Gilbert, but they postponed their departure and complications subsequently arose. The Spanish Ambassador, warning that it was against their faith to take part in such a venture and that the Spanish would be forced to attack them, tried to stop their emigration,[31] and news reached them of Gilbert's disastrous

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[28]The agreements Gilbert made with Peckham and the others are scattered through Quinn, Gilbert, II.

[29]See Roger Merriman, Some Notes on the treatment of the English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth," American Historical Review, XII (1907-8), pp. 480-510. Catholic emigration might have been Walsingham's idea originally, and he helped them get backing, Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 375.

[30]Peckham remained with the project till 1584, long after some of the others, such as Sir Thomas Gerrard, had dropped out.

[31]Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 278-9. One Catholic, Anthony Brigham who had been in trouble over his religion (John Cordy Jeafferson (ed.), Middlesex County Records (London, 1886), I, p. 133) did prepare a ship to go to Newfoundland in 1584, but it is unknown if planting was to be undertaken, PRO, HCA 13/25/fol. 126.

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voyage. Despite Peckham's attempts to continue with the enterprise, no Catholic settlement ever materialized.

Some 13 years later, Leigh recruited another religious group, this time a Protestant sect, the Brownists, as settlers. Many of the Brownists had been imprisoned for their heretical views, and the government agreed to release them if they would accompany Leigh, who was somewhat in agreement with their beliefs, and his partner, Stephen Van Harwick, a Dutch merchant, to Ramea and settle there. Four members of the sect went on the 1597 expedition as settlers and about 100 more were to follow the next year. On the voyage over, the four Brownists began to fight among themselves, but what was even more damaging to the stability of the venture was their vocal disapproval of the privateering the crew was attempting to engage in and their refusal to aid the company in fighting the Basque fishermen whose vessels abounded in the waters of the St. Lawrence. Leigh was in the difficult position of trying to satisfy both the crews of the two ships, who demanded that prizes be taken, and the Brownists, his potential settlers, who objected. Leigh decided to go after prizes without which he and Abraham Van Harwick, who had put up all or almost all of the money for the expedition, would have received no compensation for their charge. When he returned to England, the Brownists returned with him.[32] He immediately made plans for

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[32]George Johnson, A Discourse of Some Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1603) gives a one-sided account of the disputes between the

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another Ramea project but dropped the idea of using the sect as settlers.

It was not just the members of the religious sects who found the martial side of the projects they were involved in a burden; it was any group of settlers in which the soldier adventurer element was not dominant. In 1587 when the White colony was being transported over to Virginia, John White, their Governor, and Simon Fernandez, the pilot of the ship, were constantly at odds over the latter's desire to take prizes, an activity in which all the expeditions to Roanoke participated in order to pay for the voyage and provide victuals.[33] Fernandez

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Brownists. Besides Johnson and his brother, Francis, the minister of the congregation, Daniel Studley and John Clerke were the members of the sect who made the voyage. Quinn's article, "The First Pilgrims," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, Vol. 23 (1966), pp. 359-90, gives a full explanation of the situation. From Johnson's account it seems that Leigh was at one time quite involved with the sect (pp. 31, 106, and 109-111), and he remains dissatisfied with the established church government through 1600; but there is no indication he was any longer associated with the Brownists after this voyage. Of the other men on the voyage little is known except for William Craston from Rotherhithe, Surrey who was a well-known privateer. Abraham was Stephen Van Harwick's brother, and they also had a connection with Surrey, owning a metal works in Rotherhithe (see Dictionary of Canadian Biography under Leigh). Quinn has suggested other possible investors including Peter Hill, Ralph Hill (also from Surrey), and John Watts, but that contradicts the statement in Hakluyt, Principal Navigations (London, 1904), VIII, p. 166.

[33]White wrote a narrative of the voyage, Quinn, Roanoke, II, p. 515-538. Andrews in Elizabethan Privateering, p. 193 discusses the conflict between White and Fernandez.

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finally became so exasperated with White that he made the settlers get off at Roanoke Island instead of taking them to the site previously agreed upon, the Chesapeake Bay area.

At the heart of this conflict was a difference of interest. White's settlers, 119 men, women, and children[34] of modest means, obviously found land, even if undeveloped, attractive. Those men who were designated "Assistants" (probably because they contributed both their person and money to the venture) quickly acquired coats of arms to go with their new estates before they left England which gives some indication of the nature of their interests.[35] They were not conquistador types, and the opportunities for hostile action against the Spanish which provided the

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[34]My efforts to identify the people who comprised this colony have not been very successful. The names of most of the colonists are so incredibly common that sources which list ordinary people, such as parish registers are not of much help, because there are innumerable Hugh Tayler's and Griffin Jones's, to mention just two colonists names, listed. David Quinn has put down what he could discern about the colonists along with the list of names in Roanoke, II, pp. 534-43. I am skeptical about some of the identifications William Powell makes in his article, "Roanoke Colonists and Explorers: an attempt at identification," North Carolina Historical Review, XXXIV (1951), pp. 202-22. Quinn suggests that most of the recruiting was done in London and that additional people were picked up at the Isle of Wight, whose Governor, Sir George Carey (later Lord Hunsdon), ran as a privateering base. I think a good guess would be that Richard Hakluyt, who was very enthusiastic about settling Virginia and some London merchants such Thomas Smith, who had loaned Ralegh money, contacted Londoners who were willing to go. This would have provided the assistants and some men, women, and children. The rest might have been forced to go, we know some were (see note below), through Ralegh's impressment powers or Sir George Carey's authority on the Isle of Wight.

[35]Quinn, Roanoke, II, pp. 506-512.

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English soldier adventurer with a real incentive for going over to America had little appeal for them. On the other hand, Ralegh, while ultimately hoping to attract just such people, was immediately committed, like his soldiers, to the martial side of the venture and gave it most of his attention. Soldiers could be used to attack the Spanish, search for Indians with gold, and set up a military base; White's settlers and their settlement required a great investment in both time and money with little assurance of profit in the end, which was probably why Ralegh was quite willing to turn their venture over to the London merchants. Finally, when it was discovered that the members of the colony had disappeared, neither Ralegh nor the merchants tried to reestablish a settlement of this type. Instead, Ralegh shifted his attention to Guiana where, it seemed, there were better opportunities for a successful conquest.

It is known that both Gilbert in his 1583 voyage and Ralegh in the Roanoke project used forced labor although the amount of men who were compelled to join their expeditions as sailors, soldiers and settlers is unknown. Ralegh's license from the Queen is extant, and it states that he could impress mariners, soldiers, and shipping in Devon, Cornwall, and Bristol.[36] In addition to

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[36] Ibid., I, p. 156. Edmond Proctor of London, sailor, claimed he was "preste" to go with Gilbert on his 1583 voyage, but fell ill and was discharged, Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 384.

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using this method of coercing men to join the venture, Grenville, on a privateering journey made just before he was to go to Virginia for the first time, captured a ship of Brill (Briel), forced members of the crew to go on his voyage to America, and even made at least one of them stay as a settler. This man, David Glavin, an Irishman by birth, returned to England with Lane in 1586 only to be recruited for White's expedition the next year. On the voyage over, when White and Fernandez stopped in Puerto Rico, he deserted, thereby illustrating the hazards involved in employing such labor.[37] It is probable that Glavin was not the only member of White's colony coerced into going.[38] Undoubtedly, more of the colonizers would have used impressment if they had the opportunity; but it was not always easy to get such an order from the Queen;[39] and Parliament, at this time, was against the use of impressment in overseas planting because it could be used by debtors, criminals, apprentices, and wives

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[37]Quinn, Roanoke, I, pp. 151-2, and II, pp. 834-838. Quinn doubts that Glavin could have been forced to go twice, but it is possible that Glavin, an Irishman, was in the custody of Grenville who could be in a position to force him to go.

[38]Powell, p. 215, identifies James Hynde and William Clement, two of White's colonists, as two former inmates of Colchester Castle prison. Powell does not say when they were incarcerated, but their release might have been on condition of going to Roanoke.

[39]Note Frobisher's problems below.

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as a means to elude those who might have some claim on or against them.[40]

The use of "outside" groups as adventurers in purse was often as ineffective in producing the desired results as the use of them as participants. The Southampton merchants to which Gilbert in his 1583 venture agreed to grant land and give trading rights came up with only £500;[41] most of his expedition, therefore, was financed in the same way as his first had been, by kinsmen and private gentlemen adventurers, his brother, Walter, alone, putting in £2000.[42] Ralegh, in his own projects, even fared worse with the merchants. In 1588, when he badly needed additional aid for his ailing Roanoke project, he approached the Exeter merchants and was flatly turned down.[43] Subsequently, he made an agreement with 19 city of London men, giving them trading rights in America in exchange for their support of White's colony. It is very likely the agreement fell through, because there is no evidence that any of the Londoners, except William Sanderson, who was a part of Ralegh's household, gave aid to the

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[40]Ralegh had originally tried to get Parliament's approval on his Virginia grant, but he abandoned the effort when the Commons objected to him impressing men and taking over prisoners, Quinn, Roanoke, I, pp. 128-9.

[41]Quinn, Gilbert, II, pp. 313-326. Fifty or so people from Southampton contributed.

[42]Quinn, Gilbert, II, p. 365.

[43]William Cotton, An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter (Exeter, 1873), p. 80. The Exeter citizens evidently were incensed over the way Ralegh had been handling his monopoly power.

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Roanoke settlement.[44] Ralegh primarily financed the project out of his own pocketbook enlarging his resources through loans. His principal aid came from a very few important courtiers and participating gentlemen adventurers such as Grenville, Thomas Cavendish, and George Raymond.[45] The Queen aided Ralegh more indirectly than directly in his enterprise, for it was through her favor that he had the status, wealth, and connections to get

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[44]Quinn, Roanoke, II, pp. 569-578 reprints the agreement. The men of London mentioned are Thomas Smith (probably the Customer not his son who became Governor of the East Indies Company later), William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Walter Marler, Edmund Nevil, Thomas Harding, Thomas Martin, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklyn, Richard Hakluyt the Younger, and Quinn provides some identification for several of them. Ralegh had earlier borrowed £1500 from Smith, p. 544.

[45]Gwenyth Dyke, "The Finances of a Sixteenth-Century Navigator, Thomas Cavendish of Trimley in Suffolk," Mariner's Mirror, 44 (1958), pp. 108-15, shows that Cavendish mortgaged lands in order to equip the ship he commanded to Virginia. Bernard Drake was going to both participate and adventure a ship in 1585, but the Queen commanded him to go to Newfoundland and attack the Spanish fishing fleet instead. Even some of the less prominent members of the 1585 expedition, such as John Stucley, a Devon gentleman soldier and Thomas Harvey, the cape merchant on the voyage, adventured goods as well as themselves, Quinn, Roanoke, I, pp. 231 and 233. The brothers of Ralegh, Carew and Adrian Gilbert must of invested even if they did not go on the voyage, for they received some of the privateering spoil, p. 224. Among the courtiers, Walsingham (p. 203) and Lord Admiral Howard (Edwards II, pp. 251-2) contributed at one point or another, and there were probably others. Sir George Carey contributed in the sense that he made arrangements for his privateering expeditions to check in at Virginia and performed other favors for Ralegh.

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adventurers and loans.[46] Unquestionably the privateering and the raids on the Spanish in the West Indies done by the ships going back and forth between England and Virginia made the whole project possible.[47]

The cost figures listed for the Roanoke and Guiana projects are considerably lower than the usual estimates given; Hakluyt, even before the Roanoke project ended, claimed £30,000 had been spent on the venture.[48] Taking into account that some exaggeration was involved in the citing of figures, it is still quite probable that Ralegh did spend money that has not been added into the amount given here. The problem is that Ralegh had a large number of people around him that he, at one point or another during the years that these projects were underway, em-

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[46]Quinn, Roanoke, I, p. 120. The Queen let Ralegh borrow the Tiger, one of her ships and let him have £400 worth of gunpowder from the Tower, but it is not known if these were gifts or if Ralegh had to pay for them. She also released Ralph Lane from his Irish post to go on the voyage. But whether she adventured in this project or not is really unimportant, because during these years she heaped so many favors on Ralegh that it in fact amounted to substantial support for his ventures.

[47]Grenville took one enormous prize, valued by the Spanish at nearly £50,000, on his 1585 voyage, Ibid, I, pp. 220-1; and this was only one of the many ships taken during the expeditions to and from Virginia. Sometimes the ship itself was appropriated and provisions were always appropriated.

[48]Ibid., II, p. 513. Hakluyt claims Ralegh himself spent £30,000 by 1587 on the project, but Quinn feels this really referred to everyone's adventure. Theodore Rabb, Enterprise and Empire (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 60, using Quinn as his source, estimates the cost at around £50,000 with Ralegh's own investment being no more than £15,000, and Shirley, p. 56, feels the Roanoke settlements cost Ralegh over £40,000.

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ployed in the planning and the organizing which preceded all the expeditions. These men, like Thomas Hariot, for example, worked on the Roanoke project, but they also performed other services for Ralegh. In this way, Ralegh's household expenses are inextricably bound up with the cost of his planting ventures and in the absence of personal accounts it is impossible to disentangle them. This same situation, to a lesser extent, is present in all the expeditions.

Because of the way all these projects were organized, the gentleman adventurer, specifically the leader of the venture, and his immediate family probably bore no less than and sometimes more than 50% of the cost, and as none of the ventures were successful, it proved the ruin of most of the colonizers. Mortgaging lands and taking out loans with gay abandon, he often found his "noble" aspirations had put him on the road to ignominy: Thomas Stucley, hounded by creditors, chose to leave the country after his exploits; Gilbert's widow had to petition the Queen for a pension in order to live, because Sir Humphrey had mortgaged away practically every piece of land he owned including the Kent estate he had gotten from her;[49] and Carleill, whose project never even got off the ground, spent the remainder of what he had on a brief sojourn to Ireland and had to borrow £50 to get back

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[49]CSP, Colonial, America and West Indies 1675-76, p. 28. She was granted confiscated lands in Kent.

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to England, becoming thereafter a constant petitioner to the Crown on the subject of his ruined estate.[50]

Some had to wait until the Jacobean period for their complete ruin. Because of privateering, Leigh probably did not come off too badly on the modest Ramea project he and the Van Harwicks underwrote. But in the Guiana venture, a much larger undertaking, he risked and lost everything he had and a good portion of his brother's wealth.[51] Ralegh of course was the classic example. Undoubtedly, a great percentage of the debts he amassed before he was committed to the Tower for political reasons was due to his colonization enterprises. Yet, upon his release, 14 years later, he risked whatever he had left in Guiana.

The cost of these projects was heavy in another way as well — in human life. Gilbert, Leigh, Gosnold, and Ralegh, all eventually lost their lives in pursuing their American dream. What is worse, they took so many people with them. It is impossible to estimate the loss of life on those expeditions because, significantly, it was not even noted most of the time; but the

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[50] SP 63/118/#6, Wallop to Walsingham, July 4, 1585. Carleill and his wife both presented suits to Burghley, Nicholas Carlisle, Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle (London, 1822), p. 25, and CSP, Ire. 1588-1592, p. 54. These are just two of many letters Carleill wrote or had written on his behalf.

[51] That he was putting in everything he had or might have becomes clear from his letter to his brother, Purchas, XVI, pp. 316-23.

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figures on deaths among the settlers alone are staggering, even worse than the record of the Virginia Company colony and Plymouth. Out of 274 settlers landed on Roanoke, none of whom spent longer than a year there, only a little over 100 ever saw England again. In Guiana, 132 settlers were sent over, and probably no more than 30 to 40 survived. Neither Ralegh nor Oliph Leigh showed any compunction about making little or no provision for return of the settlers once they had realized the projects were a failure.[52]

Few have found it surprising that these traditionally organized enterprises, so dependent on the will and resources of one man, requiring the cooperation of independent minded associate adventurers, and relying on the spoils of privateering and raids to maintain themselves, were not successful. For a contrast in organization, one can turn to the one Elizabethan planting project which has not yet been discussed in this chapter.

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[52]Ralegh sent out two pinnaces in 1588, but they paid more attention to privateering than getting to Virginia, Quinn, Roanoke, II, pp. 554-5. The ship that White finally sailed over on in 1590 to find the colony was financed by William Sanderson. No further ships were sent over. Oliph Leigh probably had learned about the death of his brother by the end of the summer of 1605, and he sent no more ships out.

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There was one exception in the Elizabethan period to the private military expedition type of project -- the Frobisher voyages. With these voyages the Privy Council and some merchants organized a venture which involved planting men. The enterprise was a typical of Elizabethan planting projects in general, but an investigation of the undertaking, for which reasonably complete accounts exist, is instructive, because it had many of the advantages which the other projects lacked and which some historians have assumed doomed them from the beginning. Yet, the Frobisher project also failed, suggesting that there was another problem, even more basic than the organizational one, on which these projects foundered.

The governing structure of the Frobisher voyages was composed of elements from both the court and city with the former having the final word. Martin Frobisher had initiated the enterprise, but his object had been to launch an expedition to find a Northwest Passage. The Muscovy Company, the group who had a patent on all such discoveries, refused to cooperate with him, although one of its members, Michael Lok, was very enthusiastic and joined up with the persistant captain. Frobisher finally obtained support from the Earl of Warwick who got the Privy Council to pressure the Muscovy Company into licensing (but not financing) the voyage to the Northwest. Frobisher, Michael Lok, some Privy Councillors, and a few merchants contributed enough to send Frobisher out in 1576 with two small vessels to search

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for the passage.[53] The merchants were so wary of financing Frobisher that other members of the crew had to be added to the commission given him before they would join in the enterprise.[54] The venture did not become a planting project or involve many people until after Frobisher returned from his journey with some ore that was supposed to be gold. It was then that the Queen, a large number of courtiers, and a few more merchants became interested and together formed a joint stock company. Although the "Cathay Company," the name chosen for the organization, petitioned for a patent, it was never granted, and therefore the enterprise never had any legal standing, a situation which was to cause much trouble when the time came for a financial reckoning.[55] The enterprise was run by an everchanging group of "Commissioners,"

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[53]See George Best, "A True Discourse of the late Voyages of discoverie..." The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, ed. Vilhjalmur Stefansson (London: Argonaut Press, 1948), I, pp. 46-51; Michael Lok, "Mr. Lok, Captain Frobisher and the Ore," Stefansson, II, pp. 79-83.

[54]"Michael Lok S[illegible]uteth the Worshipful Comyssioners and Auditors of his Accomp[illegible]f the iii Voyages of C. Furbusher," Stefansson, II, p. 185.

[55]APC, XI, pp. 64-5. See discussion of this in George Manhart, "The English Search for a Northwest Passage in the Time of Queen Elizabeth," Studies in English Commerce and Exploration in the Reign of Elizabeth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1924), pp. 46-47.

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mostly merchants, chosen by the Privy Council, and by the Privy Council itself. Michael Lok was the Treasurer. The Commissioners with the consent of the Privy Council issued all instructions for the voyages, the settlement that was to be made, and the operations at the refining works set up in Dartford.[56] Frobisher had more or less the status of an employee and was given wages. He was supposed to follow the instructions of the Commissioners and on the voyages had to share authority with a group of "Assistants," a condition which led to serious disagreements during the third journey.[57] Even though his authority was severely limited, Frobisher, because he was on the spot and the others were not, was able to make alterations in the instructions without the knowledge of the Commissioners, and on the last voyage got the company deeply into debt by surreptitiously hiring additional ships.[58] Theoretically, however, the Commissioners and the Privy Council were in control and did set the policy for the enterprise. They were the ones who put the search for ore and the planting of men in Meta Incognita over the search for a

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[56]Different drafts of instructions for the second and third voyages and the refining works appear in Stefansson, II, passim and the CSP, East Indies 1513-1616, pp. 20-21 and 35-37.

[57]Edward Sellman, Account of the Third Voyage," Stefansson, II, p. 66.

[58]See discussion of finances in text.

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Northwest Passage.[59]

The participants in the voyages were recruited from comparatively diversified sources in the London area because there were so many influential people from both court and city involved to act as referers and because set wages were offered. There was a strict separation between those who invested in the enterprise and those who went on the voyages. The two groups of adventurers in purse and person overlapped in only 4 instances — Frobisher, Robert and Mathew Kyndersley, and William Ormeshawe. The first voyage, before the formation of a large joint stock operation, had only 34 men, almost all mariners, whom an important London merchant, William Burrough, had helped Frobisher and Lok recruit.[60] The other two voyages made with other purposes in mind and with greater resources had a more elaborate personnel.

There was, according to the wage lists,[61] 143 men on the

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[59]The instructions for the second voyage show this priority, CSP, East Indies 1513-1616, pp. 20-21, and George Best tells of how Frobisher would have liked to continue the search for the passage but that his commission directed him to defer that mission to another time, Stefansson, I, p. 72.

[60]Stefansson, II, p. 83.

[61]All the wage lists are in PRO E 164/35 and 36 which are the complete accounts of the three voyages. For convenience sake, I used the 19th century transcription of these accounts done by a Mr. Ord in the BM, Additional MSS 39852 and then checked back with the original for errors. I found the transcription fairly accurate except for some mistakes in the copying of figures. The wage lists for the second voyage are on fols. 55v-59v of the BM copy. Besides these lists there are many things that are not in Stefansson. A fragment of these accounts is in the Huntington Library, Huntington Manuscript 715. This fragment at one time was part of the PRO accounts but became separated.

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three ships which made the second voyage to the Northwest. 92 or roughly 2/3's of the men were mariners and artificers mostly recruited from the London area. There were 38 officers, gentlemen, and soldiers. No one was strictly a volunteer; all were paid some kind of wages although most of the gentlemen were only paid upon coming back and not upon going out. Thirteen of the gentlemen had put in service inadequately compensated for by their wages and were rewarded with stock in the company upon returning.[62] The officers and gentlemen seem to have been recruited mostly from the retinues of various important courtiers. In the narratives of the voyages one sees them referred to as the Earl of Warwick's man, the Earl of Cumberland's man, or the Lord Admiral's man etc;[63] the court always had a reservoir of such men looking for opportunities to serve. There were tentative plans to leave some men with ships and victuals in the New World on this voyage,[64] and evidently some of the gentlemen soldiers were

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[62]"The Names of Suche Gentlemen...to be Receavid in as Adventurers Gratis...," Stefansson, II, p. 154.

[63]Gilbert York, the captain of the "Michael," was Lord Admiral, the Earl of Lincoln's man; Edward Fenton the captain of the "Gabriel" was the Earl of Warwick's as was Nicholas Congar, a soldier; George Best, an officer on the "Ayde" was a servant of Christopher Hatton's; Dionisos Settell, soldier, was connected with the Earl of Cumberland; Fraunces Fordar was a servant of Lord Howard's and one of the gentlemen on the "Ayde," and Roger Littelstone, a soldier on the "Ayde" was identified as Frobisher's man. I was able to get these connections with just a superficial search, and I would assume there are quite a few more.

[64]See the instructions for the second voyage, CSP, Colonial East Indies, 1513-1616, pp. 20-21.

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to be a part of this enclave. Finally, there were 2 merchants, 8 miners impressed from the Forest of Deane, and 3 refiners. Frobisher had also obtained permission from the Crown to impress prisoners who were to be left at "Friseland" (Greenland) to report on the area.[65] Obviously this was a mission for which there were no volunteers, and when the Privy Council, learning Frobisher had over-manned his expedition, cancelled the impressment order,[66] the men were released and the Greenland exploit was regretfully shelved by Frobisher. Even though the prisoners and some other men were discharged from the expedition, Frobisher still kept 23 men over the Privy Council's quota of 120.

The third expedition involved even a larger number of people and 15 ships. There is no complete wage list of the participants because the crews on the ships which were hired — both those 6 authorized by the Commissioners and the 5 Frobisher brought in himself — were not paid by the company. The instructions on how many men who were to be hired is rather ambiguous, but it appears that the Commissioners authorized Frobisher to hire 270 men — 90 mariners, 130 "pioneers" (workmen), and 50 soldiers to man the company's four ships. Lok claims that

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[65] A list of the men impressed is on p. 20 of CSP, Colonial East Indies 1513-1616, and the instructions are on the same page.

[66] George Best in Stefansson, I, p. 53.

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Frobisher hired 100 men over that which would make 370; plus there were the crew members paid for by the owners of the hired ships which would put participation at around 800 of which 40 died during the expedition. 100 of these men were to be left in Meta Incognita with ships and 18 months worth of victuals, but evidently only 92 were finally assembled: 24 gentlemen-soldiers; 28 artificers, laborers, and miners; and 40 mariners.[67] 27 or almost 1/3 of these would-be settlers had been on a previous voyage to Meta Incognita. There were no women on the list, but there was one preacher.

One can estimate that altogether about 1000 men were sent over (there is an overlap in personnel on some voyages of course and so the total number of different men sent over is more like around 900), and all but around 50 or 60 survived the experience.[68] It was one of the safer ventures and involved no privateering, but of course no settlement was made either.

The capital for the enterprise came from the court and the city of London. A couple of historians have made conjectores on

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[67] Stefansson, II, p. 155 and CSP, Col. East Indies 1513-1616, pp. 35-37. Wage lists for the third voyage have been printed by George Parks. See Stefansson, II, pp. 217-223.

[68] Best reports that on the third voyage not more than 40 persons died, Stefansson I, p. 122. At least five men were lost in the first voyage and a couple are known to have perished in the second, p. 79. Considering there were no major mishaps other than the loss of a pinnace on the first voyage, probably no more than 50 lost their lives.

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who the investors were,[69] but neither used the most authoritative list extant, the final account drawn up by the Queen's auditors in 1581 which shows the names, their pledges, and how much was owed. This list is reproduced on the following page with the investors divided into court and city contributors. Most of the high officers of the State and merchants, who with a few exceptions were also members of the Muscovy Company, joined at the time of the first voyage and stayed in when the project changed its purpose. The Queen and the courtiers joined at the time of the second voyage and that was when the capital investment really grew. After the initial investment was made by an adventurer, he was then subject to assessments which were levied by the Treasurer with the approval of the Queen and Privy Council. The pledges amounted to £20345,[70] but only £17,697 16s. 8d. of it was actually paid in, and this much was gotten only after constant badgering of the investors by the Privy Council. If one takes the amount paid in, of which all was dispensed, and adds to that the amount owed to other persons by the adventurers, £2796 14s. 5d., one can estimate the cost of the enterprise as being

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[69] George Manhart's list, pp. 162-63 is a fairly accurate one on the names, but he did not have all the amounts contributed. Theodore Rabb's list in Enterprise and Empire contains almost twice as many names as actually contributed. Rabb assumed that all the people who at one time or another showed interest in making an investment actually did.

[70] PRO, E 164/36/158ff. contains this figure and the others mentioned in the text.

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FROBISHER VOYAGES
(PRO, E 164/36/fols. 158-162)

	NAME	AMT. PLEDGED	AMT. OWED
Court			
1.	Queen	£4000	
2.	Lord High Treasurer (Burghley)	400	£65
3.	Ld High Admiral (Lincoln)	400	65
4.	Ld High Chamberlain (Sussex)	400	65
5.	Earl of Warwick	400	75
6.	Earl of Leicester	600	11-3s-4d.
7.	Treasurer of Household (Knollys)	200	32-10-0
8.	Secretary Walsingham	800	20
9.	Secretary Wilson	200	
10.	Earl of Pembroke	600	187-10-0
11.	Countess of Warwick	200	62-10-0
12.	Countess of Pembroke	100	31-5-0
13.	Lady Anne Talbot	35	10
14.	Philip Sidney	200	72-10-0
15.	Sir William Winter	300	60
16.	William Pelham	200	140
17.	Edward Dyer	100	70
18.	Thomas Randolph	200	85
19.	Simon Boyer	100	28-15-0
20.	Anthony Jenkinson*	200	62-10-0
21.	Geoffrey Turville	200	12
22.	William Paynter	200	5
23.	Richard Bowland	200	32-10-0
24.	John Dee*	100	2-10-0
25.	Martin Frobisher*	400	280
26.	John Somers	200	72-10-0
27.	Sir Henry Wallop	200	5
28.	Sir John Brockett	200	82-10-0
29.	Earl of Oxford**	2520	540
30.	Countess of Sussex	140	140
31.	Lord Hunsdon	140	85
		£ 14,135	£2400 13s. 4d.
City***			
32.	Sir Thomas Gresham	800	
33.	Sir Lionell Duckett	200	67-10-0
34.	Robert Kyndersley	200	62-10-0
35.	Edmund Hogan	400	
36.	Matthew Field	200	
37.	Richard Yonge	200	

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS (Cont.)

	NAME	AMT. PLEDGED	AMT. OWED
City (Cont.)			
38.	Thomas Allen	£ 200	
39.	William Ormeshawe	100	
40.	Christopher Hoddesdon	200	
41.	Thomas Owen	100	£15-5-0
42.	Julius Caesar	100	2-10-0
43.	Michael Lok	2180	27-10-0
44.	William Burde, the elder	140	20
45.	William Bonde	400	
46.	Matthew Kyndersley	100	31-5-0
47.	Christopher Andrews	35	5
48.	Robert Martyn	35	5
49.	William Dowgle	100	2-10-0
50.	Widow Anne Francis Kyndersley	210	7-10-0
51.	Anthony Marlor	100	
52.	Widow Elizabeth Martin	70	
53.	William Burrough	140	
		£6210	£246 10s.

*Anthony Jenkinson, John Dee, and Martin Frobisher whose court standing might be disputed are all listed under that category in a 1578 list of contributors and so I have followed the contemporary source. See Stefansson, II, pp. 200-201.

**The Earl of Oxford entered the venture late and bought out half of Michael Lok's original holdings. See CSP, Colonial East Indies 1513-1616, p. 49.

***Not all the people under the "City" were merchants. Some were widows of merchants and others were captains of ships or soldiers (the Kyndersleys and William Ormeshawe) who had no court connection and were listed as city people in the 1578 list of contributors mentioned above. Julius Caesar at this time was not of the court and obviously entered the venture because he was Michael Lok's step-son.

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£20494 11s. 1d., a little more than the pledged amount. The major part of the £2796 14s. 5d., almost 80% of it, was owed to various merchants who had hired their ships out for the third voyage. If Frobisher had not taken the five extra ships out with him, the company would have been able to pay most of its creditors. The rest of the debt was owed to victuallers (£403 18s.) and to workers at Dartford (£97 4s. 6d.). As far as is known these debts were never paid. There was no legal company, and the only threat that could be used on the delinquent investors was the loss of their interest in the project, a rather ineffective tool of persuasion considering it was becoming more and more apparent that the ore was worthless and there was nothing else anyone considered of importance in Meta Incognita. Michael Lok, as Treasurer, was held responsible and sued by some angry creditors. He was in financial difficulty the rest of his life because of this enterprise and spent some time in prison.[71]

What is perhaps most surprising is the apparent indifference of the investors to their financial obligation. The courtiers, many of whom had great fortunes, showed little inclination to honor their pledges once the ore proved to be without value. The merchants, as the list indicates, made a better showing. They pledged only 30% of the total, but they along with the involuntary adventurers (the merchants whom the company owed

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[71]See Manhart, p. 81.

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money) ended up paying 42% of the cost. These circumstances might account for the reluctance many merchants showed in becoming involved with courtiers in planting enterprises during the Elizabethan period. They often had little control over such projects and, yet, wound up footing more of the bill than they had bargained for.

The Frobisher voyages to America were the closest the state ever came to sponsoring a planting venture in the Elizabethan period. The venture showed that there was some sort of widespread interest in overseas expansion in both court and city, but it was an interest very vulnerable to easy discouragement. Very few of the investors ever went on to support further American enterprises. The form of a joint stock company was utilized, but the company had no legal standing, no meetings, nor voting and all policy matters were supervised by the Privy Council. The participation of so many important courtiers and a lesser number but very influential group of merchants seemed to lead to a very limited conception of planting, one which was solely dependent on finding ore and to a situation in which very few except perhaps Frobisher[72] and Lok, the original instigators, had a deep committment to the venture's success.

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[72]While Frobisher was rather reckless with the company's resources, he was risking all he, or more accurately his wife, had. See letter of Isabel Frobisher to Francis Walsingham, in Stefansson, I, p. cxvii.

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In comparison with the other enterprises, where the personal expenditures of the colonizer and the expenditures of the project were not really kept separate, labor and goods were adventured rather than paid for, forced labor was used, financing was gotten through martial activities, participants were paid out of spoils, and the leader had only nominal control over his major associates, the Frobisher voyages were a model of rationality, utilizing the methods and mechanisms of an emerging commercial society. Complete company accounts were kept; all labor was paid wages; investment was on a strictly joint stock basis; and there was at least some attempt at creating an official body to direct all elements in the enterprise.

None of the ventures, including Frobisher's, however, were really much oriented toward the market place. In the private expeditions, the martial aims completely overran attempts to develop marketable commodities and discouraged the participation of elements of the society whose interests were in that area. Frobisher's voyages showed that a major part of the whole court could be martialed to contribute towards an enterprise involving gold and that they were even prepared to invest money for mining it; but interest in developing anything beyond that one commodity was non-existent. Their conceptions about the way to proceed in the New World, like those of the gentlemen adventurers, were based entirely on how they thought America had been profitable to others in the past, particularly the Spanish.

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CONCLUSION

ELIZABETHAN PLANTING AND THE EMERGENCE OF A MARKET ORIENTATION

At the end of the seventeenth century, one English writer, looking back on Elizabethan planting attempts, asserted that

> The beginning of our American settlements was made in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by the encouragement of Sir Walter Rawleigh...; but that nor any other colony of ours in the West-Indies, did promise much success, either to the nation or undertakers, until the reign of King James the First, whose peace with the crown of Spain restrained those bold privateers, who before, by harassing the Spanish colonies and mastering their rich ships of plate had become very wealthy, as well as numerous. But, much against the will of most of them, (but principally of such who had not sufficiently made their fortunes,) this peace obliged them to change the prospect of their future conduct from rapine and spoil, to trade and planting; so that, in a very short time, a considerable settlement was made in the northern parts of America, to the great increase of good shipping in the kingdom.[1]

According to this explanation, which has become a conventional one, English colonizers had been forced into planting colonies as a result of James' opposition to their hostile actions against the Spanish. Undoubtedly, the changed attitude at court towards the Catholic powers required certain men to alter some of their

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[1] "An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies; and of the great Advantages they are to England, in respect to Trade," (1690), Harleian Miscellany (London, 1809), II, p. 377.

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aims and approaches. But those truly dedicated to the art of privateering found ways to continue their activities well into the Jacobean period. Nor did extensive planting efforts, as this study has tried to show, begin with James' rule. How then were Jacobean planting activities different from Elizabethan? What made seventeenth century planters succeed where their predecessors had failed? There is no one way answer to these questions, and this brief chapter does not pretend to offer a complete solution. Instead, I would like to explore one important difference between the orientations of the Elizabethans and seventeenth century Englishmen -- a difference that seems to be fundamentally related to the way each looked at America.

Living at the time of William and Mary, the author of the long quotation above simply assumed that one would connect planting with trade and that this connection had been readily apparent to the Elizabethans. Yet the main precedent the Elizabethans had to model themselves after in America was the Spanish, and their experience, as the English interpreted it, was not one of setting up a mercantile network in the Western Hemisphere, but of creating lordly domains built on the gold and silver tributes of conquered Indians. To make the marketing of American raw materials the primary goal of their New World settlements was thus not really an open choice for most of the conquest-oriented gentlemen adventurers. Ralph Lane's comment about the need to find a precious metal or a way to the East (where markets had

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been established for centuries) before America would be desirable, comes immediately to mind and seems more or less to typify the attitude of the majority of sixteenth century colonizers and their associates, not to mention the common soldiers who accompanied them on their voyages to America.

The Elizabethan colonizers were not alone in their relative blindness to commercial opportunities. If one glances through the Tudor economic documents compiled by R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power,[2] one can see that, while the Elizabethans had both internal and external markets, they were not automatically nor primarily oriented toward thinking in terms of markets. They were not accustomed to regarding the power one man had over another as largely economic, based on the ability to have command over the resources which went into the production of marketable commodities and the distribution of those commodities. As a result, the promotion of trade and industry (what there was of it) was not at the top of the list of national priorities, nor was it usually the pursuit of men with grand aspirations. Consider for example, the attitude of William Cecil -- whose assumptions may be taken as representative of those of the members of the governing circle -- around 1564 when he wrote a memorandum

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[2]R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (ed.), Tudor Economic Documents, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924).

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on the export trade in wool and cloth. Obviously motivated principally by political considerations, Cecil argued against reinstituting the intercourse in cloth between England and Antwerp because Antwerp was under the influence of Phillip II and because the trade brought in too many foreign wares. Diminishing the clothing trade, England's prime export, he argued, would also be a sound policy domestically, for too many men had gone into its production, neglecting the tillage of the soil. An additional and not unimportant consideration was that "the people that depend upon makyng of cloth ar of worse condition to be quyetly governed than the husbandmen." Finally, he pointed out specific measures that could be undertaken to reduce the number of clothiers.[3] Cecil and the Elizabethan government in general it seems were less concerned with the encouragement of a market economy than with making the economy, whatever its form, serve the interest of defense and civil stability.[4]

Likewise, private men who petitioned or wrote tracts on building up a particular trade usually justified their suit on

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[3] Ibid., II, pp. 45-47.

[4] Vincent Ponko in "The Privy Council and the Spirit of Elizabethan Economic Management, 1558-1603," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new series vol. 58 part 4 (1968), p. 56, states that "permeating practically all of its [the Privy Council] major economic considerations was the idea of how best to avoid problems that would threaten 'if warres should chance.'"

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the basis of decay in a local area or in the interest of civil order. One gentleman, Robert Hitchcock, published a tract in the 1580's urging the Crown to allow him to develop herring fisheries in imitation of Low Countries mariners.[5] It was an ambitious economic venture, but he chose to present it, primarily, as a way to rid the country of vagabonds and beggers. Most of the writers in the Tawney and Power volumes, with a couple of exceptions,[6] do not, in justifying their causes or their arguments, appeal to the link between an increase in trade and national power.

Beginning in the last years of Elizabeth's reign and continuing through James', the English, spurred on by high prices and the scarcity of money, began to have public debates in Parliament and in pamphlets, on England's economic situation.[7] At

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[5]Robert Hitchcock, "A Politic Plat for the honour of the Prince...", (1580), Social England Illustrated (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., n.d.), VI, pp. 55-94.

[6]For example, "Policies to Reduce this Realme of Englande unto a Prosperus Wealthe and Estate," Tawney and Power, III, pp. 311-345 which was written in 1549 during Edward VI's reign and never published. It considers the whole economic situation of England and recommends that people work longer and harder to produce commodities for export. It is interesting to note that the words trade or commerce seldom appear in the sixteenth century tracts, even when the exchange of wares between countries is being discussed.

[7]The parliamentary debates on the subsides and monopolies which occurred in the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign were to some extent a result of the tension over inflation which caused people to feel some men were getting a better deal or special privileges at the expense of the commonwealth. See Tawney and Powers, II, pp. 235-245 and 269-292.

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first, the analyses of what was wrong only focused on internal and external abuses -- monopolies, engrossing, laziness, war expenditures, the influx of precious metals from the Indies, and adverse exchange rates. But soon attention was drawn to England's trade, partially because of its connection with the drain on silver and gold, and for the first time, a number of tracts were published which presented it as a general subject of concern to the whole nation, even though the tracts themselves often degenerated into a plea to adjust the money exchange, a defense of or an attack on a merchant company, or a promotion of a specific trade project. Representative of these tracts were Gerard de Malynes' Treatise of the Canker of England's Commonwealth (1601), John Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce (1601), Dudley Digges' A Defense of Trade (1615), Robert Kayll's(?) The Trade Increase (1615),[8] Tobias Gentleman's England's Way to Win Wealth (1614) and E. S.'s Britain's Buss... (1615). These tracts usually began by legitimating their own causes by tying them to an increase in trade, which they presented as an essential for the good of the whole country. They are often quite nationalistic in tone, and the Dutch, who, in the Elizabethan period, were invoked upon occasion as an example, now appear not only as a

[8]This title is a play on words. The Trade's Increase was the name of an enormous East India Company ship which was wrecked almost immediately after being built.

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model but as a threat also. In England's Way to Win Wealth, the author deplored England's inferior position in trade vis-a-vis that of the Dutch: "O Slothful England...look but on these fellows that we call the plump Hollanders! Behold their diligence in fishing! and our own careless negligence!" These "industrious Hollanders," according to this writer, used English waters to capture their fish and then ridiculed the English with taunts, such as, "we will make you glad for to wear our old shoes."[9]

The most articulate and unequivocal spokesman for an aggressive trade policy during the Jacobean period was of course Thomas Mun. In his Discourse on Trade... (1621), a defense of the East India Company, he prefaced his arguments with the statement that "the trade of Merchandize, is not onely that laudable practize whereby the entercourse of nations is so worthily performed, but also (as I may terme it) the very Touchstone of a kingdomes prosperitie...." His defense, heavily laced with the detailed figures on cost and profits which were to become a trademark of

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[9]Social England Illustrated, VI, pp. 253 and 270. Other examples of fear about the Dutch in the early seventeenth century are in Tawney and Powers II, p. 85 and 88. Ralph Davis in The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 9, claims that there was really very little rational explanation for this anti-Dutch feeling because the Dutch were not, in actuality, seriously cutting into any traditionally English markets. This suggests that the English sometimes used the Dutch as a justification for espousing an espousing an economic aggressiveness to which they had not entirely reconciled themselves.

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the political arithmeticians, was not just a plea for the survival of the East Indian trade but for an exploitation of all possible sources of commercial products, believing that "to live well, to flourish and grow rich" a nation had to export more than it imported of foreign wares. To him, "the industry to increase and frugalitie to maintaine, are the true watchmen of a kingdomes treasury," and the East India trade, of course, was a prime example of this "industry." He contended that if this commerce was abandoned, the Dutch, whom he accused of trying to sabotage the venture by spiriting away 12 company ships, would grow in honor, wealth, and strength, "Whilest we abate, grow poore and weake at Sea for want of Trade."[10] As the works of Barry Supple and Charles Wilson show,[11] the kind of economic thinking Mun's tract represented was destined to increase in popularity and force as the century progressed.

It would be a mistake to attribute commercial motives to all those Englishmen who organized Jacobean planting ventures; nor did all the proponents of an aggressive trade policy advocate

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[10] pp. 1-2 and 49-50.

[11] Barry Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-1642: A Study in the Instability of a Mercantile Economy (Cambridge: University Press, 1959); and Charles Wilson, England's Apprenticeship 1603-1763 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965).

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colonization. Yet, there was a relationship between the two movements. The growing conviction that a vigorous external trade was necessary, possible, and potentially a source of great personal power and wealth influenced men to look at the New World in a fresh way. One can see the dawning realization of what might be possible in America in the late Elizabethan period: in Ralegh's sending small ships out to Virginia to collect sassafras, in Gosnold's having his men gather the same herb for sale in England, and, most importantly (because it would have involved the actual raising of a commodity), in Leigh's writing home to his brother after he had observed the Dutch ships coming into Guiana for flax that his own colony might develop such a product for export. The real impact of the new stress on trade, however, only became apparent with the Jacobean efforts in Virginia, the Bermudas, Newfoundland, and St. Christopher. The possibility of supplementing England's wealth through the cultivations of raw materials in America then became a justification for colonies, and the hopes of furthering one's fortunes by such an enterprise attracted new investors and settlers.

The central problem of Elizabethan western planting projects as has been frequently reiterated in this study, was not the organization or the attractions of privateering -- these things were just manifestations of the colonizers' conceptions concerning New World settlements. The problem was with the conceptions

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themselves. The gold and the Indian civilizations the Elizabethans set out to conquer just were not there. What America was eminently well suited for at the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, was a large scale exploitation of its raw materials by men who had begun to see how the new conceptions about trade could be applied to western planting to satisfy their own ambitions and aspirations as well as those of the country as a whole.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF TITLES IN THE SAMPLE USED IN CHAPTER II

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The titles discussed in Chapter II came from five sample years -- 1558, 1568, 1578, 1588, and 1598 -- and include all items pertaining to the genres discussed for these years listed in Pollard and Redgrave's Short Title Catalogue (the guide for all extant English printed material from 1475-1640). It was possible for me to select out these years due to the immensely useful Folger Library chronological file of the STC. I actually surveyed all the literature -- religious, dramatic, political etc. -- in those years, but I found that only the social literature, fictional narratives, and histories really consistently presented well-defined ideal models for behavior.

Social Literature

I. Works on the Gentleman, War, and the State
   A. English Works
      1. Fisher, John. Three Dialogues. London, 1558.
      2. The Institucion of a Gentleman. London, 1568.
      3. Harvey, Gabriel. Gratulationum Valdinesium. London, 1578.
      4. Proctor, T. Of the Knowledge and Conducte of Warres. London, 1578.
      5. Riche, Barnabe. Allarme to England. London, 1578.
      6. Case, John. Sphera Civitatis. Oxford, 1588.
      7. Churchyard, Thomas. A Spark of Friendship and Warm Goodwill. London, 1588. [reprinted in Harleian Miscellany, II (1809), pp. 109-117].
      8. Rankins, W. The English Ape. London, 1588.
      9. Bacon, Francis. Essaies. London, 1598.
      10. Barckley, Richard. A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man. London, 1598.
      11. Barret, Robert. The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres. London, 1598.

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B. Foreign Works

1. Cicero, Marcus, Tullius. The Three Bokes of Duties. trans. Nicolas Grimaldi, London, 1558.
2. same as above, 1568.
3. Guevara, Don Antony de. Bishop. The Dial of Princes. trans. Thomas North, London, 1568.
4. Politique Discourses. trans. Aegremont Ratcliffe, London, 1578.
5. Castiglione, Baldesar. The Courtier, trans. Thomas Hoby, London, 1588.
6. Machiavelli, Nicolas. The Arte of Warre. trans. Peter Withorne, London, 1588.
7. Alberti, Leon. Hecantonphila. trans. anonymous, London, 1598.
8. Aristotle. Politiques. trans. I.D., London, 1598.
9. Grimaldus, Laurentius. Bishop [Goslocki]. The Counsellor, trans. anonymous, London, 1598.
10. La Perriere, G. The Mirrour of Policie. trans. anonymous, London, 1598.
11. Romei, Hanniball. The Courtiers Academie. trans. J. K., London, 1598.

Fictional Narratives

A. English Works

1. Baldwin, William. The Last Part of the Mirour for Magistrates. London, 1578.
2. Blenerhasset, Thomas. The Seconde Part of the Mirrour for Magistrates. London, 1578.
3. Lyly, John. Euphues. London, 1578. [used the 1579 edition].
4. Greene, Robert. Pandosta. London, 1588.
5. Greene, Robert. Perimedes. London, 1588. [used reprint in J.P. Collier Illustrations of Early English Literature I, London, 1867-70].
6. Lyly, John. Euphues and his England. London, 1588.
7. Chaucer, Geffrey. The Workes.... London, 1598.
8. Dickenson, John. Greene in Conceipt.... London, 1598. [used reprint in Grossart, Alexander ed. Occasional Issues, vol. 6, Manchester, 1878].
9. Drayton, Michael. Englands Heroicall Epistles. London, 1598.
10. Forde, Emanuel. Parimus.... London, 1598.
11. Lodge, Thomas. Rosalynd.... London, 1598.
12. Marlowe, Christopher. Hero and Leander. London, 1598.

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13. Petowe, Henry. The Second Part of Hero and Leander. London, 1598.
14. Roberts, Henry....Edward of Lancaster. London, 1598.
15. Rous, Francis. Thule. London, 1598.
16. Shakespeare, William. Lucrece. London, 1598.
17. Sidney, Philip. The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. London, 1598.

B. Foreign Works

1. Gelli, Giovanni. Circe, trans. Henry Iden, London, 1558.
2. Virgilius, Maro, Publius. The Seven first bookes of the Eneidos. London, 1558.
3. A Courtlie Controversy of Cupids Cautels. trans. H. Wotton, London, 1578.
4. Falckenburgius, J. Britannia Sive De Apollonica.... London, 1578 [the author evidently wrote this in England, but he was from Saxe-Brandenburg].
5. Maisoneuve, Etienne de....Pleasaunt Hystorie of Gerileon of Englande. trans. Myles Jennings, London, 1578.
6. Ortunez De Calahorra, Diego. The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood. trans. Margaret Tyler, London, 1578.
7. Colet, Claude. The Historie of Palladine of England. trans. Anthony Munday, London, 1588.
8. Palmerin de Oliva. trans. Anthony Munday, London, 1588.
9. Bellianis de Grecia. trans. L. A., London, 1598.
10. Boiardo, Mathew. Orlando Inamorato. trans. R. T., London, 1598.
11. Du Bartas, Saluste. The Colonies.... trans. W. Lisle, London, 1598.
12. Du Bartas, Saluste. The Second Weeke.... trans. Joshua Sylvester, London, 1598.
13. Homer. Achilles Shield. trans. George Chapman, London, 1598.
14. Homer. Seaven Bookes of the Illiades.... trans. George Chapman, London, 1598.
15. Montemayor, Jorge de. Diana. trans. Bartholomew Yong, London, 1598.
16. Ortunez de Calahorra....Mirrour of Knighthood. trans. anonymous, third part, London, 1598.
17. Same as above, second part.
18. Same as above, trans. R. P., sixth book.
19. Same as above, seventh book, trans. L. A.

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Histories

A. English Works

1. Gildas. De excidio et conquestu Britanniae. ed. J. Josselinus, London, 1568.
2. Grafton, Richard. Chronicle of Breteyn. London, 1568. [used 1569 ed.].
3. Stow, John. A summarie of the Chronicles of England. London, 1598.
4. Stow, John. A Survey of London. London, 1598.

B. Foreign Works

1. Joseph Ben Gorion [pseudonym]. A Compendious... History...of Jewes Communeweale... trans. Peter Morwen, London, 1558.
2. Cope, Sir Anthony. The Historie of Two the Most Noble Capitaines of the World, Anniball and Scipio... [taken from Livy], London, 1568.
3. Polybius. The Histories...the warres, betwixt the Romanes & Cartheginenses, annexed...life & worthy acts...King Henry the fift. trans. Christopher Watson, London, 1568.
4. Appian. An Auncient Historie and exquisite Chronicle of the Romanes warres, both Civile and Foren. trans. anonymous, London, 1578.
5. Polemon, John. All the famous Battels that have bene fought in our age.... [taken from various contemporary European historians]. London, 1578.
6. Trogus, Pompeius. The Abridgement of the Historyes of Trogus Pompeius.... trans. Arthur Golding, London, 1578.
7. An Historical Collection, of the Most Memorable Accidents and Tragical Massacres of France.... trans. anonymous, London, 1598.
8. Tacitus, Cornelius. The Annales...The Description of Germanie. trans. Richard Breneway, London, 1598.
9. Tacitus, Cornelius. The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba. trans. Sir Henry Saville, London, 1598.

Travel Literature

A. English Works

1. Mandeville, John. The Voiage and Travayle of Syr John Maundeville. London, 1568.
2. Churchyard, Thomas. A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainement... adjoyned a commendation of Sir Humfrey Gilberts ventrous journey. London, 1578.

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3. Churchyarde, Thomas. A Prayse, and Report of Maister Martyne Forboishers Voyage to Meta Incognita. London, 1578.
4. Ellis, Thomas. A true report of the third and last voyage into Meta Incognita.... London, 1578.
5. Best, George. A True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya. London, 1578.
6. Hariot, Thomas. A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia. London, 1588.
7. Hakluyt, Richard. Principal Navigations, I. London, 1598.

B. Foreign Works
1. Thevet, Andre. The New Foundworlde, or Antarctike... trans. anonymous, London, 1568.
2. Fernandez de Encisco, Martin. A Briefe Description of the Portes...of the Weast India, trans. John Frampton, London, 1578.
3. Lopez de Gomara, Francisco. The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India.... trans. T. Nicholas, London, 1578.
4. Federici, Cesare. The Voyage and Travaile into the East India.... trans. Thomas Hickock, London, 1588.
5. Gonzalez de Mendoza. The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China. trans. R. Parke, London, 1588.
6. Geraldson, Cornelius. An Addition to the Sea Journal.... trans. London, 1598.
7. Langenes, Bernard. The Description of a Voyage... Holland into the East Indies.... trans. W. Phillip, London, 1598.
8. Linschoten, John. Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies. trans. William Phillip, London, 1598.

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APPENDIX II

DATA ON THE SHIPS USED ON THE VOYAGES

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Below is a list of the ships, their tonnage, their captains, and owners when these details are known. When tonnage was unknown, I estimated it on the basis of the number of passengers (2 tons for every person), and when that was not known, I used the description of the ship (i.e. pinnace, tall ship etc.). The estimates, therefore, are often based on very sketchy evidence and should be used to give an idea of the general size of the whole project, not as data on individual ships. I have included the most important sources for information on the ships of each venture.

Stucley (Izon, pp. 29, 32, HCA 13/15/416^{v}, HCA 3/11/fol. 84^{v},) I have not given the individual tonnage estimates because all I have information on is the total number of men who sailed with Stucley, and that information, depending on the source varies from over 300 to 500 (HCA 14/6 March 25, 1563, Harleian MS 253, fol. 99, CSP, Spain 1558-1567), so I have estimated approximately 400 participants and 730 total tonnage with all ships under 200 tons burden, figuring that being a privateering type of expedition it was slight over the 2 tons burden per person limit.

Anne Stucley - bark, owned by Stucley
Fortune Stucley - bark, " " "
Samuel - bark, owned by Pratt and Castlyn, London
Mary Ann John - " " " " " "
Unnamed ship - owned by the Coppersmith's
Unnamed ship - pinnace

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Frobisher (Stefansson, passim; Manhart, p. 63, CSP, Col. E.I. 1513-1616, p. 43)

1st voyage
Gabriel (30 tons) - company owned
Michael (30 tons) - company owned

2nd voyage
Ayde (200 tons) - company owned, bought from Queen
Gabriel
Michael

3rd voyage
Ayde
Gabriel
Michael
Judith (80 tons est.) - company owned
Thomas Allen (160 est.) - hired
Anne Francis (130 est.) - hired
Hopewell (140 est.) - hired
Beare Leicester (100 est.) - hired
Emanuel of Exeter (100 est.) - hired
Frances of Foy (130 est.) - hired
Moone (100 est.) - hired
Emanuel of Bridgewater (110 est.) - hired
Salmon of Weymouth (130 est.) - hired
Bark Denys (100 est.) - hired
Thomas of Ipswich (160) - hired

Gilbert (SP 12/126/49 in Quinn, Gilbert I, pp. 209-212)

1st project
Ager (250 tons) - owned by Gilbert family, H. Gilbert, capt.
Hope of Greneway (160) - owned by Gilbert family, Carew Ralegh, capt.
Gallion (40) - probably owned by Gilbert family, Richard Udall capt.
Swallow (40) - hired from pirate John Challis and later appropriated by Gilberts, John Vernye, capt.
Squirrel (8) - pinnace, owned by Gilbert family
Falcon (100) - owned by Queen, probably hired, Walter Ralegh, capt.
Red Lion (110) - probably owned by Morgan family, Myles Morgan, capt.
The Eliphant (150)- either owned or hired by Henry Knollys who was capt.

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Gilbert's 1st project (Cont.)

Frances alias the Armyn (70) - French bark, Knollys owned, Gregory Fenton, capt.
Bark Denye (100 tons est.) - owned and captained by Edward Denye.

2nd project
Squirrel (8 tons) - exploratory voyage in 1580, Simon Fernandez, capt.
Squirrel (8 tons) - 1583, William Andrewes, capt.
Delight (120) - owned by Gilbert family and William Winter, Gilbert, Capt.
Swallow (40) - appropriated by Gilbert family from John Challis, Maurice Browne, capt.
Barke Rawley (200) - owned by Gilbert family (W. Ralegh), Michael Butler, capt.
Golden Hind (40) - owned and captained by Edward Hayes

Ralegh, Roanoke (Quinn, Roanoke I, II, passim)

1584 exploration
unnamed ship (100 tons est.) - owned by Ralegh, Philip Amadis, capt.
unnamed ship (30 tons est.) - pinnace, owned by Ralegh, Arthur Barlow, capt.

1585 expedition
Tiger (140) - Queen's ship probably hired, Sir Richard Grenville, capt.
Roebuck (140) - flyboat, owned by Ralegh, John Clarke, capt.
Elizabeth (50) - either owned or hired by Thomas Cavendish, the capt.
Red Lion of Chichester (100) - owned or hired by George Raymond, capt.
Dorothy (40 est.) - small bark, owned by Ralegh
unnamed ship (20 est.) - small pinnace owned by Ralegh
unnamed ship (20 est.) - small pinnace owned by Ralegh

1586 expedition
unnamed ship (100) - supply ship, owned by Ralegh?
unnamed ship (200 est.) - large ship, Grenville, capt.
unnamed ship (200 est.) - large ship

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Ralegh's 1586 expedition cont.

unnamed ship (70 est.) - small ship
unnamed ship (70 est.) - small ship
unnamed ship (70 est.) - small ship
unnamed ship (70 est.) - small ship
unnamed ship (70 est.) - small ship

There was undoubtedly some difference in the tonnage of these ships which are only described as small. Some were probably barks and other pinnaces. I have just averaged them out, giving them all the tonnage of a medium sized bark.

1587 expedition
Lion (120) - John White, capt.
unnamed ship (140 est.) - a flyboat possibly the Roebuck owned by Ralegh
unnamed ship (30 est.) - pinnace, Edward Stafford, capt.

1588 expedition
Brave (30) - a French ship appropriated by Ralegh, Arthur Facy, capt.
Roe (25) - owned by Ralegh

1590 expedition
Moonlight (80) - owned by William Sanderson

Ralegh, Guiana (Harlow passim, Andrews, English Privateering Voyages, 381ff).

1594 exploratory voyage
unnamed ship (50 est.) - small ship owned by Ralegh, Jacob Whiddon, capt.

1595 expedition
unnamed ship (200 est.) - large ship probably owned by Ralegh, capt.
unnamed ship (100 est.) - galley owned by Ralegh, Lawrence Keymis, capt.
unnamed ship (50 est.) - small bark, Capt. Cross.
Lion's Whelp (90) - owned by Lord Admiral Howard, George Gifford, capt.
Ascension (200 est.) - tall ship, Amias Preston, capt. (ship with Preston)
Gift (200 est.) - tall ship, George Somers, capt. (ship with Preston)

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Ralegh's Guiana 1595 expedition cont.

unnamed ship (20 est.) - pinnace (ship with Preston)
Derling (100 est.) - probably the "Darling" owned by Ralegh and Sir Robert Cecil (ship with Preston)
Angel (80) - owned by Lawrence Prowse and Richard Goddard, William Prowse, capt. (ship with Preston)

1596 exploratory voyage
Darling (100 est.) - owned by Ralegh and Cecil, Lawrence Keymis, capt.
Discovery (30 est.) - pinnace of Ralegh's

1596-97 exploratory voyage
Watte (30 est.) - pinnace of Ralegh's, Leonard Berry, capt.

Leigh, Ramea (Hakluyt VIII (1904 ed.) p. 166)

Hopewell (120 tons) - Charles Leigh, capt., probably hired from John Watt
Chancewell (70) - Stephen Van Harwick capt., probably owned by Abraham Van Harwick and Leigh

Leigh, Guiana (Purchas XVI p. 309, Nicholl, Houre Glasse..., B1V)

Olive Plant alias the Phenix (50 tons) - made two voyages over, probably owned by Leigh family and associates.
Olive Branch or Blossom (170) - owned or hired by Sir Oliph Leigh and his associates, Captain was a Mr. Catalin.

Gosnold (Brereton, p. 1; Gookin, passim)

Concord (50 tons est.) - a small bark of Dartmouth captained previously by Bartholomew Gilbert, probably hired by the adventurers

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