

**Changing Spaces: Negotiating Representations of Space in
England and the New World (c.1607-1642)**

Sarah O'Malley

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Abstract

This thesis explores how early modern writers, of both literary and non-literary texts, responded to the New World colonial project in their representations of the relationship between subject and space. It argues that the colonial experience fundamentally changed how this relationship was understood, performed, and represented by early modern writers. The spatial turn and the field of Literary Geographies have made significant inroads into early modern literary and cultural studies over recent years. However, there has been very little work undertaken on the reflexive relationship between the production and representation of space in England and its New World colonies – this thesis addresses this gap.

I consider three different categories of space that form the foundations of society and subjectivity in England and its colonies: domestic, shared/public, and agrarian. Throughout the thesis I argue for the material and ideological flow between these spaces as well as the discursive flow between the different genres of texts used to represent them. Equally, I argue for the flow between subject and space in the construction of normative or transgressive identities for both.

I analyse a range of pamphlet, manuscript, and dramatic texts, seeing the flow of discourse and representational schemes between these genres as a key part of understanding the role of text in the construction of space and subjectivity. However, matters of genre are not disregarded, and I also argue for theatre's unique role in synthesising and interrogating a wide range of spatial discourses emerging from England and its colonies.

To frame my analyses of the relationships between subject, space, and text I draw on the work of Henri LeFebvre and Doreen Massey. I combine LeFebvre and Massey's understanding of space as an ongoing socio-political process with recent work in embodied and distributed cognition in early modern studies, as exemplified by Mary Floyd Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., that argues for a transactional relationship between subject and material environment. These approaches allow me to articulate the reflexive flow between the multiple material, textual, and ideological elements that construct subjectivity and space. In so doing this thesis (re)asserts the influence of early colonial discourse and practice on early modern English literature, and establishes the reflexive relationship between the spatial practices of England the New World.

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Introduction: The Voyage Over

For English colonists, the voyage to the New World marked the transition from inhabiting the familiar spaces and places of England to inhabiting the unfamiliar, and sometimes hostile, spaces and places of the New World. It placed these colonists in a physical environment that challenged their identities as individuals, communities, and English citizens. Through the course of this thesis I argue that this experience fundamentally changed the way relationships between subjects and spaces were understood, performed, and represented in seventeenth-century English literature and culture. Stephen Greenblatt writes in his seminal work *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* that self-fashioning 'is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile.'¹ The colonial project in the New World was all of these things and it offered an environment in which the fashioning of self, community, and nation could be (re)considered. This thesis argues that the process of 'self-fashioning' in the New World was inherently spatial, as colonists arrived in a material environment that was so utterly different from the one they had left behind and that had been so crucial in shaping or fashioning the 'self'. Before expanding in depth on my critical and methodological approaches, I will first turn to two dramatic texts as a way of introducing the central concerns of this thesis. As Dan Brayton states, in the early modern period the ocean was often conceptualized as 'not entirely of this world, a realm astraddle the near and the far, the domestic and the exotic.'² Inhabiting

¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 9.

² Dan Brayton, 'Sounding the Deep: *Shakespeare and the Sea* Revisited', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 46 (2010), 189-206 (p. 93).

this liminal realm, the voyaging ship offered a unique, imaginatively rich space in which playwrights could explore the increasing anxiety departure from English spaces and places brought. It offers an equally rich starting point from which to explore the implications the New World colonial venture had on the understandings of space, place, and identity in England.

Two notable plays that open with a troubled sea voyage are William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (c.1611), and John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* (c.1622). Both plays open in a similar way, with a storm at sea and the integrity of the ship and safety of its crew in danger.³ The struggle to maintain the material boundaries of the ship is coupled with the struggle to maintain order on board in both cases. In *The Tempest* the Boatswain is attempting to organize the sailors and save the ship when he is interrupted by questions from Antonio and Alonso. The Boatswain rebukes them, saying, 'You mar our labour. Keep your cabins; you do assist the storm.'⁴ Before being interrupted again by Gonzalo and asserting he should 'To cabin! Silence; trouble us not' (1.1.16-17), and then finally after multiple interruptions, 'Yet again? What do you here? Shall we give o'er and drown? Have you a mind to sink?' (1.1.37-8). Throughout this opening scene these attempts to maintain control over the passengers are interspersed with the Boatswain's attempts to maintain control over the ship itself – 'Take in the topsail!' (1.1.6), 'Down with the topmast!' (1.1.33). There is a clear link forged between the disruptive and threatening

³ For more on the context and significance of the storm in *The Tempest* see, Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), pp. 94-104.

⁴ William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by John Jowett and others, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 1.1.12-13.

power of the storm and that of the out-of-place, interrupting passengers. In order to maintain the material boundaries and integrity of the ship the Boatswain must also maintain order over the passengers; the struggle to achieve both creates a double threat to order on board the ship, and indeed to the very survival of its crew.

In *The Sea Voyage* a very similar scene unfolds. The Master, Boatswain and Tibalt issue commands to control the ship in the storm – ‘Down with the main mast’,⁵ ‘Steer her a-starboard there.’ (1.1.18), ‘Fling o’er the lading there’ (1.1.111) – whilst simultaneously trying to maintain control over their passengers. Aminta, panicking over their fate, comes on deck and interrupts the crew working to control the ship. Tibalt commands, ‘Peace, woman!/ We ha’ storms enough already – no more howling.’ (1.1.49-50) The Master then joins Tibalt in his reprimanding, saying ‘Clap this woman under hatches’ (1.1.51), and: ‘Carry her down, captain,/ Or, by these hands, I’ll give no more direction,/ Let the ship sink or swim.’ (1.1.63-5). As in *The Tempest*, there is a clear and direct link made between the threat of the storm and that of the interruption of Aminta intruding in a space she does not belong. In *The Tempest* the Boatswain orders Gonzalo ‘to cabin’ and in *The Sea Voyage* the Master orders Aminta be clapped ‘under hatches’. The material structure and boundaries of the ship are crucial to both the Boatswain and the Master’s display of authority and maintenance of order aboard their ships. The simultaneous struggle to maintain and establish material and ideological boundaries on these ships is a manifestation of the ideological status of voyaging ships. The voyage to the New World marked the

⁵ John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage*, in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. by Antony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 1.1.8.

liminal space in which the boundaries of the homeland begin to disintegrate before arrival on colonial shores, at which point all material and social boundaries are in a state of uncertainty due to the lack of infrastructure. The battle to save the ships from being wrecked becomes synonymous with the struggle that lay ahead for colonists. The storm-ravaged ships require a disciplined maintenance of material and social boundaries if they have any hope of surviving; the same discipline was needed in the unfamiliar geographies of the New World if social order was to be maintained.

In both these examples the material space of the ship is connected to the capacity to maintain control over the subjects inhabiting this space. However, the liminal space of the ship and the disruption caused by the storms also give opportunity for a renegotiation of identity and authority within this space, as Gonzalo and Aminta's interjections and the storms blowing both ships off course attest. I argue that these complex relationships between space, authority, identity, and social order, and their (re)negotiation in challenging environments, were all key facets of the establishment of English colonies in the New World. I also argue that colonial authorities' attempts to (re)produce English social order through the (re)creation of an infrastructure replicating that left behind in England led to a cultural moment that revealed and modified what Henri Lefebvre describes as the 'spatial practice' of English society. Lefebvre states that 'The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of

a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space.’⁶ The textual practice of early modern England forms part of this ‘deciphering’ of space, in its engagement with the inherently spatial elements of the worlds it creates and describes. Equally, the work of this thesis from its ‘analytic standpoint’ looks to decipher the spatial practice(s) of early modern England through attention to representations and materialities of these spaces. The colonial endeavour offers a uniquely rich opportunity to do this since it was a moment in which the spatial practice of early modern England came into acute focus as colonists and colonial leaders attempted a rapid (re)production of the spaces and places left behind in England.

Throughout this thesis I argue that, much like the voyaging ships, spatial practice flowed back and forth between England and its New World colonies and marked a blurring of the distinction between the two spaces both materially and ideologically. Andrew Hadfield writes:

colonial literature, like the colonist, occupies an ambiguous position between the motherland and the colonized land. Colonial literature is often vociferously committed to the metropolis which it has irrevocably left behind, and yet, in the face of a different location and a different culture, is obliged to acknowledge that the identity of ‘home’ has changed beyond recognition.⁷

⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 38.

⁷ Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 70.

Hadfield is talking about 'home' in terms of the home nation or familiar here, but in this thesis I push this further and argue that the identity of 'home' as a material space that forged and was forged by the subjectivities that interacted with it, was also inherently changed by the colonial experience. Indeed, this applies to the manifold spaces and places that made up the experience of subjectivity and society in early modern English culture. As Greenblatt also states:

self-fashioning occurs at the point of encounter between an authority and an alien, [...] what is produced in this encounter partakes of both the authority and the alien that is marked for attack, and hence [...] any achieved identity always contains within itself the signs of its own subversion or loss.⁸

In terms of the colonial experience, the New World environment and the indigenous population that inhabited it become the 'alien' encountered by the authority of English culture and identity. These encounters led to a synthesis of colonial experiences, discourses, and materialities of space, place, and identity with those (already) existing in England, because 'what is produced in this encounter partakes of both the authority and the alien'. As this thesis will argue, this synthesis inherently changed the way space, place, and identity were represented and understood in English life and literature.

⁸ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, p. 9.

When colonists travelled to the New World they brought with them existing understandings of space and place, and also existing tropes and language through which to represent their experiences of them. This is true in a general sense, but also traceable in quite specific ways through ship inventories and letters that reveal the transportation of texts such as Gervase Markham's husbandry manuals to the New World in order to frame colonists' articulation of the agrarian spaces they experienced and (re)created there.⁹ These understandings and the vocabulary used to portray them were then deeply affected by their use in this new environment. In an essay considering Edward Pelham's Arctic pamphlet of 1630, Julie Sanders discusses her interest in the way Pelham:

brings to bear sensory perception of the landscape and his memory of the same, how either consciously or subconsciously his own cultural upbringing shapes and frames that perception, and also what literary and artistic frameworks he brings to bear both in the writing up of the experience and in the moment of the experience itself.¹⁰

I bring a similar interest to my analysis of colonial discourse and its influence on early modern English literature, examining the presence of 'literary and artistic

⁹ Richard Berkeley and John Smyth, 'A Commission to George Thorpe for the Government of the Plantation', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 397-400 (p. 400).

¹⁰ Julie Sanders, 'Beyond the Power of Art to Represent?: Narratives and Performances of the Arctic in the 1630s', in *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds: Geography and the Humanities*, ed. by Stephen Daniels and others (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 293-298 (p. 295).

frameworks' brought with the colonists from their 'cultural upbringing' in England in their writing about the New World. The frameworks colonists brought with them were then modified in their 'writing up' of these new experiences, and when people, letters, and pamphlets travelled back to England from the New World these new discourses of space and place travelled with them. Throughout the thesis I argue that it was not only a transatlantic flow of ideas and 'literary and artistic frameworks' through which space could be understood and represented, but a trans-genre flow as well. I suggest that representations of space and place on stage informed the 'literary and artistic frameworks' used by colonial pamphleteers and letter writers to describe their New World experiences, and equally I suggest that these pamphlets and letters came to influence dramatic and literary representations of the relationship between subjects and spaces.

John Sutton writes that:

The human mind is 'leaky' both because it thus extends beyond the skin to co-opt external devices, technologies, and other people, and because our plastic brains naturally soak up labels, inner objects, and representational schemes, internalizing and incorporating such resources and often redeploying them in novel ways.¹¹

I argue that travel to and from the New World meant these 'representational schemes' were constantly being modified and 'redeployed' by colonists and

¹¹ John Sutton, 'Exograms and Interdisciplinarity: History, the Extended Mind, and the Civilizing Process', in *Extended Mind*, ed. by Richard Menary (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), pp. 189-225 (p. 190).

voyagers to make sense of the ever changing, ever increasing range of spaces and places that made up their world. The old and New Worlds of seventeenth-century England were thus connected not only through direct comparison and flow of material objects, but via a shared discourse and frame of reference through which space was experienced and represented across a variety of genres and discourses – a frame of reference that was always expanding its pool of interpretive resources to include new experiences, whether they be ‘real’ physical interactions or those encountered on page or stage.

This thesis seeks to foreground the reflexive relationship between the spatial practices of England and its New World colonies and the different kinds of texts and discourses used to represent them. The ‘spatial turn’ continues its influence in literary studies, and indeed, the field of literary geographies is growing and gaining traction in early modern studies. Colonial and post-colonial studies of early modern literature, history, and cultural studies also remain influential. However, despite the sustained relevance and critical attention in these areas, there has been relatively little attention paid to a crossover between the two: attention to the reflexive relationship between the spatial practice of England and its colonies, and the influence of this process on and in early modern literature, is scarce. This thesis looks to address this deficit, and argue for the influence of the English colonial project in the New World on the relationship between subject and space, and its articulation in English literature and discourse more widely. By drawing on the emerging field of distributed and embodied cognition to complement some of the existing approaches to analyses of space and place in early modern studies, I will contribute to the development of the critical approach to literary geographies in the period. The body of critical

work this project builds on is vast and it is to this foundation that I now turn in order to better position the contribution this thesis makes to the fields of early modern literary geographies and colonial studies.

Critical Foundations

The influence of the 'spatial turn' and literary geographies in early modern studies has grown over recent years and there are several studies in addition to the ones mentioned briefly above that engage with the ideas of space and place in early modern literature and culture.¹² One of the key texts emerging in recent years is Julie Sanders' *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650*. Sanders' work has been foundational to my own, both in my understanding of space and place, and my methodological approach to the role literature played in their production in the early modern period, specifically Sanders' use of 'flow theory' to frame her analysis of the connections of 'so-called province with metropolis, domestic with public space, and homeland with colony, as well as imaginative geography with material site [...] in terms of the exchange of ideas and practices, as well as literal objects and commodities'.¹³ The idea of flow is key to my thesis and its argument that the spaces and places of England and its New World colonies were intimately connected through a flow of material objects, infrastructure, and discourse. Sanders analyses a variety of early modern spaces and places, including many that will feature in this thesis, but also notes

¹² In response to the growing field of literary geographies more widely the Routledge Critical Idiom series is due to release a volume on literary geographies later this year: Sheila Hones, *Literary Geography* (London: Routledge, 2018).

¹³ Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 12.

that 'It is absolutely my intention...that the methods and approaches adopted here are open to appropriation and can be redeployed to look at other kinds of cultural landscape'. One of the areas Sanders notes is ripe for further exploration is 'the negotiations of new colonial settlements in New England'.¹⁴ It is here, in the analysis of New World colonial settlements and travel, that I hope this thesis will both continue and complement the growing field of early modern literary geographies.

There is a great deal of critical material about the English colonial endeavour in the New World, with several excellent studies dealing with its complicated history, legacy and influence – all of which inform the trajectory of this thesis.¹⁵ David Armitage's work in *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* situates the early modern English colonial project in North America alongside England's other colonial and overseas endeavours, contextualising them against each other through their shared 'intellectual history' that went on to constitute ideas of 'empire'.¹⁶ I build on this position and the ideological and intellectual connection between Britain and its various colonial projects that was crucial to the formation of a British 'empire' by using it to think about the 'flow' between 'homeland and colony' in the formation of more quotidian spaces. There

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 16.

¹⁵ See for example: *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*, ed. by Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); William H. Sherman 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 17-36.

¹⁶ Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 3.

are also several works that attend more closely to the textual history and literary legacies of the New World project, and have been formative to this thesis.

Mary Fuller's *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624*, was one of the first detailed studies into the textual nature of England's colonial project in the New World, and her attention to the crucial role textual representation played in 'the conquest of America', both physically and ideologically, was a stimulus to my own foregrounding of literature in the production of (colonial) space and the power structures that sustained it.¹⁷ More recently, Catherine Armstrong's *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* has looked at how the huge body of pamphlet and manuscript literature surrounding the New World shaped the enterprise and peoples' understanding of it.¹⁸ Paying particular attention to the materiality and circulation of these texts, Armstrong's work has aided my own thinking on how information about the New World was disseminated, received, and spread in England and thus how it came to influence theatrical and literary representations of space and place. Both Fuller and Armstrong focus predominantly on pamphlet and manuscript material, which has helped my readings of the same. I build on this work and the attention both scholars give to the active role of these texts in the production of colonial spaces, discourses, and ideologies by applying this approach to more traditionally literary sources like drama and poetry too, as well as looking for the connections and flow between literary and non-literary texts. Equally, I take their

¹⁷ Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 1.

¹⁸ Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

argument(s) about the formative power of colonial discourse in shaping the New World project, and ask how this body of literature also shaped the political, social, and cultural climate back home in England through its influence on understandings of the relationships between subject and space.

Whilst existing scholarship does acknowledge the connections between England and its New World colonies, there are few critical works that look specifically and in depth at the reflexive material, literary, or spatial connections between the two locations. Armitage notes the ‘persistent reluctance of British historians to incorporate the Empire into the history of Britain’, and this reluctance seems to extend into literary and more interdisciplinary studies of North America and other colonial outposts as well.¹⁹ However, there are some notable exceptions to this, one of the most important being Jess Edwards’ article ‘“Nature in Defect”: Yielding Landscapes in the Early Modern Discourses of Enclosure and Colonisation’. In this article Edwards looks at the connections between discourses of colonialism and agrarian reform in the seventeenth century, and his methodology in mapping the reflexive interaction between these discourses has informed this thesis’s approach to the spectrum of spatial discourses it analyses. Whilst Edwards notes that ‘discourse is itself part of and inextricable from the actions instituting such ideas in the world’, and analyses a variety of pamphlet and manuscript material, he does not look at any traditionally ‘literary’ material.²⁰ It is in this way that this thesis progresses the work begun in Edwards’ article, by looking at the contribution of literature to

¹⁹ Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 13.

²⁰ Jess Edwards, ‘“Nature in Defect”: Yielding Landscapes in Early Modern Discourses of Enclosure and Colonisation’, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 4 (2000), 1-28 (p. 2).

discourses of space and relatedly the contribution of colonial discourse to literary articulations of these spaces.

The specific implications of the New World venture for the early modern stage were the focus of Gavin Hollis' recent study *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1642*.²¹ Hollis attends to the 'absence' of any lengthy, direct engagement with the New World project in drama of the period, and instead looks for the 'presence' of the New World manifested in more subtle ways on the stage. Hollis' attention to early modern dramatists' mining of colonial discourse as an imaginative resource, and to the shared linguistic allusions to the colonial project across a variety of drama from the period has informed my approach to the sometimes subtle relationship between drama, pamphlets, and manuscript sources. Following Hollis I focus on the relationship between pamphlet, manuscript, and dramatic material and from this position build one of the core arguments of the thesis, namely that discourses surrounding both colonial and domestic spaces are composed of a variety of literary and non-literary genres.²² Throughout this thesis I analyse a range of textual sources, including drama, poetry, pamphlet, and manuscript material. This use of pamphlet and manuscript material goes beyond historicising, and towards an argument for the formation of a shared discourse of space and place across geographic and genre boundaries. This is not to say matters of genre are irrelevant or disregarded, but it is to suggest that there was a mutual sphere of influence and overlap in the way space and place were represented in these different mediums.

²¹ Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1643* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

²² For more on literary engagement with colonial discourse see Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589-1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

The question of genre is worth pausing briefly to consider and Joad Raymond's work has been particularly influential to my thinking in this area. Raymond has argued that 'pamphlets constitute a literary form. They are literary texts, often highly artful and indirect, best understood and appreciated with reference not only to immediate social and political context, but to the traditions and conventions of pamphleteering.'²³ (Re)positioning pamphlets as a literary form was a crucial part of forming my theoretical position that sees a blurring and overlap between traditionally literary and non-literary texts in their influence over each other and early modern culture more widely. Whilst as a form pamphlets are of course distinct from drama and poetry, they do engage in similar literary techniques and tactics, and are part of the same socio-textual network that helps produce space and place. Similarly the manuscript material I draw on forms part of this same network, although acting in a different way due to its very different means of circulation. Many of the pamphlets studied in this thesis have a highly literary texture; they engage in rhetorical ploys, metaphor, narrative strategy, story-telling, and conscious manipulation of their readers/audience through language. As Raymond goes on to note, 'the historical significance of pamphlets lies in the fact that they were read and thereby exercised social influence.'²⁴ This influence would undoubtedly have spread to the theatres, and equally, theatrical performances would have been heard by pamphleteers and would have acted in a similar way to disseminate information and 'exercise social influence'. Analysing drama alongside pamphlet and manuscript material allows their influence on and infiltration into 'popular

²³ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 25.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 26.

culture' to be seen, but can equally reveal the influence of drama on the narrative techniques used in pamphlet and manuscript representations of space and place.

Another influential study with a more explicitly literary focus is Joan Pong Linton's, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formation of English Colonialism*. Linton focuses on the 'discursive interplay' between 'popular romances and New World narratives', and argues that:

These romance constructs enable Englishmen both to inhabit an unfamiliar world and to project a sense of their agency in it. In this way, gender roles are not merely interpretive but generative: they provide a ready-made hierarchy of relations with which explorers and colonists negotiate a broader range of cultural differences. Such negotiation provides in turn a source of the cultural knowledge that shapes ongoing relations and is shaped by them.²⁵

This approach is influential to my own in two ways; firstly in my thinking on the role and construction of gender identities and hierarchies in the New World, and secondly in my understanding of the 'interpretive and generative' capacity of discourses of space and place. Much as Linton regards domestic gender hierarchies and romance narratives as providing a framework through which the New World, and English colonists' position in it, could be interpreted and generated, so I see the same thing happening through narratives and

²⁵ Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 5.

materialities of space and place. Like Linton, I see these discourses and materialities as offering physical and ideological sites through which a 'broader range of cultural differences' could be negotiated, and this negotiation as being a source of influence over the discourses they spring from. My own work builds on that of Linton, Hollis, and Edwards in its attention to the influence colonial discourse had on understandings of specific kinds of space and place in English thought, and how drama displays this influence through its representation of these spaces and places on stage. In addition, I see these spaces and places as producing and being produced by the gendered subjectivities that inhabit them, and the theatre as having its own influence on the reflexive discourses of space, place, and gender identities in England and the New World. My conceptualisation of space and place as being both formed by and formative of the identities of the subjects who inhabit them, is the foundation of this thesis's critical approach to the material it analyses. As central concepts to this thesis, then, it is important to define my understandings of the terms space and place and the methodologies that lie behind my analyses of them in more detail.

Space and Place: Terminology and Methodology

What unites my understanding of space and place is that they are both 'processes', constantly being produced in an active way by the cultural and political activities of the societies they form part of, rather than acting as static backdrops against which these activities occur. Equally, I understand space and place as being beyond solely material, and instead as dynamic combinations of representation, materiality, and subjective interaction. This understanding of

space and place as a combination of materiality, subjectivity, and representation, finds its origin in Henri Lefebvre's seminal work *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre suggests a 'conceptual triad' of space, made up of spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space: 'the perceived, the conceived, and the lived', respectively.²⁶ The recognition of the crucial role of representation in the production of space (and place) is foundational to my analysis of literature in relation to these concepts. Edward W. Soja builds on Lefebvre's 'conceptual triad' in his notion of 'thirdspace'. Soja considers the traditionally dualistic perception of space in critical thought, as either 'fixed mainly on the concrete materiality of spatial forms, on things that can be empirically mapped', or 'conceived in ideas about space, in thoughtful representations of human spatiality in mental or cognitive forms.' In an attempt to move beyond this, Soja perceives that the 'thirdspace', 'draws upon the material and mental spaces of the traditional dualism but extends well beyond them in scope, substance, and meaning. Simultaneously real and imagined and more'.²⁷ Soja's evolution of Lefebvre's acknowledgement of the role of representation in the production of space, to see it as functioning simultaneously alongside the material and the 'real', is a useful framework through which to analyse the role of literature in the production of space and place. This framework allows literary representations to be seen as active participants in the constantly evolving spaces and places of early modern England.

Doreen Massey's thinking on space and place has been central to my own, particularly around the perception of space and place as active and ongoing

²⁶ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 33, 39.

²⁷ Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 10, p. 10, p. 11.

processes. As she articulates, 'both concepts are incredibly mobile', and 'identities of place are always unfixed, contested and multiple.'²⁸ This contestation is born out of the inherently political and cultural nature of space and place, as sites that both produce and are produced by the socio-political climate they exist within and form part of. As Massey goes on to argue, 'The spatial organization of society [...] is integral to the production of the social, and not merely its result. It is fully implicated in both history and politics.'²⁹ Just as the cultural and political landscape may be dominated by normative ideologies but challenged by transgressive or marginal ones, so material space functions in a similar way, forming part of both dominant/normative and marginalized/transgressive ideologies and behaviours. These ideas of space and place as 'unfixed, contested, and multiple', and as active participants in the construction of the socio-political environment, are key to this thesis's focus on the spatially located construction of normative and transgressive identities in English literature and culture, and my assertion that both space and identity are in constant states of (re)negotiation. This theoretical positioning is also useful in my consideration of the influence the geographically and ideologically marginalized New World colonies had on the process of space and identity formation in England, and the challenges these experiences of new spaces had on understandings of the old.

Space and place, then, are both politically engaged and produced, and they are both processes that contribute to the socio-political environments they form part of. It is clear that there is a degree of overlap between these concepts,

²⁸ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 1, p. 5.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 4.

and indeed between their lived experiences. Useful in providing a sense of distinction between the two is the work of Yi-Fu Tuan and Tim Cresswell. As Tuan himself acknowledges, 'In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place'.³⁰ However, his distinction between the two rests on space being connected to movement and freedom, as being more 'unfixed', as he writes: 'The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa.'³¹ In attempting to separate the two, Cresswell builds on this idea and suggests that 'Place has more subjective or individual meaning than space, it is a space that has been inhabited, affected, influenced by human beings, or animals, to make 'their own', to give it meaning within the context of their being'.³² In an important qualifier, Cresswell goes on to note that 'places are not always stationary. A ship, for instance, may become a special kind of place for people who share it on a long voyage, even though its location is constantly changing.'³³ This lack of physical fixity, but focus on fixity of emotional attachment or personal/social significance, is an important and interesting conceptual caveat to consider. It suggests that the (re)construction and (re)production of familiar material infrastructures by colonists in the New World, acts as a way of transforming space into place, a way of familiarising the unknown. As Tuan writes, 'A homeland has its landmarks, which may be features of high visibility and public significance, such as monuments, shrines, a hallowed

³⁰ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 6.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 6.

³² Tim Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), p. 7.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 13.

battlefield or cemetery. These visible signs serve to enhance a people's sense of identity; they encourage awareness of and loyalty to place.³⁴ The idea that the material infrastructure of a 'homeland' is what imbues it with the necessary ideological and emotive tools to engender a sense of belonging and social cohesion, is one that resonates with an analysis of the 'spatial practice' of English colonists in the New World. As I go on to argue throughout this thesis, the attempted replication of spatial materialities in the New World was a key part of establishing English presence there, and indeed, a key way the spatial practices of English society more widely were revealed and influenced by this activity.

Building on the conception of space and place as processes that combine 'real and imagined', and as sites producing and produced by socio-political interactions, Massey has argued that 'the social relations of space are experienced differently, and variously interpreted, by those holding different positions as part of it.'³⁵ Acknowledging the differences in how space and place are experienced depending on a subject's position and identity is crucial, and I want to build on Massey's argument using tools from theories of embodied and distributed cognition, to argue for a reflexive relationship between space/place and identity. Current work in early modern studies has begun utilising theories such as distributed and embodied cognition from the cognitive sciences in order to better understand the relationship between subject and physical environment. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. discuss the 'transactions' that occur between early modern subject and external environment, and the way these

³⁴ Tuan, *Space and Place*, p. 159.

³⁵ Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, p. 3.

transactions can be negotiated to shape an emerging subjectivity.³⁶ They postulate a ‘dispersion or distribution’ model for understanding the connection between subject and environment in which:

emotion and thought are fundamentally *intersubjective*, with both bodies and environment registering their effects in ways that stretch dualism to its limits. In such a landscape, not only is subjectivity distributed across bodies and environment, but the environment itself can also be seen as exercising the kind of agency usually limited to the subject. In the model of dispersal and distribution, bodies, subjects, and environment are relational and interdependent.³⁷

The ‘dispersion or distribution’ model postulated by Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan allows early modern identity to be seen as intimately related to space and place, and takes into account the shifts in identity that can, and did, occur when subjects inhabited new spaces and places like the New World colonies.

This approach effectively works alongside the ideas of flow theory outlined previously. Using a ‘transactional’ model of distributed and embodied cognition to frame the ‘intersubjective’ relationship between subject and material environment complements the reflexive relationship I argue exists between colony and homeland, literary and non-literary texts, and space and identity. This approach also chimes with Soja’s radically interactive notion of the ‘thirdspace’ discussed above, in which all aspects of culture, identity, physicality and

³⁶ *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. by Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 3.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 6. Italics in original.

materiality interact to produce space. The idea of flow and interaction becomes key to the variety of relationships I examine in this thesis and allows me to better analyse and argue for the complexity of the formation of space and subjectivity in early modern England and its colonies.

Evelyn Tribble has discussed 'the unstable relationship between interiority and exteriority' in her work on distributed cognition in early modern theatre, and indeed in early modern social spaces more widely.³⁸ As Tribble goes on to argue, 'Distributed cognition emphasizes the effects of cognitively rich environments on the agent operating within that system. The design of a physical environment influences how agents behave within it.'³⁹ Considering not only the influence of external environments on subjectivity, but the manipulation of these environments by 'design' to influence subjects in specific ways forms a crucial part of my critical approach to analysing the (re)construction of English infrastructure in the colonies. By analysing the spatial materialities that were (re)produced by colonial authorities I can reveal the importance of this infrastructure to English social order and governance more widely. With this in mind, by looking at dramatic and literary stagings and representations of these external environments I can also reveal how theatre and literature both contributed to and interrogated the manipulation of space by colonial and domestic authorities as a method of state control. As Massey asserts, space is a process that is always being 'contested' and its function and identity are thus always being negotiated. Combining these approaches that foreground the interrelationship between subject and space, and also the ongoing nature of the

³⁸ Evelyn Tribble, 'Distributing Cognition in the Globe', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56:2 (2005), 135-155 (p. 140).

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 142.

struggle for the identity of both, allows me to analyse early modern spaces as sites of both control and resistance. Acknowledging the active role text and discourse play in the production of space also allows me to position literature and theatre as active contributors to the spatial practice of early modern England and its colonies. I take this critical approach and apply it to a variety of spaces and texts in this thesis, the rationale for, and progression of which, I will outline below.

Structural Overview

The thesis is split into three sections, the first focusing on domestic space, the second on shared/public space, and the third on agrarian space. I have chosen to organize the thesis this way in order to reflect the three broad categories of space/place that consistently emerged from the primary material I consulted. Dividing the thesis this way allows me to look in depth at the production of three fundamental and overlapping categories of space in England and its colonies across the period I am studying. This approach also allows a fuller comparison of a wider range of material in each section and is in line with the thesis's focus on space and place. Having said this, the notion of 'division' is an arbitrary one when in reality the spaces and places discussed in each section, and indeed each chapter, merge, overlap, and flow into one another in both material and ideological ways. This is also true temporally, with the limiting of this thesis to a particular date range denoting not a contained period of time but rather a useful conceptual framework within which to focus the attention of the project. The material I study ranges from c.1607-c.1642, with only very few exceptions either

side. This date range was based on the start of the colonial enterprise at Jamestown in Virginia, and the beginning of the Civil War and closure of the theatres. Breaking down the thesis into categories of space rather than addressing the material chronologically allows me to chart the shifting influence of colonial discourse on representations and understandings of space across the period, which better fits with the notion of flow that underpins my critical approach. Of course, the influence of colonial discourse and practice also flows beyond the cut-off point of 1642 in continuing and evolving ways and investigating this ongoing process would be fruitful material for another project.

Geographically the thesis focuses on England and the New World, and specifically Virginia and New England in the case of the latter. The geographical focus of this study is bound with the temporal one, concentrating on the early years of English colonisation of North America.⁴⁰ Whilst the colonial effort certainly started before 1607, the founding of Jamestown marked the first sustained, successful settlement by the English in America and thus the start of their (re)production of space both materially and ideologically in this environment. Equally, a large volume of material survives documenting the Virginia/Jamestown enterprise, which allows me to build a better picture of the colonial discourse of space and place emerging during the period. Whilst Virginia forms the main colonial focus some attention is also paid to the second

⁴⁰ The term 'colonization' is used throughout this thesis to reflect contemporary attitudes to the events and texts I am addressing. It is used with an awareness of its problematic nature in its failure to fully encompass the violent usurpation experienced by Native American peoples at this time, and for many years to come. To reflect these events more accurately the term 'invasion' may be better, as used by Alden T. Vaughn in his article, "Expulsion of the Salvages": English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 35 (1978), 57-84.

successful settlement made by the English at Plymouth in New England, as well as some later settlements in this area. The motivation behind the New England enterprises and the religious, social, and political make up of its inhabitants all differ from that of Jamestown and Virginia, but there are of course also continuities between them. For these reasons New England offers an interesting enterprise to look at alongside Jamestown to reveal the similarities and shifts in how space and place were produced in colonial discourse(s).

Each section of the thesis is comprised of two chapters, the first looking at broader spheres of activity within, and textual engagement with, either domestic, city/public, or agrarian space and the second looking at more specific manifestations of the same. The first section, encompassing Chapters One and Two, deals with domestic space. Chapter One argues that colonial experiences of (lack of) domestic space and 'other' domestic spaces both heightened anxieties around and also influenced representations of transgressive domesticity in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (c.1611), Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* (c.1622), and Massinger's *The City Madam* (c.1632). It argues that the colonial experience brought the importance of the materiality of the home in producing individual, communal, and national identities into acute relief and that this influence can be traced in the plays mentioned above. Catherine Richardson's *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household*, was formative to my understanding of, and critical approach to, the space of the home in this chapter. Richardson offers two case studies of different early modern homes, attending to the physicality of these spaces and the material objects that populate them. This material focus greatly influenced my own attention to the function and flow of material objects within and

between domestic spaces of England and the New World and how they could be used physically and ideologically to define normative or transgressive domestic spatial practices.⁴¹

Chapter Two looks specifically at manifestations and representations of domestic space in relation to the Jamestown Massacre of 1622. This chapter argues that representations of the Jamestown Massacre borrowed and were influenced by narrative strategies utilized in domestic tragedies that employed the conventions of hospitality to create a context in which behaviour that does not conform to these conventions appears deeply transgressive. It goes on to argue that drama produced after the Jamestown Massacre bears traces of this event's engagement in the discourse of hospitality and transgressive domesticity. Using the anonymous *Arden of Faversham* (c.1592) as its main point of engagement with domestic tragedy it shows how narrative strategies similar to the ones used in this play were deployed in official pamphlet reports of the Jamestown Massacre. It then compares engagement with colonial discourse in representations of the domestic in *The Sea Voyage* and *The City Madam* to illustrate the shift that took place after news of the massacre reached England. Wendy Wall's connection of domestic space to production of national identity and her analyses of the inherently violent nature of domestic work and its implication for the construction of stable gendered and national identities in *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*

⁴¹ Also influential to my thinking on domestic space were: Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

was influential in my analysis of Jamestown Massacre narratives in relation to the home in this chapter.⁴²

The second section, encompassing Chapters Three and Four, deals with shared, public space. This predominantly entails looking at the city space(s) of London and those of the settlements and shared spaces of England's colonies in the New World. There are several studies on early modern London that have influenced this work, including Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner, eds, *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, John Twyning's, *London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City*, and Jean Howard's *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642*, with the latter two offering an explicitly literary focus on this space. Both chapters in this section focus on spatial management and mobility, and the construction of transgressive and normative identity through the policing of mobility in different kinds of shared, public space. In this respect Patricia Fumerton's *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England*, and Andrew McRae's *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England*, have both proved essential in my understanding of the implications of different types of early modern travel and mobility.

Chapter Three takes these analyses of early modern London and argues that the colonial project borrowed material and ideological frameworks from the urban geographies of London to understand, represent, and (re)construct the production of identity in public spaces. In particular it argues that the production

⁴² Formative also to my thinking on hospitality and domestic space were: Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Daryl W. Palmer, *Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1992).

of normative and transgressive gender identities through managing space and policing mobility was a point of interaction between colonial and domestic discourses and this interaction is seen in representations of mobility and city spaces on stage. Through an analysis of Chapman, Jonson, and Marston's *Eastward Ho* (c.1605) and Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (c.1611) I show how the transgressive mobilities and gender identities displayed in these plays drew on the same representational strategies as those in colonial discourse and travel narratives. Chapter Four builds on the argument that colonial travel provoked a heightened awareness and anxiety over the need to manage and police space in order to define transgressive and normative identity in England. Using rogue literature as a case study it argues that colonial discourse positioned the Native American relationship to the New World landscape as transgressive in a very similar way to the positioning of rogues and beggars by authorities in England. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggars' Bush* (c.1622) and Brome's *Jovial Crew* (c.1641) are read alongside cony-catching pamphlets and colonial material to chart the interplay between discourses of spatial management and transgressive mobilities in England and the New World.

The third and final section, encompassing Chapters Five and Six, deals with agrarian space. This section builds on the seminal work of Joan Thirsk and Andrew McRae, who have both analysed and collated a vast array of pamphlet and manuscript material detailing the slow and turbulent shift from feudal to proto-capitalist agrarian economies in England during the early modern period and beyond.⁴³ Formative also was Charlotte Scott's argument for the use of

⁴³ See for example Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996);

discourses of cultivation to position individual actions in a social and moral context in her book *Shakespeare's Nature: From Cultivation to Culture*. This line of thinking aided my analysis of the use of agrarian discourse in colonial narratives and helped formulate my own argument for the role of colonial discourse in moralising and legitimising agrarian reform.⁴⁴

Chapter Five argues that transgressive and normative identities for agrarian landscapes, and the people inhabiting them, came to be defined in relation to the level of productivity and agricultural intervention imposed on these landscapes. It argues that during the first half of the seventeenth century, as the practice of enclosure and other agrarian reforms gradually came to be seen as positive, colonial discourse and activity played a crucial role in legitimising agrarian discourses and practices that embraced profit, improvement, and economic individualism. Equally, I argue, colonial discourse drew on discourses of agrarian reform in order to legitimize English intervention in and ownership of the New World landscape. I begin the chapter with an analysis of *The Tempest* and look at its engagement with the paradoxical representation of the New World as a 'fruitful wilderness', and then move on to analyse the influence of colonial discourse on representations of agrarian reform in Rowley, Dekker, and Ford's *The Witch of Edmonton* (c.1621) and Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (c.1616).

The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume IV 1500-1640, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Joan Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984); *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, ed. by Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

⁴⁴ Charlotte Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature: From Cultivation to Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Chapter Six argues that periods of dearth and famine in England and the New World had a profound impact on discourses of agrarian reform and land management in both locations.⁴⁵ These periods served as stark reminders of the price to social order and stability not producing enough food could have and came to temper discourses of economic individualism and pursuit of profit through agrarian land. Charting *The Sea Voyage's* engagement with narratives of the notorious 'starving time' of winter 1609-10 in colonial Virginia, I argue that this event profoundly affected dramatic representations of dearth and famine. I also argue, through an analysis of *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (c.1625) and various pamphlet materials, that tobacco became symbolic of the immoral pursuit of profit through the land, rather than the morally acceptable gain of profit as a by-product of increased productivity through improvement.

It is worth addressing at this point the fact that the thesis draws exclusively on English narratives and experiences of the colonisation of North America. As Linton observes, 'indigenous groups have left no written record of their early contacts with colonists, a situation which seems to complete their historical silence. Yet our interpretation of history must engage not simply what is written, but also what is omitted.'⁴⁶ Contemporary writing about English experience and construction of space in the New World, which in its physical manifestation excluded Native American use of and rights over that space, also erased their voices and experiences from the printed record. Where possible I have attended to English interaction with Native American peoples and places in

⁴⁵ Fundamental to my thinking on dearth was Ayesha Mukherjee, *Penury into Plenty: Dearth and the Making of Knowledge in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2015).

⁴⁶ Linton, *The Romance of the New World*, p. 11.

both what is said and what is unsaid, to try and avoid any such erasure occurring again, but acknowledge that this representation is heard through the voices of the oppressor and can never truly recreate or represent the experiences of Native American peoples either then or now. That task is beyond the scope of this project, and fruitful territory for another.⁴⁷

All of the chapters in this thesis analyse a range of textual sources, including drama, poetry, pamphlet, and manuscript material. The key source for the manuscript material I use is *The Records of the Virginia Company*, collated and transcribed by Susan Myra Kingsbury, to whom I and all other scholars of early colonial history in Virginia owe a great debt. This collection of letters, court records, ship inventories, and other miscellaneous items offers a rich and invaluable resource for studying the ideological and material significance of space and place in the New World. This material offers a useful counterpoint to the pamphlets published about the colonial effort, frequently revealing the discrepancies between public and more private admissions of the activities occurring in Virginia. Analysing drama alongside pamphlet and manuscript material allows their influence on and infiltration into 'popular culture' to be seen, but equally, as I argue, can in fact show the influence of drama on the literary and narrative techniques used in pamphlet and manuscript representations of space and place too. There is very little direct engagement by drama with the early colonial effort in Virginia and/or New England, as Hollis attests to, so much of the dramatic material used has been chosen for its engagement with ideas of travel to new/'other' locations and its engagement

⁴⁷ See for example, Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma, 1995).

with the particular kinds of space and place I attend to in the different sections of the thesis. Naturally this list is not exhaustive or complete as there is neither the capacity nor the scope to adequately analyse all dramatic engagement with these different spaces and places, but the analyses of the plays chosen offer a significant insight into how drama engages with colonial discourse in its representation of space and place during the period. By analysing the interaction between subject and space, between homeland and colony, and between literary and non-literary sources I hope to reveal the flow and connection that existed between all these elements as they came together to form the spatial practice(s) of early modern England.

Chapter One: 'Not lately inhabited': (Re)Production of English Domestic Space in the New World

This thesis begins by analysing the space of the home – the foundation of early modern English society. As Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson note, the home 'was understood as the smallest of a series of interlocking spheres which formed a model of governance: the husband over his household, the mayor and magistrates over the town, the monarch over the realm.'¹ Production of ordered domestic space was therefore fundamental to the functioning of normative, ordered, hierarchical society more widely. This chapter analyses the flow of domestic materialities, ideologies, and discourses between England and the New World, focusing on the importance of the home in (re)constructing gender identities, hierarchies, and social order in England's early colonial settlements. My understanding of the early modern home is influenced by the theoretical conception of space and place outlined in my introduction and, as Hamling and Richardson articulate, on the understanding that 'the household in its fullest sense, as a conjunction of building, people and possessions, only ever exists as "performed", when the spaces and objects are used by individuals going about domestic activities.'² Domestic space, then, is a process, and one that shapes and is shaped by the identities of the subjects inhabiting it.

The 'domestic activities' alluded to above were diverse and would have encompassed familial, social, and economic activities, tying the home intimately

¹ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 7.

² Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England*, p. 16.

to the wider community it sat within. This connection between the space of the home and wider society functioned on a multitude of material and ideological levels, not least in the position of the home as the foundation for power structures that governed early modern social and political infrastructures.

I argue that colonial experience of domestic spaces, and their perceived absence, heightened awareness of the crucial role the home played in maintaining these infrastructures and also heightened anxieties over the consequences of its failure to perform this function. These experiences also brought to the surface anxieties over the potential influence transgressive domestic space could have on the construction and performance of normative, gendered identities, and thus to the social order that relied upon them. These anxieties influenced the representation of domestic space in England and were interrogated in pamphlet, manuscript, and dramatic material of the period. Throughout this chapter I examine the reflexive relationship between these different sources.

The hierarchical society domestic space contributed to and functioned within in early modern England was a patriarchal one, based on the subservient position of women to their husbands and fathers. As Bernard Capp summarizes, 'the patriarchal mindset recognized a close link between domestic and political order.'³ The establishment of male authority and hierarchical gender identities within the home were two of the home's key ideological functions.

Contemporary domestic discourse emphasized this fact, making the dominant position of the father/husband 'the ubiquitous message trumpeted in sermons,

³ Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 4.

conduct manuals, and political pamphlets', as Wendy Wall summarizes.⁴ For example, William Whately in his 1619 pamphlet *A Bride-bush*, writes that a husband 'must governe his wife, and maintaine her', and that he is 'the Prince of the houshold, the domesticall King.'⁵ This hierarchical power structure extended beyond the marital relationship and encompassed servants, children, and additional family members who may have inhabited the home – Whately figures the husband and wife as 'governors of an house, [who] stand in relation to children and servants'.⁶ The gendered identities and power structures produced within the home were formative of hierarchical social relations more widely.

Given the centrality and importance of the home to the creation of social order, it seems clear that a great deal of anxiety would have been generated by its material absence when colonists first arrived in the New World. As Patricia Seed has shown, establishing homes as a social and architectural act was a key signifier of English presence in the New World legally and culturally: 'In English law, neither a ceremony nor a document but the ordinary action of constructing a dwelling place created the right of possession. The continuing presence and habitation of the *object* – the house – maintained that right.'⁷ The building of houses by early English colonists became imperative to establishing presence and ownership, but also, as I argue throughout this chapter, became a crucial part of attempts to (re)produce normative identities and social order. However, this process often did not run smoothly; hurdles had to be overcome, adaptations

⁴ Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 7.

⁵ William Whately, *A Bride-bush* (London, 1619), p. 97, p. 204.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁷ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.19. Italics in original.

and compromises made. The anxieties created by this process and the initial 'lack' of homes, flowed back into England through pamphlets and letters and became part of a shared discourse surrounding domestic spatial practice.

This chapter begins by analysing the role of the material home in creating normative domestic space and identities, and the ways in which anxieties surrounding the 'lack' of these material homes in early colonial discourse drew on and fed into discourses of domestic space in England. I then turn to Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (c.1611) and Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* (c.1622), to argue that representations of domestic space in contemporary drama were influenced by colonial writers' fixation on the absence of the material home in their early New World experiences. I then move on to analyse the influence of English encounters with Native American domestic space on representations of transgressive domesticity and identities. This section argues that these experiences changed how transgressive domestic space was understood and articulated in English discourse, and the influence of encounters with 'transgressive' indigenous homes can be seen in *The Tempest's* engagement with domesticity. The latter half of the chapter returns to Hamling and Richardson's understanding of the home as 'a conjunction of building, people and possessions' and analyses the formation of normative and transgressive gender identities within this space. In the section 'Fearelesse Carriage: Forging Masculinity in Relation to the Home' I argue that the home was a crucial point from which colonial English male identity could be forged as superior to that of the indigenous population and that this process influenced the representation of identity formation in *The Sea Voyage*. In the next section I argue that colonial discourse illuminated the integral role women played in the functioning of

normative domestic space and I also highlight the paradoxes that emerged in the necessity of female travel in order to regulate the domestic space they were expected to remain within. I analyse *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage* to demonstrate the influence of this colonial experience on the representation of women's function in the production of normative domestic space and social order in England.

'Strongly Built for Continuance': The Importance of the Physical Home and its Boundaries

The physical home was a crucial site through which normative gender identity was constructed by its inhabitants and the surrounding community in early modern England. In *The English Housewife* (1619), Gervase Markham writes that the 'English housewife, who is the mother and mistress of the family...hath her most general employments within the house', and that the perfect husbandman 'is the father and master of the family [...] whose office and employments are ever for the most part abroad, or removed from the house'.⁸ The construction of these normative gender identities is dependent on spatial relationships to the physical structure of the home, namely whether the activities performed occur 'within' it or 'removed' from it. Markham acknowledges the crucial role of this material space in an earlier pamphlet of 1613, *The English Husbandman*. Here, Markham asserts that he will begin, 'before I enter into any other part of husbandry, with the husbandmans house, without which no husbandry can be

⁸ Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife*, ed. by Michael R. Best (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), p. 5.

maintained or preserved.⁹ Husbandry is, as Markham positions it, the foundation of a functioning society, and the house is the foundation of good husbandry. The material home is thus the foundation upon which social order is based and also the site through which the identities underpinning this social order are formed. Markham's books of housewifery and husbandry are documented as being shipped to the Virginia Colony in 1620, suggesting that his articulation of domestic space was one colonial leaders in the New World felt would be productive to replicate.¹⁰ As Paul Brown notes, 'Colonialist discourse does not simply announce a triumph for civility, it must continually *produce* it'.¹¹ I argue that the production of domestic space, and indeed the other spaces analysed throughout the thesis, becomes a key part of the ongoing production of a 'civilized' English identity in colonial discourse and practice.

Upon arrival in the New World one of the first issues faced by colonists was the lack of material and social infrastructure, and one of the most acutely felt 'lacks' was that of the home. The fixation with this 'lack' of domestic infrastructure is evidenced by the colonizers' repeated commentary on the perceived absence of Native American habitation. Edward Winslow was one of the founding members of the Plymouth Colony, travelling to the New World on the Mayflower in late 1620. Winslow recounted the early months of this venture in a pamphlet as *Mourt's Relation* (1622). When discussing the initial exploration

⁹ Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman* (London, 1613), p. 4.

¹⁰ Richard Berkeley and John Smyth, 'A Commission to George Thorpe for the Government of the Plantation', September 10, 1620', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 397-400 (p. 400).

¹¹ Paul Brown, "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine": *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism', in *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 48-71 (p. 58).

of the land, he notes seeing houses that were ‘not lately inhabited’ or ‘the people were gone’, or upon seeking contact with the Native Americans ‘could meete with none of them, nor their houses’.¹² Winslow’s attention to the ‘lack’ of (inhabited) Native American homes works to dislocate the indigenous population from the land, removing a sense of presence and place through which not only ownership but also identity could be established. As John Donne preached to the assembled Virginia Company in London in November 1622:

In the Law of *Nature*, and *Nations*, A Land never inhabited by any, or utterly derelicted, and immemorially abandoned by the former Inhabitants, becomes theirs that will possesse it [...] for as a man does not become proprietarie of the Sea, because he hath two or three Boats fishing in it; so neyther does a man become Lord of a maine Continent, because he hath two or three Cottages in the Skirts thereof.¹³

Donne’s evocative and forceful imagery of a land ‘utterly derelicted, and immemorially abandoned’ conjures a vacant wasteland waiting to become ‘theirs that will possesse it’. This makes his subsequent statement, that ‘two or three Cottages in the Skirts thereof’ would do nothing to modify the identity of the landscape as legitimately open to (re)possession, particularly resonant. This qualifier asserts the importance of homes as markers of ownership in the English legal and cultural imagination, but also shows that they had to be the right kind

¹² Edward Winslow, *Mourt’s Relation, or A relation or journall of the beginning and proceedings of the English plantation settled at Plimoth in New England* (London, 1622), p. 25, p. 12, p. 5.

¹³ John Donne, *Sermon to the Virginia Company* (London, 1624), p. 26.

and quantity of homes. As Seed notes, for early colonizers ‘To build a house in the New World was for an Englishman a clear and unmistakable sign of an intent to remain’.¹⁴ For the English, prolonged occupation of substantial material domestic structures was a sign of ownership and ‘civilisation’ – something they failed to see as part of Native American interaction with the New World landscape and something that therefore became key to the assertion of their own civility and rights of possession.

In 1620 the Virginia Company issued a ‘Proclamation for the erection of guest houses’, in which it insisted to colonists that ‘all other business of lesse importance laid aside, they immediately afford all possible assistance, for the raising of houses and convenient lodgings for them, with other necessary reliefe and succour’.¹⁵ It was clearly a priority for those in charge that houses be built for colonists arriving in Virginia, partly to give shelter and ‘succour’ to new colonists, but also as an assertion of their ‘intent to remain’. What is of further interest is the detail this proclamation goes into on the required material structure of the homes. The instruction is to build ‘a common house, to bee called a Guest house for the lodging and entertaining of fifty persons each’, and ‘in each of them shall be set up all along the one side, five and twenty Bedsteads of foure foot broad, sixe foot long, and two foot height from the ground in equall distance, and with partitions of Boords betweene them’. It is also specifically instructed that these houses should be ‘strongly built for continuance’.¹⁶ The necessity of ‘strongly built’ guesthouses speaks to the need for a material

¹⁴ Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, p. 18.

¹⁵ The Virginia Company, *By the treasurer, councell and company for Virginia. A proclamation for the erection of guest houses, 17 May, 1620* (London, 1620).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

integrity that would create a sense of permanence, but the instruction to partition the space into twenty five separate sleeping areas is evidence of the importance of the internal structure of these guest houses too. In his treatise on housewifery and domesticity mentioned above, Whately writes that husband and wife should 'have one house, one table, one chamber, one bed, so shall they with most ease have also one heart and one soule.' He goes on to press this point further, stating that:

Nearnesse of conversation helpeth to procure nearnesse of affection: Why doe we love those of our owne family more than others, and those of our owne towne, and of our owne streete usually [...] more than those that are further removed in habitation? But because we have more occasions of familiar conversing with them.¹⁷

Whately clearly sees the physical proximity offered by sharing a singular domestic space as crucial to the construction of close marital and family bonds. In its construction of partitioned 'guest houses' the Virginia Company is attempting to enact a similar spatial segregation of family units in order to foster the kind of domestically located relationships needed to produce an ordered colonial society.

This desire for a material domestic space that not only segregates what is internal from what is external to the home, but also provides a bounded space in which individual families can exist, is seen again in *Mourt's Relation*. Winslow writes that they built nineteen houses, one for each family, and asked 'all single

¹⁷ Whately, *A Bride-bush*, p. 42, pp. 42-3.

men that had no wives to joyne with some Familie, as they thought fit'.¹⁸ This sentiment is seen again in a pamphlet written by Ralph Hamor, one of the first English colonists to arrive in Virginia. In *A True Discourse of the present estate of Virginia* (1615), Hamor says that all new arrivals to the colony 'shall finde a handsome house of some foure roomes or more, if he have a family, to repose himselfe in rent free'.¹⁹ It is clear that the building of homes was a priority, but the evidence that these homes were constructed around families shows that the spatial relationship between the home and the family unit was integral to the recreation of social order and identity. Similarly, Winslow's assertion that 'all single men' should 'joyne with some familie' is an acknowledgement that social order emerges from family dynamics and authority within the home. The importance of wives and families to order in the colonies will be returned to later in this chapter, but Winslow's request that single men live with families rather than in their own separate homes, is evidence of the importance of family dynamics to social order in general. Discourses of domesticity emerging from England and the New World both use the home as the material and ideological foundation for the hierarchical, patriarchal society they hope to build. The anxiety created by the absence of these material structures at the start of the colonial venture brought this process into sharp relief as attempts to replicate this process began in earnest. Both *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage* engage with the colonial discourse around this anxiety in their representations of 'absent' domestic space.

¹⁸ Winslow, *Mourt's Relation*, p. 25.

¹⁹ Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the present estate of Virginia* (London, 1615), p. 19.

The Tempest was first performed in 1611 at Whitehall, four years after the English settled in Jamestown, and was first published in 1623, three years after Winslow and his fellow colonists arrived in New England.²⁰ It came into existence in the tumultuous early years of the English colonial effort in the New World and the influence of these contexts have long been both asserted and debated by critics.²¹ Whilst I would not argue that the unnamed island of the play is directly equatable to America, that does not, as Alden T. Vaughan states, 'preclude a palpable American influence.'²² I argue that representations of (lack of) material spaces, and characters' interactions with them, is evidence of the influence of colonial discourse emerging from the New World on the representation of domestic space in the play.

When Prospero first appears on stage he is in conversation with his daughter Miranda about how they got to the island and what their life was like previously. Prospero tells Miranda she is:

ignorant of what thou art, naught knowing

²⁰ Virginia Mason Vaughan, 'The Critical Backstory: "What's Past is Prologue"', in *The Tempest: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 13-38 (p. 13).

²¹ For example see, *The Tempest: A Critical Reader*; Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Conclusion; Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 141-160; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 242-54.

²² Alden T. Vaughan, 'Introduction', in *The Tempest: A Critical Reader*, pp. 1-12 (p. 4). For an account of the American influence in *The Tempest* see, Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), Chapter Three. For an account of alternative geographical influences on the island of the play see Jerry Brotton, "'This Tunis, sir, was Carthage': Contesting Colonialism in *The Tempest*", in *Post-Colonial Shakespeare*, ed. by Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 23-42.

Of whence I am, nor that I am more better

Than Prospero, master of a full poor cell (1.2.18-20).

A few lines later, he asks her 'Canst thou remember/ A time before we came unto this cell?' (1.2.38-9). In a short space of time Prospero has twice referred to their seat of habitation as a 'cell' and this terminology is repeated throughout the play – notably twice again in its closing lines, which will be returned to shortly. Whilst this could potentially be a reference to their entrapment on the island, I argue that it is also a reference to the unsatisfactory nature of the domestic space they now inhabit. The OED offers the following contemporary definitions for 'cell': 'a dwelling consisting of a single chamber inhabited by a hermit or anchorite; A small and humble dwelling, a cottage, a lonely nook; the den of a wild beast.' The more modern understanding of the term as 'A room for one or more inmates in a prison' was not in usage until the eighteenth century.²³ In this context, Prospero's reference to their 'cell' becomes a direct commentary on the domestic space they currently inhabit and its relationship to their identities. Prospero laments that Miranda does not remember his 'better' status, before he was 'master of a full poor cell', situating his new, inferior identity and status in relation to the humble domestic space he now presides over. After asking Miranda if she remembers a time before they came to 'this cell' she replies that she can, to which he responds, 'By what? By any other house or person?' (1.2.42). Once again, Prospero locates his identity in relation to domestic space, only this time when referring to his previous, higher status identity as a 'prince of power'

²³ Cell, *n.*¹, def. 1a; def. 4b, *OED Online*.

(1.2.55), he calls this domestic space a 'house'. The linguistic shift from 'cell' to 'house' uses domestic space to articulate Prospero's shifting social power.

In the final scene of the play Prospero brings Alonso to his 'cell', saying:

Welcome, sir.

This cell's my court. Here have I few attendants,

And subjects none abroad. Pray you, look in.

My dukedom since you have given me again,

I will requite you with as good a thing;

At least bring forth a wonder to content ye

As much as me my dukedom (5.1.167-73).

Here, again, Prospero's domestic space serves to express his identity. Having had his dukedom restored Prospero now symbolically (re)inhabits a powerful, authoritative identity and his 'cell' has become not only his home but also his 'court'. Despite Prospero alluding to his new, higher status by acknowledging that 'this cell's my court', he still uses the simplicity and humbleness of its physicality to reinforce the injustice his inhabitation of it represents. By bringing Alonso to his 'poor cell' and directing him to 'look in' Prospero uses his domestic space to viscerally show Alonso the new identity he was forced to inhabit after losing his dukedom. In both examples Prospero explicitly and implicitly ties his authority and identity to (lack of) domestic space and, like the colonial discourse and domestic pamphlets analysed above, sees this domestic space as integral to the performance and manifestation of this authority and identity.

A similar association between insufficient or absent domestic space and a threat to performance of normative identity and authority is displayed in *The Sea Voyage*. *The Sea Voyage* was first performed in 1622 and the islands on which the play is set, much like that of *The Tempest*, lack any geographical specificity. As Anthony Parr has argued, '*The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage* in their very different ways depend on a lack of geographical specificity to create a world that seems full of the travails of contemporary voyaging.'²⁴ Despite lacking any specific reference to America the influence of colonial discourses emerging from the New World (and in particular Virginia) on the play have been noted by several critics.²⁵ In this chapter I argue that in its attention to the (lack of) material domestic space on the island and the influence this has on the identities and behaviours of the characters, the play engages with spatially located anxieties raised by the colonial experience.

At the beginning of Act Two Albert and Aminta, the French pirate captain and his betrothed, are searching for food on the desolate island on which they have been shipwrecked. Becoming weak from his wounds, Albert says:

Sure, we have changed sexes: you bear calamity

With a fortitude would become a man;

I like a weak girl suffer (2.1.7-9).

²⁴ Anthony Parr, 'Introduction', in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. by Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 5.

²⁵ Claire Jowitt, "'Her flesh must serve you": Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher's and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*', *Parergon*, 18:3 (2001), 93-117; and Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1643* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Aminta then tends to his wounds, cutting off her hair and using it to bind them. Tending to the quotidian medical needs of the family was part of a good housewife's duty – Aminta tending to Albert's wounds is symbolic of her fulfilling this role.²⁶ However, cutting off her hair to do so – a 'culturally significant indicator of gender' – is important in this scene.²⁷ Albert has already lamented that they have 'changed sexes' because he is suffering 'like a girl' in their exploration of the island, while Aminta bears 'calamity with a fortitude would become a man'. By removing her hair Aminta plays into this fear and complicates any suggestion that she is easily fulfilling standard gender roles. I argue that this blurring of dichotomous gender identity is linked to the spatiality of the island. Both Albert and Aminta are searching the island for food - 'external' activities that would, as Markham outlines, usually be the domain of the husband. Similarly, Aminta's 'housewifely' tending of Albert's wounds takes place outside the home, when ordinarily she would be inside it. Her growing presence in the masculine world of exteriority is marked symbolically by the removal of her hair and by Albert's diminishing masculinity in the face of her presence in this world. Without the material home to spatially divide their labour, the division of their normative gender roles and identities also begins to be troubled.

A few lines after this exchange, the couple hear hunters' horns in the distance. The aural interjection of this traditionally male activity causes Albert to 'feel/ New vigor in me, and a spirit that dares/ More than a man to serve my fair Aminta' (2.1.74-6). As Jowitt states, the sound of what Albert takes to be male

²⁶ See Markham, *The English Housewife*, p. 8.

²⁷ Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589-1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 198.

hunters 'revives his own masculinity.'²⁸ Albert then promises to swim to the neighbouring island from whence the sound came, and the following exchange takes place as he leaves:

AMINTA Will ye then leave me? Till now I was ne'er wretched.

ALBERT My best Aminta, I swear by goodness 'tis

Nor hope nor fear of myself that invites me

To this extreme. 'Tis to supply thy wants (2.1.80-3).

Despite having no material home to form the physical basis through which gender identity could be demarcated, Albert still attempts to assert his masculinity through this framework. By leaving Aminta where she is and venturing further into the unknown to pursue the (masculine) hunt, Albert attempts to recreate a gendered division of labour based on activity outside the 'home'. Whately states that it is a husband's duty to 'governe his wife, and maintaine her', and Albert's insistence that Aminta stay put whilst he explores further in order to 'supply thy wants', marks an attempt to fulfil this gendered duty.²⁹ Albert's ability to fulfil the masculine role of externally located 'husband' is complicated and threatened by the lack of domestic space through which to do this, but his adherence to these spatial frames of reference remain. In both *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage* the fluidity of power relations and gender identities that set in when domestic space is absent are interrogated – a scenario implicitly

²⁸ Jowitt, *Voyage Drama*, p. 199.

²⁹ Whately, *A Bride-bush*, p. 97.

acknowledged as an anxiety in the colonial pamphlets that promote the rapid establishment of 'strongly built' homes above.

'We Could Not Rest There': Native American Homes and Transgressive Domestic Space

Fixation on 'absent' Native American homes in English colonial discourse was an attempt to negate indigenous peoples' claim to the land, but also a manifestation of the anxiety English colonists felt over the implications an absence of domestic space could have on their own identity. Even when colonists did encounter and acknowledge Native American habitations, they frequently represented them as transgressive or failing to meet the material and ideological standards required of English houses. As Brown notes in relation to cultural encounters between English colonists and the Powhatan, 'The encounter with the savage other serves to confirm the civil subject in that self-knowledge which ensures self-mastery,' and I argue that this is also true in spatial encounters of the 'savage other'.³⁰ Encounters with Native American domestic space triggered anxieties over the implications of a 'lack' of English homes whilst also serving to 'confirm' the colonists' 'self-knowledge' that English domestic spaces and the identities they produce are superior. Hamor recounts a visit he made to Powhatan, the powerful chief of a political alliance of Algonquian speaking Native American tribes and a key point of contact for English colonists at Jamestown in its early years. In his account of this meeting Hamor writes that he stayed overnight with Powhatan

³⁰ Brown, 'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine', p. 50.

and his people. Whilst noting the hospitality he was shown, Hamor also noted that he and his companion:

had not bin halfe an houre in the house before the fleas began to so torment us that wee could not rest there, but went forth, and under a broade oake, upon a mat reposed our selves that night.³¹

Winslow makes a very similar observation in *Mourt's Relation* when he describes a visit to Massasoit, the leader of the Wampanoag tribe with whom he and the Plymouth colonists had predominantly cordial relations in the early years of the settlement. Winslow describes spending a night in Massasoit's 'bad lodging' that had 'lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there'.³² The basic materiality of the home fails to meet Hamor and Winslow's requirements in these examples. The presence of unwanted animal life within the home signifies unsatisfactory distancing from the natural world and begins to threaten a blurring of the human/animal hierarchy established through control of the natural world.³³

Winslow also makes the following observation of the domestic space he shared with Massasoit:

he layd us on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at one end and we at the other, it being onely plancks layd a foot from the ground, and a thin

³¹ Hamor, *A True Discourse*, p. 43.

³² Winslow, *Mourt's Relation*, p. 46.

³³ For more on the hierarchical distinctions between human and animal in early modern thought see Erica Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality and Humanity in Early Modern England* (New York: Ithaca, 2006).

Mat upon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our journey.³⁴

In this extract it is clear that Winslow feels deeply uncomfortable lodging in Massasoit's home as it lacks the social and material boundaries he was used to in England – and indeed in the plans for the 'guest houses' laid out by the Virginia Company above. The sharing of a bed means this intimate domestic space becomes a highly integrated social space in which different familial and social groups are forced into close proximity. In the plans for the 'guest houses' outlined above these familial and social distinctions were kept intact by segregating the larger space into smaller family units. Winslow cannot sleep due to the closeness of Massasoit, his wife, and his men. This in turn reflects not only a failure in the material function of the home to provide a place of rest, but a failure in its ideological function to create and maintain social distinctions. Natasha Korda discusses a pamphlet written by Leo Africanus in 1600, entitled *Geographical Historie of Africa*, in which the dining practices of Moroccans eating a shared plate of couscous are described in a highly derogatory way. She writes:

Without separate, apportioning dishes, they must "greedily devoure" what is laid out for all indiscriminately. The description makes clear the way in which material objects served to create and maintain status hierarchies: the communal nature of the couscous platter blurs the social distinctions of those who partake in it. Household stuff had become a

³⁴ Winslow, *Mourt's Relation*, p. 45.

means of measuring European civility against the relative refinement of other cultures.³⁵

A very similar ideological framework, resting on the materiality of the home and 'household stuff', underpins Winslow's description of bed sharing, and Winslow and Hamor's descriptions of the 'intrusion' of fleas. In the redeployment of understandings of English homes to interpretations of Native American ones, or indeed North African ones, by colonial writers, there emerge representations of these 'other' domestic spaces that reveal the fundamental requirements of the materialities of English homes. In this process the writers also reveal the anxieties that existed over the threat transgressive domestic spaces could pose to normative English identities and social order.

In *The Tempest* we also see the presence of unsatisfactory lodging with 'native inhabitants' represented on stage in the following speech by Trinculo upon first discovering Caliban:

Alas, the storm is come again. My best way is to creep
under his gaberdine; there is no other shelter hereabout.
Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows. I will
here shroud till the dregs of the storm be past. (2.2.37-40).

Trinculo makes clear this co-habitation would never happen under normal circumstances; it is the lack of his own, usual home and the provision of any

³⁵ Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 24.

comparable habitation or shelter on the island that forces him into this situation. Both Winslow's pamphlet, and Hamor's that precedes it, echo this sentiment, and share an anxiety that a lack of defined English domestic space necessitates lodging with native inhabitants – the implications of which extended far beyond a bad night's sleep. Stefano's drunken interpretation of Trinculo and Caliban under the gaberdine speaks to these implications. Stefano sees 'some monster of the isle with four legs' (2.2.65); Trinculo has become fused with Caliban, and indistinguishable from his 'strange bedfellow'. Just as Winslow feared the collapse of hierarchical social distinctions of gender, class, and race that his bed-sharing with Massasoit threatened, so here this collapse in distinction becomes manifest in Stefano's interpretation of Trinculo and Caliban as one being under the gaberdine.

There are also echoes in this example of contemporary fears over the physiological changes that may occur to the English body when living in New World colonies – quite literally a fear that the English may 'turn native'.³⁶ These fears were widely disputed by colonial pamphleteers who insisted English bodies flourished in the American climate. Francis Higginson, a Puritan minister arriving in New England in 1629, wrote for example, 'Many that have beene weake and sickly in old *England*, by comming hither have beene thoroughly healed and growne healthful and strong.'³⁷ Yet, these anxieties over negative physiological change did occasionally appear in colonial pamphlets too. In Hamor's pamphlet he relays the following story of his time with Powhatan:

³⁶ See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, 'Fear of Hot Climates in the Anglo-American Colonial Experience', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 41:2 (1984), 213-240.

³⁷ Francis Higginson, *New England's Plantation* (London, 1630), p. 10. Italics in original.

Whiles I yet remained there, by great chance came an English man thither, almost three yeeres before that time surprised, as he was at worke neere *Fort Henrie*, one *William Parker* grown so like both in complexion and habite the *Indians*, that I onely knew him by his tongue to be an Englishman.³⁸

In 1622 Edward Waterhouse, a colonist living in Virginia during the early years of the Jamestown settlement, published a complementary story to that of Hamor. Waterhouse tells of a Native American who, living in an English home and sleeping in an English bed, defies the instruction of his fellow Native Americans and warns the English of an impending attack.³⁹ This suggests that fears over a collapse in distinction between English and Native American identities were related to habitation as well as to climate, and equally that this slippage in identity was only problematic in the case of English colonists' potential to 'turn native'. The examples above also illuminate the correlation between normative and transgressive domestic space and normative and transgressive identities. Living in a well ordered English home within an English community produced a Native American who defied the 'treacherous violence of the Savages' and acted in line with English social conduct and interests.⁴⁰ Living with the Native Americans, outside of the material and social structures of an English community, made William Parker indistinguishable from the Native Americans

³⁸ Hamor, *A True Discourse*, p. 44. Italics in original.

³⁹ Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the state of the colony and affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), p. 20.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 22.

in both 'complexion and habite'. This acknowledgement of the risks of living outside English infrastructure is made clear in the examples discussed above. Anxieties over the impact transgressive domestic space could have on 'civilized' English identities and social order is a common theme amongst the pamphlets emerging from both Virginia and New England, and material emerging from England too. Whately writes:

That house is a misshapen house, and (if wee may use that terme) a crump-shouldered, or hutch-backt house, where the husband hath made himselfe and [sic] underling to his wife, and given away his power and regiment to his inferiour.⁴¹

Whately's figuration of this relationship between transgressive domestic space and transgressive identity is inverted and symbolic, but he still associates the transgressive identity of a husband who has relinquished domestic authority to his wife, with a 'misshapen house...a crump-shouldered, or hutch-backt house'. Whether in England or the New World, the materiality of domestic space was inherently connected to the production of normative national and gender identities and social order, and anxiety was produced when this materiality was threatened, transgressive, or absent.

⁴¹ Whately, *A Bride-bush*, p. 98.

'Fearelesse Carriage': Forging Masculinity in Relation to the Home

Despite, or perhaps because of, the anxieties expressed over absent and transgressive domestic space, the home still emerged as an important ideological and material marker of masculinity in colonial discourse. Male authority and identity was, as Richardson articulates, '*first forged through the way a man handles the responsibilities of rule within the house, and then broadcast in the community at large*'.⁴² The relationship between masculinity and domestic space was one English colonists attempted to reproduce in the New World as a way of asserting superiority over the indigenous men they encountered, but also as a way of constructing not only a hierarchy that positioned men as superior to women, but a hierarchy amongst the male colonists. In the New World, where exploration outside the home took on a heightened significance, the home became an even more acute marker of masculinity by defining behaviour that occurred outside it. Winslow writes in his pamphlet on the Plymouth Colony, *Good Newes from New England* (1624), about the actions of English colonists after they learned of potential hostility towards them from the local Massachusetts people:

so it would not now stand with our safetie to mew up ourselves in our new-enclosed towne, partly because our store was almost emptie, and therefore must seeke out for our daily food, without which we could not long subsist; but especially for that thereby they [the Massachusetts] would see us dismaied, & be encouraged to prosecute their malicious

⁴² Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy*, p. 33. Italics in original.

purposes, with more eagernesse than they ever intended: whereas on the contrary, by the blessing of God, our fearelesse carriage might be a meanes to discourage and weaken their proceedings.⁴³

For the English, travel outside the home(s) and town they were building was essential as a basic means of survival, but also as a display of 'fearless' Englishness against the potentially hostile peoples living nearby. In much the same way as Markham uses the home as a physical marker against which to define hierarchical gender identities through their enactment either inside or outside it, so here the home becomes a physical marker against which masculinity can be defined. The movement of English men outside their home acts as a visual signifier of character and identity to the surrounding community – both English and Native American. In Winslow's earlier pamphlet, *Mourt's Relation*, this idea is expressed again when he states that after an altercation with some 'indians', 'wee followed them about a quarter of a mile [...] then we shouted all together two severall times, and shot off a couple of muskets and so returned: this we did that they might see wee were not afrayd of them nor discouraged.'⁴⁴ For the English, movement away from the home and towards unknown, potentially threatening situations, signifies their fearless male identity. This is particularly important in the New World as it displays an aggressive masculinity to Native American men and positions English men as superior. In an almost animalistic marking of territory, the English push the boundaries of their domain as an expression of strength and assertiveness.

⁴³ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes from New England* (London, 1624), p. 6.

⁴⁴ Winslow, *Mourt's Relation*, p. 19.

The spatial configuration of superior English masculinity finds clear expression in the following incident described in *Mourt's Relation*. In a section titled 'A Relation of our Voyage to Massachusets, and what happened there', we are told that the Governor of the Plymouth plantation 'chose ten men, fit for the purpose', to 'goe amongst' the Native Americans, 'partly to see the Countrey, partly to make Peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke.' After beginning their journey these ten men encounter 'Obbatinewat', a Wampanoag Sachem, or leader, who tells them 'he durst not then remaine in any setled place, for feare of the *Tarrentines*. Also the *Squa Sachim*, or *Massachusets* Queene was an enemy to him.'⁴⁵ Obbatinewat then agrees to become one of King James' men and enjoy the protection of the English, and leads them to the 'Squa Sachim' of the Massachusett, who has also threatened the English. When they arrive at their destination they find 'a house pulled downe, and the people gone.' Continuing for another mile they find the 'women of the place [...] whither we supposed them to be fled for feare of us [...] because in divers places they had newly pulled downe their houses'.⁴⁶ After some time they manage to make contact with one of the men too: 'At length with much sending for came one of their men, shaking and trembling for feare.'⁴⁷ What emerges here is a complex fashioning of a spatial framework involving masculinity and the home. In contrast to the English, the Massachusetts Native Americans portrayed here have no fixed homes and flee in fear from the approaching English, whereas the English build and fortify fixed dwelling places and move outside of these locations to assert their English male identity. For the English, a material home gives a fixed point to defend and also a

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 58.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 59.

fixed point to travel away from as a display of fearlessness, aggression, and masculinity. The Massachusetts men fail to achieve this in the eyes of the English: their lack of houses and their movement away from the approaching English both becoming signifiers of weakness and fear. It is interesting also that it is the 'women of the place' that the English encounter first before they find the 'trembling' men, further emasculating the identity of the elusive male Massachusetts the English seek.

This spatial framework around fixed homes and travel from them works in these pamphlets to distinguish English identity from Native American. However, this framework also creates a hierarchy within English identity, separating superior and inferior English men. As Winslow states above, ten men 'fit for the purpose' were chosen to seek out the Massachusetts Native Americans who had previously threatened the English. In *Mourt's Relation* Winslow relates an exploratory journey that a group of 34 men made from the ship soon after arrival to New England. After travelling for several days:

Master *Jones* was earnest to goe abourd, but sundry of us desired to make further discovery, and to find out the *Indians* habitations, so we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sick.⁴⁸

This left 18 men to continue exploring the country and seek out the 'Indians habitations'. What is alluded to in both these extracts is that only the strongest men are capable of this kind of exploration outside the home. This capability creates a distinction between English men based on a physical ability measured

⁴⁸ Winslow, *Mourt's Relation*, p. 10. Italics in original.

by time and distance from the home. In Winslow's assertion that the 'weakest people' were 'sent home', there is evidence of the ideological function of the home as a marker of masculinity based on mobility. At the time this was written no homes had yet been built, so the reference to 'home' was almost entirely symbolic in its use to distinguish between the masculine identities of this group of men based on mobility. This ideological framework is very similar to the one analysed in *The Sea Voyage* above, in which Albert attempts to re-assert his masculinity through travel away from a materially non-existent, but ideologically present, sense of 'home' – a sense that emerged from Aminta's actions demarcating that open space as realm of domestic activity. The 'home' was needed as a reference point from which to measure Winslow and his men's movement, and against which to measure masculine endurance in the harsher, external landscape of New England. In these examples English male identity exists in the same framework as Native American male identity – both measured in relation to an English conception of the home and a man's relationship to it. This shared frame of reference ends up blurring the distinctions made between English and Native American identities, as through their failed, or inferior, display of masculinity in relation to the home, lower status English men come to occupy an ideologically similar position to Native Americans. As Hall notes, colonial discourse frequently 'locates a dangerous blurring of the line between the civilized and the barbaric in the lower classes'.⁴⁹ Inherent to this framework is the anxiety that without a fixed material home it is not possible to fully realize and display male identity. The importance of mobility to the construction of normative and transgressive gender and national identities was a crucial facet of

⁴⁹ Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 148.

English colonial discourse. This will be returned to in detail in Chapters Three and Four, which analyse the policing of movement outside the home as a method of spatial management employed by English and colonial authorities to marginalize certain social groups and behaviours.

The Sea Voyage interrogates the anxiety around the impact of domestic space on male identity on stage through the actions of the Surgeon and the gallants Franville, Lamure, and Morillat. As Claire Jowitt has explored, control of appetites – material and physical – plays a crucial role in defining masculinity in this play, especially once the crew and passengers are shipwrecked on the island.⁵⁰ Tibalt, the Boatswain, Albert, and the Master all manage their appetites correctly, whereas the Surgeon and the gallants fail to do so, expressing cannibalistic and sexually violent urges.⁵¹ Through this behaviour a hierarchy based on superior displays of masculinity emerges. Building on Jowitt's analysis, I argue that the ability to retain this masculine control and identity without the material or social infrastructure of the home also becomes an important aspect of the male hierarchy created in the play. In 1.3 the Surgeon, Franville, Lamure, and Morillat complain about their loss of material goods in the shipwreck and their lack of clothing, shelter, and food. Tibalt and Albert, by contrast, remain more positive, expressing their gratitude for their health and salvation from the storm, and berating the other men for their inability to recognize that the loss of their possessions was the price they paid for staying alive. By the end of the scene, in which the gallants' lust for gold costs the French party their ship, Tibalt has lost all patience with the men and says:

⁵⁰ Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you'.

⁵¹ For more on *The Sea Voyage* and contemporary connections drawn between cannibalism and rape see Hollis, *The Absence of America*, pp. 95-100.

You must not look for down beds here
Nor hangings – though I could wish ye strong ones!
Yet here be many lightsome cool star chambers
Open to every sweet air, I'll assure ye (1.3.258-61).

Tibalt's frustration at the behaviour of these men culminates in a direct attack on their inability to perform a productive male identity outside of their normal home environment. Unlike Tibalt, Albert, the Boatswain, and the Master, who all maintain control over their masculine identities both on board the ship and now on the island, Franville, Lamure, and Morillat's male identities degrade as the play progresses. As Jowitt notes in relation to Tibalt's sardonic reaction to Franville, Lamure, and Morillat's plan to cannibalize Aminta rather than save her to beget more food on, the three gallants are positioned as inadequate males 'because of their failure to understand the most basic economic principals'.⁵² I would argue that their display of inadequate masculinity provoked by the absence of food is also displayed and provoked by the absence of domestic space. Just as the gallants fail to understand basic economic principals in their frenzy to satiate their hunger, so they fail to understand the basic principals of masculinity in their inability to perform it (temporarily) without the physical structure and trappings of the home. During the storm in the opening scene they disrupted attempts to save the ship and crew and now on the island their inability to let go of their attachment to material objects and wealth leads to the loss of the ship. It is not only Tibalt, Albert, the Boatswain and the Master's control of appetites that

⁵² Jowitt, *Voyage Drama*, p. 207.

maintains their masculine identity, but their ability to do so, and to adapt their behaviour, in unfamiliar environments. The long-term survival and prosperity of English colonies in the New World thus relied on two almost contradictory requirements – the absolute need to reproduce English domestic space through which gender identity and social order could be regulated and manifested, but also the capability to retain this identity (temporarily) through adaptation to an environment that lacked this infrastructure.

‘The Bonds of Wives and Children’: Female Presence in the New World

The gallants’ failure to adequately perform their masculine identities without the space of the home finds its counterpart in the behaviour of Albert analysed above. One of the ways Albert manages to maintain his masculine identity is in response to the behaviours of Aminta. The role of women in the production of both idealized domestic space and dualistic, hierarchical gender identities was recognized by colonial authorities, and this is evidenced in the shipping of women to the colonies and the narratives that surrounded this process. I argue in this section that colonial discourse exposes the crucial role women played in producing social order through the home, but also the inherent paradoxes in this process – namely that female travel to and presence in the New World, without normative domestic infrastructures, cast doubt on the normative identities of these women and their ability to contribute to the social order they were meant to facilitate. Additionally, the admission of the necessity of female presence reveals something of their agency and integral role within the home – the very space that should be used to contain and curtail this agency.

In 1621 the Virginia Company attempted to attract investment in order to send 100 women to Virginia to be married to colonists. The primary motivation for this was in order to stabilize the communities being set up via the creation of family units. Two parchment rolls detail the project and within these rolls the following plea to investors is found:

Wheras by long experience wee have founde that the Mynds of our people in Virgenia are much dejected, and ther hartes enflamed with a desire to returne for England only through the wants of the comforts without which God saw that Man could not live content-edlie noe not in Paradize: And hence have sprange the greatest hinderances of this Noble worke, whilst the moste of them ther uppon esteeming Virginia, not as a place of habitation but only of a short sojourninge: have applied themselves and their labours wholly to the raysinge of present profitt, and utterly neglected not onlie Staple Commod-ities, but even the verie necessities of Mans liffe.

Wee therefore judging itt a Christian charitie to releive the disconsolate mindes of our people ther, and a speciall advancement to the Plantation, to tye and roote the Planters myndes to Virginia by the bonds of wives and children⁵³

The colonists' 'hartes' and 'myndes' were suffering due to 'the wants of the comforts without which God saw that Man could not live content-edlie'. These

⁵³ As quoted in David R. Ransome, 'Wives for Virginia, 1621', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 48:1 (1991), pp. 3-18 (p. 7).

comforts were the marital and familial bonds created through the presence of a wife and children in the home. Whately alludes to this when he writes, quoting from Genesis 3:18, that God created woman because 'it is not good for Man to bee alone, I will make him an helpe meete for him.'⁵⁴ The realisation that women's presence in Virginia would be necessary in order to solve this problem was also set out in an earlier pamphlet of 1610, in which the Virginia Company expressly puts forth its wish for 'a large supply of five hundred men, with some number of families, of Wife, Children, and Servants, to take fast holde and roote in that land'.⁵⁵ This desire is re-articulated in a letter of 1621 sent by the Virginia Company in England to the Council in Virginia, presumably in relation to the appeal quoted above. In this letter it is written that 'the Plantacon can never flourish till families be planted [...] wives and Children fix the people to the Soyle'.⁵⁶ As I argued in relation to the work of Yi-Fu Tuan and Tim Cresswell in my introduction, giving 'space' a sense of familiarity and emotional meaning is part of a process of turning it into 'place'. Populating homes with wives and children was a way of turning the space of the material home into a fully realized domestic 'place' that held meaning for these colonists, and thus encouraged them to 'take fast holde and roote in that land'.

The crucial role women played in the 'proper' function of normative domestic space was recognized explicitly in contemporary domestic pamphlets in England. Markham outlines the vast array of duties a 'good housewife' was expected to perform, the first of which was the art of 'physic', which he calls 'one

⁵⁴ Whately, *A Bride-bush*, p. 60.

⁵⁵ Council for Virginia, *A True and Sincere Declaration*, p. 7.

⁵⁶ 'Letter to the Governor and Council in Virginia, August 12, 1621', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 492-498 (p. 493).

of the most principal virtues which doth belong to our English housewife' – a duty displayed by Aminta in her tending to Albert's wounds.⁵⁷ Markham goes on to outline the skills a housewife should possess in cookery, wine making, running a dairy, and making cloth and clothing to name but a few. The early days of the Virginia Colony, and Jamestown in particular, were plagued by disease, sickness, and famine. It is no wonder that the absence of women in the home, with their virtues in 'physic', food production, and household management, was felt as an acute 'lack' in a very practical as well as ideological sense. Ayesha Mukherjee has written extensively on famine and dearth in early modern England and notes of sailors and soldiers that, 'dearth created a common ground, based on need and knowledge exchange, between these unsettled and liminal figures, frequently travelling overseas, and those who suffered dearth in their seemingly defined domestic contexts.' Interestingly, she goes on to note that:

Boundaries between domains of knowledge were porous, and the housewife could...easily draw on knowledge of practices beyond matters of household and state. In times of dearth, for example, the predominantly masculine world of mariners offered useful knowledge of preservation techniques.⁵⁸

This opens up fascinating possibilities of knowledge building and exchange when considering the passage of English 'housewives' to the New World. These

⁵⁷ Markham, *The English Housewife*, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Ayesha Mukherjee, *Penury into Plenty: Dearth and the Making of Knowledge in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 42, p. 150.

women, already pre-emptively inhabiting the role of 'housewife' in the very explicitly stated reasons for their travel, would have been in contact with sailors during the voyage to Virginia. On arrival, then, they would have brought with them existing knowledge on how to effectively run a household, but this knowledge may well have been combined with that gleaned from 'the predominantly masculine world of mariners' they inhabited aboard the ship. Attempts to recreate a normative English domestic space are already complicated by the fact that the women arriving on these ships could potentially be drawing on a different and more diverse set of practices and experiences than housewives in England.

Women's experiences on the voyage to the New World challenged the (re)production of English gender identities and domesticity. More fundamentally than this though, the very act of travelling from England to the colonies called into question the normative identity of these women. As explored above, idealized gender distinctions rested on the husband's association with exteriority and the wife's with interiority in relation to the home. This distinction was intimately tied with perceptions of sexual continence for women, as Richardson notes: 'Women's reputation operates on a firm physical boundary between house and community.'⁵⁹ Virginia had gained something of a reputation for the licentious and criminal behaviour of its colonists, not least of which was the connection of sexual promiscuity with the women sent over in the early stages of the venture.⁶⁰ This reputation ran the risk of becoming self-perpetuating, with extensive travel from the home already being connected to

⁵⁹ Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy*, p. 32.

⁶⁰ Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you', p. 97.

be 'spew'd out of their own country.' Not only does this example suggest that women who travelled to Virginia were still associated with these transgressive identities into the 1630s, but it suggests that there was still an underlying fear that travel to Virginia created those identities. This sentiment is seen again in *The Late Lancashire Witches*, in which shipment to the New World is issued as a threat by Seely to his wife and daughters: 'teach your daughter better manners. / I'll ship you all for New England else.'⁶² In both examples the mention of being shipped to the New World is seen as a threat, and a deeply negative thing in its implications for female identity.⁶³ Lady Frugal and her daughters are deemed proud, above their station and disrespectful to their husband/father Sir John Frugal. In *The Late Lancashire Witches* Seely's household order has been inverted, by witchcraft, so that his children are defiant and his servants ruling over him, not to mention that the play's central theme of witchcraft engages explicitly with transgressive female identity in relation to the home.

The anxiety felt by The Virginia Company over the licentious reputation of the women inhabiting the colonies, and the implications this carried for the formation of ordered colonial households, is evidenced in assurances included in a letter sent to the Governor and Council in Virginia in September 1621, in which they write of the new cohort of women being shipped:

⁶² Richard Brome and Thomas Heywood, 'The Late Lancashire Witches', in *Richard Brome Online*, ed. by Helen Ostovich <<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome>> [accessed 16 January 2016], 3.3.499.

⁶³ For more on these implications in the *City Madam* passage see Jowitt, *Voyage Drama*, p. 195.

We have used extraordinary dilligence and care in the choise of them and have received none of whom we have not had good testimony of their honest life and cariadge.⁶⁴

This sentiment is supported by one of the written recommendations collected by The Virginia Company in relation to the call for investors mentioned above. In this letter is the following endorsement of Anne Rickard's character:

Anne Rickard widowe now inhabitinge within our said parishe & so hathe don for the space of Six yeres or neere thereaboutes in which tyme shee hathe demeaned herself in honest sorte & is a woman of an honest lyef & conversation duringe the tyme shee hathe lyved amounges us & so is & ever hathe bynne esteemed & reputed for any thinge ever wee heard or knowe of to the contrary, And for that the said Anne Rickard is mynded & purposed to dwell elsewhere hathe entreated & required of us whose names are hereunder subscribed this our testymoniall in her behalf.⁶⁵

The Virginia Company goes to great lengths to ensure and promote the 'honesty' and decorous behaviour of the women being sent to Virginia, to negate the opposing implications their travel to the colony held. If they could achieve this then the impact on the Virginia Colony would be twofold: firstly ordered, normative households could be created to form the stable foundation of colonial

⁶⁴ Virginia Council and Company, 'Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia, September 11, 1621', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 502-508 (p. 505).

⁶⁵ As quoted in Ransome, 'Wives for Virginia', p. 10.

settlements, and secondly the reputation of the Virginia Colony would improve in accounts circulated in England. Both these outcomes would, hopefully, lead to greater interest and investment in the venture.

The Virginia Company's constant assertion of the moral fortitude and chastity of the women being shipped over suggests that there were widely circulating beliefs that women travelling to the New World were likely not to be associated with such traits. The fact that women could not be trusted to either control or account for their own behaviour and identity further suggests that women's sexual and moral identity was a fragile construction liable to collapse due to the inherent propensity for women to act outside these parameters. This picture of unreliable, unruly female identity is at odds with the function these women were travelling to the New World to provide – a contradiction that can be seen clearly in the testimonial provided for Anne Rickard. The letter asserts her 'honest lyef' and behaviour, and also states that she is 'mynded & purposed to dwell elsewhere'. This evidence is provided in an attempt to show the fixedness of Anne's mind and character, and her determination to live abroad in Virginia. Presumably this fixity of purpose is cited to assure her suitability to engender the same in her prospective husband, further encouraging him to take 'root' in his colonial location. It is an interesting paradox that Anne Rickard's fixity of purpose to 'live elsewhere', to travel, is seen as likely to prevent the same in her future husband. Anne is at once a woman whose identity is so unstable it must be repeatedly ratified by external parties, yet at the same time so 'mynded and purposed' that it is up to the task of stabilising the potential husband and household she is being shipped to. This recognition of the power Anne holds to shape the identity of her husband and household is somewhat troubling to a

normative patriarchal discourse that dictates it is she who should be controlled and shaped by her husband and household.

Both *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage* interrogate the implications a 'lack' of marital relationships/opportunities had for the functioning of domestic space and colonial society more widely. Equally, they interrogate the implications of illegitimate 'marital' unions; acts that I argue also bear traces of colonial influence. In their interrogations of these ideas both plays reveal the influence of colonial experience on articulations of female sexuality and identity in relation to the production of normative domestic space and the social order that relied on it. Kim F. Hall has noted that 'Colonialist readings of *The Tempest* have shown the text to be fertile ground for exploring issues of race, cultural contest, and authority, in English encounters in the "new world." They have been less attentive to roles of women in colonial structures.'⁶⁶ By attending to the interplay between colonial discourse, domestic space, and gender identity in the play, I offer some redress to this paucity of attention to 'women in colonial structures'. In *The Tempest*, Prospero engineers the shipwrecked arrival on the island, in part at least, to ensure the appropriate marriage of his daughter Miranda. Before the shipwreck, the only inhabitant on the island other than Prospero and his daughter was Caliban, the illegitimate son of 'the devil himself' (1.2.321) and the witch, Sycorax – a highly inappropriate suitor for Miranda. The inappropriateness of this potential union is highlighted in a visceral way when Prospero alludes to Caliban's attempted rape of Miranda, admonishing him for seeking to 'violate/ The honour of my child.' (1.2.349-50). To which Caliban

⁶⁶ Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 141.

responds, 'Would't had been done!/ Thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else/ This isle with Calibans.' (1.2.351-3). It has been observed, by Hall for example, that Caliban has been read by modern critics and productions as 'alternatively as black African, Afro-Caribbean, and Native American', and in this context his alleged sexual violence toward Miranda and desire to populate 'the isle with Calibans' speaks to early modern fears of miscegenation.⁶⁷

Colonial discourse did not promote sexual or marital interaction with indigenous inhabitants in Virginia or New England and as Patricia Seed notes, Prospero and Caliban's interaction above allowed audiences of the time 'to identify with their fellow colonizer's horror at the possibility of a colonial isle peopled with Calibans.'⁶⁸ One very high profile exception to this, contemporaneously and continuously, was the marriage of Pocahontas to John Rolfe.⁶⁹ In his lengthy letter to the Governor at the time, Sir Thomas Dale, Rolfe rationalizes his desire to marry Pocahontas, and requests Dale's permission to do so. In this process, as William Kelso has argued, 'Rolfe seemed to be saying indirectly that such an intercultural marriage would be frowned upon by the English or at least be unusual.'⁷⁰ However, archaeological evidence points very strongly to Native American women living in the Jamestown settlement from its early days.⁷¹ In addition, a 1612 letter from the Duke of Flores in London, to King Philip in Spain, states that 'A ship has arrived here from Virginia', with an

⁶⁷ Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 142.

⁶⁸ Patricia Seed, "'This island's mine': Caliban and Native Sovereignty", in *The Tempest' and Its Travels*, ed. by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion, 2000), pp. 202-211 (p. 205).

⁶⁹ For more on the implications of this marriage to contemporary colonial discourse see, Brown, 'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine', pp. 49-50.

⁷⁰ William M. Kelso, *Jamestown: The Buried Truth* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), p. 38.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 95.

informant telling the Duke that 'some of the people who have gone there, think now some of them should marry the women of the savages of that country; and he tells me that there are already 40 or 50 thus married'.⁷² Of course, this does not necessarily mean sexual or marital relations really did occur, and if they did that they were consensual, but it does speak to a context in which anxieties over these kinds of interactions were emerging. Prospero's anger over Caliban's illegitimate desire for Miranda, 'strikes at the heart of European fears of the putative desire of the native other for European women', and his anxiety over securing her a legitimate husband draws on the colonial experience that a lack of 'suitable' English wives may, and quite possibly did, lead to 'unsuitable' unions between colonists and Native American women.⁷³ Joan Pong Linton has suggested that Caliban's failed rape of Miranda 'constitutes the event on which a power structure is ratified'; namely that of Prospero's subjugation of Caliban.⁷⁴ Equally, as Brown has argued 'the proof of Prospero's power to order and supervise his little colony is manifested in his capacity to control not *his*, but his *subjects'* sexuality, particularly that of his slave and his daughter.'⁷⁵ The control of the sexual (and marital) actions of both colonists and indigenous inhabitants of Virginia was also a manifestation, ratification, and exercise of colonial leadership and domination. The Virginia Company shipped English women to the New World to ensure socially acceptable marital unions would occur, ones that

⁷² 'Copy of a deciphered letter of the Marquess of Flores to the King of Spain', in *The Genesis of the United States*, ed. by Alexander Brown, 2 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1890), pp. 572-3 (p. 572).

⁷³ Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 143.

⁷⁴ Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formation of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 155.

⁷⁵ Brown, 'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine', p. 51.

would reproduce the normative domestic and social order, and English national identity, that they desired. In *The Tempest*, Prospero exerts a similar control over his 'subject', Miranda, in his orchestration of a shipwreck and the drama that unfolds in its wake in order to carefully engineer a suitable marriage partner for his daughter and thus ensure his legacy.

However, just as the Virginia Company revealed anxieties around the sexual integrity of the women they sent over, and over the potential sexual incontinency that female travel to colonial landscapes threatened, so Prospero reveals similar anxieties over the union of his daughter. When giving his blessing to their proposed marriage Prospero also issues this warning:

But

If thou dost break her virgin-knot before
All sanctimonious ceremonies may
With full and holy rite be ministered,
No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
To make this contract grow; but barren hate,
Sour-eyes disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly
That you shall hate it both. (4.1.14-22).

Prospero's anxiety that Ferdinand may have illegitimate sexual relations with Miranda before their 'sanctimonious ceremonies' is clear and he issues a dire warning that if this does occur, disorder and 'discord' will surely follow.

Prospero explicitly states what the Virginia Company implies – that if improper

sexual relations and marital unions occur, social order cannot be achieved. As Brown argues, 'With little evidence of such truancy, Prospero's repeated warnings reassert his power to regulate sexuality just at the point when such regulatory power is being transferred from father to husband.'⁷⁶ I would argue that the Virginia Company seek to exert a similar 'regulatory power' in their marginalisation of English and Native American marriage and their promotion of colonists' marriage to English women sent over by the Company. This action is ideological in its attempt to exert and express the authority of colonial leadership and normative notions of English national identity, but it also has financial implications that will be returned to in Chapter Three in my analysis of the commercial aspects of the shipping of women to Virginia. However, as Brown goes on to suggest, Prospero's 'continued insistence on the power of desire to disrupt courtly form surely also evidences an unease, and anxiety, about the power of civility to deliver control over a force which it locates both in the other and in the civil subject.'⁷⁷ Again, this sentiment is also true of the Virginia Company. The latent anxiety continually present in colonial discourse over the potential of indigenous and English women's sexuality to disrupt the establishment of social and domestic order is evidence of the uncertainty colonial leaders felt over their capacity to contain unruly female behaviour and its potential effect on the colony as a whole.

The Sea Voyage was first performed in 1622, a year after the Virginia Company shipped the women mentioned above to Virginia as wives for the colonists. This suggests that the play was produced in an environment where

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 63.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 63.

anxieties over sexual and marital relations in the colonies were still close to the surface of public consciousness and, as Jowitt suggests, the play ‘reflects beliefs about the importance of women for the maintenance of well being in the colonies in the early 1620s.’⁷⁸ As well as the play’s engagement with concerns over female sexuality/chastity in the cannibalistic and sexually violent threat made to Aminta in 3.1, more subtle references to these concerns are woven throughout the play.⁷⁹ Upon seeing the shipwreck and its survivors making their way to the island, Sebastian and Nicusa have the following exchange:

NICUSA	Alas, poor wretches, Had they but once experience of this island, They’d turn their tunes to wailings.
SEBASTIAN	Nay, to curses, That ever they set foot on such calamities. Here’s nothing but rocks and barrenness, Hunger and cold to eat. Here’s no vineyards To cheer the heart of man, no crystal rivers After his labour to refresh his body If he be feeble. Nothing to restore him But heavenly hopes. Nature that made those remedies Dares not come here, not look on our distresses, For fear she turn wild like the place and barren.
NICUSA	O uncle, yet a little memory of what we were

⁷⁸ Jowitt, *Voyage Drama*, p. 193.

⁷⁹ See Jowitt, ‘Her flesh must serve you’, pp. 93-117.

'Twill be a little comfort in our calamities.
When we were seated in our blessed homes
How happy in our kindreds, in our families,
In all our fortunes! (1.2.19-35).

The points of engagement with colonial discourse are multiple and complex here. Sebastian and Nicusa's assertion that the new arrivals to the island will be dismayed at the harsh conditions chimes with the disillusionment felt by early colonists and also the widely circulated stories about the 'starving time' of winter 1609-10 in the Virginia Colony, which will be returned to in Chapter Two.⁸⁰ What is also of interest though is Sebastian's opinion that nature herself dares not come to the island to offer them reprieve, 'for fear she turn wild like the place and barren.' Many pamphlets refer to the wild landscapes of the New World that needed taming by English art and agriculture – what existed was potential, not a fully realized, productive society.⁸¹ Until well into the seventeenth century this was still the case, so women arriving in the colonies would be arriving in this wild, untamed location. The fear of a feminized nature turning wild and barren is also a fear that the women being shipped over would turn wild and barren, that the lack of social structure and infrastructure would lead to socially and sexually transgressive identities that could not be regulated. Sebastian linguistically

⁸⁰ For discussion of 'starving time' narratives see Rachel B. Herrmann, 'The "tragicall historie": Cannibalism and Abundance in Colonial Jamestown, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 68 (2011), 47-74. For discussion of Fletcher and Massinger's engagement with them in *The Sea Voyage* see Hollis, *The Absence of America*, pp. 74-76, and Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you', p. 108.

⁸¹ Jess Edwards, "'Nature in Defect": Yielding Landscapes in Early Modern Discourses of Enclosure and Colonisation', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 4 (2000), 1-28 (pp. 4-5).

conflates the simultaneous fears that neither women nor the colonial landscape could be tamed and made 'fruitful' by English colonists.

This fear of transgressive female identity being produced by a lack of suitable domestic and social infrastructure is manifested in the Amazonian women who inhabit the second island in *The Sea Voyage*. These women are not truly Amazons, but are in fact Portuguese women stranded on the island several years previously. In order to survive in their new location they adopt an Amazonian identity that includes being self-sufficient and rejecting the company of men. As the 'Amazonian' Crocale says 'Here we live secure,/ And have among ourselves a commonwealth/ Which in ourselves begun, with us must end.' (2.2.16-18). These women hunt, speak openly about their sexual desires, roam freely about the island, and even exercise dominion over men in their eventual capture of the shipwrecked French. These 'civilized' European women becoming the antithesis of their idealized, normative identities embodies colonial anxieties surrounding female travel from the security of the home to the uncertainty of the New World. However, these Amazonian-Portuguese women also lament the fact that they do not share the company of men – as Crocale points out above, without men their commonwealth 'must end' with them. The fear over the demise of their 'colony' due to a lack of men is an inversion of the anxieties felt by the Virginia Company and others over the lack of suitable 'wives' for their colonists. Family units were essential not only for the procreational needs of an ongoing colonial settlement, but for the normative domestic and social order they produced too. As Nicusa laments in the extract above, 'When we were seated in our blessed homes/ How happy in our kindreds, in our families,/ In all our fortunes!' It is the presence of the material home and the family within it that

provide the stable nexus through which male identity and authority, and thus social order, can be achieved. Uncertainty over what happens when either material homes or the marital unit of husband and wife that make them function are absent is a continuing theme in early colonial discourse, and a theme that can also be seen running through both *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage*.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the importance of the ideological and material functions of domestic space to the construction of social order and gender identities in the English colonies of the New World. The physical structure and boundaries of the home were crucial to English colonists' ability to establish a superior national identity in relation to the indigenous population, as well as to their ability to establish normative gender identities and gender based hierarchies within the colonial population itself. I have also argued that colonial discourse and experience revealed the spatial practice existing around homes in England and the role this practice played in naturalising the gendered social hierarchies that arose from it. The revelation of this spatial practice is perhaps seen most clearly in the anxiety expressed around the absence of normative domestic space and/or the presence of transgressive domestic space in colonial discourse. Colonial experience also revealed the flaws and paradoxes in existing discourses and spatial practices of domesticity through their redeployment and modification by colonists in the unfamiliar New World landscape. A good example of this is the implicit and explicit acknowledgement colonial discourse made of the crucial role women played in producing stable, normative domestic

space – an acknowledgement that disrupted women’s position in patriarchal society as inherently unstable and disordered. Pamphlet and manuscript material emerging from both Virginia and New England contain marked similarities in the fundamental beliefs and anxieties they expressed about normative and transgressive domestic space and identities, and material from both locations relied heavily on accepted notions of domesticity established in England – both examples giving evidence of the flow of domestic spatial practice between colonies and homeland. Similarly, dramatic material displays comparable representations of domestic space, articulated in slightly different ways, revealing the flow and cross-pollination of discourses and spatial practices of domesticity across different literary genres. The anxieties raised by colonial experience and writing of domestic space influenced the representations of domestic space, and its absence, in contemporary drama – as evidenced in both *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage*. In the next chapter I look in depth at a specific event in English colonial history; the ‘Jamestown Massacre’. This case study allows me to demonstrate in greater depth the flow of domestic discourses and spatial practices between England the New World, and between the pamphlet and dramatic texts that represent them. In analysing the challenges this event posed to the ideological and material integrity of English domestic space I also give further evidence of the profound impact colonial experience had on understandings and representations of the relationship between subjects and domestic spaces in England.

Chapter Two: The Table, Hospitality, and the Jamestown Massacre: Transgressing Domestic Boundaries and Conventions

This chapter focuses on narratives surrounding The Jamestown Massacre (1622), using this as a case study through which to chart in greater detail the influence of colonial experience on representations and understandings of domestic space and the subjectivities that were produced within it.¹ The Jamestown Massacre was a significant event in the early colonial history of Virginia, which, as Catherine Armstrong notes, ‘not only profoundly affected the policy of the English towards the original inhabitants of the region, but also sounded the death knell for the Virginia Company itself.’² The attack, carried out by the Powhatan Native Americans, resulted in the deaths of 347 English colonists, as well as the loss of weapons, infrastructure, and crops. In this chapter I argue that representations of this event borrowed, or were influenced by, narrative strategies utilized in earlier domestic tragedies in order to create a context in which the actions of the Powhatan seemed more transgressive. The domestic setting of the anonymous *Arden of Faversham* (c.1592) illustrates the use of domestic space and breach of conventions of hospitality that I argue

¹ The term ‘Jamestown Massacre’ reflects contemporary English representations of and attitudes to this event, and as such will be used to convey the sense that it is these early modern English representations that are being analysed. Given the treatment of Native Americans by English colonists throughout the seventeenth century, the ‘massacre’ is perhaps better represented by the term ‘uprising’, as utilized by Alden T Vaughn in his article, “‘Expulsion of the Salvages’: English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 35 (1978), 57-84.

² Catherine Armstrong, ‘Reaction to the 1622 Virginia Massacre: An Early History of Transatlantic Print’, in *Books Between Europe and the Americas: Connections and Communities, 1620-1860*, ed. by Leslie Howsam and James Raven (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 23-41 (p. 24).

informed representations of the Jamestown Massacre. By restoring historical and social context to Jamestown Massacre narratives I go on to argue that The Virginia Company consciously chose this domestically located framework in its 'official' representations in order to shape the responses of the reader and present the event in a way that was beneficial to the interests of the Virginia Company. I then go on to show the influence of Jamestown Massacre narratives on representations of domesticity on stage in England through a close reading of two plays, both written at least in part by Philip Massinger: *The Sea Voyage* (c.1622), written before the massacre, and *The City Madam* (c.1632), written several years after. Both these plays engage with English colonial activity and show how the relationship between colonial discourse and representations of domestic space in England shifted after the events of 1622.

'Most unnaturall and bloodie Murthers': Domestic Tragedies and Transgressive Domesticity in Jamestown

Keith Sturgess suggests the survival of six or seven plays from the early modern period that fit the genre of 'domestic tragedy'. Of these he states that all but two are 'dramatizations of actual historical events, in each case a sensational murder' and that 'in each case the murder stories had received characteristic, journalistic treatment outside the plays themselves.'³ The 1551 murder of Thomas Arden by his wife Alice and her lover Mosby proved to be an event noteworthy enough to be documented in three contemporary chronicle sources, as well as inspiring one

³ Keith Sturgess, 'Introduction', in *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies*, ed. by Keith Sturgess (London: Penguin Books, 2012), p. 8.

of the earliest examples of domestic tragedy, *Arden of Faversham*.⁴ Lena Cowen Orlin offers an extended analysis of the historical and social contexts surrounding representations of this murder and asks why early modern records focused on the relationship between Arden and his wife and didn't use the incident as:

an object lesson in the unsettling changes of his time. The chronicle could have obsessed about the new professions of an expanding central government, the unprecedented redistribution of land and wealth following the dissolution of the monasteries, the movement from an economy based on barter and exchange of services to one fueled by cash, the readjustment of ecclesiastical administration and liturgical practice in the wake of the Reformation – and any of these concerns would have seemed more decorous in the context of his history of state. Instead, however, Holinshead and all the redactions of the Arden story closed in upon, worried over, broke generic precedent for, and totemized the murdered man's relationship with his wife.⁵

This is borne out in the title page to the first edition of the play, which states that Arden was murdered by 'the means of his disloyall and wanton wyfe', and that the play depicts 'the great mallice and discimulation of a wicked woman'.⁶

⁴ Emma Whipday, "'Marrow Prying Neighbours': Staging Domestic Space and Neighbourhood Surveillance in *Arden of Faversham*", *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 88 (2015), 95-110 (p. 96).

⁵ Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 20.

⁶ *Arden of Faversham* (London, 1592).

Catherine Richardson notes that the ‘detailed representation of household space provides a backdrop of domestic normality against which the anti-social, anti-familial behaviour that forms the plots of domestic tragedies seems especially shocking.’⁷ Alice’s murder of Arden becomes ‘especially shocking’ due to the domestic context giving ‘anti-social, anti-familial’ connotations to the behaviour she displays not only in his murder, but in her relationship to domestic space and her identity as a ‘housewife’. Ros King suggests that ‘Arden’s murder was an expression of disorder in the household; it was the result of his misrule, his concupiscence, and dishonest land dealings’.⁸ The domestic setting, then, could also be used to ascribe a measure of responsibility to the victims, at the same time as exaggerating the immorality of the perpetrators. By focusing explicitly on the home and the relationships that constituted a functioning domestic space, both the chronicle and dramatic (re)tellings of the Arden murder frame the events in a way that exacerbates their transgressive nature and their threat to social order. As Richardson also notes, ‘Watching any play in which family structures and authorities are threatened would have had a particular frisson for early modern audiences, and those tragic pleasures were engendered by the way the household and state were seen to be interlinked in this period.’⁹ Domestic disorder microcosmically reflected the potential for disorder in the state, and was connected to a much wider web of anxieties around social order and ‘misrule’.

⁷ Catherine Richardson, ‘Tragedy, Family and Household’, in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Tragedy*, ed. by Emma Smith and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 17-29 (p. 21).

⁸ Ros King, ‘Arden of Faversham: The Moral of History and the Thrill of Performance’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 635-652 (p. 637).

⁹ Richardson, ‘Tragedy, Family and Household’, p. 19.

The textual history of the Jamestown Massacre fits a similar pattern to the domestic tragedies discussed above. The ‘sensational murders’ received the ‘characteristic, journalistic treatment’ described by Sturgess, with the event documented in several pamphlets and chronicle sources that I will analyse shortly, and the now lost play *The Plantation of Virginia* (1623) almost certainly offered a dramatization of the event.¹⁰ Without the survival of this play it is, of course, impossible to know for sure, or to ascertain whether or not the play utilized any conventions or narrative strategies from domestic tragedies in its depiction of the massacre. However, I do believe that accounts of the Jamestown Massacre redeployed representational schemes from domestic tragedies and their sources in order to situate the former to be understood in similar ways to the sensationalized murders of the latter: murders that were positioned as shocking revelations of the duplicitous immorality of the perpetrators and the simultaneous innocence and culpability of their unsuspecting victims. Equally, as Orlin notes in relation to the murder of Arden, ‘all the redactions of the Arden story’ focused on ‘the murdered man’s relationship with his wife’. Similarly, the Jamestown Massacre narratives I go on to analyse all focus on the colonists’ relationships with the neighbouring Powhatan and, as Richardson notes in relation to *Arden of Faversham*, situate these relationships in a domestic context to provide a ‘backdrop of normality’ against which the behaviour of the Powhatan seems ‘especially shocking’.

One of the main sources of information on the Jamestown Massacre is Edward Waterhouse’s pamphlet, *A Declaration of the state of the colony in*

¹⁰ ‘The Plantation of Virginia’, *Lost Plays Database*
<https://lostplays.folger.edu/Plantation_of_Virginia,_The> [accessed 18 September 2018].

Virginia (1622). Waterhouse was a colonist living in Virginia, and was ‘the principal spokesman for the colonists after the American Indian insurrection of spring 1622.’¹¹ Waterhouse begins his account by ‘setting the scene’, describing the relationship that existed between the colonists and the Powhatan before the attack. He tells the reader, ‘The houses [were] generally left open to the Savages, who were alwaies friendly entertained at the tables of the English’.¹²

Waterhouse’s description of Powhatan being at ‘the tables of the English’ conjures up a material, domestic space that had quite specific connotations. As Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda note:

objects do not simply acquire meaning by virtue of their present social contexts; rather, they impart significance to this context as a result of the paths they have traced through time and space. The significance a particular object assumes thus derives from the differential relation of its present context to its known or assumed past, and potential future, contexts.¹³

The table was a material object that carried particular significance in defining the function of a space within English homes, conveying connotations of dining and social interaction. As Amanda Flather notes, ‘The meal table was an important

¹¹ Andrew Lyall, ‘Waterhouse, Sir Edward (1535–1591)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28810>> [accessed 28 February 2018]

¹² Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the state of the colony and affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), p. 12.

¹³ Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, ‘Introduction: Towards a Materialist Account of Stage Properties’, in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-31 (p. 18).

arena for marking out the boundaries of belonging to the early modern household', and Richardson has shown how dining 'functions within the household to cement the bonds between individuals and to aid their formation into a community.'¹⁴ The table, then, not only signified the function of a space as a place for consumption of food but as an arena in which familial, personal, and communal bonds and identities would be negotiated.

Intertwined with the function of the table and act of dining was the discourse of hospitality. Hospitality was at the core of English social life, hierarchies, and identities in an individual and communal sense, but also in a specifically *English* sense. As Daryl W. Palmer notes, 'Whether powerful merchant, diligent baker, or mere husbandman, one's claim to holding a position in the community, perhaps even to *being English*, could be said to rest in part on the practice of hospitality.'¹⁵ Indeed, Felicity Heal has argued that hospitality was even more prominent in the social relations of colonies like Virginia than it was in England.¹⁶ It is not surprising, then, that hospitality became central to English colonists' figurations of domestic space, as well as being key to their interactions with Native American peoples – a context evoked by Waterhouse in his mention of tables and entertaining above. However, as Heal also notes 'the social interchange that is the guest/host relationship demands that both parties behave

¹⁴ Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2007), p. 60; Catherine Richardson, 'Properties of Domestic Life: The Table in Heywood's *A Woman Killed With Kindness*', in *Staged Properties*, pp. 129-152 (p. 138).

¹⁵ Daryl W. Palmer, *Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1992), p. 16. Italics in original.

¹⁶ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 396-9.

according to learned conventions about their roles.¹⁷ Despite having no knowledge or experience of these conventions, Native Americans were still held accountable to them by the English colonists whose tables they ate at, and their 'betrayal' of them became a significant part of their demonization in accounts of the Jamestown Massacre.

The discourse of hospitality and the use of the table as a signifying material object are also central parts of the domestically located representational schemes of early modern domestic tragedies. Palmer has suggested that 'when Renaissance playwrights wanted to imagine entrapment and the poignant nuances of vulnerability, they represented practices of hospitality.'¹⁸ Palmer offers evidence of this in a number of plays, and I believe it is seen in a very clear manner in *Arden of Feversham* and narratives of the Jamestown Massacre too. The climax of *Arden*, in which the murder of Thomas Arden finally takes place, occurs at a table ready to receive guests. Notably, this is not the first time Alice has tried to murder Arden at his own table. In the first scene she prepares him poisoned broth for his breakfast:

ALICE Husband, sit down; your breakfast will be cold.

ARDEN Come, Master Mosby, will you sit with us?

MOSBY I cannot eat, but I will sit for company.

[...]

ALICE Husband, why pause ye? Why eat you not?

ARDEN I am not well; there's something in this broth

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 192.

¹⁸ Palmer, *Hospitable Performances*, p. 157.

That is not wholesome: didst thou make it Alice?¹⁹

Alice invites her husband to sit at the table and enjoy the food she has prepared, manipulating conventions of hospitality to lure him into consuming the poisoned 'broth'. The presence of Mosby at the table, aware of Alice's duplicitous plan, foreshadows their later murder of Arden at the table in Scene 14. Throughout the play there is a sustained link forged between Alice's murderous intentions and her role as hospitable housewife.

This connection emerges again in Scene 14 when Alice, along with her servant Michael and two hired thugs Shakebag and Black Will, is in the Arden home putting the final touches to her murderous plan. Alice directs Shakebag and Will go and lie in wait in the counting-house, and tells Michael to 'Fetch in the tables' (14.154), referring to a 'board on which chess, draughts, backgammon or another similar game is played'.²⁰ This directive is repeated seven lines later when Michael states 'I'll go fetch the tables' (14.161), and then again immediately after this in the stage direction: '*Exit Michael [and re-enters shortly with the tables]*'. Mentioned three times in less than ten lines the presence of the gaming 'tables' are linguistically linked to the larger table at the physical and symbolic centre of the action to come. Richardson notes, in relation to its function on the early modern stage, that the table prompts a series of expectations of the events that will surround it in the mind of the audience and 'What *actually* happens will be set against these notions of probability.'²¹ Of

¹⁹ *Arden of Faversham*, in *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies*, ed. by Keith Sturgess (London: Penguin Classics, 2012), 1.1.360-6.

²⁰ Table, *n.*, def. 4a, *OED Online*.

²¹ Richardson, 'Properties of Domestic Life', p. 139.

course, the table carries the same connotations for Arden in the fictional world he inhabits on stage – when he enters and sees the table, this material signifier will reassure him that he is in an ordered domestic space. The use of the game being played on this table draws attention to the strategic nature of hospitality, and suggests that just as one may deceive and manipulate an opponent into making a false move on a chessboard, so the same may occur at the table in the ‘game’ of hospitality and practice of domesticity.

The discourse and material signifiers of hospitality are all put in place in this scene in order to create a context in which the eventual murder seems all the more transgressive – to both Arden and the audience. Waterhouse employs the same strategy in his account of the Jamestown Massacre. After his initial mention of ‘tables’ at which the Powhatan were ‘alwaies friendly entertained’, he goes on to write:

On the Friday morning (the fatal day) the 22 March, as also in the evening, as in other dayes before, they came unarmed into our houses, without Bowes or arrowes, or other weapons, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furrres, and other provisions, to sell, and trucke with us, for glasse beades, and other trifles: yea in some places, sate downe at Breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediatly with their owne tooles and weapons, eyther laid downe, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murthered.²²

²² Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, p. 14.

Again, the presence of the table acts as a signifier of the function and ideological significance of this space. Other indicators such as the lack of weapons and items to trade also signal to the reader that the Powhatan were willingly inhabiting the identity of 'guest', making their ultimate betrayal of these conventions seem all the more shocking. As Emma Whipday notes in relation to Alice's framing of her interactions with Mosby in *Arden of Faversham*, 'Alice attempts to render her adultery innocuous through presenting it as hospitality.'²³ The suggestion that the Powhatan are embracing English hospitality to mask their 'murderous' intentions fulfils a similar ideological function here. Waterhouse's narrative offers the reader a series of signals that add to the 'drama' of his description of this event – the table invites associations of social order, friendship, and hospitality, but at the same time the practice of hospitality being described carries the underlying 'nuances of vulnerability' and hints at the violence to come. The expectations of the reader are being expertly directed and manipulated to ensure their sympathy and outrage reach a climax at the eventual 'base and barbarous murders' of the colonists.

In two contemporary illustrations of the Arden murder and Jamestown Massacre similarities between the ways the two are imagined can be seen again, and also the importance and centrality of the table and hospitality to both. In fig. 1 Arden is being pulled from his table by Will, with Alice and other characters surrounding him with weapons drawn. In fig. 2 we see the Jamestown colonists being dragged from their homes and tables, surrounded by Native Americans with weapons drawn. In both illustrations the table is prominent, showing how important it was to the positioning of these murders as unnatural, unexpected,

²³ Whipday, "Marrow Prying Neighbours", p. 101.

and wholly outside any acceptable realm of violence, such as the battlefield. In the bottom left of fig. 2 the image of the colonist being pulled from his table is markedly similar to that of Thomas Arden in fig. 1. This detailed, specific illustration of the two men being literally dragged from the table semiotically indicates firstly the unexpected nature of the murders within the conventions of hospitality, and secondly the disorder caused by the violation of these conventions. The table was an important signifier of social order and social status, and the men being removed from their tables is symbolic of the disruption to the social order and hierarchies their murders caused. It is interesting to note that the Merian illustration positions the colonists' tables outside the home, whereas in Waterhouse's description he states the Powhatan came 'unarmed into our houses'. In the background of the illustration there is evidence of attacks occurring within the homes too, but the positioning of the tables outside allows Merian to depict the scale of the massacre, whilst also signaling the domestic setting in which it took place.



Fig. 1 – Illustration from 1633 edition of *Arden of Faversham*



Fig. 2 – 1628 woodcut illustration of the Jamestown Massacre by Matthaeus Merian

Examining colonial records produced prior to the Jamestown Massacre suggests even more strongly that the narrative framework of domesticity and hospitality employed by Waterhouse was used consciously and strategically. Official guidelines issued to the colonists by the Virginia Company in July 1621 state the following:

Wee praie you also to have espetiall Care that no injurie or oppresion bee wrought by the English against any of the Natives of that Countrie, wherby the present peace may bee disturbed and ancient quarrells (now buried) might bee revived. Provided nevertheless that the honor of our

Nation and safety of our people bee still presevred and all maner of
Insolence committed by the natives be severely and sharpelie punished.²⁴

This decree suggests political rather than amicable reasons for maintaining non-violent relationships with the Native Americans. The reasons for causing no 'injurie or oppresion' to any of the 'natives' are not predominantly moral or altruistic, but to ensure that the longstanding tensions between the two nations do not erupt into conflict again. Whilst hospitality certainly was utilized as a political and diplomatic tool, Waterhouse's suggestion that the neighbouring Powhatan tribes had always been 'friendle entertained' in the English colonists' houses on a quotidian basis, gives his depiction a much less political and more amicable tone.²⁵ The directives given by the Virginia Company not only challenge this portrayal, but also show that in fact relations up to the point of the Jamestown Massacre had been far from amicable. The instruction that any 'insolence' (a conveniently non-specific term) on the part of the 'natives' be 'severely and sharplie punished', again shows that the threat of English violence towards the indigenous population was always a legitimate and real possibility.

Indeed, the violence of English colonists towards the Powhatan was enacted in a very significant way only two weeks before the massacre took place. English colonists shot and killed a well-respected Powhatan warrior named Nemattanow, in an incident that was widely acknowledged (albeit not publicly)

²⁴ Virginia Company, 'Instructions to the Governor and Council of State in Virginia, July 24, 1621', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 468-82 (p.469).

²⁵ *Shakespeare and Hospitality: Ethics, Politics, and Exchange*, ed. by David B. Goldstein, and Julia Reinhard Lupton (London: Routledge, 2016), see Section One which deals with the political dimensions of hospitality.

to have precipitated the March attack. In a letter of August 1622²⁶ the Virginia Company in London wrote to the Governor and Council in Virginia, that:

to be surprised by treacherie in a time of knowne danger; to be deafe to so plaine a warning (as we now to late understand) was last yeare given; to be secure in an occacion of so great suspition and jealousie as was Nenemathanewes death; not to perceive any thing in so opne [*sic*] and generall conspiracie; but to be made in parte instrumentes of contriving it, and almost guiltie of the destruccion by a blindfold and stupid entertaininge of it; which the least wisdom or courage suffised to prevent even on the point of execucion: are circumstances, that do add much to our sorrow.²⁷

The Virginia Company leaders in London reveal their knowledge of Nemattanow's murder and its role in the 'suspition and jealousie' that sparked the Powhatan's decision to carry out the attack at Jamestown. More than this, they seem to imply the Governor and Council share a measure of blame because of their capacity 'to be surprised by treacherie in a time of knowne danger'. Much like Arden's murder was symptomatic not only of Alice's treachery but also 'the result of his misrule', so the English leaders in Virginia come to bear some of the responsibility due to their own 'misrule' of the colony. In both cases misrule of

²⁶ News of the massacre reached London in July 1622. See Catherine Armstrong, 'Reaction to the 1622 Virginia Massacre: An Early History of Transatlantic Print', in *Books Between Europe and the Americas: Connections and Communities, 1620-1860*, ed. by Leslie Howsam and James Raven (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 23-42 (p. 30).

²⁷ Treasurer and Council for Virginia, 'Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia, August 1, 1622', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 666-673 (p. 666).

male figureheads is associated with the disorder that followed. However, these contributing factors were suppressed by the Virginia Company and ignored completely in Waterhouse's public portrayal of events. His portrayal instead couches them in a domestic context that exonerates the English colonists of any blame and positions the massacre as wholly unexpected.

Equally telling are the sentiments voiced in a letter written by George Thorpe to Sir Edwin Sandys, in May 1621. In this letter Thorpe laments the treatment of the indigenous peoples by English colonists, writing:

there is scarce any man amongst us that doth soe much as afoorde them a good thought in his hart and most men with their mouths give them nothinge but maledictions and bitter execrations beinge thereunto falslye caried with a violent misperswation (growen upon them I knowe howe) that these poore people have done unto us all the wronge and injurie that the malice of the Devill or man can afford whereas in my poore understandinge if there bee wronge on any side it is on ours who are not so charitable to them as Christians ought to bee, they beinge (espethallye the better sort of them) of a peaceable & vertuous disposition.²⁸

Written less than a year before the Jamestown Massacre this paints an almost antithetical picture to the one Waterhouse portrays in his pamphlet. Indeed, whilst Waterhouse emphasizes the hospitality offered to the Powhatan, traditionally gestures associated with charity and altruism, Thorpe suggests that

²⁸ George Thorpe and John Pory, 'A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, May 15 and 16, 1621', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 446-48 (p. 446).

the colonists are 'not so charitable to them as Christians ought to be'. Thorpe presents the Powhatan as 'charitable and vertuous', and suggests an Englishman is not even capable of affording them a 'good thought in his hart', an inversion of the dynamic suggested by Waterhouse.

In her analysis of the representations of the sixteenth-century Arden murder, Orlin finds similar representational anomalies in the portrayals of Thomas and Alice Arden. Orlin conducts considerable archival analysis to show that Thomas Arden was a much-resented figure in his local community, yet this context was removed from the subsequent dramatic and non-dramatic representations of him. Instead, the reader/audience is presented with a good husband and community member cruelly murdered by his scheming, adulterous wife.²⁹ I would suggest that a similar narrative strategy is utilized in representations of the Jamestown Massacre, with the colonists' charity, friendship, and hospitality towards the Powhatan emphasized, and the hostility, violence, and politically motivated tolerance of them played down to the extreme. In redeploying this representational framework Waterhouse positions the murdered (and surviving) colonists in a similar ideological space as the victims represented in earlier accounts of domestic murders.

George Thorpe and the Assimilation of Contradictory Narratives

George Thorpe's portrayal of the Powhatan above, as victims of English colonizers' cruelty and unchristian abuse, offers an important challenge to the narrative given by Waterhouse. What is of interest in the comparison of these

²⁹ Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture*, Chapter One.

two narratives is that Thorpe is mentioned explicitly and at length in Waterhouse's pamphlet. It is also worth at this point mentioning two other accounts of the massacre that support Waterhouse's depiction and his engagement with Thorpe: John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624), and Samuel Purchas' *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). Much of the information these pamphlets contain is clearly translated from Waterhouse's earlier account, but it is important to note that both Smith and Purchas' wording of the moment of the attack copy Waterhouse almost verbatim. In setting the scene Smith also tells his reader "Their houses [were] generally open to the Salvages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables", and Purchas makes only minor syntactical changes.³⁰ Purchas and Smith's descriptions of the actual event again mention the sharing of food at a table, Smith writing:

they came unarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other provisions to sell us, yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediatly with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously.³¹

And Purchas:

they came unarmed into our houses, without Bowes or Arrowes, or other weapons, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furres, and other provisions, to sell

³⁰ John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1624), p. 144; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (James MacLehose and Sons: Glasgow, 1906), p. 157.

³¹ Smith, *Generall Historie*, p. 144.

and trucke with us for Glasse Beades, and other trifles: yea, in some places, sat downe at Breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their owne tooles and weapons [...] they basely and barbarously murdered.³²

Purchas and Smith use their own wording and elaboration during much of their re-telling of this event, but both include the fact that the Powhatan were always 'friendly fed at their tables' (in Waterhouse, entertained at their tables), and that immediately prior to the massacre they 'in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people.' It is significant that these details are kept almost word for word, as it suggests one of two things: Smith and Purchas have either realized the powerful potential of utilizing a framework of domesticity and hospitality to portray the event, or Waterhouse's use of this framework has been so effective that the 'hospitable relations' between the English and the Powhatan becomes a significant enough detail to warrant repeating. In either case, the importance of discourses of domesticity and hospitality to the portrayal of this event are clear.

Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas then go on in their pamphlets to directly mention George Thorpe. Given that Thorpe's earlier feelings seem to directly contrast their version of English/Powhatan relations, he initially seems an odd choice of subject to focus on. However, I believe this was a conscious choice in a bid to assimilate and diffuse Thorpe's contradictory narrative. Thorpe was one of the unfortunate colonists to die during the attack and is one of the only ones to be mentioned at length by name. Waterhouse writes of 'That worthy religious Gentleman, Master *George Thorpe*', who:

³² Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, p. 159.

Did so truly and earnestly affect their [the Powhatan's] conversion, and was so tender over them, that whosoever under his authority had given them but the least displeasure or discontent, he punished them severely. He thought nothing too deare for them.³³

Smith and Purchas both reproduce this introductory account of Thorpe's character and interaction with the Powhatan in an almost identical manner.³⁴ Waterhouse goes on to tell the following anecdote in relation to Thorpe and the local Powhatan tribes, which is then reproduced in Smith and Purchas' accounts, and is worth quoting at length:

Hee was not onely too kinde and beneficiall to the common sort, but also to their King, to whom he oft resorted, and gave many presents which he knew to be highly pleasing to him. And whereas this king before dwelt onely in a cottage, or rather a denne or hog-stye, made with a few poles and stickes, and covered with mats after their wyld manner, to civilize him, he first, built him a fayre house according to the English fashion, in which he tooke such joy, especially in his locke and key, which hee so admired, as locking and unlocking his doore an hundred times aday.³⁵

³³ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, p. 15. Italics in original.

³⁴ Smith, *Generall Historie*, p. 145; Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, p. 160.

³⁵ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, p. 16; Smith, *Generall Historie*; p. 145, Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, p. 160.

After setting Thorpe up as a good Christian, devoted to the civilising and religious education of the indigenous peoples, and treating them with nothing but respect, love, and hospitable gestures, Waterhouse goes on to detail his murder:

They not only willfully murdered him, but cruelly and felly, out of devillish malice, did so many barbarous despights and foule scornes after to his dead corpes, as are unbecoming to be heard by any civill eare.³⁶

George Thorpe's story becomes almost a domestic tragedy in miniature within the overarching narratives of Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas. Smith, like Waterhouse, also notes that elements of Thorpe's murder are 'unfitting to be heard with civill eares,'³⁷ mirroring the kind of sensationalized, shock-value narrative of domestic murder pamphlets in England. As Sturgess observes, 'the writers of domestic tragedies based on real-life events saw nothing inconsistent in titillating the audience with sensational stories on one hand, and providing overt moral instruction based on those stories on the other.'³⁸ In both examples the writers play on the readers' desire for salacious detail, whilst at the same time emphasising the utter depravity and immorality of the acts committed. By including Thorpe's 'story' in this way, Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas manipulate it to become a microcosmic example of English charity and hospitality, betrayed by the unexpected 'savagery' of the Powhatan. Now, instead of being the oppositional voice he once was, Thorpe reinforces the identities of

³⁶ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, p. 17.

³⁷ Smith, *Generall Historie*, p. 145.

³⁸ Sturgess, 'Introduction', p. 9.

his fellow colonists in these accounts – his previously oppositional viewpoint has become completely assimilated into this new, domestically situated narrative of English innocence and victimisation at the hands of duplicitous ‘natives’.

The choice of anecdote with which Thorpe’s interaction with the Powhatan is brought to life for the reader is of significance in discussion of narratives of domesticity and hospitality. Thorpe’s attempts to ‘civilize’ the indigenous population revolve around this civilized identity being connected to a particular kind of domesticity; the construction of a ‘house according to the English fashion’. However, rather than engendering a replication of charitable English hospitality, as displayed by Thorpe and the other English colonists in Smith, Purchas, and Waterhouse’s accounts, the Powhatan betray the conventions of hospitality by murdering their ‘hosts’ and would-be guests. Significant also in these representations of the Powhatan ‘King’s’ interaction with his new, English home is the imagery of the lock and keys. Smith and Purchas both replicate this small detail almost exactly, telling their readers the King enjoyed ‘locking and unlocking his doore a[n] hundred times a day.’³⁹ The English have previously been portrayed as leaving their houses ‘generally open’ to their neighbours. Whilst this is perhaps not meant in a strictly literal sense, it does connect hospitality with the imagery of open doors and open homes. In contrast the Powhatan King’s duplicitous thoughts are hinted at by his fascination with continually locking and unlocking the boundary to his own home.

These ideas of hospitality, boundaries, and keys are also present in *Arden of Faversham* and are symbolic of Alice’s duplicity in a similar way. Interspersed

³⁹ Smith, *Generall Historie*, p. 145; Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, p. 160.

in the same scene as the imagery of tables discussed above, is the repeated imagery of locks and keys. Emma Whipday notes, 'As *Arden* builds to its bloody denouement, the significance of doors and locks becomes ever more charged; the murder scene is preoccupied with the selective locking and unlocking of the street door.'⁴⁰ Alice discusses locking Black Will and Shakebag in the counting-house in preparation for their attack on Arden, with Black Will telling Alice, 'When this door opens next, look for his [Arden's] death.' (14.146). Some lines later, Alice tells Michael, 'When my husband is come in lock the street door./ He shall be murder'd ere the guests come in.' (14.173-4). Boundaries to and of the home, and the policing of movement through them, become a crucial element of Alice and Mosby's plan to murder Arden. Alice controls the locking and unlocking of household doors in a way that corrupts the role she should fulfil as wife and hostess. As Whipday also notes, 'In permitting Mosby to enter her house, she is at once performing hospitality appropriate to her role as housewife, and staging for her audience (and for the wider neighbourhood) a spatial representation of her adultery.'⁴¹ I think this reading can be taken further and I would argue that Alice's repeated return to the locking and unlocking of doors in Scene 14 is a spatially symbolic staging of the duplicitous hospitality and housewifery she utilizes to orchestrate her husband's murder. Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas also make this association when they discuss the Powhatan King's fascination with 'locking and unlocking his doore'. This action mirrors Alice's and becomes symbolic of the duplicitous manipulation of domestic boundaries in the attacks that would follow.

⁴⁰ Whipday, "Marrow Prying Neighbours", p. 107.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 102.

The Virginia Company's Official Lament: For or Against the Colonists?

Despite replicating and supporting Waterhouse's narrative in many places, Smith and Purchas also contradict it in one very significant way: both writers include reference to Nemattanow's killing as a stimulus for the attack. Smith writes: 'The Prologue to this Tragedy, is supposed was occasioned by *Nemattanow*'. Smith goes on to describe how Nemattanow lured a colonist named Morgan away to trade and then 'murdered him by the way'.⁴² A few days later Nemattanow, also referred to as 'Jack of the Feather' by the English, returned to Morgan's house:

Where he found two youths his Servants, who asked for their Master: *Jack* replied directly he was dead; the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would have had him to Master *Thorp*: But *Jack* so moved their patience, they shot him.⁴³

Smith goes on to write that on hearing this news Opechancanough, the Powhatan leader at this time, 'much grieved and repined, with great threats of revenge'.⁴⁴

Purchas writes very similarly that the 'fatall Massacre, some thinke to have beene occasioned by Nemattanow', and he repeats the details of Morgan's murder, Nemattanow's return, and his shooting by Morgan's servants who failed to bring him to 'Master Thorpe'.⁴⁵ Purchas also notes that 'Opachancanough was

⁴² Smith, *Generall Historie*, p. 144. Italics in original.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 144. Italics in original.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 144.

⁴⁵ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, p. 168.

moved with his losse so as he threatned revenge'.⁴⁶ Whilst Smith and Purchas certainly do not portray Nemattanow as an innocent victim of English aggression, they do both explicitly state that his unauthorized killing was the catalyst for the subsequent attack. Importantly also, both writers acknowledge the 'threat of revenge' issued by Opechancanough, implying that the English colonists did have warning that this attack would occur. In accordance with the unpublished letter sent by the Virginia Company above, this suggests some of the blame lies with the leaders of the colony. Their lack of preparedness implies poor leadership, as does the disobedience of the servants who should have brought Nemattanow to 'Master Thorp'. As outlined in Chapter One, deference of servants and children to their social superiors within and outside the home was as crucial to social order as a wife's deference to her husband.

The reason for Smith and Purchas including this context, and the Virginia Company suppressing it, is, I argue, down to the shift in administration of the Virginia Colony. In 1622 there was already a sense that 'the disarray in the Virginia Company in London was the cause of the colony's problems.'⁴⁷ The Jamestown Massacre only exacerbated this feeling and in 1624 the Privy Council revoked the Virginia Company's charter, dissolved the company, and turned Virginia into the first royal colony. The Virginia Company privately acknowledged the role poor leadership and the murder of Nemattanow played in precipitating the Jamestown Massacre, but this information only surfaced publicly after their dissolution. Liberated from the 'censorship' of the Virginia

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 169.

⁴⁷ Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 139.

Company and its powerful members, Smith and Purchas were freer to critique the leadership of the colony and suggest that this may in fact have contributed to the attack. Representations of the Jamestown Massacre shift and become framed not only by domestic discourses around betrayal of conventions of hospitality, but also by discourses of failed leadership. By choosing to retain the domestic details from Waterhouse's narrative, Smith and Purchas are able to retain the demarcation of innocent colonists and 'savage natives', whilst still critiquing the leadership of the colony. Much like *Arden of Faversham* is able to be 'an expression of disorder in the household' as the result of Arden's 'misrule', and also depict 'the great mallice and discimulation of a wicked woman', so here Smith and Purchas develop Waterhouse's narrative to construct both the duplicity and 'savageness' of the Powhatan, and the 'misrule' of the Virginia Company.

In a similar way, a departure from Waterhouse's wholehearted blame of the Powhatan for the massacre can be seen in Christopher Brooke's *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia* (1622). Brooke was an active member of the Virginia Company in London from 1609 to its dissolution in 1624 and composed a poem commemorating the event that 'seems to have been the company's official lament for the massacre of the colonists.'⁴⁸ Brooke opens his poem by discussing steadfastness in the face of grief after losing 'good friends' and goes on to say:

But in a case extreame, where horror stops

⁴⁸ Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Brooke, Christopher (c.1570–1628)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3538>> [accessed 30 April 2016].

The milder course of those affection drops,
That with amazement, sets the hayre on end;
Contracts the Brow in wrinckles, makes it bend
Downe to the Centre; doth the Blood displace,
Dim Natures Planets, and deforms the face;
This is a grieffe not easely overblowne.⁴⁹

Brooke goes on in this vein for several more lines, emphasizing the extremity of his grief and the 'extreame' nature of the events he will memorialize in his poem – a similar opening gambit to that seen in the domestic murder and Jamestown Massacre depictions above. Interestingly also, Brooke reveals something of the construction of his narrative when he laments 'O shall brutish rage/ Act Scenes so bloody (sparing not Sex nor Age)/ On this worlds Theater?'⁵⁰ Brooke's dramatization of events for his reader is, perhaps inadvertently, hinted at here and his conscious use of narrative strategies to engender a particular response from his reader revealed. In many respects Brooke's narrative structure is comparable to Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas's: he stresses the shocking and gruesome nature of the Powhatan attack and the savagery of the people carrying it out, he mentions George Thorpe and assimilates his previous sentiments, and at the end calls for violent retribution against the Powhatan. However, unlike Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas, Brooke does not utilize a discourse of domesticity and hospitality to frame the moment of attack.

When Brooke describes the lead up to the massacre he writes:

⁴⁹ Christopher Brooke, 'A Poem on the Massacre in Virginia', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 72 (1964), 259-197 (p. 274).

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 275.

Securitie; the Calme, before a Storme,
That hugs a fearefull Ruine in her Arme:
Security; boading to States most harmes,
In softened spirits, and disuse of Armes:
Security; the Heaven that holds a Hell,
The bane of all that in this slaughter fell;
For ever be thou ban'd and banish't quite
From *Wisdomes* Confines, and *Preventions* light.

Let this Example (in the Text of blood)
Be printed in your hearts, and understood.⁵¹

As mentioned above, Waterhouse was 'the principal spokesman for the colonists' in the wake of the massacre, whereas Brooke penned the Virginia Company's 'official lament'. Whilst both these narratives are 'official' in the sense that they come from members of the Virginia Company, it is significant that Waterhouse was a colonist and Brooke a company member in London. Brooke suggests that some of the 'blame' for the attack might lie with the colonists and the fact that they had been lulled into a false sense of security. This could be interpreted as a sign that peaceable relations and signs of friendship had been used as strategies by the Powhatan to engender this sense of security before their attack, as emphasized by Waterhouse. However, Brooke continues this suggestion several lines later in a manner that makes it more clear his barbs are aimed at the colonists themselves:

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 279.

O had yee been of Wisdome so prepar'd
(Like men of Armes) to stand upon your Guard;
Or that Prevention (to your Lives availe)
Had with your vallors borne an equall skale,
This Chance had ne're befell yee; for 'tis sure,
That only vigilance makes Life secure,
Which yee did want: Chieftans should have their Eyes
Like to the *Lamia*, whereof one pries,
And for Intelligence abroad doth roame,
Whil'st th'other keeps a carefull watch at Home:
So should your Eyes have been: one in, one out,
One still at Home; the other as Scout:
But at that time, neither of them so kept;
Senses might wake, but sure your Wisdoms slept.⁵²

Brooke suggests that colonists' lack of vigilance and proper control over their own homes are contributing factors to their massacre at the hands of the Powhatan. Waterhouse was living in Virginia, struggling with its hardships, and almost certainly felt more affinity with the colonists, creating a desire to paint them in a better light and to shift any blame for the event from them onto the Powhatan. Unlike Smith and Purchas, Brooke does not mention Nemattanow's death or the threats issued by Opechancanough, but instead focuses on the failings of the colonists on the ground in Virginia. Despite not evoking a domestic

⁵² Ibid, p. 282-3.

context in the same way Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas did in their (re)tellings of the attack, Brooke explicitly brings in the 'home' at this point in his narrative. Rather than using a domestic context to emphasize the depravity of those committing the attack, Brooke instead uses the home to localize and geographically situate the blame he allocates to the colonists. Brooke's poem marks an attempt by the Virginia Company to create a distinction between their own administrative capabilities in London and the failings of the Council and colonists on the ground in Virginia. Dissolved only two years after the publication of this poem, I would argue that Brooke's narrative tries to position the Jamestown Massacre as a failing of colonial leaders in Virginia and evidence of the treachery of the Powhatan, rather than the incompetence of the Virginia Company in London.

Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, Brooke's poem could also be sending a message to investors, the crown, and political influencers that more attention needs to be paid to interests abroad – one eye as 'scout' on the political and economic situation of their international interests and one 'at Home' keeping an eye on the local equivalent. In this reading, Brooke conflates national and local notions of the domestic; with 'home' being literally the material domicile of colonists but also standing for England itself as the 'home' nation. England is positioned as the national home as well as a figurative domestic space, with the New World becoming both the geographical other but also the figurative extra-domestic space of the community and surrounding area that in its contact with the boundaries of the home has a significant impact on its functionality and stability. In this reading of Brooke's poem, domestic discourse is used to symbolize the interconnected, symbiotic relationship between England and the

New World, and also to note the crucial role of the home and the heads of individual households in the preservation of social order and security in the New World. If investors had paid more attention to their 'extra-domestic' interests abroad this crisis may have been averted, but equally if the colonists had acted as competent heads of their own households they would have been wise enough to keep one eye on events occurring outside it and the intentions of the people they allowed inside it.

Despite their differing agendas, Waterhouse, Smith, Purchas, and Brooke all use discourses and imagery of the home and domesticity to position their narratives for the reader. Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas engage domestic conventions of hospitality to emphasize the heinous nature of the events portrayed and elicit sympathy for their unsuspecting victims. Smith and Purchas build on this to also suggest a failure in leadership of the Virginia venture akin to the failure of a husband or father over their home. Brooke uses imagery of the home to conflate the responsibilities of the head of a household with that of the political and fiscal responsibility England owes its overseas ventures, and also to locally situate responsibility for the massacre. In all cases domestic discourse offers an image of stability and order against which the threat and disorder of the events that follow can be measured. The shocking disruption to domestic order also acts as a moralizing lesson and corrective for the reader/audience who is reminded to exercise proper control over, or behaviour within, their own homes.

As well as using domesticity and hospitality as contexts to emphasize the heinous nature of these events, these narratives reveal the inherent instability and threat of domestic practice and hospitality. As Felicity Heal comments on the

expectations of the guest in the function of hospitality, ‘The guest, by abusing his role, could reverse the power relationship that was implicit in the giving of hospitality, and could reveal the weakness of the host who exposed himself through his generosity and openness.’⁵³ Equally, a guest’s ‘very security must depend upon a belief that his host will obey the laws of hospitality and protect him in a potentially hostile environment.’⁵⁴ The act of opening up one’s home in gestures of friendship and hospitality carried with it an inherent risk that realized its pinnacle in accounts like those of Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas, and in the domestic murders represented in the plays and pamphlets above. Brooke, Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas’s accounts, along with other colonial discourses, feed into these multifaceted and often conflicting ideological and imaginative associations connected to understandings and experiences of domesticity and hospitality in England. It is to the influence of colonial discourse on these understandings and representations of domesticity and hospitality in England that I now turn in my analysis of *The Sea Voyage* and *The City Madam*. Both these plays engage with colonial and domestic discourses in differing ways, and in charting the ways this engagement manifests before and after the Jamestown Massacre I will elucidate the ripple effect of narratives surrounding the attack on discourses of domesticity and hospitality in England. Through my readings of these plays I will also discuss the unsettling influence colonial narratives had on notions of ordered domesticity in England.

⁵³ Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 199.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 192.

The Sea Voyage and External Colonial Environments

As Claire Jowitt observes, *The Sea Voyage* and *The City Madam* both 'engage with the Virginian enterprise and the troubled history of the Jamestown venture.'⁵⁵ *The Sea Voyage* was first licensed for performance in June 1622, just before news of the Jamestown Massacre reached England, so these events would not have shaped the writing of the play. However, it is likely news of the attack had arrived before subsequent performances at the Globe and/or Blackfriars later that year, giving the play 'additional resonances' to its audiences.⁵⁶ *The City Madam* was first performed several years after the massacre in 1632, and as Gavin Hollis states, despite the years since the massacre the play draws 'heavily on the 1622 attacks'.⁵⁷ Both plays feature 'natives' of a kind – *The Sea Voyage* has a band of Portuguese women living as Amazons, and these women, as Jowitt notes, 'occupy the space in which colonists would expect to find native inhabitants.'⁵⁸ *The City Madam* has three English gentlemen disguised as 'Virginian Indians' sent to London to complete their Christian education and conversion. It is through Massinger's (and Fletcher's) construction of these 'native' characters and their relationships to the spaces they inhabit that the shifting influence of colonial discourse in the representation of the domestic can be seen most clearly in these plays. This shift is not absolute or divisive between

⁵⁵ Claire Jowitt, "'Her flesh must serve you": Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher's and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*', *Parergon*, 18:3 (2001), 93-117 (p. 93).

⁵⁶ Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589-1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 202.

⁵⁷ Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1643* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 112.

⁵⁸ Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you', p. 105.

pre- and post-Jamestown Massacre, but reflects the absorption of narratives surrounding this event (and other colonial events) into the early modern imagination and the ideological ramifications the massacre had on understandings and representations of English identity in relation to domesticity.⁵⁹

I have explored the effect fear over a lack of domestic and social infrastructure would have on English identity in Chapter One, and in *The Sea Voyage* this fear is reflected in the play's engagement with a specific event in Virginia's colonial history: the 'starving time', a period of severe dearth and famine in winter 1609-10. Both Jowitt and Hollis have noted the play's engagement with contemporary reports of this event, in which English colonists were said to have resorted to cannibalism (and in some reports even murder) in order to survive the hostile Virginian winter of 1609-10.⁶⁰ As Hollis notes, 'The cannibal was the marker of human savagery against which Europeans could measure their own civility', so to have colonists resort to cannibalism was a mark of their degrading identity.⁶¹ As the French gallants' hunger continues in *The Sea Voyage* and they fail to find sustenance or shelter on the island, they turn their thoughts to cannibalism as they plan to kill and eat Aminta in 3.1. Their discussion goes on for several lines and includes allusions to the kinds of cannibalistic acts reported to have occurred during the 'starving time' in Virginia. For example, in this exchange between two of the French gallants:

⁵⁹ For an alternative analysis of *The City Madam's* response to this event see, Hollis, *The Absence of America*, pp. 208-13.

⁶⁰ Hollis, *The Absence of America*, pp. 74-76; Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you', p. 108.

⁶¹ Hollis, *The Absence of America*, p. 73.

MORILLAT I have read in stories-

LAMURE Of such restoring meats: we have examples,
 Thousand examples and allowed for excellent.
 Women that have eat their children, men their slaves;
 Nay their brothers. But these are nothing:
 Husbands devoured their wives (they are their chattels)

(3.3.93-8).

The reference to husbands devouring their wives had resonances with a particular story emerging in accounts of the ‘starving time’ in which a husband killed and salted his wife before eating her. This story of ‘the tragicall historie of the man eating of his dead wife in *Virginia*’ was already circulating in 1610 and was frequently repeated throughout the period despite the denial of its occurrence by the Virginia Company.⁶² Fletcher and Massinger’s allusion to this ‘starving time’ narrative in *The Sea Voyage* reflects a resurgence in interest in these stories during the early 1620s and shows that at this point the threat of colonial environments to English colonists’ ‘civilized’ identities was still an acutely held concern.⁶³ Lamure’s ‘retelling’ of this story also reveals something of the anxiety felt around the wider implications of the incident for English society and identity. Lamure using the cannibalized wife incident as an ‘example’ or precedent of acceptable behaviour for the gallants to emulate, shows that the

⁶² Virginia Council, *A Trve declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (London, 1610), p. 38. For detailed discussion of the promulgation and legacy of ‘starving time’ narratives, see Rachel B. Herrmann, ‘The “tragicall historie”: Cannibalism and Abundance in Colonial Jamestown’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 68 (2011), 47-74.

⁶³ Herrmann, ‘The “tragicall historie”’, p. 52.

actions of the Virginian colonists caused anxiety not only over the negative effect colonial environments had on colonists, but on the ramifications this may have on English identity more widely. If Virginian colonists had the capacity to resort to 'savage' cannibalism this placed their behaviour in an historic narrative of a 'thousand examples' of cannibalism, positioning English identity on a spectrum alongside the savage 'other' rather than in opposition to it.

The threat to English identity from colonial environments is also evidenced in Fletcher and Massinger's representation of the Portuguese-Amazon women in *The Sea Voyage*. These women include the wife and daughter of Sebastian (although neither party are aware of the other's existence until the end), who inhabit a second, more fertile and hospitable island adjacent to the first. As discussed in Chapter One, the transgressive identities of these 'Amazons' reflect contemporary fears of the effect colonial environments would have on women shipped to the New World, and in this way form a counterpart to the degrading identities of the cannibalistic surgeon and gallants. But through the 'Amazons' the play also engages with the potential threat of native populations to English colonists. When Clarinda, daughter of the 'Amazon' leader Rosellia, finds Albert washed up on the shore of their island he immediately fascinates her. When Rosellia discovers them she is reluctantly persuaded to allow her band of women to interact with the men on the neighbouring island, saying:

Since we want ceremonies, each one
Shall choose a husband, and enjoy his company
A month, but that expired you shall no more
Come near 'em. (2.2.236-9).

This agreement mirrors contemporary beliefs of Amazonian practice, but in her reference to 'ceremonies' Jowitt notes that, despite her adoption of Amazonian-like behaviour, Rosellia 'remains firmly within a European frame of reference.'⁶⁴ Rosellia, would clearly prefer the formal 'ceremonies' and order of her familiar Portuguese society, much like Prospero does in his insistence that Miranda and Ferdinand return to Naples to have their union 'solemnized' (5.1.315), as the island lacked the capacity for the proper 'sanctimonious ceremonies' (4.1.15). For Rosellia the lack of infrastructure on the island prevents her from achieving the 'civilised' unions she desires: it is the influence of her external environment producing her 'savage' behaviour.

This lack of infrastructure – homes, churches, estates – is implicit throughout the French party's interaction with the 'Amazons'. Once the rest of the French men and Aminta arrive on the 'Amazon' island Rosellia discovers the party are descendants of the men she holds responsible for the death of her husband Sebastian, and as a result takes the French men prisoner. Throughout the remainder of the play only one scene is described explicitly as taking place in an internal space: 'a room' in which a feast is laid out on a table for the captive men in 5.2. As analysed above, the table holds significance here in the connotations it holds for the audience around the conventions of hospitality and the potential threat the situation holds – issues that will be returned to later in this chapter. There are no descriptions of any other material spaces inhabited by the Amazons, only description of the landscape of their island. The 'native' presence in this play, then, remains firmly connected to an external environment

⁶⁴ Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you', p. 107.

and, importantly, to a *native* external environment. When the French party travels to meet the 'Amazons' they travel into native territory; there is never any encroachment of the 'natives' into a space 'colonised' by the French. This distinction is crucial when compared to the 'native' presence in *The City Madam* in which, by contrast, all interaction with the 'natives' occurs within an interior domestic space in England. Written after the Jamestown Massacre, *The City Madam* re-imagines the overarching threat of the colonial endeavour as resting with the violent potential of the 'natives', rather than the external environment and, in response to the events in Jamestown, the site of engagement with this native threat shifts from a disordered external landscape to an internal domestic space.

***The City Madam* and the Threat From Within**

Colonial activity and the memories of the Jamestown Massacre were stirring at the time of *The City Madam's* first performance: 1632 saw the publication of a seventh edition of John Smith's *Generall Historie*, as well as the agreement of a peace treaty with the Powhatan peoples after ten years of conflict. Both these occurrences brought memories of the Jamestown Massacre (Smith's version of it in particular) back into circulation, and as Hollis notes, 'Although performed a decade later, *The City Madam* can be seen as a response to the 1622 attacks'.⁶⁵ The play is set in London – the epitome of English social and material infrastructure in the seventeenth century and a setting almost antithetical to the wild landscapes of *The Sea Voyage* – but engages explicitly with the Virginian

⁶⁵ Hollis, *The Absence of America*, p. 208.

enterprise through its inclusion of three characters, Sir John Frugal, Sir Maurice Lacy, and Mr Plenty, disguised as 'Virginian Indians'.⁶⁶ Sir John instigates this deception in order to restore order to his home and to reveal his brother Luke's true, corrupt nature. When the audience first meets the 'Indians', Lord Lacy (Maurice's father) introduces them to Luke as having been sent by Sir John 'to be received into your house' (3.3.74) in order to 'make 'em Christians' (3.3.77). After little protest Luke agrees and tells his 'Indian' guests: 'My house is yours,/ Enjoy it freely' (3.3.123-4). When the 'Indians' next appear on stage it is to tell Luke of the true purpose of their presence in London; not religious conversion but the procurement of 'Two Christian virgins' and 'a third, married' (5.1.36-9), to be used in a bloody sacrifice to the devil in Virginia. The sight of Native Americans in English homes, discussing the murder of English people could not have failed to evoke memories of the Jamestown Massacre. The hospitable welcoming of the 'Indians' into the Frugal household, only to have them reveal their true murderous intentions, replicates the narrative espoused by Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas. In *The Sea Voyage* the colonial threat was externally located – attributed primarily to effects of the landscape on the identities of colonists, and any interaction with 'natives' was limited to being within an undomesticated, 'native' landscape. In *The City Madam*, written after narratives of the Jamestown Massacre had circulated in England, this threat has shifted spatially and ideologically, and now exists within England and English homes. The anxieties emerging in *The City Madam* are not that English identity may fail to manifest in a colonial environment lacking familiar domestic

⁶⁶ Philip Massinger, *The City Madam*, ed. by Cyrus Hoy (London: Edward Arnold, 1964), 3.3.

infrastructure, but that the colonial 'other' could infiltrate this domestic infrastructure and that this disruption could seriously challenge the construction of English identity in relation to domestic space.

The anxieties expressed in *The City Madam* relate directly to the context of the Jamestown Massacre narratives written by Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas – quite literally engaging with the fear that Native Americans could, and had, gained entry to English homes and committed acts of violence. More symbolically, the fact that it was actually English men *disguised* as 'Virginian Indians' in this play also engaged with anxieties over the potential for disruption to social and domestic order through 'misrule' of both English domestic spaces and colonial settlements like Jamestown. The slightly different version of Waterhouse's narrative offered by Smith and Purchas, in which an element of responsibility for the attacks is laid at the feet of colonial leaders, emerges through the character of Sir John. At the beginning of *The City Madam* Sir John's household is out of control; his wife and daughters act above their station, dress ostentatiously, behave inappropriately and defy his attempts to control them. As he says himself, 'What's wealth, accompanied/ With disobedience in a wife and children?' (2.3.46-7). Sir John recognizes his own domestic 'misrule' and its role in the transgressive behaviour of his household. In donning his 'Virginian Indian' disguise Sir John visibly externalizes the threat his misrule poses from within. Sir John-as-Indian in *The City Madam* embodies a merging of the external threat of Native American violence in colonial discourse, with the internal threat of domestic misrule and a disordered household, as seen previously in *Arden of Faversham*. Interestingly in 1633, only a year after *The City Madam* was performed, a new edition of *Arden of Faversham* emerged after almost 35 years.

Whilst it is difficult to draw a direct correlation between the two, it is suggestive of an atmosphere that associated and combined anxieties over the implications of colonial and domestic 'misrule'.

Massinger suggests the possibility for the redemption of domestic misrule, and failed English (masculine) subjectivities, through Sir John's regaining of control over his household and shedding of his 'Indian' disguise at the end of the play. As Brooke suggested in his poem, the Jamestown Massacre should act as an 'example' to be 'printed in your hearts, and understood'.⁶⁷ Once the consequences of a lack of vigilance over household affairs have been realized they should serve as a stimulus to colonists to take actions to redeem themselves and ensure these mistakes are never repeated: firstly by regaining proper control over domestic spaces and boundaries, and secondly by eradicating the Native American threat. Sir John achieves both these things by literally regaining control over his home and figuratively eradicating the Native American presence within it. This hope for redemption is hinted at again, even more explicitly, at the end of the play when Luke is told to 'Pack to Virginia, and repent.' (5.3.145). As Hollis notes:

for the first time in early modern drama, Virginia is imagined as a transformational place where it seems possible to transform oneself from the prodigality of corruption and penury and become the hardworking subject of colonial endeavour.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Brooke, 'A Poem on the Massacre in Virginia', p. 279.

⁶⁸ Hollis, *The Absence of America*, p. 210.

Just as Sir John failed to properly govern his home but was able to find redemption through his 'Virginian Indian' disguise, so Luke can find his redemption in the landscape of Virginia where the necessity of proper household management has proved to be a matter of life and death.

Of course, this could also be read as a critique of the kind of men inhabiting Virginia. Massinger has already revealed this strand of opinion in an earlier exchange between Luke, Lady Frugal, and her daughters, in which Luke attempts to trick the women into sailing to Virginia to live as 'Queens in another climate.' (5.1.99). The women's response to Luke is telling and has been discussed briefly in Chapter One. All three women balk at the idea of travelling to Virginia, telling Luke they are well aware of 'What creatures are shipp'd thither'; 'Condemn'd wretches', 'Strumpets and bawds [...] Spew'd out of their own country.' (5.1.105-10). The women's opinion of the types of people inhabiting Virginia creates a picture of what Jowitt has called the 'depraved and dystopic' Virginian society of *The City Madam*.⁶⁹ However, these transgressive identities were not created by residing in Virginia, they were 'shipp'd thither'. In *The Sea Voyage* the gallants' and Rosellia's transgressive identities are created by the environment they find themselves in, whereas in this configuration Virginia becomes corrupt because of the individuals 'spew'd out of their own country' onto its shores. In the example above, and through Sir John's 'misrule', Massinger seems to suggest that the corruption associated with Virginia may in fact find its genesis much closer to home, inviting his audience to consider the threat to domestic and social order that already resides within their own households.

⁶⁹ Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you', p. 98.

Problematic Resolutions: (Re)Locating Threats to English Domesticity

As I have discussed above, and as Hollis notes in his own analysis of *The City Madam*, 'the play concludes with the removal of an Indian threat from an English household'.⁷⁰ Yet this conclusion is somewhat problematic as, in a sense, the threat remains. It was Sir John's poor management of his home and family that created domestic disorder in the first place, and the play leaves the audience with only tentative assurances that this restored order will have any longevity. A similarly problematic resolution is seen at the end of *The Sea Voyage*. In the final scene, stage directions tell us Rosellia stands in front of 'an altar prepared' with 'horrid music' playing, ready to kill her French prisoners in retribution for their murder of her husband. Shortly before taking up the knife to commit the murders Rosellia states:

Necessity

Taught us those arts not usual to our sex;
And the fertile earth yielding abundance to us
We did resolve, thus shaped like Amazons,
To end our lives (5.4.41-5).

However, Crocale prevents any bloodshed by arriving in the nick of time with Sebastian and Nicusa, revealing to Rosellia that her husband is in fact still alive. A mere fifty lines remain in the play after this moment, only four of which are spoken by Rosellia; the most notable of these being her agreement to Sebastian

⁷⁰ Hollis, *The Absence of America*, p. 210.

to 'give up/ Herself, her power and joys and all to you' (5.4.96-7). As Jowitt has noted, the 'conclusion of *The Sea Voyage* is uncertain in tone.'⁷¹ Rosellia has just displayed a propensity for the kind of ritualistic murders associated in popular imagination with the cannibalistic 'savages' of colonial environments and yet this behaviour is swept quickly under the carpet in her agreement to relinquish power to her husband. I would argue, as Jowitt does, that the 'tension created by Rosellia's intended violence so near to the end of the play simply does not have enough time to disperse.'⁷² Sir John's removal of his 'Indian' disguise seems to offer a similarly brief neutralization of the threat of the 'savage other' to ordered English domesticity.

Both Sir John and Rosellia adopted 'savage' alter-identities, and through these identities displayed behaviours antithetical to their idealized 'civilized' identities. The all too quick restoration of Sir John and Rosellia's 'civilized' identities leaves the spectre of their 'savage' behaviour lingering at the end of each play. Importantly, these spectres are not left in a colonial landscape, but are brought into English/European homes. Sir John regains control over his home, and Rosellia joins Sebastian as they 'return/ To our several homes' (5.4.111-2). Rosellia states explicitly that she 'learnt arts not usual to [her] sex', and this 'education' will be travelling home with her. Sir John used existing stereotypes and stories of 'Virginian Indian' savagery and murder in his pretense to be acquiring Lady Frugal and her daughters as sacrifices. Yet his desire to teach them this lesson in such a violent manner came from his own imagination, and this propensity for enacting violent retribution remains after his disguise is shed.

⁷¹ Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you', p. 115.

⁷² Jowitt, *Voyage Drama*, p. 211.

As Jowitt notes, 'the fantasy of sending the women to their death in Virginia is, importantly, one that is created by their husband and father.'⁷³ The problematic resolutions of both *The City Madam* and *The Sea Voyage* point to the use of colonial discourse to highlight existing threats to social order within English domestic space.

As Wendy Wall asks in relation to the staging of violent events and disordered households in domestic tragedies: 'Might drama then implicitly unsettle ideologies resting on an ordered domesticity merely by revealing the disorientating nature of everyday practice?'⁷⁴ Wall goes on to argue that they do, and 'Rather than simply estranging things familiar, these hypercharged dramatic moments tease out alien aspects of routine household rituals, activities, and tasks and thus expose the discrepancy between domestic ideals and an often disorderly lived practice.'⁷⁵ The murderous, cannibalistic, and 'savage' behaviours of Sir John and Roselia, and the gallants and surgeon, are examples of how colonial discourses were used to 'tease out alien aspects of routine household rituals' and reveal the inherent instabilities in English domesticity. As Hollis has remarked, the cannibalistic English colonist dissolved the boundary between civilized English and 'savage' Native American; 'far worse than any Indian, he was already inside the colony, his unruly appetite ready to consume everything, even in the seemingly safe space of the home.'⁷⁶ But more than just revealing the insufficiency of the home in preserving the civility of English colonists in the wild and unruly American wilderness, cannibalism also drew

⁷³ Jowitt, 'Her flesh must serve you', p. 98.

⁷⁴ Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, p. 2.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁷⁶ Hollis, *The Absence of America*, p. 82.

attention to unsettling domestic practices long established in English homes. Violence and cannibalistic practices were not antithetical to English domesticity; in fact they formed part of it and problematized both stable domesticity and ordered femininity.⁷⁷

Wall cites numerous examples of the cannibalistic ingredients required in medical and domestic manuals, for example in Hannah Wooley's *The Queens Closet Opened* (1675), she recommends 'giving chronic bedwetters beer laced with a dried and powdered umbilical cord, taken fresh from the infant.'⁷⁸ In Timothy Bright's *A Treatise wherein is declared the sufficiencie of English Medicines* (1580) he calls for what Wall terms 'only simple and readily available English ingredients', including 'the scalpe of a Man'.⁷⁹ The fact that it was women who concocted these remedies, as well as being responsible for overseeing the slaughter of animals and other 'violent' acts within the household, troubled the representation of both women and the home as stable and ordered facets of early modern society. As Wall states:

In presenting the civilized and upwardly mobile housewife as someone who regularly had blood on her hands or mischief in her thoughts, the first cookbooks called attention to how her chores did not accord with the femininity articulated elsewhere in the culture.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ See Patricia Fumerton, 'Introduction: A New New Historicism', in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Frances E. Dolan, 'Household Chastisements: Gender, Authority, and "Domestic Violence"', in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*; Wall, *Staging Domesticity*.

⁷⁸ Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, p. 195.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 196, p. 198.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 5.

Rosellia displays this bloody-handed femininity in the final act of *The Sea Voyage* when she plans to sacrifice her French prisoners.

As already noted, the final scene of the play opens with the stage directions '*Horrid music. An altar prepared,*' and is accompanied by the following exchange:

RAYMOND What dreadful sounds are these?

AMINTA Infernal music,

Fit for a bloody feast. (5.4.1-2).

The onstage setting of the altar would have echoes of the table laid out with food only three scenes previously, and Aminta's comment that it appears to be the setting for a 'bloody feast' again invites these comparisons and creates a connection with the cannibalistic themes that run throughout the play.

The table laid out previously formed part of the 'Amazon' women's plan to trick their French captives into revealing 'secrets/ Which tortures cannot open' (5.2.4-5). In this scene the women lay the table with food and wine, and open the doors of the prison to allow the men free reign to consume the feast. As noted above, *The Sea Voyage* was first licensed for performance before news of the Jamestown Massacre reached England, so this display of false hospitality was not related to the reported actions of the Powhatan in 1622, but rather to the longer dramatic history of hospitality being associated with deception, as noted above. However, as Jowitt notes, there were additional performances after news of the attack had circulated in England and in this context 'certain scenes, for example Rosellia's

frenzied plan to sacrifice the French, had additional resonances for a 1622 audience.⁸¹ Rosellia and her 'Amazon' troupe are associated firstly with a duplicitous hospitality and then with ritualistic murder of the 'guests' they deceived with this feast. The anxieties emerging here have strong echoes of those surrounding Alice in *Arden of Faversham*. Alice's role in the preparation of food is repeatedly mentioned in *Arden*, most notably in the exchange quoted earlier in this chapter, in which Alice attempts to poison her husband's breakfast. Arden directly asks, 'didst thou make it Alice?', after noting 'there's something in this broth that is not wholesome'. Alice, in her legitimate role as housewife, has the capability to deceive and kill her husband by serving him poisoned food. Indeed, she uses this position to try and manipulate her husband into eating the poisoned meal by acting as a concerned wife: 'Husband, sit down; your breakfast will be cold.' If everyday domestic practice could be used to successfully mask murderous intention, then normative domestic practice must itself contain an inherent threat to social order. The Amazons' preparation of food for the French men does not initially hold the same murderous intention, but it certainly contains the same anxiety over women's capacity to deceive and corrupt through their manipulation of the domestic conventions surrounding food preparation, as well as the latent anxieties around the practice of hospitality explored above.

A similar association with transgressive domestic practice is seen in Massinger's characterization of Lady Frugal in *The City Madam*. In the very first scene of that play the audience is introduced to the inappropriately socially ambitious Lady Frugal and her daughters, 'With hopes above their birth and scale' (1.1.17). A few lines later Young Goldwire recounts that Lady Frugal

⁸¹ Jowitt, *Voyage Drama*, p. 202.

admits her brother-in-law Luke 'to her table; marry, ever/ Beneath the salt, and there he sits the subject/ of her contempt and scorn' (1.1.39-41). This anecdote connects Lady Frugal's socially disordered behaviour explicitly to the home and discourses of hospitality. In her vainglorious attempts to accelerate her own social mobility she uses the dining table, and her position as hostess, to create a self-serving social hierarchy. As Chris Meads states, salt 'was perennially present on meal tables of the period, and on formal occasions denoted the social topography of the table itself. The appropriate places for the important and less important guests fell "above" and "below" the salt, such that it became axiomatic in English social practice.'⁸² By positioning Luke below the salt she at once belittles his social position and raises her own. The importance of the table to social order has been noted earlier in this chapter and Lady Frugal's manipulation of these conventions would have signaled to the audience her role in interfering with proper social order within the home. Much like Rosellia and Alice Arden, Lady Frugal embodies the threat that female agency within the home poses to domestic order, and even at the end of these plays when order is restored, the threat of this unruly female identity remains. As explored at length in Chapter One, women were crucial to the functioning of the early modern home, but they also represented one of the many threats to domestic and social order that existed within the domestic spaces of both England and the New World.

⁸² Chris Meads, *Banquets Set Forth: Banqueting in English Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 55.

Conclusion

Transgressive female agency within the home, and poor male governance of the space, were two threats that remained constant to English conceptions of social order across the Atlantic. Colonial discourse, and the new threats to domestic order it described, informed not only the spectrum of threats to domestic order represented in English literature, but the way existing threats to this order were articulated. What becomes apparent in the plays, pamphlets, poems, and letters analysed above, is the centrality of domesticity to understandings and representations of social (dis)order both at home and abroad. Domestic tragedies pitched the stability and order of the home against the disordered violence of the perpetrators of domestic murders in order to emphasize the heinous and transgressive nature of these crimes. Waterhouse used a similar narrative structure, along with associated discourses of hospitality, in order to portray the Jamestown Massacre as a shocking and unnatural crime committed against the colonists. Despite portraying the event in a slightly different light, Smith and Purchas also adopt this narrative strategy in their (re)telling of events, and Brooke similarly used the home to position his own version of the Jamestown Massacre 'story'. When colonial events are portrayed and understood through discourses of hospitality and domesticity, they in turn affect the way the domestic is understood and represented in England. This is evidenced in the shifting engagement between colonial and domestic discourses seen in *The Sea Voyage* and *The City Madam*.

In *The Sea Voyage* colonial anxiety is expressed through the potential degenerative effect the 'wild' colonial landscape, with its lack of domestic and

social infrastructure, may have on the identities of English colonists. These anxieties are found in many of the early colonial pamphlets analysed in Chapter One, which regularly express their writers' fears over the effects of insufficient housing and find their cultural zeitgeist in the prolonged fascination with the cannibalistic 'starving time' narratives. *The Sea Voyage* is heavily influenced by these events and the centrality of the domestic in the play is created through the constant awareness of the effect its absence has on characters. *The City Madam*, by contrast, has the material home and social infrastructure at the very heart of its narrative and engagement with colonial discourse. In this post-Jamestown Massacre drama there emerges an acute awareness that English social order was at risk even within the ordered materiality of the home. The violation of conventions of hospitality, along with the literal violation of the home by Native Americans, clearly changed the way colonial 'threats' were understood, as well as having a noticeable impact on how transgressive domesticity in England was represented and understood.

Jamestown Massacre accounts utilized similar narrative strategies and representational frameworks to domestic tragedies and their source materials in order to construct the 'tragedy' of the massacre and the immorality and 'savagery' of the Powhatan. This domestically located representational framework also allowed later colonial narratives to place Virginia Company leaders in a similar ideological position to Arden in *Arden of Faversham*, implying their failed abilities to lead the colony. *The City Madam* synthesizes this relationship between colonial discourse and domestic tragedy, by using the very 'othered' colonial threat of the 'Virginian Indian' to interrogate the more insidious threat that already lurked within the English home in London; that of

domestic 'misrule'. Sir John, with his 'Indian' disguise, seems to epitomize this historical moment of interaction between domestic and colonial discourses, representing at once the disordered threat of the colonial other whilst at the same time embodying the threat a failed male governance of the home poses from within. Virginia and London may have had an ocean between them, but their domestic spaces were inhabited by the same conventions, concerns, and threats. The relationship between *Arden of Faversham*, Jamestown Massacre narratives, *The Sea Voyage*, and *The City Madam* is not a linear one of direct inheritance. However, it is suggestive of the transferability and mutability of narrative strategies used to represent ideas of social order and domestic space across geographies and genres. The next section of the thesis looks at the transferability and mutability of narrative strategies used to represent shared, public spaces in England and the New World, and the mobility of subjects within and between them.

Chapter Three: Roaring Girls and Infamous Women: Gender, Commerce, and Public Space in London and the New World

Domestic space, as established in the first section of this thesis, was ‘the smallest of a series of interlocking spheres which formed a model of governance’ and the foundation for constructing individual, familial, and national identities in a gendered and hierarchical way.¹ One of the crucial ways these households were connected to each other and to the shared, public spaces of city, province, and community was through subjects’ mobility. This chapter turns to the policing of mobility and management of public spaces and argues that colonial authorities borrowed material, ideological, and discursive frameworks from the management and policing of London’s public spaces in order to represent and (re)construct gendered identities and space in the New World. As Andrew McRae states, ‘anxiety about popular mobility informs all early modern discourse on space. Within this context, concerted efforts to legitimize such forms of movement mark a critical development in English spatial history.’² This chapter argues that the production of hierarchical gender identities through the ‘legitimizing’ of certain forms of mobility as normative and the marginalising of others as transgressive was encoded in discourses and spaces of commerce by authorities in London and in Virginia, forming a material, discursive, and ideological connection between the two locations. Through an analysis of George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston’s *Eastward Ho* (c.1605), and Thomas

¹ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (London: Yale University Press, 2017), p.7.

² Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 68.

Dekker and Thomas Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (c.1610) I argue that these early seventeenth-century city comedies interrogated and contributed to domestic and colonial narrative strategies connecting spatial management and mobility with the construction of normative and transgressive gender identities.

As investigated in Chapter One, female mobility outside the home was a source of anxiety in the early modern period. As Thomas Gataker preached in a sermon of 1637, 'The wise man maketh such gadding abroad a note of a light and lewd housewife.'³ The boundaries of the home were intricately tied to women's bodily and sexual boundaries, and departure from the home could easily be read as a sign of sexual promiscuity in this morally loaded spatial framework. Laura Gowing argues that 'Female subjectivity has frequently been dependent on ideas of containment and restriction, privacy and enclosure,' and conversely that 'The public presence of women on the streets was persistently identified with sexual disorder.'⁴ In this chapter I suggest that the anxiety produced by women's travel to the New World had its roots in the same ideologies that placed any kind of female mobility outside the home as a potential source of transgressive behaviour. I argue that colonial authorities had to work hard to mitigate this negative association between women and mobility in order to position the women travelling to the colonies as morally sound and capable of contributing to an ordered society. Equally, I argue that the shipping of women to the New World led to an increased anxiety over female mobility and to colonial context

³ As quoted in Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 9.

⁴ Laura Gowing, "'The Freedom of the Streets': Women and Social Space, 1560-1640", in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 130-151 (p. 131).

being utilized to heighten pamphlet and dramatic representations of transgressive female mobility in England. One of the key reasons to police female mobility was to secure their 'worth' as potential marital investments. The shipping of women to Virginia formed part of the 'economic venture' at 'the center of England's colonial enterprise', and drew on existing interactions between commercial discourse and the figuration of women as normative (and therefore desirable) or transgressive (and therefore undesirable) marital prospects.⁵ I argue in this chapter that the commercial discourse emerging from the burgeoning capitalist economy in early modern London and the colonial venture in the New World informed the way normative and transgressive gender identities were understood and articulated in relation to the policing of mobility in literature at the time.

Before beginning this analysis I want first to outline the critical material that forms the basis of the analytical standpoint outlined above. Tim Cresswell, in his seminal book *In Place/Out of Place*, notes that 'expectations about behaviour in place are important components in the construction, maintenance, and evolution of ideological values.'⁶ If a person or group of people act outside normative expectations of behaviour within a given place they will appear 'out of place' and deviant. Cresswell goes on to state that 'Place is produced by practice that adheres to (ideological) beliefs about what is the appropriate thing to do. But place reproduces the beliefs that produce it in a way that makes them appear

⁵ Joseph Sigalas, 'Sailing Against the Tide: Resistance to Pre-Colonial Constructs and Euphoria in *Eastward Ho!*', in *Renaissance Papers 1994*, ed. by Barbara J. Baines and George Walton Williams (The Southeastern Renaissance Conference: 1995), pp. 85-94 (p. 90).

⁶ Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 4.

natural, self-evident, and commonsense.⁷ There is a reflexive relationship between performances of normative subjectivity and space; the one relies on the other to define it as such. This recognition of the ‘intersubjective’ and ‘transactional’ relationship between subject and space goes some way to connecting these ideas to those explored in embodied and distributed cognition, and I will extend Cresswell’s implications to suggest directly, as Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A Sullivan Jr. do, that the environment is granted a sense of agency in these exchanges.⁸ The process of defining normative geographies and subjectivities are also inherently linked to what Cresswell terms, ‘heretical geographies’.⁹ In elucidating this idea further Cresswell notes that:

Marginal, grotesque, extraordinary elements and events in society are interesting in themselves, but they are more interesting when we examine the role they play in defining the ‘normal’, the classical, the dominant. The center could not exist without the margin. There could be no moral geography without an immoral geography.¹⁰

Normative and heretical/transgressive geographies are not material absolutes; they rely on an ideological framework constructed in order to assign them such identities in relation to the behaviours that occur within them. One of the crucial ways this process occurs is through the policing and management of space by

⁷ Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, p. 16.

⁸ Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., ‘Introduction: Inhabiting the Body, Inhabiting the World’, in *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. by Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 6.

⁹ See Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, p. 13 and Part Two.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 149.

authorities in order to promote and naturalize behaviours deemed normative, and marginalize those deemed transgressive. This chapter will deploy this critical framework to explore the construction of normative and transgressive mobilities, gendered subjectivities, and spaces in England and the New World, and the reflexive relationships between them.

I begin this chapter by arguing that commercial spaces were utilized in colonial pamphlets and city comedies to position the subjects, actions, or activities being represented within an ideological framework of legitimate and illegitimate exchange. I examine women's position in the commercially loaded marital 'market' of early modern England and argue that the language of commerce and colonial voyaging is used in representations of marital, sexual, and romantic pursuit in *The Roaring Girl* and *Eastward Ho* to construct normative and transgressive gender identities and mobilities. In the next section I argue that one of the key ways female 'value' was established in the marital market was through reputation and go on to argue that for patriarchal figureheads in the plays, and for the Virginia Company as a de facto patriarchal figurehead, women's reputations also became an integral part of male 'credit'. In the final section of the chapter I argue that transgressive subjects and behaviours were spatialized in early modern London and the New World by being associated with certain locations and types of space. However, in the acknowledgment of the mobility of these subjects and their behaviours, the impossibility of spatially containing transgressive subjects, or of clearly demarcating transgressive spaces, is revealed.

Trading Women and Women's Trades: Gender, Commerce and Voyaging in London and Virginia

Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New England* (1624) uses London's commercial spaces to understand and represent the New England landscape. The pamphlet contains the following abstract addressing the 'abundance of fowle, store of Venison, and varietie of fish' New England has to offer, telling his reader they should prepare:

not onely to content themselves that there is sufficient, but to foresee how they shall be able to obtaine the same, otherwise, as he that walketh *London* streetes, though he be in the midst of plentie, yet if he want meanes, is not the better but hath rather his sorrow increased by the sight of that he wanteth, and cannot enjoy.

Winslow goes on to ask:

can any be so simple as to conceive that the fountaines should streame forth Wine, or Beare, or the woods and rivers be like Butchers shops, or Fishmongers stalles.¹¹

The rhetoric in these extracts is complex and works on numerous levels to legitimate and celebrate both the New World and London's commercialized

¹¹ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes From New England* (London, 1624), p. 65, p. 66. Italics in original.

urban landscape. Promotional colonial material, especially in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, depicts the New World as an 'earthly Paradise' filled with all a prospective colonist could desire.¹² This discourse shifted as the colonial project progressed and the hardships associated with living in this New World landscape became apparent. Winslow draws on both these discourses, and uses them to position both London and New England as spaces of 'plentie', but a 'plentie' that was only acquired through a proto-capitalist framework of exchange – exchange of labour for money, and money for goods. The 'London streetes' Winslow describes in the first extract are full of tantalising goods, with the qualifier that they are only available to people with the 'meanes' to procure them. Winslow at once celebrates and promotes the abundance of food and goods available in both locations, whilst at the same time encoding them in moral discourse that understands hard work is the only way to obtain them. In the second extract Winslow conflates the 'Butchers shops' and 'Fishmongers stalles' of London with the rivers and woods of the New World – again, both repositories of desirable goods that require hard work and money to obtain. By mapping the commercialized spaces of London's streets and shops onto the 'wilderness' of New England, Winslow encodes this colonial space and the labour needed to make it productive into a legalized commercial discourse already accepted in interactions within the streets and market places of England's capital. The redeployment of London's 'streets', 'Butchers shops' and 'Fishmongers stalles' in the representational scheme of urban commercialism utilized by Winslow works in a similar way to the tables and domestic spaces redeployed in Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas's narratives of the Jamestown

¹² Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia* (London, 1609), p. 5.

Massacre discussed in Chapter Two. The table and domestic setting of these narratives evoked a specific set of understandings and expectations of this space and the activities that would occur within it. Here, Winslow's evocation of commercial spaces and their associated conventions and behaviours sets up his readers' expectations and associations in a similar way. I argue that, like Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas, Winslow consciously uses this commercial setting to position the New England landscape as a site that requires the investment of labour and financial capital in order to turn it into a profitable (commercial) space. In both *Eastward Ho* and *The Roaring Girl* I argue that this intersection of colonial discourse and commercial context is utilized in a way that connects interrogations of transgressive female mobility and the colonial venture in the New World.

Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* was first performed in London's Fortune Theatre shortly before its publication in 1611, both events occurring in the early days of the Jamestown Colony in Virginia. Valerie Forman suggests that the play 'negotiates social relations, and especially relations of desire, through the circulation of money and commodities (tobacco, counterfeit coins, and women, for example)'.¹³ I build on Forman's reading and argue that it is not just the circulation of commodities, but the discourses and spaces of commercial London that are utilized to interrogate 'social relations', as well being used to interrogate the colonial endeavour in Virginia. The opening scene of Act Two utilizes commercial spaces in a similar way to Winslow's later pamphlet; namely to create a context that evokes a specific set of expectations about space. The

¹³ Valerie Forman, 'Marked Angels: Counterfeits, Commodities, and The Roaring Girl', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 1531-1560 (pp. 1531-2).

commercialized space in which this scene unfolds is explicitly noted in the stage directions: 'The three shops open in a rank: the first a pothecary's shop, the next a feather shop, the third a sempster's shop.' As Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington note in their introduction to the play, 'In the street scene of *The Roaring Girl*, 2.1, the stage is formally organized around the three shops', and that 'The organization of this space [...] creates a sense of a peopled social world but it also indicates the demarcations within it.'¹⁴ Gender identities are some of the socially and spatially situated identities 'demarcated' by movement between these commercial spaces. Moll – the titular roaring girl of the play – marks her transgressive female identity in her capacity to 'move easily and rapidly between the gentlemen and the shopkeepers', unlike any of the other women onstage.¹⁵ As John Twynning notes, in the discourse of commerce in early modern London, 'Trade is sexualised and that which is sexual is traded.'¹⁶ Kelly Stage observes that in *The Roaring Girl* 'The intersection of sexual and commercial exchange requires a spatial metaphor', and this comes in the shape of the shop boundaries presented on stage in Act Two.¹⁷ As Forman has suggested in relation to the exchanges that occur inside these commercial spaces, 'within these fantasies of consumer gratification, customers transform into potential lovers, who undermine both commercial and conjugal enterprises.'¹⁸ Unlike Mrs Tiltyard, Mrs Openwork, and Mrs Gallipot, who remain within the material and ideological

¹⁴ Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington, 'Introduction', in *Revels Students Editions: Plays on Women*, ed. by Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 8-9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ John Twynning, *London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), p. 60.

¹⁷ Kelly J. Stage, 'The Roaring Girl's London Spaces', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 49:2 (2009), 417-436 (p. 420).

¹⁸ Forman, 'Marked Angels', p. 1533.

boundaries of their sexualized commercial spaces, Moll moves between them freely, in a spatially symbolic suggestion of her sexual liberation. This behaviour, and presumably her reputation, leads Mrs Openwork to accuse Moll of having sexual relations with her husband and demand 'Get you from my shop!'¹⁹ Ironically, whilst being marginalized by her association with transgressive mobility around these commercial spaces, Moll never engages in any illicit sexual activity. It is, in fact Mrs Gallipot who uses the space of her husband's shop to negotiate the terms of her implied affair with Laxton. This is the first of many times in *The Roaring Girl* that the distinction between normative and transgressive spaces, commercial activities, and gendered mobilities are called into question.

Despite not engaging in illicit sexual activity or exchange, Moll's independence is still a threat as it marks a control over her own 'resources' or 'commodities' that could well 'undermine both commercial and conjugal enterprises'. As objects of value in the patriarchal economy women's movement and behaviour needed to be policed by husbands and fathers to ensure these men would reap the rewards of their investment in them. As well as explicitly creating this connection between sexualized gender identity and commercial discourse in the London setting of the play, Middleton and Dekker also directly evoke a commercial-colonial context through their mention of Virginia, which, as Kelly Stage notes, 'nods to the male world of merchant adventure and to a woman's precarious place in that male world.'²⁰ In 2.2 Sebastian is pretending to

¹⁹ Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, *The Roaring Girl*, in *Revels Students Editions: Plays on Women*, 2.1.205.

²⁰ Stage, 'The Roaring Girl's London Spaces', p. 428.

enthusiastically woo Moll in a show to provoke his watching father, Sir Alexander, and in her role as reluctant recipient of these advances Moll says:

sir; you make as much haste as
if you were a-going upon a sturgeon voyage. Take deliberation,
sir; never choose a wife as if you were going to Virginia. (2.2.64-6).

Moll implies that Sebastian's hasty choice in selecting her as his partner has echoes of the 'wives' 'chosen' by colonists in Virginia – much like the ones discussed in Chapter One who I will return to shortly. Playing on the trope of the sexually licentious Virginian woman Moll positions herself as 'just as bad' as the women travelling to and inhabiting Virginia. Moll suggests that 'haste' is not a good thing to employ when choosing a wife, as rushed decisions may lead to investing in inappropriate partners.²¹ Colonial discourse is employed in *The Roaring Girl*, and indeed in *Eastward Ho*, to highlight anxieties over gendered mobility in the city, as well as the commercial implications of this mobility for the city economy and more ideologically for the patriarchal economy dominating London society. Equally, this conflation of city mobility and colonial discourse reveals anxieties emerging from London (and England more generally) over the commercial and financial security of investment in colonial ventures.

One of the ways these contexts are drawn together in both plays is through the repeated use of the imagery of sea voyaging as in the example just discussed. But before turning to an analysis of these interactions in the plays, it is

²¹ For additional interpretations see Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1643* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 91.

worth giving some context to the role of sea voyage imagery in literature of the period. Anne-Julia Zwierlein has noted in her analysis of Jacobean city comedies, that ‘Sea voyages and shipwrecks are...plot elements of the traditional mode of romance and adventure.’²² As Mary Ellen Lamb and Valerie Wayne also note, ‘Greek romances...made a highly visible entry into the English literary scene in the 1580s’.²³ Two of the new ‘elements’ these Greek romances brought to literature of the time were ‘shipwrecks’²⁴ and the ‘motif of travel’.²⁵ Rather than suggesting either *The Roaring Girl* or *Eastward Ho* are ‘romances’, I am suggesting that they utilize the tropes associated with earlier romance literature to explore intersections between colonial, mercantile, and marital anxieties.²⁶ As Lori Humphrey Newcomb states, and as I argue more widely in this thesis in terms of inter-genre flow, it is possible to see ‘romance as a *resource* shared in varied patterns across the boundaries of medium and genre.’²⁷

The Roaring Girl repeatedly utilizes sea voyage and oceanic imagery to explore the struggles, threats, and tribulation of romantic love and the pursuit of

²² Anne-Julia Zwierlein, ‘Shipwrecks in the City: Commercial Risk as Romance in Early Modern City Comedy’, in *Plotting Early Modern London: New Essays on Jacobean City Comedy*, ed. by Dieter Mehl and others (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 76-94 (p. 80).

²³ Mary Ellen Lamb and Valerie Wayne, ‘Introduction: Into the Forest’, in *Staging Early Modern Romance: Prose Fiction, Dramatic Romance, and Shakespeare*, ed. by Mary Ellen Lamb and Valerie Wayne (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 4.

²⁴ Lamb and Wayne, ‘Introduction’, p. 4, and Steve Mentz, “‘A Note Beyond Your Reach’: Prose Romance’s Rivalry with Elizabethan Drama”, in *Staging Early Modern Romance*, pp. 75-90 (p. 83).

²⁵ Cyrus Mulready, “‘Asia of the One Side, and Afric of the Other’: Sidney’s Unities and the Staging of Romance”, in *Staging Early Modern Romance*, pp. 47-73 (p. 54).

²⁶ For more on the articulation of these anxieties in early modern drama see: Claire Jowitt, “‘Her flesh must serve you’: Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher’s and Massinger’s *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger’s *The City Madam*’, *Parergon*, 18:3 (2001), 93-117.

²⁷ Lori Humphrey Newcomb, ‘The Sources of Romance, the Generation of Story, and the Patterns of Pericles Tales’, in *Staging Early Modern Romance*, pp. 21-46 (p. 22). Italics in original.

suitable marriage partners.²⁸ Sir Alexander calls Moll a ‘mermaid’ who has ‘tolled my son to shipwreck’ (1.1.215-6); she is a sea-dwelling temptress luring his son Sebastian off course to his demise. As Zwierlein observes, ‘prison and shipwreck are, in fact, ubiquitous in contemporary literature as metaphors for the entire destruction of a social existence.’²⁹ Just as colonial voyages risked being drawn off course onto the rocks, and thus destroying all valuable goods and lives on board, so Sebastian risks his fortune and reputation by investing in Moll as a potential wife. Sir Alexander directly aligns Moll with a different kind of watery demise when he laments that ‘all my joys/ Stand at the brink of a devouring flood’ (2.2.178-9). As James Grantham Turner observes, ‘The “whore” is incontinent, leaky in every sense’.³⁰ The ‘watery’ association made by Sir Alexander speaks to humoral associations with the female body as being more ‘leaky’ and polluting, and thus carrying the potential for corrupt female sexuality to contaminate those around them.³¹ The repeated use of voyage and watery imagery to explore Sebastian’s romantic pursuit of Moll speaks to her subversive female identity as being parallel to the unpredictable and threatening seas bringing the demise of colonial, and other, voyaging ships. Middleton and Dekker build on the romance tradition of the shipwreck and use it to suggest the ‘destruction of social existence’ poor marital choices could cause within the commercialized patriarchal world of the play.

²⁸ Kelly Stage also notes this repeated use of sea voyage imagery, although gives a slightly different reading of its significance. See, Stage, *The Roaring Girl’s London Spaces*, p. 428.

²⁹ Zwierlein, ‘Shipwrecks in the City’, p. 83.

³⁰ James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 9.

³¹ Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

A large part of Moll's subversive identity stems from her mobility, and its association with transgressive female sexuality. Moll's association with sexual immorality and 'prostitution' is one of the key points that causes Sir Alexander's anxiety over Sebastian's supposed choice of her as a wife.³² As Twyning observes, 'Prostitution's capacity to encode the raw liquidity of commercial relations enabled it to become a resource for the displacement of all kinds of anxieties associated with trade.'³³ Prostitution and illegitimate sexual relations led to illegitimate children, which in terms of a patriarchal economy that valued women as producers of legitimate heirs, marked an unsound investment. The direct connection between the marital and fiscal 'worth' of women in a proto-capitalist patriarchal economy is also explicitly made in the discourse surrounding the women sent to Virginia as wives for the colonists. These women travelled to Virginia not only as part of a commercial enterprise, but as commercial *objects* that formed part of this enterprise. Investment was required to send these women to Virginia, as witnessed in the plea to investors analysed in Chapter One, and the financial and mercantile nature of that transaction remains at the forefront of records discussing it.

Two 1621 letters from the Virginia Company to the Governor and Council in Virginia make reference to the women being sent over as wives. In the first, sent on August 12, it is stated that fifty women have been sent 'by our most honourable Lord and Treasurer the Earle of Southampton and certain worthy gentlemen, who takinge into their consideration, that the Plantacon can never

³² The terms prostitute and prostitution are used to reflect the early modern attitudes towards sex workers and sex work expressed in the texts being studied in this thesis. Namely that they represented illegitimate and illegal forms of female labour, associated with transgressive behaviours and identities.

³³ Twyning, *London Dispossessed*, p. 14.

flourish till families be planted, and respect of wives and Children fix the people to the Soyle; therefore have given this faire beginning'. The letter goes on to state that any man choosing one of these women as a wife must pay '120li waight of the best leafe Tobbacco for each of them', a cost that rises proportionally should any of the women die on the voyage or after arriving.³⁴ The second letter, sent on September 11, sets out similar terms with the charge now being 150 pounds of the best tobacco.³⁵ In both these letters the women being sent to Virginia remain anonymous and are figured as 'goods' in the colonial commercial endeavour. Interestingly this second letter is the same quoted in Chapter One that assures its recipients the Virginia Company has, for all the women sent, received 'good testimony of their honest life and cariage'.³⁶ As commercial goods, investment in these women, either in the purchase or shipping of them, must be assured. This assurance comes through assertion of their sexual continence and chastity, as this is what maintains their value as wives to be bought by colonists in Virginia and through this transaction the women's capacity to provide a return on investment for both the future husband and the men funding their voyage. It is symptomatic of the patriarchal framework within which the Virginia Company operated that they were legitimately able to take economic control over these women and unashamedly offer them up 'for sale', when these same women would have been unable to legitimately exert economic agency over their own bodies through acts of sex work. Prostitution and sexual licentiousness were the

³⁴ 'Letter to the Governor and Council in Virginia, August 12, 1621', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 492-98 (p. 493).

³⁵ 'Virginia Council and Company, Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia, September 11, 1621', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 502-8 (p. 505).

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 505.

antithesis to the 'valuable' female sexual identity touted by the Virginia Company, and were also both associated with mobile female identities. This association between transgressive sexuality and mobility poses a problem when reassuring investors in the 'wives for Virginia'. The women's chastity is essential to their value and yet so is their mobility; two things that sit ideologically at odds in existing discourses of female sexuality. The same conflict is seen in the desire to position these women as the instigators of normative domestic space and familial relations who would 'fix the people to the Soyle' in Chapter One – their role as normative housewives relied on their proximity to the home, a trait already being called into question in their travel to the New World.³⁷

Sebastian speaks to this distinction between sound and unsound commercialized romantic investment when he notes the difference between Mary and Moll as marital choices. He states to Mary that he hopes to 'force my father to consent/ That here, I anchor, rather than be rent/ Upon a rock so dangerous' (1.1.105-7). Again, using sea voyage imagery Sebastian portrays Mary as the secure choice at which to 'anchor' his desires, and Moll as a 'rock so dangerous' upon which his reputation and wealth could be dashed. The use of the word 'rent' also carries allusions to a commercially based sexual transaction with Moll, in which rather than make purchase of a wife he continually spends rent to procure time with her. This sense of flawed commercial logic speaks to the figuration of women as goods within a patriarchal economy; some of whom represent a secure return on investment as wives and some of whom represent a failure to provide this return as sexually corrupt prostitutes. The use of sea voyaging imagery extends throughout this scene, with Mary and Sebastian

³⁷ 'Letter to the Governor and Council in Virginia, August 12, 1621', p. 493.

discussing their relationship almost exclusively in these terms. Mary suggests her 'shipwreck' (1.1.90) would be the result of Sebastian's failure to fulfil his promise of marriage to her, alluding to the 'destruction of social existence' this would bring. The paradoxical relationship within colonial discourse that positions women's commercial potential through their sexual continence alongside the threat colonial travel brings to this very continence, is mirrored in Sebastian's (and Sir Alexander's) use of sea voyaging imagery to represent the differing value to be found in his pursuit of either Mary or Moll. Moll's figuration as the unsound investment due to her sexually corrupt associations is problematized by the fact that she is not actually a prostitute and at no point engages in illicit sexual behaviours. It is Moll's highly mobile and publicly performed identity that leads to accusations of sexual promiscuity. Moll's agency, and her refusal to fit into either normative identities of 'wife' or 'maid', or a stable transgressive identity of 'prostitute', makes her potentially even more troubling to the patriarchal economy than she would be as the object of Sebastian's affections. In the examples analysed above, chastity and stasis are set in opposition to sexual incontinence and mobility in the commercialized discourse and framework of the patriarchal marriage economy. By blurring this neat distinction in her chaste but also mobile behaviour, Moll problematizes the categorisation of transgressive female identity, as do the wives being sent to Virginia.

In *Eastward Ho*, written in 1604 and first performed in 1605, there is a similar interrogation of normative and transgressive gendered mobility and identities through colonial and commercial discourses. In this play prostitutes are also associated with unsound investment, but this time as suggestive of the

frivolous expenditure of money in procuring these sexual liaisons. Quicksilver, a city gallant who keeps a prostitute, Sindyfy, in the suburbs, justifies his own lascivious spending habits by saying: 'I am a good member of the City if I were well considered. How would merchants thrive, if gentlemen would not be unthrifths?'³⁸ Quicksilver directly links his corrupt spending to the City of London's mercantile economy, failing to see a difference between secure investment and thriftless spending. This difference is highlighted by Touchstone, a financially responsible City goldsmith, when he states: 'Did I gain my wealth by ordinaries? No! By exchanging of gold? no! By keeping of gallants' company? No!' (1.1.52-4). Touchstone explicitly links frivolous spending with a loss of long term wealth, and interestingly goes on to connect his own financial security with his marital status: 'And when I was wived, having something sure to stick to, I had the horn of suretyship ever before my eyes' (1.1.60-62). Touchstone sees his business investments as analogous to, and supported by, his marriage to a suitable wife. Of course, the 'horn of suretyship' invites jokes around the sexual continence of his wife, but importantly his identity as cuckold is never seriously suggested in the play.³⁹ Touchstone's legitimate sexual relations and pursuit of wealth both mark sound investments, and thus his normative and morally sound identity.

Touchstone also has two daughters, Gertrude, 'the eldest of a proud ambition and nice wantonness' and Mildred, the younger and 'of a modest

³⁸ George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston, *Eastward Ho*, ed. by R. W. Van Fossen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), 1.1.36-9.

³⁹ W. David Kay, 'Parodic Wit and Social Satire in Chapman, Jonson, and Marston's *Eastward Ho*!', *English Literary Renaissance*, 42:3 (2012) 391-424 (p. 398).

humility and comely soberness.' (1.1.97-99). The husbands the two daughters end up with reflect these differing identities, with Gertrude's more transgressive identity landing her with the corrupt spendthrift Sir Petronel Flash, and Mildred's normative identity matching her with the responsible, thrifty Golding. Touchstone refers to Golding as the 'anchor of my hopes' (2.1.94), mirroring the secure sea voyaging imagery utilized by Sebastian in relation to Mary above. Petronel, on the other hand, literally ends up in a shipwreck at the start of Act Four, losing all of the money he recently embezzled after selling Gertrude's dowry land. Importantly, this doomed voyage was one he was making to Virginia to escape with a mistress and his newly acquired wealth. Petronel is warned of the storms that await him on the Thames and yet he sets sail anyway only to ultimately lament that 'The last money we could make, the greedy Thames has devoured' (4.1.218-20). The Thames, figured at the beginning of the scene as an unruly feminized horse with Petronel and his ship 'upon her back' and 'the bit...out of her mouth', comes to stand for the return on investment this ill judged sea voyage and marriage offer Petronel. The feminized Thames wrecks his ship and swallows 'the last money' he could make; figuratively speaking to the returns Petronel could hope to gain from running away with his illegitimate mistress rather than committing to his newly acquired wife. Once again, colonial sea voyaging imagery is used to reflect the return on investment sensible and foolish marital choices offer their participants, but also flag up existing anxieties in London over the security of colonial investments. The commercial aspect of the Virginia project is positioned as both immoral and unsound through its association with characters who undertake reckless investments in other areas

of their lives as well. As Siglas observes, 'every character linked with the play's Virginia voyage is either dishonest, drunk, incredibly gullible, or all three.'⁴⁰

The sense of unease around colonial investment, and its association with marital investment, is seen explicitly in 3.3 when Petronel and his crew discuss their imminent voyage to Virginia. Seagull says to the collected crew 'Come, boys, Virginia longs till we share the rest of/ her maidenhead.' (3.3.15-6).⁴¹ This figuration relied on Virginia being seen as a legitimate and desirable 'bride' for England, and one that would ultimately (re)produce merchantable goods and wealth for the nation. Seagull corrupts this representation, portraying Virginia as a bride whose 'maidenhead' is not fully intact and who will now be sexually 'shared' amongst the crew.⁴² This already shows the shifting position of Virginia in the English psyche by 1605. By this time news of Sir Walter Raleigh's ill-fated attempt to start a colony at Roanoke in 1585 was circulating in England. John White, the colony's governor, made several attempts to sail to Roanoke and re-join the colony he left, but each time failed to find any trace of the colonists. White's final narrative on the subject was published in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1593), in which he reluctantly accepted he had neither the funds nor the opportunity to search again and 'committed the colonists to God's care'.⁴³ The Roanoke colonists were never seen again and rumours about their fate abounded – from their deaths to their integration with local Native American

⁴⁰ Siglas, 'Sailing Against the Tide', p. 89.

⁴¹ For more on the gendered figuration of Virginia as 'bride' see Louis Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', *Representations*, 33 (1991), 1-41.

⁴² For more on Virginia and 'carnal desire' in *Eastward Ho*, see Hollis, *The Absence of America*, p. 87-90.

⁴³ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, 2nd edn (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), p. 129.

peoples.⁴⁴ Whatever the truth was, this initial attempt at colonisation was seen as a failure and marked the tainting of Virginia's feminized identity as potential wife. When *Eastward Ho* was being written by Jonson et al, renewed efforts were underway to garner support for further attempts to colonize the area, attempts that would ultimately go on to result in the founding of Jamestown in 1607. Seagull's figuration of the tainted Virginia speaks to the anxieties surrounding a second attempt at wooing the bride that proved so hostile initially.

The response to Seagull's opening representation of Virginia is equally telling of contemporary anxieties around the Virginia venture, and the association of these anxieties with a gendered discourse surrounding commerce and marriage. After Seagull's statement above, the following exchange takes place:

SPENDALL Why, is she inhabited already with any English?

SEAGULL A whole country of English is there, man, bred of those that were left there in '79. They have married with the Indians, and make 'em bring forth as beautiful faces as any we have in England; and therefore the Indians are so in love with 'em, that all the treasure they have, they lay at their feet. (3.3.17-23).

Seagull's claim that there is already a 'whole country of English' in Virginia rests on his assumption that the colony left by Sir Walter Raleigh has gone on to prosper. This assumption was already doubted, as attested to by White's pessimistic commitment of the colonists to God's care above, and Seagull's

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 133.

offering of the wrong date at which the colony originated speaks further to his inaccurate knowledge of the colonial project in Virginia. The idealized colony Seagull presents had in fact disappeared without a trace. There was no evidence that they reproduced to populate a 'whole country' and this imagining of their reproductive capacity is pure fantasy, much like the multiplication of wealth and investment runs the risk of being a fantasy. Anxieties over investment in the resurgent colonial project are captured in the nexus of commercial and sexual discourses mapped onto Virginia in this extract. Pursuit of Virginia as a figurative wife in the play is associated with Petronel's abandonment of his true wife and his pursuit of his mistress. Figuratively this aligns London with the legitimate pursuit of Gertrude, the wife who would return his investment by producing a legitimate heir, and Virginia with the pursuit of the sexually corrupt mistress who would fail to return such an investment. Siglas has argued that "The company of "adventurers" seeks not just wealth (which in the context seems neutral enough), but quick, easy wealth, and an escape from the sort of work and moral virtue exemplified by Golding."⁴⁵ I would argue that the positioning of the 'adventurers' as immoral investors in pursuit of easy profit draws on and interrogates their sexual and marital pursuits too, suggesting that investment in 'easy' sexual encounters was indicative of transgressive male and female identities, and investment in a secure marital prospect was indicative of the 'moral virtue' associated with hard work.

⁴⁵ Siglas, 'Sailing Against the Tide', p. 91.

Neighbourhood Watch: Reputation, Credit, and Community

A crucial part of positioning women as either good or bad marital investments was through the construction and dissemination of their reputation. As Jonathan Bate notes, 'A woman's reputation was her most precious commodity.'⁴⁶ Bate's choice of language is interesting, as his use of 'commodity' implicitly acknowledges the commercial aspect of reputation in the early modern marital 'market' and the value attached to it in this patriarchal economy. Richard Waswo has drawn attention to the fact that 'Credit – as reputation, trust, belief: the whole fiduciary semantic field of the word – was necessarily "currency" when money was endemically in short supply, as it was in Britain throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.'⁴⁷ Reputation was inherently connected to commercial discourse, in literal and ideological senses, for both men and women. However for women, I would argue, their reputation represented their 'most precious commodity' in a very real sense of it being the primary fiscal and ideological bargaining tool available for them (and their male relatives) to negotiate their status, agency, and marital prospects. For women in London, as well as those being sent to Virginia, their reputations were decided in large part by the observation and judgment of their behaviour by local communities. Keith Wrightson defines 'neighbourliness' in early modern England as:

⁴⁶ Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Penguin, 2008), p.180.

⁴⁷ Richard Waswo, 'Crises of Credit: Monetary and Erotic Economies in the Jacobean Theatre, in *Plotting Early Modern London*, pp. 55-73 (p. 57).

a relationship based on residential propinquity and involving both mutual recognition of reciprocal obligations of a practical nature between effective if not actual equals, and a degree of normative consensus as to the nature of proper behaviour amongst neighbours.⁴⁸

The regulation of gendered movements and behaviours within a community was based on a 'normative consensus' of what constituted 'proper behaviour', or indeed transgressive behaviour. D. E. Underdown has observed that some transgressive gendered behaviours were punished in courts, but many were 'dealt with by unofficial community action, by shaming rituals like charivari.'⁴⁹ Notably these charivari involved the procession of the accused through public spaces, locating their transgression and judgement within the public realm of the community. This form of punishment mirrored the role mobility in public spaces played in formation of reputation, as mobility within and between public spaces would have been a key point of communal observation and judgment. As Richardson notes, 'Protestant notions of the right ordering of communities would succeed only if those communities regulated themselves internally, a goal which necessitated careful observation of neighbours' comings and goings.'⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Keith Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England', in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Basingstoke: Macmillan: 1996), pp. 10-46 (p. 18).

⁴⁹ D. E. Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England', in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. by Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 116-136 (p. 127).

⁵⁰ Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 33.

The Virginia Company draws on this sense of observed behaviour and community-based reputation when asserting the sexual integrity of the women it was sending as wives to Virginia. The anxiety of the Virginia Company in this matter was discussed in Chapter One, but the material warrants revisiting for the light it can shed on implications of female mobility to reputation. In a letter sent to the Governor and Council in Virginia in September 1621, about a new cohort of women being sent to the colony, the Company writes:

We have used extraordinary dilligence and care in the choise of them and have received none of whom we have not had good testimony of their honest life and cariadge.⁵¹

This sentiment is repeated in one of the written testimonies collected by The Virginia Company in relation to the call for investors to fund the shipping of 'wives' to Virginia for the male colonists. In this testimony is the following endorsement of Anne Rickard's character:

Anne Rickard widowe now inhabitinge within our said parishe & so hathe don for the space of Six yeres or neere thereaboutes in which tyme shee hathe demeaned herself in honest sorte & is a woman of an honest lyef & conversation duringe the tyme shee hathe lyved amounges us & so is & ever hathe bynne esteemed & reputed for any thinge ever wee heard or knowe of to the contrary, And for that the said Anne Rickard is mynded &

⁵¹ Virginia Council and Company, 'Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia, September 11, 1621', p. 505.

purposed to dwell elsewhere hathe entreated & required of us whose names are hereunder subscribed this our testimoniall in her behalf.⁵²

The fundamental aspects of achieving a ‘good’ reputation – performance of normative gendered behaviour in the presence of peers within the community – are utilized in the extract above to assure the validity of the testimony given on Anne Rickard’s behalf. But crucial to both extracts is that testimony had been collected to confirm the good reputation and standing of the women travelling to Virginia. Tellingly in the first extract the Company assures that they have received ‘good testimony of their honest life and carriage’. Carriage carried with its connotations of mobility at this time, with the OED defining it as ‘Carrying or bearing from one place to another; conveyance’, as well as ‘Manner of conducting oneself socially’.⁵³ The way a woman conducted herself socially implies a certain degree of mobility itself, as it is suggestive of social exchanges outside domestically located familial interactions, but the linguistic overlap in this word between mobility and appropriate behaviour seems particularly pertinent when discussing the reputation of women being sent to Virginia. In the testimony given on behalf of Anne Rickard it is stated that she lived ‘within our said parish’ for the last six years. The validity of this testimony is only assured because the writer and subject lived within the same parish, this proximity of habitation giving assurances that Anne’s activities would have been observed by the writer, but also that any transgressions made by Anne would be known to

⁵² As quoted in Ransome, ‘Wives for Virginia’, p. 10.

⁵³ Carriage, *n.*, def. 1a and 14, *OED Online*.

the writer due to the fact that he would have 'heard' about any activities contrary to a moral ideal.

The identity of the writer is worth noting here as well: a 'G Trappes' the 'churchwarden', who positions himself as speaking for the 'churchwardens & parisheners of the parishe church of St James att Clarckenwell in the countie of Middlesex'.⁵⁴ Not only does this suggest that Anne's reputation is verified by the entire parish community, but it ties it to a common form of community policing that was also mirrored in activities of the Virginia Colony: the bawdy court. The bawdy court was the colloquial name for the consistory court presided over by the church, at which minor, local indiscretions would be heard and usually dealt with before the need for escalation or official sentencing. As Bate has noted, for a woman who had her reputation challenged by a member of her community, 'The bawdy court was a place where she could publicly defend her honour.'⁵⁵ A similar framework was set up in the Virginia Colonies, as attested to in John Pory's report of the proceedings of the general assembly in Virginia in 1619:

The Ministers and Churchwardens shall seeke to presente all ungodly disorders, the comitters wherofe if, upon goode admonitions and milde reproof, they will not forbear the said skandalous offenses, as suspicions of whordomes, dishonest company keeping with weomen and suche like, they are to be presented and punished accordingly.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ As quoted in Ransome, 'Wives for Virginia', p. 10.

⁵⁵ Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 180.

⁵⁶ John Pory, 'A Reporte of the manner of proceeding in the general assembly convented at James City, July 30, 31, August 2, 3, 4, 1619', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 153-77 (p. 172).

The ecclesiastical and community driven method of policing of female (and male) sexuality seen in the bawdy courts is replicated here. It is the 'ministers and churchwardens' who will administer 'goode admonitions and milde reproof' to any reports of 'skandalous offenses', before matters are taken further.

Interestingly in the extract above it is the 'churchwarden' who provides the written attestation of Anne Rickard's reputation – not only an upstanding member of the community, but one who would have been attuned to the dealings and cases of the local bawdy court.

Whilst it was male members of the community, such as 'ministers and churchwardens', who presided over the bawdy courts and had the final say in the outcome of cases brought before them, it was frequently women as well as men who accused other women of these sexual misdemeanours. As Bate records, 'in the early seventeenth century, '80 per cent of sex and marriage cases were brought to the bawdy courts by women', and 'In many a bawdy court case, a woman slanders another woman.'⁵⁷ Women policed other women's behaviour, and were able to cast serious doubt on each other's reputations, but it was predominantly, if not only, men who could vouch for and legally assert a woman's reputation. Frequently men were called on to do this, as in the case of the churchwarden G. Trappes above, but many also felt obliged to do so for their own interests. As Turner asserts in relation to accusation of sexual indiscretion and licentiousness, 'Thousands of working women took their neighbours to court for it, defending the honour of their person and their household against the graphic designation "whore".'⁵⁸ This not only underlines the role community

⁵⁷ Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 180, p. 181.

⁵⁸ Turner, *Libertines and Radicals*, p. 4.

opinion played in shaping reputation, but also the impact a woman's reputation could have on the reputation and social currency of the entire 'household'. Sir Alexander feels this worry acutely in relation to the possibility of Moll becoming his daughter-in-law in *The Roaring Girl*. When trying to warn his son away from Moll Sir Alexander says:

If thou long'st
To have the story of thy infamous fortunes
Serve for discourse in ordinaries and taverns,
Thou'rt in the way (2.2.135-7).

Gossip, in this example, marks a shift from contained, private events to public ones. It becomes an indicator that this behaviour or event has now entered public spaces like 'ordinaries and taverns' and is part of a public knowledge that shapes reputation. Reputation finds its own kind of mobility through the spread of gossip in this way. Sir Alexander fears that his son's 'credit' will be diminished if he becomes associated with Moll and her bad reputation, which in turn could affect the 'credit' of the entire household. A similar worry to Sir Alexander's underlies the Virginia Company's desire to procure testimony of the reputations of the women they were sending to Virginia. The Virginia Company needed to secure the reputation of these women in order to secure its own reputation as the figurative 'household' in which these women sat in their liminal period of transition from the care of their fathers' households in England and their new husbands' households in Virginia. If the 'credit' of the Virginia Company was to be a currency of any value in securing investors in the venture, the 'credit' of the

women it was seeking to ship to the colonies needed to be a currency of value too.

The need for testimony from male members of the community to vouch for the reputation of women being sent to Virginia finds parallels in the representation of Mary in *The Roaring Girl*. The crux of the play is Sebastian's desire to marry Mary and in order to do this Sebastian convinces his father that he is in love with Moll, anticipating (quite correctly) that the horror his feelings for such an unsuitable woman provoke will make Mary the more desirable match. Central to this plan is the dichotomous positioning of Moll and Mary; one as transgressive and undesirable, one as normative and desirable. However, this positioning is troubled from the outset. Mary first enters the stage 'disguised like a sempster', which, as the editorial notes to this edition state, 'could be a man or a woman'. The audience's first impression of Mary is as a character who plays with disguise and deception, and who dresses in a manner not fitting to her status and (potentially) her gender. It is suggested as well that Mary has made the journey to Sebastian's house alone, a transgressive form of female mobility that would lead to a questioning of Mary's reputation. Mary acts in an assertive and independently mobile manner in order to gain an audience with Sebastian in which she articulates her demands clearly. This initial positioning of Mary certainly does not sit her in opposition to the highly mobile, highly vocal, cross-dressing Moll. For the play to reach a satisfactory conclusion, both internally and for the audience, Mary's reputation must be (re)confirmed and her identity as dichotomous to that of Moll asserted.

The way this is achieved is telling and speaks to the methods employed by the Virginia Company when asserting the reputations of the women it was

shipping to the New World. In Mary's second appearance on stage, in 4.1, she is dressed in masculine attire, 'like a page', and enters with her prospective husband Sebastian. Whilst this all seems to position Mary and Moll as more similar than oppositional, Mary's presence on stage during this scene begins the work of moving her identity and reputation away from Moll's. Whereas in the opening scene of the play Mary and Sebastian shared a similar amount of lines, in this scene Mary has a mere five and Moll has over sixty. Mary's voice and contribution to the action on stage has diminished significantly by this point and by her next appearance in the final scene she speaks only two lines. The context of her appearance and the dialogue she does have in this final scene are significant. Stage directions note: '*Enter the Lord Noland and Sir Beauteous Ganymede, with Mary Fitzallard between them*'. Mary is flanked on both sides by men and in contrast to her previous appearances on stage now enters as a properly chaperoned maid, presumably dressed in more conventionally feminine clothing. Lord Noland then presents Mary to Sir Alexander and Sebastian, and indeed to the audience, as:

this worthy gentlewoman, your son's bride,
Noble Fitzallard's daughter, to whose honour
And modest fame I am a servant vowed;
So is this knight. (5.5.183-6).

Much like the testimonies offered by members of the parish for Anne Rickard and other women sailing for Virginia, here two male members of Mary's community vouch for her reputation and sexual continence to convince the

extended community on and off the stage that she is a worthy bride. Notably also, Mary's only lines in this scene, addressed to Sir Alexander, are, 'Duty and love may I deserve in those [Sir Alexander's eyes],/ And all my wishes have a perfect close.' (5.2.196-7). Mary may appear to behave in a similar way to Moll at the start of the play, but unlike Moll this behaviour is only to engineer a more secure position in the normative society she desires to be a part of.

Mary's near-silence at the end of the play carries echoes of Anne Rickard and the other 'wives for Virginia', whose voices remain silent in the historical record and in the defence of their own characters, replaced instead by the voices of the men who witnessed and attested to their character. Indeed, this silence was frequently urged 'on women as an important virtue' and came to be part of the framework within in which women's behaviour and reputation were judged on and off the stage.⁵⁹ For the onstage and offstage witnesses of Mary's character, and for the investors of the Virginia Company, assurances of women's character by men who had observed their movement and behaviour was the only way to restore and/or assure their good reputation. However, these attempts were obviously not completely successful; Virginia's reputation for housing sexually promiscuous colonists remained, female mobility was still problematic, and within the play Mary's previously transgressive behaviour would linger in the minds of the audience as something she had the potential to return to. Equally, as Bate notes, despite the men presiding over the bawdy courts being able to clear a woman's reputation, it is questionable whether it could 'ever be cleared once an

⁵⁹ Marianne Novy, *Shakespeare and Feminist Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 54 and Chapter Five.

alleged scandal has reached the public domain.’⁶⁰ Of course, Moll’s presence on stage throughout also acted as a constant reminder of the capacity for women to act outside normative frameworks and outside the control of the men (and women) invested in maintaining them. Whilst Moll may have made an appealing stage character, and indeed a person of some curiosity off the stage, it was women like Mary whose good reputation carried the social ‘credit’ that would assure the success and status of the Virginia Company and who warranted the marital and financial investment of upstanding members of the community.

‘Scornes to live obscurely in the Suburbs’: Spatializing the Transgressive in London and Virginia

The construction of reputation based on normative and/or transgressive gendered behaviours relied on observed behaviour in public spaces, as outlined above. This process both lent on and perpetuated the construction of normative and transgressive spaces. Subjects with bad reputations could influence the reputation of the spaces they inhabited and, likewise, inhabiting transgressive spaces could lead to negative assumptions about reputation and identity. In this section I argue that spatially segregating transgressive subjects and behaviours was a form of spatial management and also a narrative tool utilized by colonial and English writers to try and contain disorder. However, in these writers’ acknowledgement of the mobility of transgressive subjects the inherent instabilities of this segregation were revealed. The physical and ideological division of transgressive spaces I analyse take the form of City/suburb in London

⁶⁰ Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 178.

and settlement/wilderness in the New World. Complicating this analysis is, as I go on to argue, the frequent positioning of the New World as ideological 'suburb' of England in its perception by contemporary writers as a transgressive space.

Segregation as a form of spatial management was intimately tied to the burgeoning capitalist economy in London. Waswo describes 'the underworld that formed in the London suburbs which gathered together the marginalized, masterless, and mustered-out rejects of the new economy based on the placeless market, and which, not incidentally, were the site of the public theatres.'⁶¹ The hierarchical figuration of transgressive and normative subjects and spaces was inherently connected to a hierarchical understanding of peoples' place within London's proto-capitalist economy. 'Marginalized' and 'masterless' men were physically and ideologically outside the commercial, political, and social centre of London – the City – just as the 'marginalized' commercial endeavours of the theatre, bawdy houses, and prostitution were too.⁶² This moralized distinction between suburb and city, and the subjects and commercial endeavours that occurred within them, was, of course, not absolute. The reality of an ever-changing urban landscape filled with mobile citizens meant that these distinctions were frequently blurred and troubled. Nevertheless, they occur repeatedly in literature of the time, and transgressive subjects, behaviours, and spaces are utilized to reinforce one another's marginalized positions.

⁶¹ Richard Waswo, 'Crises of Credit', p. 58

⁶² For more on the connection between shifting economies, labour markets, and 'masterless men' see Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006). For the connection between itinerant poor and theatrical 'players', see A. L. Beir, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 96.

London went through a period of rapid growth in the seventeenth century – its population doubling in the first half of the century from 200,000 to nearly 400,000.⁶³ Physical expansion was equally dramatic, with Christopher Friedrichs arguing that London ‘underwent the most spectacular growth of any major city in early modern Europe’.⁶⁴ This flurry of immigration and physical change to the city’s structure meant that distinctions between ‘City’ and ‘suburb’ became a key feature of discourses surrounding the transgressive and normative spaces of London’s urban landscape. As Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner note, ‘In the early sixteenth century London was a relatively bounded community, largely defined by its walls and the jurisdiction of the mayor and aldermen. By the 1630s, however, Westminster and the suburbs had grown dramatically and only a minority of Londoners fell under City rule.’⁶⁵ Contemporary writers capture some of the anxiety that came with the increasing association of the suburbs with criminals and immoral or illicit commercial activities – most notably that of prostitution. In 1593 Thomas Nashe asked ‘*London* what are thy Suburbes but licensed Stewes’.⁶⁶ Nashe associates the spaces on the outskirts of London with prostitution and illicit commercial and sexual behaviour, geographically positioning this disorder away from the physical and moral centre of the City. Twenty years later it appears the reputation of London’s suburbs had not changed, as Thomas Adams preached in his 1614 sermon, *The Devil’s Banquet*:

⁶³ Twynning, *London Dispossessed*, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City 1450-1750* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 1995), p. 24.

⁶⁵ Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner, ‘Introduction’, in *Londinopolis*, p. 2.

⁶⁶ As quoted in Andrew Hiscock, “‘Will you Walk in, My Lord?’: Shakespeare’s *Troilus and Cressida* and the anxiety of *Oikos*”, in *Shakespeare and Hospitality: Ethics, Politics, and Exchange*, ed. by David B. Goldstein and Julia Reinhard Lupton (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 17-38 (p. 30).

in the Citie. Whoredome, scornes to live obscurely in the Suburbs: Shee hath friends to admit her within the walles. Nay, in the high places of the Citie: in the largest streetes, populous and popular houses.⁶⁷

However, by 1614 this behaviour has started to leak from the suburbs into the city; disorder now 'scornes to live obscurely in the Suburbs'. Nashe lamented the moral degradation he positioned in the suburbs, questioning why these areas had drifted so far from a normative morality. Adams, on the other hand, implied that this moral degradation would be acceptable if it remained in the suburbs, but its refusal to do so poses a problem. Not only has 'whoredome' now infiltrated the city walls, but also 'the high places of the Citie'; the boundaries between the City and its suburbs are being morally, ideologically, and materially transgressed. Adams creates a hierarchical moral geography in which certain locations are condemned and separated from others, and it is only when the distinctions between the two begin to blur that a problem arises. However, even Nashe implicitly connects the moral and immoral in his conception of London. London is the addressee of his question and the suburbs belong to this personified city – they are part of the same body. Whilst both writers attempt to create a geographic separation between moral and immoral they also both reveal the impossibility of maintaining such boundaries. Both the physical and ideological centre and periphery are connected – the spaces and activities of the two flow into one another, much like the flow that existed between England and its colonies.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 31.

Attempts to segregate normative and transgressive behaviours and identities spatially also formed a key part of English colonists attempts to assert their 'superior' identities over that of the Native American peoples. This process was also an important part of colonists' attempts to (re)assert their identity and 'credit' as normative English subjects at a time when the colonies and those inhabiting them were frequently marginalized as transgressive. In colonial discourses emerging from the New World the ideological function of boundaries between English settlements and the 'wilderness' inhabited by the Native Americans performed a similar function to those constructed between the City and the suburbs in London. In Ralph Hamor's *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1615), he repeatedly notes the building of boundaries around English settlements. Hamor writes that Thomas Gates, the newly arrived Governor of Virginia, orders the 'preparing [of] timber, pales, posts and railles for the present impaling [of] this new Towne to secure himselfe and men from the mallice and trechery of the Indians'.⁶⁸ In *Good Newes from New England*, Edward Winslow writes similarly that 'knowing our owne weaknesse...wee thought it most needfull to impale our Towne, which with all expedition wee accomplished in the moneth of February and some few dayes'.⁶⁹ In both Virginia and New England the defensive, military purpose of 'impaling' the town and creating a material boundary around it is clear, but there is also an ideological function to these boundaries.

The boundaries of the English settlement exceed their defensive, military functions and also become a means of exerting hierarchical, racial difference

⁶⁸ Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London, 1615), p. 28.

⁶⁹ Winslow, *Good Newes*, p. 4.

between 'English' and 'Indian'. Hamor also details a meeting between Captain Samuel Argall and Sir Thomas Gates, and the Werowance, or leader, of the nearby 'Chicohominies' (Chickahominy). During this meeting Argall and Gates set out some 'conditions' they expect their neighbours to abide by if they are to remain 'friends'. Included in this list is the following:

They shall not upon any occasion whatsoever breake downe any of our pales, or come into any of our Townes or forts by any other waies, issues or ports then ordinary, but first call and say the *Tossantessas* are there, and so comming they shall at all times be let in, and kindly entertained.⁷⁰

This edict serves the purpose of establishing English authority over the boundaries to their settlements and importantly of marking who does and does not have the right of movement over that boundary. It also draws on contemporary ideas of 'neighbourliness' as outlined by Wrightson at the beginning of this chapter, namely the 'mutual recognition of reciprocal obligations' and a 'degree of normative consensus as to the nature of proper behaviour amongst neighbours.'⁷¹ The English are attempting to formalize these unwritten codes of neighbourly behaviour to secure relationships between the two culturally distinct groups. The extract states that the Chickahominy must announce themselves upon arrival as 'Tassantesses', asserting at once their identity as newly designated subjects of King James but at the same time

⁷⁰ Hamor, *A True Discourse*, p. 13. 'Tassentessas' was a Native American word for 'strangers' used to describe the English colonists. In this instance Argall and Gates make the Chickahominy identify themselves as tassentessas as a way of denoting their acceptance of English rule and subjection to King James.

⁷¹ Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish', p. 18.

acknowledging their difference from 'true' Englishmen. The announcement of this 'difference' at the boundary to the English settlement functions as a reminder that it is the English colonists who have the power to admit or refuse entry, and it is only 'true' Englishmen who have the freedom to pass over that boundary unchallenged. In this way the boundary of the settlement becomes a form of spatial management that allows the superiority of the English to be articulated by colonial authorities. Just as the transgressive female identity of the prostitute became associated with the marginalized suburbs, so the 'inferior', marginalized Chickahominy become associated with and defined by existing in the disordered spaces outside the 'centre' of the English settlement.

Attempts to ascribe illicit behaviour to the suburbs reoccurs throughout *The Roaring Girl*, but despite these attempts the audience is also frequently shown the failure to contain this kind of activity within the margins of the city. The anxiety produced by attempts to contain disordered behaviour, and also by the mobile subjects that trouble these attempts, pervade the play. In particular the play lingers on the different ways men and women are expected to inhabit and move through the urban landscape, layering a set of gendered expectations and responsibilities on top of the moral geography it maps out. From the outset the gendered spatial distinctions of the city and its suburbs are made clear. The prologue states:

To know what girl this roaring girl should be;
For of that tribe are many. One is she
That roars at midnight in deep tavern bowls,
That beats the watch, and constables control;

Another roars I' th' daytime, swears, stabs gives braves,
Yet sells her soul to the lust of fools and slaves:
Both these are suburb-roarers. Then there's besides
A civil, city-roaring girl, whose pride,
Feasting, and riding, shakes her husband's state,
And leaves him roaring through an iron gate.
None of these roaring girls is ours; she flies
With wings more lofty.

There is a distinction made between suburban and City roaring girls, and even though both are identified as transgressive, a hierarchy still emerges between the two locales and their associated identities. The City roaring girl is 'civil', and, notably, has a husband. Marital status is important in distinguishing which area of London the different 'roaring girls' are attributed to. Despite both being morally reprehensible, it is the unmarried women who are associated with the suburbs and the married ones to the City. Those with a husband show at least some conformity to normative expectations of 'civil' female identity and behaviour – they exist within the boundaries of acceptable femininity, and thus are positioned within the boundaries of the more civilized and moral City limits. The roaring girls of the suburbs are associated with a more transgressive sexuality implied in the selling of their 'souls to the lust of fools and slaves'. Additionally, they are associated with a more transgressive mobility, one that 'beats the watch, and constables control', implying an evasion of the spatial management and policing put in place to control their movement. However, the audience is informed that Moll fits neither of these categories, and 'flies with

wings more lofty'. From the outset, Moll's identity is unfixed, located in neither the City nor the suburb. The depiction of her mobility as 'flight' is notable in its ascension above the physical geography of the city; Moll has a bird's eye view of the urban landscape below, the boundaries of city and suburb becoming at once more visible and but also more easily traversable.

The attempt to position immoral behaviours, illicit sexual/commercial encounters, and unruly women in the suburbs continues throughout the play. In 2.1 Openwork laments that his wife 'rails upon me for foreign wenching, that I, being a freeman, must needs keep a whore I' th' suburbs, and seeks to impoverish the liberties' (2.1.279-81). This geographical positioning of 'whores I' th' suburbs' is repeated three times in the scene. Goshawk tells Mrs Openwork her husband 'keeps a whore I' th' suburbs' (2.1.302-3), and she responds, enraged that he 'now doth he keep a suburban whore under my nostrils' (2.1.309-10). This repetition shows how important the spatial association with the suburbs was to the transgressive figuration and marginalisation of sex workers and their trade.⁷² Indeed, in 4.2, the anonymous suburbia is given a specific geographical location when Mrs Openwork states that Goshawk 'Swore to me that my husband this very morning went in a boat with a tilt over it to the Three Pigeons at Brentford, and his punk with him under his tilt' (4.2.23-5). Here a very specific suburban London location is utilized – the 'Three Pigeons at Brentford' – to evoke a space of illicit sexual commerce and encourage the audience to associate her husband's behaviour with transgressive sexual activities.

⁷² This association of prostitution and illicit sexual liaisons is made again in 3.1.16-18 and 5.1.18-19.

Mrs Openwork's utilisation of this suburban tavern picks up on the repeated use of tavern spaces in the play to denote transgressive behaviours and identities. As seen above, when Sir Alexander is warning Sebastian of the threat his pursuit of Moll poses to his reputation he says he will 'Serve for discourse in ordinaries and taverns'. Earlier in the play when Sir Alexander first seeks to find Moll and put a stop to the relationship he believes she is having with his son, he engages Trapdoor to locate her. In assuring Sir Alexander of his capability for the job Trapdoor states, 'I will sift all the taverns i' th' city, and drink half-pots with all the watermen o' th' Bankside, but if you will sir, I'll find her out.' (1.2.205-6). As happens in the prologue, this asserts the 'unfixed' nature of Moll's identity; the fact that she has no fixed abode means Trapdoor will instead have to traverse London looking in 'all the taverns' and asking 'all the watermen o' th' Bankside'. But as well as denoting her mobile identity this extract, and the one above, locate Moll and her transgressive behaviour in 'taverns' and specifically in the last extract the suburban Bankside.⁷³ These examples position 'taverns' as sites of illicit behaviour, gossip, and transgressive subjects. However, as Peter Clark has argued, 'Most of the outcry against them was vague and unspecific. Detailed work reveals no strong correlation between taverns and serious crime.'⁷⁴ But that does not mean the 'vague and unspecific' moralising against them did not take hold in the popular imagination. Whatever the reality of the connection between crime and taverns was, the evidence presented in *The Roaring Girl* suggests that they were a space associated with transgressive behaviour and utilized on stage to suggest such transgression.

⁷³ See also 2.1.229.

⁷⁴ Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (London: Longman, 1983), p. 12.

The repeated references to taverns in the play also engage with discourses of colonial travel. In 5.1 the following exchange takes place:

JACK DAPPER My Lord Noland, will you go to Pimlico with us? We are making a boon voyage to that nappy land of spice cakes.

LORD NOLAND Here's such a merry ging, I could find in my heart to sail to the world's end with such company (5.1.52-5).

As the textual notes to the play state, there were many taverns on the outer edges of London called 'The World's End', and it is telling that places on the periphery of the city are discursively positioned alongside undiscovered continents that potentially lay at the end of voyages of discovery. As Valerie Forman notes, 'In both cases, these characters make reference to a specific place within England but infuse it with the idea of a long voyage to an exotic land.'⁷⁵ The figuration of this trip as a voyage positions it alongside longer sea voyages, and arguably at this time, colonial voyages to America would have been some of the most pressing in the popular imagination. Dekker and Middleton expressly mention Virginia in the play, as noted above, so the New World context was already part of the imaginative landscape of the play. Paul Brown has discussed the 'expansive thrust' of British colonialism during the period as extending British power 'beyond existing spheres of influence into new margins.' These margins range from 'the extreme periphery of the New World' to the 'woods,

⁷⁵ Forman, 'Marked Angels', p. 1555.

wastes and suburbs' of England.⁷⁶ In its marginal and frequently transgressive reputation in both pamphlet and dramatic literature, the New World comes to occupy an ideological and representational space similar to that of the suburb – they are both 'margins' targeted by the 'expansive thrust' of English authority. Indeed, David Cressy has noted in relation to New England, that it seems more appropriate to consider it 'as an outlier of the old country, as a detached English province, than as a seed-bed of a new nation.'⁷⁷ Travel pamphlets, including those surrounding the New World venture, sold colonial discovery on the potential of discovering new lands and riches, but by the time Middleton and Dekker wrote *The Roaring Girl*, it was already becoming clear that the newly 'discovered' America contained as many threats as potential riches. The conflation of taverns located in London's suburbs, with undiscovered countries at the end of sea voyages, positions both as sites of potential disorder.

As well as being a symbolic space used to evoke certain connotations of the wider urban landscape in which the play was set, the specific spatial make up of the tavern, I argue, is evoked in the play to provide commentary on the commercially located figuration of normative and transgressive gender identities and spaces. Judith Hunter has asserted that it was alehouses, not taverns, which were more readily associated with 'a threat to orderly society'.⁷⁸ If a public,

⁷⁶ Paul Brown, "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine": *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism', in *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 48-71 (p. 52).

⁷⁷ David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. viii.

⁷⁸ Judith Hunter, 'English Inns, Taverns, Alehouses and Brandy Shops: The Legislative Framework, 1495-1797', in *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in*

commercial drinking space was being used only to denote disorder then an alehouse would seem to be a better signifier of this. This suggests that Middleton and Dekker repeatedly use 'taverns' for a specific reason. As Clark goes on to note 'London taverns were quite often on the first and second floor of houses – above a shop.'⁷⁹ As discussed above, Act Two of the play is 'formally organized around...three shops', which create 'a sense of a peopled social world but it also indicates the demarcations within it.' Moll's mobility between these commercial spaces and their occupants serves to spatially symbolize her more liberated, and transgressive, sexualized female identity in comparison with the wives who remain inside the shops. This distinction is troubled, as mentioned above, by the fact that Moll does not engage in sexually transgressive behaviour and Mrs Openwork/Goshawk do. This problematizing of the distinction between normative and transgressive female identity through mobility and sexual behaviour interacts here with a problematizing of the distinction between normative and transgressive commercial spaces. The space of the shop was a legitimate commercial space, the tavern was, in popular imagination and certainly within this play, associated with more transgressive behaviours, subjects, and commercial transactions. The segregation or 'demarcation' of normative and transgressive commercial space is problematized by the fact that taverns and shops frequently co-existed in the same building. Whether contemporary productions of the play were able to represent this on stage or not, the association would be suggested to the audience through their knowledge of this spatial relationship between shops and taverns in contemporary London.

Early Modern Europe, ed. by Beat Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 65-82 (p. 66).

⁷⁹ Clark, *The English Alehouse*, p. 12.

By association, any attempt to spatially represent normative and transgressive (gender) identity through association with normative or transgressive (commercial) urban spaces is also called into question by alluding to the overlap and lack of distinction between them. Nashe and Adams encountered material and ideological problems in their attempts to create a spatial separation between ordered and disordered subjects and ended up implicitly acknowledging the connections and blurring between these subjects and spaces. Middleton and Dekker allude to the same problems in their staging of the spatial and ideological overlap between the shops and taverns, and the wives and 'roaring girls', of the play.

Conclusion

Attempts by English and colonial authorities to segregate transgressive subjects and spaces was doomed to failure because of the mobility and flow of subjects between these spaces, and yet its proliferation as a form of spatial management abounds in the colonial and domestic narratives analysed above. As McLuskie and Bevington note, 'plays set boundaries round London, making the metropolis manageable, controlling the movement through different locations by the narrative.'⁸⁰ As a narrative tool the distinction created between City and suburb by Middleton and Dekker draws on 'urban myths' of their identities to reinforce the transgressive nature of the subjects and behaviour that occur in the suburbs.⁸¹ Whilst this might not adequately reflect the lived reality of London's

⁸⁰ McLuskie and Bevington, 'Introduction', p. 14.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 14.

spaces, it is highly effective as an ideological tool in defining normative and transgressive gender identities and mobilities. This narrative tactic is also used by colonial authorities in the creation of segregation between English settlement and native wilderness in order to define the colonists as superior and normative against the transgressive 'other' of the indigenous landscape and its inhabitants. However, despite colonists' best attempts to assert themselves as normative, the New World was still seen as a transgressive other, as an ideological 'suburb' of England that could be utilized by playwrights and pamphleteers in a similar way as the suburbs to suggest disorder.

The commercial focus of the Virginia project and the burgeoning capitalist economy in London led to an economic and material connection between the two locations, but also a connection through the use of commercial discourse to articulate normative and transgressive relationships between (gendered) subjects, mobilities, and spaces. The use of commercial discourse in ideologically loaded spatial distinctions was especially prevalent in defining women's value in the marital market of early modern England and its colonies. Assuring women's value within this patriarchal economy meant husbands and fathers protecting women's reputations by policing their movements, and the surrounding community judging women's behaviour outside the home. The Virginia Company shipping women to Virginia exacerbated anxieties around the implications of mobility to women's reputations and indeed the reputations of the entire household. This in turn influenced playwrights' representations of female mobility and value in the marital market. In all the examples analysed above attempts to limit and define transgressive subjects and spaces, and the relationship between the two, are problematized by the flow of objects and

people between these spaces. More specifically, they are problematized by the paradox lying at the heart of the patriarchal economy in early modern England that valued women's stasis but also depended on their travel to and participation in commercial, urban, and colonial spaces. Chapter Four continues my analysis of the role of spatial management and policing of mobility in defining normative and transgressive subjectivities and spaces, using rogue literature as a case study.

Chapter Four: Rogues, Beggars, and Savages: Managing Space and Policing Mobility in the Old and New Worlds

This chapter uses rogue and beggar literature as a case study to further my argument that the management of space and policing of mobility were key facets of domestic and colonial governance, and crucial aspects of the construction of hierarchized identities in England and the New World. I argue that the actions of rogues and beggars within the urban and provincial spaces of early modern England, much like the actions of Moll in *The Roaring Girl*, are evidence of what Michel de Certeau identifies as the ways in which users make ‘innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules.’¹ The ‘transformations’ performed by rogues and beggars constitute a defiance of the methods of spatial management designed to create and sustain the normative, hierarchical social order benefiting those who implement it from the top. The representational framework used by authorities in their depictions of this defiance marks an attempt to define it as transgressive and thus position the perpetrators as legitimate targets for control. I argue that colonial discourse redeployed this representational framework to position Native Americans in a similarly negative subject position in order to facilitate the construction of a racialized hierarchy of national identity that legitimated the control and subordination of indigenous inhabitants by English colonists. The redeployment of this representational scheme in a colonial context also came to influence rogue

¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. xiii.

literature in England, demonstrating the reflexive relationship between discourses of space and identity in England and its New World colonies.

As Andrew McRae has observed, 'Rogue literature flourished at a historical moment at which the state was working to define the boundaries between licit and illicit mobility.'² Representations of rogues and beggars were intricately connected to the naturalisation of authorities' management and policing of English spaces during this period, both at home and in the New World. Indeed, Craig Dionne and Steve Mentz have noted in relation to John Florio's contemporary translation of Montaigne's account of the Spanish conquest of the New World, that 'early modern Europeans used the idea of cony-catching to think about various cultural phenomena, including the colonial project.'³ I believe this is applicable to the English as well as Spanish conquest of the New World and will provide evidence of this throughout the course of this chapter. My analysis of domestic and colonial authorities' representations of spatial management and its defiance will build on the methodological framework utilized in Chapter Three – namely Tim Cresswell's work in *In Place/Out of Place* and his assertion that 'expectations about behaviour in place are important components in the construction, maintenance, and evolution of ideological values.'⁴ Spatial management and the policing of mobility constitute integral parts of constructing these 'expectations' and 'ideological values', and the normative/transgressive identities associated with adherence to and defiance of

² Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 93.

³ Craig Dionne and Steve Mentz, 'Introduction', in *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture*, ed. by Craig Dionne and Steve Mentz (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), pp. 1-29 (p. 10).

⁴ Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 4.

them. I will also build further on the work of de Certeau, who in response to Michel Foucault's work in *Discipline and Punish* writes:

If it is true that the grid of 'discipline' is everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive, it is all the more urgent to discover how an entire society resists being reduced to it, what popular procedures (also 'miniscule' and quotidian) manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them, and finally, what 'ways of operating' form the counterpart, on the consumer's (or 'dominee's?') side, of the mute processes that organize the establishment of socioeconomic order.⁵

I will apply this line of interrogation to the 'popular procedures' of rogues, beggars, and Native Americans and their representation in domestic and colonial literature emerging during the early part of the seventeenth century. I argue that the localized knowledges and wayfinding practices of these social groups are evidence of 'ways of operating' that challenge normative spatial management. At the same time I will analyse the techniques of spatial management utilized in England and its New World colonies to try and curtail these practices, arguing that the transportation of these techniques reveals their importance in the spatial construction of English culture, society, and national identity. In both England and the New World authorities represented localized knowledges and wayfinding practices as threateningly covert and unknown, and thus transgressive. I argue that the representation of these behaviours as transgressive also constituted an attempt by authorities to defuse resistance to,

⁵ de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xiv.

and manipulation of, spatial ‘mechanisms of discipline’, as well as revealing an attempt to create a hierarchized distinction between social groups – a return to the centre and the margin described by Cresswell in Chapter Three.⁶

Before delving into these arguments and comparisons, it is worth pausing to consider rogue literature as a genre and the terminology I will use in discussing it. I use the term ‘cony-catching pamphlets’ to denote pamphlet works such as those of Thomas Harman and Thomas Dekker, and the term ‘rogue literature’ to encompass the wider spectrum of dramatic works that represented rogue and beggar communities like Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher’s *Beggars’ Bush* (c.1612-14) and Richard Brome’s *A Jovial Crew* (c.1641) – both of which drew on cony-catching pamphlets. Harman and Dekker produced two of the most influential cony-catching pamphlets of the period: Harman’s *A Caveat for Commen Cursetors* (1566), and Dekker’s *The Belman of London* (1608). The purpose of cony-catching pamphlets was to inform the reader of the inner workings of marginalized communities of rogues and vagrants, to define their language, social hierarchies, and criminality. As Joad Raymond summarizes, ‘The tradition commenced by Robert Copland c. 1535 and Thomas Harman in 1561 flourished during 1591-2 with a series of pamphlets by Robert Greene which influenced Thomas Middleton, Thomas Dekker and many other writers of the seventeenth century.’⁷ However, as Patricia Fumerton articulates, these pamphlets were in no way accurate representations: ‘The myth of a vagrant subculture, promulgated in the contemporary rogue literature of Thomas Harman, Robert Greene, and Thomas Dekker, among others, has been debunked

⁶ See Chapter Three, and Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, p. 149.

⁷ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 17.

by recent historians of vagrancy.⁸ Rather, as Raymond goes on to state, these pamphlets expressed 'through fiction, narrative and other literary devices, prevalent concerns about morality and social transformation.'⁹ Julie Sanders sees 'stage beggars' performing a similar function, namely as 'evidence of the ways in which the figure of the beggar was deployed in early modern literature in an emblematic way in order to facilitate discussion of social and political issues.'¹⁰ It is this notion of cony-catching pamphlets, and indeed rogue literature more generally, as vehicles for expressing social and moral concerns that I take as my starting point for analysing their interaction with colonial discourse. If the rogues and beggars of early modern literature constitute inaccurate stereotypes created to interrogate pressing social concerns, then exploring their connection to equally inaccurate and loaded representations of Native Americans helps expose the anxieties felt by authorities in England and the New World around spatial management and social control.

Fumerton also states that 'Rather than thinking of the unsettled poor as constituting an organized subculture or specific class, we might best think of them as sharing an array of practices or habits – foremost being economic, interpersonal, and spatial mobility.'¹¹ Fumerton's (re)articulation of rogues and vagrants as a more heterogeneous group of 'unsettled poor' connected by 'practices and habits' of 'economic, interpersonal, and spatial mobility' also offers a productive point of connection to representations of Native Americans. Despite

⁸ Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 7.

⁹ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 17, p. 18.

¹⁰ Julie Sanders, 'Beggars' Commonwealths and the Pre-Civil War Stage: Suckling's "The Goblins," Brome's "A Jovial Crew," and Shirley's "The Sisters"', *The Modern Language Review*, 97:1 (2002), 1-14 (p. 1).

¹¹ Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 50.

being culturally distinct and geographically separate, these two social groups share traits of 'economic, interpersonal, and spatial mobility' – facets of their identities that allow them to display 'ways of operating' that challenge normative spatial management and at the same time to be marginalized through the representation of these practices as transgressive by domestic and colonial authorities. The connection between the colonial project and the mobile poor also has a very material side to it. As will be described in more detail in the conclusion to this chapter, the court books of Bridewell Prison contain numerous references to inmates who were forcibly sent to Virginia after their incarceration, and several of these inmates' crimes are explicitly noted as being that of vagrancy. With this context in mind, in the first section of this chapter I turn to an analysis of the representation of the wayfinding and spatial practices of rogues and Native Americans and argue that they were identified and then represented by authorities in both locations as transgressive to legitimize their eradication and the control of the groups practicing them. I follow this with a short reading of *Beggars' Bush*, arguing that it is demonstrative of the role dramatic texts could play in interrogating the representational strategies used by authorities in the analyses preceding it. I go on in the next section to show the similar ways domestic and colonial control was facilitated in the arrangement of the material infrastructure of England and the New World. I also illuminate the ways this control was enacted within these material spaces through observation and policing, but equally how these spaces became sites of resistance and negotiation. The final section provides a literary case study of *Beggars' Bush* and *A Jovial Crew* to demonstrate in depth both the role early modern drama played in shaping and challenging the discourses of spatial management and policing,

but also the shifting influence of colonial discourse on the representation of this spatial management and policing.

Wayfinding, Local Knowledge and Covert Navigation

Reginald G. Golledge argues that ‘When interacting with an environment, the most pervasive choice to be faced is how to travel in that environment. Making inadequate or incorrect decisions about travel results in being lost and suffering psychological and physiological discomforts.’¹² Deciding how to navigate an environment is, and was, a crucial part of existing successfully within it. The ways people undertake this are complex and rely on various forms of what Golledge calls ‘wayfinding’, which he defines as ‘the ability to determine a route, learn it, and retrace or reverse it from memory.’¹³ This section argues that both rogues and Native Americans practiced covert wayfinding and navigational techniques that facilitated the localized needs of the social groups they belonged to – needs and practices that came into conflict with English and colonial authorities’ management of space to produce hierarchical identities and social order. McRae observes that cony-catching pamphlets were ‘founded on a desire to expose occult forms of knowledge, thereby asserting control over the threatening and unknown.’¹⁴ If the knowledge underpinning the covert navigational practices of rogues could be uncovered, then these practices would be easier to control and their threat would be mitigated. Throughout this section

¹² Reginald G. Golledge, ‘Human Wayfinding and Cognitive Maps’, in *Colonization of Unfamiliar Landscapes: The Archaeology of Adaptation*, ed. by Marcy Rockman and James Steele (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 25-43 (p. 25).

¹³ Ibid, p. 25.

¹⁴ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, p. 98.

I argue that two of the key points of connection in representations of Native Americans and rogues/beggars in colonial and domestic literature were their possession of an 'occult' knowledge that facilitated their performance of covert navigation.

Harman, in *A Caveat for Commen Cursetors*, when describing how rogues escape after committing crimes, says that 'they seldome or never passe by a Justices house, but have by wayes'.¹⁵ The OED defines a 'by-way' as a 'way other than the highway; a side road; a secluded, private, obscure, or unfrequented way'. An additional definition notes that the word was often used 'depreciatively', giving examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁶ Harman's rogues move around the English landscape using their own network of obscure, unregulated 'by wayes' and the possession of this knowledge allows them to evade the spatial policing and control of authority figures represented by the 'Justices house'. Dekker's *The Belman of London* attributes similar practices to the rogues occupying the streets of London. The opening of the pamphlet asserts that it will open the readers' eyes to 'Grand and common abuses, that daily walke by you, keeping aloofe (in corners) out of the reach of the Law.'¹⁷ Dekker portrays his rogues as being able to navigate the space of the city without being detected by either law enforcement or the public. Dekker later describes gatherings of rogues in which they exchange knowledge and ratify their own social hierarchy through swearing oaths and states that 'they holde these solemne meetings in foure severall seasons of the yeare at least, and in

¹⁵ Thomas Harman, *A Caveat of Warening for Commen Cursetors* (1567), p. 12.

¹⁶ By-way, n., def. 1; def. 2, *OED Online*.

¹⁷ Thomas Dekker, *The Belman of London* (London, 1608), p. 2.

severall places to avoyde discoverie.’¹⁸ Key to the rogues’ success is their ability to remain undetected and to conduct their activities in a manner that keeps them hidden from the rest of society. For both Harman and Dekker, the wayfinding knowledge that allows the rogues to navigate English spaces covertly connects them to a transgressive, criminal identity that threatens social order. The ideological connection between these kinds of spatial practices and transgressive, threatening identities is one that, I argue, is also utilized in colonial discourse to marginalize indigenous inhabitants of the New World.

In advice issued by the King’s Council for Virginia in 1606, colonial leaders are advised:

Your discoverers that passes [sic] overland with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them, and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass, for that country, having no way or path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.¹⁹

This extract encapsulates the anxiety felt by English colonists who were forced to rely on Native American guides to navigate the unfamiliar New World environment and implicitly acknowledges the local wayfinding knowledge possessed by the Native Americans and unavailable to the colonists. As Stephen

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 17.

¹⁹ His Majesties Council for Virginia, ‘Instructions given by way of Advice by us whom it hath pleased the King’s Majesty to appoint of the Counsel for the intended voyage to Virginia’, in *The Genesis of the United States*, ed. by Alexander Brown, 2 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1890), pp. 79-85 (p. 83).

Greenblatt observes in his analysis of the linguistic colonisation of indigenous peoples by the Spanish in South America: 'Indians who learned the language served as intermediaries, informants, and guides, but they could not always be counted upon to serve the colonists' interests.'²⁰ There was a similar unease in English colonists' knowledge that their Native American 'hired guides' could either lead them to safety or 'slip' from them into 'woods' and 'desert', leaving the English with no idea how to replicate the journey their guides have just brought them on. Familiar navigational aids, like the compass, are prescribed to offer some reassurance and to begin the process of English colonists building their own knowledge of the space by mapping it in a way that allowed routes to be 'retraced and reversed' in the future. The empiricist nature and representation of English navigational practice serves to construct and highlight the more obscure and hidden navigational techniques employed by the Native American guides.

In a later set of instructions issued in 1609 it is clear that even utilising familiar English navigational strategies has not been enough to gain sufficient geographical knowledge of the area to achieve mastery over it. In the following document directions are issued to assist the discovery of a suitable site to settle:

Four dayes Journey from your forte Southwards is a towne called
Ohonahorn seated where the Rover of Choanocki devideth it self into
three branches and falleth into the sea of Rawnocke in thirtie five
degrees this place if you seeke by Indian guides from James forte to

²⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 108 and Chapter Five.

Winocke by water, from thence to Manqueocke, some twenty miles from thence to Caththega [sic], as much and from thence to Oconahoen you shall finde a brave and fruitful seate.²¹

This extract contains highly detailed navigational instructions, including compass points, distances, and landmarks and yet the colonists will still need the assistance of 'Indian guides' to reach it. The unfamiliar and unknown navigational skills practiced by the (probably Powhatan) Native Americans are clearly still more useful at this point than the skills and tools possessed by the English. This creates a power imbalance in which the inaccessible spatial and navigational knowledge possessed by the Powhatan poses an ideological threat to a superior English intellect and skillset, as well as a more immediate threat to the physical safety of the colonists. There is an acute awareness of this fact in the later advice not to 'lett any of the Savages dwell betwene you and the Sea – least they be made guides to your enemies.'²² The English were all too aware of the Powhatan's superior navigational skills and the manifold ways it threatened their security.

In *Observations Gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia* (1608), George Percy comments that throughout the course of a long march across the landscape they 'could neither see Savage nor Towne'. This is in part evidence of the erasure of indigenous presence on the landscape, as explored in the discussion of homes and domestic spaces in

²¹ 'Virginia Council, 'Instructions orders and constitucons to Sr Thomas Gates Knight Governor of Virginia, May 1609', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), p.12-24 (p. 17).

²² *Ibid*, p. 18.

Chapter One, but it is also an indication of the elusiveness of a Native American presence that Percy knew to be there. He also states that

At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Savages creeping upon all foure, from the Hills like Beares, with their Bowes in their mouthes.²³

George Percy is aware the Native Americans inhabit the same environment as he does, yet he is unable to 'see Savage or Towne' until they creep upon him covertly. This representation of Native American spatial practice forms part of the same ideological discourse as Dekker's portrayal of the mobilities and 'secret villainies' of the rogues as 'More dangerous...to a State, then a *Civill warre*, because their vilainies are more subtill and more enduring' – one that portrays covert, unknown spatial practices as threatening.²⁴ Their invisibility within and covert navigation of the New World landscape allows the Native Americans to 'creep upon' the English when they were at their most vulnerable. Their appearance at night feeds into the narrative of secrecy surrounding Native American relationship to the land – a connection also made by Dekker when he describes his Belman as stealing forth 'in the night' to uncover 'that broode of mischiefe, which is engendered in the wombe of darkness.'²⁵

The animalized description of the Native Americans as being 'like Beares,' and 'creeping upon all foure', goes further in mystifying their mobility across the

²³ George Percy, 'Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English 1606', in *The Genesis of the United States*, pp. 152-68 (p. 157, p. 156).

²⁴ Dekker, *The Belman of London*, p. 2.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 1.

landscape. Animal movement is unpredictable and disordered – for the Native Americans to move like animals is for their mobility to be beyond the comprehension and control of the colonists. As Erica Fudge has explored in depth, the association between animals and irrationality was frequently used to subordinate not only non-human animals, but animalized human beings too.²⁶ The comparison of Native Americans to bears associates them with the position of this specific animal in early modern England. Andreas Höfele argues that bear-baiting (and other forms of entertainment centred around bears) in early modern London ‘was modelled on human punishment, resembling in both form and appeal the attacks on victims of the scaffold, the stocks, the whipping posts, and the pillory’. He also states that ‘the protocols of early modern punishment included ceremonies of humiliation such as the pillory or “whipping at the cart’s tail”, which signalled the convict’s downgrading to a subhuman, “bestial” status.’²⁷ The ‘downgrading’ of Native Americans to a bear-like, ‘subhuman, bestial status’ feeds into the representational scheme that legitimizes their punishment and control by colonial authorities. By metaphorically pairing them with bears Percy draws the Native Americans into a semantic field that promotes a voyeuristic pleasure in the reduction of a threatening ‘other’ to a tamed spectacle, and indeed sees this process as acceptable and narratively/visually bound together with sanctioned forms of (human) punishment. Dekker makes a similar animalistic association when his Belman voices a promise that: ‘my *Bell*

²⁶ Erica Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

²⁷ Andreas Höfele, *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare’s Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 10, p. 9. See also Bernd Brunner, *Bears: A Brief History*, trans. by Lori Lantz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 183-6.

shall ever be ringing, and that faithfull servant of mine (the Dog that follows me) be ever biting of these wilde beastes, till they be driven into one heard, and so hunted into the toiles of the *Lawe*.’²⁸ Dekker animalizes the rogues as more generic ‘wilde beastes’, but specifically connects this savage animal identity to the punitive ‘toiles of the lawe.’ In Dekker, and more subtly in the semantic associations drawn by Percy, the animalisation of the rogues and Native Americans is connected to a legitimisation of not only their subordination but also their punishment at the hands of English legislature and its enforcers.

Another point of connection in domestic and colonial writers’ articulation of rogues and Native Americans is in their use of uncontrolled and unregulated spaces to navigate their environments – one specific and prolific example being that of forests. As Anne Barton suggests, ‘It is the nature of forests, both in literature and life, *not* to be safe.’²⁹ Forests have a social, cultural, and literary identity as spaces of threat and danger. As Julie Sanders observes, ‘There is a long literary history of representing woodland and forest geographies as places of escape and exile, of non-normative and therefore potentially transgressive, practice.’³⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, many early modern writers associated negative behaviours and identities with the people who inhabited these forest spaces. In his 1589 pamphlet *The Arte of English Poseie* George Puttenham writes of people living in forests as ‘vagrant and dispersed like wild beast, lawless and

²⁸ Dekker, *The Belman of London*, p. 3.

²⁹ Anne Barton, *The Shakespearean Forest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 2.

³⁰ Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 65.

naked.’³¹ Abigail Scherer has also noted that James I’s 1610 statute concerning forests states that the ‘multitudes of cottages [...] next unto his Majesty’s forests, chases and parks’ were ‘breeders [...] nurseries and receptacles of thieves, rogues, and beggars and other malefactors and disordered persons.’³² As unregulated and ‘non-normative’ spaces forests became synonymous with threat and disorder. This association was used in contemporary literature and drama to suggest ‘potentially transgressive practice’ and, as Keith Thomas says, ‘that any men who lived in the woods must be rough and barbarous.’³³ This assumption is also connected to the literary and cultural tradition of ‘wodewoses’ or ‘wildmen’ – forest dwelling men living outside the bounds of civilized society and posing a threat to travellers passing through.³⁴ The use of forests to suggest this context of disordered behaviour and identity is utilized in just such a way in both rogue literature and colonial discourse to locate and frame the wayfinding practices of rogues and Native Americans.

Additional advice offered by the King’s Council in 1606 to colonists in Virginia suggests that:

You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town for all the men

³¹ As quoted in Abigail Scherer, ‘*Mucedorus’s Wild Man: Disorderly Acts on the Early Modern Stage*’, in *Renaissance Papers 1999*, ed. by T. H. Howard-Hill and Philip Rollinson (Rochester: Camden House, 1999), pp. 55-65 (p. 57).

³² *Ibid*, p. 57.

³³ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 195.

³⁴ Barton, *The Shakespearean Forest*, p. 59. See also Scherer.

you have shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year, besides that it may serve for a cover for your enemies round about.³⁵

This extract implies that as well as causing additional labour for the colonists wooded areas will offer opportunities for disguise and hidden movement by 'enemies'. This echoes the description cited above of Native American guides disappearing into the woods and makes clearer the association of this hidden movement with a threat to English safety. In his account of the Jamestown Massacre, analysed in depth in Chapter Two, Waterhouse conveys the 'treacherous dissimulation' of the Powhatan by stating that 'even two dayes before the Massacre, some of our men were guided thorow the woods by them in safety'.³⁶ As Catherine Armstrong notes, forests were feared by colonists 'not only because of traditional folk attitudes brought over from Europe but also because of real dangers encountered in America.'³⁷ The inclusion of woods as the space through which the Powhatan led the colonists safely draws on existing assumptions of the danger inherent in this kind of space and marries it with the new threat of violence from the Powhatan. In the same way that the safe, ordered space of the home was used to exacerbate the betrayal of conventions of hospitality by the Powhatan described in Chapter Two, so the woods here build on the same narrative of conscious deceit through the suggestion that it was a space in which an attack by the Powhatan would be expected but was not forthcoming. Harman, in *A Caveat for Commen Cursetors*, as well as describing the

³⁵ 'Instructions given by way of Advice', p. 84.

³⁶ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, p. 13.

³⁷ Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 70.

'by wayes' used by rogues when evading capture after committing crimes, says they will 'hygh them into wodes, great thickets, and other ruffe corners, where they lye lurkinge thre or foure dayes together'.³⁸ The woods offer the rogues a space in which they can remain hidden and evade the observation and thus control of English authorities. Both rogue and Native American uses of forest and woodland spaces to navigate their environments covertly are connected to their identities and behaviours as threatening to social order. Harman, and the colonial writers cited above, utilize and feed into existing understandings of forests as spaces in which mobility is difficult to police and regulate, and in which transgressive activities and social groups convene.

Despite these negative associations with forest and woodland spaces, discourse emerging from the colonial project, and also from English writers more generally, frequently discussed woods as a positive facet of New World colonisation as they would provide a resource England was in desperate need of. In 1609 Johnson notes of Virginia that 'plentie of woodes (the wants of England) are there growing: goodly Okes and Elmes, Beech and Birch, Spruce, Walnut, Cedar and firre trees, in great abundance'.³⁹ Contemporaneously, Arthur Standish in his treatise on English agrarian reform, *The Common's Complaint* (1611), laments that 'there is no Timber left in this Kingdome at this instant onely to repaire the buildings thereof an other age, much lesse to build withall: whereby this greivance doth daily increase.'⁴⁰ As noted above, forests and woods were seen as sites of threat and disorder in England and its colonies, and yet their necessity to the economy of both is made explicit in the

³⁸ Harman, *A Caveat*, p. 12.

³⁹ Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Arthur Standish, *The Commons Complaint* (London, 1611), p. 1.

acknowledgement of the timber, fuel, and other resources they provide. As Vin Nardizzi has observed, 'In these treatises, the panacea for England's exhausted woodlands and for Europe's weakened market in wood product will be Virginia's abundance of trees.'⁴¹ There emerges an ironic double standard in which woods and forests are both transgressive and desirable. This conflict is encapsulated by Johnson's description of the Virginia Colony in 1612, when he writes:

The Colonie is removed up the river fourescore miles further beyond *Jamestowne* to a place of higher ground, strong and defencible by nature, a good aire, wholesome and cleere (unlike the marish seate at *Jamestowne*) with fresh and plentie of water springs, much faire and open grounds freed from woods, and wood enough at hand.⁴²

The situation of the colony as 'freed from woods', but with 'wood enough at hand', realizes the somewhat oxymoronic relationship with woods implied in the various extracts above. The New World, then, was intimately bound up with economic and ideological understandings of the role forest spaces played in English society at this time as a both a transgressive and desirable space. In the next section I argue that in *Beggars' Bush* Beaumont and Fletcher interrogate this troubled relationship between domestic and colonial authorities' representations of forest spaces and the transgressive subjects who inhabited them.

⁴¹ Vin Nardizzi, *Wooden Os: Shakespeare's Theatres and England's Trees* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), p. 120. See also William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), p. 20.

⁴² Johnson, *Newe Life*, p. 23.

Woods and Wayfinding in *Beggars' Bush*

Performances of *Beggars' Bush* are recorded in December 1622 at Whitehall, and in November 1630 at court, as well as numerous times thereafter. The date of composition is uncertain, but could be as early as 1612 and was certainly no later than 1622.⁴³ This means composition and first performances of the play occurred during the fledging days of the Jamestown and Plymouth colonies, when promotional material and conversations around the viability and economic worth of these projects were on the rise – as demonstrated in the extracts above. I argue that Beaumont and Fletcher interrogate and draw on discourses surrounding the paradoxical conception of woods as socially important but also threatening sites in which transgressive wayfinding and navigational practices are performed. In Act Five of the play, when advising Hemskirk what to do with his soldiers, Hubert says:

Devide then,
Your force into five Squadrons; for there are
So many outlets, wayes, thorough the wood,
That issue from the place where they are lodg'd;
Five severall wayes, of all which passages

⁴³ Fredson Bowers, 'Textual Introduction', in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. by Fredson Bowers, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 227-8.

We must possess our selves, to round 'em in.⁴⁴

Hubert's description of the woods as having 'so many outlets' and 'wayes', and the 'enemy' as having 'five severall wayes' of escaping 'the place where they are lodg'd', speaks to the capacity of forest spaces to allow highly localized and covert wayfinding practices. The danger of this capacity is hinted at by the implication that the beggars of the play 'lodge' in the forest and therefore possess the knowledge and skills to navigate this space covertly and more efficiently than Hemskirk and his soldiers. This is a scenario all too familiar to English colonists in Virginia who underline their fear that surrounding woods 'may serve for cover for your enemies round about.' The beggars of the play, like the rogues and Native Americans above, are positioned as threatening because of their use of disordered spaces like woods to move around the landscape. As Sanders notes in her reading of woodland settings in early modern plays and masques, 'it is not the forest per se that bestows liberty to its inhabitants, but rather, the spatial practice of it by particular communities that achieves this condition.'⁴⁵ I argue that this is true of the rogues and Native Americans in the pamphlets above as well as the beggars of Beaumont and Fletcher's imagining. All three groups realize the potential of the less regulated space of the forest to 'liberate' them from various types of social control and spatial management by utilizing them to move about the landscape covertly.

This liberating spatial practice was, of course, a threat to normative society and social order as it offered alternative, disordered ways of utilizing

⁴⁴ Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Beggars' Bush*, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, 5.1.134-8.

⁴⁵ Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama*, p. 68.

space and performing identity. However, it was a spatial practice that could also be co-opted by the very people who looked to regulate and curtail it – as evidenced in Virginian colonists’ use of Native American guides and their wayfinding skills. This use of, and perhaps even reliance on, transgressive spatial and navigational practice destabilizes hierarchized distinctions between normative and transgressive subject positions that spatial management and policing hopes to achieve. Beaumont and Fletcher, in 4.4 of *Beggars’ Bush*, interrogate the ideological implications of this ‘co-opting’ and destabilization. In this scene Hubert, a Lord loyal to the usurped king and posing as a huntsman, has promised (as part of an elaborate deception) to guide Hemskirk’s forces to the ‘rebels’ he seeks. As part of this agreement Hubert says:

Now for a guide

To draw ye without danger on these persons,
The woods being thicke, and hard to hit, my selfe
With some few with me, made unto our purpose,
Beyond the wood, upon the plain, will wait ye
By the great Oke. (4.4.63-8).

Earlier in the play when ingratiating himself with the beggars, Hubert uses his navigational skills as a selling point. Hubert says to the gathered beggars:

May a poore huntsman, with a merry hart,
A voyce shall make the forrest ring about him,
Get leave to live amongst ye? True as steele, boyes?

That knows all chases, and can watch all howres,
And with my quarter staffe, though the Divell bid stand,
Deale such an almes, shall make him roare again?
Prick ye the fearfull hare through crosse wayes, sheepe walkes.
And force the crafty Reynard climb the quicksetts
Rouse ye the lofty Stag, and with my bell-horne,
Ring him a knell, that all the woods shall mourne him (3.4.78-87).

Hubert is showing the beggars he is a capable hunter and therefore a valuable addition to their crew in his capacity to procure food. But one of the crucial aspects of his skill as a hunter is his knowledge of all the 'chases' and his capacity to track the hare 'through crosse wayes' and 'sheepe walkes', and to outmanoeuvre the fox and force it to 'climb the quicksetts'.⁴⁶ The OED defines crossways as literally the crossing of two roads, but also as another descriptor of 'a by-way', which as noted above was used in Harman's *Caveat* to denote the hidden, covert navigational practice of the rogues.⁴⁷ 'Quicksetts' refer to the kind of 'quickset hedge' used to enclose areas of common or arable land that would then become the 'sheepe walkes' housing pastureland given over to grazing. The implication of enclosure and other reforms to the agrarian spaces of England and the New World will be returned to in depth in the next chapter, but in this context the 'quicksetts' and 'sheepe walks' work alongside the 'crossways' to suggest an illicit movement across the landscape by implying that Hubert will

⁴⁶ The OED cites contemporary meaning of chases as 'A hunting-ground, a tract of unenclosed land reserved for breeding and hunting wild animals; unenclosed park-land.' Chase, *n.*¹, def. 3, *OED Online*.

⁴⁷ Cross-way, *n.*, def. 1a, *OED Online*.

disregard or circumnavigate these material forms of spatial management. Hubert's navigational skills are key to his ability to hunt successfully by facilitating his movement through unregulated spaces like the 'chase' and 'crosse wayes', but also his covert movement through policed spaces like the enclosed 'sheep walkes'. Hemskirk will use Hubert's transgressive skillset to navigate the landscape more successfully, complicating attempts to define normative and/or transgressive subject positions through a framework of adherence to or defiance of normative navigational practices and mobility.

Perhaps even more challenging to this framework is the fact that Hubert is actually a lord in disguise and not a beggar. As a lord, Hubert should be invested in the maintenance of normative social hierarchies and order, and thus the spatial management and navigational practices that support them. However, Hubert is already familiar enough with transgressive navigational practices that it is he who offers these skills to the beggars rather than the beggars offering to teach them to him. Hubert possesses the knowledge and skills necessary to feel safe in the disordered spaces of forests and chases, and is able to utilize these spaces in ways attributed to transgressive subject groups like the rogues and Native Americans in the extracts above. This of course could also speak to the difficulty of distinguishing between legitimate, and indeed royally sanctioned and performed, hunting practices in forest spaces and the more illegitimate navigational and food gathering practices performed by beggars in the same spaces – an issue that will be returned to in the next section. Beaumont and Fletcher do not necessarily draw directly on colonial discourse in *Beggars' Bush*. However, I suggest that their interrogation of spatial management and navigational practice as tools to position subjects as normative or transgressive

is informed by colonial discourse's influence over understandings and representations of forest spaces.

Colonial discourse and cony-catching pamphlets identify the local wayfinding practices and covert navigational practices of Native Americans and rogues respectively, and use them to construct a negative, transgressive subject positions for these groups. Similarly, the use of less regulated, disordered spaces like forests are identified by both discourses as part of the navigational practices that define these social groups as transgressive and thus targets for subordination and control. Beaumont and Fletcher engage with these discourses, and the long literary history of disordered forest spaces, and interrogate the capacity of wayfinding and navigational practice to define normative and transgressive subject positions. Despite the efficacy of this strategy being questioned in *Beggars' Bush*, it was nevertheless a prevalent one. Alongside the identification of transgressive wayfinding practices by colonial and domestic authorities were attempts to regulate and police them through intervention in the material environments in which they were practiced.

Roads and Patrols: Regulating Mobility Through the Material Landscape

This section argues that in the colonies and England the construction of paths and roads, and the policing of these spaces, formed part of attempts by authorities to manage spaces and police mobility. Roads allowed authorities to restrict and police the wayfinding practices of lower social orders, whilst at the same time visibly displaying their power through this policing, as well as through events such as royal progresses. In the transference and overlap of these

methods of spatial management between England and the New World I reveal their importance to early modern English society's construction of hierarchical national identities and social order. Paths and roads offer easy wayfinding aids and encourage subjects to utilize these routes because they reduce the risk of making what Golledge called 'inadequate or incorrect decisions about travel'. However, paths and roads also work to limit the wayfinding practices and routes of subjects within any given environment. María Nieves Zedeño and Richard W. Stoffle argue that 'Pathways order human-land interactions in two ways: first, they link places, resources, and objects sequentially and hierarchically; and second, they determine the confines wherein humans can engage repeatedly in particular experiences and activities.'⁴⁸ Placing 'confines' around navigational practices (or at least attempting to) also works to designate certain forms of travel and wayfinding as normative and others as transgressive by creating, as Cresswell states above, 'expectations about behaviour in place' that go on to inform the 'evolution of ideological values.' Throughout the course of this section I argue that the construction of roads and paths by English colonists in the New World formed part of a spatial management strategy that looked to remove their reliance on Native American guides and to ostracize indigenous wayfinding practices. This strategy was transported from England where similar material and ideological uses of roads, pathways, and other interventions on the landscape sought to regulate popular mobility and marginalize alternate forms of navigation and mobility such as those practiced by rogues and beggars.

⁴⁸ María Nieves Zedeño and Richard W. Stoffle, "Tracking the Role of Pathways in the Evolution of a Human Landscape: The St Croix Riverway in Ethnohistorical Perspective", in *Colonization of Unfamiliar Landscapes*, pp. 59-80 (p. 61).

In advice issued by the Council for Virginia in 1606 on planning settlements, colonial leaders are told:

seeing order is at the same price with confusion it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it, that from hence with a few field pieces you may command every street throughout, which market place you may also fortify if you think it need full.⁴⁹

In this extract social order is explicitly connected to the material construction of the settlement and 'streets' form an integral part of this ideological and material infrastructure. The Virginia Council suggests that by building houses evenly and in a line and by constructing streets with a 'good breadth' that all lead to the centre of the settlement – the market place – the settlement will be ordered and easier to defend. This instruction forms part of the same interpretive framework that sees the hidden movement of the 'creeping' Native Americans and 'lurking' rogues as a distinct threat to English security. Wide, visible streets allow surveillance and the colonists will be able to 'command every street throughout' with only 'a few field pieces'. The settlement will be secure and defensible precisely because the Native Americans will no longer be able to 'creep' up on the colonists unnoticed and indeed, the colonists themselves will be observable by colonial leaders. The construction of these streets changes the material landscape on which the wayfinding practices of the Native Americans relies and

⁴⁹ 'Instructions given by way of Advice', p. 84-5.

in doing so contains the threat these practices pose. Equally, it removes the potential for English colonists to inhabit transgressive identities by engaging in unregulated movement around the environment by ‘determining the confines’ within which they can navigate this space.

When considering the redeployment of roads as a method of spatial management by English colonists, the origin of roads within England itself is a matter worth brief consideration. McRae explores various representations of roads in England in the early modern period and notes that most major highways dated back to the Roman invasion of England. These ancient roads were seen as markers of civilisation and order, often praised for their aesthetics as well as their practicality.⁵⁰ But as McRae notes in relation to William Burton’s writings on Roman Britain’s roads: ‘Their sheer physical weight and determined straightness, as well as the appreciation of their design for military usage, might therefore suggest colonial tyranny as much as Burton’s “Magnificence or Elegancy”’.⁵¹ It is worth considering, then, that English preoccupation with building straight, well-constructed roads in Virginia may stem from a notion of colonial control and military strategy inherited from their own Roman history. Indeed, in Johnson’s *Nova Britannia*, he writes that the English ‘had continued brutish poore and naked Brittans to this day, if Iulius Caesar with his Romaine Legions, (or some other) had not laid the grounds to make us tame and civill.’⁵² The Roman colonisation of England served as a blueprint for the ‘civilising’

⁵⁰ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, pp. 70-74; and M. G. Lay, *Ways of the World: A History of the World’s Roads and of the Vehicles that used them* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), Chapter Three.

⁵¹ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, p. 72. See also Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 151.

⁵² Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia* (London, 1609), p. 13.

narrative Johnson constructed in relation to the colonists' interactions with the New World landscape and indigenous peoples – the English colonists bringing the same 'colonial tyranny' to Virginia as the Romans did to England.

This desire for ordering of the Virginian landscape through streets and roads is seen again in 1609 instructions issued by the Virginia Council in relation to the construction of three new settlements. In these instructions the Council states that:

In buildinge your towns you shall as easily keepe Decorum and order as confusion and so you shall prepare for ornament and safety at once for every streete may answere one another and all of them the markett place or Storehowse in the Midle which at the leaste must be paved and made firme and Dry.⁵³

Again, the connection between material infrastructure and social order is made explicit and, once again, the construction of streets is a central facet of this ordering infrastructure. The dynamic nature of streets and the sense of connection they provide between peoples and places are highlighted in this extract by the notion of them 'answering' one another and all converging in the 'middle' at the market place or storehouse. In this figuration it is the streets that facilitate navigation and mobility around the space of the town, and ordered streets will ensure this movement is ordered too. The sense of flow to and around a central point also suggests a flow from this central point. In the first

⁵³ Virginia Council, 'Instructions orders and constitucons to Sr Thomas Gates', p. 17.

extract 'every street's end' will open into the market place and this is connected to an ease of defence via the ability to see approaching enemies. This image of almost omniscient visibility also plays into the idea that streets facilitate social control of the general populous by restricting their movement to navigational channels that can be monitored and regulated by those in power. This omniscient visibility and tight regulation creates a 'grid of discipline', as de Certeau would call it, which stands in opposition to the more disordered space of forests and the resistance to spatial policing they facilitated.⁵⁴

The figuration of the marketplace as the central point in both extracts is worth brief consideration too. Stallybrass and White have called the English marketplace 'the epitome of local identity', and Dave Postles has argued that the marketplace was a space of various kinds of social and commercial negotiations and as such was an important hub for local and national communities and a space that 'represented civic honour'.⁵⁵ Postles goes on to discuss the social importance of the marketplace through its use as a space by ecclesiastical and civil authorities to display their power through public punishment of criminal and immoral activities. The recreation of this traditional site of 'civic honour' and display of local and national authority is relevant for displays of English supremacy in the New World, but also for the recreation of social order within the colonial settlement itself. Having all roads converge on the marketplace enables the movement of goods and peoples to market and communal gatherings. But it also suggests that an ideal town will be ideologically as well as

⁵⁴ de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. xiv.

⁵⁵ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 27; Dave Postles, 'The Market Place as Space in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 29 (2004), 41-58 (p. 41).

materially connected to its centre of power, ensuring that this centralized authority and order will flow seamlessly throughout. This notion of roads facilitating a flow of power and authority throughout community and nation is also seen in the use of roads in England for royal progresses. As Daryl Palmer notes, 'The practice of the progress brought royal spectacle through villages that might otherwise forget about royal authority'.⁵⁶ This process relied on a network of roads that could facilitate the visible spectacle of the monarch with all their entourage and paraphernalia to as wide an audience as possible. But equally as Mark Brayshay notes, many royal progresses 'deliberately avoided the busiest thoroughfares' and 'lumbered along byways leading to the country homes of courtiers earmarked to play host to their sovereign and the royal entourage.'⁵⁷ Just as the disordered space of the forest could be used by the monarchy and the elite for sanctioned activities like hunting, so too byways and more obscure thoroughfares could be requisitioned by authorities for licit activities and displays of authority.

In both colonial extracts above it is not only the construction of streets that is important, but also their orderliness and durability. The first extract insists on a 'good breadth' of street and the second on them being 'paved and made firme and Dry'. This desire for highly regulated streets and roads was a pressing concern in England during this period too. As Sullivan Jr notes, at this time 'the highway as physical space exists in a shifting relationship to the

⁵⁶ Daryl W. Palmer, *Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1992), p. 123. See also McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, p. 147.

⁵⁷ Mark Brayshay, *Land Travel and Communications in Tudor and Stuart England: Achieving a Joined-up Realm* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 238.

highway as right of passage'.⁵⁸ This customary, and indeed legal, understanding of highways as a right of passage often meant that at times when roads were inconvenient or impassable, less regulated routes could and would be taken. McRae has observed that the early modern period marked the beginning of 'the long and uncertain project to define the nation's highways in more concrete terms.' A crucial part of this project was the translation of ideological notions of rights of way into more bounded notions of roads, and importantly these roads 'had to become objects of knowledge, marked on maps and communicated by word of mouth.'⁵⁹ I would argue that the repeatedly voiced desire to have roads and routes that were well defined both cartographically (in the use of compasses and mapping) and materially (in the construction of sturdy roads) reflect the contribution of colonial discourse to a moment in which 'efforts to legitimize such forms of movement mark a critical development in English spatial history.'

The association of particular kinds of paths producing ordered behaviour also finds its way into representations of encounters with Native Americans. George Percy, in a 1608 publication, recounts a series of meetings between the colonists and Native Americans shortly after the English landed in 1607. Percy offers a complimentary account of meeting with the 'Werowance of Rapahanna,'⁶⁰ in which he describes him as entertaining them 'in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of Civill government.'⁶¹ Percy goes on to say that:

⁵⁸ Sullivan, Jr., *The Drama of Landscape*, p. 166.

⁵⁹ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, p. 67.

⁶⁰ Percy probably means the Werowance (leader) of the Rappahannock Tribe, one of the Algonquian speaking tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy.

⁶¹ 'Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia', p. 160.

After he had rested a while he rose, and made signes to us to come to his Towne [...] Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, having most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines: Wee also went through the goodliest corne fieldes that ever was seene in any countrey. When we came to Rapahannos Towne, hee entertained us in good humanitie.⁶²

Immediately Percy's story stands in contrast to his description of 'Savages creeping upon all foure' that he included earlier in his text. However, whilst inconsistent representations of Native Americans are common in early English colonial narratives, this particular instance seems to serve a purpose in Percy's wider narrative strategy. Percy goes on to describe a later encounter when 'the Werowance of Pasphe came himselfe to our quarter; with one hundred Savages armed, which guarded him in a very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes.'⁶³ This encounter with the Pasphegh people is presented as far more negative and violently charged than the earlier one with the Rappahannock. In the description immediately following this encounter the narrative and ideological significance of pathways re-emerges. Percy writes that on 'The nineteenth day, myselfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods by chance wee espied a path-way like to an Irish pace'. They follow this 'pace' for four miles before:

⁶² Ibid, p. 160.

⁶³ Percy is referring to the Pasphegh tribe, whose leader at this time was Wowinchoppunck. Ibid, p. 162.

at length wee came to a Savage Towne [...] We stayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries, and other things; in the meane time one of the Savages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes and ranne mainly through the Woods: then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to call some companie, and so betray us, wee made all the haste wee could.⁶⁴

Percy's recognition of 'threat' immediately after 'one of the Savages' runs into the woods reinforces the connections made between forest spaces and illicit activities above. In Percy's first, positive description of the colonists' interaction with the Rappahannock, he writes of them being led 'through the woods in fine paths' - the 'fine paths' here working to neutralize the threat and disorder inherent in English understandings of forest spaces. Conversely, in Percy's description of the colonists' journey to the Paspahegh town where they were met with hostility, he describes the route leading there as 'an Irish pace'. 'Pace' can mean simply 'journey' or 'route', but the OED also offers the following contemporaneous definition: 'a road or passage through dangerous territory; a place on a way or route which affords a strategically important point for attack, ambush, or defence.'⁶⁵ Taking the militaristic, threatening connotation of 'pace' as 'a passage through dangerous territory' that offers strategic points of attack, it is clear that Percy's perception and representation of navigational routes is shaped by the events experienced along or at the end of them. Fine paths form part of a narrative strategy that represents positive, ordered encounters with a

⁶⁴ 'Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia', p. 162-3.

⁶⁵ Pace, *n.*¹, def. 1; def. 2a, *OED Online*.

Native American leader that could almost be 'a Prince of Civill government', whereas Irish paces form part of a narrative strategy that represent negative, disordered encounters with violent 'savages'. Interestingly the contemporaneous usage cited by the OED is from Richard Bolton's 1621 *Statutes of Ireland* and ties in to the connection between Native American and Irish peoples as both being 'savages' in need of the civilising rule of English colonists. As Nicholas Canny notes on the ideologies behind English colonial efforts in Ireland and the New World, 'the Irish were...categorized as the most barbarous of peoples, and Englishmen argued that it was their duty and responsibility to hold them down by force'.⁶⁶ The negative identities of the colonized Irish and Paspahagh as both being a threat to English colonial control and governance are mutually reinforced here, much as the connections forged between Native Americans and English rogues serve a similar function.

In his utilisation of the derogatory 'Irish pace' to suggest the 'savagery' of the Paspahagh peoples, Percy reveals the fact that paths and roads do not always ensure controlled, sanctioned forms of mobility and can also be sites where transgressive activity occurs. It was therefore essential for those in power to police these spaces in ways that ensured they performed their regulatory function. Dekker's *Belman of London* (1608) offers a somewhat hyperbolic insight into this process of policing streets in England, and how they were used as a site on and through which to construct a distinction between normative and transgressive identities. In this pamphlet Dekker carefully creates an ideological distinction between the rogues' illicit (mis)use of England's streets and the

⁶⁶ Nicholas P. Canny, 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (1973), 575-598 (p. 593).

Belman's sanctioned use of the same spaces. Dekker's Belman patrols the streets in order to observe and gather information about the hidden movements and criminal activities of the rogues and then shares this information with local residents and readers. Once the information uncovered by Dekker and/or his Belman is public knowledge, the public can themselves police the streets and spaces in which illicit behaviour takes place. As Dekker explicitly states to his readers: 'It must be the hand of your authoritie that must fetch in these *Rebels* to the weale-publicke, and your arm must strike them', and that he chooses 'you as Patrons, (not to my booke) but to defend me from those Monsters, whose dennes I breake open in this my discovery.'⁶⁷ The pamphlet encourages community policing of street spaces and other sites of navigation by naturalising 'expectations about behaviour in place' that position the rogues' alternative wayfinding practices and uses of these spaces as threatening.

Dekker recounts in his pamphlet that the Belman 'called himselfe therefore the Centinell of the Cittie, the watchman for everie ward, the honest Spy that discovered the prentises of the night.'⁶⁸ When describing a rogue's relationship to the city, and indeed the country as a whole, Dekker suggests 'The whole kingdome is but his walke, a whole cittie is but his parish'. The rogues and the Belman are both figured as having what Patricia Fumerton describes as an 'unsettled subjectivity'.⁶⁹ Stating the rogues have a 'whole cittie' as a parish detaches them from a significant social and geographical sense of place – the parish. As Michael J. Braddick notes, 'Vagrants were presented in literary sources, learned tracts and relatively cheap print, as being outside society'

⁶⁷ Dekker, *The Belman*, p. 2. Italics in original.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 36.

⁶⁹ Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. xviii.

because they were removed from ‘the normal means of socialisation – parish and household’.⁷⁰ The parish, as an important regulatory marker of space, is used by Dekker to position the rogues as legislatively, socially, and geographically ‘out of place’. As Fumerton also argues, ‘in the minds of contemporary authorities, the vagrant experience did not need to involve physical mobility or even homelessness. It was marked by being out of place’.⁷¹ The Belman, on the other hand, despite being ‘the watchman for everie ward’ and not being represented as belonging to one ward in particular (another important spatial and administrative division of city space), does have a social place. The Belman occupies and traverses the same streets and spaces as the rogues but his mobility is sanctioned and legitimate as it benefits local and national communities. These examples implicitly reveal the potential for transgressive activities to occur on the streets designed to promote normative, regulated behaviour through their acknowledgment of the need to police them. Equally, through the presence of both surveyor and surveyed, police and policed, the simultaneous existence of transgressive and normative subjects in the same street spaces is revealed, and thus the problematic status of these spaces as ordered and normative.

Building roads in the New World colonies was an important facet of managing space in a way that allowed mastery over the landscape and made visible the distinctions between English and indigenous navigational practices.

⁷⁰ Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 151. See also Keith Wrightson, ‘The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England’, in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Basingstoke: Macmillan: 1996), pp. 10-46.

⁷¹ Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 16.

This distinction then contributed to hierarchical racial and national identities that legitimized English control and colonisation of indigenous peoples and landscapes. Equally, these roads could be used to control and police English colonists themselves, much like they formed part of authorities' attempts to control the general population in England. The policing of these spaces to facilitate their ideological and physical functions of control is acknowledged in colonial discourse and displayed in more detail in Dekker's *Belman of London*. The next section will offer an extended reading of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggars' Bush* and Richard Brome's *A Jovial Crew*, and argue that early modern drama contributed to and challenged discourses surrounding the management and policing of space discussed thus far.

Managing and Policing Space in *Beggars' Bush* and *A Jovial Crew*

Brome's *A Jovial Crew* was 'first performed at the Cock-pit in Drury- Lane in 1641, several years after the first recorded performance of *Beggars' Bush* in 1622.'⁷² Whilst the two plays are separated by almost twenty years, Arden editor Tiffany Stern has argued that '*A Jovial Crew* often does not appear to be quite of its time', and suggests that the play is heavily informed by the earlier Jacobean drama of Brome's mentor Ben Jonson, and also specifically by Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggars' Bush*.⁷³ The two plays are connected through this influence, but also by the political and social contexts that they seek to interrogate through

⁷² Rosemary Gaby, 'Of Vagabonds and Commonwealths: *Beggars' Bush*, *A Jovial Crew*, and *The Sisters*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 34:2 (1994), 401-424 (p. 408).

⁷³ Tiffany Stern, 'Introduction', in *A Jovial Crew*, ed. by Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 30.

their portrayals of beggars and rogues. Sanders talks of ‘clusters’ of literary representations of beggars, and the significance of the moments they appear – one such cluster being in the 1620s and another in the 1640s, when *Beggars’ Bush* and *A Jovial Crew* appear respectively. Sanders notes that ‘1621 was the year of the Palatinate crisis and the summoning of the first Jacobean Parliament for some seven years’ and that a similarly turbulent political climate borne from an absence of parliament during Charles I’s period of personal rule from 1629-1640 contextualizes the writing and performance of *A Jovial Crew*.⁷⁴ *Beggars’ Bush* was written and performed, as noted above, during the fledging days of the Jamestown and Plymouth colonies. By the time *A Jovial Crew* was performed the Jamestown and Plymouth colonies were well established, and the great ‘Puritan Migration’ to New England had begun.⁷⁵ The emigrations in the 1620s to Plymouth, and throughout the 1630s to New England more widely, resulted in the establishment of several successful colonial settlements that began to convince investors and the public of the viability and appeal of these English settlements. I want to build on Sanders’ attention to the historical, political, and social relevance of these clusters by arguing that colonial discourse and activities at these times are also relevant to these ‘clusters’, and specifically to both plays’ intervention in discourses surrounding spatial management and the appeal of alternate communities represented through their bands of beggars.

As Matthew Steggle has noted, ‘A strong interest in place, in various senses, is one of Brome’s most distinctive characteristics as a dramatist’, and Brome interrogates the problematic relationship between social place, spatial

⁷⁴ Sanders, ‘Beggar’s Commonwealths’, p. 1-2.

⁷⁵ Bruce C. Daniels, *New England Nation: The Country the Puritans Built* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), Chapter Three.

management, and order throughout *A Jovial Crew*.⁷⁶ Near the beginning of the play when Oldrents, a gentleman landowner, is pleading with the steward of his estate, Springlove, not to abandon his post to pursue the life of a beggar, Oldrents asks:

Can there no means be found to preserve life
In thee but wandering like a vagabond?
Does not the sun as comfortably shine
Upon my gardens as the opener fields?
Or on my fields as others far remote?
Are not my walks and greens and delectable
As the highways and commons? Are the shades
Of sycamore and bowers of eglantine
Less pleasing than of bramble or thorn-hedges?
Or of my groves and thickets than wild woods?⁷⁷

In this extract it is not only the 'wild woods' that are placed in opposition to a more ordered counterpart, but a whole variety of spaces. Much like the colonial pamphlets discussed above, espousing the need for well formatted towns with streets that 'answere one another', here Oldrents advocates the benefits of inhabiting materially well-ordered and regulated spaces. Oldrents strongly believes that if Springlove remained on his estate, traversing its ordered 'groves

⁷⁶ Matthew Steggle, *Richard Brome: Place and Politics on the Caroline Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 8.

⁷⁷ Richard Brome, *A Jovial Crew*, ed. by Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 1.1.190-99.

and thickets', his identity and social status would be much better served. By removing himself from a defined geographical and social place as steward on/of Oldrents' estate and instead becoming 'out of place' by inhabiting disordered spaces and traversing them using transgressive navigational practices, Springlove puts his social status at risk. For colonists like Percy and the Virginia Council, the construction of ordered settlements and streets marked an attempt to negate a similar threat to their social status within the same ideological and interpretive framework. By constructing roads (and houses as discussed in Chapters One and Two), colonists created ordered material and geographical space within which they could construct and define ordered social place(s) for themselves.

Oldrents' assertion of the connection between sanctioned use of well-ordered spaces and status gained through its conferment of social place, draws on and forms part of the same discourse around management of space, social place, and order that these colonial writings do. But Oldrents' assertion of the connection between regulated space and social order is repeatedly challenged throughout the play in a way that, I argue, shows Brome's questioning of the power of regulated and policed material space to contain and curtail transgressive activities, navigational practices, and subjectivities. The unsettling realisation that supposedly regulated, normative spaces like roads can also facilitate transgressive movement and activity is highlighted earlier in the play when Springlove is relating the tale of how Oldrents first discovered he spent the summer being a beggar. Springlove says they encountered each other on a highway: 'He being drawn by journey towards the north / Where I then quartered with a ragged crew / On the highway, not dreaming of him there'

(2.1.331-3). Like the Belman and the rogues of Dekker's pamphlet, Springlove and Oldrents simultaneously occupy the same material space of the 'highway' and yet Oldrents occupies a normative, and indeed elite, position and Springlove a transgressive one. This distinction is drawn not only through the differing ways the two use the space, but also the reasons why they use it. Oldrents is 'drawn by journey', whereas Springlove is 'quartered with a ragged crew'. Highways (and other roads) are designed to facilitate ordered travel from one place to another, they are not designed for begging, aimless wandering, or housing people, making Oldrents' use of this space legitimate and Springlove's illegitimate. As McRae notes in relation to *A Caveat for Common Cursitors*, Harman 'highlights the threat of cursitors by juxtaposing their criminal wandering with legitimate forms of localized mobility.'⁷⁸ Brome creates a similar juxtaposition in his representation of Springlove's and Oldrents' illegitimate and legitimate use of the highway. The importance of their motivation for travel is matched by the importance of their method of travel. When Oldrents is pleading with Springlove in 1.1 he suggests that the steward might travel in a more legitimate fashion, saying he could 'travel the kingdom over' as long as his 'deportment be gentle' and he 'take horse, man, and money' (1.1.219-22). As Garrett A. Sullivan Jr has stated, travel in the play is legitimized as long as it has all the 'trappings of a gentleman on his "progress."⁷⁹ Brome's juxtaposition of Springlove's and Oldrents' illegitimate and legitimate positions in relation to the highway serves not only to reinforce the 'threat' of vagabonds and beggars but, I argue, to highlight the inadequacy of the highway as a form of spatial management indicating social status and identity.

⁷⁸ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, p. 96.

⁷⁹ Sullivan Jr., *The Drama of Landscape*, p. 162.

The notion that a highway could produce both transgressive and normative behaviours, and function as both a transgressive and normative space, is echoed in Oldrents' question posed to Springlove above, when he says: 'Are not my walks and greens and delectable / As the highways and commons?' In this extract highways are placed in opposition to the more ordered spaces of Oldrents' 'walks and greens', and in fact become a space of disorder. Roads and highways, rather than having or bestowing a fixed sense of order and place, become liminal spaces in which the normative or transgressive status of subject, space/place, and behaviour are always being negotiated. Roads and pathways may not have ensured normative behaviours but they did form a crucial part of the material and ideological infrastructure that allowed colonial and domestic authorities to construct hierarchized distinctions between normative and transgressive, and elite and non-elite, spatial practices. Of course, this distinction relied on the very thing that inevitably revealed its instability and failure – the simultaneous existence and performance of transgressive behaviours, subjects, and navigational practices that defied those prescribed and promoted by authorities. The instability of the ideological and material connection between spatial management and social place form a key part of the social and political interrogation undertaken in this play.

These ideas of liminality and instability in relation to subjects' interactions with the managed spaces they encountered are mirrored in the 'unsettledness' of characters' identities in *A Jovial Crew*. As Tiffany Stern has argued, one of the most troubling aspects of the beggars in this play is that they have 'unfixed natures, altering in attitude, language and class during the progress

of the drama.⁸⁰ At the end of *A Jovial Crew* it is revealed that Springlove is in fact Oldrents' illegitimate son, conceived through a liaison with a beggar-woman who is also Patrico's (the beggar-priest of the play) sister. Oldrents' daughters express their desire to return home and wed their suitors, and Springlove expresses the same desire to marry his new love Amie. At the climax of these revelations Oldrents states:

Here are no beggars (you are but one, Patrico), no rogues, nor players, but a select company to fill this house with mirth. These are my daughters; these their husbands; and this that shall marry your niece, a gentleman, my son. I will instantly estate him in a thousand pound a year to entertain his wife, and to their heirs forever. (5.1.529-35).

Springlove and Oldrents' daughters immediately and unquestioningly revert back to their normative identities, having inhabited the transgressive identities of beggars throughout the play. Even Patrico, who is labelled as a beggar 'proper', finds resolution through his familial connection, via Springlove, to Oldrents, who agrees to give him some land he had previously acquired from his grandfather. The uncomfortable ease with which these identities transition from transgressive to normative is exacerbated by the actions that immediately preface them: a play put on by the beggars to re-enact the action of the play-proper thus far. The connection between the beggars and 'players' reflects more than just their participation in this performance. Contemporary legislation in England regulated 'players' through the same laws as vagrants and by 1648, in

⁸⁰ Stern, 'Introduction', p. 8.

the midst of the Civil War and the closure of the theatres, 'Parliament declared all players to be vagrants.'⁸¹ Brome's inclusion of a play-within-a-play highlights the status of the beggars as legally and socially 'out of place', but also emphasizes the performative nature of identity. If the function of material spaces, like roads, to define identity and behaviour relies on subjects adhering to certain well-defined, sanctioned ways of behaving within them, then this function will always rely on performance – and performance is both changeable and dubious in its authenticity. Roads, like all other material sites of spatial management, Brome suggests, offer no guarantee of producing regulated behaviour and normative identity, but instead merely offer a stage on which subjects' performances can be judged.

The end of *Beggars' Bush* offers a similar resolution to *A Jovial Crew*, in which Gerard, King of the Beggars, is revealed to be the usurped and rightful King and Florez his son. The revelation that the two 'heroes' of the play, and arguably its most moral and likeable characters, are in fact of royal blood, shows the fluidity of transgressive and normative identities and again highlights the role performance and subjective observation play in defining identity. As in *A Jovial Crew*, this revelation works to diffuse the potential threat of positively represented marginal identities, but the final scene of *Beggars' Bush* also troubles this neat resolution and diffusion in a way that, I argue, exposes the influence of colonial discourse on understandings and representations of spatial management, policing of mobility, and identity.

⁸¹ A. L. Beir, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 96.

behaviours, but it also speaks specifically to anxieties about the 'threat' of England's colonial endeavour.

As mentioned briefly in the introduction to the chapter, the connection between vagrancy and the colonial project was a very real one due to the shipment of inmates arrested for vagrancy being sent from Bridewell to Virginia. In just one entry from 15 January 1619 six offenders were listed as being arrested for vagrancy and directions were issued for them 'to be kept to go to Virginia'.⁸² Colonial investors and leaders supported this form of punishment as a solution to England's vagrancy problem and at the same time a solution to the insufficient labour force in the New World.⁸³ Sir Thomas Dale believed that to make up viable numbers in colonial plantations the deportation of criminals was essential, and hoped it would 'please his Majestie to banish hither all offenders condemned.'⁸⁴ The Council in Virginia includes the following plea in a letter to the Mayor, Alderman and Companies of London in 1609:

Whereas the Lords of his Majesties Councill, Commissioners for the Subsidy, desirous to ease the city and suburbs of a swarme of unnecessary inmates, as a contynual source of dearth and famine, and the very originall cause of all the Plagues that happen in this Kingdome, have advised your Lordshipp and your Brethren in a case of state, to make

⁸² Virginia, Virginia State Library, MS Bridewell Hospital – Records of Individuals Ordered to Virginia, 1618-1637.

⁸³ See also Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 10 for details of poor children sent from Bridewell to Virginia as labourers.

⁸⁴ Sir Thomas Dale, 'Letter to Lord Salisbury', in *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 501-8 (p. 506).

some voluntary contribution for their remove into this Plantation of Virginia.⁸⁵

London, an ordered city and the political heart of England, cannot tolerate the overwhelming 'swarme' of vagrants and 'inmates' troubling its streets and threatening social order. Virginia, on the other hand, is an already disordered space in need of bringing to order. By removing disruptive vagrants from the streets of London the city will be returned to order and at the same time these vagrants could reform their disordered identities and find a 'place' in the process of reforming the 'wild' landscapes of Virginia. In *Beggars' Bush* this solution is reversed and the beggars threaten to colonize England. The threat of the margin moving towards the centre marks not only a fear of it contaminating this normative material and ideological space, but a fear of it engulfing and replacing it. Just as the beggars in *Beggars' Bush* and *A Jovial Crew* cause anxiety through both their threat to disrupt normative social order by acting and existing 'out of place' and also their threat as a viable alternative to social order, so too do England's colonies in the New World.

Conclusion: The Lure of the Colonial Margin

The Plymouth Pilgrims marked the beginning of successful colonisation of New England in 1620, only two years before *Beggars' Bush* was staged and at the time of writing, c.1612-14, the Jamestown Colony was finally becoming a viable

⁸⁵ A Letter from the Councill and Company of the honourable Plantation in Virginia to the Lord Mayor, Alderman and Companies of London, in *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 252-3 (p. 252).

settlement. Beaumont and Fletcher make a more direct allusion to this context in their anxiety over the influence of the colonial 'margins', but I argue that it also informs Brome's depiction of the alternate society offered by the beggars of *A Jovial Crew*. As noted above, writing and performance of *A Jovial Crew* took place just after Charles I's long period of personal rule and in the build up to one of the most disruptive events in the period – the Civil War. Bruce Daniels notes that Charles' dissolution of parliament in 1629 marked the removal of 'the institutional home of opposition to royal power and the only secular forum available to critics of the church.'⁸⁶ Whilst use of the term 'puritans' is problematic as it was not a static term nor did it refer to a homogenous group of people or set of beliefs, it is helpful as a broad term to denote the religious and political leanings of the majority of emigrants to New England from the 1630s onwards – an emigration Daniels sees as triggered by Charles' dissolution of parliament. I argue that common to the periods when *Beggars' Bush* and *A Jovial Crew* were written was a heightened anxiety over the influence of colonial outposts on the home nation. The societies set up in New England as a result of the Puritan Migration in the 1630s were predominantly prosperous and much more successful than Jamestown had been in its early days. So successful was the government of New England colonies that as Catherine Armstrong notes, 'when Civil War broke out in England, the American example was offered as something to be emulated and aspired to.'⁸⁷ The New England colonies were seen as a functioning and viable form of civil society that differed from that offered in England. Sanders draws attention to the fact that at the time *Beggars' Bush* was

⁸⁶ Daniels, *New England Nation*, p. 41.

⁸⁷ Armstrong, *Writing North America*, p. 158.

performed, 'staging of alternative communities and societies [...] seems to have gained a particular force here towards the end of a lengthy period of non-parliamentary government.'⁸⁸ She notes the same thing occurring in the 1640s, and I would argue that both Brome and Beaumont and Fletcher, subconsciously at least, wove in anxieties over the allure of the colonies into their depictions of alternative communities. Gaby argues that 'Whereas *Beggars' Bush* assumes that we will accept the fiction of a jovial beggar crew without question, Brome's comedy makes us view the beggars' community from many different perspectives, thus encouraging us to question its significance.'⁸⁹ Brome's more sustained invitation to his audience to critique the alternative society of beggars he presents speaks, I argue, to a deeper and more urgent questioning of the viability of the New England colonies as an alternate society and method of governance to the rapidly deteriorating one in England.

As argued throughout this chapter, the colonial project borrowed from existing English strategies of spatial management – ideologically, discursively, and materially. Colonial writers interpreted and depicted Native American wayfinding practices as 'other', and characterized this difference as threatening and transgressive using similar representational schemes of covert movement and criminality as cony-catching pamphlets and rogue literature did in England. Similarly, the building and policing of material structures, like roads, to 'contain' transgressive wayfinding practices and promote English mastery over the New World landscape was a strategy also seen in material emerging contemporaneously in England. The transportation of these forms of spatial

⁸⁸ Sanders, 'Beggars' Commonwealths', p. 2.

⁸⁹ Gaby, 'Of Vagabonds and Commonwealths', p. 409.

management, and the representational schemes used to depict those who defied them, shows their importance to spatial constructions of identity in the period. *Beggars' Bush* and *A Jovial Crew* interrogate these connections and strategies and question the efficacy of spatial policing and the legitimacy of the distinctions drawn between transgressive and normative subjects based on their adherence to sanctioned use and movement through these policed spaces. The influence of colonial discourse and its very visible depiction of alternative societies and forms of governance can be seen in Beaumont, Fletcher, and Brome's interrogation of spatial management and social place through their representations of the beggar communities in their plays.

The next chapter will address a different location and performance of spatial intervention by colonial and domestic authorities – the management and improvement of agrarian spaces. In 3.1 of *A Jovial Crew* Springlove has abandoned his post and begun his life as a beggar. When attempting to evade the local Justice's son Oliver, with whom Oldrents' daughters Meriel and Rachel have just had an unpleasant encounter, Springlove says to the two women:

We must quit this quarter. The eager gentleman's repulse may arm and return him with revenge upon us. We must therefore leap hedge and ditch now, through the briers and mires, till we scape out of this liberty to our next rendezvous (3.1.490-5).

Hedges and ditches were the markers of enclosed, regulated landscapes, designed to denote property boundaries and restrict mobility through them. Here, Springlove advocates a total dismissal of their material and ideological

function in controlling mobility – much like Hubert’s evocations of ‘quicksetts’ and ‘sheepe walks’ as forms of spatial management did above. Chapter Five will look in greater detail at the material, discursive, and ideological implications of enclosure and other agrarian reforms on the representation and understanding of agrarian spaces and subjects in England and the New World.

Chapter Five: Profit and Reform in the Agrarian Spaces of *The Tempest*, *The Witch of Edmonton*, and *The Devil is an Ass*

This chapter turns to agrarian spaces and argues that during the transitional period from feudalism to proto-capitalism in the first half of the seventeenth century, colonial discourse and activity played a crucial role in legitimising agrarian reforms and management practices that embraced profit, improvement, and economic individualism. As Jess Edwards has observed in his analysis of Sir Walter Raleigh's intertwined interests in the English colonial endeavour and agrarian reform, 'while Raleigh regarded freer trade and private property as a desirable goal for England, he had already looked to America for the immediate creation of a "more complex, more varied economy than England itself possessed." He had looked to America, in part, for a desocialized conception of land.'¹ A 'desocialized conception of land' articulates perfectly the anxieties felt across early modern England around the shifts from socially rooted manorial systems of agrarian society to more economically individualistic ones based around private property and profit. This shift was resisted and the transition was 'by no means clear; rather...meanings were forged through ongoing contestation'.² This 'ongoing contestation' is a key area in which the influence of colonial activity on domestic agrarian discourses emerges, and where, as

¹ Jess Edwards, 'Between "Plain Wilderness" and "Goodly Corn Fields": Representing Land Use in Early Virginia', in *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*, ed. by Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 217-235 (p. 222). See also Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: Representations of Agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 11-12.

² *The Writing of Rural England 1500-1800*, ed. by Stephen Bending and Andrew McRae (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. xi.

Edwards suggests, 'colonial America may well have provided English geography with material for thinking its way through this conflict.'³ In this chapter I build on this critical foundation and uncover some of the 'material' colonial North America 'provided English geography' in 'thinking its way through' the transition from feudal to proto-capitalist, 'desocialized conceptions' of what constituted normative agrarian spaces and management practices. Equally, I argue, colonial discourse drew on discourses of agrarian reform in order to legitimize English intervention in and ownership of the New World landscape. Richard Hoyle notes that the logic used by proponents of agricultural improvement, who positioned any landscape not being exploited to its full potential as being morally and socially offensive, could be applied equally as readily to discourses employed in the 'civilising' of Irish and Native American peoples and lands.⁴ I build on Hoyle's observation and argue that discourses of agrarian improvement provided a representational scheme through which colonial discourse marginalized Native Americans by figuring their relationship to the agrarian lands they inhabited as transgressive and thus the colonists' claim to this land as legitimate.

Prospero and the magical books he takes with him to the unnamed island of *The Tempest* (c.1611) offer an illuminating entry point into the complex ways agrarian land management was perceived and represented in the period, and also the relationship between domestic and colonial agrarian discourses. At the beginning of the play Prospero recounts the story behind their exile to his daughter Miranda. Prospero acknowledges that their survival at sea, and then on

³ Edwards, 'Between "Plain Wilderness" and "Goodly Corn Fields"', p. 219.

⁴ See Richard Hoyle, 'Introduction', in *Custom, Improvement and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Richard Hoyle (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1-38 (p. 17).

the island, was due in large part to the actions of 'A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo' (1.2.162) who gave them food and water, as well as:

Rich garments, linens, stuffs and necessaries
Which since have steaded much. So, of his gentleness,
Knowing I loved my books, he furnished me
From my own library with volumes that
I prize above my dukedom. (1.2.165-9).

Prospero recognizes that the knowledge contained in the books prized 'above my dukedom' were as crucial to his capacity to survive in an unfamiliar environment as the food, clothing, and bedding he was given. As acknowledged by Caliban, Prospero's slave and an indigenous inhabitant of the island, without his books Prospero is 'but a sot as I am, nor hath not/ One spirit to command' (3.2.94-5). Caliban sees Prospero's power over the island as firmly located in his books, in the knowledge contained within them, and in Prospero's capacity to wield this knowledge to his advantage. As Joan Pong Linton notes, the fact that 'Caliban plots to seize Prospero's books points to their ideological content as the source of power.'⁵ The notion that survival and prosperity in environments far from home depended not only on material goods and physical possession of land, but also on intellectual 'goods' and cultural colonisation, was a precept central to literature surrounding the English colonial endeavour in North America.

⁵ Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formation of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 157.

In September 1620, Richard Berkeley and John Smith wrote to George Thorpe concerning the government of the newly established Berkeley Plantation in Virginia. Included in this letter were details of some of the items being sent in the ship, aptly named 'Supply', leaving later the same month. The shipment included various practical items like tools and food, but Berkeley and Smith also wrote that aboard the ship were:

Markhams and Googes bookes of all kynd of English husbandry and huswifry, and 2 others for the orderinge of silk and silkwormes...w[hich] take into your owne hands from Thomas Lemis, otherwise you will bee defrauded of them.⁶

The books referred to are Barnaby Goodge's translation of Konrad Heresbach's *Four Bookes of Husbandrie* (1577), and some of Gervase Markham's numerous publications on husbandry and housewifery from the period, probably including *The English Husbandman* (1613), *The Second Booke of the English Husbandman* (1614), and *The English Huswife* (1615), given the date they were sent.⁷ The transportation of these texts, which are confirmed in the inventory for the 'Supply', give direct evidence of the use of English agrarian texts in creating an intellectual framework through which the New World landscape could be

⁶ Richard Berkeley and John Smyth, 'A Commission to George Thorpe for the Government of the Plantation', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 397-400 (p. 400).

⁷ Markham's two books on husbandry were later combined into one larger volume, published together in 1635.

understood, mastered, and successfully managed by English colonists.⁸ Just prior to the extract cited above, elucidating the books sent to Thorpe, Berkeley and Smith contextualize their choice to send these volumes by pleading with Thorpe ‘to bend your utmost care and diligence to subsist, as much and assoone as is possible of yourselves: for theis great supplyes are insupportable in longer contynuance’.⁹ Much like Prospero’s valuation of the books Gonzalo sent with him to the island, Markham’s books have a value far beyond that of status items meant for Thorpe’s gentlemanly interest and perusal - their value lay in the information they contained to facilitate self-sufficiency, cultural domination, and independence.

In an article on distributed cognition in early modern England Evelyn Tribble uses the work of Harry Whitehouse to articulate the cognitive transition from Catholicism to Protestantism in English society:

the English Protestant reformation, as a prime example of the ‘doctrinal mode’ of religiosity demanded a wide range of costly cognitive practices: ‘For such concepts to be produced and passed on, massive institutional support is required: pedagogical (e.g., theories and methods of instruction), infrastructural (e.g., classrooms, libraries, equipment), motivational (e.g., systems of sanctions and incentives).’¹⁰

⁸ ‘The Account of A. B. for Furnishing the Ship “Supply”, September 1620’, in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, pp. 385-93 (p. 389).

⁹ Berkeley and Smyth, ‘A Commission to George Thorpe’, p. 399.

¹⁰ Evelyn Tribble, “‘The Chain of Memory’: Distributed Cognition in Early Modern England”, *Scan Journal*, 2:2 (2005)

<http://scan.net.au/scan/journal/display.php?journal_id=53> [accessed 5 May 2018].

I would argue that the same process occurred in the 'transition' from indigenous to English control and ownership of New World agrarian spaces and equally in the transition from feudal to proto-capitalist agrarian land management in England. By transporting books on husbandry English colonial leaders are using an instructional intellectual framework to fulfill the 'pedagogical' requirements of agrarian colonisation that will in turn influence the 'infrastructural' one by directing how this agrarian space should be used. For Prospero the words contained in his books gave him 'pedagogical' mastery over the island by lending him magical powers that allowed him to control and manipulate its inhabitants and resources, and thus gain infrastructural mastery too. Whilst Markham and Goodge's texts did not profess to instil magical powers in their reader, colonial leaders did believe the words they contained could impart a knowledge that would grant them the same kind of mastery and control over indigenous populations and resources. Both on the stage and the page the means of mastery and management of agrarian landscapes was seen by English writers as extending beyond physical labour and as being inherently connected to the imposition of English intellectual frameworks onto those environments. The shipping of husbandry manuals to the New World speaks to the burgeoning debate over the correct intellectual framework to apply to agrarian lands in England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Andrew McRae suggests that by the mid-seventeenth century: 'ideals of manorial order had given way to the desire for "profit"; the honest ploughman had been displaced by the thrifty freeholder; and cries for economic freedom and rationalism were driving an assault upon the authority of custom.'¹¹ These ideas of economic freedom, thrift,

¹¹ McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, p. 168.

and profit were also key components of the intellectual framework found in colonial discourse, which recognized the importance of efficient land management to the production of crops that would ensure both the survival of its colonists and the satisfaction of its investors. It is in these intertwined concerns over the 'improvement' of agrarian lands to increase both profit and yield that the relationship between colonial and domestic discourses and intellectual frameworks of agrarian land management can be seen most acutely.

Throughout the course of this chapter I will explore this idea through a variety of pamphlet, manuscript, dramatic, and poetic material emerging around English agrarian debates and the colonial effort in the New World during the first half of the seventeenth century. I begin by looking at *The Tempest*, and how this play engages with the struggle within colonial discourse to establish both the fertility and bounty of New World landscapes, but also the necessity and legitimacy of English agricultural intervention to make them productive. I also show how this paradox draws on and feeds into the representation of English commons as being in the same limbo of unrealized potential. I then go on to look at *The Witch of Edmonton* (c.1621), and how this play considers the marginalisation of certain social groups in the processes of agrarian 'reform' in both England and the New World, whilst simultaneously questioning the morality of this process of displacement. Finally I turn to Ben Jonson's earlier play *The Devil is an Ass* (c.1616), to end with a case study of a specific and highly important form of improvement occurring during the period: fenland drainage. In this final section I look at Jonson's use of the specific agrarian space of the East Anglian fenlands to critique the influence of colonial discourse on the moralisation of increasingly profit driven approaches to agrarian land.

The Fruitful Wilderness: *The Tempest* and Paradoxical Representations of New World Landscapes

The terminology and physical changes associated with agrarian reform during this period were multifaceted and complex and it is worth pausing to explore in more detail some of the key concepts driving discourses of agrarian improvement before turning to an analysis of the texts. The term 'improvement' is itself a slippery one and emerges from an earlier term 'aprovement'. Paul Warde writes of improvement that, 'In the sixteenth century the word was employed with quite a narrow technical sense of enhancing rental value, and its use was infrequent'.¹² Even as late as 1607 John Cowell's legal dictionary directs his reader to 'aprovement' when looking up 'improvement', and writes: 'to approve land, is to make the best benefite thereof by increasing the rent'.¹³ However, as Warde goes on to note, the appearance of improvement 'becomes more common from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it began to be used as a metaphor for betterment in a wide variety of walks of life'.¹⁴ Whilst the term improvement shifts from a strict association with 'enhancing rental value' to one that reflects the more modern sense of 'making better', its ideological association with English agrarian landscapes in the seventeenth century retains an element of both. To improve land at this time was to increase

¹² Paul Warde, 'The Idea of Improvement, c.1520-1700', in *Custom, Improvement and the Landscape*, pp. 127-148 (p. 128).

¹³ Quoted in Warde, 'The Idea of Improvement', p. 129.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 128.

its yield and productivity, but also frequently to increase the profit attained because of this as well.

Techniques for improving the yield and productivity of land were manifold and ranged from advice on manuring to plans for large-scale fenland drainage projects – a specific example I will return to in more detail at the close of this chapter. But perhaps one of the most notorious and ideologically loaded practices to be associated with agrarian improvement was that of enclosure. As Joan Thirsk notes, ‘the word “enclosure” was a very loose and general term for a number of different dealings concerning land and changes in land use’.¹⁵ However, Thirsk offers a usefully broad definition that serves to illustrate the key function of enclosure and indeed the cause of its controversy: ‘To enclose land was to extinguish common rights over it, thus putting an end to all common grazing. To effect this, it was usual for the encloser to hedge or fence the land.’¹⁶ Enclosure erased common rights to graze animals and collect produce from the land, and instead asserted an individual’s right to, and control over, the land and its usage. Hedges and fences became highly symbolic markers of this process and as Roger Manning notes, ‘So frequently was the issue of enclosure discussed that the enclosing hedge came to symbolize, depending on the writer’s point of view, the imposition of order upon disorderly and seditious persons, or the abridgment of freedom and economic independence.’¹⁷ As discussed in Chapter Four, Springlove’s announcement that he will ‘leap over hedges’ marked a

¹⁵ Joan Thirsk, ‘Enclosing and Engrossing’, in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume IV 1500-1640*, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 200-55 (p. 200).

¹⁶ Thirsk, ‘Enclosing and Engrossing’, p. 200.

¹⁷ Roger B. Manning, *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 29.

rejection and transgression of the material controls over mobility placed on the landscape by English authorities and landowners. In the context of agrarian reform, this action also marks a potential rejection of reforms to agrarian land management like enclosure. As Patricia Seed explores at length, hedges and fences were also central to English presence in the New World and to establishing ownership of this land. Indeed, no other European colonial power ‘employed surveyors so extensively; no other European colonists consider[ed] establishing either private property or boundaries in the New World as central to legitimate possession.’¹⁸ The discursive, material, and symbolic aspects of enclosure and other agrarian ‘improvements’ were central facets of English interaction with both domestic and colonial landscapes. This section argues that English colonial and agrarian reform discourses positioned un-improved or uncultivated lands as unprofitable and therefore transgressive. Colonial discourse creates the seemingly paradoxical figuration of the New World as a ‘fruitful wilderness’ holding unrealized potential that requires the intervention of English husbandry. Discourses of agrarian reform position unimproved land in an ideologically similar way – transgressive spaces that hold the potential to be transformed into normative, productive ones through the right intervention. I begin by showing these ideas at work in colonial and agrarian reform pamphlets, arguing that these two discourses draw on and influence each other, and move on to show this interaction being interrogated in *The Tempest*.

In Markham’s *The English Husbandman* (1613), a text likely to have been among those shipped to Thorpe in Virginia, he writes that husbandry is:

¹⁸ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 24.

most necessary for keeping the earth in order, which else would grow wilde, and like a wilderness, brambles and weeds choaking up better Plants, and nothing remayning but a Chaos of confusedness.¹⁹

Markham also describes husbandmen as the 'Maister[s] of the earth', who:

with discretion and good order tilleth the ground in his due seasons, making it fruitfull to bring forth Corne, and plants, meete for the sustenance of man. This husbandman is he to whom God in the scriptures giveth many blessings, for his labours of all other are most excellent.²⁰

The language and practice of husbandry are closely bound to ideas of order and Christian duty in Markham's text. Markham's vision of the husbandman as the 'master of the earth' who tames and brings order to an otherwise wild 'chaos of confusedness' fits with English colonial leaders' vision of the role English colonists would have in the New World landscape, both physically and ideologically. The New World was figured as both a natural and cultural 'wilderness' in colonial discourse and the practice of English husbandry acted as a display of physical and cultural mastery over this space. As Charlotte Scott notes, 'Husbandry is the art of making nature culture'.²¹ Both physically and

¹⁹ Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman* (London, 1613), p. 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²¹ Charlotte Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature: From Cultivation to Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 195.

discursively husbandry became a morally loaded signifier of English culture taking root in the New World.

Robert Johnson, in his 1609 pamphlet *Nova Britannia*, describes how the English continued in their attempts to colonize Virginia despite early failures, as they could not endure:

to looke on whilest so huge and spacious countries...should remaine a wilderness, subject (for the most part) but to wilde beasts and fowles of the ayre, and to savage people, which have no Christian nor civill use of any thing.²²

In this early narrative of English colonisation, Johnson evokes a similar ideological framework to Markham, implicitly suggesting the social and material necessity of English husbandry to intervene and prevent the 'wilderness' of Virginia remaining as such. Similarly, in a letter of 1619, John Pory writes that, 'three things there bee, w[hich] in fewe yeares may bring this Colony to perfection; the English plough, Vineyards, & Cattle.'²³ It is not only the establishment of 'vineyards', and presumably other food crops, and 'cattle' that will ensure the survival and success of the colony, but notably the '*English plough*' (my emphasis). It is a specifically English form of agrarian land management and intervention that is required to turn the wild nature of Virginia into a civilized culture. In the 1620 *Declaration of the State of Colony and Affaires in Virginia*, the Virginia Council writes that 'the Colony beginneth now to have

²² Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia* (London, 1609), p. 4.

²³ John Pory, 'A Letter to "The Right honble and my singular good lorde", September 30, 1619', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 219-22 (p. 220).

the face and fashion of an orderly State', and that the colonists, 'fall to set up their Ploughes; to the planting of *Vineyards*; to the pursuing of the Staple Commodities furnished and commended from hence.'²⁴ In a striking echo of Pory's earlier letter, and indeed Markham's overarching belief in the role of English husbandry, this text sees Pory's vision being enacted; the colonists are now setting up 'their Ploughes' and planting their 'vineyards' to bring the colony to an 'orderly state'. The plough becomes a visual symbol of English husbandry colonising and 'civilising' the New World landscape.

This figuration of Virginia as a wilderness 'saved' by the intervention of English husbandry is one that finds a problematic paradox in a number of early colonial narratives, including that of Johnson. After lauding the English efforts to colonize the 'wilderness' of the New World, he goes on to write that 'the soile is strong and lustie of its owne nature, and sendeth out naturally fruitfull vines', and 'if bare nature be so amiable in it [sic] naked kind, what may we hope, when Arte and nature both shall joyne and strive together, to give best content to man and beast?'²⁵ Johnson encapsulates the almost paradoxical sentiment that is seen throughout much early colonial discourse of North America, that of the 'fruitful wilderness'. *The Tempest*, written after Johnson's pamphlet and so potentially influenced by the paradox Johnson (and others) create around colonial landscapes, stages similarly conflicting representations of its central island in a discussion between Gonzalo and the other shipwrecked Italian nobles in 2.1:

²⁴ His Majesties Counseil for Virginia, 'A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia, June 22, 1620', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 307-65 (p. 310).

²⁵ Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, p. 10.

GONZALO (*to Adrian*) Here is everything advantageous to
 Life.

ANTONIO (*to Sebastian*) True, save means to live.

SEBASTIAN Of that there's none, or little.

GONZALO (*to Adrian*) How lush and lusty the grass looks!
 How green!

ANTONIO The ground indeed is tawny.

SEBASTIAN With an eye of green in't.

ANTONIO He misses not much.

SEBASTIAN No, he doth but mistake the truth totally. (2.1.53-62).

To Gonzalo the island offers 'everything advantageous to life', whereas Sebastian fails to see the 'means to live' at all – the island is both a wilderness and a fruitful paradise. This speaks to the conflicting figuration of the New World in reports returning home to England, but as the scene progresses a deeper critique of this colonial discourse emerges.

Gonzalo goes on to describe to the group how he would manage the land 'had [he] plantation of this isle' (2.1.148). He states that there will be no work, 'No occupation, all men idle, all' (2.1.160), and that 'All things in common nature should produce/ Without sweat or endeavour' (2.1.165-6). Gonzalo's somewhat bizarre utopian vision is met with ridicule from the other men, with Antonio and Sebastian suggesting Gonzalo would sow the land with 'nettle-seed', and 'docks or mallow' (2.1.149-50), before Antonio tells Gonzalo that indeed, "Twas you we laughed at.' (2.1.181). Gonzalo's vision of the island providing a fruitful plantation with no need for labour seems to engage with very early depictions of

Virginia as a bountiful paradise – depictions that quickly faded once the reality of surviving in this landscape became apparent. However, the critique of Gonzalo’s vision by the other men reveals a more complex engagement with colonial discourse than merely a ridiculing of these early reports. As Charlotte Scott surmises in her analysis of the play:

Imposing order, enforcing labour, constructing ceremony, and manipulating morality, forms of cultivation emerge as socially coherent impulses. Gonzalo’s commonwealth, on the other hand, which disposes of all government and office, appears as a comic failure, in which nature stands in service to idle men and women.²⁶

Without conspicuous displays of husbandry English colonists could not display their cultural superiority over the transgressive relationship Native Americans were represented as having with the ‘wilderness’ they inhabited. This normative/transgressive distinction was crucial to the hierarchical figuration of English/Native American identities, and through this figuration the legitimization of English domination of Native American peoples and seizure of their lands. Gonzalo not only embodies a naïve vision of the complexities of surviving in a colonial environment, he also fails to understand the role of husbandry in establishing a viable colony and superior national identity.

The anxiety over an ‘idle’ relationship to agrarian landscapes is a concern shared by writers discussing the improvement of English landscapes at home

²⁶ Scott, *Shakespeare’s Nature*, p. 214. See also Vin Nardizzi, *Wooden Os: Shakespeare’s Theatres and England’s Trees* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), p. 116.

too. John Norden writes in his 1607 text, *The Surveyor's Dialogue*, that the eponymous surveyor has seen 'many places', in which:

many crofts, tofts, pightles, pingles, and other small quilletts of land, about farm houses and tenements are suffered to lie together idle, some overgrown with nettles, mallows, thistles, wild teasels, and divers other unprofitable weeds, which are fat and fertile, where, if the farmer would use the means, would grow sundry commodities, as hemp and mustard seed.²⁷

The 'crofts, tofts, pightles, pingles' and 'quilletts' Norden describes as seeing are all regional dialect words with the same contemporary meaning: a small piece or plot of land attached to an individual holding or homestead.²⁸ Norden employs this regional dialect to give a sense of the geographical scope of the problem, reinforcing its existence in all areas of the country. Norden is explicitly critical of these kinds of small, unenclosed areas of land left 'idle' by farmers who fail to 'use the means' to make them more productive – a judgment reinforcing that implied in Sebastian and Antonio's critique of Gonzalo's utopian vision for his plantation. Norden, Johnson, and *The Tempest* all position a lack of agrarian intervention as inherently negative and associated with transgressive land management. All three texts support Markham's assertion that it is the husbandman's moral and Christian duty to till the land and save it from

²⁷ John Norden, 'The Surveyor's Dialogue', in *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, ed. by Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 109-11 (p. 110).

²⁸ Croft, *n.*¹, def. 1a; Toft, *n.*¹, def. 1; Pightle, *n.*; Pingle, *n.*²; Quillet, *n.*², def. 1, *OED Online*.

becoming a 'chaos of confusedness'. Gonzalo embodies the failure to realize the potential of agrarian spaces through poor management of them, being more likely to plant weeds than remove them. As Scott notes, 'Casting Gonzalo's "plantation" in the light of weeds renders him as apparently incapable of management or agrarian improvement'.²⁹ Norden's representations of the farmers' failure to manage their land is articulated using the same representational framework – their association with propagating weeds denoting this failure. What initially appears to be a paradox in fact reveals the function of husbandry as an act of 'improvement' that asserts a particular kind of English national and cultural identity through effective management of agrarian spaces at home and abroad.

Prospero acts as an almost antithetical counterpoint to Gonzalo and embodies an active management of the landscape that is intellectually engaged and materially productive. One of the ways Prospero does this is through his manipulation and management of the 'labour force' available to him, namely Ariel, Caliban, and Ferdinand. In the first act of the play he refers to 'Caliban my slave', (2.1.310) who 'does make our fire,/ Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices/ That profit us.' (1.2.313-5). Later in this scene, Prospero directly commands Caliban to 'Fetch us in fuel' (1.2.368), to which Caliban bemoans to the audience that he 'must obey. His art is of such power/ It would control my dam's God Setebos.' (1.2.374-5). Ferdinand is also enlisted by Prospero to carry out the tasks necessary for the survival of the island 'community' in 3.1 – Ferdinand enters 'bearing a log', and proceeds to tell the audience he 'must remove/ Some thousands of these logs and pile them up' (3.1.9-10). The

²⁹ Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature*, p. 199.

somewhat mundane tasks of piling logs and gathering fuel come to represent 'ideas of labour' in the play and are in reality the kind of tasks that were necessary both in England and in the New World to ensure that basic survival needs were met.³⁰ As Vin Nardizzi notes, in contrast to Gonzalo's utopian colonial vision: 'Caliban's arrival with the logs a scene later indicates that "sweat or endeavour" – the exertions of resource extraction – have been transpiring literally under the cover of Gonzalo's daydream.'³¹ This acknowledgement of agrarian labour highlights the physical and material reality of husbandry, and also the hierarchical system of labour and its direction that produces an ordered agrarian economy. Just as *The Declaration* directly connects the material establishment of an English agrarian infrastructure with the emergence of an 'orderly State', so too Prospero sees the construction of an ordered agrarian economy as integral to his control of the island *and* its inhabitants; he exerts his authority and establishes mastery over people and place through his control of agrarian labour.

The labour, materiality, and intellectual framework involved in (re)producing agrarian spaces are intertwined, and travel to the New World increased awareness of this fact by forcing colonial leaders to consider how agrarian order might be established in the unfamiliar environments of America. Equally, the shipping of large numbers of indentured servants, and increasingly as the project went on slaves, to the colonies forced consideration of how a free/floating labour force could be managed most effectively.³² These

³⁰ Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature*, p. 211.

³¹ Nardizzi, *Wooden Os*, p. 116.

³² For more on 'servitude in the play as a commentary on slavery' see, Brinda Charry, 'Recent Perspectives on *The Tempest*', in *The Tempest: A Critical Reader*,

considerations chimed with contemporaneous concerns in England over the improvement of agrarian productivity and the management of a burgeoning displaced labour force produced by the enclosure of land and removal of common rights. Anxieties over this new group of disenfranchised ‘mobile poor’ have been touched on in my analysis of rogue literature in Chapter Four.³³ *The Tempest* interrogates these issues by considering different attitudes to land management, the tools required to successfully impose agrarian order, and the function of labour and material objects in this process. Caliban’s resistance to his enforced labour invites the audience to question the (im)morality of slave and indentured labour, but also more subtly the morality of English authorities interceding in existing connections to agrarian spaces and reconfiguring these relationships – whether that be the seizure of Native American lands, or the revoking of rights over common land in England. This notion of removal of certain groups’ rights to agrarian land in favour of a more ‘desocialized’ method of land management was subject to intense moral debate during the period, in both colonial and domestic discourse, and is an issue explored in *The Witch of Edmonton*.

ed. by Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 61-91 (pp. 72-3).

³³ See Chapter Four and, Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

**‘Out of my Ground!’: Marginalising Transgressive Subjects in *The Tempest*
and *The Witch of Edmonton***

In New World and English agrarian landscapes ‘improvement’ also frequently meant disenfranchising one social group to suit the needs and desires of another, more powerful one. Legitimising English claims to American lands was one of the most pressing functions of colonial discourse and part of this process involved de-legitimising Native American claims to their land. A parallel process occurred in England during this period, in which proponents of improvement and enclosure needed to legitimize their desire to shift agrarian land use at the expense of common rights. As Edwards states, English agrarian reformers ‘might have sought to discredit existing, customary use, but they were neither politically nor conceptually able to ignore it,’ and as he goes on to argue, reformers were ‘waging a battle’ against customary land rights, but that early writing from the New World shows that ‘this battle had already been going on for half a century’.³⁴ Edwards explores how both the commons and the New World were depicted as ‘wastes’ in order to legitimize their appropriation by new owners and/or systems of land management. I build on Edwards’ argument and suggest that the inhabitants of these ‘wastes’ were also marginalized in both locations and that drama of the time interrogated the morality of this process. I begin by analysing this process in colonial pamphlets and move on to agrarian ones. I argue that *The Tempest*, and more extensively *The Witch of Edmonton*, interrogate the impact agrarian reform had on the people inhabiting these agrarian spaces, inviting

³⁴ Edwards, ‘Between “Plain Wilderness” and “Goodly Corn Fields”’, p. 232.

their audiences to question the morality of shifts in land ownership and management occurring in both England and the New World.

As noted above, Johnson hopes that 'if bare nature be so amiable in it [sic] naked kind', then when 'arte and nature both shall joyne', the land will become even more productive and beneficial to (English) society. His description of the un-husbanded Virginian 'wilderness' bears a striking resemblance to his earlier description of the Native Americans living there. Johnson writes that Virginia:

is inhabited with wild and savage people, that live and lie up and downe in troupes, like heardes of Deare in a forest: they have no law but nature, their apparell skinnes of beasts, but most goe naked, the better sort have houses, but poore ones, they can [sic] no Arte nor Science.³⁵

Like the landscape, the Native Americans are 'wild' and 'naked' and lack the 'arte and science' possessed by the English colonists. The Native Americans are positioned as closer to nature and therefore further from civility and rationality. But it is not just a proximity to nature, it is a proximity to a disordered, 'naked' natural landscape, devoid of agrarian infrastructure.³⁶ As I have demonstrated above, husbandry was seen as a marker of a conscientious cultural engagement with and rootedness in the landscape. To suggest the Native Americans lack this capacity is to immediately weaken their position as potential proprietors of this

³⁵ Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, pp. 9-10.

³⁶ For more on the hierarchical dualisms of culture/nature, rational/irrational in Western thought and their use in creating hierarchical racial identities see: Val Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (London: Routledge, 1993).

space. However, I argue that, much like the paradox of the fruitful wilderness, in discussion of the Native Americans' relationship to the New World landscape a similar paradox forms due to implicit and explicit recognition of their cultivation of this land.

In the wake of the Jamestown Massacre, English representations of, and attitudes to, Native American peoples became far more aggressive. In *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (1622), a pamphlet detailing this event, Edward Waterhouse uses the Powhatan attack on the English colonists to legitimize a more aggressive possession of their lands. Waterhouse writes that:

we who hitherto have had possession of no more ground then their waste...may now by right of Warre, and law of Nations, invade the Country, and destroy them who sought to destroy us: whereby wee shall enjoy their cultivated places.³⁷

As Waterhouse goes on to underline, 'Now their cleared grounds in all their villages (which are situated in the fruitfulest places of the land) shall be inhabited by us'.³⁸ The irony is, of course, that in positioning English acquisition of the Powhatan's 'cultivated places' and the 'fruitfulest places of the land' as a silver lining stemming from the attack, Waterhouse also undoes previous justification of English presence on Native American land; namely the fact that Native Americans do not cultivate their land 'properly'. In the extract above

³⁷ Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), p. 23.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 23.

Waterhouse creates a paradox much like that of the fruitful wilderness in his representation of the Powhatan relationship to the Virginian landscape.

Johnson, in his 1612 pamphlet *The New Life of Virginea*, creates a similar paradox to Waterhouse. He writes that a potential source of profit from agrarian investment in Virginia could be found:

not only by planting Hemp and Flax, which that climate maketh far surpassing ours, both in growth and goodnesse, but by a new found stufte of a certaine sedge or waterflagge (revealed unto them by an Indian) which groweth there naturally in endlesse abundance, and with little paines of boyling [...] yeeldeth great quantitie of sundrie sorts of skeines.³⁹

Repeating his earlier vision of a landscape providing crops and produce in 'endlesse abundance' that simultaneously requires English husbandry, Johnson also subtly acknowledges the indigenous skills and knowledge that facilitated his 'discovery' of this 'new' crop. The 'sedge or waterflagge' that will provide such readily available produce (and profit) to the English was in fact 'revealed unto them by an Indian'. In *The Tempest*, Caliban laments to Prospero that he:

loved thee

And showed thee all the qualities o'th' isle:

The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile.

Cursed be I that did so! (1.2.337-40).

³⁹ Robert Johnson, *The New Life of Virginea* (London, 1612), p. 12.

Caliban's claim that he showed Prospero 'The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile', speaks to the role he played in not only helping Prospero and Miranda survive, but helping them prosper. Caliban does not say he showed them food sources, but rather 'fertile places', suggesting a desire from Prospero (like Waterhouse) to begin husbanding the land and not just survive off existing resources. Similarly, showing brine pits suggests highlighting poisonous water sources, but also sites for potential salt production, which could be used for trade/sale or food preservation.⁴⁰ Both these uses are suggestive of a longer-term investment in the land. Prospero dominates and prospers on the island through an imposition of a European intellectual framework provided by his books, but also through an assimilation and subjugation of indigenous knowledge into this framework. Implicit in the narratives of Johnson and Waterhouse, and more explicitly in *The Tempest*, is the marginalisation of indigenous and existing inhabitants' claims to and knowledge of the agrarian spaces they inhabit.

It is interesting to note that the recognition of Native American agrarian knowledge is parenthesized by Johnson, positioning it as an aside to his key message of the 'discovery' of a profitable crop. Just as the English colonists are displacing the Native Americans from their land by positioning it as an uncivilized 'waste', so on the page Johnson pushes crucial Native American (agri)cultural knowledge to the periphery and supersedes it with an English culture of commerce and industry. I would argue that in Prospero's relationship

⁴⁰ See Patricia Seed, "'This island's mine': Caliban and Native Sovereignty', in *The Tempest' and Its Travels*, ed. by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion, 2000), pp. 202-211 (p. 203).

with Caliban in *The Tempest* this process of simultaneously assimilating and marginalizing indigenous culture and knowledge is critiqued. Caliban's lament on stage at his treatment by Prospero invites the audience to consider the legitimacy and morality of Prospero's management and domination of the island and its inhabitants. Ania Loomba has argued that post-colonial criticism cannot 'read Prospero as wisdom without cruelty, or Caliban as monstrosity without humanity', but I would argue early modern audiences were encouraged to nuance their interpretation of these characters and their actions similarly.⁴¹ The relationship between Prospero and Caliban is not a neatly dichotomous one of good and evil, and opens the debate around the morality of the process of gaining control of occupied agrarian land and its inhabitants. As Andrew Hadfield notes, in a variety of ways the treatment of Caliban and other characters in the play 'remind[s] the audience that treatment of various underclasses within England was not necessarily better than the treatment of colonial subjects'.⁴² With similar processes occurring simultaneously in England and the New World, colonial narratives undoubtedly brought to the surface anxieties over the morality, legality, and popular acceptance of the reformation of English agrarian spaces.

As mentioned above, similarities can be drawn between issues circulating around agrarian lands in England and the New World during this period, and indeed there are also similarities in the way inhabitants of English commons and Native Americans are portrayed. In a 1607 debate on enclosure English

⁴¹ Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 162.

⁴² Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 246.

commons were described as 'the nurseries of beggars'.⁴³ In a 1612 report by the King's surveyor on wastes, common grounds and forests, it is written that enclosure of these spaces 'will lessen the multiplicity of beggars which are begotten daily by reason there is not placing sufficient for them considering that the wastes and commons are not inhabited and the number of people do mightily increase'.⁴⁴ In both these examples the commons are seen as producing unwanted social identities in the shape of 'beggars' and if the management of these spaces were modified through enclosure this problem would be solved. This ideological understanding of land management reinforces Johnson's assertion that if the New World landscape was properly managed and cultivated by English colonists, and the Native Americans taught the skills of husbandry, they too may become 'civilized'.

Later writings on enclosure take an even harsher view of the occupants of common lands. In a 1639 document by John Smyth, in which he discusses the enclosure of land in Gloucestershire, he writes:

Such common grounds, commons, or waste grounds, used commonly as they are [...] yield not the fifth part of their true value, draw many poor people from other places, burden the township with beggarly cottages, inmates, and alehouses, and idle people; where the great part spend most

⁴³ 'A consideration of the Cause in Question before the Lords touching Depopulation, 5 July, 1607', in *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, pp. 107-9 (p. 107).

⁴⁴ 'The King's Surveyor on the Improvement of the Forests, 1612', in *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, pp. 116-20 (p. 117).

of their days in a lazy idleness and petite thieveries and few or none in profitable labour.⁴⁵

In this later discourse the commons are seen to 'draw' unwanted persons to them, but there is also a greater sense that the inhabitants of the commons are the ones creating disorder and disruption through their lack of or mis-management of this space. In the earlier narratives discussed above, the commons created 'beggars', but in this extract as well as being 'beggarly' the people associated with the commons are now also 'lazy' and idle and spend their days engaged in 'petite thieveries'. By 1639 it seems that the inhabitants of the commons have become even more troublesome and unwanted, much like the common land itself. This trend continues into much later improvement tracts of the 1650s. In a 1653 tract suggesting enclosure as a way to improve waste ground, it is written that:

Such letting, enclosing, etc. the said lands would be of an effectual tendency to the anticipation and suppression of many robberies, thefts, burglaries, rapes and murders, which do much annoy this Commonwealth, and do receive their nourishment and encouragement from those vast, wild, wide forests, which (by reason of their vastness and largeness, their distance from towns and houses, the paucity of

⁴⁵ John Smyth of Nibley, 'Reasons in favour of enclosure at Slimbridge, Gloucestershire, 1639', *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, pp. 122-3 (p. 122).

passengers, etc.) do administer liberty and opportunity unto villainous minds.⁴⁶

Escalating even further, common lands are now seen as encouraging ‘villainous minds’ bent on ‘robberies, thefts, burglaries, rapes and murders’. Much like the Native Americans in Waterhouse’s pamphlet, the English subjects utilising the common lands in these later texts are seen in an extremely negative light, and their removal rather than redemption is implied as the preferred method of dealing with them. The ‘vast, wild, wide forests’ so associated with transgressive mobility and behaviour in Chapter Four, are also evoked here and used to reinforce the transgressive identity of the commons through their figuration as ‘nourishing and encouraging’ them. The idea of marginalising certain social groups in order to negate their rights over agrarian spaces was critiqued in the relationship between Caliban and Prospero in *The Tempest*. The morality of this process is interrogated in even greater depth in William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford’s *The Witch of Edmonton*.

The first recorded performance of *The Witch of Edmonton* was in December 1621 at Court by Prince Charles’s Men, but it was almost certainly performed earlier that year at The Cockpit.⁴⁷ Publication came much later, in 1658. The play was based on a pamphlet by Henry Goodcole detailing the trial and execution of the real Elizabeth Sawyer for witchcraft.⁴⁸ *The Witch of Edmonton*’s points of engagement with agrarian discourse are multiple and

⁴⁶ ‘Proposals for the Improvement of waste Ground, 1653’, in *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, pp. 135-40 (p. 136).

⁴⁷ Rowland Wymer, ‘A Performance History of *The Witch of Edmonton*’, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 17 (2014), 1-23 (p. 1).

⁴⁸ Henry Goodcole, *The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer* (London, 1621).

complex, and reveal a sustained exploration of the complexities of contemporary debates surrounding the shifting management and inhabitation of agrarian lands at home and in the New World. I argue that through the character of Mother Sawyer the play offers a critique of contemporary debates around the erasure of common rights to land. When Elizabeth, or Mother, Sawyer, the titular 'witch' of the play, is first introduced to the audience she is firmly placed in an agrarian context that draws on debates over reform. As she enters the stage at the beginning of Act Two, stage directions state: '*Enter Elizabeth Sawyer gathering sticks*'. This immediately brings to mind the kinds of activity that occurred on common lands, which were frequently used as spaces to collect fuel for the home.⁴⁹ As Scott notes in relation to *The Tempest*, 'Ideas of labour are largely produced through the performance of wood or stick bearing.'⁵⁰ I suggest this is also true in *The Witch of Edmonton*, with Sawyer's stick gathering and the ultimate control of this 'labour' signifying shifting forms of land management in the same way Prospero's control of Caliban's labour did. The representation of fuel gathering in *The Tempest* served as an indicator of Prospero's control over the island and its resources, but importantly, because the fuel was gathered by Caliban (and later Ferdinand) under Prospero's direction, it showed his removed and 'desocialized' management of this agrarian space. In *The Witch of Edmonton*, Mother Sawyer's initial act of collecting sticks suggests the use of common grounds and thus a less economically and socially individualistic management of this space. However, the exchange that follows between Sawyer and Banks once again uses the activity of fuel collection to denote a shift in management of this

⁴⁹ Manning, *Village Revolts*, p. 17, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁰ Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature*, p. 211.

space, this time from a feudal to a proto-capitalist, economically individualistic one based on private ownership.

Shortly after Sawyer enters the stage, she is followed by Old Banks, and the following exchange takes place:

OLD BANKS	What makest thou upon my ground?
ELIZABETH SAWYER	Gather a few rotten sticks to warm me.
OLD BANKS	Down with them when I bid thee, quickly. ⁵¹

Sawyer reacts angrily, cursing Banks, to which he responds: 'Hag, out of my ground!' (2.1.26). Sawyer is not using the land for profit, she is merely gathering 'a few rotten sticks to warm me'. Banks refuses to allow this behaviour though and strongly asserts his rights of propriety over this space, commanding her to drop the sticks and get 'out of my ground'. Banks is controlling access to this space and its resources in a manner reflecting an economically and socially individualistic relationship to agrarian landscapes. Sawyer in both her age and her actions embodies the 'old way' of doing things, and her behaviour and lifestyle remains deeply attached to a traditional, feudal relationship to agrarian spaces. Banks will not tolerate her once-legitimate behaviour and yet there is no suggestion that he has recourse to turn to the law to prevent it – suggestive of the complexity around the erasure of customary rights to agrarian spaces articulated by Edwards earlier. If Banks cannot rely on either legislation or a

⁵¹ William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford, *The Witch of Edmonton*, in *Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays*, ed. by Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 2.1.19-21.

socially accepted consensus that Sawyer cannot continue to interact with the land in this way, he has to find another way to curtail her behaviour.

It is crucial to note that at the time of Banks and Sawyer's interaction she is not in fact a witch. It is only after this exchange and when further abuse has been laden on Sawyer that she decides to become a witch, stating that "Tis all one/ To be a witch as to be counted one.' (2.1.118-9). In the lead up to this decision Sawyer is called a 'hag', (2.1.26, 30) and a 'witch' (2.1.17, 19, 87, 97, 98) seven times by four different characters. This vehement figuration of Sawyer is an attempt to marginalize her to such a degree that the community will willingly ostracize her and therefore sever her connection to Banks' land. In *The Tempest*, Caliban's status as an outsider is also established through his verbal demonization by Prospero, as well as through his subjugated labour. As Peter Hulme states, 'Discursively [...] Caliban is the monster all the characters make him out to be.'⁵² Caliban is called 'freckled whelp, hag-born', 'poisonous slave, got by the devil himself', 'lying slave', and 'Filth' (1.2.283, 320, 349, 351), within the space of one scene. He is 'othered' through his representation as immoral and uncivilized, just as Sawyer is. In the colonial and agrarian pamphlets analysed above Native Americans and commonfolk respectively are marginalized and their claims to their land negated using similar strategies of ostracizing; namely the demonization of their collective identities and of their relationships to the agrarian spaces they inhabit and manage. In *The Tempest* and *The Witch of Edmonton* this representational scheme of demonization is utilized to create the marginalized figures of Caliban and Sawyer, but the process of their

⁵² Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 108.

marginalisation and the morality of their social positions are critiqued in a way that challenges the assertions of the pamphlets that this process and the transgressive social positions of Native Americans and commonfolk are natural, inevitable, and morally sound. It is not only Elizabeth Sawyer's character and her treatment that invite debate on this topic in *The Witch of Edmonton*, but also the character and actions of Frank Thorney – Old Thorney's son and heir.

In the first exchange between Old Thorney and his son, their precarious situation in relation to their lands is made clear:

OLD THORNEY I need not tell you

With what labyrinth of dangers daily

The best part of my whole estate's encumbered (1.2.123-5).

And Old Thorney's solution to the problem is also explicitly stated:

If you marry

With wealthy Carter's daughter there's a portion

Will free my land, all which I will instate

Upon the marriage to you. Otherwise

I must be of necessity enforced

To make a present sale of all (1.2.130-5).

This extract reveals that Old Thorney's estate is in financial trouble and he sees the solution to this problem in the marriage of his son to 'wealthy Carter's daughter'. Earlier in the same scene, Old Thorney and Carter discuss this

potential marriage and during the discussion Carter admonishes Thorney's form of addressing him, saying:

No gentleman I, Master Thorney; spare the Mastership, call me by my name, John Carter. Master is a title my father, nor his before him, were acquainted with. Honest Hertfordshire yeoman, such a one am I (1.2.3-6).

Despite being wealthier than Thorney, Carter identifies himself as socially distinct in terms of rank. In a reflection of contemporary shifts in English society Thorney represents the older, feudal system in which landed gentry inherited titles and land, but also increasingly faced financial difficulties – as Lucy Munro notes, 'it is not unlikely, based on what he says about his finances, that Old Thorney has lost his land due to his own improvidence'.⁵³ Carter represents a new upwardly mobile yeoman or merchant class whose canny management of their assets led to financial success. The marriage of their respective offspring could symbolize a symbiosis between old and new ways of managing agrarian land, or indeed the idea that old ways must incorporate the new if they hope to survive. However, I argue that through the iterated presence of 'thorns' in the etymology of the Thorney family name, the play evokes biblically loaded figurations of cursed landscapes, inviting the audience to contemplate the morality of the Thorney's land management practice, and through this their individual identities more generally.

⁵³ Lucy Munro, 'Introduction', in *The Witch of Edmonton*, ed. by Lucy Munro (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 37.

The imagery of thorns as denoting cursed or badly managed land has biblical roots relating to the following passage in Genesis, in which God punishes Adam and Eve for their transgression:

cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground.⁵⁴

Thorns and thistles represent a biblically 'cursed' landscape that must be redeemed by the 'sweat' of good Christian subjects. Their use as part of a representational scheme that signifies badly managed agrarian spaces, and also the transgressive and immoral identities of the occupants of that land, is found in colonial and domestic discourses on agrarian reform. Waterhouse offers the following description of the Powhatan following the Jamestown Massacre:

the Countrey is not so good, as the *Natives* are bad, whose barbarous Savageness needs more cultivation then the ground it selfe, being more overspread with incivilitie and treachery, then that with Bryers. For the land being used well by us, deceived not our expectations, but rather exceeded it farre, being so thankfull as to returne an hundred for one. But the *Savages* though never Nation used so kindly upon so small desert, have instead of that *Harvest* which our paines merited, returned nothing

⁵⁴ King James Bible, Genesis 3.17-19.

but Bryers and thornes, pricking even to death many of their Benefactors.⁵⁵

In Waterhouse's figuration both the land and indigenous inhabitants are 'cursed'. English husbandry has managed to 'improve' the landscape, but their attempts to 'husband' the Native Americans have not met with the same success, returning 'nothing but Bryers and thornes'. Waterhouse has positioned the Native Americans not as equivalent to an uncultivated landscape that can be brought to a 'better condition', but as the curse on this landscape that must be removed to ensure its productivity. Briars and thorns appear multiple times in the bible and their appearance in Numbers 33 is also pertinent here. In this verse the Lord instructs Moses to lead the children of Israel to Canaan and warns that:

if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you; then it shall come to pass, that those which ye let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides.⁵⁶

Underpinning the figurative position of the Native Americans as a curse of 'bryers and thornes' on the landscape is a recognition of the danger inherent in not removing this curse. As Waterhouse articulates, the Native Americans became 'Bryers and thornes, pricking even to death many of their Benefactors'.

In Silvanus Taylor's later 1652 pamphlet, *Common-good: or, the Improvement of Commons, Forrests, and Chases, by Inclosure*, Taylor writes:

⁵⁵ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, p. 11.

⁵⁶ King James Bible, Numbers 33.55.

What's the matter with us in *England*, that we labor not to remove the curse, and reduce those large briary and thorny Commons...if not into a Paradise, yet into pleasant Gardens...?⁵⁷

Like Waterhouse, Taylor represents the disordered landscape before him as being under the biblical curse of 'briars and thorns'. Taylor also shares Waterhouse's view that the people inhabiting this land are as disordered as the briars and thorns that (metaphorically) cover it. Taylor writes that inhabitants of the commons are:

we seldom see any living on *Commons* set themselves to a better employment. And if the father do work sometimes, and to get bread, yet the children are seldom brought up to any thing; but being nursed up in idleness in their youth, they become indisposed for labor, and then begging is their portion, or Theevery their Trade.⁵⁸

Like the examples previously discussed, Taylor sees the commons as producing beggars and, like the later texts, the additional behaviour of 'theevery'. Interestingly also, Taylor sees this behaviour as being passed on from father to child – there is an implicit connection made between the briars and thorns spreading on the ill-tended commons and the associated transgressive behaviour spreading across generations of its inhabitants. In both colonial and English

⁵⁷ S[ilvanus] T[aylor], *Common-Good: or, the Improvement of Commons, Forrests, and Chases, by Inclosure* (London, 1652), p. 6.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 8.

discourses of agrarian landscapes the imagery of 'briars and thorns' is used to represent the fear that disordered land will, and does, lead to disordered identities and behaviours. The family name 'Thorney' utilizes this association to suggest to the audience that Frank and his father will have a troublesome relationship with agrarian spaces, but the imagery is also used more explicitly in the play.

After committing to a bigamous second marriage to Susan Carter in an attempt to save the family estate, Frank himself draws on this imagery in the following plea to his first wife, Winnifride:

Prithee no more. Those tears give nourishment
To weeds and briers in me, which shortly will
O'ergrow and top my head. (3.2.1-3).

Frank figures his own body as a site of corruption and biblical curse, and the more he sins the more overgrown his internal landscape becomes with 'weeds and briers'. Frank's bodily landscape becomes the counterpart to his father's deteriorating estate; both have been poorly managed and their futures are uncertain. The accompanying biblical imagery of the 'weeds and briers', along with the lexical connection to thorns their family name suggests, invites a moral judgment by the audience on both Frank's behaviour and the management of the family estate.

Frank's use of the language of husbandry to represent his sacrilegious act of bigamy and failure to be a 'good son' is seen again in a conversation with his second wife, Susan:

SUSAN	I must know The ground of your disturbance.
FRANK THORNEY	Then look here, For here, here is the fen in which this Hydra Of discontent grows rank.
SUSAN	Heaven shield it! Where?
FRANK THORNEY	In mine own bosom, here the cause has root. (2.2.110-14).

Again Frank sees himself as embodying a corrupt landscape, this time evoking the classical fens of Lerna inhabited by the Hydra (a many-headed snake) and with air and water so noxious they could kill instantly. The identity of the ‘real’ fenlands of England were also ‘the scene of especially sharp conflict’ during this period, in terms of their use, management, and identities – issues that will be returned to in the next section of this chapter.⁵⁹ Frank’s invoking of the fens draws on the doubly negative connotations of mythical and ‘real’ contemporary landscapes at this time. The fen Frank embodies in this extract grows nothing but ‘rank’ weeds; it is figuratively the same as the marital landscape he inhabits, both unable to produce a sustaining crop for society. Frank’s bigamous marital status prevents him being a proper husband, leaving first wife Winnifride pregnant and alone and his second wife Susan unable to conceive a legitimate child due to Frank’s existing marriage. Equally, the status of the family estate is put into further jeopardy by his actions; if Frank’s bigamy is discovered his marriage to

⁵⁹ Manning, *Village Revolts*, p. 255.

Susan will be void and the money required to save the estate will be lost. The 'root' of sin and disorder may well be planted in Frank's 'own bosom', but the figurative 'briars and thorns' growing from it threaten to spread throughout the wider community he inhabits. Frank's couching of his sinful actions in the language of husbandry and agrarian discourse not only draws on existing representations of 'cursed' landscapes, but also invites a consideration of the implications of poor estate management on the lives of individuals and the wider community.

As stated above Old Carter, and by association his daughter Susan, represent the 'new' style of agrarian land management. Frank's bigamous marriage to Susan, and her eventual murder at his hands, hints at the tumultuous coexistence of these two approaches to agrarian land management. Frank's bodily landscape, figured through the language of husbandry, acts as a moral commentary on these competing types of land use and hints at a value judgment by Dekker et al that the 'new way' may be better. However, the play is far more complex than simply offering a proscribed moral lesson on how agrarian reform should be managed and instead displays the many problems involved in it, inviting rumination on the topic by the audience. *The Witch of Edmonton* engages with issues being debated in both colonial and English agrarian discourses – how to correctly manage agrarian lands, how best to balance profit over communal provision, and how to deal with marginalized figures inhabiting these spaces. It also (re)deploys the representational scheme of briars and thorns utilized in colonial discourse to morally position the agrarian lands and native inhabitants of North America. Mother Sawyer's ideological position on and relationship to the agrarian lands of the play is the same as that of the Native Americans and

indeed the commonfolk of the agrarian pamphlets above: a problematic residue of the 'old' ways of managing the land. How best to remove her in a morally, socially, and legally acceptable way is one of the 'problems' of the play, and one that feels unresolved despite her execution at its close. Sawyer is portrayed as a victim of abuse at the start of the play. As Munro notes, 'her poverty and the ill treatment to which she is subjected are calculated to arouse sympathy', and mark a significant departure from her portrayal in legal records and source material.⁶⁰ The audience is encouraged to sympathize with her reasons for turning to witchcraft – much like *The Tempest* 'invites us to sympathize with [...] Caliban'.⁶¹ Despite both Caliban and Sawyer behaving in unequivocally transgressive ways the rationale behind them doing so also forms an integral part of their characterisation. Additionally in *The Witch of Edmonton*, it is not only Mother Sawyer who has a transgressive relationship to the land; the Thorneys have implicitly managed their land badly and Frank explicitly behaves in transgressive ways. Frank and Sawyer are both led away for execution at the end of the play, a stark reminder that transgression can come from all strata of the social spectrum and poor management of agrarian lands has manifold ramifications all the way down this spectrum, from top to bottom.

Duke of the Drowned Lands: Profit and Reform in *The Devil is an Ass*

The fens, as introduced briefly above, were a particularly contested agrarian landscape during this period. As H. C. Darby notes, the seventeenth century 'saw

⁶⁰ Munro, 'Introduction', p. 29, p. 34.

⁶¹ Deborah Willis, 'Shakespeare's *Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 29 (1989), 277-289 (p. 279).

the beginnings of a comprehensive drainage of the fens'.⁶² Joan Thirsk observes that the enclosure of fenland landscapes was the 'unifying theme of fenland history in the seventeenth century.'⁶³ Projects to recover and 'improve' these areas of agrarian land were topics of national debate, and provoked violent opposition as well as support. Through a close analysis of Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, first performed at Blackfriars by The Kings Men in 1616, but not published in full until 1640, I will show how the play utilizes this specific fenland context to critique the shift from feudalistic to economically individualistic, profit driven management of agrarian lands.⁶⁴ I also argue that in contemporary discourse fenlands and colonial lands were represented through a shared discourse that figured them as sites of investment and (potential) commercial reward. Darby notes that 'there appeared those characteristic figures that dominated affairs in the Fenland during the seventeenth century – the "undertaker" and the "adventurer".'⁶⁵ Darby defines an 'undertaker' as 'one who "undertook" a venture' and 'adventurers' as 'those who "adventured" their capital in enterprise.'⁶⁶ These definitions are markedly similar to those offered by Robert Johnson in *Nova Britannia* of the planters 'that goe in their persons to dwell' in Virginia and adventurers 'that adventure their money and go not in

⁶² H. C. Darby, *The Draining of the Fens*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 28.

⁶³ Joan Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), p. 108.

⁶⁴ Anthony Parr, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington and others, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 467. Peter Happé, 'Introduction', in *The Devil is an Ass*, ed. by Peter Happé (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 1.

⁶⁵ Darby, *The Draining of the Fens*, p. 30.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 30.

person'.⁶⁷ The influence of this relationship between commercialized figurations of the fens and colonial lands can be seen in *The Devil is an Ass*, which I argue invites its audience to consider the morality of commercial, profit driven management of agrarian lands in England and the New World.

Before beginning my analysis of *The Devil is an Ass*, it is worth pausing briefly to consider Jonson's earlier engagement with the morality of commercial activities at home and in the colonies in *Bartholomew Fair* – first performed two years previously in 1614. *Bartholomew Fair* opens with the Stage-keeper critiquing the play and telling the audience 'When't comes to the Fair once, you were e'en as good to go to Virginia, for anything there is of Smithfield.'⁶⁸ Holly Dugan has argued that the Stage-keeper's feeling that the play 'might as well be set in Virginia rather than Smithfield' shows 'how badly the stagehand believes it has missed the mark.'⁶⁹ I would also suggest that it could be read ironically and in fact sets up Jonson's critique of both the colonial enterprise and the corrupt commercialism of the eponymous Bartholomew Fair. The fair of the play sees traders hawking their inferior wares for extortionate prices, pickpockets and conmen fleecing visitors, and bawds, pimps, and prostitutes trading alongside all of the above. The fair, as a hub of commercial, social, and sexual transgression, bears a marked similarity to the 'depraved and dystopic' Virginian society Jowitt

⁶⁷ Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, p. 25.

⁶⁸ Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington and others, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7-9.

⁶⁹ Holly Dugan, "As dirty as Smithfield and as stinking every whit": The Smell of the Hope Theatre', in *Shakespeare's Theatre and the Effects of Performance*, ed. by Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 195-213 (p. 197).

has noted as contemporaneously being evoked on stage.⁷⁰ Inhabiting similar positions in the early modern theatrical imagination, perhaps Bartholomew Fair and Virginia are not too dissimilar after all. Jonson's allusion to Virginia and its connection to the corrupt commercial space of Bartholomew Fair is evidence of the imaginative connection being made between the negative economic practices of England/London and the New World colonies – connections I argue are made even more clearly in *The Devil is an Ass* and its interrogation of profit driven approaches to agrarian spaces.

Anthony Parr, in his recent introduction to *The Devil is an Ass*, notes that fen drainage was 'controversial' as it had 'yielded little success by 1616, and some observers had recognized the damage they could cause to the economies of small towns and rural areas.'⁷¹ As Julie Sanders also observes, Jonson 'touches on particular anxieties about the Jacobean policy of fen drainage' in this play.⁷² Fenland 'debates' inform the context of this play in an overarching sense, but also in more nuanced ways. Sanders goes on to note that:

The central scene in which the Gilthead-Plutarchus plotline is introduced provides a central encounter between London's paradoxical mercantile and 'gentle' values and raises the question that this play as a whole

⁷⁰ Claire Jowitt, "'Her flesh must serve you': Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher's and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*", *Parergon*, 18:3 (2001), 93-117 (p. 98).

⁷¹ Anthony Parr, 'Introduction', p. 469.

⁷² Julie Sanders, *Ben Jonson's Theatrical Republics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), p. 107.

agitates: that if ancestry and lineage no longer dictated the achievement of state office then perhaps money would win out.⁷³

I want to expand on this argument to suggest that in his employment of agrarian imagery and fenland contexts, and his subtle references to colonial discourse, Jonson is also commenting (negatively) on the increasing 'commercialisation' or mercantile appropriation of agrarian spaces that would once have been associated with traditional 'gentle' values. It is through the character of Fabian Fitzdottrel, a wealthy but foolish 'squire of Norfolk', that Jonson channels his critique of those who invest financially and ideologically in new, profit driven approaches to land management. It is worth noting that Jonson, like Rowley, Dekker and Ford, uses the nomenclature of his main character to alert the audience to his potential relationship to the agrarian spaces of the play. A dotterel was a bird notorious for the ease with which it could be approached and captured, and one 'particular to the East Anglian wetlands'.⁷⁴ Its association with Fabian Fitzdottrel signifies the ease at which he is lured into investing in the corrupt 'projector' Merecraft's scheme for the 'recovery of drowned land' in Norfolk.⁷⁵

Before this scheme appears on stage, Fitzdottrel's connection to disordered and morally dubious forms of commercial exchange are already established. In 1.4, Fitzdottrel agrees to give a young gallant, Wittipol, fifteen minutes alone with his wife (with certain provisos), in exchange for a cloak.

⁷³ Ibid, p. 109-10.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 118.

⁷⁵ Ben Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, 2.1.145.

Frances Fitzdottrel voices her concern to her husband, to which he responds: 'Here is a cloak cost fifty pound, wife,/ Which I can sell for thirty, what I ha' seen/ All London in't, and London has seen me.' (1.6.28-30). Fitzdottrel was duped into believing the cloak was worth more than it is and his apparent excitement that he could sell the cloak for less than it was worth casts doubt on his ability to procure a good return on investment. Equally, the trading of his wife speaks to unsure investment too, as she should return him a child (on his marital investment), but trading her to other men puts this 'return' in jeopardy – issues discussed in relation to anxieties surrounding female mobility and marital investment in Chapter Three. As McRae has argued, 'In contrast to her husband, Frances is associated throughout the play with the traditional values of the country, whereas the mechanisms of the market constantly operate to redefine her as merely another valuable commodity.'⁷⁶ Frances, in her position as a commercial object in the process of exchange, also comes to stand as a figurative counterpart to her husband's other commercial investment – the 'drowned land' of the fens. Fitzdottrel's disordered, and morally questionable, approach to his marriage reflects the similarly questionable relationship he has with the drowned lands he invests in later. The play uses nomenclature and marital status to weave a semantic web around Fitzdottrel in the same way *The Witch of Edmonton* does with Frank Thorney. The language of husbandry and commerce employed by Fitzdottrel, Frances, and Wittipol throughout their discussions on the topic foreground this connection in the mind of the audience.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ McRae, *Godspeed the Plough*, p. 107.

⁷⁷ For more on the connections between Frances and the commercial projects of the play see Helen Ostovich, 'Hell for Lovers: Shades of Adultery in *The Devil is an*

When Mistress Fitzdottrel is musing on the words Wittipol spoke to her during their fifteen-minute meeting, she worries that:

He did presume,
By all the carriage of it on my brain,
For answer; and will swear 'tis very barren
If it can yield him no return. (2.2.30-4).

Here, Frances figures her 'brain' and body as a 'barren' agrarian landscape. Wittipol's advances to her become a 'husbandry' of her thoughts, from which he will expect a 'return' in the shape of her answer. Frances's own husband also fails to 'husband' in his marriage properly by allowing other men access to her, making this interaction 'barren' too. The 'yield' expected from Frances's bodily landscape and the landscape of the fenlands to benefit society are both put in jeopardy by Fitzdottrel's poor management. Frances goes on to strengthen this connection between her bodily husbandry and that of the fens when she tells the 'devil' of the play, Pug, to inform Wittipol that he should:

put off his hopes of straw and leave
To spread his nets in view, thus. Though they take
Master Fitzdottrel, I am no such fowl -
Nor fair one, tell him, will be had with stalking. (2.2.48-51).

Ass, in *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon*, ed. by Julie Sanders and others (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 155-182 (p. 175).

Frances's reference to the practice of fowling has strong associations with the fenland agrarian economy – as William Camden noted in his *Britannia* (1610), the inhabitants of the Cambridgeshire fens 'apply their mindes to grasing, fishing and fowling.'⁷⁸ In this figuration Frances (along with her husband) is an asset or potential 'product' inhabiting a fenland landscape. Merecraft, the corrupt projector, has profited from the fens by catching Fitzdottrel in his 'net' and duping him into investing in his drainage scheme. As McRae surmises, 'Merecraft's fraudulent project [...] epitomizes the exploitation of a preexistent rural order by the acquisitive ethos of the city.'⁷⁹ Frances's resistance to Wittipol in this language of 'fowling' suggests that she will not allow herself to be exploited similarly – by acquiescing to his demands she risks (ultimately) producing a bastard child that would be of no 'profit' to either investor or society within the normative patriarchal framework she inhabits. As will be explored further in the next chapter, Gervase Markham published a pamphlet entitled *Hunger's Prevention* in 1621, dedicated to Edwin Sandys and the Virginia Company, and detailing the benefits of fowling to sustainable agrarian economies.⁸⁰ This subtle connection between the fens and Virginia hints at an ideological link between Jonson's representation of negative management of the fenlands and the morality of profit driven approaches to colonial landscapes.

The relationship between profit driven approaches to colonial and domestic agrarian spaces is drawn out further in Fitzdottrel's description of the fenland landscape he decides to invest in. When telling his wife of the investment he says that he and Merecraft 'are looking for a place and all I'the map/ What to

⁷⁸ As quoted in Darby, *The Draining of the Fens*, p. 23.

⁷⁹ McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, p. 105.

⁸⁰ Gervase Markham, *Hungers prevention* (London: 1621), p. 1.

be [Duke] of.' (2.3.38-9). Mapping and surveying were key components of exerting colonial control over the New World and of implementing agrarian reform in England through processes such as enclosure. As Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein have observed, the early modern period 'saw an unprecedented rise in the use, availability, and conceptual sophistication of...the topographical map.'⁸¹ This 'unprecedented rise' in the frequency and geographical location of English mapping influenced literature produced at the time. David Harvey has noted that 'The traces of a new cartographic consciousness are writ large in poetry (for example Shakespeare and the so-called "metaphysical poets" deploy cartographic imagery to great effect) as well as in literature...The effect of reading such literature is to see ourselves in a different positionality, within a different map of the world.'⁸² Fitzdottrel's specific mention of a 'map' shows his engagement with this burgeoning field of cartography, but also, as Harvey implies, uses it to evoke a particular 'positionality' in relation to these agrarian lands. Surveying and mapping were typically associated with progressive approaches to agrarian reform – utilized as a way of 'knowing one's own' and being able to place a seemingly objective value on agrarian land. As Andrew McRae notes, throughout early modern agrarian complaint tracts the surveyor was associated with covetousness and anxiety was expressed over the process of surveying as 'Landownership is figured as reducible to facts and figures: a conception which inevitably undermines the matrix of duties and responsibilities

⁸¹ Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, 'Introduction', in *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1-12 (p. 3).

⁸² David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), p. 221.

which had previously been seen to define the manorial community.⁸³ The process of surveying and mapping was often a precedent to enclosure and increase of rents, and therefore a departure from traditional agrarian social structures, making it somewhat symbolic of this transition. Cartographically positioning Fitzdottrel's relationship to the fenlands places him in this context of progressive, problematic, and profit driven forms of agrarian land management. The use of mapping and surveying, as Harvey goes on to note, also 'aided state formation and the exercise of state powers. Cartography laid the legal basis for class-based privileges of land ownership and the right to the appropriation of the fruits of both nature and labor within well-defined spaces.'⁸⁴ Fitzdottrel embodies this 'class-based privilege of land-ownership' through his presiding over a map that symbolizes the landscape he plans to own and appropriate the 'fruits of both nature and labor' from.

Surveying and mapping were also important tools in colonial land management, where the parceling out of land between investors required the mapping of areas into divisible plots for ownership. In a report emerging from Virginia in 1616, it is written that:

as much as we are now by the Natives liking and consent, in actual possession of a great part of the Country, the other part not as yet freed

⁸³ McRae, *Godspeed the Plough*, p. 178.

⁸⁴ Harvey, *Spaces of Capital*, p. 220.

from encumber of woods and trees, nor thoroughly surveyed, whereby to make a Divident of the whole.⁸⁵

Similarly, in a 1621 letter from Sir George Yeardley in Virginia to Sir Edwin Sandys in London, Yeardley discusses assigning land to some 'adventurers', and writes:

The reason why I have been so slowe in doinge it is because we have never a surveyour in the lande and by that meanes cannot performe suche a service to any purpose, but might therein mucche wronge either the owners, or suche as should be their next neighbours.⁸⁶

In colonial discourse the absolute knowledge the surveyor was perceived to provide was crucial to the commercial figuration of the land by colonial leaders. Without mapping into distinct, divisible portions investors could not be assured they were receiving the return they had been promised. Similarly in England, surveying allowed landowners to have a better grasp of the value of their land and the returns they could expect from it. Fitzdottrel's allusion to his conception of land in this manner positions him alongside enclosers and colonial leaders as someone who sees agrarian land in terms of its fiscal rather than social value. In his figuration of himself as the 'duke of the drowned lands' he reinforces this

⁸⁵ 'A Brief Declaration, c. April 1616', in *The Genesis of the United States*, ed. by Alexander Brown, 2 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1890), pp. 774-80 (p. 777).

⁸⁶ Sir George Yeardley, 'A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, May 16, 1621', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 450-51 (p. 450).

detached form of economically individualistic relationship to the land – he is a ‘duke’, not a husbandman. Like Prospero, Fitzdottrel will manage (and own) the land, but someone else’s labour will husband it.

Throughout the play Jonson continually associates agrarian imagery and the language of husbandry with bad investments, poor management, and morally dubious social outcomes. Frequently, as seen in many of the examples used previously in this chapter, the language of husbandry was used to evoke a sense of morality or natural order, so Jonson’s inversion of this tendency is telling. I have already explored examples of Frances Fitzdottrel’s negative figuration of herself using the language of husbandry and in Act Three, when Gilthead is discussing the family business with his son, he says:

Our shop-books are our pastures, our corn-grounds;
We lay ‘em open for them to come into,
And when we have ‘em there we drive ‘em up
In t’one of our two pounds (3.1.17-20).

Here Gilthead compares his corrupt business practices, utilized to gain money from unsuspecting customers, to an agrarian landscape. Interestingly his comparison begins with ‘pastures’ and ‘corn-grounds’, and ends with etymological conflation of cattle enclosures and debtor’s prisons through the word ‘pound’. The end point of Gilthead’s allegory of his corrupt practices is a site of enclosure. This association of corrupt profit and investment with enclosure is linguistically made several times in the play. Mercraft asks Gilthead to ‘hedge in the last forty that I owe you’ (3.2.6), when discussing his request for

Gilthead to make a ring with which he will trick Fitzdottrel, and uses the same terminology when discussing the debt he owes his cousin Everill – ‘We’ll hedge in that’ (2.8.104). Jonson uses this inversion of moral husbandry to highlight his questioning and criticism of a particular kind of husbandry and approach to agrarian land – namely one driven by profit.

Through the character of Fitzdottrel, Jonson explicitly criticizes drainage schemes in the fens and the men who invested in them, but through his sustained criticism of profit driven agrarian approaches and association of the language of husbandry with poor investment and negative social outcomes, Jonson is also commenting on the influence of colonial discourses on the ideological figuration of agrarian landscapes and their reform at this time. Both agrarian reform and colonial discourses promote a profit driven, commercial approach to land management, encapsulated in their mutual reliance on mapping and surveying, a representational tool utilized by Jonson to scorn and satirize this approach. Images of the fens occur throughout drama of the period, but up until this point were utilized for their stereotypical association with disease and bad health, or in their equally negative classical guises – as seen in *The Witch of Edmonton* above.⁸⁷ Jonson, in a departure from other dramatists, engages with the socio-economic ‘realities’ of the English fenlands to provide a tangible context for his critique of profit driven approaches to agrarian landscapes.

Conclusion

⁸⁷ See also *The Tempest* (1.2.324, 2.1.52), William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus* (3.3.117, 4.1.29).

As explored through the analysis of a variety of pamphlet and manuscript material, colonial discourse positioned English husbandry as the only way of turning the wild North American nature into a 'civilized culture'. Colonial leaders hoped that by imposing the intellectual and material framework of English (agri)culture onto the New World they would civilize it whilst at the same time exert control over it, establish legitimate ownership of it, and make it financially profitable. This process also involved English writers acknowledging Native American presence on the land, whilst simultaneously negating their rights to own it. The discourse surrounding this process and the imposition of commercialized English management of New World agrarian spaces drew on and influenced discourses surrounding agrarian reform in England at the time. *The Tempest* and *The Witch of Edmonton* interrogated the legitimacy and morality of these shifting approaches to agrarian spaces and the subjects inhabiting them. Anxieties around the shift from feudal to proto-capitalist forms of land management in England saw debate and protest emerge across all sectors of society over how best to manage and husband agrarian spaces, with proponents of the 'improvement' of agrarian land through a more individualistic, profit driven style of management using a shared set of ideological justifications and representational schemes with colonial discourse. Agrarian lands in England and the New World were connected through the discourse used to legitimate their transition to proto-capitalist spaces of commercial activity and the people inhabiting them were similarly connected through their representation as impediments to this process. The anxiety expressed by Jonson over the tension between pursuit of profit and economic individualism, and sustaining customary rights and meeting the needs of entire communities, is one that runs throughout

debates over agrarian reform at this time. Anxieties seem to come to a head, both discursively and through popular protest, when these tensions occur in, or indeed are deemed to produce, periods of dearth and famine. Through an exploration of the specific example of debates over food production and cash crops, the next chapter will consider further the influence of colonial discourse on the understanding and representation of profit through agrarian lands and reform.

Chapter Six: 'Bellies Pincht with Hunger': Dearth, Land Management, and Social Order in the Agrarian Spaces of England and Virginia

Husbandry was a culturally important marker of ownership, national identity, and social status in English societies at home and abroad. It was also a fundamental aspect of the survival of these societies through the production of the crops they needed for sustenance. As agrarian reformers began to push for the 'improvement' of both economic and product yield through a shift to proto-capitalist, economically individualistic forms of agrarian land management, tensions emerged in contemporary literature over the compatibility of managing agrarian land for profit and also ensuring a stable food supply. This chapter builds on the previous one and looks specifically at the role anxieties over dearth and famine played in the discourses surrounding agrarian reform and land management in England and Virginia. I argue that periods of dearth and famine served as stark reminders to leaders in both locations of the implications of insufficient food production to social order and that these reminders came to temper discourses of economic individualism and pursuit of profit through agrarian land. I also argue that short and long term responses to the hunger caused by dearth came to define normative and transgressive identities and management practices. In particular the 'starving time' in Virginia, a period of severe dearth and famine in winter 1609-10, came to be symbolic of the extreme consequences and behaviours food shortages could cause and influenced the representation of (in)correct response to hunger, land management, leadership, and their importance to social order and stability in contemporary literature.

Food shortages and the social unrest that came with them were a concern in England as well as the colonies throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. As Joan Thirsk notes, “The whole period starting in 1600 is noticeable for sharp shocks regularly administered by cereal shortages. The scarcities of 1586 and 1594-6 were but a foretaste of crises that recurred every decade between 1600-1650.”¹ Thirsk goes on to note that the 1620s, 30s, and 40s were probably some of the worst years for food scarcity the country had seen to that point.² Equally, as Rachel Herrman has noted, the 1620s saw a revisiting of the ‘starving time’ crisis in the popular consciousness as several new publications emerged on the subject.³ It was also during this period that the two plays I will study in this chapter were written and performed; Fletcher and Massinger’s *The Sea Voyage* (c.1622) and Philip Massinger’s *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (c.1625). As I go on to argue through the course of this chapter, these experiences and representations of dearth and famine in the colonies and at home came to provide a lens through which drama could critique the shift towards profit driven rather than more community focused forms of agrarian land management.

I begin this chapter by analysing the connection between agrarian land management, food production, and social order in pamphlets emerging from England and the New World. I then move on to analyse narratives of the ‘starving time’ in Virginia and argue that *The Sea Voyage* interrogates their role in disrupting the articulation of English identity through ‘civilized’ responses to

¹ Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, and Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Continuum Books, 2007), p. 59.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³ Rachel B. Herrman, “The ‘tragical historie’: Cannibalism and Abundance in Colonial Jamestown”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 68 (2011), 47-74 (p. 49)

extreme dearth and famine. In the next sections I argue that colonial and domestic authorities, and society more widely, viewed effective leadership and management of agrarian lands as crucial methods of preventing dearth and famine. I explore how *The Sea Voyage* and *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* use these connections between dearth, famine, and poor land management to frame the transgressive actions and identities of certain characters for their audiences. I also argue that tobacco becomes a loaded and powerful symbol of dearth anxieties and poor agrarian land management in literature of the period. My final section turns to 'cultivated fields and battlefields' and argues that authorities in England and the New World recognized the importance of effective leadership during times of conflict to ensure adequate food supply and thus ordered, obedient subjects. Both *The Sea Voyage* and *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* utilize this connection between food supply and conflict to create a sense of anxiety around the social effects of dearth and famine. I conclude the chapter by looking at how *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* uses a historically specific conflict to bring together concerns and causes of dearth and social disorder at home and abroad.

'Hunger's Prevention': Food Supply and Social Order

As noted at the start of the previous chapter, Gervase Markham's works on husbandry were sent to the Virginia colony with the hopes that they would better direct the agricultural endeavours of the colonists. Markham himself notes the inextricable link between the production of food on agrarian landscapes, and the functionality and stability of society. At the start of *The English Husbandman* he notes that:

A husbandman is the Maister of the earth, turning sterilitie and barrainesse, into fruitfulnessse and increase, whereby all common wealths are maintained and upheld, it is his labour which giveth bread to all men and maketh us forsake the societie of beasts drinking upon the water springs, feeding us with a much more nourishing liquor. The labour of the husbandman giveth liberty to all vocations, Arts, misteries and trades, to follow their severall functions, with peace and industry, for the filling and emptying of his barnes is the increase and prosperitie of all their labours.⁴

Markham makes clear how important the role of a husbandman is to the production of a stable and sufficient food supply; he is the 'maister of the earth' whose 'labour giveth bread to all men'. Markham in turn notes how important this food supply is to the success and stability of all society, because without it city industry would fail to be profitable as 'all vocations' are reliant on it to give them the 'liberty' to turn their time and efforts to 'follow their severall functions'. Even more dramatically, Markham suggests that the work of husbandmen in producing food is what allows humanity to 'forsake the societie of beasts', suggesting that humanity's superior, civilized position in opposition to animals hinges on their more ordered connection to food. Arthur Standish echoes this connection between food and social order in his 1612 *Commons Complaint*, which states on its title page that the second of the two 'grievances' it seeks to address is 'the extreme dearth of victuals'.⁵ Later, in the body of the text, Arthur

⁴ Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman* (1613), p. 3.

⁵ Arthur Standish, *The Commons Complaint* (London, 1611), title page.

Standish writes that ‘the extreme dearth of victuals causeth many to break up hous-keeping, and to put away their servants, whereby many through want fall to stealing, and therby come to an untimely end’.⁶ As explored in the first chapter of this thesis, the home was ‘the smallest of a series of interlocking spheres which formed a model of governance’ – it was the starting point and foundation of social order.⁷ Here, dearth threatens this bastion of order and normative social hierarchies, just as the absence of the home and the family structures it produced did in the colonial examples examined in Chapter One.

In colonial discourse, savagery and hunger were inherently interlinked in the bodies and behaviours of the indigenous population. As Robert Appelbaum notes, in English colonial writers’ ethnographic observations:

the Indians are *always hungry*...Hunger, according to such observers, is an ever-present condition of Indian experience, even if Indians also show themselves to be quite successful at acquiring food and sustaining themselves nutritionally and, when necessary, enduring hunger with patience. For writers like Smith, indeed, it is not just a token of their savagery, it is savagery itself.⁸

⁶ Ibid, p. 12.

⁷ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 7.

⁸ Robert Appelbaum, ‘Hunger in Early Virginia: Indians and English Facing Off Over Excess, Want and Need’, in *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*, ed. by Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 211. Italics in original.

Native Americans were frequently animalized as a way of representing and reinforcing their uncivilized, savage identity in the eyes of English colonists – as seen in George Percy’s reference to Native Americans as ‘bears’ in Chapter Four. Markham’s assertion that without adequate food supply civilized English society would descend to that of unruly beasts hinges on the same ideological associations of hunger with disorder and animalistic savagery. Written shortly after reports of the ‘starving time’ crisis in Virginia reached England, Markham’s anxiety over the potential consequences of hunger may bear traces of these events and indeed more generally the traces of ethnographic observations of ‘uncivilized’ Native American food practices. In later publications Markham’s recognition of the connection between food production and consequences of dearth in England and Virginia are made even more explicit.

In 1621 Markham published *Hunger’s Prevention*, a tract directing people to the logistics and benefits of ‘fowling’. Fowling was an integral aspect of food procurement for lower social orders in the fenlands, as mentioned in Chapter Five, and one connected to debates over common rights to agrarian spaces⁹ Markham’s title directly links fowling to ‘hunger’s prevention’, underlining the fundamental role management of and access to agrarian spaces played in the sustenance of society. But equally interesting is that in his extended title Markham states that this tract is ‘Also, exceeding necessary and profitable for all such as trauell by sea, and come into vninhabited places’: it is not just England that can benefit from the advice set out in this work, but ‘all those that haue any

⁹ Todd A. Borlik, ‘Caliban and the fen demons of Lincolnshire: the Englishness of Shakespeare’s *Tempest*’, *Shakespeare*, 9 (2013), 21-51 (p. 30). See also, Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln: The History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1980), p. 20.

thing to do with new plantations'.¹⁰ This reference to 'new plantations' shows that anxiety over the consequences of dearth in colonial locations played on the minds of English writers as much as anxiety over similar domestic issues. Markham's advice seems to have been heeded by colonial leaders, as in the shipping inventories for the 'Tristram' and 'Jane', sailing to Virginia in 1637, at least six 'fowling peeces' are listed as cargo aboard the ships.¹¹ This connection between Markham's work and the Virginia plantation is made even more explicit in his dedication of the work to 'The Honorable knight Sir Edwin Sandys, and to his much honoured and worthy friends Mr Thomas Gibes *Esquire*, Mr Theodore Gulston Doctor of Physicke, and Mr *Samual Roste* Esquire, Adventurers, and Noble favourers of the blessed plantation of Virginia'.¹² Sir Edwin Sandys was one of the key figures behind the Virginia Company and its colonial endeavours and this dedication, coupled with Berkley and Smith's sending of Markham's work to Virginia, suggests a network of people who saw a direct connection between agrarian land management and food production in England and the New World. In both locations 'hunger's prevention' is one of the key functions of agrarian land management, and of central importance to the maintenance of social order.

Even before arriving in Virginia Robert Johnson recognizes the importance of food to social order when, in *The New Life of Virginia* (1612), he discusses the implementation of Thomas Gates' new laws for the Virginia colony. Johnson writes that 'the bellie pincht with hunger cannot heare, though your

¹⁰ Gervase Markham, *Hungers preuention* (1621). See also Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, p. 65.

¹¹ Martha W. Hiden, 'Accompts of the Tristram and Jane', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 62 (1954), 424-447 (p. 428).

¹² Markham, *Hungers prevention*, p. 1.

charme be otherwise never so sweet.’¹³ Here, Johnson connects food to social order in a more immediate and physiological way; people cannot be brought to order without food because, quite simply, they will be too hungry to listen to instruction. As Mukherjee notes of sentiments expressed in dearth literature of the 1590s, ‘dearth was a condition that distorted moral distinctions and certainties.’¹⁴ Johnson’s awareness of the short-term implications of hunger in creating a physiological state that does not lend itself to obedience is inherently connected to the awareness that dearth can cause longer term ‘distortions’ in behaviour in the morally dubious behaviour it provokes. Just as the Native Americans’ ‘savagery’ was connected to an apparently constant state of hunger, so too English colonists and subjects at home risked a descent into savage behaviours as dearth and hunger warped normative moral codes.

In its association of issues of food production with the propensity for disobedience and social disorder, colonial literature borrowed from existing frameworks and anxieties in England. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, grain shortages were prevalent throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, causing periods of dearth and famine that led to popular rebellion. The Midlands’ Revolt of 1607 epitomized the threat periods of dearth posed to social order and stability in England. As Roger B. Manning notes, ‘the example of the Midland Rebels reverberated across the countryside’, and ‘Sympathetic demonstrations emulating the Midland Rebels of 1607 undoubtedly explain the

¹³ Johnson, *The New Life of Virginea*, p. 22.

¹⁴ Ayesha Mukherjee, *Penury into Plenty: Dearth and the Making of Knowledge in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 51.

high incidence of enclosure riots during the period from 1607 to 1609.¹⁵ These riots were labelled as ‘enclosure riots’, with the government claiming they were not caused by famine or scarcity of corn. But, as Edwin Gay has argued ‘Dearth had repeatedly stimulated both inclosure riots and legislation’ at this time.¹⁶ Equally, Joan Thirsk notes that, ‘the general price index of arable crops did rise in that year from 443 to 584’.¹⁷ This was a significant increase, and one that would have made it difficult for the poorest members of the Midlands’ communities to acquire enough food. The first half of the seventeenth century in England was defined by anxieties over dearth and famine, and the propensity of these periods of extreme hunger to cause a breakdown in social order and the ‘moral distinctions and certainties’ that defined normative English society. These English contexts undoubtedly informed dramatic and pamphlet engagements with issues of hunger in both domestic and colonial contexts, but equally I argue that the difficulties faced by colonial leaders in maintaining a stable food supply, particularly during the ‘starving time’, came to influence the representation of dearth, agrarian land management, and the consequences of hunger in England.

‘We’ll eat your ladyship’: Cannibalism, Crisis, and the ‘Starving Time’

The most extreme indicator of ‘savagery’ through hunger or transgressive alimentary practices in early modern English thought was cannibalism. As noted in Chapter Two, ‘The cannibal was the marker of human savagery against which

¹⁵ Roger B. Manning, *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 83.

¹⁶ Edwin F. Gay, ‘The Midland Revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation of 1607’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (1904), 195-244 (p. 213).

¹⁷ Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, p. 60.

Europeans could measure their own civility'.¹⁸ This spectre of cannibalism as the extreme end point of dearth and famine comes to loom large in the English imagination after the 'starving time' in Virginia. This section argues that narratives of the 'starving time' had a profound effect on anxieties around the implications of dearth and famine in England, and on how these anxieties were addressed and articulated in contemporary literature. Cannibalism was associated with indigenous inhabitants of the New World right from the earliest reports of the country emerging from European exploratory voyages, but, I argue, the 'starving time' in Virginia called into question the attribution of cannibalism to the indigenous population as a distinguishing factor of their identity.¹⁹

The incident was reported in several sources, with varying degrees of detail, and as stated above received renewed interest in the 1620s through several new publications. Perhaps the most (in)famous of these accounts was George Percy's *A Trewe Relacyon* (1624). As the Governor of the colony at the time he was a witness to the events, as well as being someone who had the finger of blame pointed in his direction. Immediately before recounting the most shocking elements of the event Percy wrote that 'all of us att James Towne' were 'beginneinge to feele that sharpe pricke of hunger wch noe man trewly descrybe butt he wch hath Tasted the bitternesse thereof.'²⁰ The 'sharpe pricke of hunger' has echoes of Johnson's 'bellie pincht with hunger', and both phrases invite the reader to interpret the events that follow within the context of this extreme

¹⁸ Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576-1643* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 112.

¹⁹ Louis Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', *Representations*, 33 (1991), 1-41 (p. 5).

²⁰ George Percy, *A Trewe Relacyon* (1624).

hunger. Percy goes on to recount the horrific lengths the colonists went to in order to satiate their hunger, he writes that 'a worlde of miseries ensewed', in which:

some to satisfye their hunger have robbed the store for the wch I caused them to be executed. Then haveinge fedd upon horses and other beastes as long as they Lasted we weare gladd to make shifte wth vermine as doggs Catts Ratts and myce All was fishe thatt came to Nett to satisfye Crewell hunger as to eate Bootes shoes or any other leather some colde Come by And those being Spente and devoured some weare inforced to searche the woodes and to feede upon Serpents and snakes and to digge the earthe for wylde and unknowne Rootes where many of our men weare Cutt off of and slayne by the Salvages. And now famin begineinge to Looke gastely and pale in every face thatt notheinge was spared to mainteyne Lyfe and to doe those things wch seame incredible As to digge up dead corpses outt of graves and to eate them and some have Licked upp the Bloode wch hathe fallen from their weake fellowes And amongste the reste this was moste Lamentable Thatt one of our Colline murdered his wyfe Ripped the childe outt of her woambe and threw itt into the River and after chopped the Mother in pieces and salted her for his foode.²¹

The Virginia Company issued an official declaration in 1610 refuting reports of cannibalism when stories of the 'starving time' first emerged and until the

²¹ Ibid.

discovery of a female skull bearing human teeth marks at the Jamestown archaeological site in 2012, the debate over whether English colonists really did turn to cannibalism had raged on.²² However, as Governor at the time these events took place, Percy had very little to gain by depicting the utter disorder his settlement had descended into. I argue that his graphic account served as a warning to contemporary readers of the danger famine and insecure food supply posed to social order and, more fundamentally, to the very identity of English subjects.

As Appelbaum has discussed, Percy's relaying of the sequence of events (and foodstuffs) that led up to the ultimate act of cannibalism 'amounted to something of a "topos,"' and could 'be found in stories that had been circulating throughout the European world since Flavius Josephus's account of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 a.d.'²³ In Percy's recounting of the English 'descent' to cannibalism:

he delineates the regressive behaviour of the settlers as they feed themselves first from the valued surpluses, which were to guarantee the condition of alimentary civility they had taken for granted, and then go down the scale and consume less and less edible products, until they are forced to violate the food taboos underlying their nutritional system.²⁴

²² Virginia Council, *A True Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (London, 1610). 'Jane: A "Starving Time" Tragedy', *Jamestowne Rediscovery* <<https://historicjamestowne.org/archaeology/jane/>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

²³ Appelbaum, 'Hunger in Early Virginia', p. 213.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

In violating the 'nutritional system' that constructs and represents their civilized English identity, the colonists expose their propensity for 'savage' behaviours and trouble the hierarchical distinction created between themselves and the Native Americans based on their eating practices and response to hunger. Prefacing the shocking events he describes with an assertion of the hunger felt and faced by the colonists connects this extreme physiological state of hunger with the extreme disordered behaviour that followed. Percy's account borrows from existing narratives of hunger and utilizes them to portray a real event that makes this literary 'topos' a reality for an English reader. In Percy's, and to some extent Johnson's, text the reader is encouraged to contextualize their judgement of the colonists' disordered behaviour with the knowledge that extreme hunger precipitated these actions. Thereby raising the question for the reader of whether extreme hunger could provoke similar responses in English subjects at home.

The anxiety that the colonists' response to dearth during the 'starving time' was not exclusive to this 'othered' environment, but an inherent possibility for all English subjects, is one explored in Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage*. This play borrows heavily from 'starving time' narratives whilst simultaneously playing on contemporary anxieties over dearth in England. Claire Jowitt has argued convincingly for the influence of Virginian narratives of 'endemic starvation' on the story and content of *The Sea Voyage*, and the evidence I go on to explore owes a debt to this scholarship.²⁵ I build on Jowitt's observation of this influence to argue that the play interweaves it with a

²⁵ Claire Jowitt, "'Her flesh must serve you': Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher's and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*", *Parergon*, 18:3 (2001), 93-117.

consistent anxiety over the impact of famine and food shortage at home in England as well. Act Three of the play opens with the three gallants and the surgeon lamenting their hunger, with Franville exclaiming, 'O, how sharp hunger pinches me!' (3.1.8). Morillat responds in agreement, complaining:

O my importunate belly! I have nothing
To satisfy thee. I have sought as far
As my weak legs would carry me, yet can
Find nothing – neither meat nor water,
Nor anything that's nourishing. (3.1.9-13).

The scene opens with a focus on hunger and lack of food, much as the opening of Percy's narrative did and, again like Percy, this is used as context for the action that follows. Before settling on their ultimately cannibalistic act the gallants relay a list of items they would gladly consume if they had the chance, including 'an old suppository' (3.1.39), 'old poultices' (3.1.44), and even 'the great wen' the surgeon had cut 'from Hugh the sailor's shoulder' (3.1.47-8). These, slightly more comedic, offerings have echoes of the unpalatable items Percy's colonists turned to in Jamestown, but more directly the Surgeon says he 'could make salads of your shoes, gentlemen', (3.1.54) which reflects Percy's claim that the colonists ate 'Bootes shoes or any other leather'. Connecting their discussion of hunger, and ultimately cannibalism, to the 'starving time' narratives allows Fletcher and Massinger to play on both existing 'topos' of the descent to cannibalism, but also the 'real life' realisation of this narrative. After a hundred or so lines of discussing their hunger the gallants and surgeon ultimately settle on

cannibalising the only female member of their party, Aminta. Like Percy's colonists, the gallants stranded on an island offering 'neither meat nor water' are driven to the most extreme measures to satisfy their hunger.²⁶

When preparing to do the deed, the Surgeon states that 'we shall want salt' (3.1.103), before Franville responds 'Tush, she needs no powdering' (3.1.104). Percy offers a similar suggestion, that the cannibalistic colonist 'salted' his wife to preserve her and John Smith also related this element of the 'starving time' story when he stated that 'one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne.'²⁷ Appelbaum analyses this detail of the 'powdered wife' in Percy and suggests that it 'does not depict an absolute reversion to savagery' as it shows Collines performing the civilized practice of salting 'his meat, to put it in storage'.²⁸ As Mukherjee explores at length, preservation techniques were a crucial part of the struggle against food shortage and famine in England, especially within the home.²⁹ Within this framework Collines, and the gallants of *The Sea Voyage*, display simultaneously their civilized, English approach to food as well as their savage submission to their cannibalistic hungers. Appelbaum insightfully notes that the inclusion of this detail is an important indicator of the remaining shred of distinction between the 'savage' American landscape and its inhabitants and the 'civilized' English colonists, but I think there is something more complex going on in detail

²⁶ For the gendered and sexually violent overtones of this cannibalistic act see Hollis, *The Absence of America*, pp. 95-100.

²⁷ *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of his Writing*, ed. by Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 130.

²⁸ Appelbaum, 'Hunger in Early Virginia', p. 214.

²⁹ Mukherjee, *Penury into Plenty*, Chapter Five.

of 'salting' that makes it important enough for Fletcher and Massinger to include in their dramatic retelling. As Mukherjee also notes in her study:

the imagination activated by dearth-time ingenuity required careful moralized monitoring...Without it, ingenuity could easily take negative, parodic forms during years of dearth. Consequently, constructions of negative ingenuity were an important part of the discourses of literatures of dearth.³⁰

What Collines, and the gallants, display is not a demonstration of a final shred of civilized 'ingenuity', but a display of a corruption of the accepted dearth-time practices of ingenuity and preservation of food – a 'negative ingenuity'. In Percy's narrative the mention of salting may well have been an attempt to salvage some 'civility' for Collines and the other English colonists, but Fletcher and Massinger's inclusion of the detail of 'salting' was in order to position the event more clearly as a case of 'negative ingenuity'. The gallants and surgeon are repeatedly positioned as inferior to Albert, Tibalt, and the Master, as explored elsewhere in this thesis, as their behaviours are irrational, excessive, and disordered. Their desire to salt Aminta is yet another example of their lack of ability to behave in ways that contribute to the successful resolution of the situation the French party find themselves in. This positioning offers a commentary on the 'starving time' crisis in Virginia, suggesting the event displayed an entirely 'savage' set of behaviours and a corruption rather than a successful utilisation of a civilized English alimentary framework by the colonists. This incident also allows the play

³⁰ Ibid, p. 44.

to raise the question of the sufficiency of dearth prevention measures in England by showing not only the extreme behaviour hunger can encourage, but the potential failure of systems and frameworks put in place to mitigate dearth. These systems can become corrupted through a ‘negative ingenuity’ brought on by the irrational impulses of extreme hunger, an idea that would have been particularly resonant at the time *The Sea Voyage* was written and performed, as England itself was experiencing a period of significant food shortage.

Joan Thirsk notes that in September 1621, the year before *The Sea Voyage* was first performed, the Privy Council in England sent out ‘a circular letter asking for ideas to remedy the grain shortage, while it resorted to its usual strategy, banning grain exports.’³¹ The harvest of 1621 hit the north of England particularly hard and ‘by the summer of 1622 shortages were more alarming still. York reported a scarcity “greater than ever known in memory of man”. In 1623 things were much worse and many people died in Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and the West Riding.’³² The ban on grain exports speaks primarily to the trade of grain with continental Europe, but would also have raised anxieties over the shipping of supplies to the New World. If England could not feed its people at home shipping grain to the colonies would only exacerbate the problem, and yet failure to send this grain could result in another ‘starving time’ – an event gaining renewed interest and publication at this time along with pamphlets like Markham’s *Hunger’s Prevention* that explicitly recognized the relationship between food shortage and its prevention in England and the New World. There seems, then, to be an increasing sense of both

³¹ Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, p. 61.

³² *Ibid*, p. 61.

material and ideological connections in the manifestation of dearth and hunger in England and its New World Colonies during the 1620s. *The Sea Voyage* draws on this and throughout the play uses the colonial context it evokes to pose questions about the potential consequences of hunger more generally in English society. As noted above, Franville and Morillat open the scene in which they plan their act of cannibalism with a lament of how extreme their hungers are. The motivation behind the act is reinforced yet again when Aminta pleads, 'Forgive 'em, 'twas their hungers.' (3.1.148). This repeated assertion of the hunger of the gallants makes the audience focus on and sympathize with the causational factors behind the event, suggesting a degree of empathy as well as revulsion for the cannibalistic act that these characters seek to perform. This, once again, invites the uncomfortable notion that hunger, as a socially and morally disruptive force, could be just as powerful in England as it was in Virginia. Virginia offered evidence of the potential lengths English subjects could, and would, go to in order to satisfy their hungers, and could be utilized as part of a representational scheme and cautionary tale to impress the importance of ensuring sufficient food supply through the proper management of agrarian landscapes in England.

Leadership and Land Management in *The Sea Voyage* and *A New Way to Pay*

Old Debts

Jowitt has argued convincingly that throughout *The Sea Voyage*, 'The control of appetite...is shown to be a significant indicator in the effective performance of

manhood.’³³ This ‘performance of manhood’ through response to hunger and sexual ‘appetite’ goes on to create a hierarchical distinction between the men on the island. I build on Jowitt’s reading and suggest that this hierarchy also articulates anxieties over the effectiveness of different styles of leadership and agrarian land management in achieving a stable food supply. Anxieties over what may happen if those in authority fail to stabilize food supply are expressed in a variety of contemporary pamphlet material and also emerge as concerns in *The Sea Voyage* and, as I will go on to explore, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. A few lines after Aminta interjects to defend her cannibalistic attackers in *The Sea Voyage*, Tibalt asks them ‘why did you not,/ Begin with one another handsomely,/ And spare the woman to beget more food on?’ (3.1.154-6). This question is posed ironically, but nevertheless interjects in the dramatic response to the gallants’ proposed act of cannibalism and encourages the audience to question the logic behind it. This logic of course being that the gallants’ cannibalism was for short term gain, when by ‘investing’ in the ‘husbandry’ of Aminta’s body they could have achieved a more sustainable food supply. As Jowitt writes, their potential cannibalism ‘represents commercial deficit and Fletcher’s French gallants - unlike Tibalt and Albert - stand for those colonials who fail to understand that survival is only ensured through the correct husbandry of resources.’³⁴ I argue that *The Sea Voyage* draws on Percy’s narrative and suggests, rather darkly, that in cannibalising the mother rather than the child the gallants display a ‘negative ingenuity’ in their dearth time practices. The gallants’ failure to ‘husband’ Aminta’s body represents their

³³ Jowitt, ‘Her flesh must serve you’, p. 101.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 109.

failure to manage the resources at their disposal to ensure a sustainable and stable food supply, and indeed, a sustainable colonial population. The backdrop to the writing of this play outlined above supports an assertion that Fletcher and Massinger were immersed in acute domestic concerns and narratives over food supply as well as drawing on imaginatively rich narratives of colonial famine and tropes of cannibalism. Only a generation previously the Midlands' Revolt of 1607 had shown the lengths 'common folk' would go to when faced with rising grain prices and a reduction of the common lands they had access to.³⁵ The act and revelation of cannibalism in *The Sea Voyage* is not staged purely for the shock factor and engagement with gruesome tales from Virginia, but in order to question why these events occur and how they are connected to ideas of sustainable food production and land management in England.

Tibalt's ironic commentary on the gallants' shortsighted attitude to their food supply speaks to these anxieties over proper management of the land and its capacity to produce food. The connection between Aminta's female body as a site of reproduction and agrarian land as a site of food production is made again in the play when the Amazon women inhabiting the more fertile neighbouring island are holding Tibalt captive. During a bawdy exchange with his jailors Crocale and Juletta, Tibalt says: 'We are unprofitable, and our ploughs are broken./ There is no hope of harvest this year ladies' (4.3.36-7). Suggesting that he and his men will not be able to satisfy the women sexually as they are hungry and imprisoned, Tibalt draws a more direct parallel between husbanding agrarian land and 'husbanding' the female body. The gallants failed to properly 'husband' Aminta's body, meaning they could not hope to gain a sustainable food

³⁵ Manning, *Village Revolts*, Chapter Four.

supply from it and here Tibalt suggests that because he and his compatriots cannot 'husband' the Amazon women there will similarly be no 'harvest'. The reproductive female bodies of Aminta and the Amazons are used to highlight anxieties over a lack of effectual (male) leadership of (re)productive agrarian lands leading to a lack of 'harvest' and stable food supply – a concern that haunts the play throughout.

At the start of the play the ship is caught in a storm, with the crew struggling to save it. The Master and Tibalt command that the lading, along with all the goods stored on board, be thrown over to lighten the ship's load. During this scene the Master explicitly orders that their provisions be thrown over too, saying:

Fling o'er the lading there, and let's lighten her.

All the meat and cakes – we are all gone else

[...]

Yet save some little biscuit for the lady

Till we come to the land (1.1.111-15).

Once the storm subsides and they arrive on the island the gallants start lamenting the loss of their goods, causing Tibalt to become increasingly frustrated with what he perceives as their lack of gratitude for escaping the storm. As the tension increases arguing breaks out between the men, which Tibalt says he is happy to partake in as 'fighting is as nourishing to me/ As eating' (1.3.83-4). Later still in this scene, after the island's existing inhabitants

Sebastian and Nicusa have stolen their ship, the gallants begin to complain of their hunger, to which Tibalt again responds angrily, saying:

I would now cut your throat, you dog,
But that I would not do you such a courtesy
To take you from the benefit of starving.
O, what a comfort will your worship have
Some three days hence! Ye things beneath pity,
Famine shall be your harbinger (1.3.252-7).

Throughout Act One the men in positions of leadership – Tibalt, Albert, and the Master – show, in a variety of ways, their lack of concern and foresight when it comes to providing food for their crew and passengers. The Master makes no attempt to save any provisions, which would have been key to their short-term survival on the island. Tibalt boasts that ‘fighting is as nourishing as food’ to him, implying that he would forgo food in favour of fighting. This can be read as an assertion of Tibalt’s superior masculinity but in the context of the argument I am pursuing here, it could also be read as Tibalt choosing to fight rather than take care of one of the primary needs of survival and social order – food. Similarly, in his assertion that he would not do the gallants the ‘courtesy’ of taking them from starvation, but will rather let ‘famine be your harbinger’, he aggressively dismisses their pleas for food and implies that they should remain stoic in the face of starvation. However, as Percy’s account of the ‘starving time’ and various other accounts of famine show, this is unlikely to happen. What is more likely to occur, and what does occur, is hunger leading the gallants to carry out acts of

disorder and lose faith in the competency of their 'leaders'. Whilst this scenario does not replicate a colonial situation, as the relationship between the characters are different to those of colonial leaders and planters, the anxiety emerging over provision of food by those in positions of power is analogous to anxieties over colonial leaders' capacity to make settlements in the New World prosperous.

Concern over leadership and management of agrarian lands and food supply is also a central theme in Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (c.1625). This play stages concerns over changes to agrarian land management in England, but its anxieties over leadership and food scarcity are shared with *The Sea Voyage* and, as I will go on to argue, also bear traces of colonial influence. The very first line of the play brings New World agrarian produce onto the stage and forges a connection between disordered agrarian land management and leadership practices in England and Virginia. Wellborn, whose father was a wealthy and respected landowner, has gambled and drunk away his lands and fortune, and the play opens with him angrily demanding of Tapwell, the local tavern owner: 'No bouze? Nor no Tobacco?'³⁶ Tobacco, as Holly Dugan notes, 'defined the English presence in the new world', and for many years was Virginia's most profitable and notorious export.³⁷ However, the cultural associations and reception of tobacco were contested and complex, and the husbandry of this crop as well as its use by consumers was a cause for debate in early modern England.³⁸ The smoking of tobacco was a past-time enjoyed by

³⁶ Philip Massinger, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, ed. by Muriel St. Clare Byrne (London: Falcon Educational Books, 1949), 1.1.1.

³⁷ Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 93.

³⁸ Joan Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984), Chapter Fifteen.

many but also regularly criticized, most famously by King James I in 1604 in his *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*, in which he refers to it as a 'vile and stinking a custome'.³⁹ As a crop it caused ongoing problems for the Virginia Company through conflicts with planters and leaders in Virginia, as well as with the Crown and merchants in London. The association of Wellborn with tobacco at the opening of the play is, I argue, a highly symbolic and important one, that draws on contemporary understandings of Virginia's most (in)famous crop to frame Wellborn's poor land management practices for the audience. This negative positioning of tobacco on stage has precedence, not least in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, which engages with contemporary debates over tobacco and connects them directly to its production in the New World. Justice Overdo warns the impressionable Cokes: 'Neither do thou lust after that tawny weed, tobacco [...] whose complexion is like the Indian's that vents it!' (2.6.18-20). King James in his *Counterblaste* also made this association with 'Indians' when he wrote of tobacco smokers' imitation of 'the barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slavish *Indians*.'⁴⁰ Tobacco is present throughout *Bartholomew Fair*, being sold and smoked by vendors and visitors to the fair in a way that mirrors tobacco's presence in the very theatre (the Hope) the play would have been performed in. The fumes of imported Virginian tobacco permeating and polluting the air of the play and the playhouse figuratively stand for the presence of these 'barbarous and beastly manners', but also literally and symbolically

³⁹ King James, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London, 1604), p. 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 6.

connect this presence to Virginia's infiltration into the real and imagined spaces of London.⁴¹

Wellborn's opening line in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* positions him as the well-established dramatic character of the prodigal son, which Ervin Beck has defined as a young man come of age who:

rebels against or rejects a father-figure or, more generally speaking, his inheritance from a preceding generation. In going his own way, he brings himself to some kind of humiliating defeat. He undergoes a conversion and tries to return to the people and to the values against which he had originally rebelled.⁴²

Wellborn certainly fills this criterion, although as I will argue in my conclusion, Massinger problematizes his ultimate redemption or 'conversion'. Tobacco becomes a key part of establishing this prodigal stereotype in the opening scene. Standing in a tavern, demanding to know why he can have no more 'bouze' or tobacco, suggests to the audience that Wellborn is out of credit and has wasted money on these items in the past. Tapwell later confirms these associations when he says of Wellborn:

You were then a Lord of Acres; the prime gallant;

⁴¹ For more on the 'smellscapes' of *Bartholomew Fair* and their manifestation in the Hope Theatre see, Holly Dugan, "'As dirty as Smithfield and as stinking every whit": The Smell of the Hope Theatre', in *Shakespeare's Theatre and the Effects of Performance*, ed. by Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 195-213.

⁴² Ervin Beck, 'Terence Improved: The Paradigm of the Prodigal Son in English Renaissance Comedy', *Renaissance Drama*, 6 (1973), 107-122 (p. 109).

[...]

You had a merry time of't. Hawks and Hounds,

With a choice of running horses; Mistresses

Of all sorts, and all sizes (1.1.43-46).

Wellborn was once a 'Lord of Acres' but, as Tapwell states bluntly to Wellborn a few lines later, 'Your land gone, and your credit not worth a token,/ You grew the common borrower' (1.1.55-6). Wellborn has spent his money on socially and morally ambiguous items like alcohol, mistresses, and tobacco and this wasteful spending has also led to the 'wasting' of his fortunes, titles, and lands. This sentiment resonates directly with James I's lament in *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* that:

you are by this custome disabled in your goods, let the Gentry of this land beare witnesse, some of them bestowing three, some foure hundred pounds a yeere upon this precious stinke, which I am sure might be bestowed upon many better uses.⁴³

Wellborn embodies James' fear, spending his fortune on items that consumed his fortune rather than protected or increased it. Tobacco symbolizes this idea succinctly in the fact that the product is bought to be burned; it is literally consumed by flames with nothing but ashes to show at the end.

⁴³ King James, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*, p. 20.

This symbolic association of tobacco with wastefulness goes deeper when one examines contemporary debates over its growth in the colonies. In a proclamation issued in 1620, the Virginia Company in London stated that it had:

become very apparent...that...the planting of Tobacco, and the neglect of other more solid commodities, have not only redounded to the great disgrace of the Countrey, and detriment of the Colony; but doth also in point of profit, greatly deceive them which have trusted to it.⁴⁴

Tobacco is seen negatively for several reasons; it takes the place of more 'solid commodities', for example food crops, but also it fails to provide a worthwhile financial profit to the planters. This sentiment is reiterated in a 1619 letter sent by the Treasurer and Council for Virginia to Sir George Yeardley, in which he is commended for rectifying some of the 'errors' of the colony, 'One chiefe whereof hath byn the excessive applying of Tobacco, and the neglect to plant Corne w[hich] of all other thinges is most necessarie for the increase of that plantation.'⁴⁵ Tobacco is again seen to prevent the growth of the 'most necessarie' crops like corn. Much like James, the Virginia Company and Council believes that the 'excessive' financial and physical investment in tobacco could be put to 'better uses'.

⁴⁴ The Virginia Company, *By the treasurer, councell and company for Virginia. [A proclamation for the erection of guest houses, 17 May, 1620]*, (London, 1620).

⁴⁵ Treasurer and Council for Virginia, 'A Letter to Sir George Yeardley, June 21, 1619', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 146-48 (p. 147).

Feeding colonists was a paramount concern in the colonies, and the fact that tobacco prevented the production of food connected it to a wasteful use of the land driven by the economic individualism discussed in Chapter Five that saw profit pursued at the expense of social good. In 1620 the Virginia Company went a step further and actively stated that:

In all *Patents* or Indentures of *Grants* of Lands, the *Grantees* shall covenant to employ their people in great part in Staple Commodities, as Corne, Wine, Silke, Silke-grasse, Hempte, Flax, Pitch and Tar, Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, Iron, Clap-boord, and other Materialls: and not wholly or chiefly about *Tobacco*, and *Sassaphras*.⁴⁶

The status of tobacco as a crop that prevents the Virginian landscape from providing more necessary crops for the colony was now legally encoded in a declaration that stated all planters granted patents would be expected to plant ‘staple commodities’ and not ‘wholly or chiefly’ tobacco. Tobacco is firmly positioned as a secondary concern and a crop inferior, both morally and socially, to food crops, building materials, textiles, and other ‘staple commodities’. The inclusion of ‘sassafras’ in this legislation ideologically reinforces the position of tobacco. Sassafras, like tobacco, was seen to have medicinal properties, but it was also widely used in perfumes. As Dugan notes, ‘the aromatic qualities of sassafras associated it with the “contagion” of luxury perfumes and the

⁴⁶ His Majesties Counseil for Virginia, ‘A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia, June 22, 1620’, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 307-65 (p. 360). Italics in original.

sensuality they connoted.⁴⁷ A hierarchical division emerges between agrarian landscapes utilized to grow more frivolous ‘cash crops’, and those utilized to provide the crops needed for society to function.

Despite this hierarchical division emerging the evidence above suggests that planters and landowners in the colonies saw tobacco as a desirable crop and planted it prolifically, presumably because it did procure them a profit. As Dugan points out in relation to the discourse surrounding the legislation quoted above, ‘By 1620, members of the Virginia Company complained that planters were too focused on cultivating tobacco and sassafras for private profit, at the expense of company lands.’⁴⁸ The Virginia Company was in a complicated position of needing to ensure the survival of its colonists through the provision of food from company and privately held lands, as well as nurturing investment by giving planters the freedom to grow crops for profit and thus gain return on their investments. Equally, as explored throughout this thesis, the Virginia Company was itself invested (quite literally) in the colonial endeavour in Virginia being a profitable one and I argue that this moralising over the growth of tobacco (and sassafras) and management of agrarian lands for profit is more complicated than first appears. The negative portrayal of tobacco that comes across so strongly in the extracts cited above is troubled by the almost contradictory *actions* of the Virginia Company in relation to tobacco and its trade occurring at the same time.

Contemporaneously with the three extracts cited, all from the period 1619-20, the Virginia Company was involved in a dispute with a gentleman named Robert Somerscale. In May of 1619, Somerscale ‘was seeking a patent

⁴⁷ Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume*, p. 73.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 75.

“about tobacco” from the Crown, much to the alarm of the Virginia Company. When the Company’s officers investigated the scheme, they decided that it was “very prejudicial” to them, and must be stopped.⁴⁹ This is just one specific example of the consistent pressure put on the Crown and parliament by the Virginia Company to legislate against tobacco production in England and in favour of the exclusive import of tobacco from plantations in Virginia and the Somer Islands. In a number of declarations by both James I and Charles I, this pressure is directly alluded to and the requests of the Virginia Company acquiesced to. In a proclamation of September 1624 James I writes of his distaste for the use of tobacco and it being ‘utterly unfit’ to be grown in England and Wales, but, ‘because wee have beene earnestly and often importuned by many of our loving Subjects, Planters and Adventurers in Virginia and the Sommer Islands’, the Crown will agree to allow the planting of tobacco in the colonies because they are ‘yet but in their infancie, and cannot be brought to maturitie and perfection, unlesse we will bee pleased for a time to tolerate unto them the planting and venting of the Tobacco’.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the proclamation states that no tobacco can be imported from anywhere other than Virginia and the Somer Islands, and that ‘no persons whatsoever, presume to sow, set, or plant, or cause, or permit, or suffer to be sowed, set, or planted, in any of his or their grounds, any Tobacco whatsoever, within these Our Realmes of England, or Ireland, or Dominion of Wales’.⁵¹ A proclamation issued later the same year states that ‘We have beene contented to tolerate the use of Tobacco, of the growth of those Plantations for a time, untill by more solid Commodities they be

⁴⁹ Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England*, p. 262.

⁵⁰ King James, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (1624), p. 1.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 2.

able to subsist otherwise', but reaffirms the edict that no other tobacco should be imported into or grown in England and Wales.⁵² Charles I reiterates these sentiments in proclamation issued shortly after his father's death in 1625 and again in 1630.⁵³ The Virginia Company mounts consistent pressure on the Crown to preserve its control over the tobacco trade despite stating in other texts that tobacco should be a secondary concern to the growth of food crops and other 'staple commodities'. Tobacco takes on much more complex cultural connotations here, as a crop that is simultaneously desirable and superfluous, profitable and detrimental to the colonies and nation.

Interestingly, tobacco was also literally seen as causing hunger by contemporary writers. Tobias Venner, in his 1621 treatise on tobacco, notes that it provokes feelings of constant hunger as well as encouraging the passing of food before it is properly digested – mimicking the symptoms of famine in the body.⁵⁴ Tobacco, as an exemplar for the cash crop, became inextricably connected to dearth and famine through the connection forged between the two in narratives of Virginia. The physiological effects it was seen as having on the body reinforced this connection and these factors led to tobacco becoming symbolic of the anxiety surrounding the implications of pursuing profit from agrarian spaces at the expense of ensuring a stable food supply. I argue that the Virginia Company did not overtly contest this negative identity as it allowed them to maintain control over the growth and trade of tobacco due to the negative connotations its growth in England held for the local population. In *A*

⁵² King James, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (1624/5), p. 1.

⁵³ King Charles I, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (1625); *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (1630).

⁵⁴ Tobias Venner, *A Briefe and Accurate Treatise, Concerning, The taking of the fume of Tobacco* (London, 1621), pp. 7-9.

New Way to Pay Old Debts Tapwell states that Wellborn's father 'kept a great house;/ Relieved the poor, and so forth' (1.1.6-7). However, rather than feed the poor and maintain a profitable estate, Wellborn wastes his money and neglects his duty to make the agrarian lands he presides over productive. Massinger draws on colonial discourse and cultural associations by associating Wellborn with tobacco at the very beginning of the play in order to alert the audience to these facets of his character and his position in relation to the land he once owned and inhabited. These opening lines set the context for some of the repeated anxieties explored in the play, namely those of 'correct' agrarian land management and ownership, the importance of food supply to social order, and the morality of pursuing profit through agrarian land.

The character who embodies immoral and disordered land management to an even greater degree than Wellborn in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* is Sir Giles Overreach. Through Overreach's character Massinger engages directly with issues surrounding enclosure and debates about how this 'new' way of agrarian land management may affect food supply and social order.⁵⁵ The link between enclosure and reduced food supply was so apparent that the government issued several acts, including the Acts of Tillage at the end of the sixteenth century, to legally enforce the planting of crops and maintenance of arable land – much like the mandates issued by the Virginia Company to curtail the planting of tobacco in favour of corn. State attitudes to enclosure changed as the period progressed, and as Joan Thirsk notes, 'after 1607, when the last large-scale enclosure enquiry

⁵⁵ As Andrew McRae and others have noted, enclosure was not in fact a 'new' phenomenon, but it did have an increased impact in the first half of the seventeenth century. Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 12-13 and p. 24.

took place, [the government] abandoned all opposition to the principle of enclosure, but continued to keep up the appearance of opposing it in practice.⁵⁶ However, popular opposition remained, as evidenced by Sir Edward Montague reporting to parliament on behalf of residents of Northamptonshire (one of the hubs of the Midlands' Revolt) in 1604 that one of the sources of their grievances was enclosure and 'the depopulation and daily excessive conversion of tillage into pasture.'⁵⁷ In popular opinion at least, the conversion of arable land to pasture through enclosure was still seen as a cause of dearth. Enclosure was a complex process that provoked a whole spectrum of responses, but in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* Overreach embodies the stereotypically negative characterisation of the practice and all the anxieties that went along with it.

Overreach is the villain of the play, with no redeeming features or moment of conversion at the end. As he states in Act Four, his only concern is profit and acquisition of land, and he spares no thought for the damage he causes in pursuit of these goals:

when they call me

Extortioner, Tyrant, Comorant, or Intruder

On my poor Neighbour's right, or grand incloser

of what was common to my private use;

Nay, when my ears are pierced with Widows' cries,

⁵⁶ Joan Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing, in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume IV 1500-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 200-55 (p. 213).

⁵⁷ As quoted in Gay, 'The Midland Revolt', p. 213. See also Steve Hindle, 'Crime and Popular Protest', in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. by Barry Coward (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 130-147 (p. 138).

And undone Orphans wash with tears my threshold;

I only think what 'tis to have my daughter

Right honourable (4.1.122-29).

As explored in the previous chapter, enclosure was not invariably seen as a negative thing – it was only widely condemned when it caused depopulation. Overreach's assertion that he hears 'widows' cries' and sees 'undone orphans wash with tears my threshold', clearly associates him with depopulating enclosure. The methods he uses to obtain these lands are immoral too. As Order discusses with his fellow servants, Overreach 'frights men out of their Estates,/ And breaks through all Law-nets, made to curb ill men,/ As they were cobwebs.' (2.2.114-16). Overreach is clearly perceived as an 'extortioner' and a 'tyrant', but this reputation does little to curb his voracious appetite for being a 'grand incloser'. By using Overreach's relationship to agrarian space to position him as the villain, Massinger invites the audience to view with some trepidation the moral and social value of the enclosure of common lands for private use. The fact that Overreach is a merchant, a man who uses his 'new money' to purchase land once held in feudal estates, may also provide a subtle allusion to colonial discourse. The Virginia Company was supported in a large part by merchants, who purchased land in Virginia rather than inheriting it as in a traditional feudal system. The connection of Wellborn's undoing to tobacco, the favoured crop of Virginia's merchant planters, supports this suggestion that Massinger was offering a critique of new profit-driven connections to agrarian landscapes.

Anxieties over managing and acquiring agrarian land for profit rather than the sustenance of local communities and society more widely come into

even sharper focus when considering the character of Justice Greedy, Overreach's ever-present crony. Justice Greedy, described as a 'thin-gutted Squire' (1.2.41), is a corrupt Justice of the Peace manoeuvred into a position of power by Overreach to serve his own aim of acquiring local land. Justice Greedy's comedic function is that despite being so thin he has a voracious appetite and eats constantly throughout the play. As Furnace states, 'Meat's cast away upon him,/ It never thrives' (1.2.44-5), and 'His stomach's as insatiate as the grave' (1.2.46). Mukherjee, in writing of the effect dearth had on the early modern imagination, discusses the representations of personified Famine and Dearth in *Englands Parnassus* (1600). In this text Dearth had 'sharpe leane bones' and 'meger cheekes and chinne', and Famine had 'physiological symptoms of "famine edema"', which included emaciation but also 'swelling limbs or stomach'.⁵⁸ As Mukherjee goes on to observe, these representations were 'a contradictory sight, emaciated and bloated at the same time, an irony extended through the observation that Famine and Dearth starved even as they devoured like gluttons.'⁵⁹ Justice Greedy physically represents this notion of famine and dearth, whilst his name and actions suggests the ironic element of their gluttonous consumption. Both through the language used to describe him and through his physical presence and actions on stage, Greedy represents the lurking fear of dearth and famine that accompanies Overreach's rapid 'consumption' of English agrarian landscapes for profit through enclosure.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Mukherjee, *Penury into Plenty*, p. 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 1.

⁶⁰ John Brewer and Roy Porter discuss the paradox of 'enlargement through incorporation and a withering away' central to material 'consumption' in a similar manner to Mukherjee's discussion of the paradoxes in representations of famine. Brewer and Porter, 'Introduction', in *Consumption and the World of*

The parallels between the economic and alimentary appetites of these two characters are made explicitly clear when Overreach says to Greedy, 'We must forget the belly,/ When we think of profit' (1.3.32-3). Whilst this is literally Overreach telling Greedy to abandon thoughts of food while they pursue the acquisition of more land, it also metaphorically suggests Overreach's lack of concern over food supply compared to profit. Overreach embodies a negative stereotype of profit driven agrarian land management in England and the danger it posed to a stable food supply, just as the Virginian colonists who were reprimanded for pursuing profit through the planting of tobacco rather than stability through planting corn did – in both cases poor land management and husbandry choices posed a risk to social order through the dearth they threatened. As a lingering spectre of what dearth through poor management of agrarian landscapes could lead to, famine looms large both on the stage and on the pages of English and colonial representations of agrarian landscapes. Another way *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* expresses anxieties over the relationship between agrarian land management and dearth is through the discourse and context of conflict – a connection that was also at the forefront of colonial literature produced at a time of fragile relations with the indigenous New World population.

Goods, ed. by John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 1-15 (p. 4).

Cultivated Fields and Battlefields: The Relationship Between Food and Conflict

One of the problematic but crucial aspects of agrarian land management in both England and the New World was leaders' ability to cope with and adapt to times of conflict. The relationship between agrarian land management and conflict was recognized in narratives emerging from both England and the New World. As Charlotte Scott notes:

The relationship between war and husbandry is subtle but persistent: the yeoman conscripted as a soldier; the increased demand on resources; the vulnerability of borders emptied of their labouring force all register the interrelationships between the service class and the land they are required to both produce from as well as defend.⁶¹

Agrarian spaces and the labour required to produce food from them were intricately tied to the practice of war. As Scott goes on to note, 'An economically stable country is also a peaceful one, as the men in the cultivated fields are not on the battle field.'⁶² Loss of husbandmen through inscription, and attacks on agrarian land by enemy forces, all meant that food and its production were intimately connected to the failure or success of both invading and defending forces. This connection and the anxieties it created were never far from popular consciousness during the period because 'for all but a mere fourteen separate

⁶¹ Charlotte Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature: From Cultivation to Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 89.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 117.

years between 1500 and 1700' there was a war being fought somewhere in Europe.⁶³ English colonists arriving in Virginia did not see themselves as an invading force, but tensions and skirmishes with the Native Americans frequently forced them to acknowledge their relationship with the indigenous population as one of conflict. The importance of food to English colonists maintaining the upper hand in this relationship comes across frequently and in manifold different ways in narratives emerging from Virginia.

One of the key anxieties in early colonial narratives is that lack of food can cause 'defection' of English colonists to the Native American 'enemy'. The notion that food engenders loyalty to communal or national leaders is one that reinforces the ideology behind the Midlands Revolt discussed above, namely that stable food supply was essential in ensuring amenable, ordered, and law-abiding subjects. Records of 1617 show a pardon issued to a Virginian colonist named George White 'for runing away to y^e Indians with his arms & ammunition which facts deserve death according to y^e express articles & laws of this Colony'.⁶⁴ White appears to have taken items to trade with the Native Americans, presumably for food as by this time it was apparent they had little gold or other precious metals. This assumption is given some credence by a letter sent in 1613 by a Spanish captive in Virginia, Don Diego de Molina, in which he states that 'the hard work and the scanty food, on public works kills them, and increases the discontent in which they live, seeing themselves treated like slaves, with great

⁶³ Ros King and Paul J. C. M. Franssen, 'War and Shakespearean Dramaturgy', in *Shakespeare and War*, ed. by Ros King and Paul J. C. M. Franssen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 1-11 (p. 3).

⁶⁴ Governor Argall, 'Pardons to George White, Arthur Edwards, and Henry Potter, October 20, 1617', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, p. 74 (p.74).

cruelty. Hence a good many have gone to the Indians'.⁶⁵ If colonial leaders do not treat their planters fairly and supply them with adequate food, they risk losing them to the better-supplied Native Americans. This fact was not lost on the Virginia Company, who had already in 1609 suggested that:

For such of yo[ur] men as *doe* attend any worke in or nere aboute every towne you shall doe best to lett them eate together at seasonable howers in some publique place beinge messed by sixe or five to a messe, in w[hich] you must see there bee equality and sufficient that so they may come and retourne to their worke without any delay and have no cause to complaine of measure or to excuse their idleness uppon ye dressinge or want of diett.⁶⁶

The importance of regular and good quality food for the morale and physical strength of the colonists was clear. However, as the previous examples suggest, provision of this level and quality of food did not always happen.

A more shocking relation of the risks of English colonists fleeing to the Native Americans comes in George Percy's account of the 'starving time'. Percy recounts that 'To eate many our men this starveinge Tyme did Runn Away unto the Salvages whome we never heard of after.'⁶⁷ He also gives a more graphic warning against this behaviour when he tells of a party of seventeen men in the

⁶⁵ 'Letter from Don Diego de Molina, May 28, 1613', in, *Genesis of the United States*, p. 648.

⁶⁶ Virginia Council, 'Instructions orders and constitucons to Sr Thomas Gates Knight Governor of Virginia, May, 1609', *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 12-24 (p.13).

⁶⁷ Percy, *A True Relacyon*.

course of a 'dangerous mutenie', who went to try and get food from the nearby Kecoughton peoples, and some days later:

Lieftenantt SICKLEMORE and dyvrs others weare fownd also slayne wth their mowthes stopped full of Breade beinge donn as it seamethe in Contempte and skorne thatt others mighte expecte the Lyke when they shold come to seeke for breade and reliefe amongste them.⁶⁸

If English colonial leaders were unable to supply food they risked losing the loyalty and the lives of their men. Equally, if colonists succumbed to their hunger and went to the 'enemy' looking for food they were putting their lives at risk. This suggests, as have many of the examples analysed in this chapter so far, that one of the fundamental responsibilities of local and national leaders was to ensure subjects had sufficient food. The failure of leadership and/or land management to provide this had such a profound effect on the fabric of society that it severed national and communal bonds, causing defection to 'other' societies, riot, rebellion, and disorder.

The story that Percy recounts is graphic in its symbolism of the power a ready food supply grants. The Kecoughton not only had enough food to avoid their people coming to the English looking for sustenance, but they had enough to stuff the mouths of the dead colonists in a symbolic gesture of their dominance over the English and their superior capabilities in reaping food from the land. The idea that lack of food may cause a dangerous drift toward the 'enemy' in search of satisfaction also comes through in *The Sea Voyage*. When the Amazons

⁶⁸ Ibid.

have taken the gallants prisoner Clarinda asks, ‘How fare your prisoners, ladies?’ (4.2.30), to which Juletta responds, ‘Show ‘em a crust of bread/ They’ll saint me presently.’ (4.2.40-1). Whilst the situation differs, as the gallants have not willingly defected to the Amazons, their malleability in the face of the food they have lacked for so long bears a striking resemblance to the examples above. When Clarinda asks the gallants what they would do to win her favour, and thus the receipt of food and the security of their lives, they stumble over one another to reveal the secrets of the French party they were part of:

MORILLAT	O,
	I’ll tell ye lady.
LAMURE	And so will I!
FRANVILLE	And I!
	Pray let me speak first. (4.3.112-14).

The gallants then reveal crucial information about the other members of the French party, directly endangering their lives and security. *The Sea Voyage* displays an awareness of the role food plays in the security of English colonies and suggests that if colonists are not kept well fed and looked after the risk posed by their defection is greater than just to their own safety. Even after revealing such valuable information the gallants do not secure food or their safety, and the following exchange takes place:

CLARINDA	Away with ‘em, Juletta, and feed ‘em –
	But hark ye, with such food as they have given me.

New misery!

FRANVILLE Nor meat nor thanks for all this?

CLARINDA Make 'em more wretched (4.4.135-8).

Much like the colonists in Percy's account, the gallants were mistaken in believing that they would receive food and protection from the Amazon 'enemy'. This exchange shows an engagement with colonial discourses like Percy's, which recognize the role food can play in power dynamics between two opposing parties; lack of food weakens position and surplus of food strengthens it.

As Quentin Outram notes, 'food was undoubtedly used as a weapon of war' in Europe during this period, and I would argue that the same was true in the New World and other colonial encounters.⁶⁹ By withholding or disrupting food supply 'famine' could be exploited or induced as a political tool to cause bodily harm through starvation and to psychologically manipulate the enemy into defection, surrender, or revelation of sensitive information. For this reason, it was crucial that English colonial leaders managed the New World landscape successfully to ensure its productivity. As explored in Chapter Two, food was a crucial element in forging amicable relations between the English and Native Americans through displays of hospitality, but it also played a crucial role in asserting dominance during times of conflict. The Powhatan who entered English homes in Chapter Two manipulated English conventions of hospitality, but more importantly in relation to the argument of this chapter, the needs of English

⁶⁹ Quentin Outram, 'The Socio-Economic Relations of Warfare and the Military Mortality Crisis of the Thirty Years' War', in *Warfare in Early Modern Europe 1450-1660*, ed. by Paul E.J. Hammer (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), pp. 427-60 (p. 447).

colonists for the goods they brought to trade. It is notable that in accounts of the Jamestown Massacre the Powhatan are said to have brought 'Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furres, and other provisions, to sell, and trucke with us, for glasse beades, and other trifles'.⁷⁰ It is clear that the Powhatan held the food and 'provisions' essential for English survival, and the English only had a superfluity of 'trifles' with which to procure them. The power balance in terms of 'lack' and 'need' was heavily in favour of the Powhatan, and they utilized this position to devastating effect.

The Virginia Company was aware of the precarious nature of the English agrarian project in the colonies and how this could be made even more unstable by attacks to agricultural land. Ensuring agrarian land was properly managed and defended from attack became a crucial part of colonial leaders establishing a stable food supply. As Outram argues, 'Hunger was produced as a direct, designed consequence of military operations of siege, devastation, and manoeuvre', and there is certainly evidence of this occurring through attacks to agrarian land by both the English and Native Americans.⁷¹ In an early set of instructions issued to Sir Thomas Gates in 1609, before the 'starving time' had hit, the council warns that 'if they destroy but one harvest or burne yo[ur] townes in the night they will leave you naked and exposed to famine and Cold.'⁷² The fear of forced starvation due to targeted attacks on English husbandry was a very real one, as this was a tactic used by the Native Americans in retaliation to attacks by the English. In his description of the Jamestown Massacre, Edward

⁷⁰ Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), p. 14.

⁷¹ Outram, 'The Socio-Economic Relations of Warfare', p. 446.

⁷² Virginia Council, 'Instructions orders and constitucons', p. 18.

Waterhouse lingers on the killing of English colonists in their homes, but he also provides the following information:

they also slew many of our people then at their severall workes and husbandries in the fields, and without their houses, some in planting Corne and Tobacco, some in gardening, some in making Bricke, building, sawing, and other kindes of husbandry.⁷³

By showing the Powhatan's disruption to and destruction of English husbandry, Waterhouse is underlining the severity of the attack as it not only results in the death of the colonists killed at the time, but through the loss of agrarian labour and lands could result in the deaths of more in the months to come. As Scott stated above, economic stability is linked to peace as 'men in the cultivated fields are not on the battle field.' By establishing a framework of husbandry here, Waterhouse positions the English colonists as being 'peaceful' – they are in cultivated fields and not in battlefields. This does similar work to Waterhouse's use of hospitality as a framing device in that it positions the English as passive victims of an unnatural and unexpected attack by the Powhatan. Of course, the English colonists also used the destruction and disruption of husbandry as a tactic in their contentious relationship with the Powhatan. There are numerous examples of the English destroying Native American farmland, ironically despite assertions of there being no 'proper' indigenous agrarian activity. In retaliation for the Jamestown attack the Council in Virginia tells the Virginia Company back in London that they 'have slaine divers, burnte their Townes, destroyde there

⁷³ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, p. 14.

Wears & Corne.’⁷⁴ Waterhouse himself also states that ‘victorie of them may bee gained in many waies; by force, by surprize, by famine in burning their Corne.’⁷⁵ Destruction of crops and farmland was a way of weakening the Powhatan by reducing their capacity to support their own people, whilst at the same time asserting English dominance over the landscape through a violent act of destruction.

The idea of enacting a material attack on, or disruption to, agrarian landscapes in order to achieve a shift in the power dynamics reliant on this land is seen in discourses of English agrarian landscapes as well, and, I would argue, comes to constitute a kind of land management strategy born out of response to conflict. As explored above, the Midlands Revolt witnessed rioters ‘bury the hedges and destroy the fences’ erected by local landlords and enclosers in order to reassert a common right to graze on the land.⁷⁶ The hedges represented a power imbalance in relation to the land, and the rioters sought to redress this social power dynamic through removing its material manifestation on the land. In *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, Overreach, somewhat unusually, utilizes similar attacks to those displayed by rioters in England and colonists and Native Americans in Virginia, to exert his power as ‘grand incloser’. When Marrall is asking Overreach how he plans to acquire Master Frugal’s lands (as he is unwilling to sell them) Overreach tells him:

⁷⁴ ‘Council in Virginia, Letter to Virginia Company of London, January 20, 1622/3’, in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 9-17 (p. 9).

⁷⁵ Waterhouse, *A Declaration*, p. 24.

⁷⁶ Steve Hindle, ‘Imagining Insurrection in Seventeenth-Century England: Representations of the Midland Rising of 1607’, *History Workshop Journal*, 66 (2008), 21-61 (p. 21).

I'll therefore buy some Cottage near his Manor,
Which done, I'll make my men break ope his fences;
Ride o'er his standing corn, and in the night
Set fire on his barns; or break his cattle's legs. (2.1.34-7).

The actions Overreach says he will take are all highly symbolic in their relationship to achieving power over and through agrarian spaces. By breaking 'his cattle's legs' rather than killing them outright he is preventing them from being able to graze, from being taken to market, and from being milked. The destruction of his corn removes his source of sustenance and income in an aggressive attempt to weaken Frugal's position in relation to his lands, in the same way burning and destruction of corn in Virginia did. Overreach's destruction of corn and mutilating of cattle is also a disruption of crucial food supplies at a time when local and national authorities mandated the careful management and distribution of these limited resources – his act of 'conflict' strikes against not only his neighbour but his community and the authorities that govern it.⁷⁷ The destroying of fences symbolically disrupts Frugal's ownership, just as the actions of the Midlands' rioters did, and the actions of enclosure rioters protesting against the enclosure throughout the period.⁷⁸ Settled and productive agriculture was key to ownership at a fundamental and ideological level, as seen very vividly in colonial discourse – 'lack' of indigenous agriculture was cited by colonists as evidence of the land not being inhabited, much like the

⁷⁷ Buchanan Sharp, *Famine and Scarcity in Late Medieval and Early Modern England: The Regulation of Grain Marketing, 1256-1631* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 7-8, Chapter Eight.

⁷⁸ Buchanan Sharp, *In Contempt of All Authority: Rural Artisans and Riot in the West of England, 1586-1660* (London: Breviary Stuff, 1980), Chapter Four.

'lack' of indigenous housing was in Chapter One. So, the destruction of Native American crops at times of war could also be seen as symbolically as well as materially weakening their claim to ownership of the land, just as Overreach hopes to do to Frugal. Overreach's association with aggressive acts of destruction that were more frequently associated with conflict, helps position him as violent and unstable; characteristics suited to his role as the ultimate villain of the play.⁷⁹ It also draws parallels between the vulnerability of husbandry and food supply during times of conflict, and during times of agrarian change.

Ideologically, conflict and agrarian reform are thus positioned in the same way: as events that threaten the stability and continuity of current forms of agrarian land management, and in doing so risk periods of dearth and famine that in turn threaten social order more widely. Dearth and famine become both tools and risks of conflict, and must be carefully managed and negated by those in power to ensure both victory and social order.

Conclusion: Bread and Breda

If Overreach is the villain of *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, and Lord Lovell and Lady Allworth are his benign counterparts, then Wellborn seems to embody the possibility of redemption. Wellborn's association with tobacco, as explored above, works to position him as someone who has neglected his duty to the lands he should be managing. By the end of the play Wellborn has manoeuvred his way

⁷⁹ For more on the linguistic and cultural connections between domestic rebellion and war, see Ruth Morse, 'Some Social Costs of War', in *Shakespeare and War*, ed. by Ros King and Paul J.C.M. Franssen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) pp. 56-68 (pp. 58-60).

back into a position of power and reclaimed his lands from the corrupt Overreach. In the final scene he says to Lord Lovell:

Beside the repossession of my land,
And payment of my debts, that I must practise
I had a reputation, but 'twas lost
In my loose course; and 'till I redeem it
Some noble way, I am but half made up
It is a time of Action, if your Lordship
Will please to confer a company upon me
In your command, I doubt not in my service
To my King and Country, but I shall do something
That may make me right again. (5.1.390-399).

Wellborn recognizes that repossessioning his land and paying his debts are only the first steps to regaining the reputation and social status he once had and so asks Lovell for 'a company' to command in the military campaign he is currently involved in. A popular contemporary war manual, William Garrard's *The Art of Warre* (1591), instructed that a military captain 'must use all circumspect care to performe his office [...] that the company be well governed'.⁸⁰ By travelling to a land ravaged by the disorder of war and acting as a very visible figurehead of

⁸⁰ William Garrard, *The Art of Warre* (London, 1591). For discussion of the influence of this text on early modern drama see, Ros King, "'The Disciplines of War": Elizabethan War Manuals and Shakespeare's Tragicomic Vision', in, *Shakespeare and War*, pp. 15-29.

order and discipline in this space, Wellborn will reconfigure his own relationship to spatially located and performed (dis)order and discipline.

The location of the 'time of action' he seeks to serve his 'King and Country' in is significant to the complexity of this final scene. Earlier in the play Lady Allworth asks how Allworth's 'noble master' Lord Lovell is, and enquires if he still holds 'his purpose/ For the Low Countries?' (1.2.69, 75-6). They go on to discuss the possibility of Allworth following Lovell to be a soldier in the Low Countries, suggesting that this is the location of the conflict Lovell is involved in and that Wellborn seeks to join. At the beginning of the same scene Furnace, Lady Allworth's cook, laments that she will not eat the food he makes:

Though I crack my brains to find out tempting sauces,
And raise fortifications in the pastry,
Such as might serve for models in the Low Countries,
Which if they had been practised at Breda,
Spinola might have thrown his cap at it, and ne'er took it. (1.2.24-8).

Immediately a connection is made between food and the war in the Low Countries, but the inclusion of the specific reference to Breda is more telling. Breda was a town in the Netherlands, besieged during the thirty years war by the Spanish under the command of Spinola. Eventually Breda surrendered after almost a year of being held under siege. Furnace suggests that the elaborate 'fortifications' he makes 'in the pastry...might serve for models in the Low Countries', implying that they are so extravagant and well-constructed they may have served the besieged Breda better than their own walls. However, the

association with food carries further weight in suggesting that it was the lack of food within Breda's fortifications that ultimately caused its surrender. This association is made by Amble when he responds to Furnace by saying, 'But you had wanted matter there to work on.' (1.2.49). There is a strong association made between war and food in order to highlight the importance food played in the defence and maintenance of a country under attack. Locating Wellborn in the Low Countries' conflict, that is also so specifically associated with the importance of food for victory and stability, is relevant to his newly re-established connection to his lands at home. As Scott notes above, war and husbandry do not go hand in hand and if Wellborn goes to war he will once again be neglecting his lands at home; he cannot manage battlefields and still manage his cultivated fields. Much like Tibalt in *The Sea Voyage*, Wellborn seems to find fighting more nourishing than food, seeing war as a more profitable venture through which to pursue his honour and reputation than the management of his agrarian lands and estate. Throughout the play Wellborn never really addresses the faults that led to his downfall and instead he schemes and plots to trick Overreach into handing back the lands he took from him. The only penance Wellborn offers is to go to war, a penance that in the context of the conflict he hopes to join seems to suggest that rather than redeeming himself he is once again neglecting his responsibility to the productive management of his lands and the role they play in providing the food that ensures the stability and security of his home nation. Massinger leaves Wellborn's reputation in an uncertain position at the end of the play, underlining the anxieties that run throughout *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (and *The Sea Voyage*) – namely the importance of agrarian land management to

food supply, the importance of food supply to social order and security, and the doubts over English leaders' capacity to achieve this both at home and abroad.

This chapter has argued that, in various ways, responses to hunger and the need for food came to define normative and transgressive identities for social leaders, subjects, and the agrarian spaces they inhabited. These responses could be short term, as in the case of cannibalism, or more long term in the case of how agrarian lands should best be managed to ensure a secure food supply. The 'starving time' in Virginia epitomized fears over the potential implications of dearth and came to influence narratives of food production, land management, and agrarian reform in dramatic and pamphlet literature throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. *The Sea Voyage* and *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* were both written and performed during the 1620s, a moment where anxieties over colonial and domestic responses to hunger were at a peak due to periods of dearth and famine in England and a return (perhaps unsurprisingly) to narratives of the 'starving time' in Virginia. I argue that both plays reflect this cultural moment of anxiety over responses to hunger and the connection this anxiety forged between adequate management of agrarian spaces and the prevention of dearth and famine. Tobacco and cannibalism are used in two ideologically related but different ways as symbolic of transgressive responses to hunger. *The Sea Voyage* draws directly on reports of the 'starving time' and utilizes cannibalism and other responses to hunger to critique leadership and form hierarchical identities for its characters. *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* opens with reference to tobacco in order to set up Wellborn's transgressive relationship to agrarian spaces in a way that goes on to be critiqued throughout the play. In both plays, responses to hunger through management of resources

and agrarian spaces bear traces of the influence of colonial discourse and illuminate the flow of representational schemes of dearth, famine, and agrarian land management between England and the New World. The shared representational schemes in colonial and domestic discourses of agrarian spaces are evidence of the flow I have argued throughout the thesis existed in the understandings of space in homeland and colonies.

Conclusion

The flow between homeland and colony, and subjectivity and space, was articulated at the beginning of this thesis through an analysis of the opening scenes of *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage* – both of which stage a voyaging ship arriving on foreign shores after a storm at sea. As I have argued throughout the thesis, the flow between homeland and colony was reflexive and to begin my conclusion I will turn to the end of both plays, in which gestures are made towards the voyage home from these foreign shores. In *The Tempest*, Prospero tells Alonso at the closing of the play:

Sir, I invite your highness and your train
To my poor cell, where you shall take your rest
For this one night, which (part of it) I'll waste
With such discourse as, I not doubt, shall make it
Go quick away – the story of my life,
And the particular accidents gone by
Since I came to this isle – and in the morn
I'll bring your ship, and so to Naples,
Where I have hope to see the nuptial
Of these our dear beloved solemnized;
And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be my grave. (5.1.301-12).

Contained within this speech are several indicators or symbols of closure; Prospero speaks of death, marriage (the expected ending of any early modern comedy), and of course, the return home to Naples. The voyage home becomes connected to these other signifiers of finality and resolution, but I would argue these signifiers also carry connotations of change and new beginnings. Death marked the beginning of a new 'life' in heaven, marriage (if following the normative conventions of seventeenth-century England) would result in new life through the union of husband and wife, and the voyage home, after experiencing the challenges and mysticism of the island, was not to return to familiar spaces and (re)inhabit an old life but to return to these familiar spaces and imbue them with new experience and perception. Prospero alludes to this fact in his insistence that their final night on the island be spent listening to 'the story of my life,/ And the particular accidents gone by/ Since I came to this isle'. The experiences Prospero has gone through since arriving at the 'new world' of the island clearly feel important enough for him to disseminate to the entire group before they return home to the 'old world' of Naples. The marriage of Miranda, who has grown up knowing the island as home, and Ferdinand, who has grown up knowing Naples as home, symbolizes succinctly the amalgamation and blurring of experiences of foreign and domestic spaces.

Prospero shares his experiences through story-telling; a microcosm of what *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage* did for their audiences, and of the role texts like George Percy's narrative of the 'starving time' and Edward Waterhouse's narrative of the Jamestown Massacre played in circulating stories of the New World to English subjects. As I have argued at length in Chapters Two and Six, the information and representational schemes contained in Percy and

Waterhouse's narratives went on to fundamentally affect the way domestic and agrarian spaces, and the anxieties surrounding them, were articulated in England. Prospero's acknowledgement of story-telling as a facet of his 'foreign' experience is an explicit articulation of the role I argue Percy's, Waterhouse's, and all colonial narratives played in influencing spatial practice through their dissemination and (re)telling to English audiences in various ways on the page and on the stage. The final scene of *The Sea Voyage* supports this reading of *The Tempest* in its allusion to sharing of 'foreign' experience alongside discussion of the voyage home. Sebastian closes the play with the following words:

Nay,

All look cheerfully, for none shall be
Denied their lawful wishes. When awhile
We have here refreshed ourselves, we'll return
To our several homes; and well that voyage ends
That makes of deadly enemies, faithful friends. (5.4.108-13).

Like *The Tempest*, the 'return to our several homes' in *The Sea Voyage* is paired with the concluding signifiers of marriage: the 'lawful wishes' Sebastian speaks of are the various suits of marriage proposed amongst the characters, all of which are granted. Just prior to this final speech Sebastian says to Rosellia:

I will not now, Rosellia, ask thy fortunes,
Nor trouble thee with hearing mine.
Those shall hereafter serve to make glad hours

In their relation, all past wrongs forgot. (5.4.87-90).

Sebastian, like Prospero, explicitly mentions the sharing of personal stories of their time on the island as being a crucial part of the experience.

Whilst Prospero imagines a public sharing of his experiences through story-telling, Sebastian imagines a more drawn out, personal recollection. Both of these methods of dissemination of the 'foreign' would resonate with early modern subjects' knowledge of colonial North America, which, as evidenced in the variety of materials analysed throughout this thesis, was delivered in the form of poems, drama, pamphlets, broadsides, ballads, letters, and undoubtedly a swathe of rumour and oral storytelling from colonists and sailors returning to England's ports from America. I suggest that rather than representing a conclusion to the events of these plays, the voyage home represents the flow of people, discourses, materials, representational schemes, and knowledge that I have argued throughout this thesis characterizes the relationship between the production of space in early modern England and its New World colonies. As quoted in my introduction, Julie Sanders articulates the role that theories of flow can play in connecting the

so-called province with metropolis, domestic with public space, and homeland with colony, as well as imaginative geography with material site, not least in terms of the exchange of ideas and practices, as well as literal objects and commodities.¹

¹ Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 12.

Over the course of this thesis I have demonstrated the flow of spatial practice between the domestic, public, and agrarian spaces of homeland and colony, and shown how the 'imaginative geography' of the theatre both drew from and flowed into representations and performances of the 'real'. Equally, I have gestured towards the flow between the different kinds of spaces analysed in the different sections and chapters.

Chapter One analysed domestic space and the influence a perceived 'lack' of English and indigenous housing in the colonies had on understandings of domestic space in England. As Gervase Markham asserts in *The English Husbandman*, one of the texts almost certainly shipped to the Virginia colony in 1620, he will begin 'before I enter into any other part of husbandry, with the husbandmans house, without which no husbandry can be maintained or preserved.'² Here, Markham explicitly connects the home to the agrarian spaces analysed in the final sections of this thesis, but as the foundation of social order and identity formation, the home flowed into to every other space and aspect of life in early modern England. Chapter Two focussed specifically on narratives of the Jamestown Massacre and through an analysis of these narratives demonstrated how understandings of domestic disorder flowed between colony and homeland, and between pamphlet and literary material. My analyses of domestic spaces in *Arden of Faversham*, *The Sea Voyage*, and *The City Madam* charted this evolving flow and cross-pollination of domestic discourse across the period. As discussed at length in Chapter Two, the table was a signifier of domestic order and the practice of hospitality, and its function as a symbolic

² Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman* (London, 1613), p. 4.

object in domestic tragedies and narratives of the Jamestown Massacre bear witness to the flow of discourses around domestic space between England and the New World. In a 1619 letter sent by Sir George Yeardley in Virginia to Sir Edwin Sandys in London, Yeardley states that:

I wrott unto you by the Swan wherein I did entreat you to excuse me that I had not ffurnished you with walnut plankes, and that you would be pleased to ffurnish yourself out of the Tryall with so much as would serve you I having as I wrott a 9th parte thereof and your selfe being ffurnished that you would be pleased in my name to p[re]sent some other as Sir John Wolstenholme with as much as would be for a table, Sir Nicolas Tuston with another Sir Dudley Diges with another M^r Deputy ffarar with another and the remayne to dispose where you please.³

The shipping of ‘walnut plankes’ from Virginia to London in order to make tables demonstrate this flow of discourse was matched by the flow of material objects – both showing the undeniable and multifaceted influences of the colonial experience on production of domestic space in England.

It was not only goods that flowed between England and Virginia, but people too. Chapter Three explored the influence the shipping of women to Virginia had on existing anxieties over women’s movement outside the home in England. Female presence in shared, public spaces like that of London was encoded, by both pamphlet and dramatic material, in a commercial discourse

³ Sir George Yeardley, ‘A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, 1619’, in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. by Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 122-29 (p. 126).

that figured women's reputation as their primary source of credit in a patriarchal marital economy. This reputation was constructed through communal and official policing of women's presence and movement in public spaces – a framework of spatial management redeployed by colonial discourse and authorities to create hierarchized distinctions between indigenous and colonial identities and spatial practices. The representational schemes used to ideologically position these spatial practices flowed between England and the New World, and literary and non-literary genres. This was evidenced in greater detail in Chapter Four using the case study of rogue literature, in which the positioning of the mobile poor in the semi-fictional, quasi-literary cony-catching pamphlets of Harman and Dekker influenced the framework through which colonial authorities marginalized indigenous mobility and spatial practice. *Beggars' Bush* and *A Jovial Crew* drew directly on the already blurred genre of the cony-catching pamphlet in their representations of the transgressive relationship their bands of beggars have to the shared, public spaces they inhabit, but also show evidence of colonial influence in these representations. Once again, dramatic texts provide a nexus of evidence for the inter-genre and inter-geographical flow of representational schemes and spatial practices between England and the New World.

The agrarian spaces analysed in Chapters Five and Six provided urban commercial spaces and taverns with raw materials and goods that would ultimately make their way into domestic spaces. The tobacco so infamously connected to Virginia in Chapter Six finds its way into the provincial taverns frequented by Wellborn in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* and the city shops of *The Roaring Girl* – shops that themselves blur distinctions between domestic,

commercial, and urban spaces by producing a liminal space in which all three exist simultaneously. The expression of anxieties over the husbandry of tobacco at the expense of producing food crops in colonial discourse, and indeed the correct way to manage agrarian space to prevent this, drew on and redeployed articulations of dearth-time anxiety and prevention in English pamphlets. More direct, physical evidence of the redeployment of existing English intellectual frameworks in husbandry and management of colonial agrarian spaces exists in the manuscript records of Gervase Markham's 'bookes of all kynd of English husbandry' being shipped to colonial leaders in Virginia.⁴ The flow of agrarian spatial practice between England and the New World is also abundantly clear in colonial pamphlets' focus on the 'English plough' as a key part of their mastery of this landscape.⁵ The fact that the connection of Native American peoples to their land had to be severed, both physically and ideologically, for this to happen provided a working model through which English authorities could justify their own agrarian reforms that came at the expense of common rights to agrarian spaces. Once again, spatial practice and the representation of the relationships between subjects and spaces flows between homeland and colony, and once again, the dramatic material analysed in Chapters Five and Six gave evidence of the cross-pollination of representational schemes between literary and non-literary material. *The Sea Voyage* drew directly on Percy's pamphlet detailing Virginia's 'starving time' and the relationship between Caliban and Prospero in

⁴ Richard Berkeley and John Smyth, 'A Commission to George Thorpe for the Government of the Plantation', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 397-400 (p. 400).

⁵ John Pory, 'A Letter to "The Right honble and my singular good lorde", September 30, 1619', in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 219-22 (p. 220).

The Tempest is, I argue, an amalgamation of anxieties over the social consequences and morality of colonial and domestic agrarian 'reform'.

In all these examples, and indeed in the thesis as a whole, the geographical flow of people, objects, and discourse has been the focus. However, there is also the issue of temporal flow and the influence of objects and discourses in the production of space and identity across historical periods. The time frame of this thesis has focussed analyses on the period c.1607-c.1642 in an attempt to build a historically specific insight into the flow of spatial practices between England and the New World. However, as Doreen Massey has argued:

All attempts to institute horizons, to establish boundaries, to secure the identity of places, can in this sense therefore be seen to be *attempts to stabilize the meaning of particular envelopes of space-time*.⁶

Whilst I have attempted to offer a sense of stability to the way spatial practice operated – through flow and as a constantly evolving process – I have not attempted to define a stable identity for any of the spaces studied in this thesis. However, I have argued that across the period normative notions of space and identity were used as more fixed markers against which deviation and transgression could be measured, and thus social and spatial hierarchies created by authorities in England and the New World. These normative notions of space and identity are historically specific, constructed from the narratives, material objects, and subjects producing them. Despite this temporal specificity, historical

⁶ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 5. Italics in original.

narratives and notions of normative space have a powerful legacy and flow into future representations and productions of space and identity at both local and national levels. This can be seen in drama and poetry of the period, as Ralf Hertel has observed: 'history plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries...stressed the national tradition by focusing on the past.'⁷ As Massey has also noted, 'the claims and counter-claims about the present character of a place depend in almost all cases on particular, rival, interpretations of its past.'⁸ By understanding the contemporary resonances between New and Old World understandings of space, this thesis offers the groundwork for consideration of how the legacy of colonial narratives continues to influence the (re)production and representation of (colonial) space in modern literature and culture.

Recent years have seen a number of literary and cinematic returns to early colonial America as setting and source material, as well a thriving national and international tourist trade around re-enactment sites at Jamestown, Plymouth, and other early colonial settlements. The analysis of the narratives studied in this thesis provide a foundation from which to chart the ongoing influence of early modern colonial discourse on these artistic and commercial endeavours, and will allow insight into how contemporary America, and Western society more generally, is built on particular 'interpretations of its (colonial) past'. For example, 2015 saw the release of the critically acclaimed film *The Witch*, set in 1630s New England and the film's director, Robert Egger, has stated in numerous interviews and articles that he turned to pamphlets from the

⁷ Ralf Hertel, *Staging England in the Elizabethan History Play: Performing National Identity* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 79.

⁸ Doreen Massey, 'Places and Their Pasts', *History Workshop Journal*, 39 (1995) 182-192 (p. 185).

period to give the film a sense of authenticity.⁹ Similarly, 2017 saw the premiere of a British television series, *Jamestown*, set in 1620s Virginia. Producers and actors from the series again comment on their striving for authenticity in interviews about the series, mentioning their use of original source material to guide the storyline.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that despite these claims *The Witch* was shot on location in Canada and *Jamestown* in Hungary, already troubling the notion of the capacity to authentically reproduce the spaces staged in either. The quest for an authentic representation of the past is, as Massey notes, riddled with political implications in the present. What is of interest then, beyond the obvious problems and discrepancies noted above, is which bits of the ‘original’ narratives remain in the reproduction of spaces and subjects contained in these re-imaginings and how they might influence a modern audience’s understanding of the English colonial legacy and its role in the production of the spatially located identities, hierarchies, and power structures that exist today. As Richard Helgerson notes in his work on the construction of English national identity:

⁹ See for example: Anton Bitel, ‘Voices of the Undead: Robert Eggers on *The Witch*’, *BFI*, 11 July 2016 <<http://www.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/sight-sound-magazine/interviews/robert-eggers-witch>> [accessed 13 September 2018]; Chris O’Falt, ‘How Robert Eggers Used Real Historical Accounts to Create His Horror Sensation “*The Witch*”’, *IndieWire*, 19 February 2016 <<http://www.indiewire.com/2016/02/how-robert-eggers-used-real-historical-accounts-to-create-his-horror-sensation-the-witch-67882/>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

¹⁰ See for example: ‘9 Secrets from the Set’, *Virgin Media*, 7 February 2018 <<http://www.virginmedia.com/virgin-tv-edit/tv/9-secrets-from-jamestown-series-2.html>> [accessed 13 September 2018]; Jon Horsley, ‘Here’s 10 things you need to know about new TV series *Jamestown*’, *The Sun*, 29 April 2017 <<https://www.thesun.co.uk/tvandshowbiz/3420531/heres-10-things-you-need-to-know-about-new-tv-series-jamestown/>> [accessed 13 September 2018].

In writing England, the younger Elizabethans also wrote us. To study that writing is to expose one root of our own identity. But it is also to open the possibility of another project like theirs, another attempt in another world to remake our individual and collective selves by once again having the kingdom of our own language.¹¹

Perhaps, then, in attending to the construction of English identity through and within the spaces of the New World, and the ways in which this legacy still pervades Western literature and culture, it may be possible to take small steps toward remaking 'our individual and collective selves' in a way that acknowledges the inequalities and spatially located power dynamics that forged this identity, and look to move beyond them.

¹¹ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 18.

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