Imagining Empire: An Ancient and Noble 'New World' in the Works of William Vaughan and Balthazar Gerbier, 1616-1660

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Abstract

Early European projects for the colonisation of the Americas blur fact and fiction. Colonists risked their lives and livelihoods for an idea of the Americas that was formed as much by fantasy and wishful thinking as by experience. This thesis examines two unrealised or partially-realised English and Welsh colonial projects from the seventeenth century to shed light on the atavistic and often fantastical world views that informed European ideas of the New World and what Europeans thought they might do, make or create there.

The thesis contributes to colonial, imperial and Atlantic histories, challenging the notion that what matters in histories of empire and colonialism is only what was enacted, rather than what was imagined or intended. Short-lived colonial projects have largely been footnoted or ignored within imperial, colonial, Atlantic and early Canadian and American histories but in omitting them from our analyses we see only part of the picture: the plans that came to fruition. Consequently, we may presume that the colonial visions that were achieved represent the totality of European colonisers' intentions and worldview, that only the colonies that were successfully planted—or the coloniser's whose ambitions were fulfilled—shaped the New World in the minds of Europeans and those they colonised.

The thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on the history of ideas, material culture studies, dress history, cultural geography, the history of cartography, utopian and literary studies, and art and architectural history. Common themes emerge: a shared obsession with order and with an idealised past founded in sacred and secular histories, myth, genealogies and legends. Yet each project offers its own insight into the conception of the New World, fusing the imaginary and the real in different ways to reveal differing contemporary concerns.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as references.

A chapter in an edited collection draws on research carried out for my thesis but does not replicate it: 'Sir Balthazar Gerbier's Utopian Dreams of the New World' in Jenny Mander, David Midgley and Maya Feile Tomes (eds.), *Transnational Perspectives on the Conquest and Colonization of Latin America* (Routledge, 2019), 23-34.

Introduction: Nowhere and Somewhere

'Had I plantation of this isle, my lord…And were the king on't, what would I do?'

Gonzalo in William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Act 2, Scene 1

In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh was making preparations for a second voyage to Roanoke Island, Virginia, where he planned to establish the first English colony in the New World. In response to the endeavour, an anonymous advisor offered Raleigh and Sir Thomas Cavendish some guidance notes, posing an important question for both colonisers and the Crown: 'What manner of geovernement is to be used and what offics to geoverne [?]'.[1] To European states vying to settle the New World, this was a question answered in a multitude of ways in different territories, and the legacy of their choices is still evident across South and North America.

The earliest English colonial documents granting and limiting authority to colonise and govern the New World were called 'patents'.[2] Letters patent were used to encourage innovation in English trade and industry across the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, providing the monarch with an income through the granting of monopolies.[3] In colonial history, scholars commonly prefer the term 'charter', using 'patent' for documents with less authority or longevity, but this is a modern distinction and until the 1660s the terms were used interchangeably.[4] The evolved terminology, however, obscures a broader connection between colonial and industrial patents: each required the delegation of royal authority; provided the monarch with a (potential) source of income; and enabled and encouraged speculation, experimentation and innovation while limiting financial—and sometimes reputational—risk to the Crown.

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[1] Anon., '[1584-5] Anonymous Notes for the Guidance of Raleigh and Cavendish', in *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584 Vol. 1 of 2*, ed. David Beers Quinn (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1955), 130–39.

[2] Mary Sarah Bilder, 'English Settlement and Local Governance', in *The Cambridge History of Law in America*, ed. Christopher Tomlins and Michael Grossberg, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1: 65–66; Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws*, 7 vols. (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1906).

[3] Koji Yamamoto, 'Distrust, Innovations, and Public Service: Projecting in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England' PhD diss. (University of York, 2009), 12-16.

[4] Mary Sarah Bilder, 'Colonial Constitutionalism and Constitutional Law', in *Transformations in American Legal History*, ed. Alfred L. Brophy and Daniel W. Hamilton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 32–35; Bilder, 'English Settlement', 66.

It was, from the perspective of European states, a shrewd model to adopt in the settlement of the New World, allowing experimentation with different models of investment, exploration, ownership, plantation and governance across the seventeenth century, and enabling the state—the Crown in England, Scotland and, later, Britain—to outsource much of the risk while partaking in the profit and benefits. Where the earliest New World ventures operated as joint-stock companies, later models were often run as proprietorships, with individuals or small groups granted wide-ranging powers to govern as they saw fit, allowed to grant lands and new titles or even wage war.[5] Varying the degree of Crown control, the style of colonial patent/charter and government, and the number of stakeholders or proprietors, enabled the creation of a variety of experimental New Worlds: in effect, testing different models to see which might be most effective. Consequently, modes of plantation and government varied according to the beliefs, interests and commitment of those involved, as did the longevity and effectiveness of the different types of colonies, and the character of the planters and settlements they intended or spawned. Inevitably, several of these experimental designs were not fully realised or realisable at all. What or who had appeared credible at the time—whether plan or man—were, with hindsight, considered naïve, unrealistic or, at best, unlucky. Such designs are the focus of this thesis.

These two case studies explore seventeenth-century projects to settle Newfoundland and Central-South America by two men and their colonial partners: respectively, the Welsh Sir William Vaughan, and the naturalised English, Franco-Dutch Sir Balthazar Gerbier. Their plans sit within a broader category of unrealised/partially-realised colonial projects, largely footnoted or ignored within imperial, Atlantic and colonial histories. Such histories commonly—and naturally—focus on the measurable outcomes of plantation and imperial expansion, such as economic success and material exchange, but this thesis foregrounds European colonisers' and settlers' conceptions of the New World, examining colonial projects and plans at the moment of their creation rather than assessing them retrospectively in light of their longevity or dilution.

[5] The Stuarts directed broad policies but repeatedly adopted a model of dual authority in colonies: Holly Brewer, 'Slavery, Sovereignty, and "Inheritable Blood": Reconsidering John Locke and the Origins of American Slavery', *The American Historical Review* 122, no. 4 (2017): 1038–78; Sarah Bilder, 'English Settlement'.

The principal consequence of early modern Europe's conceptualisation of the New World was colonialism and its practises. Omitting these short-lived projects from our analyses limits our understanding of colonialism and imperialism. If we see only part of the picture, the plans that came to fruition, we may presume that the colonial visions that were achieved represent the totality of European colonisers' intentions and worldview. Or that only the colonies that were planted, or the coloniser's whose ambitions were fulfilled, influenced or implanted an idea of 'America' in the minds of Europeans and those they colonised.

The colonisers examined here present their vision across a range of primary sources that include printed/manuscript colonial constitutions, patents/charters, correspondence, maps and promotional literature. These sources and projects have traditionally been studied by historians of political thought, the Atlantic, empire, economics and law who focus almost exclusively on the structures and systems of government, their implementation in colonies or the involvement of significant historical figures in their production. Such studies rarely touch upon the wealth of information about clothing, architecture, poetry and myth in these sources, particularly since cultural historians and those who study material culture commonly study different types of sources, such as artefacts, art, accounts, letters and diaries. An interdisciplinary approach to their study situates the projects among a broader range of sources and academic debates, contributing to discussions of sumptuary law, cultures of knowledge, and current thinking about place and place making. Broadly, the aim is to integrate a cultural and material culture approach, in the vein of Robert Duplessis, Vaughan Hart, Bernard L. Herman, Daniel Maudlin, Ulinka Rublack, and Sue Vincent, with that of intellectual historians of empire and the Atlantic, in the vein of David Armitage, Holly Brewer, Andrew Fitzmaurice, and Jack Greene.[6] The thesis also contributes to histories of Britain and Ireland since the character and design of colonial plans were born of anxieties, complexities and conflicts within domestic politics and culture, and, as such, provide a commentary on a range of topical issues.

Colonial designs offer a history of hope and desire by detailing imagined futures, but they also express a sense of loss, a deep nostalgia and enchantment with a golden past. What emerges from an exploration of the socio-cultural content of these projects are a

[6] See bibliography.

shared concern with order—order of government and the often hierarchical ordering and categorising of people, knowledge, place, space, religion and material culture—and an atavistic concern with the past, both mythical and historical, exhibited by the propensity to idealise the past in various ways—wishing to recreate or draw inspiration from political or social models of the Classical or medieval world, myths and legends, or to recover ancient knowledge. A belief that a desirable version of the past might be resurrected also reveals the fissure between a later, broadly-nineteenth-century conception of history as linear, progressive and unrepeatable, and an early modern understanding of history as cyclical and recoverable.[7]

The universality and pervasiveness of these themes is suggested by their having been identified across case studies intentionally chosen for their diversity, albeit within the confines of a study of seventeenth-century New World colonial projects stemming from Britain. A case study approach offers less comparative data than a broader survey, but enables detailed and in-depth analysis and yields richer, 'thicker' qualitative results.[8] As such, the projects were selected to reflect the widest possible geographic range (Central/South America and northern Canada), and differing levels of execution and Crown involvement. Though colonial projects tend to be described straightforwardly as English, this conceals the distinct experience, and often nationalism, of the nations of Great Britain and the often-plural identities of Britons, whether natural born or naturalised. The projectors and those they partnered with are Catholic and Protestant, English, Welsh, Franco-Dutch and Dutch, with several connected to Scotland and/or the plantation of Ireland.

While national distinctions are evident, common values and interests also emerge. Colonial projects were invariably produced by educated, white, European men—though the authors did not emerge from identical circumstances, hailing from a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds and life experiences. Colonial and early modern European histories have been enriched and challenged by studies that address the history and experience of groups whose histories have been ignored or erased.[9] These histories-from-below are a necessary

[7] David Wootton, *The Invention of Science: A New History of the Scientific Revolution* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), 61, 65, 74–76.

[8] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–30.

[9] To give sense of the range, for women/gender: Rosemary O'Day, *Women's Agency in Early Modern Britain and the American Colonies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007); Christine Walker, *Jamaica Ladies* (Williamsburg, VA: OIEAHC and the University of North Carolina Press, 2020); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches & Anxious Patriarchs* (Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). For children: Holly Brewer, *By*

correction to the field and effort will be made to anticipate how these projects intended to shape the lives of all social groups. The authors nevertheless represent the hegemonic patrimony of elite, white men and their schemes are the desires and ambition of that social group. There are, for instance, no seventeenth century colonial projects authored by women, nor even many women settlers/travellers (relative to men)—fewer still who wrote about their experiences.[10] Consequently, this thesis focuses on the views of a small group of privileged European men with the means and the authority, as Europeans saw it, to claim and settle lands in the Americas. This particular grouping of people, collectively, created the blueprints for colonial 'America' and the social and political structures initially established there. As authors, Vaughn and Gerbier's texts also highlight how different individuals' personal interests inform their conception of a New World society: Vaughan in literary culture; Gerbier in architecture, dress and visual culture.

Aside from amassing the wealth, influence and privilege that enabled such endeavours, these were not, however, 'great men' of history whose actions were pivotal to key events. Neither are they men of exceptional intellect or unique skill, nor even men one would necessarily wish to encounter: but their plans are historically valuable nonetheless. These colonial projectors are products and reflections of their culture—albeit an elite, masculine culture—and exhibit society's common interests, anxieties and values. They are, on occasion, vain, brutal, self-interested, duplicitous, self-pitying, naïve and cruel but also thoughtful, scholarly, imaginative, ethical and compassionate. In capturing the spirit of the age rather than pulling it forward into the future, they offer a different historical perspective—perhaps even a broader or more rounded picture of that strata of society—than the examination of individual visionaries. Gerbier, in particular, was a cultural sponge (what would now be called an 'early adopter'), scenting intellectual and cultural shifts and

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Birth or Consent: Children, Law, and the Anglo-American Revolution in Authority (Williamsburg, VA: OIEAHC and the University of North Carolina Press, 2007). For race/slaves/indigenous peoples/colonial captives: Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Andrew Newman, *Allegories of Encounter: Colonial Literacy and Indian Captivities* (Williamsburg, VA: OIEAHC and the University of North Carolina Press, 2019); Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell, eds., *American Encounters*, 2nd ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2000); Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial America, 1619-1776* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); Wood gives a useful overview of the vast historiography of slavery.

[10] Andrew Hadfield, 'General Introduction', in *Amazons, Savages & Machiavels*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2–4; Kirstin R. Wilcox, 'American Women's Writing in the Colonial Period', in *The Cambridge History of American Women's Literature*, ed. Dale M. Bauer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 55–73.

swiftly absorbing them into his projects and publications. The multiple social interconnections between those involved in, often disparate, colonial projects further highlight the fact that just a tiny handful of men who knew—or knew of—each other held sway over the lives of people and places across what would become the New World, shaping it through their visions of an enchanted imaginary 'America' conceived on the other side of the Atlantic.

Their idea of the New World and plans for how it should be discovered, invaded, claimed, settled and governed were products of exchange and desire, drawing upon travel literature, cartography, contemporary discussions about ideal societies, social or religious reform, and nascent nationalism. The plans and laws through which these men present their alternative visions for New World society, outline the varied futures they anticipated for different social groups of settlers, slaves and indigenous peoples. These can be read with and against the grain to uncover the likely experience intended for different genders, races and ranks identified within, or absent from the socio-political framework. Armchair decisions made by these men committed the colonised world to a legacy of racism, slavery, indentured servitude and ethnic prejudice that have contributed to residual hierarchies, intersectional inequalities and institutions that continue to have impact upon the world.

The Atlantic World

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of interest in the colonial government and laws of British America.[11] Although it touches on fundamental laws, this thesis is primarily concerned with the recovery of early modern culture and imagination, rather than (implemented) governmental structures, economics, trade or travel. An interdisciplinary approach is taken to the texts, maps and plans associated with the projects, considering them in the light of visual and material cultural theories and recent scholarship on space and place-making. The thesis builds on current research in English/British imperial and domestic histories, and early American/Canadian and Atlantic history to articulate an original socio-cultural study of the imaginary Americas envisioned in these projects.

[11] Stanley N. Katz, 'The Problem of Colonial Legal History', in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, ed. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 457–89; Sarah Bilder, 'English Settlement'. Katz gives a detailed overview of the scholarship on colonial law in the mid-80s; Bilder offers a contemporary picture.

Since the late 1990s the emergent framework for colonial histories of the Americas has been the Atlantic, taking the ocean and its web of interconnected travel and trade routes as a focus and recognising the shared social world it engendered.[12] There are now journals and book series dedicated to histories of the 'Atlantic world' and studies of a multiplicity of Atlantics, from the British, French, Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish Atlantics to the Red and Black Atlantics that employ the ocean as a lens to examine race.[13] The wide perspective of these studies and a common concentration on trade, mobility and movement of peoples within a shared Atlantic culture offers many advantages to historians, particularly those engaged in the recent revival of grand narratives, comparative histories of the *longue durée* or global histories; and Atlantic histories have recently been complimented by sister histories of the Pacific (or Oceania) and oceanic histories.[14]

The broad sweep of Atlantic history commonly omits minor players, such as short-lived projects, but it is to this larger framework of the British Atlantic that this study contributes. Recognising the commonalities and diversities between and among colonial schemes across the Atlantic world is essential to such studies. The perspective of history allows us to see what contemporaries could not: the breakdown or achievement of colonial ambitions, and the longevity or disintegration of settlements, but by examining both sorts of plans as having equal potential at the outset we can pull back the lens to see a fuller picture of European ideas of the New World, colonisation, empire and nationhood.

This approach offers new insights into the case studies themselves but also has wider impact upon the study of other colonies and colonial projects, whose character may have been seen as exceptional, unusual or predominant without an awareness of the broader picture that encompasses the perspectives of less effective colonisers/colonies, and

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[12] Bailyn and Reilly provide an overview of the historiography in Bernard Bailyn, 'The Idea of Atlantic History', *Itinerario* 20 (1996): 9–44; ; William O'Reilly, 'Genealogies of Atlantic History', *Atlantic Studies*, 2004. For a specifically British Atlantic, see Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, eds., *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) and David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

[13] *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rjas20/current; chapters 9-14 in Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World: 1450-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and chapters 2-6 in Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). See also Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 1993); Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[14] For example, J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511-1850* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds., *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (London: Red Globe Press, 2013); David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram, eds. *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

of regions outside the present-day United States. It also counters aspects of American exceptionalism—the argument that America is exceptional and/or superior to other nations due to its founding, as a republic, on ideas of liberty, equality and personal responsibility; an idea, repeatedly challenged or qualified by academics, that has seen a popular resurgence.[15] The assertion of exceptionalism has led some scholars to trace the construction of this (particular form of) American national identity back to the early colonial period by seeking to deny or lessen the influence of the Old World upon colonial-era America and asserting its difference and liberalism from the outset.[16] Hartz, who put forth the classic argument for exceptionalism in the 1950s, argued that American exceptionalism was to a great extent caused by an absence of feudalism and by reason of European settlers being of the 'middle class'.[17] Several colonial plans bely this; and though not all of these were implemented, it suggests that the intentions of early colonisers strayed far from this vision and the 'rankless' society to which Greene refers was not only absent from their plans but equally far from the lived reality.[18] For instance, baronial courts were held in Maryland and colony-specific honours and titles were granted to landed settlers of Nova Scotia and Carolina.

Short-lived projects have fallen between two large and diverse historiographical fields: colonial/imperial/Atlantic histories, mainly concerned with Europeans living or travelling outside Europe and those they colonised or enslaved; and literary, cultural, or intellectual histories that focus primarily on Europeans living within Europe and the incorporation of the New World into their worldview. Scholarship on the Atlantic world and Empire has largely focused on early America (US), the long eighteenth century and the

[15] For instance, the first line of the GOP's 2016 election platform: 'we believe in American exceptionalism': Republican National Committee, 'Republican Platform 2016', 2016, i, http://www.gop.com/platform, though exceptionalist rhetoric is used on all political sides: Jason Gilmore and Charles M. Rowling, 'Partisan Patriotism in the American Presidency: American Exceptionalism, Issue Ownership, and the Age of Trump', *Mass Communication and Society* 22, no. 3 (4 May 2019): 389–416. Since 2015, the US College has (controversially) included teaching on exceptionalism: College Board, 'AP U.S. History Course and Exam Description', 2020, https://apcentral.collegeboard.org/pdf/ap-us-history-course-and-exam-description.pdf.

[16] Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution (1955)*, ed. Tom Wicker, 2nd ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1991). Greene qualifies and repositions exceptionalism but accepts it in: Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 3–7.

[17] Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America*, 3-32, 50-64, he argues slavery in the South has been mistaken for feudalism: 145-200.

[18] Greene, *Intellectual Construction*, 206.

government and culture of colonies in practise, exploring trade routes, or attempting to recreate the experience or identities of the diverse colonial populace.[19]

Rooted in Elliott's seminal work, others consider the New World's impact on European society.[20] Scholars of history, art, drama and literature have considered its effect on culture, imperial policy, and scientific, geographic and ethnographic knowledge, principally through travel literature and/or images of the New World.[21] Some have attempted to bring the two approaches into dialogue, since, as Scanlan observed, 'most scholars of Anglo-American colonial history have, until recently, treated the colonial phenomenon either as an exclusively American phenomenon or, conversely, as a European one'.[22] While true, his statement also serves to highlight, unintentionally, many scholars' almost exclusive equation of the New World with (the United States of) America rather than the America of the early modern world, which encompassed the two American continents, something this thesis hopes to redress.

Both perspectives will inform analysis here. However, there is a gap in the historiography due to the sources preferred by each approach. The former, concerned with colonial settlements and their interconnection within the Atlantic world, favours colonial sources and official documents/data regarding trade, migration and colonial/imperial governance—short-lived projects are footnoted. The latter approach considers how the New World is comprehended in European culture—examining European sources about or from the Americas, and usually privileges travelogues, literary, religious, and artistic sources

[19] The literature is vast but examples include Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York and London: Penguin, 2001); Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Random House, 1986); Robert Olwell and Alan Tully, eds., *Cultures and Identities in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2005). See also fns. 7 and 8 above.

[20] J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and The New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

[21] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *America in European Conciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Rachel Doggett, ed., *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possession: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016); Mary Baine Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Kim Sloan, ed., *European Visions: American Voices* (London: The British Museum, 2009) though this last purports to counter the lack of indigenous voices in the volume's sister exhibition at the British Museum but the majority of the chapters concern Europeans and their perspective and artistic response.

[22] Thomas J. Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583–1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–2.

over colonial/official sources (both camps examine colonial promotional literature). These sources ostensibly seek to describe the New World rather than projecting their vision upon it—whereas the colonial projects examined here impose an idea of how society should run and how the New World should be managed. Since they were not fully-realised, well-known, or ethnographically/scientifically-minded, these texts and plans are commonly disregarded in each of these historical approaches.

Failure

A narrative of 'successful' colonisation has shaped the historiography of colonial-era 'America'.[23] Since the projects examined here have been described, often dismissed, as failures, this raises questions for this study. Is success in financial terms or colonial longevity what matters in history? How did early modern people view success and failure? It seems reasonable that historical study should not be confined to success. Equally, the study of 'failure' should not be limited to disasters of so great a scale they cannot be ignored. Considering only 'successful' colonies presents a skewed perspective regarding the ambitions and intentions of colonisers. Their ideas were part of a broader, more-complex vision of the New World and colonialism than is reflected by the smaller number of long-lived colonies. Roper and Kupperman have made excellent in-depth studies of short-lived colonies but they are exceptional—and as early Americanists their analysis understandably focuses on why a (US) colony failed in practise rather than what was intended.[24] Judging or examining history solely through the lens of success conceals the wider societal picture and may distort our understanding of what happened and why. The ideas behind colonial projects matter, not just their successful outcome. Failures, particularly those viewed through the rose-tinted spectacles of time, can exert a powerful force on people and places (e.g. the failure of the Confederate States of America 155 years ago has not dimmed it as a political or cultural force). As the political theorist Bronner states: 'there can be no greater

[23] Typified perhaps by L. H. Roper, 'New Albion: Anatomy of an English Colonisation Failure, 1632-1659', *Itinerario* XXXII, no. 1 (2008): 39–57; and Karen Ordahl Kupperman, 'How to Make a Successful Plantation: Colonial Experiment in America', in *Ireland: 1641: Contexts and Reactions*, 2016.

[24] L. H. Roper, *Conceiving Carolina: Proprietors, Planters and Plots, 1662-1729* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Roper, 'New Albion:'; Kupperman, 'Successful Plantation'.

mistake than to ignore the visions and dreams of the past—in their progressive as well as in their reactionary content—through a dogmatic belief that they have no practical bearing on the "objective" social process and political activity'.[25]

Our understanding of failure or success has arguably coloured our historical approach. The definition of 'to fail' is virtually identical in the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries but how we measure it has changed. In *Power, Pleasure and Profit* Wootton demonstrates how a gradual 'transmutation of values' across four centuries saw instrumental reasoning, or 'cost-benefit analysis', increasingly used in the assessment of moral action, as rational motivations and interests based on personal advancement replaced an understanding of virtue and moral reasoning rooted in Classical and Christian ethics. As Wootton observes, until the Renaissance 'the general view (at least among…elites) was that what mattered most was not whether you succeeded or failed, but what sort of person you were; honor, self-respect, dignity, reputation, and a clear conscience were held to be more important than success in acquiring power, pleasure, or wealth'.[26] By the eighteenth century, however, wealth, trade and self-interest had been transformed into moral positives, altering the motives and moral assessments of imperialism as well as those of individuals. A Renaissance humanist ideology of colonialism and imperialism, which drew on ideas of honour and virtue was gradually supplanted by a transactional political economy of empire.[27]

The effects of this transition can be seen in European culture across the seventeenth century, and colonial projects and projectors are judged by contemporaries upon an admixture of new and old values. In this period, the virtue and 'success' of individuals is still to a degree separated from what they do, and rests on factors such as rank, quality and social credit rather than the (commercial, political or social) success of their actions.[28] For

[25] Quoted in Antonis Balasopoulos, 'Unworldly Worldliness: America and the Trajectories of Utopian Expansionism', *Utopian Studies* 15, no. 2 (2004): 3.
[26] Wootton, *Power, Pleasure and Profit*, 6.
[27] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. chapter 6; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 192-194 though he traces the transformation throughout.
[28] For further see Wootton, 256-258; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Alexandra Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England 1580-1640', *Past & Present*, no. 167 (2000): 75–106; Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Michael J. Braddick, and John Walter, 'Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy

instance, Sir George Calvert's rejection and abandonment of the Newfoundland colony he settled and invested in heavily could have been judged a failure of both the project and the man (and indeed was by later accounts). Instead, Charles I not only granted him a different, warmer colony, but justified his actions on the (positive) grounds that Calvert's superior rank and breeding made him unsuited to labour and sensitive to the cold.[29] Charles, applying a different set of qualitative measures, perceived no failure and the Calverts went on to found Maryland, the longest-lasting proprietary colony in British America.

The alteration Wootton describes has an impact on how these men and projects are judged but also on the way in which failure and success itself is conceived. Failure is both an assessment of performance as well as 'not accomplishing a purpose' and therefore a shift in values influences the factors by which a person/project's performance is judged and might also assume an understanding of their motives or intentions, believing these to be based on shared values. As Wootton concludes, 'the real transformation was not in the world of ideas; it was in the lives and behaviour of people who had come to accept that virtue, honour, shame, and guilt counted for almost nothing; all that mattered was success'.[30] This success was measured exclusively on their achievement of power, pleasure and profit: an understanding of success shared by many historians but perhaps not by those they study.

Consequently, if considered at all, the case study projects and other 'failed', short-lived, or unrealised colonies or colonial plans, have been analysed principally in terms of their unsuccessful implementation and financial or strategic loss, rather than considering the style and nature of their vision. Where there are exceptions, it is due to the projects' relationship to great men or grand theory. For instance, short-lived projects are briefly assessed in the tracing of a particular theoretical approach or philosophy, such as Humanism or American exceptionalism.[31] Or, where 'great men' were involved, their colonial plans are analysed in relation to their life and works; for instance, Raleigh and John Locke's involvement in Roanoke and Carolina, respectively. This is likely due to what Whitehead calls our 'enchantment with the legend' (he refers to Raleigh but this could apply

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and Subordination in Early Modern Society', in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–42.

[29] 'Calvert to Charles I', 19 August 1629; 'Charles I to Calvert', 22 November 1629, in Gillian T. Cell, ed., *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982), 294–97.

[30] Wootton, *Power*, 248.

[31] Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, e.g. 92-97 discusses Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; Greene, *Intellectual Construction*, e.g. chapter 2.

equally to Locke), which leads commentators to engage in hagiographical or convoluted justifications for the 'legend's' involvement in a 'failed' endeavour or one of dubious morality.[32]

There are further problems with notions of success and failure in the context of colonialism. In discussion of outcomes, the role and participation of indigenous people is often ignored, often because European documentary and pictorial evidence is privileged over alternative sources: as Oberg suggests, 'far too many [accounts] rely on assessments of what the English did or did not do for their explanatory power. If only Raleigh's men had done one thing, or avoided another [at Roanoke], things might have turned out differently. Because the resulting story focuses on the English, historians attribute whatever successes and failures occurred to their actions'.[33] This ignores the presence and agency of the indigenous populace but also alternative forms of evidence that might challenge or inform such narratives. In the well-known case of Roanoke, physical and documentary evidence and oral histories suggest there is no enigma about what happened to the settlers: the colony failed because the indigenous peoples withdrew their initial support, and the 'mystery' of the vanishing colonists is simply that they were 'absorbed' into tribal communities.[34]

New World colonies nevertheless continue to be discussed in terms of (European) failure and success in academic studies. Though failure may simply be a measure of performance, it is not objective; there is a subject whose performance is being measured and a subjective perspective on the meaning of outcomes, which assumes readers and authors share a frame of reference and worldview. A democratisation of historical enquiry that considers the viewpoint of 'others' (i.e. anyone who is not an educated, white male) should similarly address failure, since colonial 'failure' might be considered a success from a

[32] For recent studies regarding Locke, see James Farr, '"Absolute Power and Authority": John Locke and the Revisions of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina', *Locke Studies* 20 (2020): 1–49; Brewer, 'Slavery, Sovereignty, and "Inheritable Blood": Reconsidering John Locke and the Origins of American Slavery'; Brad Hinshelwood, 'The Carolinian Context of John Locke's Theory of Slavery', *Political Theory* 41, no. 4 (2013): 562–90; Vicki Hsueh, *Hybrid Constitutions* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 55-81; James Farr, 'Locke, "Some Americans", and the Discourse on "Carolina"', *Locke Studies* 9 (2009): 19–96; David Armitage, 'John Locke, Carolina, and the Two Treatises of Government', *Political Theory* 32, no. 5 (2004): 602–27. For the historiography of Raleigh, see Neil L. Whitehead, 'Introduction', in *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* [1596] (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), at 3; 3–17.

[33] Michael Leroy Oberg, 'Lost Colonists and Lost Tribes', in *European Visions: American Voices*, ed. Kim Sloan (London: The British Museum, 2009), 101.

[34] Oberg, 'Lost Colonists and Lost Tribes'; Audrey Horning, 'Past, Present and Future: Exploring and Restoring Native Perspectives on Roanoke and the Chesapeake', in *European Visions: American Voices,* ed. Kim Sloan (London: The British Museum, 2009), 131–42.

non-European perspective (e.g. successful repulsion of invaders). Ironically, spectacular failures must be accounted for and are often reshaped in heroic terms—even twisted into 'successes'—to fit a political or nationalistic narrative (e.g. the Charge of the Light Brigade, Custer's 'Last Stand', Dunkirk).

For indigenous populations, the 'success' of European colonisation meant the devastation of their population, lands and culture and its positive connotations are objectionable and inaccurate. While 'failure' and 'success' usefully distinguish between short-lived and long-lived colonies, or those which realised their original vision to a greater or lesser degree, qualification should be made to ensure these judgements cannot be mistaken as a qualitative evaluation in broader terms. It is now nearly fifty years since *Orientalism* exposed the prejudices embedded within the language used to describe 'Orientals' and how this sustained colonial rule.[35] The theory advanced that each sign and signifier has a value and moral judgement attached and a corresponding moral opposite—invoked each time it is used (e.g. God is good/Devil is bad). Likewise, success/failure is conventionally aligned in a positive/negative dichotomy in which failure is bad, success is good. Therefore, although success/failure can represent detached assessment of the achievement of aims, its meaning also encompasses an evaluative moral judgement. Thus the representation of colonies as 'failed/bad' or 'successful/good' supports historical colonial ideologies and practises, and (ongoing) settler colonialism, whether explicitly or tacitly (there is no 'post-colonial' in the Americas). Care must be taken to ensure that colonial 'success' is expressed within the context of historical assessment, or that the evaluation relates to fulfilment of purpose, absent of moral judgement, as it is intended and used here.

Nowhere and Somewhere: on the spectrum of the real and imaginary

'Failed' or unrealised projects are often described retrospectively—usually pejoratively—as utopian, idealistic, unrealistic or impractical, though they invariably drew support and investment from contemporaries who, without the hindsight of history, judged them to be credible and sound. Such descriptions are often anachronistic. In part because

[35] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978).

they use adjectives coined in the nineteenth century (e.g. impractical, realistic, unrealistic, idealistic), which reflect the broad shift in values and methods of reasoning discussed above; but also because they assume that we and early modern commentators share an understanding of what is real, unreal or possible, and consider the relationship between fact and fiction to be one of opposition.

There is an assumption that clear cut boundaries exist between what is real and what is imaginary: now, if not then. Many sources (both modern and early modern) sit on a spectrum of the real and imaginary, and where they are placed on that spectrum is not always clear cut. Across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fact and fiction blurred in European perceptions of the wider world. Oceans teemed with monsters, mermaids and giant cod.[36] The 'new-found lands' of the Americas were inhabited by monstrous beasts and strange peoples with unfamiliar names and dress—some with heads in their chests, as Raleigh reported of the 'Ewaipamona' (fig.1).[37] Ostensibly-factual travel accounts and



Fig. 1: Engraving of 'Ewaipamona' or 'Blemmyes' from 1603 German edition of Sir Walter Raleigh's Guiana. Courtesy of The John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

[36] Chet Van Duzer, *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps* (London: The British Library, 2013).
[37] Walter Ralegh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana [1596]*, ed. Neil L. Whitehead (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 178.

fictional accounts of fantasy lands might be, and were, frequently mistaken for one another. An excellent example is Neville's genre-defying *Isle of Pines* (1668), which has been mistaken as a true account across three-and-a-half centuries.[38] Through letters and diary accounts, it tells the tale of four shipwrecked Elizabethans whose descendants are discovered living (scandalously) on a distant island and features orgies, rapes and incest. On its publication, European scholars hotly debated its authenticity—one French philosopher even inquired to the Royal Society for the island's location.[39] *Pines* was later bound with 'other' travel narratives in the British and Pepys' Libraries and inspired New England Protestants to contemplate missions to the Island.[40] As recently as 2012, *Metro* reported the existence of a '16th-century "sex colony"', based on a report in a 1790 newspaper which related the tale as fact.[41]

Discerning what was real and imaginary became more difficult when writers and cartographers wove real historical figures into works of fiction, or introduced imaginary places or people into colonial texts, encyclopaedias and maps. Writers who inserted real people into invented works took their cue from More's *Utopia*, which features More as a character in dialogue with a fictionalised version of his real-life friend and an invented traveller.[42] In reversal of this, a chapter is devoted to More's republic of Utopia in Chappuys' *L'estat, Description et Gouvernement Des Royaumes et Republiques Du Monde*, an encyclopaedia of the (real) world's estates, kingdoms and republics.[43] Though Chappuys admits the state is imaginary, he says on several occasions that it is nevertheless 'true', highlighting the difference between early modern notions of truth and fact and modern

[38] Henry Neville, 'The Isle of Pines (1668)', in *Three Early Modern Utopias,* ed. Susan Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 187–21.
[39] Gaby Mahlberg, *Henry Neville and English Republican Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 114.
[40] Mahlberg, 113–14; Gaby Mahlberg, 'The Critical Reception of The Isle of Pines', *Utopian Studies* 17, no. 1 (2006), 133-142.
[41] 'Item 64. Early Discoveries of Australia' in Charles Miller's 2012 auction catalogue: Michael Naxton, 'Maritime and Scientific Models, Instruments & Art' (London: Charles Miller Ltd, 2012), 22; 'Journal Reveals Details of 16th-Century "Sex Colony" of Castaways', *Metro*, October 2012. https://metro.co.uk/2012/10/29/journal-reveals-details-of-16th-century-sex-colony-of-castaways-isle-of-pines-609682/#ixzz2BAoVasmk.
[42] Thomas More, *Utopia: Latin Text and an English Translation / Thomas More*, ed. George M. Logan, Robert Martin Adams, and Clarence H. Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[43] Gabriel Chappuys, *L'Estat, Description et Gouvernement Des Royaumes et Republiques Du Monde, Tant Anciennes Que Modernes* (Paris: Regnault Ghaudiere, 1598), 298–315.

ones.[44] More's fusion of real-life and imaginary characters was later adopted by Sir William Vaughan in the promotion of his Newfoundland colony.[45] In a similar fashion, Neville's *Pines* featured the real Dutch merchant Abraham Keek.[46]

This synthesis of fantasy and reality also occurred in cartography. Though maps were often inaccurate due to lack of skill or the limits of geographic knowledge, some mapmakers added fantastical lands to ostensibly real-world maps by design rather than through ignorance—in addition to creating maps of manifestly fantastical places, such as Ortelius' map of 'Utopiae' (fig. 2). Raleigh relates a story in *History of the World* about 'the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps'.[47] Asking a Spanish prisoner about an island marked on a map, which might be useful to the colonial enterprise, he was told it was 'the Painters wives Island… That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired him to put in one [...] for her; that she, in imagination, might have an Island of her owne'.[48] Many early maps incorporated beliefs as well as geographic features (e.g. depicting Noah's Ark, El Dorado or the Tree of Life) or painted spurious interiors within fairly accurate coastlines. These textual and cartographic chimaeras fused Classical myth and Biblical belief with artistic advancements, philosophical and empirical knowledge and cannot be divided neatly into modern source-categories or genres. This tangled complexity stems in part from the problem of explaining the (empirically) unknown: we describe the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar (i.e. through established sources and forms of knowledge, or the past). The New World, comprehended through the lens of the 'known', amalgamates established fact, reason, conjecture and imagination. It may include both the highly probable and the impossible depending on one's data and worldview.

[44] Ibid., Preface; 298. Campbell, *Witness*, 217 (incl. fn. 7) suggests that a 'careless reader might have remained unaware of its fictionality' but Chappuys explains this in the Preface ['La description de ces Estats, Royaumes & Republiques n'est fainte ny imaginaire (hors mis celle de la Republique D'Utopie'] and again in the chapter introduction, which is titled 'De la Republique D'Utopie'. By this period, the fictionality of More's text was well-established.

[45] Orpheus Junior [William Vaughan], *The Golden Fleece, Divided into Three Parts, Under Which Are Discouered the Errours of Religion, the Vices and Decayes of the Kingdome, and Lastly the Wayes to Get Wealth, and to Restore Trading so Much Complayned of. Transported from Cambrioll Colchos* (London: Francis Williams, 1626).

[46] Neville, 'Isle of Pines', 189.

[47] Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (London: William Stansby for Walter Burre, 1617), 574 of the Second Book of the First Part.

[48] Raleigh, *History of the World*, 574.



Fig. 2: Abraham Ortelius, 'Map of Thomas More's Utopia', ca. 1595. Courtesy of the Collection of King Baudouin Foundation.

Further challenge comes from the ways in which truth and artifice are conceptualised in European art and science and historical debates over the role of truth—often set in opposition to fact—in myth, history and poetry, which will be examined in more detail in later chapters. These debates and artistic traditions also have consequences for visual sources, such as portraiture and landscape painting, town plans and maps, such as Mason's map of Newfoundland discussed in later chapters. For instance, the 'painterly origins of some European mapping' outlined by David Buisseret had implications for the mapping of the wider world in terms of their decoration, mixed perspectives and the ways in which they combine iconography with descriptive cartography.[49] Maps of the Americas might include a wealth of visual information and imagery that had little to do with the

[49] David Buisseret, *The Mapmaker's Quest: Depicting New Worlds in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 29–48.

topography or geography of the land they depict; offering little representation of geographic reality, they are largely imaginary.

In a similar fashion, ethnographic images fused factual and artistic 'truths', retaining an Old-World visual rhetoric in their depiction of the New, rather than representing it as observed by the eye. Even John White's drawings—lauded for their faithfulness to reality and naturalistic style—employ European artistic conventions.[50] Artists were, for instance, advised to paint a subject's 'best graces', as Hilliard put it, rather than render their exact features.[51] Indeed, according to Sidney it was surely only 'the meaner sort of painters who counterfeit only such faces as are set before them'.[52] White's Algonquians and other indigenes thus display these 'graces', following Renaissance rules of decorum in regard to their perceived status, gender and age, and modelling in their stances the stereotypical 'Renaissance elbow', to adopt Spicer's term: a gesture of masculine boldness appearing pervasively in Renaissance art (fig. 3).[53]

White also composes their bodies in *contrapposto*, an asymmetrical pose that placed greater weight on one leg than the other, ubiquitous in Classical sculpture and later adopted by Renaissance sculptors and artists. The 'elbow', like the counterpoise, clearly also has Classical origins though Spicer does not allude to them (figs. 4-5). Portraits were uniformly 'perfected' to conform to European standards of truth and beauty, whether in representations of ancient peoples or archaic Scottish Kings drawn from the imagination, or in paintings of European and American contemporaries (e.g. figs. 6-10 and 22 all feature the familiar 'elbow' and *contrapposto*).[54] Quintilian, contemplating the artistry and novel effect

[50] Algonquians viewing the images in 2006 attested to his accuracy of depiction: Stephanie Pratt, 'Truth and Artifice in the Visualisation of Native Peoples: From the Time of John White to the Beginning of the 18th Century', in *European Visions: American Voices*, ed. Kim Sloan (London: The British Museum, 2009), 33.
[51] Pratt, 'Truth and Artifice', quoting Hilliard, 34.
[52] From 'A Defence of Poetry' in Sir Philip Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 80–81. The whole 'Defence' argues that the purpose of poets/artists to is to show 'what may be and should be' rather than what is: 73-121.
[53] Joaneth Spicer, 'The Renaissance Elbow', in *A Cultural History of Gesture*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991), 84–128; Pratt, 'Truth', 34–35.
[54] Artist and ethnographer-historian Lucas de Heere, for example, uses the same comportments in his depictions of German soldiers, Saracens, tournament knights and the ancient English, as he envisioned them—though not for the Inuit: Lucas D'Heere, ''Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornemens divers, tant anciens que modernes, diligemment depeints au naturel par Luc Dheere peintre et sculpteur Gantois', 1550, Ghent University Library, Belgium (1550), f.106r [knights], f.117r [Saracens], f.124r [Inuit]. An alternate version of fig. 9 can be found on f.8v in Lucas De Heere, 'Corte Beschryvinghe van Engheland, Schotland, Ende Irland Ff. 1r-36r', 1573-1575, Add MS 28330, London: British Library, c.1570s. In

of the *contrapposto's* curving 'motion', compared it to 'rhetorical figures, whether they be *figures of thought* or *figures of speech*'.[55] One could aptly take this literary comparison to rhetorical 'figures' more literally in consideration of ethnographic images: as bodies designed to persuade.





Fig. 3 (left): John White, 'An Indian 'werowance', or chief, painted for a great solemn gathering: with three feathers, a bow and quiver', 1585-1593. Item no. 1906,0509.1.12. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 4 (right): Marble statue of a youthful Hercules, A.D. 69–96. Gift of Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, 1903. The Met Fifth Avenue, New York.

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the seventeenth century the Stuart kings commissioned two portrait series of ancient Scottish kings (drawn from the artists' imaginations), several exhibited the 'Renaissance elbow' and counterpose, e.g. Achaius, King of Scotland (796-828) 1684-86. RCIN 403334; James II, King of Scotland (1430-1460) 1684-86. RCIN 403285; Fergus II, King of Scotland (404-20) 1684-86. RCIN 403332, Great Gallery, Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh, or online: The Royal Collection https://www.rct.uk/collection.

[55] Quintilian, *Quintilian. With an English Translation, Book II*, ed. and trans. Harold Edgeworth Butler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 295; David Summers, 'Contrapposto: Style and Meaning in Renaissance Art', *The Art Bulletin* 59, no. 3 (1977): 336–61.

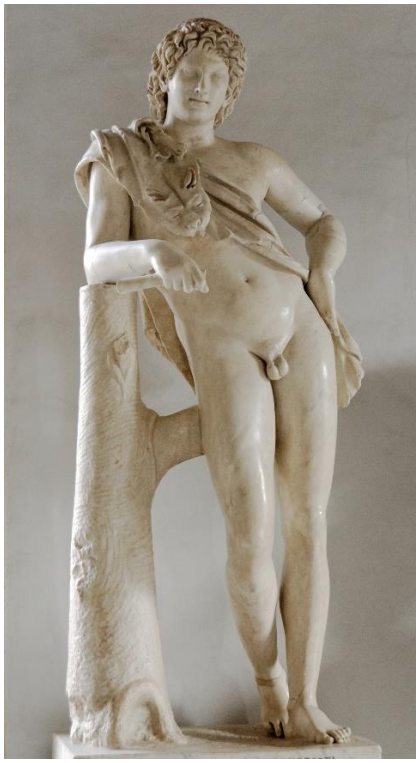




Fig. 5 (left): Leaning or Resting Satyr, ca. 130 AD copy of 4th century BC original by Praxiteles [115 versions of the Satyr exist]. Capitoline Museums, S 739. Fig. 6 (right): 'Soldats Alemans', Lucas d'Heere, 'Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre', University of Ghent Library, f.30r.





Fig. 7 (left): John White, 'Arnaq and Nutaaq, Inuit from Frobisher Bay; woman in sealskin parka with baby in hood', 1585-1593. Item no. 1906,0509.1.30. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Fig. 8 (right): John White, A 'Warrior neighbour of the Picts', 1585-1593. Item no. 1906,0509.1.28. © The Trustees of the British Museum.





Fig. 9 (left): 'Les premiers Anglois comme ils alloyent en guerre du temps de Julius Cesar', Lucas d'Heere, Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre, University of Ghent Library, f.60r. Fig. 10 (right): Jacob Jacobsz De Wet II (1641/2-1697), 'Fergus I, King of Scotland (330-305 B.C.)', 1684-86. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

Comparing these figures demonstrates how the unknown was made familiar and comprehensible: the 'noble/ignoble savages' of historical fantasy and contemporary reality are 'civilised' by drawing upon artistic convention, classical and medieval mythistories, and European physical ideals in their creation. De Léry, whose renderings of the Tupinambá of Brazil were far less faithful than White's, took yet greater liberties, employing what Rubiés describes as 'mental images': '"contemplations" for the European imagination, in which, like a game of dressing up dolls, the Tupinambá appeared' in a variety of imagined, often ludicrous, outfits.[56] White had introduced his drawings as 'pictures of sundry things collected and counterfeited according to the truth' (fig. 11). This interesting conjunction of words again highlights the gap between modern and early modern definitions of 'truth'.[57]

[56] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Texts, Images, and the Perception of "Savages" in Early Modern Europe', in *European Visions: American Voices*, ed. Kim Sloan (London: The British Museum, 2009), 120–30, at 120. Rubiés also examines how 'classicizing ideals' transformed later artist's images, especially de Bry's.
[57] On notions of 'counterfeiting', see also in Sidney, 'A Defence of Poetry', 79–81.

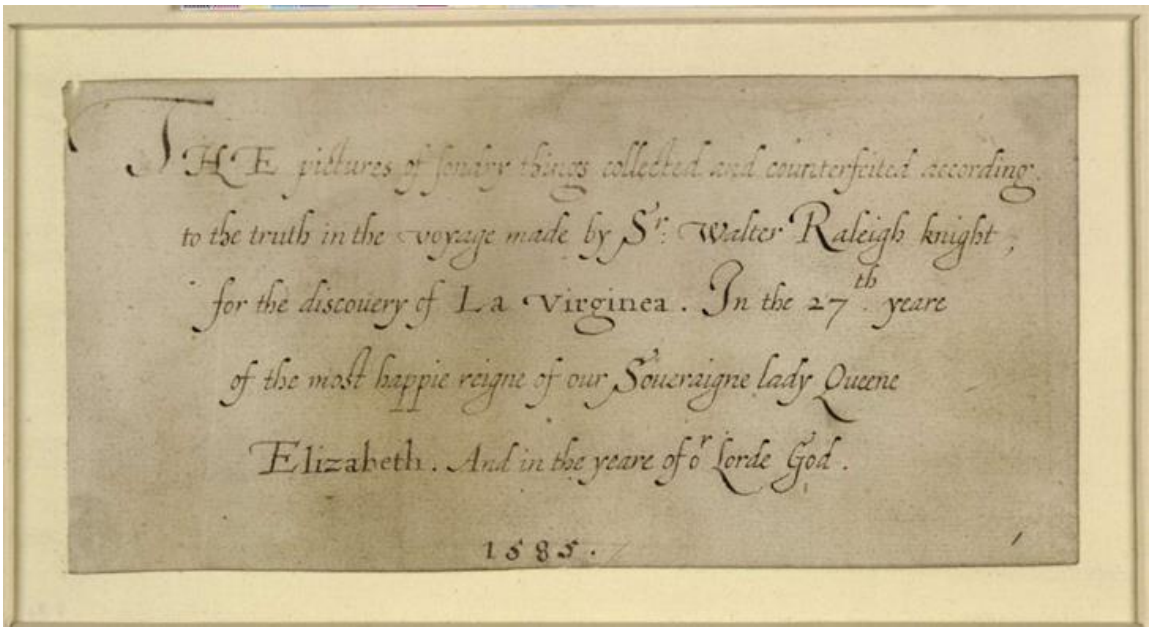


Fig. 11: John White, 'Title-page to a set of drawings connected with the West Indies', 1585-1593. Item no. 1906,0509.1.1. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Despite this disparity, there is no doubt that many of the images and descriptions of the New World were met with disbelief (then and now). There was an early tendency to deny the existence or relevance of the '*novus mundus*' on grounds of it being too different or distant. Cochleus epitomised this view in *Cosmographiae Pomponii Melae* (1512): 'Whether it be true or fabricated it contributes little or nothing to knowledge of Cosmography and History. For both the people and the places in that land are obscure and nameless to us… Consequently, it is of no concern of geography'.[58] Part of this dismissal was due to a general rejection of 'new' knowledge—often a denial of its very existence rather than straightforward distrust. The Renaissance was concerned with recovering ancient knowledge that was lost, not that had never been known: thus, one of the key geographical texts published in response to Columbus and Vespucci's voyages was titled *Lands Recently Rediscovered, Paesi novamenti retrovati* (Vicenza, 1507)—and, as Wootton vividly conveys—this idea was so ingrained in European society that scholars went to comical lengths to maintain their position, such as the friend of Galileo who simply refused to look through a telescope.[59]

[58] Campbell, *Witness*, at 216.
[59] Wootton, *Invention of Science*, 73–80.

Once the existence of new knowledge—and that of the New World, which had legitimized it—was established, a language of invention and innovation had to be created to express these novel ideas, and also a new word: 'discovery'.[60] Unused to this radical acceptance of empirical discovery, and the unwelcome doubts over knowledge established by ancient texts that it hinted at, Europeans found it difficult (in this early modern 'post-truth' environment) to discern truth from fiction in reports of the New World, a task which was further complicated by their cross-fertilisation with other literary forms/fictions. Some fantastical reports—considered products of deceit, conjecture, 'propaganda' or political expediency—have recently been shown to have some basis in fact, and to have been far more rigorous in their method and conclusions than previously understood.[61]

In its naming, conception and depiction, the New World was therefore a fertile site for the European colonial imagination, intermingling falsehoods with the fantastical and factual. Undoubtedly, cynicism and deception contributed to the exaggerated claims made of the Americas, making it difficult to separate promotional rhetoric from genuine belief. Indeed, so effective was *Utopia*'s parody of travel narratives, that suspicion and doubt fell upon the genre as a whole.[62] Since the credibility of travellers and colonial projectors was suspect, to avoid accusations of deceit or pretence, many accounts and colonial projects, including Vaughan's, were prefaced by declarations stating that the writer was certainly *not* discussing a *Utopia*.[63]

Yet it is equally apparent from close examination of colonial projects and projectors, particularly those that 'failed', that this rhetoric existed alongside genuine belief in the New World as a place of hope and fulfilment of dreams. Campbell suggests: 'the longing for another world seems to have been a *real* pressure on the construction of the Edenic narratives of America. Though "Eden" came to obscure terrible exploitations of people, nations, land, and resources, and came to it soon, that does not give us leave, as curious historians of culture, to dismiss the element of true desire in the false consciousness of

[60] Ibid., 57–109, especially fns. on 58-61.
[61] For instance, Raleigh's *Guiana*: Whitehead, 'Introduction', 1–116; Paul R. Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
[62] Campbell, *Witness*, 217.
[63] Ibid., 217.

colonial empire'.[64] This desire was backed up by belief in the possibility of a new sort of society in the New World: a new 'perfected' world.

Modern disciplinary boundaries demarcate the types of sources studied and the approaches taken to them by different scholars, and separate documents into fiction/non-fiction, with sub-categories and divisions within each. As we have seen, early modern textual genres hardly mirrored our own, but borders did divide scholarly fields—though they cut through different grounds. Examining Hugh Plat's notebooks, Vine observes 'the extraordinary diversity of his interests…"his learning smacked of the universal, the boundaries existing between various fields of knowledge did not deter him from exploring any intellectual realm that attracted him"'.[65] This catholic approach was similarly true of colonial projectors like Gerbier and Vaughan, whose interests and works resist classification within disciplinary boundaries or source types—even simple separation into fiction/non-fiction. Yet, while studies of early travel literature readily admit the malleability of boundaries between the imaginary and factual, scholars of colonial plans and constitutions tend to expect their authors to possess greater degrees of prescience, rationality and knowledge than their travel-writing contemporaries (or that of the many intelligent people who studied alchemy, believed in witches and Prester John's Christian empire, and included Eden, the Ark and El Dorado on broadly-accurate maps).[66]

Colonial plans are judged by their practicality, realism and feasibility and most often examined among and against sources dealing with economics and trade, military actions, transport and settlement. As of course they should be. However, practicability and implementation are not the only measures against which we should view such sources. In a recent book the legal scholar, Philip Allott, 'rejects the mainstream consensus that constrains debate within the confines of feasibility as interpreted by the powers that be: "To disprove a claim that a set of ideas is merely Utopian, it is useful simply to recall that those ideas contain a future which is not only possible but also necessary, and that the human future is always an imaginary potentiality until it becomes a present actuality"'.[67] The connection of colonial projects to other sources that discuss 'imaginary potentiality'—with

[64] Campbell, *Wonder and Science*, 1.
[65] Vine quotes Charles F. Mullet in Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), at 158.
[66] For example, Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possession*; Campbell, *Witness*.
[67] Quoted in Richard Falk, 'Review of Eutopia'. By Philip Allott. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2016', *The American Journal of International Law* 112, no. 2 (2018): 344.

which they have much in common—should not be dismissed: those that describe imaginary places, imagined societies, utopian or ideal commonwealths, places or behaviours; broadly, sources stemming from what Lyman Tower Sargent calls 'social dreaming'.[68]

Social dreams

The 'discovery' of the New World allowed the imaginary 'nowhere' of the ideal commonwealth to be transposed in a projector's imagination to the broad 'somewhere' of the Americas. Analysing colonial projects within a broader category of sources describing model societies and ideal behaviours more accurately reflects a contemporary view of the New World and the 'opportunities' colonialism offered. It is also a useful and enlightening analytical tool, offering insight into early modern mentalities. However, disciplinary stratification and concerns have led to compartmentalised study of these interrelated sources. For instance, the utopias (broadly conceived) of More, Bacon, Harrington, and somewhat later, Cavendish and Neville, are widely studied by historians and other scholars, but only a handful of studies relate the texts to colonising plans. Likewise, while plays and prose fiction, including utopian literature, are commonly discussed in the context of colonialism or travel more broadly, literary studies rarely, if ever, incorporate analyses of specific colonial projects.

Mary Campbell proposes that 'in the discourse of travellers, entrepreneurs, and propagandists, the *fictionality* of Utopia (Noplace) had been established as an opposite pole to the geographical reality of lands they hoped to discover and exploit (principally, North America, Guiana, and Cathay)'.[69] On one hand this is true, as evidenced by travel/colonial writers' protestations and rejections of *Utopia*, yet these very denials highlight their interconnection; as the Manuels propose, 'imaginary societies are situated along the general path of actual conquests, discoveries and explorations'.[70] Indeed, the majority of sources discussed here sit somewhere on the spectrum of fictionality and reality, of real places and imagined places. This is typified by Gerbier's two, virtually identical, manuscripts: one intended for a (fairly-vague) geographic location in the 'southern parts' of the Americas,

[68] Lyman Tower Sargent, 'The Three Faces of Utopianism Revisited', *Utopian Studies* 5, no. 1 (1994): 1–37.
[69] Campbell, *Witness*, 212.
[70] Frank Edward Manuel and Fritzie Prigohzy Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 21.

while the other is a 'utopia' intended for no specified location: his imagined state is both 'nowhere' and 'somewhere'.

Campbell's assumption that no place and some place cannot be the same place is also belied by colonial schemes that sought to implement the policies and socio-political structures of More's republic of Utopia (rather than being merely utopian). Vasco de Quiroga, the first bishop of Michoacán, Mexico, wrote in 1535 that the New World was called such 'not because it was newly found, but because it is in its people and in almost every-thing as was the first and golden age'.[71] The past was not another country; it was a New World. The idea that America offered not just the opportunity to resurrect a European golden age—of feudalism, classical myth or Arthurian chivalry—but was, itself, somehow out of time with the rest of the world, existing in a lost past, is one that will recur. Zavala tells us that Quiroga, a devotee of More, believed Spain should adopt 'Utopian rule in regulating the life of the Indians'; indeed, that Utopia's exemplary model 'should serve as the Magna Charta of European civilization in the New World'.[72] The rules drawn up to govern Santa Fé de México were modified and scaled down but nonetheless based upon those outlined in More's text.[73] Others too, mooted the imaginary republic's regulations in plans for the Americas, including William Petty in the late seventeenth century, examined in Chapter 4.[74] Zavala's view is that Quiroga's ambition to create Utopia in New Spain emerged from 'a rarefied political atmosphere where the world of ideas became confused with reality'.[75] This is to miss the point that political ideas create social reality and, in fact, that much of what we believe to be real, such as nationhood, exists only as a social construction.

Other sources that relate to or describe the case study projects similarly fuse the imaginary and real. Though the primary concern of historians of politics, philosophy or law is in how a state is governed and distributes power, rather than the style and character of its culture as explored here, they would recognise similarities between sources that detail ideal future behaviours or rules, intended to be enacted or followed 'somewhere', i.e. a geographic location (e.g. laws, constitutions, charters or contracts operating within nation states, colonies), and sources that describe the imagined ideal behaviours or laws correlated

[71] Silvio Zavala, 'The American Utopia of the Sixteenth Century'. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1947): 337–47, 339.
[72] Ibid., 339, 341.
[73] Ibid., 346.
[74] Rhodri Lewis, 'Introduction', in *William Petty on the Order of Nature* (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2012), 68–69.
[75] Zavala, 'American Utopia', 339.

to ‘somewhere’ *or* to ‘nowhere’ (e.g. political theories, philosophies, manifestoes, theories of justice, ideal commonwealths, utopias), and which may-or-may-not be intended for real-world implementation. All of these sources posit, prescribe or proscribe the behaviour of imaginary actors (being imagined, they are imaginary—even if theorised to be living in a specific geographic location).

Boundaries between disciplines, genres and sources are malleable—often artificial and unstable. Though ‘failed’ colonial projects and travel narratives are described pejoratively as utopian they are seldom compared to that genre. This is partly due to competing and unresolved definitions of utopia and utopianism (is it utopia/eutopia/dystopia/eunomia…a genre/impulse/mood/direction/category?) and to debates about the inclusion or exclusion of various texts, societies or projects in the genre.[76] The point at which ‘utopia’ became a broad field of enquiry as opposed to referring directly to *Utopia* has been much debated.[77] Seventeenth-century writers certainly did not find themselves encumbered by a set of pre-agreed utopian stylistic conventions or definitions. Often the attempt by academics to constrain or confine texts within the bounds of the utopian genre (of their own definition) creates struggle or perceives error where there is none. Davis supposes Bacon to be ‘trapped in the exigencies of the utopian mode’ but Bacon is only trapped if he assumes Davis’s definition of it.[78] No attempt will be made to coerce or define utopia here, rather an acknowledgement of shared qualities and interests between certain sources that describe imagined communities and/or ideal cities, places, qualities, behaviours or forms of government.

This is in keeping with the authors of such texts, who offer a variety of descriptions and intentions for their creations. Texts categorised as ‘utopias’ by modern scholars were seldom described as such by their authors. They may not have considered their own work to have much connection to *Utopia*/utopias, conceiving their own imaginary society to serve quite different purposes. For instance, Bacon commented on the pointlessness of ‘imaginary commonwealths’ on several occasions yet wrote about one in *New Atlantis* (1626);

[76] Sargent, ‘Three Faces’; Ruth Levitas, *Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); James Colin Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society : A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516-1700* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).
[77] Tobin L. Craig, ‘On the Significance of the Literary Character of Francis Bacon’s New Atlantis for an Understanding of His Political Thought’, *The Review of Politics* 72, no. 02 (2010): 337-47 offers a good summary.
[78] Davis, *Utopia*, 136–37.

Harrington thought of *Oceana* (1656) as his 'child' but called it 'only a political romance'; Lodwick designated his manuscript rather clumsily as 'pretending a description of a country not named' (ca. 1655-1679, unpublished); while Barnes called *Gerania* (1675) 'a Witty Fancy'.[79]

Margaret Cavendish's preface to *The Blazing World* (1666), published with her *Observations on Experimental Philosophy* (1666 and 1668 editions), offers an illuminating description of the nature of this work and an explanation as to why she 'added this piece of fancy to [her] philosophical observations, and joined them as two worlds at the end of their poles':

> The end of reason, is truth; the end of fancy, is fiction: but mistaken me not, when I distinguish *fancy* from reason; I mean not as if fancy were not made by the rational parts of matter; but by *reason* I understand a rational search and enquiry into the causes of natural effects; and by *fancy* a voluntary creation or production of the mind, both being effects, or rather actions of the rational parts of matter … But lest my fancy should stray too much, I chose such a fiction as would be agreeable to the subject treated of in the former parts; it is a description of a new world … the first part whereof is *romantical*, the second philosophical, and the third is merely *fancy*, or (as I may call it) *fantastical*.[80]

Cavendish separates reason and fancy by what they focus upon: 'man's fancy [is] framed in his own mind…whether…really existent without his mind or not', but philosophy is no 'fiction of the mind', since its focus was the external, natural world; but she nevertheless addresses philosophy within her work of 'fancy', rather than merely joining the work of fancy, *The Blazing World*, to the natural philosophical work, *Observations*, through proximity in publication.[81] The description above could be applied to many 'utopian' works and much of the travel and colonial literature or maps of the time, as they too employ romance, science and fantasy to join two worlds: the Old and the New, or the Americas of the imagination and the America in geographic space.

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[79] Craig, 'New Atlantis', 14; James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana (1656)*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock, *Harrington: 'The Commonwealth of Oceana' and 'A System of Politics'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Francis Lodwick, *A Country Not Named*, ed. William Poole (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 83; Joshua Barnes, *Gerania* (London: Obadiah Blagrave, 1675), A4v.

[80] Margaret Cavendish, 'The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World (1666)', in *Political Writings*, ed. Susan James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5–6.

[81] Cavendish, 'Description', 5.

Like many of the sources discussed here, *Blazing World* is a blend of subjects, styles and genres. Marina Leslie 'suggests it would be hard to find a genre not invoked in its pages, which include not only travel narrative and romance but also utopia, epic, biography, cabbala, Lucianic fable, Menippean satire, natural history, and morality play, among others, each making its own claims on interpretation and each orienting the reader to a different understanding of the texts setting, structure, and central project'.[82] This neatly summarises why similarly genre-defying colonial projects might be set aside by Atlantic or colonial historians, concerned with the practise of trade and settlement. For instance, Vaughan's equally wide-ranging book, encouraging settlement in his Newfoundland colony, is set in Apollo's Court with a cast of characters drawn from life, myth and history who debate moral decay and opine on the proto-origins of, and minor schisms within, the reformed Church.[83]

Nevertheless, Vaughan, like 'utopian' authors and several other colonial projectors, saw greater opportunity in colonialism than profit alone: an opportunity to go back to make a new and ideal—or, at the very least improved—society in the New World. This is indicative of the spirit of the age. There was an outpouring of texts and images across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that operated at different scales to define the ideal form and behaviour of individuals, social groups, institutions, cities, colonies or states. These ideals were expressed through different media and genres: conduct literature and portraits; utopian texts; colonial plans and projects; plans or paintings of ideal cities, fortifications or buildings; maps and images of Edenic imagined lands and peoples; and reformist or revolutionary projects. There were also ideal ways of seeing, travelling and ordering knowledge, and *desiderata* defined the direction and methods required to achieve the greatest advancements of knowledge.[84] Even these 'wish lists' express an ideal future in which their defined aims would be fulfilled. It is no surprise that Vaughan, Gerbier and other colonisers discussed here were involved with the production of such texts, designs and undertakings.

What these sources share is an imagined, or imaginary, vision of an idealised, satirised or dystopian place and/or people. Many manipulate linear time, projecting their vision into an alternate present or future, multiple futures or an imagined past. Collectively,

[82] Marina Leslie, 'Mind the Map: Fancy, Matter, and World Construction in Margaret Cavendish's Blazing World', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 35 (2012): 85–86.
[83] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*.
[84] Vera Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3–31.

they express an idea that the world could be ordered 'correctly'. Once found, this ideal could be replicated. It was necessary simply to find a model of perfection: in nature, in the past, in mythology, in ancient texts, in revelation, in geometry—and each of the case study projects looks to one or more of these in the creation of their imagined colonies. What we find is a multiplicity of, often contrary, ideals connected by the twin desires to order or re-order the world while incorporating the best models of the past (and addressing the anxieties of the present).

Ideals operate in the sources above at various scales. Just as one might fashion oneself, so too could the world, and New World, be fashioned to meet such ideals. For instance, mirrors and frames are a frequent metaphor or image, sometimes used in conjunction with, or in place of, metaphors of light, which likewise concern reflection and the power to illuminate and draw the eye. Raleigh suggests that the design and construction of oneself is at God's behest, since 'God gave man to himselfe, to be his owne guide, his owne workeman, and his owne painter, that he might frame or describe unto himselfe what he pleased, and make election of his owne forme'.[85] If you were a ruler, you could frame yourself to reflect the image revealed in one of the 'Mirrors for Princes' texts, a type of advice literature for rulers that had its roots in the writings of Xenophon and flourished in the medieval and Renaissance periods. These mirrors did not reflect reality, the true face of a ruler, but their ideal self. It was a reflection to cultivate and fashion. In one sense, the mirror metaphor here operated like a contemporary portrait artist, offering a reflection of the subject's 'true' self by presenting their 'best graces', as Hilliard recommended.[86] (It was the idealised faces of portraiture that led to Cromwell's request for a portrait that offered a true mirror to his features: 'warts and all').

The metaphor and reflection could also be flipped: the mirror held up to expose the flaws, immorality or punishment of its subject, such as in *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1559) or utopian satires, which sought to expose society's ills through comic reflection.[87] Maps likewise were thought to be a mirror to the world. The playwright Elizabeth Cary, whose husband Henry, Lord Falkland, planned a colony in Newfoundland, translated Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), rather optimistically, as *The Mirror of the Worlde* (1598) (as

[85] Raleigh, *History*, 32.
[86] Pratt, 'Truth', quoted on 34.
[87] Anon., *A Myrroure for Magistrates* (London: Thomæ Marshe, 1559).

did the French translation).[88] But the two are quite different: a mirror reflects the truth while a theatre is participatory and performative, using illusion and imagination to build a narrative (a far better description of Ortelius' maps). The maps of Cary's 'Mirror of the Worlde' were, in some regards, very like the 'Mirrors for Princes' genre, offering a desirable or hopeful—embellished—version of the globe rather than a reflection of geographic reality.

Gerbier draws the utopian and 'Mirrors for Princes' traditions together, highlighting their interconnection. His 'little Treaty for the framing of a new world in florida' is a mirror of his manuscript detailing the laws for an ideal society of unspecified location, which is itself found within a larger manuscript: 'a Secret of Sciences [and] Mirror of Virtue. And Several Secrets Useful to Princes and Peoples'.[89] Within the texts, Gerbier followed Bacon's suggestion that we look to nature for our mirror; that, if we 'reflect this light of Nature upon Matter of Estate' the (natural) social order is revealed.[90] While Europe must work to find and harness the secrets of nature, Bensalem in the *New Atlantis* had already achieved this: 'indeed, if there be a mirror in the world, worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country'.[91] Just as the newly-found America was reflected in the imaginary nowheres of *Utopia* and *New Atlantis*, schemes for the colonisation of the Americas sought to mirror the ideal places of fiction and the golden past. Vaughan, like Gerbier, pulls past, future, myth and imagination together in a Newfoundland which is both fishing station and home to Apollo's ideal 'Imperiall Citie… the mirrour and fountaine of moralitie'.[92] As Kevin McDonald writes of the utopian discourse surrounding the colonisation of Madagascar, 'A double-prism mirror thus emerged with new worlds reflecting old, old worlds reflecting new, creating an early modern hall of mirrors that blended previously separate worlds into one'.[93]

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[88] Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, 'Cary [Née Tanfield], Elizabeth, Viscountess Falkland', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

[89] Balthazar Gerbier, 'Secretum virtutis et scientiarum speculum / Miroir de la vertu', 1654, MS 2505, 28–39, Wellcome Library, London.

[90] Francis Bacon, *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon, 7 vols.*, ed. James Spedding (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1808), from 'Discourse on Union of Kingdoms', 3:94.

[91] Francis Bacon, 'New Atlantis', in *Three Early Modern Utopias*, ed. Susan Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 169.

[92] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 58.

[93] Kevin P. McDonald, *Pirates, Merchants, Settlers, and Slaves* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 64; Kevin McDonald, '"The Dream of Madagascar": English Disasters and Pirate Utopias of the Early Modern Indo-Atlantic World', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 98; 95–114. For further see Chloë Houston, 'Introduction', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 1–14.

Why ideas matter: imagined communities and social imaginaries

This thesis explores and attempts to restore the cultural visions of a handful of relatively unexplored 'imaginary New Worlds', each of which draw upon competing ideals in their execution. The societies they imagine sit within a broader category of imagined communities (e.g. the LGBTQ community, a nation) and social imaginaries (how society as a whole is imagined). A brief discussion of these concepts explains why the vision, and ideas supporting it, in these colonial projects matter, not just their execution. In his discussion of nationalism, Benedict Anderson explains that virtually all the communities we consider 'real' are imagined since we are unlikely to meet or ever know the individuals within them.[94] Here he first quotes then responds to Ernest Gellner:

> "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist". The drawback to this formulation, however, is that Gellner is so anxious to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretences that he assimilates 'invention' to 'fabrication' and 'falsity', rather than to 'imagining' and 'creation'. In this way he implies that 'true' communities exist which can be advantageously juxtaposed to nations. In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.[95]

The last line summarises the approach taken here succinctly.

While imagined communities are not 'real', it does not mean they have no power or material force, as Armitage and Braddick argue in discussion of the Atlantic World, a community imagined by scholars since the 1980s to which these varied colonial projects contribute. Though they do not term it as an 'imagined community', it is nonetheless what they describe: 'The British Atlantic might be an imprecise geographical expression but it was a real social phenomenon. Over time, identifiable networks of trust, trade, and kinship grew up between British people moving in this larger Atlantic world. Even though the spatial boundaries of these networks were indistinct and shifting, these connections can still be

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For further on Madagascar, see also chap. 6 in Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 181-218.

[94] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006).

[95] Ibid., 6 and fn.11.

traced. They in turn provide a meaningful context for comparative history: it is not an arbitrary creation of historical scholarship but corresponds to real networks of social, political, and economic connection in the past'.[96] Though early modern people operating in this network would not have called it 'the British Atlantic World', they would undoubtedly have felt themselves part of the community it describes, whether in colony or metropole, but would simply have thought it 'British/English' (even those rejecting it), certainly until Independence.

Another imagined community is society itself: the 'social imaginary', a concept developed in sociology with varied definitions and articulations. Broadly, it is 'the way people imagine their social existence' and includes a sense of moral order.[97] In line with Anderson's rebuttal to Gellner, the social imaginary should not be viewed in opposition to 'reality', as false or made-up; since, though imagined, it constitutes and creates social reality.[98] Though it is, in this sense, 'real' the shifting boundaries and rationales for the social imaginary, and its siblings, spatial, cultural and colonial imaginaries, limit its usefulness to quantitative sociological studies; but its value here is in recognising the power of ideas to create imaginaries that, in turn, direct behaviour.

The societies imagined in these New World projects are drawn from wider beliefs that constituted social and colonial imaginaries, beliefs about nationhood (particularly the emerging sense of a unified Britain under the Stuarts), history, morality and colonialism within early modern European culture. They are interesting in themselves as expressions of a desire to change and remould society, but they also have wider value in their reflection of, contribution to and creation of the social imaginaries that constituted early modern societies and cultures. As Regine Herbrik tells us, the social imaginary also includes 'imaginations of the past and of history' as well as "imagined futures" or "fictional expectations"'.[99] The case study projects considered here express clear ideas about the kind of culture they are seeking to build in the New World, drawing on specific historical

[96] David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 'Introduction', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), x-xx. at 3.
[97] Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 23, 26.
[98] Regine Herbrik, 'Editorial for the Special Issue "Scopes of the Social Imaginary in Sociology" in the ÖZS', *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Soziologie* 44 (2019): 1–15, at 7. Quoting Jens Beckert. Herbrik offers an excellent summary of definitions/interpretations.
[99] Ibid., 7.

narratives to build their imagined future in the New World and, by doing so, reflect their social imaginary.

Cultural narratives are one of the ways the social imaginary and imagined communities within this are formed. These tell us stories about what has happened in history and how we should view the past, our nation, our social group and 'others' (whoever is not 'us'). Alongside these cultural narratives are cultural practises, rituals and traditions, which likewise contribute to social imaginaries, that often transcend established regional/national borders. In colonial projects, specific rituals or cultural practises might be promoted or prohibited (sometimes by law) with powerful consequences for those living in the colony. For instance, the intended socio-cultural impact of Gerbier's rigid clothing laws which vividly identify different groups of society through colour and style, might be easily (re)imagined by watching Hulu's recent dramatization of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (figs. 12 and 13).

Some cultural traditions or forms are outlined, whether made explicit or hinted at, in the primary sources and may reflect social norms, or be unusual inventions or revivals of older cultural practises. These can be traced to reflect interests and/or the desire to alter or revive traditions found in broader 'British' or European culture and may be radical or conservative. As Taylor makes explicit, though the social imaginary is a collective creation it does not demand uniformity: 'our images of moral order, although they make sense of some of our actions, are by no means necessarily tilted toward the status quo. They may also underlie revolutionary practice...just as they may underwrite the established order'.[100]

[100] Taylor, *Imaginaries*, 28.



Fig. 12: Costumes for Wives (Serena Joy), Aunts (Aunt Lydia) and Handmaids (Ofglen) for *The Handmaid's Tale* TV series. Courtesy of Hulu.



Fig. 13: Brides, 'Eyes', Wives and Handmaids in a wedding scene from The Handmaid's Tale TV series. Courtesy of Hulu.



Fig. 14: Handmaids at the National Mall, Washington D.C., from *The Handmaid's Tale* TV series. Courtesy of Hulu.

Nationalistic narratives, discerned in several colonial schemes, are part of what James Scott calls 'public transcripts': the self-portrait of the dominant in society, as they would have themselves seen.[101] For instance, from a colonising nation's perspective the failure to implant colonial rule in a colony might be explained by the colony being plagued by ill fortune or perpetrated by fools, while from the other side it might be evidence of the failure of British imperial power and the hubris and arrogance of Britain (e.g. in the face of plucky, nascent American exceptionalism). Scott proposes that what is usually retained by

[101] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

nations, in the form of government records, literature and other cultural forms, is the 'public transcript' of those in authority: how they wish to be seen and how they wish history and their actions to be interpreted.[102]

Cultural narratives and practises—whether they are 'public transcripts', from the perspective of those at the top of society, or 'hidden transcripts' those that narrate the experience of those who are subjugated or side-lined in society—can have power and longevity, directing the actions of different communities. Older national boundaries, regional allegiances, or shared social identities for instance, may hold more power and provide better explanation for historical events and current conflicts than those that are currently drawn on maps. Recent events have revealed multiple narratives about what America and an American are, many that are diametrically opposed. The maps of the mind may hold more truth for many people who see themselves as part of a different, or older, nation or community than that to which they are on paper believed to belong. The ideas that form imagined communities are powerful, as is made explicit by Anderson, who observes that, 'the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings'.[103]

The New World was an imaginary place of hopes and ideals as well as a real-world space, and the desire to maintain the dream created a cycle of idealism and failure that was repeated throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The reasons for the persistence of some cultural narratives and the fading of others are complex, often formed from nostalgia for a place or period in the past, and associated cultural and historical myths and legends.[104] To understand the New World (or anywhere), just as to understand places now, is to explore the range of imaginaries or imagined communities that formed their conception: older models such as feudalism, medieval chivalry, classical culture, legends and mythologies, integrated with new ideas and visions of the future in a palimpsest of imaginaries that continues to have long-lasting and global consequences, contributing to place-making and persisting in national narratives. We should not ignore the imaginary Americas of history.

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[102] Scott, *Domination,* 2, 18.
[103] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.
[104] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

1: The Self-Image of the Coloniser as Hero of 'Art and Armes': William Vaughan and his *Golden Fleece* (1626)

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive and heroical works.

Sir Francis Bacon, 'Of Plantations'.[1]

Sir William Vaughan (c. 1575-1641), a Welsh poet, legal scholar, parliamentarian, sometime intelligencer for the Crown, and New World coloniser, saw the opportunity to make his homeland anew in the island of Newfoundland. Newfoundland was to be the answer to the moral decline and abject poverty he saw among his fellow Welshmen. It would become New Cambriol: a new Wales to remedy and remake the old, with none of the deficiencies of the original. To that end, in 1616 Vaughan bought a large grant of land from the Newfoundland Company and established a short-lived colony between 1617 and 1619.[2] With his colony faltering, he offset the financial burden by subdividing his lands to Sir Henry Cary and Sir George Calvert, whose enterprises will be examined alongside Vaughan's in chapters two and three.[3] Vaughan continued to encourage plantation in his colony throughout the 1620s and early 1630s and, since no extant personal papers have been found, these promotional works provide our only source for his vision.[4] However, in 1637 Charles I granted a patent for the whole island to the colonist David Kirke, overruling the

[1] Francis Bacon, *Francis Bacon: Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 407.

[2] The site of this has been disputed but Cell argues convincingly for Renews, as does Pope. Prowse had backed Trepassey since Mason's map (fig. 20) marks 'Colchos' there. Recent archaeological digs offer evidence of seventeenth-century settlement at both sites. Peter Edward Pope, *Fish Into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Williamsburg, VA: OIEAHC and the University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 52; Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 83, esp. fn. 5; Gillian T. Cell, 'Introduction', in *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982), 22–23; Daniel Woodley Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), 111.

[3] William Vaughan, *The Newlander's Cure* (London: Nicholas Okes for F. Constable, 1630), A5r.

[4] William Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia: Quibus Nupti[a]e Regales Celebrantur, Memoria Regis Pacifici Renouatur, & Pr[a]Ecepta Necessaria Ad Rempublicam Nostram Fœliciter Administrandam Intexuntur: Reportata a Colchide Cambriola Ex Australissima Novæ Terræ Plaga, Opera & Studio Orphei Junioris* (London: William Stansby, 1625); reissued in 1630; [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*; Vaughan, *Newlander's Cure.*

objections of the existing grantees. Vaughan turned from planting colonies to the writing of Protestant religious tracts, publishing two shortly before his death in 1641.[5]

Interconnected themes emerge from Vaughan's colonial initiatives and publications: a desire to impose social and religious order and economic reform; the role and interplay of fantasy and fact in his conception of Newfoundland; and the use of history in the elucidation of his vision. The first chapter of four focusing on the island will address Vaughan's ambitions: for, variously, his texts, his colony, social and economic reform, and the personal fantasies of heroism and scholarly acclaim that are played out in his texts. The next chapter will look at his imaginative construction of New Cambriol and Newfoundland, principally through the publications he produced to support his colony between 1625 and 1630, and how contemporary intellectual culture influenced the style and form of his texts and colonial vision.[6] The following two chapters, expanding on these themes, will explore how colonisers from Great Britain joined highly practical plans with myths and legends in their creation of colonial Newfoundland across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and how the reforms outlined by Vaughan and his partners' intended to shape lived experience. Notions of place, space and identity will also be examined by drawing on promotional literature, reports, maps, and correspondence.

Atlantic, imperial and colonial histories naturally address the constitutional/governmental implications and material consequences of plantation and imperial expansion. Here, examination of Vaughan's vision for New Cambriol foregrounds the formative and enduring role of fantasy, desire and myth in European and settlers' conceptions of the Americas. Vaughan's insertion into *The Golden Fleece* as both 'Sir William Vaughan' (an idealised version of himself) and his alter ego 'Orpheus Junior' (emulating the demigod and hero of ancient myth), offers unique insight into a coloniser's intimate fantasies and into the speculative spaces opened up by colonialism, which allowed colonisers to remodel society and reinvent themselves in their imagined New Worlds. The

[5] William Vaughan, *The Church Militant* (London: Thomas Paine for Humfrey Blunden, 1640); William Vaughan, *The Soules Exercise* (London: Thomas and Richard Cotes for Humphrey Blunden, 1641).

[6] Traiano Boccalini, *The New-Found Politicke Disclosing the Secret Natures and Dispositions as Well of Priuate Persons as of Statesmen and Courtiers; Wherein the Gouernments, Greatnesse, and Power of the Most Notable Kingdomes and Common-Wealths of the World Are Discovered*, trans. and ed. William Vaughan, John Florio, and Thomas Scott (London: Francis Williams, 1626); Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia*; *Golden Fleece*; Vaughan, *Newlander's*.

style and structure of his texts are equally pertinent as they reflect his intellectual world but also intend to shape colonial Newfoundland.

Styling himself 'Orpheus Junior', Vaughan sketches a picture of 'Cambriol Colchos', a chimerical version of the mythical island to which Jason and the Argonauts travelled to find the golden fleece in Classical myth.[7] He elaborates on this metaphor and his intentions for the colony most fully in the most intriguing and fantastical of his colonial texts—and the principal focus of this chapter: *The Golden Fleece* (1626). Here he sets out his views on the reform of society (broadly, reactionary on social issues and enterprising on economic issues) and his arguments for the colonisation of Newfoundland/Colchis in the court of the god Apollo on Mount Parnassus—this imperial and judicial court provides the frame for the entire book. In this Vaughan borrowed from Traiano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnasso* [*News from Parnassus]* (1612), excerpts from which he had published and partly-translated in 1626.[8]

Vaughan draws upon the imaginary testimony of historical and mythical figures and well-known contemporaries to set forth his argument and lay out his plan to remove 'Errours of Religion, the Vices and Decayes of the Kingdome' and to restore wealth and trade to 'Great Britaine' through the colonisation of Newfoundland.[9] Witnesses include, amongst myriad others: Tacitus, Sir Francis Drake, Chaucer, the goddess Minerva, Thomas Becket, and the cartographer and coloniser, John Mason. In so doing, Vaughan's imaginary Newfoundland entangles fur-trading and cod-fishing with Classical myth, medieval Welsh and English history, contemporary policy and politics, Latin poetry, Italian satire, social and religious commentary, and early Church history to present a perfected plantation, in which the socio-religious and political problems of Britain are erased—if not in Britain, in New Cambriol—and the challenges of defending and financing his colony are resolved.

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[7] In Classical literature and geography Colchis was located in what is now Georgia on the Black Sea. Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia*, 1625; [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*; Vaughan, *Newlander's*. Stephen Parmenius, a Hungarian who travelled with Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, made an earlier allusion to this myth, comparing their own departure to Newfoundland to that of the Argo, and Athene watching 'Jason's crew put out / Into the river Phasis': *De Navagatione* (1582) reprinted and translated in Stephen Parmenius, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius. The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583*, trans. and eds. David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 82–105; at 95.

[8] Boccalini, *New-Found Politicke*, see dedication to the king. Boccalini's *Ragguagli* were first published in Italian, with three parts appearing between 1612-15.

[9] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, title page.

For the most part, Vaughan's literary works and colonial enterprises have been overlooked by historians, though he has received some recognition in other fields. He also met with greater success in his own time. A contemporary, Anthony à Wood, for instance, admired his skill in Latin poetry, describing him as 'our ingenious author', even if only 'indifferently [i.e. moderately] learned' in the law (despite his holding law degrees from Oxford and Vienna).[10] Before his attempts at colonisation, Vaughan was better known to his peers as a poet and Doctor of Law, who wrote commentaries on Juvenal and Perseus (now lost)—and known to the wider public as a writer of manuals for health, religious texts and *The Golden-Grove* (1600), a work named after the Vaughan family seat, which, like the *Fleece*, is difficult to categorise, though its full title gives indication of its ambition.[11] In style it is at times critical social commentary, complaint, ideal commonwealth and advice manual, and includes discussions of agricultural reform, religion, and poetry. Its only historiographic legacy pertains to Vaughan's views on the decay of hospitality and alms-giving and its cause: costly personal vanities and outward shows.[12] His works became more religious after his wife was killed by lightning in their Welsh home in 1608.[13] In response to perceived smears against her character, he wrote a quasi-mystical polemic against slander, *The Spirit of Detraction, Conjured and Convicted in Seven Circles* (1611).[14]

However, he was best known for his medical advice manual, *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health* (1600), which ran to at least six further expanded and revised editions, published under a variety of titles across thirty-three years.[15] He later combined his interest

[10] Anthony à Wood and Philip Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1815 Edition) 4 vols. (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1813), 2:444–46. For his poetry see William Vaughan, *Ερωτοπαίγνίον Pium* (London: Richard Johns, 1597); William Vaughan, *Ερωτοπαίγνίον Pium, Pt. 2* (London: George Shaw, 1598); William Vaughan, *Poematum Libellus* (London: George Shaw, 1598).

[11] The lost commentaries are mentioned in Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses* vol.*2*, and William Vaughan, *The Golden-Grove Moralized in Three Bookes: A Worke Very Necessary for All Such, as Would Know How to Gouerne Themselues, Their Houses, or Their Country* (London: Simon Stafford, 1600), with a second edition: William Vaughan, *The Golden-Grove: Moralized in Three Bookes* (London: Simon Stafford, 1608).

[12] Ibid., Bk. 2, Part 5: chapters 24-27; Felicity Heal, 'The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, no. 102 (1984): 66-93; Steve Hindle, 'Dearth, Fasting and Alms: The Campaign for General Hospitality in Late Elizabethan England', *Past & Present*, no. 172 (2001): 56, 58, 81.

[13] William Vaughan, *The Spirit of Detraction, Conjured and Convicted in Seven Circles. A Worke Both Divine and Morall*, W. Stansby (London, 1611), The Epistolary Preface. *The Spirit* was also reissued in 1611 and 1630 as William Vaughan, *The Arraignment of Slander Perjury Blasphemy, and Other Malicious Sins* (London: Francis Constable, 1630).

[14] A work of religious mania according to Ceri Davies, 'Vaughan, Sir William [Pseud. Orpheus Junior] (c. 1575–1641)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28151.

[15] Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 2:444-46; William Vaughan, *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health* (London: Richard Bradocke, 1600) and with revisions and slightly different titles also in 1602, 1607, 1612, 1617, 1626, 1633.

in medicine and colonisation in *The Newlander's Cure* (1630), which focused on ailments contracted by colonists. These emphasised the role of diet in good health—moral, as well as physical (e.g. no 'gluttonous diversities' or 'slibber-sauces').[16] He was not professionally trained and took an empirical approach to medicine: 'I am not a Practitioner of this noble Science, yet my chiefest pleasure ever since my childhood, hath been to read more books of Physicke then of any other, in regard of my own health, which I saw might have proved more distempered and crazed, if I trusted in others more then in my own in sight'.[17] Whether despite or because of his laity, his advice, often at odds with contemporary views, has proved to have remarkable longevity.[18] Though his recommendations have been derided as simplistic, many showed remarkable foresight and have been proven correct.[19]

In contrast, beyond his inclusion in D.W. Prowse and Gillian Cell's definitive histories of, respectively, Newfoundland and early 'English' colonial enterprises in Newfoundland, Vaughan has had little impact on the historiography of the province, let alone that of the British Atlantic.[20] Vaughan's contribution is usually elided by those of his colonial partners, particularly Calvert, as a result of the greater impression they made on the political and physical landscape.[21] He was even supplanted in his own time; for instance, Sir William Alexander (a participant in the *Fleece's* dialogue) twice published a map of the region that identified Vaughan's partners and their colonies but not his own (fig. 15).[22] Beyond cursory

[16] Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, see for instance Bk. 2, Pt. 5: chapters 24-25.

[17] William Vaughan, *Directions for Health: Naturall and Artificiall: Derived from the Best Phisitians, as Well Moderne as Antient*, 7th ed. (London: John Harison, 1633), Preface.

[18] William Frederick Marquardt, 'Introduction' in 'The Golden Grove by Sir William Vaughan. A Critical Edition in 2 Vols.' (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1949), xv.

[19] Marquardt calls them 'incredibly juvenile': ibid., xv; Anne Charlton, 'An Example of Health Education in the Early 17th Century: Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health by William Vaughan', *Health Education Research: Theory and Practice* 20, no. 6 (2005): 656.

[20] Cell, *English Enterprise*, 81–86; Prowse, *Newfoundland*, 110–12; 135–36. For some indication of the significance of and reverence towards Prowse's work within Newfoundland and Canada, see Jerry Bannister, 'Whigs and Nationalists: The Legacy of Judge Prowse's "History of Newfoundland"', *Acadiensis* 32, no. 1 (18 May 2002): 84–109. In broader works, he features briefly if it all, e.g. in Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 92–95; he is (literally) footnoted in Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 60, 94.

[21] Vaughan barely features in Pope, *Fish Into Wine,* 51–53; or in monographs focusing on the Calverts John D. Krugler, *English & Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 78; Luca Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649*, trans. Anita Weston (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 16.

[22] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (London: William Stansby, 1624); William Alexander, *The Mapp and Description of New-England: Together with a Discourse of Plantation, and Collonies: Also, a Relation of the Nature of the Climate, and How It Agrees with Our Owne Country England. How Neere It Lyes to New-*

references in broader histories there are short entries in biographical dictionaries or historical magazines, often about the influential Vaughans, who at one point held close to thirty lordships, a dozen country houses and six castles, as a whole.[23] This absence, however, leaves colonial histories the poorer, since the fusion of the practical and economic with the magical, imaginary and desirable in his colonial projections and self-fashioning perfectly encapsulate the fantastical and often contradictory views of the New World held by Europeans in this period, and the opportunities it offered for social fantasies or personal transfiguration.



Fig. 15: 'Map of New-England' from William Alexander, *The Mapp and Description of New-England; together with a discourse of plantation, and collonies… how it agrees with our owne country England. How neere it lyes to New-found-land, Virginia, Nova Francia, Canada, and other parts of the West-Indies* (London: [W. Stansby] for Nathaniel Butter, 1630), A^2 B-G^4. Call #: STC 342. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Found-Land, *Encouragement to Colonies* (London: W. Stansby for Nathaniel Butter, 1630). The map does not appear in the 1625 edition.

[23] Ceri Davies, 'Vaughan, Sir William'; Gillian T. Cell, 'Vaughan, Sir William', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 1* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1979); D. Lleufer Thomas, 'Iscennen and Golden Grove', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1940, 115–29; A. G. Prys-Jones, 'Poor Cambriol's Lord', *The Carmarthenshire Historian: Journal of the Local History Committee, Carmarthenshire Community Council* 1 (1961); David T.R. Lewis, *The Vaughan (Earls of Carbery) and Campbell (Earls and Thanes of Cawdor) Families of Golden Grove Carmarthenshire* (Erwhen: David T. R. Lewis, 2018), 11; Francis Jones (Wales Herald Extraordinary), 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove', *Transactions* Part II, no. 223–250 (1963); Andrew Fitzmaurice, 'American Corruption', in *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson*, ed. John F. McDiarmid (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 224–27.

Since Cell in 1969, only two researchers, both literary scholars, have examined Vaughan in any depth. Each addressed Newfoundland and Vaughan's texts as marginal colonial and literary spaces. The most recent, by Mark Netzloff, considered how Scottish, Welsh and Irish colonizers, 'writing Britain from the margins' of Britain, Ireland, and the Atlantic provinces of Canada, approached the nascent idea of a collective 'British' identity.[24] Similarly, Anne Lake Prescott, writing in the 1990s, situates Vaughan's colonial ventures within a multidisciplinary collection that aimed to 'decentre' Renaissance Canada and Europe by attending to the perceived 'peripheries' of European colonisation.[25] Vaughan features briefly in Prescott's monograph on Rabelais (and works attributed to him).[26]

Though the Atlantic provinces and western isles are frequently presented as marginal edgelands, MacCoinnich reminds us that 'such modern geographical perspectives were not always adopted in earlier centuries'.[27] As these studies suggest, however, both Newfoundland and Wales are nevertheless viewed by scholars as peripheral to 'English', French, or Spanish colonial enterprises in what is now Canada, the United States, Central and South America, which are the focus of the majority of colonial or Atlantic histories. Some appear to forget Newfoundland's existence at all. In a similar fashion, Treadwell's comments on the Anglocentrism of much 'British' and English history remain broadly true—despite the concerted challenge of the 'New British History' and more recently, the 'New Imperial History' to decentre and democratise British and Imperial histories—though the situation is far from as stark as it was in 1998, when he noted in frustration that histories of the early seventeenth century, and particularly those that have addressed the period leading up to the wars of the three kingdoms, 'hardly bothered to include Ireland or Scotland in a remorselessly English political and social equation', and, where included, are 'routinely tucked away…in a single, more or less self-contained chapter'.[28] Wales is similarly

[24] Mark Netzloff, 'Writing Britain from the Margins: Scottish, Irish, and Welsh Projects for American Colonization', *Prose Studies* 25, no. 2 (2002): 1–24.

[25] Anne Lake Prescott, 'Relocating Terra Firma: William Vaughan's Newfoundland', in *Decentering the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplllinary Perspective, 1500-1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 125–40.

[26] Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 127–29; 190–95.

[27] Aonghas MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World: The Case of the Northern Hebrides, 1570-1639* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015), 1.

[28] Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland 1616-1628: A Study in Anglo-Irish Politics* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 15. Neither Wales or the *Cambriae* people are mentioned in Raphael Holinshed's *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (1577, 1587) and William Camden's *Britannia* (1586): see Andrew Hadfield,

absorbed by a determinedly English narrative in the early modern and modern worlds. Andrew Hadfield, observing the curious invisibility of Wales in such histories, notes that Wales, not Ireland, was England's first colony.[29]

Vaughan himself is proudly Welsh and embraces the new Scottish King's desire to unify his kingdoms, calling himself a Cambro-Britain and referring to Great Britain as a whole throughout the *Fleece*, unless specifically addressing the needs or peoples of individual nations.[30] Comments here will follow him. Related ideas of nation, identity and place will be addressed in greater depth in later chapters. If we consider these factors coupled with the fact that virtually all references to Vaughan note his 'failure' and eccentricity, it is hardly surprising that Vaughan has left little imprint on either the academic or Canadian landscape. However, rather than a quaint oddity, his Classically-infused Newfoundland exemplifies wider European perceptions and formations of the New World and empire, and his inclusion in a broader cultural landscape tempers an understanding of colonisers as pragmatic and forward-thinking or straightforwardly acquisitive.[31]

A Fantastical Framework, its Audience and Purpose

This does not preclude Vaughan's interest in the promises of wealth, advancement and power that successful colonisation and empire offered to individuals and to Great Britain—though he argues that these earthly aspirations are religiously wrought: that God 'makes use of our worldly desires to serve his divine intentions', and British imperialism was in fact divinely ordained: 'God had reserved the Newfoundland for us Britaines'.[32] Though

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Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 1. See also J. G. A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 24-43; Kathleen Wilson, *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). For debates around the New British History in Atlantic context, see for instance the AHR Forum in Volume 104, Issue 2, especially: J. G. A. Pocock, 'The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary', *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 490–500; David Armitage, 'Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?', *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 427–45; Jane Ohlmeyer, 'AHR Forum: Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories', *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 446–62; also Jane H. Ohlmeyer, ed., *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Netzloff, 'Writing Britain from the Margins, 19–21.

[29] Hadfield, *Matter of Britain*, 2.

[30] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*. For further on his Welshness, see Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 321-333.

[31] Fitzmaurice gives examples of this historical understanding, though his study also seeks to redress it: Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, 192.

[32] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 4.

vanity and wish-fulfilment played equal part, Vaughan presents his colonising and promotion of it as 'charitable worke'.[33] He must be persuaded by friends to use his literary talents in aid of New Cambriol: 'You shall doe a worke of Charitie, yea and of *Liberalitie,* for this free-hearted *vertue* consists in distributing good Counsell as well as of money, to animate our carelesse Countrymen'.[34]

Nonetheless, his intention was that the colony relieve the 'common' needy-but-worthy Welsh and sustain Great Britain and Ireland by means of increased trade, righting the perceived imbalance between foreign and native goods, depopulation (by exporting 'drones' to Newfoundland, which 'yeelds Elbow room'), and eradicating financial drains on the kingdoms: for instance, unnecessary lawsuits, expenditure on vanities and material pleasures, such as tobacco, fashionable clothing, architecture and fancy foodstuffs.[35] Despite the fantastical setting of the *Fleece*, it contains some sound and practical suggestions for the organisation of trade, fisheries, defence and other strategic areas; but relief of want and the achievement of wealth and position was only part of the conceptualisation and appeal of the New World to Vaughan.

Vaughan sets out his plan to achieve these 'worldly' ambitions in the otherworldly setting of Mount Parnassus (and within a creative retelling of the Argonauts' voyage). This fantastical framework has three functions. First, it allows him to put forth his arguments in the style he believes will be most persuasive to his intended readership—a predominantly male, elite peer group of similar classical education—and so more conducive to success; second, at some level he believes the New World really is a place where the unimaginable can come true and dreams may be fulfilled; and third, it allows him to demonstrate his literary prowess and indulge personal fantasies.

Yet for whose eyes is Vaughan writing? His dedication is to Charles I, but two prefaces are addressed to his readership: 'To the indifferent Readers' and 'To the uncharitable Readers or Deriders of our GOLDEN FLEECE'. He approaches both groups as if they are unfavourably disposed to his argument, but the former are his true audience. He addresses them as 'Judicious readers' and covers popular themes, such as foreign

[33] Ibid., Pt. 3: 7.
[34] Ibid., Pt. 1: 12-13, 15-16.
[35] Vaughan, *Newlander's*, Pt. 2: at 99; for drones, see Pt. 2: 103; [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece,* discussions throughout but the metaphor of useful bees (men) turned into useless, excess 'drones' is a favourite: Pt. 1: 149; Pt. 2: 55, 100; Pt. 3: 8, 33, 73, 86.

commodities and extravagant fashions. From them he hopes to achieve support for his colonial project, whether through courtly patronage, investment of finances or men, or from themselves if they are industrious Protestant planters (though he wants no interference from 'Superiors', co-investors or 'Directors').[36] The second address—to 'uncharitable readers'—is a diatribe, ostensibly aimed at the lazy, imprudent sinners who disparage his colonial project, but clearly directed toward the same first group with the intention of situating them in opposition to those he castigates:

> MY Masters… you that plot at home, like craftie Crowders, to reape the fruits of all painfull Trades without wetting your Cats feet, though the Fish bee never so dearely prized, you …come not at Colchos…They that labour not with sweate, shall not taste of our Sweete. Keepe yee then at home, like Clinicall Apes to your Clogges. … If wallowing in mire doe so delight you, returne to your dunghils, untill you grow fit for fat Bacon. … Eyther leave off your mocking, or make the World partaker of a better worke.[37]

His use of 'Masters' and 'wise Masterships', makes it clear that his disparagers (the apes, mules, hogs, 'fooles who hisse like Geese') are not of high rank since from Vaughan, a gentleman, it was not a term of respect—as one of lower rank would address a superior. From the content and commentary, we can assume the 'judicious readers' he imagines are Classically-educated, Protestant men of the gentry or higher rank.

Vaughan believed one must 'produce wisdome under a disguised stile…that the Common People may bee edified by a discreet kinde of Folly'.[38] Concealing one's true intentions from infantilised commoners (or women) was widely encouraged. The Puritan cleric William Whately, who appears in the *Fleece*, proposed, for instance, that wisdom and authority were 'like the arts of Logick and Rhetoricke, that must in speaking be used, and yet concealed: and then they most prevaile when being used, they are least seene'.[39] Readers

[36] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 6.
[37] Ibid., To the uncharitable Readers or Deriders of our GOLDEN FLEECE'.
[38] Ibid., Pt. 1: 10. John Rastell describes taking a similar approach in his play *The Four Elements* (1519), in which he encouraged colonisation of Newfoundland, discussed further below. John Rastell, 'A New Interlude and a Mery, of the Nature of the Four Elementis', in *Three Rastell Plays: Four Elements, Calisto and Melebea, Gentleness and Nobility*, ed. Richard Axton (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979), 29–68.
[39] William Whately, *A Bride-Bush, or A Wedding Sermon: Compendiously Describing the Duties of Married Persons: By Performing Whereof, Marriage Shall Be to Them a Great Helpe, Which Now Finde It a Little Hell* (London: William Iaggard, for Nicholas Bourne, 1617), 29. Whately appears in a discussion of wives in [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.2: 65-66.

needed to be entertained and were unable to digest important matters without 'you season your *Avisoes* with some light passages with wits, fits, & fancies'—by which Vaughan means interludes with clown-like versifiers and the Muse of comedy, rather than simply the whole fanciful edifice, an attitude similar to Margaret Cavendish's view that people's susceptibility to theatre and theatrical preaching could be harnessed to fashion behaviour.[40]

He proceeds to have a frank conversation about this approach at some length, under the guise of an opening dialogue in the manner of More's *Utopia*, with himself as the character William Vaughan meeting with the Secretary for Scotland, fellow coloniser of Nova Scotia and briefly Newfoundland, Sir William Alexander, and Vaughan's 'ancient friend Master William Elveston', former secretary to Elizabeth Stuart (later Queen of Bohemia) and cupbearer to Charles I.[41] It is likely the three conversed in reality though perhaps not as a trio, since it is unlikely Vaughan would have wished wholly to misrepresent Alexander's sentiments, potentially making a powerful enemy at court. Neither can the relation be taken at face value (as some nineteenth-century historians did), since Alexander and Elveston clearly act as literary foils for the Vaughan-character, portraying him in the best light possible.[42]

Having the other characters speak his intentions allows Vaughan to condescend to his readership while pretending his views are another's. Alexander asks for instance, 'what mysticall *Receit* might…heale the Lethargie of our moderne Readers, or inflame the slow Spirits of the multitude?...The neerer we are to the end of the world, the more childish and doting is the iudgement of the wisest man. How much more then must wee beare with the *Common sort*, whose wils change with the weathercocke? …why apply we not our selves a little to temporize with them who are yet children in wit?'.[43] The three men discuss the skill of Cervantes, Mateo Alemán, and Saint Paul in sweetening serious moral messages with wit

[40] Margaret Cavendish, *Margaret Cavendish: Political Writings*, ed. Susan James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 12.

[41] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 1–18. For Elveston, commonly Elphinstone, see also Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia*, 1625, H2v-H3r; Elizabeth Stuart, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, 2 vols., vol. 1: 1603-1631*, ed. Nadine Akkerman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 'Elphinstone' 145, fn. 8. He was knighted in 1637 when he also became Lord Justice General in Scotland (1635-1641). Alexander also translated the Psalms for James VI, wrote poetic works and a treatise promoting settlement in Nova Scotia: Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*. For further, see D.C. Harvey, 'ALEXANDER, WILLIAM, Earl of Stirling', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography ,* 1 of 15 vols. (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1979).

[42] Charles Rogers, *Memorials of the Earl of Stirling and the House of Alexander,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1877), 1:89–92.

[43] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 9.

and satire, which 'shall please the Judicious and the Simple' and note that men—particularly Englishmen—enjoy variety: they are neophytes above all.[44] He thus adopts the same (risky) strategy of assuming his readers will see themselves in opposition to 'the common sort': as 'men of abler Constitutions [who] can feede on meat without such provocations'.[45] His use of 'fancy' (fantasy) is in the fashion patterned by Cavendish, discussed above, who joined fancy and fiction to reason and truth, seeing them not as opposites but as equal productions of the rational mind.[46]

Both use fantasy, literary skill and theatre to persuade but also see greater purpose in their fantasies as revealing deeper truths, truths of which there were more than one sort. Amongst others, there were things that were objectively true, established through experience (what we would now call facts) and spiritual or moral truths—greater truths, which could be conveyed effectively by fantasy and fable rather than through the relation of facts in the modern sense, and which superseded facts as they were understood then (being acts or deeds requiring agency).[47] Hence Jonson talks of an 'ill fact' (oxymoronic in the modern sense)—and Sidney proposes poesy (and all fiction) 'doth not only teach and move to a truth, but teacheth and moveth to the most high and excellent truth', whereas history is 'captived to the [lesser] truth of a foolish world', only able to recount 'true matters such as indeed were done' (Renaissance 'facts': i.e. human acts), which he argues are no predictor of the future (as opposed to modern facts which are always true).[48] Jonson proposes that a poet is someone who 'fayneth and formeth a fable, and writes things like the Truth'.[49]

In a world of differential, hierarchical truths, art could be a more powerful tool than philosophy/science in conveying truth, wisdom or virtue, as Vaughan was aware. Poetry had

[44] Ibid., Pt. 1: 10, 14. For English and their love of variety, of which Vaughan disapproves, see also Pt. 3: 3.
[45] Ibid., Pt. 1: 11.
[46] See Cavendish, 'The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World (1666)', 5–6. [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, see also Pt. 1: 9, 12.
[47] Wootton establishes the emergence of the modern meaning of 'fact' in English was in the late seventeenth century (though it had appeared the previous century in Italian and French), rather than coinciding with Bacon, whose use of *factum* has often been mistakenly equated with fact, for 'fact' removes agency, integral to the Latin. For a detailed analysis and historiography of early modern 'Facts', see David Wootton, *The Invention of Science: A New History of the Scientific Revolution* (London: Penguin, 2015), chapter 7; also Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).
[48] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries', 564; Philip Sidney, 'A Defence of Poetry', 87-88, 90, 98. The changing meaning and measure of truth and fact also has implications for discussions of genre in this period, since a factual work could be fictional and a fictional book true.
[49] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries', 595 [quoted at the opening of the chapter], 635.

unique powers of persuasion: it could reveal truth through allegory and move readers to virtuous action rather than simply teach.[50] Vaughan, 'Orpheus Junior', clearly regarded himself as a poet of some skill (he even creates a sort of fantasy literary circle of poets in Parnassus, featuring himself, Sidney, 'Provost Marshall of [Apollo's] Court', Spenser, Catullus, Chaucer and John Florio, among others: a literal *Dead Poets Society*). He claimed the *Fleece* for poetry—'this worke alludes to a *Poeticall rapture*'—but as well as promoting colonisation his ambition was to present 'a morall' and, unlike Sidney, he did not discount the power of the historical arts in forming it, as discussed below.[51] Spenser may have influenced Vaughan's approach, since his ambition for *The Faerie Queen* was to 'fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline' and 'a governement as might best be'.[52] Like Vaughan, he also wished his 'Allegory, or darke conceit' to educate by stealth, being 'concerned [it] shoulde be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historicall fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read'—and, perhaps in recognition of this shared approach, Vaughan made Spenser 'Atturney for the English Poets' in Apollo's court.[53]

Vaughan's descriptions of intermixing important matters with trifles and 'Vulgar toyes' are virtually identical to those expressed by close family friend Francis Bacon in his Preface to *Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609).[54] (Bacon, an early investor in Newfoundland, may have inspired Vaughan's efforts). Bacon suggests 'he that would illuminate mens minds anew in any old matter, and that not with disprofit and harshnesse, must absolutely take the same course [as the ancients], and use the help of similies', fiction and fable.[55] He disapproves, however, of alluding only superficially to myths: 'sacred reliques' of ancient

[50] Sidney, 'Defence of Poetry', esp. 91-92.
[51] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 146.
[52] 'A Letter of the Authors to Walter Raleigh' in Edmund Spenser, *Spenser's Faerie Queene: Books IV-VII*, ed. J.C. Smith, vol 3. of *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909), 3: 485–86. One of the dedicatees was the earl of Essex in whose circle Spenser began to move in the 1590s, concurrently with William's brother, John Vaughan, who fought in Ireland with Essex. For further on Spenser and Ireland, see Andrew Hadfield, 'Spenser, Edmund (1552?–1599), Poet and Administrator in Ireland', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience: Wilde Fruit and Salvage Soyl* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
[53] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Bk 3: 93; 'A Letter of the Authors' in Spenser, *Poetical Works*, 3:485.
[54] Francis Bacon, *The Wisedome of the Ancients, Written in Latine by the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon Knight, Baron of Verulam, and Lord Chancelor or England*, trans. Arthur Gorges (London: John Bill, 1619), A1r-B4r. Also similar to Gerbier's comments, another admirer of Bacon regarding language-learning: Balthazar Gerbier, *The Interpreter of the Academie for Forrain Languages, and All Noble Sciences, and Exercises. To All Fathers of Families and Lovers of Vertue. The First Part* (London: s.n., 1648). See also related discussion of Rastell and Spenser: fns. 141, 156, 362.
[55] Bacon, *Wisedome of the Ancients*, B3r.

knowledge and truth.[56] Though Bacon may not have agreed or approved, Vaughan believed the *Fleece's* mythical allegories and 'fancies' effectively conveyed his vision for New Cambriol to readers and would inspire them to action. They also served a wider purpose, concealing/filling the gaps in Vaughan's and his readers' knowledge, indulging his fantasies of heroism and artistic acclaim, and outlining his social reforms.

These reflect the broad themes explored here: first, to inform our understanding of Vaughan's colonial, social and literary ambition, the promotional texts will be considered in wider cultural context; second we will examine how Vaughan uses myth to transform himself and his audience (as potential colonisers) into mythical heroes and paint New Cambriol as an ideal-'real' realm; finally, we will explore how Vaughan dramatized autobiographical incidents and introduced himself and people he knew or admired into his fantastical narrative, revealing the New World to be a vehicle for the fulfilment of personal as well as national or imperial fantasies.

First, a short precis of *The Golden Fleece*. Vaughan's aims are helpfully laid out in the full title and tripartite structure.[57] Each part follows the same format: chapters within the part debate an issue; plaintiffs or witnesses are brought in to provide testimony; Apollo pronounces his judgement upon it. A flavour of these is given below but they are too numerous to be listed in full. Part One discovers and remedies errors of religion: Apollo banishes Jesuits; abolishes monastical orders/nunneries; declares clerical marriage lawful; confirms the Pope as the anti-Christ; confutes Arminianism and demands Puritans return to the Mother Church. Part Two addresses vices and decays in Great Britain and Ireland, especially in trading: Apollo demands an enquiry into the increased use of foreign commodities; censures the selling of ecclesiastical livings; reduces the number of lawyers and suits through reform; establishes sumptuary laws; judges how men should chose and 'use' wives; banishes drunks and 'immoderate use' of tobacco; commands the patron saints to remedy all abuses and Orpheus Junior to petition the King to send 'wasting ships' to defend Newfoundland from pirates and other nations.

[56] Ibid., see Preface, B1v sig quoted.

[57] The full title is: *The golden fleece divided into three parts, under which are discovered the errours of religion, the vices and decayes of the kingdome, and lastly the wayes to get wealth, and to restore trading so much complayned of. Transported from Cambrioll Colchos, out of the southermost part of the iland, commonly called the Newfoundland, by Orpheus Iunior, for the generall and perpetuall good of Great Britaine*.

Part Three addresses Newfoundland more specifically, though it is understood that the errors and vices discussed in the first parts would not enter the colony. Apollo asks Orpheus Junior to discover where the golden fleece lies and how it may 'repaire the decay of Trade': a topical issue since Parliament had established a standing commission on this in 1622.[58] Orpheus/Vaughan concludes that Plantations are the answer to various economic and social problems in Britain, especially Wales, and establishes that there are 'sundry kindes' of fleece, but the one most suitable for the Kingdom, can be 'reduceth into *one maine* Trade *to the* Plantation *and* Fishing *in the* Newfoundland', which has more cod than anywhere else, in addition to other fish and treasures (timber, furs, fruits, etc). Apollo divides Newfoundland into three parts and renames it Britanniol; decides upon the best passage to the Indies; settles disputes among fisherman and planters; addresses the health of sailors; charges the East India Company with finding the Northwest Passage; judges international disputes on the spice trade; exhorts all Companies and Adventurers 'to saile into the uttermost *Ocean*' to establish new foreign trade and 'perhaps meet with another *Golden Fleece*'; enacts recommendations of 'Politicke statesmen' for establishing new projects for enriching the State (agricultural improvements, establishing salt houses in Newfoundland, etc.); commands the patron saints to 'assist the planters of the Newfoundi[s]le… lately styled Britanniol'; and banishes sceptics.[59]

Vaughan asserts 'To the Reader' that along with religious errors and vices he will remove 'the Diseases of the Common-wealth'.[60] This evinces a perception of a nation decayed, infected and astray: an old world. Its people shrunken and lesser than they once were: 'wee live not now… in such simplicitie and candour of mind, as those people of the Golden Age. Men for the most part are now become perverse Pigmeyes in respect of their generous Ancestours'.[61] Even the soil is 'over-wearied… outworne' and 'overspent': so depleted by the tilling of his ancestors that even fertilisers will not recover its 'pristine and ancient vigour and fertilitie'.[62] As Vaughan puts it: the 'maidenhead' of 'Britain's' *terra firma*

[58] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3, Cha 2: 11.
[59] Ibid., Pt. 3: 58-59, 82, quoted.
[60] Ibid., 'To the reader': Bv [quoted]; B4r, C3v, Ar, Dr sig. These aims are repeated with minor variations several times by Vaughan and also by Stephen Berrier and John Mason in their dedicatory verses: B4v.
[61] Ibid., Pt. 1: 8. See also Vaughan, *Newlander's*, Pt.2: 100.
[62] Vaughan, [quoted in order] Pt. 3: 62-63; Pt. 1: 4; Pt. 3, ch. 5: 33.

has been taken and cannot be restored; while in contrast the soil of Newfoundland is 'Maiden earth'.[63]

The literature of 'discovery' and colonisation is littered with similarly feminised lands: virginal terrain with mountainous breasts and flowing rivers with welcoming mouths—invariably fertile and ripe with sexual allusion. Penetrations and deflowerings abound. The motif was so prevalent it later gave rise to a pornographic sub-genre, which adopted the style of New World promotional literature, natural histories, chorographies and land surveys to describe the exploration, 'topography', fertility and 'ploughing' of the female body.[64] Vaughan, however, inverts—and subverts—the metaphor to characterise the mother country; she is a sickly and negligent mother, providing little for her children, who are so numerous that many starve or are hanged for the theft of necessities: 'whereas their Country, like a provident Mother, ought rather to provide them reliefe, whereby they might live like men borne of a wise and politike mother'.[65] This mirrors the pervasive body politic metaphor, joining motherland with the patriarchal King as head of family and State.

In the *Fleece*, 'Great Britaine' is an ailing, older woman, whom Vaughan wishes to help toward 'her recoverie [since she] now pants with a difficult breathing'.[66] He admits he is not sure whether 'her Infirmitie proceeds…from some straightnesse in the midriffes; or of a bastard Plurisie, which requires bloud-letting; …or of some superfluous humour ingendred in the braine, where the Intellectuall Faculties ought to reside', but is certain she requires 'at the least some lenetive [laxative] medicines'.[67] The metaphor is graphic: Britain must evacuate her diseased bowels of the vices and abuses infecting her and may be restored by

[63] Ibid., Pt. 1: 4; 24; Pt. 3: 61. The virginity of land was commonly referred to, e.g. Raleigh notes Guiana 'hath yet her maydenhead'. In contrast, similarly feminised Spanish colonies have had their maidenhead taken by the Spanish; they have been 'spoiled' (raped) and are 'daungerouslie diseased': Ralegh, *Discoverie*, 127–28, 142, 196.

[64] Curll collated the principal works of the genre together in one volume, the earliest being *Erōtopolis* (1684); see Philo-Britanniæ, *The Potent Ally: Or Succours from Merryland. With Three Essays in Praise of the Cloathing of That Country. And The Story of Pandora's Box. To Which Is Added, Erōtopolis. The Present State of Bettyland*, ed. Charles Cotton (Paris [i.e. London]:[printed for E. Curll], 1741). Spedding includes *Merryland* and other examples of the genre in Alex Pettit and Patrick Spedding, eds., *Eighteenth-Century British Erotica, Vol. 3 of 3: The Geography and Natural History of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Erotica* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2002). These idealised female 'landscapes' can be categorised as a form of utopia, or 'somatopia': Darby Lewes, 'Utopian Sexual Landscapes: An Annotated Checklist of British Somatopias', *Utopian Studies* 7, no. 2 (1996): 167–95. See also, Sarah Toulalan, *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 90–91.

[65] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.3: 34. Also calls her a 'partiall mother', Pt. 2: 5.

[66] Ibid., Pt. 1: 15.

[67] Ibid., Pt 1:15.

a life-giving ingestion of trade and wealth from the New World; Vaughan's colonial project is her 'surest *Elixir*, and Restorative'.[68]

Later, Vaughan presents a less-ravaged iteration of a feminised land: St David, patron saint of the Welsh, sings that Wales has still 'fertile soile / Abounding with all store' though her excess population and lawyers 'sucke her blood so sore'; yet once the Welsh are transplanted to New Cambriol, Wales will offer its colonial sister support: 'Old Cambria shall with Cumbers lesse / Sustaine new Cambriols case', and 'Leekes [will be] crownd with Pearles'.[69] The pristine Newfoundland will enable Cambriol-Colchos, a new colony in the Empire of Parnassus, fashioned from Classical myths, and cultural 'memories' of an undecayed Edenic world. Newfoundland offers a second chance.

Vaughan thus wants to reform Old World society but also to hold up, like the Mirrors for Princes genre, an image of what society could be if it could be started afresh, drawing on the best of history, myth and contemporary society to reorder, reform and restore by his 'erecting of this new fabricke and heroicall Action' in New Cambriol.[70] The New World is not really concrete or real. It is a fabric to be cut and sewn to shape from other things—a composite fleece of fantasy, myth and history. To this end, Vaughan's *Fleece* and his imaginary Newfoundland are a commonplace book or *cento*: he absorbs and borrows a multitude of ideas, words and styles to make it and though we cannot see all the joins and threads, we can unpick it a little to see how it was woven.

The Newfound Politicke and Newfound Fleece: satire and reform

The Golden Fleece resists categorisation, spilling across styles, genres, disciplines, subjects and temporalities. Examining the composite fabric of the *Fleece* reveals more than Vaughan's preference for a particular literary style. It is of significance to broader histories of colonialism because the same thinking and methodology characterise how Vaughan conceives and designs the social and geographic territory of his patent and, as discussed in later chapters, illuminate the ways other colonisers fashion the social and physical landscapes of their colonies.

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[68] Ibid., Pt. 1: 17.
[69] Vaughan, Pt. 3: 86, 89. See also Vaughan, *Newlander's*, Pt. 2: 99-100.
[70] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 3.

Vaughan's myriad references to political, literary and historical works, both satirical and solemn, reveal a wide range of influences and interests, from Chaucer, Thomas More, Plato, Walter Map, Tacitus, Edward Misselden, Thomas Smith, and innumerable Classical myths, to colonial, economic, and legal treatises, poetry, voyage literature and biblical and ecclesiastical history, particularly patristic texts (those by the early Christian theologians writing between the first and eight centuries AD known as the Church Fathers). Even the setting of Parnassus and the frame of the court was drawn from a broader literary pool. Robert Allott's verse compilation *Englands Parnassus* (1600) provides an earlier literary model for Vaughan's Parnassian poetic musings, while staging action within a courthouse or meeting was a literary device adopted by medieval writers, including Boccaccio and Chaucer (a witness in the *Fleece*), allowing the representation of opposing viewpoints within a contained narrative space.[71]

The conceit of an imperial and judicial court allowed Vaughan to comment and advise upon almost any subject since witnesses could petition Apollo on an array of topics that one might argue to be fairly peripheral to the colonisation of Newfoundland.[72] The dual-purpose court also allowed Vaughan to insert 'comic' interludes (which do not age well) and debates on the arts. It is akin to the narrative structure and setting of the earlier *Spirit*, in which the titular spirit is 'conjured and convicted' of various crimes in a spiritual court of sorts, held within seven 'circles' drawn by Vaughan, with testimony brought by Solomon and Saint David, among others.[73] The *Spirit, Golden-Grove* and *Fleece* also share similar concerns, including extreme antipathy towards fashionable dress and 'stinking' tobacco, ('tospots and Tobacconists' are the obverse of 'upright men').[74] Both 'excesses' are considered chief contributors to the decay of trade and impoverishment of the kingdoms

[71] Robert Allott, *Englands Parnassus: Or, the Choysest Flowers of Our Moderne Poets, with Their Poeticall Comparisons: Descriptions of Bewties, Personages, Castles, Pallaces, Mountaines, Groves, Seas, Springs, Rivers, &c. Whereunto Are Annexed Other Various Discourses, Bot*, *Choysest Flowers of Our Moderne Poets, with Their Poeticall Comparisons* (London: For N. L[ing,] C. B[urby] and T. H[ayes], 1600). See also the discussion on symbolic landscapes in chapter two. For courthouse settings, see Marquardt, 'Introduction', xxviii–xxix.

[72] As did the broad, encompassing aim of the *Golden-Grove*, which taught men *How to Gouerne Themselues, Their Houses, or Their Country* (title).

[73] Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, for instance, 133-140.

[74] Ibid., 110, 237 [quoted], on apparel, see 345-346; Vaughan, *Directions for Health*, 1633, on tobacco, see 79–83; Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, on apparel, see Pt. 6: ch. 58; however, despite his dislike, he recommends tobacco's occasional use in treating ailments, ironically e.g. if 'troubled with the fits of Asthma': Vaughan, *Newlander's*, 63. See below for *Fleece*.

and regulated within Apollo's empire.[75] The judicial framework of the *Spirit* and *Fleece* thus enabled commentary on a diversity of issues but, as a Doctor of Law, it may also have appealed to Vaughan to argue the case for empire and colonisation in a court, even if one on Parnassus.

A foremost influence was the Italian satirist Traiano Boccalini, and Vaughan acknowledges his debt early on, stating that he is 'resolved to use the name of the great *Apollo*, not *Heathenish*, but Christian, after the example of *Traiane Boccalini*, who under that Title brought forth most plausible *Raggualioes*, and by mee now of late communicated to our English Readers'.[76] He even inserts Boccalini into the narrative as a complainant.[77] Vaughan had published a selection of the *Ragguagli* the same year, retitling it *The New-found Politicke* to connect it to his colonial enterprises, promoting it not simply by title, as Vaughan explains, but by approach and ambition: through the 'newnesse of the stile and matter, wherein the Author poetically discovers some *Mysteries of Policie,* which may rowze up the Spirits of the State of *Venice,* and other Neighbouring Provinces'.[78] Vaughan wished the *Fleece* to be viewed in the same light: as a similarly anti-Spanish work that revealed new political truths through poetry and satire that would enrich Britain and also secure it 'From all State Reason hatcht in Spaine , / Which will doe wrong, and wrong maintaine'.[79] *The New-found Politicke,* placed new political knowledge alongside imperial and colonial enterprises in the New World and Newfoundland, uniting the two as equally important 'discoveries' and instruments of state. The opening chapter satirised pedlars of political tools of dubious morality and efficacy, but Vaughan is keen to distinguish between 'Hucksters'—who sell false or insubstantial political inventions and projects 'more theoricall then really practick'—and 'virtuous' projectors whose 'goodly' projects are based on experience.[80] He clearly placed himself in the latter category.

[75] Junior [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, for references to the problems caused by tobacco and excesses of apparel, see 'To the indifferent Readers', Pt. 1: 7, 22; Pt. 2: 14, 22, 29, 57, 59, 60, 78-82, 94; Pt. 3, 3, 6, 14, 58-59, 79.
[76] Ibid., Pt. 1: 13.
[77] Ibid., 83–85.
[78] Boccalini, *New-Found Politicke*.
[79] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 94.
[80] [William Vaughan], Pt. 2: 83-85; Pt. 3:71 for further on projects without substance and 'hucksters'. He similarly condemns the false 'theoricall projects' of religious reformers, such as Arminius: Pt. 1: 143. For 'goodly' projects, see preface and Pt. 1: 'To the uncharitable Readers', [quoted] 6; Pt. 3: 10.

Only the final third of the *Politicke* was translated by Vaughan, and he admits (correctly) to it being 'farre inferiour' to the sections handled by his co-translators.[81] These were Vaughan's friend John Florio—a humanist writer and leading language tutor of the period, known for the first English translation of Jacques Cartier's voyages to New France, which included Newfoundland, and Montaigne's *Essais*—who composed the first section, and an anonymous other who translated the second.[82] This was the radical Protestant preacher and pamphleteer, Thomas Scott, whose 1622 translation of the *Newes* is replicated in the *Politicke*, along with his commentary.[83] Yates and Marquardt attributed the anonymous section to Robert Burton due to a misleading passage within the *Fleece*, though Burton was certainly familiar with it, annotating the copy in his library.[84] Scott and Vaughan may have known one another through the shared patronage of the anti-Spanish William Pembroke, Third Earl of Pembroke, an extensive investor in both colonial enterprises and the arts.[85]

Following the publication of Boccalini's *Ragguagli,* Parnassus became a popular setting for political satire and Vaughan's choice of it as the location for the *Fleece* and his argument for the advancement of empire placed him in a political conversation that

[81] Vaughan, Florio, and Scott, *Newfound Politicke*, 'To the Kings most excellent majestie'.

[82] Vaughan, Florio, and Scott, 'To the Kings most excellent majestie'; Michel De Montaigne and John Florio, *The Essayes, or Morall, Politike, and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne* (London, 1603); Jacques Cartier, *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northweast Partes Called Newe Fraunce,* trans. John Florio (London: H. Bynneman, 1580). The sections translated do not correspond to the three parts of Boccalini's original text; for further see: Frances A. Yates, *John Florio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 301–9; William Frederick Marquardt, 'The First English Translators of Trajano Boccalini's "Ragguagli Di Parnaso": A Study of Literary Relationships', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1951): 1–19.

[83] The anonymous 1622 translation of the *Newes* attributed to Scott was also republished in his attributed *Complete Works* (1624) published two years before his death: Thomas Scott and Trajano Boccalini, *Newes from Pernassus: The Politicall Touchstone, Taken from Mount Pernassus: Whereon the Governments of the Greatest Monarchies of the World Are Touched*, trans. Thomas Scott (Printed at Helicon [i.e. Holland]: s.n., 1622); Thomas Scott, *The Workes of the Most Famous and Reverend Divine Mr. Thomas Scot[t]: Batcheler in Diuinitie. Sometimes Preacher in Norwich* (Utrick [Utrecht?]: s.n., 1624). For further on the translation of Boccalini, see Marquardt, 'First English Translators'; Yates, *John Florio*, 301-308.

[84] Re the passage: Apollo reads and praises the *New-found Politicke* and Vaughan's *Cambrensium Caroleia*, then mentions Burton, Florio and Vaughan as being 'the first messengers which blazed and reported these ioyfull tidings', but he is referring to their announcing the discovery of their enemy, Mariana the Jesuit, rather than the books: [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 22–23. Yates, *John Florio*, 308–9; Marquardt, 'Introduction', xxvii; for the annotations see Angus Gowland, *The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Burton in Context*, Ideas in Context; 78 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 242–43.

[85] Pembroke was the Virginia Company's second-largest investor and he put money into many other schemes that would curb Spanish power. He also had investments in the Virginia, Guiana, the Somers Islands and the East India Companies. Scott was one of his chaplains. See Victor Stater, 'Herbert, William, Third Earl of Pembroke (1580–1630), Courtier and Patron of the Arts' (Oxford University Press, 2008), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13058.

stretched across the next two centuries. Though Boccalini and his *Ragguagli* continue to be studied in Italian, relatively little has been written about him in English in the past century.[86] However, this does not reflect the *News'* earlier reception and popularity cross the English-speaking world and continental Europe. The *Ragguagli* appeared in several reprints and editions in Italian but also in English, French, Spanish and Dutch throughout the seventeenth century.[87] The eighteenth century saw further translations and the work inspired several imitators and admirers—not least Jonathan Swift—and its influence lasted even into the nineteenth century.[88] The *Monthly Magazine, or British register* even ran an occasional column 'News from Parnassus' between 1821 and 1825.[89] Other vocal admirers included close friends and fellow republicans James Harrington and Henry Neville in the later seventeenth century; Neville allotted *Ragguagli* second place after the works of Machiavelli in a section in *Plato Redivivus* on 'Political *Discourses* and *Histories* worth reading'.[90]

Perhaps it is not surprising that, like Vaughan, this particular selection of writers enjoyed the style of Boccalini's work in its fusing of the satirical and serious within a fantastical framework. Like Boccalini's newsman, *Menante* (who appears within the *Fleece* as Apollo's 'grand Post-master'), each writer brought their own *News from Parnassus*:

[86] Exceptions include: Marquardt, 'Translators of Boccalini'; William Henry Irving, 'Boccalini and Swift', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7, no. 2 (11 March 1973): 143–60; David Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Englightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 70–76, 112–14; Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest*, 63–67; Vera Keller, 'Fake News: The Marketplace of Boccalini's Parnassian Press and the History of Criticism', in *Economies of Literature and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Change and Exchange*, ed. Subha Mukherji et al. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 51–68; Leigh T. I. Penman, '«Sophistical Fancies and Mear Chimeras»? Traiano Boccalini's "Ragguagli Di Parnaso" and The Rosicrucian Enigma', *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 15, no. 1 (16 March 2009): 101–20; Paul Anthony Rahe, *Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory Under the English Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 181.

[87] Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest*, 120 editions appeared between 1612-1715, with a further 219 imitations appearing between first publication and 1837: listed on 64, citing studies by Luigi Firpo, *I 'Ragguagli Di Parnaso' Di Traiano Boccalini* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1955)..

[88] He acknowledged Boccalini's wit in the preface to *A Tale of a Tub*. See Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub, and Other Works*, ed. Angus Ross and David Woolley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 13. An English adaptation made various substitutions including Letter CXLIV which swapped Spenser for Petrarch (Spenser had translated Petrarch): N.N Esq., *Advertisements from Parnassus. Written Originally in Italian. By the Famous Trajano Boccalini. Newly Done into English, and Adapted to the Present Times. Together with the Author's Politick Touchstone; His Secretaria Di Apollo, Never before Translated* (London, 1704).

[89] The aim of the column is established on 516 in Anon., 'News From Parnassus No. I', *Monthly Magazine, or British Register* 50, no. 348 (1821): 516–19; Anon., 'News From Parnassus No. XXX', *Monthly Magazine, or British Register* 60, no. 415 (1825): 210–16.

[90] Mark Goldie, 'The Civil Religion of James Harrington', in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 205; Henry Neville, *Plato Redivivus, or, A Dialogue Concerning Government Wherein, by Observations Drawn from Other Kingdoms and States Both Ancient and Modern, an Endeavour Is Used to Discover the Present Politick Distemper of Our Own, with the Causes and Remedies*, 2nd ed. (London: R. Dew, 1681).

offering political commentary on the news and social ills of the age and adopting similar narrative frames and styles.[91] Swift employed allegory and satire to comment on religion, politics, literary styles, colonialism and other aspects of contemporary society in, amongst others, *A Tale of Tub* and its prologue, the *Battle of the Antient and Modern Books* (which begins on Parnassus), *A Modest Proposal* and *Gulliver's Travels*.[92] In *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) Harrington likewise contrasted the ideal constitution of Oceana with the government of real-world states and political thinkers drawn from history and contemporary society, some loosely disguised, others explicitly named (e.g. William the Conqueror is Turbo, while Machiavelli is himself).[93]

Like Swift, Harrington, and Boccalini, Vaughan wished to bridge the gap between the ideal and the real with satire and allegory, drawing lessons from the past and using the imaginary, rather than the factual or literal, to paint higher moral and political truths; this is reminiscent of the Elizabethan discourse on poetry. Boccalini's *Ruagguagli* and his follow-up, *Pietra del paragone politico [Political Touchstones]* (1614), argued for a general reformation of the world through a series of satirical newsletters, which commented on contemporary affairs. This allowed Boccalini to be idealistic and realistic at the same time, and Vaughan adopted a similar approach.[94] To ensure no reader could fail to miss the connection, Boccalini appears in Apollo's court complaining that 'the Seven Wisemen of Greece, who were put in trust to reforme the World [in the *Ragguagli*], did deceive his Majesties expectation; and that the World was worse then ever it was… Boccalini accused these Reformers for their Hypocriticall suggestions and conspiracies against the sacred honour of *Apollo*, in setting out Proclamations onely to please Fooles'.[95]

Vaughan's dual concern with the decay of contemporary Welsh, and, more broadly, European society and its ideal remedy, New Cambriol, is felt in the structure and quixotic

[91] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 51; 83.
[92] Swift, *Tale of a Tub*; Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Claude Rawson and Ian Higgins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Jonathan Swift, *Jonathan Swift: Major Works*, ed. Angus Ross and David Woolley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[93] James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana (1656)*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock, *Harrington: 'The Commonwealth of Oceana' and 'A System of Politics'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
[94] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 1. Vaughan uses an almost identical phrase to describe Boccalini's approach in the preface penned for the *New-found Politicke*: 'the pleasant conceits of the worke, enterlaced with some matters of consequence, which might serve for caveats and annotations to such as stand interessed in State-affaires'. See also Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi*, 76.
[95] Junior [William Vaughan], C4; 84 (quoted), also 83-85.

ambition of the *Fleece*, which aimed 'to restore us to all worldly Happinesse'.[96] Utopia and satire, each offering a critique of society, are two sides of the same coin; but where utopia is essentially false, or 'faign'd' as Vaughan assesses it, satire could be both idealistic and truthful (since it responds directly to the real world, facing towards it imaginatively rather than away from it).[97] Vaughan reclaims the wisemen of Greece and the foolish, cynical or self-interested reasons of state satirised by Boccalini, and has the wisemen come up with new, practical projects. His intention with his colonial works is to present readers with a series of lenses by which to view contemporary European society clear-sightedly: instructive but satirical court scenes, debates and scenarios that would allow his audience to recognise the flaws and problems with religion and society more generally and support the colonial enterprises that would alleviate or remove them.

This moral decay and cultural baggage could thus be left in Britain rather than carried to the New World. Even though the *Fleece* recommends their removal in Britain, a more certain ambition was to ensure they were not introduced into Newfoundland. Vaughan states unequivocally that if those in Britain are unwilling to act on his plan, he will simply make it so in New Cambrioll through the laws ('Orders') he will institute there: 'if …these *Busie-bodies* … refuse to allow, either the forme, matter, or Decrees set out in this *Treatise*, let them lay them by, as unripe fruit, or Orders fitter for me to divulge in the *Newfoundland*, and there to see them executed among my owne Tenants'.[98] What might be unachievable in Britain could be achieved in 'Britannioll': Little Britain.

The New World thus presented itself to Vaughan and others as a sort of realistic ideal or a practical utopia by bringing together what is possible with what was desirable or ought to be possible; he writes in the preface: 'A little Part *a wise King* will preferre / Of *Practick Art* before all Dreames, that erre…This no *Eutopia* is, nor Common-wealth / Which *Plato* faign'd. Wee bring Your *Kingdomes* health / By true Receits'.[99] The references to other ideal places or imaginary paradises, repeated elsewhere in the text—juxtaposed with 'real' New Cambrioll/Cambrioll Colchos and supposedly set in opposition to it, serves to associate

[96] Junior [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 'To the indifferent reader'; echoed later as 'all earthly happiness', 11.
[97] Ibid., A2.
[98] Ibid., Pt. 1: 149.
[99] Ibid., A2r-v. See also discussion in 'Introduction'.

the one with the others (as was intended).[100] In the early modern world, it was also hard to imagine prosperity, and this may in part explain the need to turn to myth, fantasy, or the past to find a way of comprehending it and adjoining it to reality. Later, after setting out his motives and justifications to the 'pettish Monitors' who object to his 'writing of serious matters in an extraordinarie forme, disguized under the name of *Apollo*', he suggests testily that:

> If these reasons cannot prevaile, but that still they will mutter, and seeke a hole where none is, I must referre them to the reading of *Sir Thomas Moores Eutopia*, and to *Platos* imaginarie Common-wealth, on which as chymerizing notions or Ayrie Castles let their Phantasies pore, while I runne over those reall and actuall vices, which lately have gotten the upper hand over their mindes, and bodies to the scandall of their *Christian* Profession, and the decay of their worldly fortunes.[101]

Vaughan the Poet-Hero

The heroism of plantation, colonialism and imperialism is a subject now (understandably) neglected in early modern histories; we are not only sceptical of heroism but find it distasteful within a colonial/imperial context. The rise of postcolonial and other critical approaches and lenses (e.g. race, gender, class/rank) have challenged, if not erased, the narrative of colonial heroism, while the 'great man' approach to history, which created or commemorated such figures, often within an imperial context, has largely disappeared. This is not to say 'great men' are no longer studied but it is rarely under the banner of unquestionable 'hero' as was once the case.[102] Elizabethan 'heroes', for instance, continue to be recognised for their maritime or literary accomplishments, but such studies endeavour to paint a more complex and nuanced picture of their character and rarely focus on heroism itself.[103]

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[100] For further, see discussion of Gardens, Islands and Groves in Chapter Two.
[101] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 148-149.
[102] For an example of the former approach, see E. Gilliat, *Heroes of the Elizabethan Age: Stirring Records of the Intrepid Bravery and Boundless Resource of the Men of Queen Elizabeth's Reign* (London: Seeley and Co. Ltd., 1911).
[103] There are exceptions, e.g. Jowitt considers heroism in a maritime context, but though she alludes to a legacy of imperialism, she is not addressing it directly: Claire Jowitt, 'Early Modern Maritime Heroes: Idols of the Sea', in *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400–1800*, ed. Claire Jowit, Craig Lambert, and Steve Mentz (London: Routledge, 2020); Claire Jowitt, 'The Hero and the Sea: Sea Captains and

There is a tendency to paint the notion of heroism in simplistic fashion, reducing it to a set of reductive, cardboard cut-out images and unsophisticated ideas, which allows it to be dismissed quickly and without greater analysis (and to dismiss those who admired it as foolish or naïve). Yet exploration, colonialism and empire were promoted, celebrated and justified on the basis of heroism, honour and fame. Rather than condemning and ignoring it as an evil/error/naivety of the past it should be analysed on its own terms as well as with a critical eye.[104] Heroism, as with the terms associated with it, such as virtue, fame, honour, courage, has shifting meaning and can be highly specific to the particular periods, cultures, or social conditions from which it emerges. A late nineteenth century imperial hero is a quite different beast to the Elizabethan hero of conquest and exploration.

Historians of the later British Empire have started to address heroism in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries seriously, exploring heroes individually and as a type, excavating their legend to understand the motivations, justifications and the methods by which heroic figures are created and celebrated and seeing what they tell us about the cultures that manufacture them.[105] It is equally enriching to consider the modes and models of heroism and its interconnection with exploration, colonialism and empire in the early modern period, particularly the seventeenth century, which saw the emergence of England/Britain as an imperial power. The study of Vaughan's colonial texts demonstrates the centrality and importance of heroism to Vaughan's inner fantasy world but also the essential role he believed it played in promoting and encouraging plantation.

Their Discontents', *Revue de la Société d'études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, no. 74 (2017), 14 pages.

[104] Walsham's introduction to a P&P *Viewpoint* on presentism summarises and draws together current debates about presentism in history, recognising our inability to escape the present and also the need to address the past on its own terms: Alexandra Walsham, 'Introduction: Past and … Presentism', *Past & Present* 234, no. 1 (1 February 2017): 213–17. For further see other articles in 'Viewpoints: Presentism', *Past & Present* 234, no. 1 (1 February 2017).

[105] See, for instance: Berny Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Berny Sèbe, 'Justifying "New Imperialism": The Making of Colonial Heroes, 1857–1902', in *Justifying War*, ed. David Welch and Jo Fox (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 46–67; Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa* (Berkeley: University of California, 2011); Max Jones et al., 'Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Britain and France', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 5 (20 October 2014): 787–825. Imperial heroes retain cultural power and are often refashioned to fit contemporary rhetoric, in both metropole and former colonies, e.g. Berny Sèbe, 'From Post-Colonialism to Cosmopolitan Nation-Building? British and French Imperial Heroes in Twenty-First-Century Africa', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 5 (20 October 2014): 936–68; Matthew Watson, 'Michael Gove's War on Professional Historical Expertise: Conservative Curriculum Reform, Extreme Whig History and the Place of Imperial Heroes in Modern Multicultural Britain', *British Politics* 15, no. 3 (2020): 271–90.

Vaughan's ambition with his 'Treatise', a book of ideas set forth, is to restore 'us to all worldly Happinesse' by planting Newfoundland with those who labour with the 'sweat of their brow' (ironically, given his own lack of sweat—though it becomes apparent he views writing as equivalent labour).[106] In this pursuit he casts himself as the hero (in various guises). Not a self-interested planter out for himself but a saviour performing—or at least planning—their great work for the benefit of others (principally ordinary Welshman). What Vaughan offers Newfoundland, beyond investment, is ideas: a vision of an earthly paradise, a physically and morally healthy, wealthy New Cambriol and a strategy for how to achieve it.

These ideas are not simply objects of the imagination but things of practical utility and value. The verbs he uses are active and physical: he will remove, discover, restore, order, remedy, reform. Though he will not physically enact these—he does not literally discover or remove things, and though he orders his text and thoughts he has not the power to re-order society, state or religion in the way he describes—but he does not use the terms metaphorically. He sees ideas as concrete and material and equates their production with heroism and toil. He complains of those who do not labour physically while also demanding that they 'leave their carping at virtuous projects'.[107] Projects, secrets, ideas, effect change in the physical world and the intellect applied is of equal power to military might. He nonetheless supposes his readers may ask:

> how I dare bring forth new Proiects shadowed under a glorious Title to reforme Errours, and to restore Trading, when men of farre greater understanding doe find themselves puzled, gravelled, and almost at their wits end, accounting the taske to exceed all the labours of Hercules. The presumption, I confesse, is great. Yet when I had called to mind that Action of Diogenes, how he tumbled up and downe his Tub very laboriously at such time, when all his Neighbours prepared themselves for Armes, I resolved likewise to do somewhat, and by tossing too and fro the barrell of my Conceits, albeit barren and inferiour unto many thousands in this Kingdome, to encourage others to lend their hands unto the Publicke prop, if not perpetually to secure it, yet for a time to stay it, untill their wisdomes had concluded on stronger meanes.[108]

[106] He repeats the sweat phrase several times: [William Vaughan], Pt. 1: 4, Pt. 3: 3, 33.
[107] Ibid., 'To the uncharitable Readers'.
[108] Ibid., A4v.

While Vaughan attempts humility in this passage he nonetheless considers his work to be Herculean—the task of an Argonaut—and his treatise to be so powerful that its wisdom can support an empire, though perhaps not forever (a prime example of what would now be called 'humblebragging'). Neither was Diogenes, whom he also emulates, a model of humility. A famous tale posits that when Alexander the Great met Diogenes—who followed Hercules' belief in the integrity of action and reputedly lived in a barrel to exemplify ascetic simplicity—he said: 'If I were not Alexander, then I should wish to be Diogenes' and that after telling him to get out of his light Diogenes replied, 'If I were not Diogenes, I'd still wish to be Diogenes'.

Vaughan had already styled himself one of the Argo's crew, taking the pen name Orpheus Junior after the Argonaut-poet Orpheus, given his first lyre by Apollo. Defending his choice, he professes to have been 'emboldned by the examples of those [who] borrowed the like Titles, as *Terentius Christianus* and *Democritus Junior* lately have done to their great honour and the Readers satisfaction'.[109] Apollonius' account of the Argo's voyage is the oldest rendering of this yet more ancient tale, but Vaughan's Orphic author-protagonist is in keeping with the later *Orphic Argonautica*, which purports to be written by Orpheus himself and narrates the myth in the first person.[110]

Vaughan clearly saw parallels between himself and the mythic Orpheus: drawn rather generously, both were poet-adventurers who had lost beloved wives in tragic circumstances and 'taught' mankind about agriculture, writing, and medicine. However, Vaughan's choice of pen name exposes his weak protests that his 'conceits [are] barren and inferiour' as false humility, since Orpheus was considered the greatest of all Classical poets, able to tame wild beasts and even charm stones with his music and verse.[111] Vaughan may even have drawn on Bacon's interpretation of the myth, given his focus on socio-legal reform and the repair of the decayed body politic of Britain. Bacon proposes Orpheus' music is of two sorts: 'the first may bee fitly applyed to naturall philosophie, the second to morall or civill discipline. The most noble worke of naturall philosophy, is the restitution and

[109] Ibid., Pt. 2, Ch. XI: 54. Terentius Christianus was Cornelius Schonaeus, who wrote eighteen neo-Latin plays between 1590 and 1606. Robert Burton began styling himself Democritus Junior in 1621.
[110] Anthony Grafton, Glen W. Most, and Salvatore Settis, eds., *The Classical Tradition* , Harvard University Press Reference Library (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2010), 664.
[111] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Sig. A4v; Grafton, Most, and Settis, *Classical Tradition*, 664.

renovation of things corruptible'.[112] Vaughan thus wishes to present himself in the Orphic mould, as a hero who carried no arms yet who wielded a weapon of equal force—his poetic voice and musical skill: powerful enough to enchant the underworld, put to sleep the dragon guarding the golden fleece, and save the Argo's crew from the sirens, overcoming their deathly song with his own—able indeed to 'restore all Earthly happinesse'.[113]

In this he perhaps emulates his idol in accidental ways, reproducing the 'boastful voice of Orpheus' found in the *Orphic Argonautica,* and exhibiting the 'bubbling or puffing of the minde' which characterises the vice of pride he condemns so forcefully throughout his works.[114] In the *Fleece*, *'Pegasean Steeds'* nearly kill some Jesuit prisoners because their nature is *'*to hate, kicke, and trample … all factious, proud, and presumptuous spirits'; yet they 'on the contrarie to shew themselves …very tractable, and milder then Lambes unto the learned Riders [i.e. Vaughan and Florio], who acknowledge their owne infirmities, with a lowly conceit of their braines capacities and vertues, though never so much extolled by others'.[115] Ironically, in the *Spirit* he censures writers for their vanity and the 'puffed leaven of their phantasies'.[116]

Yet it was not enough for Vaughan to portray himself as one hero of myth, he also wanted to be associated with the greatest of the Argonauts: Hercules. Vaughan claimed his project would surpass 'all the labours of Hercules', but a prefatory verse by his friend Stephen Berrier proclaimed that Vaughan's achievements had already surpassed them. This echoed Bacon's belief that: 'the labours of Orpheus doe so far exceed the labors of Hercules, in dignity & efficacy, as the works of wisdom, excell the works of fortitude'.[117] In scholarly circles, a popular theme was the 'great labors' undertaken in pursuit of knowledge and the punishing physical effects of this toil on scholars' bodies, with an emphasis on (their own) heroism in this regard.[118] In keeping with this motif, Vaughan is physical, heroical and virtuous, as was the enterprise of colonisation itself.[119] For instance, in the opening

[112] Bacon, *Wisedome of the Ancients,* 54-60; 57 quoted.
[113] Grafton, Most, and Settis, *Classical Tradition*, 664–65.
[114] Ibid., 664; Vaughan, *Golden Fleece*, references throughout; he offers a similar description 'puft up with Pride' Pt. 1: 61; Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, especially ch. 49 'Of Pride' (quoted) but there are condemnatory references throughout; Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 105.
[115] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 29.
[116] Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 105.
[117] Bacon, *Wisedome of the Ancients*, 54.
[118] Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), for a variety of examples, see 206.
[119] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, see 'To the uncharitable Readers', Br-B2v.

dialogue, he has Elveston say to him and Alexander: 'Me thinkes, you beeing both judicious and Publishers of Bookes might so combine and contrive your studies together, that the World, were it as blind as Beetles, might see with *Lynceus* eyes the certaintie of the Commodities, the conveniencie of the Trade, and the infinite benefits which may arise by these heroicall enterprizes'. (Lynceus was one of the Argonauts and meant to have something akin to super-sight).[120]

Vaughan follows Bacon's belief that planting was the work of heroes, with authority bestowed by the 'ancient, primitive' world.[121] Precedent is given by the colonisers of Greece and Rome, but also by the coming of the fabled Trojan hero, Brut, thought to have conquered ancient Albion, or the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans, whose colonising endeavours Vaughan references.[122] Drawing on these established ideals of manhood, fame and empire, Vaughan hoped to cultivate his own legend, fashioning himself as two heroes of the Argo and champion of Apollo—and his readers can partake in this heroism by joining him in the colonial project.

His friends and fellow Newfoundland planters aid him in the weaving of these illusions and allusions. Colonial governors John Guy and John Mason assert that Orpheus Junior has found a fleece that exceeds the original: 'The like ne're came from Colchos into Greece', and urge that '*Fame* crown [Vaughan] with sacred Bayes' like the heroes of old.[123] Where Hercules had been placed 'among the Starres' for cutting off Hydra's head, Berrier argues Vaughan has managed thrice that: '*Three Monsters* Heads [he] lops off at one blow, / *Errour, Vice, Want,* which in our Country grow'.[124] Indeed Berrier believes Orpheus Junior should be recognised as a new Hercules since his 'Hesperian Apples' (the cod) might be of 'greater gain'—and demands this assessment be judged by Paris himself.

Fusing the real and imaginary: the semi-autobiographical Fleece

[120] [William Vaughan], 7; Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*.
[121] Bacon, *Major Works*, 407. He also describes Calvert and Cary, fellow colonisers of Newfoundland, as heroes in his dedication to them in Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia*, 1625, G8v-Hr.
[122] Bacon, *Major Works*, 407.
[123] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, B3r-v. Guy writes: 'A Trade more rich, then Iason brought to Greece' [B3r].
[124] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, B3v.

Yet Vaughan's personal fantasies go far beyond the weaving of classical allusion. He also inserts himself and his friends into his imagined New World/imaginary Parnassus, embroidering his real-life experiences within the *Fleece* and integrating observations and knowledge gleaned on his travels across Europe and Britain into his colonial plan. Vaughan's intrusions extend across his literary works, where he incorporates autobiographical anecdotes and regularly cites his own publications. In the *Fleece,* these are inserted into or juxtaposed with the allegorical settings, whether under the guise of Orpheus Junior, other characters, or 'Sir William Vaughan' (the character) in dialogue at court: Whitehall not Parnassus. A brief biography offers context to his colonising and illustrates the blurring of the real and imagined with the experienced and invented at a personal level in the *Fleece*/Newfoundland.

Vaughan was born in 1575 at Golden Grove, the family seat in Carmarthenshire.[125] The Vaughans were a staunchly Welsh, Protestant and Royalist family, who gradually increased their power, rank and wealth across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to become one of the most powerful in Wales.[126] He was the younger brother of the courtier and MP Sir John Vaughan, later Lord of Molingar and First Earl of Carbery in the Irish peerage; elder brother to Henry, a brutal Royalist officer; and uncle of Richard, second Earl of Carbery, a Knight of Bath and Royalist Lieutenant General in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms who was made lord president of Wales after the Restoration.[127]

The Vaughans claimed descent from Welsh Princes, an ancestry William proudly alludes to in a Latin epigram.[128] Their lineage cited Bleddyn Ap Cynfyn, Prince of Powys (c.1025-1075) as their ancestor—founder of one of the five royal tribes of Wales and known in Welsh chronicles as an 'ideal prince', virtuous and wise in all respects.[129] It is ironic then that contemporary reports suggest Bleddyn's descendants held their lands and position

[125] He reputedly killed Sir James Parker over a matter of arms and honour in a duel in 1492. Thomas, 'Iscennen and Golden Grove', 118; Vaughan, *Newlander's*, also page 4 of the dedicatory.
[126] Francis Jones, 'Golden Grove', *Ceredigion* 4, no. 3 (1962): 255–71; Lewis, *Families of Golden Grove*.
[127] Lloyd Bowen, 'Vaughan, Sir Henry (1587?–1660/61)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), doi:https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28128. There is a dedication to Richard Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia*, 1625, H2r.
[128] Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, opening epigram in Latin refers to the purple of their pedigree.
[129] This was verified by the 1596 heraldic visitation, though genealogies from this period are notorious for their dubious provenance: Lewis Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the Marches: Between the Years 1586 and 1613, Vol. 1 of 2*, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick (Llandovery: Willliam Rees, 1846), 213; J. E. Lloyd, 'BLEDDYN Ap CYNFYN (Died 1075), Prince', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, 1959, https://biography.wales/article/s-BLED-APC-1025. For further on the importance and accuracy of genealogies in early modern culture, see chapter 7.

through nepotism, a scant regard for the law, and brutal treatment of those they had authority over, whether servants, slaves, tenants or soldiers. While none of these accounts reference William, repeated accusations were made against other seventeenth-century Vaughans, ranging from their abuse of prisoners-of-war, the mutilation and starvation of their retainers—even to their having sold their Welsh servants and clergyman into slavery in Jamaica when the third earl was Governor there in the 1670s.[130] Vaughan's desire to alleviate the suffering of the 'common people' in his colony, therefore, sits in stark contrast to the actions of other family members. When he writes that, in addition to disease and overpopulation, 'thousands [in Wales] yearly doe perish for want of reliefe … 100 persons have yearly died in a parish, where the Tithes amounted not to fourscore pounds a yeare, the most part for lacke of food, fire and raiment'—we cannot but wonder whether his family could have done more to assist them, and may even have contributed to their plight.[131] A few years later, he goes further, suggesting the greed of the rich rather than the poverty of the land is the root cause that the Old [world] doth languish weake / And like to starve in midst of store, / Which have enough, yet covets more'.[132]

Family loyalties, nonetheless, had lasting impact on Vaughan's literary output, tastes and interests. His family were closely tied to the earls of Essex, initially through the second earl.[133] Vaughan published poems and dedicated his last work to Essex, his boyhood hero,

[130] For hard treatment of soldiers, see Bowen, 'ODNB Vaughan, Henry'; Lloyd Bowen and Simon Healy, for nepotism and illegality see 'VAUGHAN, Sir John (c.1575-1634), of Golden Grove, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Carm. and Elm House, Parson's Green, Mdx', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), fns. 47-49; Lloyd Bowen and Simon Healy, 'VAUGHAN, Richard I (c.1600-1686), of Golden Grove, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Carm. and ?Fleet Street, St. Dunstan-in-the-West, London', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), fns. 46, 50-52; Caroline A. J. Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales: A Study in Local Government during the Sixeteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Hugh Rees, 1904), 172–75, in which the food of servants and their clergyman is witheld and others 'theyr eares cut of, and one his tongue cut out' by Richard Vaughan; K. Grudzien Baston, 'Vaughan, John, Third Earl of Carbery (Bap. 1639, d. 1713)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28135, he was accused of selling his servants and clergyman into slavery and called 'thrice vile' by Shaftesbury and 'lewd' by Hyde.

[131] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 12.

[132] Vaughan, *Newlander's*, Pt. 2: 100.

[133] Skeel, *Council in the Marches*, 172. For further on Vaughan and his brother's connection to Essex and Sir Gelly Meyrick, Essex's steward, whose daughter John married, see also Bowen and Healy, 'History of Parliament'; Marquardt, 'Introduction', xii; Lewis Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the Marches: Between the Years 1586 and 1613, Vol. 1 of 2*, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick (Llandovery: Willliam Rees, 1846), 137. Cited above. William wrote a dedicatory ode to Sir Gelly and dedicated the first edition of *Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health* (1600) to his new sister-in-law, Lady Margaret and praised her and her father, Meyrick, in Vaughan, *Directions for Health*, 1600, Sig. A4v; A5r.

and made him 'Lord High Marshall of [Apollo's] Empire'.[134] The Vaughans came under suspicion after Essex's rebellion against the Crown but some slippery manoeuvring by John resulted in the Vaughans finding greater favour under the Stuarts.[135] Confirming the family's loyalty, John commended William to Robert Cecil shortly after the rebellion and William was put in service as an intelligencer while travelling and studying in continental Europe.[136]

Both of the principal case studies here are connected to foreign intelligence work to varying degree: whether a brief dalliance (Vaughan); in receipt of it (Calvert, Cary, Buckingham, etc.) or operating at the very heart of Europe's spy network (Gerbier). With their awareness and understanding of secret networks, these colonisers were alert to the political but also societal advantages of colonisation and believed they could put their observations and knowledge to powerful use in the construction of new societies in the New World. Vaughan's exploits in this capacity also clearly informed his creation of the *Fleece* both thematically, when he incorporates spies and spycraft into the narrative, and literally, when he introduces incidents and knowledge drawn from his own experience and travels into the text.[137]

Casual intelligencers were frequently employed by powerful nobles and/or the Crown, who relied on the knowledge and news provided by networks of contacts to maintain their position and power, most famously by Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I's spymaster and Essex's father-in-law, who appears in the *Fleece* acting in a similar capacity for Apollo. The practice was no secret among the nobility. A letter written by Essex to the young Earl of Rutland, distributed widely in manuscript in court circles, states: 'I Hold it for a principle in the course of Intelligence of State, not to discourage men of meane capacity from writing unto mee; though I had at that same time very able advertisements: for either

[134] He also quotes Sidney's poetry: [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.1: 21; Pt.3: 63-64. Vaughan, *Poematum Libellus*; Marquardt, 'Introduction', xii. Vaughan, *Soules Exercise*, 239–40.

[135] John was questioned afterwards: Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Vol. XI* (Dublin: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1906), 82, 87, 107-8; also Bowen and Healy, 'History of Parliament'; Lloyd Bowen, 'Vaughan, John, First Earl of Carbery, (1574/5–1634), Courtier and Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28133; Jones, 'Golden Grove', 260–61.

[136] John Vaughan to Sir Robert Cecil, 6 April, 1601, and John Vaughan to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 August, 1601, Commission, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Salisbury MSS, XI*, 160; at 329. The brother is not named but we may safely assume it to be William. For further see Marquardt, 'Introduction', xix. See also John Vaughan to Robert Cecil, May 31, 1602, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Vol. XII* (Hereford: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1910), 172.

[137] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 26–30.

they sent mee matter which the other omitted, or made it clearer by describing the circumstances'.[138] (News/news-gatherers were often referred to as advertisements and the term was later used in preference to 'News' in the second English translation of Boccalini's *Ragguagli*, retitled *Advertisements from Parnassus*).[139]

Increasingly, gentlemen travellers, often artists/art-buyers or students, such as Vaughan, were similarly enjoined to provide information on foreign affairs and operate as the eyes and ears of the state when abroad.[140] As travellers of higher status, they could access different social spaces and levels of the social strata and offer complimentary information to those of 'meane capacity'.[141] This endeavour dovetailed neatly with existing recommendations that urged young noblemen to travel as part of their informal education—early grand 'tours', which were far wider in their ambition than later artistic models.[142] Travel was a means for the nobility to prepare for leadership and government and they were expected to make close observation of foreign nobles and governments,

[138] The authorship of this and two later letters to Rutland has long been debated. James Spedding and Brian Vickers have argued in favour of Francis Bacon, others have suggested Thomas Bodley, Fulke Greville or combined authorship: Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye To See', *History and Anthropology* 9 , no. 2–3 (1996): 175. Hammer, writing in the 1990s, suggested Bacon may have had a hand but, more recently, has made a convincing argument for Essex. He outlines the dispute, clarifies the dating of various copies and provides evidence of their manuscript circulation in: Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 149–51; Paul E J Hammer, 'The Earl of Essex, Fulke Greville, and the Employment of Scholars', *Studies in Philology* 91, no. 2 (1994): 171, fn. 20. The first letter was later published as Robert Devereux and Philip Sidney, 'The Late Earl of Essex His Advice to the Earl of Rutland in His Travels', in *Profitable Instructions Describing What Speciall Observations Are to Be Taken by Travellers in All Nations, States and Countries; Pleasant and Profitable. By the Three Much Admired, Robert, Late Earle of Essex. Sir Philip Sidney. And, Secretary Davison* (London: Benjamin Fisher, 1633), 27–29.

[139] Henry Carey, *I Ragguagli Di Parnasso, or, Advertisements from Parnassus in Two Centuries: With the Political Touchstone. Written Originally in Italian by That Famous Roman Trajano Boccalini; and Now Put into English by the Right Honourable Henry, Earl of Monmouth* (London: Humphrey Mosely, 1656).

[140] For instance, Gerbier, whose colonial constitution will be examined in later chapters, spied for Charles I and Buckingham (and foreign nations) while buying art for their collections, see: Nadine Akkerman, 'The Postmistress, the Diplomat, and a Black Chamber?: Alexandrine of Taxis, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and the Power of Postal Control', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 172–88. Other examples include the musician Alfonso Ferrabosco, and the poets and playwrights William Fowler, Anthony Munday and very likely Christopher Marlowe: 'William Fowler to Walsingham', ? Nov. 1582; 4 Jan. 1583; 5 Jan. 1583; [?] Jan. 1583, in William K. Boyd, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Vol. 6: 1581-83* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1910), 201; 267-268; 270; 289-291; Yates, *John Florio*, 84; John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber, 2011), 178–80.

[141] Devereux and Sidney, 'Profitable Instructions', 28; John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent*, 178.

[142] Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2013), 16.

topography, trade, history or other useful information, and to keep a record of all they observed.[143]

As his *Golden-Grove* demonstrates, Vaughan already took a great interest in these matters and uses such observations to address issues raised in the *Fleece*, noting, for instance, how new technologies could improve agriculture and, observing the effect of geography on trade, how it could be used to Britain's advantage.[144] The emphasis on experience and observation also reflects and anticipates the manifold instructions to travellers published later in the seventeenth century, which sought to methodise travel, and to order and classify the gathered data and experiences scientifically.[145] The early travel advice offered by Florio in *Second Frutes* (1591) was so well-known that in Jonson's *Volpone* (1606), Sir Politic Would-Be's ignorance of it was part of the joke.[146] Travel advice—*ars apodemica*—became a genre in itself and travel was transfigured from mere descriptive verb to an artform requiring mastery and skill.

So, when travelling between 1601 and 1603, Vaughan kept alert to useful political information. Given his lifelong dislike of Jesuits, it is no surprise that the information he believed was pertinent to national security related to the Jesuits and his (not entirely unfounded) belief that they were sending trained agents to England to corrupt English and Welsh souls.[147] (Or indeed into Newfoundland, as later happened at Calvert's behest, discussed in chapter three). Vaughan wrote to the Privy Council from Pisa in 1602 with details of English/Welsh operatives being trained in a Jesuit seminary.[148]

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[143] Devereux and Sidney, 'Profitable Instructions'; Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy 1485-1603* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1998), 132. It is similar to the type of data captured in the chorographical literature of the period—chorographies being a sort of regional survey combining political, cultural, socioeconomic, scientific and topographical observations that followed a broad formula, tailored to personal taste, as is outlined with examples in Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 65–69.

[144] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3.

[145] Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), see Part 1: Historical Perspectives; a multitude of examples is provided in Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye To See', *History and Anthropology* 9 , no. 2–3 (1996): 139–90 [reprinted in section III of *Travellers and Cosmographers*].

[146] John Florio, *Florios Second Frutes to Be Gathered of Twelve Trees, of Divers but Delightsome Tastes to the Tongues of Italians and Englishmen* (London: [T. Orwin] for Thomas Woodcock, 1591); Vine, *Miscellaneous Order,* 1–2.

[147] For his fanatical dislike of Jesuits, see Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, chap. 24, Of Iesuites. Chap. 24. He has Apollo banish them from Newfoundland in Vaughan, *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1:18-30, also Pt. 2, VIII. Also Vaughan, *Militant*, 286–87; 297.

[148] 'William Vaughan to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Egerton, Sir Robert Cecil, and the rest of the Council', 4-14 July, 1602, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Salisbury MSS, XII*, 211–13.

Vaughan later reworked and exaggerated these real-world events in the *Fleece*.[149] In this, the long-dead Walsingham, reimagined as Apollo's spymaster, assists fictitious versions of Vaughan, Burton and Florio (reputedly a real-life spy) in their surveillance and capture of 'Mariana the Jesuit', who is part of a wider diabolical plot to overthrow Protestant princes.[150] Jesuits help Mariana evade Essex and Sidney for sixteen years but he is eventually captured by the crack spy team of Vaughan, Florio, Walsingham, Burton and Argus Panoptes, the many-eyed giant of Greek myth.[151] Apollo expels the Jesuits from Parnassus and condemns Mariana to torture, roasted to death in a metal bull by means of a fire lit below, somewhat indicating the strength of Vaughan's feeling toward Jesuits.[152] This fantastical tale, an inflated version of a real-life incident, offers an illustrative example of how Vaughan conflates the real with the imaginary in the *Fleece* and uses it to fashion Newfoundland/New Cambrioll and its laws and customs. In a further entangling of his real and fantasy lives, he also included unembellished autobiographical anecdotes in the *Fleece* and other publications.[153]

Vaughan's coupling of hyperbolic versions of reality with imaginary events and mythical beings is characteristic of the *Fleece's* narrative. His blatant self-fashioning in the guise of Orpheus and other heroes is revealing (the Argonauts are early modern superheroes, complete with their human alter-ego: 'Sir William Vaughan'). Vaughan's '*New-found Fleece*' will 'rayse both Arts and Armes': the text allows Vaughan to fulfil his personal fantasies of heroism and literary fame in Apollo's Empire, and his colony, New Cambriol, offers hope that they might be partially-realised in colonial Newfoundland.[154] Heroism was on one hand something that historical and mythical figures embodied, that could be gained through material events and heroic action—it was external, publicly admired, collectively

[149] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 71.
[150] Mariana had written *De rege et regis institutione* (Toledo, 1598), which argued, as Vaughan puts it: 'how justifiable and glorious an Act it were for a Subject to kill a Tyrannicall or Hereticall Prince', which brought opprobrium down upon the Jesuits across Europe: see Vaughan, Pt 1: 20, 27. He also talks about Mariana in Vaughan, *Militant*, 287. Yates believed Florio was Walsingham's spy, but she in part uses Vaughan's fictional account in the *Fleece* to confirm her suspicions, so used here the argument is circular; however, it was not the sole basis of her supposition: Yates, *John Florio*, 84 –86; 187; Desmond O'Connor, 'Florio, John (1553–1625), Author and Teacher of Languages', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9758.
[151] The Jesuits he mentions were real people: 'Pererius [Benedict Pereira],[Francis] Tolet, Posseuinus [Antonio Possevino], [Robert] Bellarmine, & Peter Cotton of Paris [Pierre Coton]': Ibid., Pt. 1: 21-30.
[152] Ibid., Pt. 1: 30.
[153] Vaughan, Pt. 1: 27-28, also for instance in a personal religious work about slander and in a medical text: Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 193, 198, 278-84; Vaughan, *Newlander's*, A6v.-A7r.
[154] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, dedication to King.

acknowledged; but heroism was also an idea to aspire to and desire—something internal, personal: a potentially-unrealisable fantasy. Such fantasies are valuable of themselves, but they are also spurs to action whose importance is unacknowledged, habitually simplified as greed for money and power. Vaughan's promotional texts allow us to explore one man's understanding of the heroism and fame that plantation might procure; but they also reveal that the personal fantasies colonialism inspired are richer and more complex than is often recognised.

As Mackenzie argues, 'Empires, for imperialists, have always been realms of fantasy. The outer regions where empires are created and controlled is a fantastical world where larger-than-Life events take place, where great victories may be achieved and where fortunes and reputations can be made…Heroes inhabit such worlds'.[155] While he was writing about the nineteenth- and twentieth-century British Empire, the study of earlier colonial-imperial fantasies and the heroes that populate them deepens our understanding of early modern colonial mentalities and is also essential to an understanding of colonialism, imperialism and early modern culture more broadly.

The New World was widely promoted as a pathway to personal wealth and this is often considered to be the primary motive of planters and colonisers, but Vaughan's fantastical framework reveals that the dreams of colonisers far exceeded that of money, land, power, and title. Colonialism and voyages of exploration provided the real-world location and inspiration for fantasies of personal heroism and adventure, and potential for their fulfilment. The New World was a place in which Europeans could also reform and remake the self: a space where one could fashion oneself as a Classical hero of myth and legend, a Protestant Knight waging a godly war against Catholicism, a missionary bringing Christianity to heathens, a humble sinner doing the charitable work of Christ, and as a patriot of Wales and the nascent Great Britain.

[155] John M. Mackenzie and Berny Sèbe, 'General Editor's Introduction', in *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939* (Manchester and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), xiii–xiv.

2: Patchwork and Palimpsest: Vaughan's New Cambriol & the *Golden Fleece* (1626)

In the following chapter, two words—patchwork and palimpsest—inform discussions of Vaughan and his colonising efforts and it is useful to touch upon them briefly. The first relates to Vaughan's conception of the New World and New Cambriol, which are patchwork creations formed out of seemingly mismatched scraps of contemporary geographic and economic knowledge and experience, a desire to reform and improve society, and lessons and images drawn from the past. The *Fleece* replicates this patchwork formulation, stitching together the real and imagined works and deeds of himself and countless others to make something new in the manner of a collage. These patchwork counterparts, the *Golden Fleece* and New Cambriol, reflect, construct and design one another; they are both the object in the mirror and its reflective image.[1]

The other, palimpsest, comes from the ancient Greek words for 'again' and 'to scrape' and stems from the use of wax tablets which could be scraped after use and smoothed over to be used again. Parchment, tougher than paper, could also be cleaned and reused many times over, though occasional words or shadow phrases might still be deciphered, partially submerged below new layers of ink. Palimpsest, therefore, has come to describe any process of reuse, alteration and superimposition where traces of earlier forms can still be discerned, such as in artworks or urban landscapes. In geography and postcolonial studies, it neatly expresses the nature of physical, cultural and political landscapes that have been shaped by different generations, and/or multiple colonial powers and postcolonial governments. Where such studies commonly assess modern landscapes and present-day responses to them, this study is concerned with their deeper substrata: the historical formation of place and historical responses to real and imagined New World landscapes.

Vaughan, and most of the colonisers discussed here, never visited the New World. All made their colonial plans without having set foot in the Americas. Given the blank spaces

[1] Reminiscent of the 'double-prism' discussed in the introduction above. For further reflections see Kevin P. McDonald, *Pirates, Merchants, Settlers, and Slaves: Colonial America and the Indo-Atlantic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 64; Kevin McDonald, '"The Dream of Madagascar": English Disasters and Pirate Utopias of the Early Modern Indo-Atlantic World', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 98; 95–114; Houston, 'Introduction'.

on early maps and their ignorance of environmental realities, it has been said that Europeans saw the New World as a *tabula rasa* on which European powers could draw their own borders and socio-political plans. (The phrase is also often used to characterise Locke's ideas about human nature later in the century, but this is not the meaning intended here). *Tabula rasa* is most often translated as a blank slate, but a more accurate translation is a scraped tablet. It is not entirely new: it has just been smoothed over for reinscription, creating a palimpsest.

This is a far more precise and apt description of European views of the New World. If the New World was indeed a wax tablet, it was one that had been smoothed over ineffectively, with shadows of older ideas: traces of histories and myths and half-submerged fantasies left over from other places and times. This palimpsest, full of European cultural traces, was in turn laid over existing palimpsests of the Americas; those created by the multiple cultures and environments of the two continental land masses that had existed there for millennia prior to the arrival of Europeans. Each coloniser examined here, and countless others, grabbed the same wax tablet and inscribed it with their own thoughts and plans; traces of each remain, which we cannot ignore if we want to understand the European colonisation of the Americas then or now.

This chapter will therefore unpick the patchwork construction of Vaughan's text and the colony it seeks to promote by examining the framework, structure and style of the *Fleece* and the intellectual world it from which it emerged. As we have seen, Vaughan wishes to paint himself as a poet-hero-planter; he imagines New Cambriol as part of an allegorical empire in Parnassus as well as Great Britain, stitching the real world to his fantasy; yet he distinguishes this from the 'faigned' commonwealths of Plato and More, since his patterning of a society is intended for practical implementation where theirs were merely instructive. Jonson makes similar distinctions in discussion of the difference between poetry and politics or philosophy:

> I could never thinke the study of Wisdome confin'd only to the Philosopher: or of Piety to the Divine: or of State to the Politicke. But that he which can faine a Common-wealth (which is the Poet) can governe it with Counsels, strengthen it with Lawes, correct it with Judgements, informe it with Religion, and Morals; is all these. Wee doe not require in him meere Elocution; or an excellent faculty in verse; but the

> exact knowledge of all vertues, and their Contraries; with ability to render the one lov'd, the other hated, by his proper embattaling them. The Philosophers did insolently, to challenge only to them-selves that which the greatest Generals, and gravest Counsellors never durst. For such had rather doe, then promise the best things.[2]

Vaughan wants to be a wise Counsellor and General, to 'do rather than promise the best things' but he would do it in part through the poet's art. He embattles these contraries as Jonson suggests: putting virtues and vice, religious and economic models and colonialism itself on trial in his feigned commonwealth in the hopes that it will bring investment and character to his colony.

The overarching frame of Parnassus, complete with Muses, exemplifies the ideas of patchwork and palimpsest, connecting contemporary political texts (Boccalini) with Classical poetic and mythological tradition. The *Fleece* combines purely imaginary elements with real-world people and events, fusing reality and fantasy at different levels of scale. Common notions of time and space cannot be applied to the narrative when Saint Andrew, Tacitus and Chaucer may be brought to court on the same day in 1626. Both colony and text are a quilt of scholarly references and literary styles, even autobiography, since, as we have seen, Vaughan frequently inserts himself into the text and includes fictionalised incidents from his life. Its fabrication resembles a *cento*: a 'patchwork' or collage poem formed out of lines from others' poems. As a literary style or societal model, this approach may to modern eyes appear disordered or bizarre; but it was a way of organising knowledge and presenting an argument that would have been recognisable to his contemporaries. Ultimately, this fantastical frame shapes Newfoundland's landscapes and cartographies and provides us with the means to see it through his eyes.

Patchwork-thinking as early modern intellectual practice

Vaughan draws heavily on historical texts and the authority of the past to mould his patchwork New Cambriol and its textual twin. History is used as a tool of instruction throughout. Proverb, scripture and ecclesiastical histories illuminate and edify according to medieval tradition, but history is also instructive in the new mode, initiated by Justus

[2] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries', 595.

Lipsius' influential 1575 edition of Tacitus' *Annals*, which advocated searching, or 'mining', the works of Tacitus and other texts for moral and political truths.[3] Indeed Vaughan thoroughly mined the works of Lipsius in his *Golden-Grove*, which drew heavily on Lipsius' *Politica*—or rather William Jones' 1594 translation of it (Vaughan cites the Latin original whether as ultimate provenance or to obfuscate his plagiarism).[4] Indeed—in a palimpsest of unacknowledged borrowings—Vaughan also uses Jones' translation for countless quotations of Tacitus, Xenophon, Demosthenes and others, in addition to a range of other sources that might be cited, uncited, misattributed or misquoted.[5]

Though employing fewer direct quotations than *Golden-Grove* or *Spirit*, the *Fleece* is undoubtedly a patchwork stitched with material drawn from innumerable reference works and primary sources. Marquardt goes so far as to say that the earlier, less imaginative, *Golden-Grove*, contained very little of Vaughan, being 'literally a mosaic of borrowings'.[6] This perhaps misses a further, stylistic, 'borrowing' from Lipsius' *Politica*—or indeed Philip Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* or Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy,* also referenced by Vaughan—all which have been criticized by modern scholars as being little more than compilations of quotations.[7] This mode of expression seen through modern eyes, might be described as derivative at best or plagiaristic and disingenuous at worst, but this would not

[3] Anthony Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 227–43, esp. 234–35; Alan T. Bradford, 'Stuart Absolutism and the "Utility" of Tacitus', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (1983): 127–28; Vera Keller, 'Mining Tacitus: Secrets of Empire, Nature and Art in the Reason of State', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 45, no. 2 (2012): 189–212.

[4] Marquardt, 'Introduction', lxiv; Justus Lipsius, *Sixe Bookes of Politickes or Civil Doctrine, Written in Latine by Iustus Lipsius*, trans. William Jones (London: Richard Field for William Ponsonby, 1594). The original was Justus Lipsius, *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (Leiden: Plantijn-Raphelengius, 1589).

[5] Marquardt, 'Introduction', lxiv. Vaughan cites Lipsius four times and never Jones, though many of the quotes of Classical authors he includes are also drawn from Jones.

[6] Ibid., lii. Marquardt's use of the term appears to be serendipitous, as he does not connect it to the cento, which is sometimes called a mosaic poem, or to early modern descriptions of prose forms as works of mosaic/marquetry/inlay; e.g. John Donne drew parallels between mosaic work, the stitched tapestries in Exodus' Tabernacle and the composition of the Bible in 'A Lent-SERMON Preached at WHITE-HALL, *February* 20. 1617 in' J. Donne, P. McCullough, and D. Colclough, *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne. Volume I of XVI: Sermons Preached at the Jacobean Courts, 1615-19*, ed. P. McCullough, Sermons (Oxford University Press, 2013), 59; and for further examples, see Stuart Farley, 'Opus Musivum, Opus Variegatum: The Mosaic Form in Early Modern Culture', *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 1 (2017): 107–24. Emblems, epigrams and mosaics were also closely connected: Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979), 180.

[7] Ann Moss, 'The Politica of Justus Lipsius and the Commonplace-Book', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 3 (28 January 1998): see refs on 422; Edward N. Zalta, 'Justus Lipsius', The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2019 Edition), 2019, see section 3 on *Politica*, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2019/entries/justus-lipsius/%3E; Angus Gowland, *Renaissance Melancholy*, 8, fn. 30; Margaret Jane Kidnie, 'A Critical Edition of Philip Stubbes's Anatomie of Abuses' (Phd diss., University of Birmingham, 1996), 55; for examples, see 55–64.

take into account the distance between present-day and Renaissance epistemologies, which saw traditional authorities as the ultimate source of truth and knowledge but cared far less for the niceties of citation.[8] This mode remained popular well into the end of the century but gradually gave way to a taste and preference for a cleaner style in the Enlightenment and an appeal to the new authorities of empirical science and reason. (Writers continued to collate and comment upon the works of others in commonplace books but these became private works, expressions and collections, rather than public, published ones).

To Vaughan and many of his contemporaries, the veracity of the precept and the antiquity or credibility of the source were far more important than the accurate referencing of intermediary or secondary sources and translators. Edmund Bolton puts it plainly in *Elements of Armories* when, considering the figure of an ancient Cimbrian shield and the accuracy of its (invented) depiction, he writes that 'The most learned JUSTUS LIPSIUS, of immortall memorie, hath delivered it upon his credit. Trust it'—a command that gives some indication of the social credit and academic authority allotted to such luminaries.[9] Acknowledged authorities could be used in a similar fashion to encyclopaedias: as source and evidence of fact, rather than opinion. For instance, John Selden recommended: 'In quoting of books, quote such authors as are usually read, others you may read for your own satisfaction, but not name them. Quoting of authors is most for matter of fact, and then I write them as I would produce a witness, sometimes for a free expression and then I give the author his due and gain myself praise by reading him'.[10] Vaughan takes the idea to its literal conclusion, turning revered writers into expert witnesses in Apollo's court.

This conceit allowed him to pillage more broadly from history and myth to repurpose the names, deeds and reputation of real and imagined characters to bolster his argument for colonisation and the reform of Great Britain. Inserting significant contemporary/historical/mythical figures into the narrative as dynamic characters was an approach also borrowed from writers he both references and animates, such as Walter Map and Boccalini, whose *Rauggagli* made characters of both Lipsius and Tacitus, the latter also

[8] Even famous scholars such as Lipsius, Scaliger and Casaubon failed to acknowledge intellectual debts: Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead*, 233–34.

[9] Edmund Bolton, *Elements of Armories* (London: George Eld, 1610), 33.

[10] John Selden, *The Table-Talk of John Selden*, ed. S.W. Singer and W.S.W. Anson (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1900), 100–101; Blair, *Too Much to Know*, for further on citation, see 241–46. Vaughan also writes that he will 'prove [his argument] out of the Holy Scriptures, and by the authoritie of the Primitive Church': [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 68-69.

featuring in the *Fleece*. Vaughan sometimes cites sources as a means of supplying evidence to Apollo's court, but often simply has the author-character express condensed versions of their works as dialogue, as with the mercantilist treatises of Edward Misselden and Gerard de Malynes.[11] More often, tracing the sources or translations that have inspired these dialogues is challenging or impossible, since many debates between parties living centuries apart might cite texts as evidence but are also speculative, such as when the twelfth century father of canon law, Gratian, debates with the sixteenth century leader of the Swiss Reformation, Huldrych Zwingli.[12] Even where sources are identified, his attributions are not always precise or correct, while others are unattributed but misleading; for instance, putting someone else's anecdote in a character's mouth—as when one of the wisemen of Greece, Chilon, tells a story about Erasmus in the context of expanding the 'fleece' and further enriching Britain.[13]

Also, despite his obvious admiration for the works he mines, Vaughan—like Stubbes, from whom he borrows—often misquotes or edits a passage or allusion to better suit his argument, or occasionally for satirical effect.[14] This incorporation and cannibalisation of others' works was not uncommon. In his commonplace, *Timber, or, Discoveries* (1641) Ben Jonson regularly used the first-person in sections translated or written by others (even personal letters), which can be misleading or feel deceptive to later readers.[15] The title *Timber* and elsewhere *silva* or *sylva,* likens experience of the text to walking in a forest of accumulated knowledge that provides readers with the raw timber from which they can fashion their own literary or intellectual objects.[16] Bacon's *Sylva sylvarum* or Forest of Forests, for instance, detailed myriad often-unattributed experiments in natural history by

[11] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 1-7; Gerard Malynes, *A Treatise of the Canker of Englands Common Wealth Deuided into Three Parts: Wherein the Author Imitating the Rule of Good Phisitions, First, Declareth the Disease. Secondarily, Sheweth the Efficient Cause Thereof. Lastly, a Remedy for the Same*, *Canker of Englands Common Wealth* (London: Richard Field for William Johnes, 1601); Edward Misselden, *The Circle of Commerce. Or The Ballance of Trade: In Defence of Free Trade: Opposed to Malynes Little Fish and His Great Whale, and Poized against Them in the Scale. Wherein Also, Exchanges in Generall Are Considered: And Therein the Whole Trade of This K*, *Circle of Commerce* (London: John Dawson for Nicholas Bourne, 1623).

[12] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 85–91.

[13] Ibid., Pt. 3: 67.

[14] Stubbes, 'Anatomie of Abuses', 60. He also does this in translation of Boccalini, see Marquardt, 'Translators of Boccalini', 10–18.

[15] Lorna Hutson, 'Introduction to Timber: Or, Discoveries (Printed 1641)', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/works/discoveries/facing/#.

[16] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries'; Hutson, 'Introduction to Timber', she notes Erasmus referred to his *Adages* in a similar fashion, 'as *sylvam aliquam adagiorum*, "a sort of collection of adages", which would give modern readers access to classical literary wealth', n.p..

Bacon and others and has been disparaged as a work of transcription, but was described by William Rawley who published it after Bacon's death, as a 'work [that] collected the materials for the building' of a complete natural history, the foundation of Bacon's great instauration.[17] The *Sylva* itself has been likened to a 'quarry', providing materials for both Bacon himself and Baconian scholars (and as such being both a quarriable source and exemplar of the humanists' practise of 'mining' texts).[18] Rawley proposed that Bacon's commentary guided readers through the forest so they were not 'utterly lost in [this] vast wood of experience'.[19] Sylva can also be translated as a grove or orchard and as with these other 'sylvan' texts, Vaughan intended that his readers would 'reapest good' from his *Golden-Grove* and its culled knowledge.[20]

Much of the material Vaughan and his contemporaries collected from other texts was drawn from commonplace collections which took an equally casual stance toward sourcing, such as medieval *florilegia* (thematic and alphabetised sayings), indexes, miscellanies or commonplaces, which included precepts or exemplars in addition to quotations.[21] Vernacular proverbs were as valued and prevalent as religious and Classical maxims, as were emblem books—the most popular running to 200 editions.[22] Florio placed enormous value on such sayings, which is perhaps why, when Vaughan attributes some verses to Florio in the *Fleece*, Yates is reminded of the 'proverbial "sayings" in Florio's

[17] William Rawley, 'To the Reader', in *The Works of Francis Bacon. Vol. II*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath (London: Longman and Co., 1857), 336. Ellis gives attributions for some of the experiments and notes that *sylva,* being the 'materials out of which anything is to be constructed', comes from the Greek, while Spedding translates *Sylva sylvarum* as a 'collection of collections': Robert Leslie Ellis, 'Preface to the Sylva Sylvarum', in *The Works of Francis Bacon,* 7 vols, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath (London: Longman and Co., 1857-1859), 2:328-9. There is ongoing controversy about whether Bacon intended Sylva's publication and/or its arrangement, though not his authorship per se, e.g. Graham Rees, 'An Unpublished Manuscript by Francis Bacon: Sylva Sylvarum Drafts and Other Working Notes', *Annals of Science* 38, no. 4 (1 July 1981): 377–412; Doina-Cristina Rusu and Christoph Lüthy, 'Extracts from a Paper Laboratory: The Nature of Francis Bacon's Sylva Sylvarum', *Intellectual History Review* 27, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 171–202.

[18] Rusu and Lüthy, 'Paper Laboratory', 174.

[19] Rawley, 'To the Reader', 336–37.

[20] Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, 'To the Reader'.

[21] For further on reference genres in early modern Europe and the organising of information, or knowledge as contemporaries would have called it, see Blair, esp. 117–72; for their plunder by writers/playwrights, see 241-246; also Vine, *Miscellaneous Order.*

[22] Peter M. Daly, *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2014), 31–38; see 31 for bibliographic references and regarding editions; Arpad Steiner, 'The Vernacular Proverb in Mediaeval Latin Prose', *The American Journal of Philology* 65, no. 1 (15 December 1944): 37–68.

manuals'.[23] Florio compiled 6000 Italian proverbs in the *Gardine of Recreation*, incorporating them into dialogues in *Second Frutes,* to transport his readers to the groves and streets of Italy and inhabit the culture through precept and language; words and language were other worlds and the pathway to them—as is expressed in the titles of his English-Italian dictionaries, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) and *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611).[24] Textual spaces or spatial allegories—new worlds, gardens, groves, woods, mines, quarries—expressed movement, exploration, discovery and purpose, and voiced language's ability to inform, grow, illuminate and alter. Vaughan likewise hoped to convey the culture and government he imagined for New Cambriol and to transport his readers to the New World through his own new world of words.

Literary skill was therefore as important to Vaughan as the political knowledge presented in his *Fleece*.[25] Marquardt, thoroughly irritated by Vaughan's careless attitude to citation across his texts, nonetheless proposed that Vaughan's stylistic intention with the *Golden-Grove* was to create an ode to rhetoric, modelled on, and intended as an exemplar of, Thomas Wilson's influential *Art of Rhetorique* (1553).[26] Vaughan's other works are likewise concerned with style and form and occasionally aim at Erasmian copiousness: an abundance of expression and ideas, exemplified by variety of language and expansive examples.[27] For instance, Vaughan's *Spirit* emulates literary anatomies, medieval pastoral texts (religious rather than bucolic), and early modern treatises against the sins of the tongue—which ironically, through their pursuit of an effective rhetorical style, are often guilty of the 'excesses of the tongue' they criticise.[28] Like the texts they draw upon, Vaughan's works share a fondness for medical/anatomical metaphors and are characterised

[23] Yates, *John Florio*, 131.

[24] Florio, *Second Frutes*; Yates, *John Florio*, 131; O'Connor, 'Florio, John (1553–1625), Author and Teacher of Languages'; John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, or Most Copious, and Exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, Collected by Iohn Florio* (London: Arnold Hatfield for Edw. Blount, 1598); John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues, Collected, and Newly Much Augmented by Iohn Florio* (London: Melch. Bradwood [and William Stansby], for Edw. Blount and William Barret, 1611).

[25] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, e.g. he wishes to 'rayse both Arts and Armes': dedication to the King.

[26] Marquardt, 'Introduction', liii-liv, xliii–l. He is equally frustrated by Vaughan's lack of skill and selective approach to translation, see Marquardt, 'Translators of Boccalini', especially 10-18;

[27] A style famously extolled by Erasmus in 1512; for further, see Desiderius Erasmus, 'Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style (De Duplici Copia Verborum Ac Rerum Commentarii Duo)', trans. Betty Knott, in *Collected Works of Erasmus, Vol. 24*, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).

[28] For an excellent example of this, see Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction,* 341. For futher, see Sandrine Parageau, '"Play, Utopia or Anguish"?: Accounting for the Persistence of the Discourse against Slander from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period', *Style* 51, no. 2 (2017): 207–27; Margaret Jane Kidnie, 'Introduction', in *Philip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies Vol. 245)*, ed. Margaret Jane Kidnie (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 21–22.

by a clear order and structure, inhabited by a contrasting confusion and abundance of allegories, references and quotations.[29]

Words form and inform our reality and Vaughan's views on authorship and literary style are significant since they create and shape New Cambriol as well as his texts. He admired others' borrowings and reworkings, complimenting Edward Coke on his ability to transform turgid texts into 'choysest Olives'.[30] This indicates an attitude to literary creation that sits in opposition to modern notions of authorship. Renaissance polymaths demonstrated their 'genius' by accumulating the words of others—anathema to later conceptions of authorship and authority (e.g. the enduring model of the 'inspired genius' whose words and ideas are considered entirely original, later challenged by postmodernism in which all texts are derivative).[31] Imitation in this culture, if not done 'servilely' or crudely was not an inferior form of artistry but emblematic of it; as Jonson—drawing on Classical sources—proposes: a 'requisite in our Poet, or Maker, is *Imitation*, to bee able to convert the substance, or Riches of an other Poet, to his owne use. To make choise of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him, till he grow very *Hee*: or, so like him, as the Copie may be mistaken for the Principall'.[32] In fact, the critical reception of Jonson's *Timber* itself can be mapped positively/negatively according to evolving notions of what constituted true authorship and ideas about intellectual property.[33] A further aspect of this is the idea of the completed work, expressive of its author's true thoughts and final opinions. This may be contrasted with early printed texts, by Bacon and Montaigne for instance, which like manuscripts and artworks, were in a state of constant revision or 'perpetual motion'.[34] Writers often contradicted themselves, added notes or overlaid earlier ideas with revisions in different editions, creating a personal palimpsest.

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[29] Parageau, 'Discourse against Slander', especially 210-214. Regarding structure: the *Fleece* is organised by Parts which focus on different broad subjects broken down into chapters, following a similar format to the *Grove*, while the *Spirit* is organised into 7 'Circles' i.e. parts that likewise focus upon different themes/subjects within which are multiple 'Lineaments', i.e. chapters, that address subcategories within the broader subject of the 'Circle'.

[30] Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 160–61.

[31] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 174–75; Anthony Grafton, 'The World of the Polyhistors: Humanism and Encyclopedism', *Central European History* 18, no. 1, The Culture of the Holy Roman Empire, 1540–1680 (1985): 31–47.

[32] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries', 638.

[33] For further, see Hutson, 'Introduction to Timber'.

[34] Farley, 'Mosaic Form', esp. 112. Farley cites Michel Jeanneret, *Perpetual Motion: Transforming Shapes in the Renaissance from da Vinci to Montaigne*, trans. Nidra Poller (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 197–202.

This magpie approach was for Vaughan and many of the writers he emulates a conscious intellectual choice rather than simply reflecting a lack of skill, originality or application (though these are not mutually exclusive), using the words and style of others to augment their argument and its presentation. Jonson believed absorbing the works of others developed the writer's skill and intellect, writing that 'the mind and memory are more sharply exercised in comprehending another man's things than our own; and such as accustom themselves and are familiar with the best authors shall ever and anon find somewhat of them in themselves: and in the expression of their minds, even when they feel it not, be able to utter something like theirs, which hath an authority above their own'.[35]

These writers were open about their literary debts. Stubbes makes an interesting choice of verb when he writes: 'I have collected [the *Anatomie*], for the benefit of my c[o]untry'.[36] Vaughan states bluntly that a chapter of the *Spirit* is a 'merry stirie borrowed out of Peter de Loiers book of Specters' while another is 'aphorismes collected out of the first fathers of the Primitive Church'.[37] Yet even while acknowledging these 'borrowings', Vaughan saw the *Spirit* as a unique creation and his greatest to date. Where his earlier works of prose and verse were 'the froathy fruites of mine adolesency... whereby Apothecaries or Fishmongers should challenge them for waste leaves to wrap about their drugges and Macarelles', he believed the revelatory power of the *Spirit* would withstand posterity's judgment.[38] He invites all sinners and fools to 'taunt it and teare it...to make Tennis-balles, and to bandy it away... for fooles will be fooles still, and so live and die in their foolish phantasies'.[39] Lipsius likewise believed his *Politica* to be one of his greatest achievements, even while embracing the communal nature of its creation, stating plainly: 'All of it is mine and nothing is'.[40] On one hand he judged it to be a new creation by his having imposed order on his sources, while on the other observed: 'what is it but a well-arranged register of accounts or COMMONPLACES?'.[41] Burton's *Anatomie,* cited in the *Fleece*, has been described in similar terms, as with Jonson's *Timber*.[42]

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[35] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries', 616, see also 638-639.
[36] Stubbes, 'Anatomie of Abuses', 106.
[37] Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 187-188, 219-221.
[38] Ibid., 112.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Moss, 'Politica of Justus Lipsius', Lipsius quoted on 422.
[41] Zalta, 'Justus Lipsius', section 3; Moss, 'Politica of Justus Lipsius', quoted on 422.
[42] Gowland, *Renaissance Melancholy*; [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 68; Hutson, 'Introduction to Timber'.

Usefully, the various subtitles Jonson offers in the preface of this work—Timber, Silva, Explorata, and Discoveries—highlight the similarities between the language used to describe the expansion and extraction of knowledge enabled by the commonplace compilation, and that of geographic discovery and exploration and the material benefits of colonialism.[43] Jonson, unintentionally, reveals the connection between this style or form of text and the exploration of the New World and exploitation of its resources: a literary approach aptly adopted by Vaughan to describe his colony and Newfoundland. In this magpie fashion, emulative of the Classical cento (in turn modelled on the artistic mosaic), Vaughan, and those he imitated, conveyed layered meaning by connecting their own words/works to those of others, whether explicitly, by quotation, reference, or by allusion.[44] Depending on the writer's skill, thereby weaving a new fabric—or furnishing a dress with new trim. Indeed, Montaigne described Lipsius' *Politica* as 'a learned and laboriously woven fabric'.[45] It is what literary scholars would call intertextuality, a term adopted by post-structuralists to describe the same thing. Whether describing a patchwork stitched together or a cloth that is seamlessly and carefully woven, 'fabric' aptly describes Vaughan's literary style—but it also defines his colony, New Cambriol, which Vaughan refers to in the same terms: as a 'new fabricke' and as a 'famous fabrick'.[46] Thus an intellectual milieu and literary style gave rise to the form and imagined construction and settlement of a colony.

Discerning Truths

Mosaic texts, such as Vaughan's, are in part a response to the period's approach to learning, and a specific understanding of what constituted intellectual depth and rigour. Jonson (aptly) proposes that a:

> multiplicity of reading, which maketh a full man, not alone enabling him to know the *History*, or Argument of a *Poeme*, and to report it: but so to master the matter, and Stile, as to shew, hee knowes, how to handle, place, or dispose of either, with *elegancie*, when need shall bee. And not thinke, hee can leape forth suddainely a

[43] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries', 562–63.
[44] Re cento's connection to mosaic, see Farley, 'Mosaic Form', 115-117.
[45] Moss, 'Politica of Justus Lipsius', 422: 'ce docte et laborieux tissu'. See also Donne, McCullough, and Colclough, *Sermons,* 1:59.
[46] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 3, 25.

> *Poet*, by dreaming hee hath been in *Parnassus*, or, having washt his lipps (as they say) in Helicon.[47]

As this suggests, a wide-ranging, encyclopaedic knowledge was seen as the pinnacle of humanist learning in the early seventeenth century, demonstrated by one's ability to draw upon diverse sources and apply them judiciously with rhetorical flourish.[48] The scholarly ideal was the polymath, those who perhaps did not even require books of reference to aid their memories, as Joseph Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon famously claimed.[49] One can sense the excitement, even panic, of scholars as they paddled furiously to keep afloat and abreast of the torrent of information the learned were expected to absorb—the urgency to harness all knowledge in one mind, library, object, or 'Omnegatherum': the wonderfully descriptive title coined by John Fitzjames for his manuscript miscellany.[50] Bacon's *Sylva sylvarum* is a product of the same compulsion. In an effort it to rescue it from intellectual ignominy it has recently been characterised as a 'paper laboratory'—a lovely but incomplete description since this 'collection of collections' marries laboratory with archive in an 'omnegatherum' of natural history experiments (which by its nature could only be concluded by Bacon's death).[51] Seeking to impose some order upon the deluge of information, scholars compiled ever-expanding indexes, categories and even devices to assist them, such as the ingenious 'Ark of Studies', or 'note closet' designed by Thomas Harrison for Gerbier's friend, Samuel Hartlib (fig. 16).[52] The Ark was aptly named. It acted like an external memory or endlessly expandable filing cabinet that could capture and save information from vanishing in the flood of books and ideas.

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[47] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries', 639.

[48] Grafton, *Bring Out Your* Dead, 166–80; Grafton, 'World of the Polyhistors', 31–47; Gowland, *Renaissance Melancholy*, 7; Kathryn Murphy, 'Robert Burton and the Problems of Polymathy', *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 2 (26 January 2014):, 279-297, at 279; Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, 64–65.

[49] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 245; Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, 64.

[50] Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, 63–67.

[51] Rusu and Lüthy, 'Paper Laboratory'.

[52] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, especially chapter on information management: 11-61, and on 'the note closet': 93-102; Vine, *Miscellaneous Order,* for instance, see discussion of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc's vast collection: 64-65. For further on Harrison's cabinet and Hartlib's reaction see Noel Malcolm, 'Thomas Harrison and His "Ark of Studies" An Episode in the History of the Organization of Knowledge', *The Seventeenth Century* 19, no. 2 (1 September 2004): 196–232, esp. 196; Alberto Cevolini, *Thomas Harrison: The Ark of Studies* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2017); Samuel Hartlib, *The Hartlib Papers*, ed. M. Greengrass, M. Leslie, and M. Hannon (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 2013), 30/4/46A-8 (Ephemerides, 1640, part 2). Locke later developed a new method for indexing his commonplace books: John Locke, *Posthumous Works of Mr. John Locke: Viz 1. Of the Conduct of Understanding. ... To Which Is Added, VI. His New Method of Common-Place Book*, ed. Francis William Garforth (London: W. B. for A. and J. Churchill, 1706).

While the Ark of Studies had yet to be invented when Vaughan was writing, it responds to the same intellectual world. Vaughan described the *Spirit* as his 'adventurous Arke, fraught…with simple Circles [his principal themes] in steed of Noahs necessarie implements'.[53] *The Fleece* is both ark and *omnigatherum*: a vessel that saves the best of the Old World, carrying all Vaughan's favourite writers, statesmen and ideas to the New-Found Land, while the errors and vices of Britain, a corrupted Eden, can be washed away. The *Fleece* is concerned with discovering truths: the true religion, true political instruments, a true 'utopia'; knowledge which could be gathered from the sea of sources outlined above. In

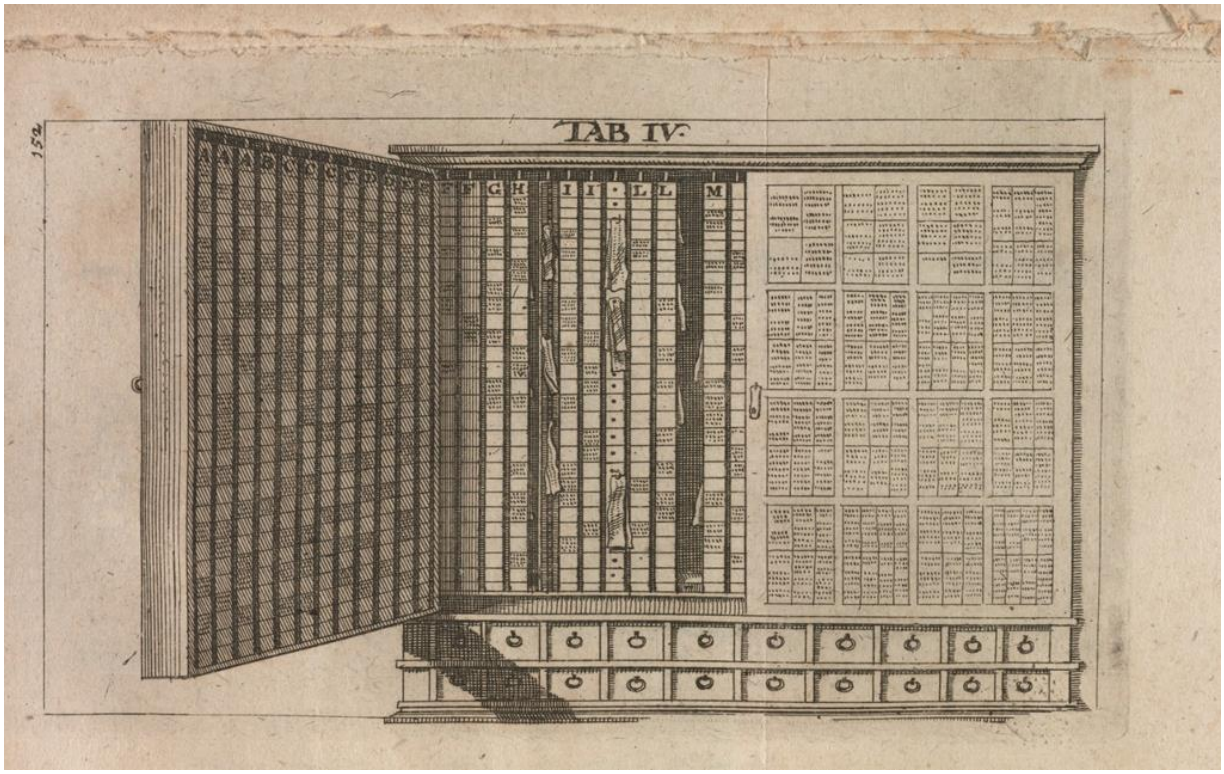


Fig. 16: The note closet based on Thomas Harrison's Arca studiorum (ca. 1640) designed for Samuel Hartlib and later built for Vincent Placcius and Gottfried Leibniz. From Vincent Placcius, De arte excerpendi: Vom gelehrten Buchhalten liber singularis (Hamburg: G. Liebezeit, 1689), Tab. IV, plate for 152, facing 154. GEN *GC6.P6904.689d. Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

discussion of 'monstrous books' written by those who wish 'to gaine themselves windy applauses', he writes that:

> For my part I have experimented, that when I laboured (like the Bee) to sucke out some substantiall juyce out of … these bookes, I could get not one droppe to distill

[53] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 351.

> downe my painfull pen. When I would have gathered golden graines out of Chersilus [a famous Athenian poet] his doung, instead of gold I collected drosse. …When I had imployed the uttermost of my devoir [duty] analytically to draw the materiall points of a whole printed quire of paper… instead of marrow detractions, instead of method, neyther rime nor reason.[54] [Jonson, uses a similar metaphor to suggest the character of the reader has some bearing on the extraction, observing: '*There* be some men are born only to suck out the poyson of books.']

Vaughan characterises this scholarly duty in scientific and alchemical terms: experiment, extraction, distillation, the transmutation of words into gold. As Vaughan writes in the *Golden-Grove* (in what I believe are his own words but may indeed be another's): 'Science [is] the Art of discerning the truth' (science here meaning all knowledge, that acquired by study or book-learning, as well as reason, practical demonstration and the divine).[56] In other words, truth could be found through the close examination and mining of books, and especially Classical and patristic texts.

Yet Vaughan's principle also suggests that books do not necessarily have to provide literal truths (facts or reflections of reality) but the means to 'discern' or discover them. Myths and fables could be both the source of higher truths and the vehicle by which one could communicate them. Therefore, Vaughan could draw on the pool of myth to convey truths about the wisdom of colonialism and his cornucopian colony. The practise had long precedent: Sidney proposed that ancient works by 'Hesiod and Homer, under the veil of fables, … give us all knowledge, logic, rhetoric, philosophy natural and moral … there are many mysteries contained in poetry, which of purpose were written darkly, lest by profane wits it should be abused'.[57] Bacon too thought the ancients had 'purposely shadowed' their knowledge in fable but that Hesiod and Homer were vehicles of yet older wisdom.[58] He offered his own interpretation of selected myths, seeing them as a pathway to pre-Hellenic

[54] Vaughan, *Golden Fleece,* 105, 107–8.
[55] Jonson, 'Timber, or, Discoveries', 595. He also uses it like Vaughan [639-9]. The metaphor of bee as poet was more ancient still: Vaughan and Jonson are drawing on the bees of Pindar, Horace and Virgil (Jonson doing so explicitly). For further on the bee metaphor and debates on originality and imitation in the Classical world, see Christopher Trinacty, 'The Fox and the Bee: Horace's First Book of Epistles', *Arethusa* 45 , no. 1 ((11 April 2012): 57–77. It was so frequent that Swift uses a bee to represent the Ancients in: Jonathan Swift, 'A Full and True Account of the BATTEL Fought Last FRIDAY, Between the Antient and the Modern BOOKS in St. JAMES's Library', in *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 104–25.
[56] Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, see chapters 64 and 65.
[57] Sidney, 'Defence of Poetry', 121.
[58] Bacon, *Wisedome of the Ancients*, A6v-A7r, B1r.

knowledge, providing traces of our oldest selves (Vaughan mirrors the language of *Wisedome's* Preface).[59] The only difference between the 'the mysteries and secrets of Antiquity [and the]… records and evidences' of later times was 'the vaile of fiction', which Bacon believed he could penetrate to reveal philosophical truths.[60] Bacon saw allegory as a powerful teacher and used it himself to present a model society in the *New Atlantis*.[61] Though he occasionally expressed doubts about some of his conceits, Vaughan judged he was doing the same and more with his allegorical *Fleece*; his allegory would go beyond the instructive, 'faigned' commonwealths of philosophers to move his readers to (virtuous) action and to fashion the character of a real place—a somewhere and nowhere.[62]

Vaughan thus uses myth and satire to present his distilled knowledge: 'true receits' about the colonising endeavour in Newfoundland and the benefits of plantation and fisheries.[63] Despite adopting alchemical metaphors, Vaughan had a virulent dislike of alchemists (being of the Devil) and wished to contrast the wisdom of colonisation with what he saw as their spurious claims.[64] To that end Vaughan has his own version of the 'Fraternitie of the Rosie Crosse' appear to 'remedie all abuses' and bless the plantation of New Cambriol.[65] Though a common perception of a connection between Rosicrucianism and alchemy persists, recent scholarship suggests Rosicrucianism was part of a broader movement of millenarianism and utopian Protestant reform and that some within this wider Christian effort attempted to wrest it from its alchemical associations.[66] This would seem to be Vaughan's aim here. When they arrive at Parnassus, Apollo at first:

> seemed to slight the newes, thinking they might be some of those *Cabalisticall Mountebankes*, which went abroad selling of smoke, and making credulous persons

[59] He explains this in some detail in the Preface: Ibid., A1r-B4r sig. For further discussion, see Howard White, *Peace Among the Willows: The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1968), Chapter VII, especially 108-109.
[60] Bacon, *Wisedome of the Ancients*, Preface.
[61] White, *Peace among the Willows*, see quotation 109 and fn. 3. Bacon, 'New Atlantis'. However, Bacon disapproves of myths applied superficially or to 'vulgar things': Bacon, *Wisedome of the Ancients*, Preface.
[62] Junior [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, A2v. Re poetry or fiction's power to move to virtuous action see Sidney, 'Defence of Poetry'.
[63] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, A2v-r.
[64] Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 237.
[65] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, esp. Pt. 2: 88-102 and Pt. 3: 81-95.
[66] For the link to alchemy see Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Englightenment*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1972). For utopian Protestant movements, see Donald R. Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 1998), throughout, especially 18-80; and references in Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest*, 69, who adds political debate to the Rosicrucianist mix.

> to believe, that they were of a *Mathematicall fry,* and race of wise *Philosophers*, to whom *Mercurius Trismegistus* had transferred the never erring Art of discerning Truth from falshood, the meanes to unite the variable will of man, and that which Worldlings doe most prize, to make the *Philosophers Stone*. But … this *Fraternitie* … were the *foure famous Patrones* of *Great* Brittaines *Monarchie, Saint* George, *Saint* Andrew, *Saint* David, and *Saint* Patricke.[67]

Vaughan thus reclaimed the brotherhood for utopian Christian purposes. His allegorical style bears resemblance to the Rosicrucian pamphlets, which drew on esoteric and scriptural prophecies to describe the founding of the Protestant 'Fraternity of the Rose Cross'. The earliest of these, *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614) was published with a chapter of Boccalini's *Ragguagli* on 'General Reformation' and reprinted with it five times.[68] This chapter of Boccalini's satirises projects of social reform and features the wisemen of Greece, who are condemned by Boccalini in Vaughan's *Fleece* for having made in the *Ragguagli* 'frivolous Proclamations they divulged of purpose to blinde the eyes of the multitude' instead of 'a general Reformation of all the most notorious Vices'.[69] Vaughan wants to rescue Rosicrucianism and its claims to truth from the taint of alchemy. Furthermore, by contrasting the 'true' reforms of the *Fleece* with those satirised by Boccalini in the chapter published with the *Fama* (and placing them in the same frame), he wishes to rescue the whole project of socio-religious reform. In this he follows Burton's commentary on Boccalini's chapter: that it was the methods of reform that were indicted and mocked rather than the project of reform itself.[70]

Vaughan's works are, he argues, vitally concerned with truth and knowledge, but he offers an allegorical and dramatical path of discernment: a way of seeing rather than the literal truth or facts. His works were to be the guide and lens, whether one was seeking political or spiritual enlightenment. He claims, for instance, that 'by the review of [his] *Souls Exercise*, Men may see in *Christian Crystall glaesse*'.[71] He was not alone. Secular and Christian texts advocated similar methods and adopted virtually identical metaphors in the pursuit of knowledge, whether of God or politics: mirrors and spectacles featured heavily.

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[67] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 87.
[68] For further on this, see Penman, 'Sophistical Fancies', 101-20; Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*, 18, 36, 62-63; the translator, Christoph Besold was, like Vaughan, anti-Jesuit.
[69] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 83.
[70] Penman, 'Sophistical Fancies', 105.
[71] Vaughan, *Soules Exercise*, sig. A2v.

John Calvin, recommended close observation of the natural world rather than myth as a way to better understand God: 'This skillful ordering of the universe is for us a sort of mirror in which we can contemplate God, who is otherwise invisible'.[72] He recommended the use of scriptural 'spectacles' to apprehend God: 'Just as old or bleary-eyed men and those with weak vision, if you thrust before them a most beautiful volume… can scarcely construe two words, but with the aid of spectacles will begin to read distinctly; so Scripture, gathering up the otherwise confused knowledge of God in our minds, having dispersed our dullness, clearly shews us the true God'.[73]

The Taciteans followed suit, recommending close examination of natural and political histories to discern deeper truths and advocating the use of magical spectacles. In the *Politicke,* Lipsius tells Apollo that Tacitus is 'the chiefe Standard bearer of all famous Historians, the Father of humane wisdome, the Oracle of perfect reason of State', but his political knowledge is so accurate he is arrested for creating a pair of 'politicall spectacles' which allow the common people to see through the politically-expedient lies of Princes and into their (deceitful) hearts.[74] Indeed, in the *Politicke*, we are told about 'an infinite quantity of spectacles of admirable and sundry vertues', while in the *Fleece*, references to Lynceus, the Argonaut who could see through walls, earth and skin; a theorised 'Optick-glasse'; and the many-eyed Argus perform a similar role.[75] Apollo, acknowledging Tacitus' exemplary political knowledge, asks his advice on imperial strategy.[76] Later, taking a Tacitean approach to patristic and Protestant texts in his sacred history, Vaughan calls the '*Churches History*, / The Looking-Glasse of *Sacred Memory*'.[77] Moreover, in his '*Christian Crystall glaesse*', *The Soules Exercise*, he adds a further lens*:* '*This Glasse* renewes brave *Roberts* Memory / Of Essex Earle, the Flower of Chevalry' referring to Robert Devereax, second early of Essex.[78]

Bacon and Essex, both close Vaughan-family friends, were leading figures in the wider Tacitean revival and their influence on Vaughan and his works is apparent. Essex is fashioned the Lord High Marshall of Apollo's Empire and the fifth edition of *Directions for*

[72] Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, Calvin at 164. As did Bacon and his devotees, including Gerbier (see chapters 5-8).
[73] Ibid., Calvin's *Institutes*, I.v.I quoted: see fn. 57, 494.
[74] Vaughan, Florio, and [Scott], *Newfound Politicke*, 16.
[75] Ibid., 2; Vaughan, *Golden Fleece*, Pt 1: 7, 26-28, 54.
[76] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Part 3: 71.
[77] Vaughan, *Militant*, 258.
[78] Vaughan, *Soules Exercise*, A2v; 239.

Health (1617) is dedicated to Bacon.[79] Bacon was a leading member of the Newfoundland Company which had sold Vaughan his land grant, but their association extended beyond shared colonial interests since Bacon was close to both Essex and William's brother John, calling him 'my approved friend'.[80] Bacon stayed at John's house in Parson's Green for at least six weeks in 1621 following his disgrace at court and wrote to Prince Charles of 'much beholding to your Highness's worthy servant Sir John Vaughan, the sweet air and loving usage of whose house hath already much revived my languishing spirits'.[81] Like Essex, Bacon admired Tacitus above others, writing to Fulke Greville that 'Of all histories I think Tacitus simply the best'. While the ethics of Plato and Aristotle were much to be admired, Bacon felt Tacitus's advice was truer to life and therefore more practically useful.[82] As Alan Bradford puts it, Bacon believes 'Tacitus' morality is more instructive because it is called forth in response to the demands of actual political situations and is thus a realistic and practical rather than an ideal morality'.[83] In the *Fleece* Vaughan attempts to unify the two.

Vaughan, however, saw equal 'utility' in ecclesiastical histories.[84] To modern eyes, many sacred histories (biblical, ecclesiastical, hagiographical) now sit in a broader category of discredited texts that give 'true' accounts of the past that we no longer believe to be factually true (e.g. Renaissance travel literature)—Simon Ditchfield calls it a 'lost continent'—but to Vaughan and his contemporaries this too was a quarry that could be mined for spiritual truths—more valuable than 'facts' as discussed above.[85] The *Fleece* , in turn, integrates the sacred with the secular, bringing representatives of the early Christian Church and figures from Welsh and English history together in Parnassus. While the period from 1500-1800 saw a transition from a broadly Christian medieval world to a secular 'modern' one, the shift was perhaps less distinct or rapid than a concentration on key

[79] Junior [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 21; William Vaughan, *Directions for Health, Both Naturall and Artificiall*, 5th ed. (London: T.S. for Roger Jackson, 1617), 5-page 'Dedicatorie' to Bacon from sig. A2r onwards.
[80] 'Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Francis Cottington, 22 March 1622' in Bacon and Spedding, *Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, 7:405.
[81] 'A warrant under His Majesty's signature for my Lord St. Alban's stay at Sir John Vaughan's, 13 Sept. 1621' and 'Sir Francis Bacon to the Prince of Wales, 7 June, 1621' in Bacon and Spedding, Letters and Life, 7:300–301; 287-288; 288 quoted.
[82] George H. Nadel, 'History as Psychology in Francis Bacon's Theory of History', *History and Theory* 5, no. 3 (1966): 275-287, at 286–87.
[83] Bradford, 'Stuart Absolutism and the "Utility" of Tacitus', 130.
[84] Degory Wheare, *De ratione et methodo legendi historias* (1623) quoted in Ibid., 127.
[85] Simon Ditchfield, 'What Was Sacred History? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent', in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Elliot Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford, 2012), 72-97, at 93.

Renaissance thinkers might suggest and sacred history retained its influence and steady production into the late seventeenth century, though often in adapted forms, incorporating Renaissance humanist ideas.[86] Vaughan's work typifies this admixture of styles, beliefs and approaches, blending a deep knowledge of and respect for sacred history and spiritual or moral teachings with those drawn from secular/pagan histories. Yet his colonial texts reflect a tension between the idealistic and metaphorical vision of Newfoundland that he paints and his dislike of deceit and invention. His ambition, despite the fantastical frame, was to reveal social, religious and political truths and to offer practical solutions in response; it was above all a work 'Of Practick Art before all Dreames, that erre'.[87]

Desiderata

The fusing of fantasy and reality and allusive style of the *Fleece* mirrors Vaughan's imaginative construction of Newfoundland and wider European understanding of the Americas, which are a mosaic of history, myth, fantasy, social and geographic knowledge. Vaughan's ambition was to present Newfoundland/Cambriol Colchos as a realistic ideal. He employs a variety of optical metaphors and invites us to see the New World and his colony through the lens of the *Fleece*, though he wishes only the chosen few to see New Cambriol, selecting particular readers/planters as suitable and rejecting others as undesirable. Where others applied metaphorical spectacles or telescopes to reveal or conceal truths, Vaughan's *Fleece* might be described (aptly, albeit anachronistically) as a kaleidoscope, which takes pieces of glass, akin to mosaic tiles, and patterns it into something extra-ordinary. Using two mirrors held at a particular angle, a kaleidoscope at one level shows us something real (pieces of glass), at another something artificial (a manipulated image). Bacon wrote that 'if anyone wish to pour new light on any subject into men's minds, and that not unsuitably or harshly, he must follow the same way, and call in the aid of an analogy'; Vaughan's kaleidoscopic vision takes pieces of glass (myth, geography, history, scripture, economic statistics, etc.) and holds them up to the light to reveal New Cambriol, a manipulated mirror

[86] Katherine Elliot Van Liere, 'Preface', in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Elliot Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), vi–vii.
[87] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, A2.

image fusing reality and invention.[88] It presents a desirable image of the New World, which has, in turn, been formed out of Vaughan's desire for personal and societal transformation.

The role of desire in early modern colonial plans is often overlooked or reduced to passionless ambition or uncomplicated avarice. Much of this thesis is about desires and the opportunity the cornucopian New World presented to Europeans to fulfil them.[89] *Desiderata* are 'those things worthy of desire' or 'that which is lacking or required'. Vaughan's *Fleece* is at root a collection of *desiderata*: a wish list translated into prose. Vera Keller argues that early modern, collaborative scientific wish lists 'reconceptualized learning in the form of shared desire' and contributed to the (now common) idea that the advancement of knowledge served the public interest.[90] Such descriptions could be applied equally to the colonial projects addressed here, which participated in the advancement of knowledge through geographic exploration and served national/imperial interests; projects or plans that also illuminate colonisers' desires, anxieties and their hopes for the future. The interconnection between the expansion of natural philosophical and geographical knowledge is vividly expressed in frontispieces for Bacon's works (figs. 17, 18 and 19).[91] These depict the pillars of Hercules (or plinths echoing them), which frame an ocean of knowledge. We are invited to pass through them into the unknown, on explorative journeys of the imagination, intellect and experience.

People wish for many different things. Early modern scientific desiderata intersected with political or religious *desiderata* and with public projects concerned with health, arts or infrastructure.[92] Referencing these wider discourses, Vaughan's *Fleece* includes a wide range of social, religious, scientific and political *desiderata* that could restore and redeem Great Britain. Though they might only be implemented in a textual British-Parnassian Empire, with adequate backing Vaughan might erect 'Orders' for them to be implemented in practise in New Cambriol.[93] Inevitably this expansion of both knowledge and geographic territories merged in early modern metaphor and discourse, from dictionaries that explored worlds of words to newly-formed spiritual/religious worlds, fictional worlds, or the 'New World of

[88] Bacon quoted in White, *Peace among the Willows*, at 109.
[89] It is 'Great Brittaines Indies, *Cornucopia Amalthea*': [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 12.
[90] Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest*, 4.
[91] For further see Wootton, *Invention of Science,* Part One.
[92] Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest*; Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*; Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660*, 2nd ed. (London: Duckworth, 2002). See also chapter five.
[93] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 149.

Sciences or Desiderata': Bacon's collaborative project to locate and break new scientific ground.[94] Vaughan's *Fleece* is part of this conversation. His desirable worlds overlap and overlay one another, further contributing to the colonial palimpsest: literary worlds and mythical empires with new reforming beliefs, nascent ideas of empire in the Americas, and the colony of New Cambriol itself. His *Fleece* and colony are formed from his wish list and his desire to fulfil it.

[94] Florio, *Worlde of Wordes*; Florio, *New World of Words*; Thomas Blount, *A World of Errors Discovered in The New World of Words, or, General English Dictionary, and in Nomothetes, or, The Interpreter of Law-Words* (London, Printed by T.N. for Abel Roper, John Martin, and Henry Herringman, 1673); Nathanael Homes, *The New World, or, the New Reformed Church* (London: T. P. and M. S. for William Adderton, 1641); Anonymous, *News of a New World, or, The Mystical Prison-Door Opened Whereby the Outwardly Bound Are Inwardly Free, While the Seemingly Free Are Still Really Bound: Declared in an Epistle of Love to the Free-Born of All Sorts, Not Only in England, but in All Nations* (London: s.n., 1663); Margaret Cavendish, 'The Description of a New World, Called The Blazing World', in *Political Writings*, 3–109; Francis Bacon, 'The New World of Sciences, or Desiderata', in *The Works of Francis Bacon: Volume 5: Translations of the Philosophical Works 2*, ed. Douglas Denon Heath et al., vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 5:121–24; Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest*, 3.

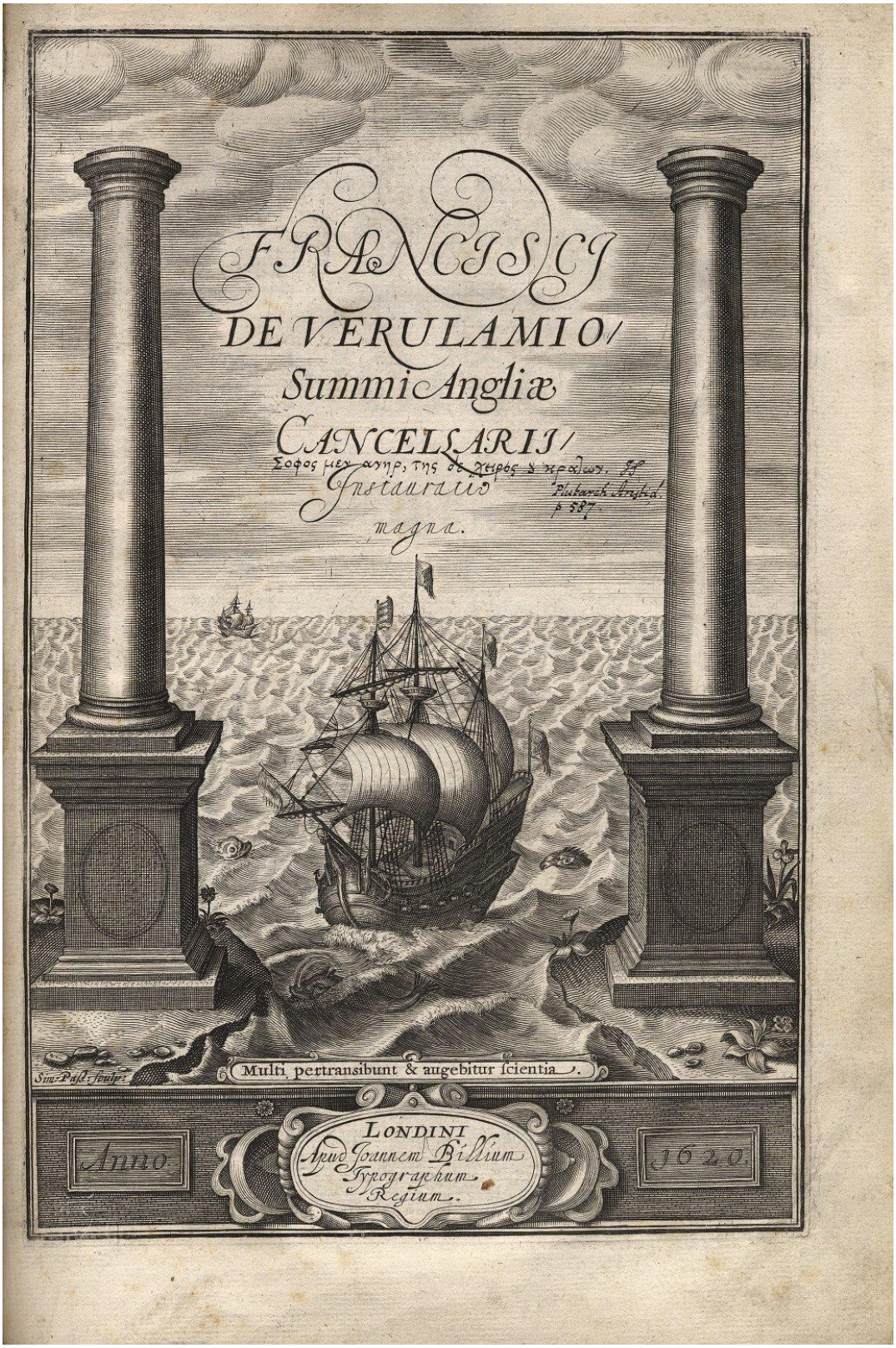


Fig. 17: Title page of Francis Bacon, *[Novum organum] Francisci de Verulamio, summi Angliæ cancellarij instauratio magna* (London: John Bill, 1620). Call #: STC 1162 copy 1. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.



Fig. 18: Title page of Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylarum: or A naturall historie* (London: I[ohn] H[aviland and Augustine Mathewes] for William Lee 1627). Call #: STC 1169 copy 1. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

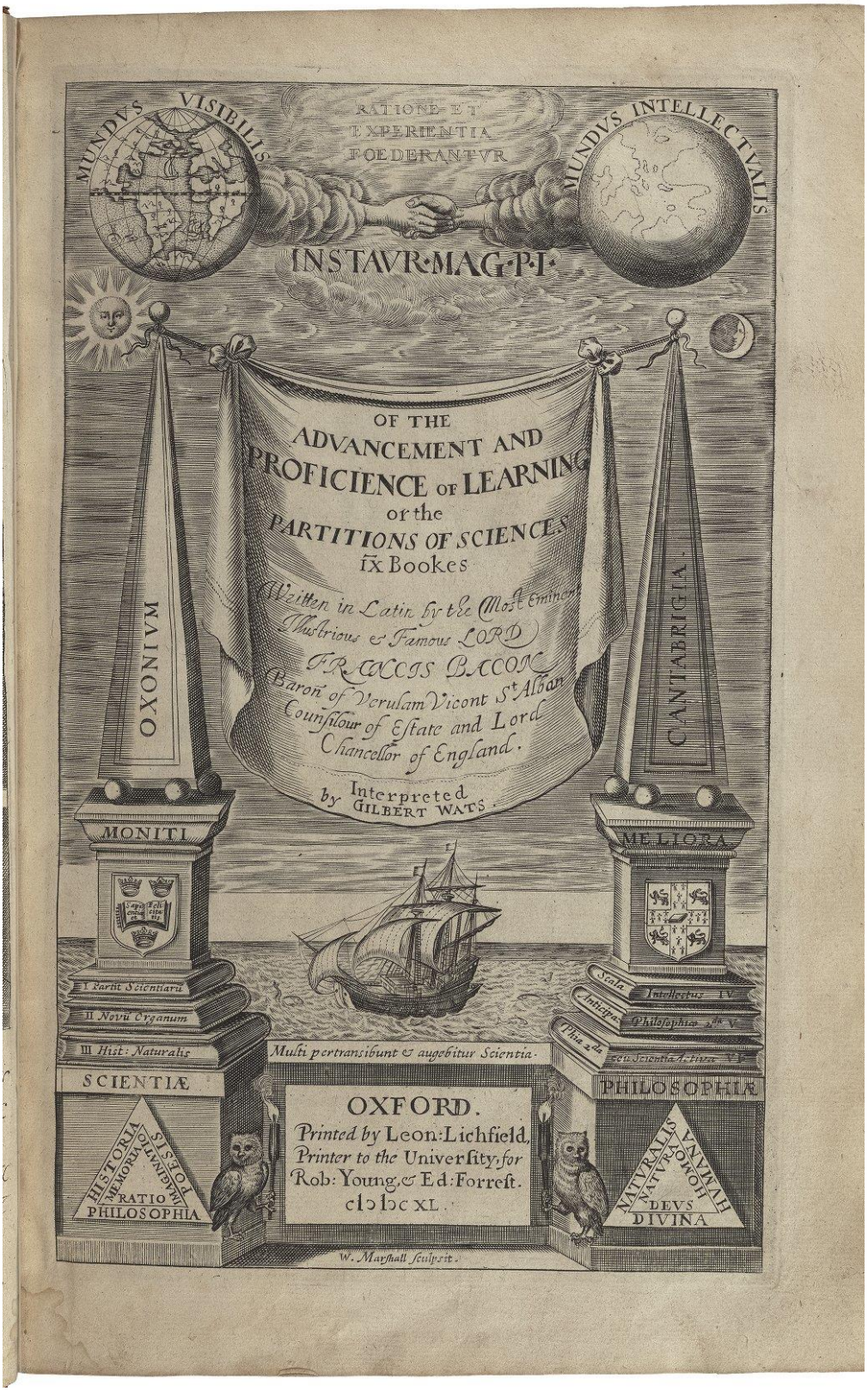


Fig. 19: Title page of Francis Bacon, *Of the advancement and proficience of learning or the partitions of sciences ix bookes Written in Latin by the most eminent illustrious & famous Lord Francis Bacon Baron of Verulam Vicont St Alban Counsilour of Estate and Lord Chancellor of England. Interpreted by Gilbert Wats* (London: 1640). Call #: STC 1167. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Beyond his broader aims for the State/colony, Vaughan wished to be recognised for his poetical and scholarly skill and the *Fleece* to be considered a 'lively monument, which issues from a well tempered braine'.[95] He wanted to sustain his colony but also his scholarly legacy: for '[h]ave not *Bookes* their Destinies as well as Common-wealths?'.[96] The *Fleece/*New Cambriol's style and structure, and his arcane and diverse references, are shaped by his intellectual self-image as a Latinate poet and intellectual: a historical model of the scholar in the mould of Lipsius or Scaliger.

Vaughan's kaleidoscopic *Fleece* is a literary construction of an imagined landscape layered upon a real landscape. A cento turned into place, not simply reflecting it but shaping it, giving it name and form—however briefly. Vaughan's desires are partially—and genuinely—concerned with expanding the frontiers of the reformed religion, knowledge, and the empire of Great Britain; but they also include personal dreams of artistic and intellectual acclaim, adventure, friendship and heroism. Vaughan's colony in Newfoundland lasted for only a few years and David Kirke's patent, granted for the whole island in 1637, was the death knell for his ambitious plans for New Cambriol; but wishes are harder to kill. They are part of the ideology of empire—the substrata of the colonial palimpsest—and they continue to shape the imagined communities of colony, nation, empire and the language we use to describe them in the Old and New, the Eastern and Western worlds.

[95] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 9-10.
[96] Ibid., Pt. 1: 9.

3: From Saltcod to Neptune's Sheep: Mythologising Newfoundland

Quodlibets, lately come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland…composed and done at Harbor-Grace, in Britaniola, anciently called Newfound-Land.

Robert Hayman, Governor of Newfoundland, 1628.[1]

I sent forth, (like *Noah's Dove*) my late Workes… to assist and support for a time our *New-found Ile*, which rightly may be titled *Great Britaines Sister*, or *Britanniol*...Mighty GOD...made choise of me for his unworthy Instrument to doe some good in this Heroicall Enterprize.

William Vaughan, *The Newlander's Cure* (1630).

In 1620, Vaughan ceded part of his land grant in Newfoundland to two parties: Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore in the Irish peerage, and Sir Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland in the Scottish peerage. The collective whole was renamed 'Britanniol' by Vaughan. Between 1620 and 1637, Vaughan, Calvert, and Cary sought to shape the character and future of their colonies in ways far beyond the exploitation and advancement of Newfoundland's famed fisheries. These early plans offer insight into the ways in which colonisers responded to the potentiality of colonialism. Material concerns (e.g. cod, salt, land, buildings, clothing) and ideas of social reform were incorporated into a shared colonial imaginary that was both brutal and romantic. At a broader level, placing these short-lived, marginalised projects among fleeting or unrealised projects intended for the Caribbean/Gulf of Mexico (chapters four to seven) later in the century, reveals their shared preoccupation with an often-idealised past.

This chapter argues that Newfoundland's early colonisers used the past in multi-faceted ways to sculpt their colonies and to impose a sense of place and identity upon their respective colonies and inhabitants. Newfoundland's cod fisheries were established over a

[1] Robert Hayman, *Quodlibets Lately Come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfound-Land Epigrams and Other Small Parcels, Both Morall and Diuine. The First Foure Bookes Being the Authors Owne: The Rest Translated out of That Excellent Epigrammatist, Mr. John Owen* (London: Elizabeth All-de for Roger Michell, 1628).

century before permanent settlement was attempted and their interconnection with early colonising schemes is addressed at the outset to contextualise discussions. The chapter will then examine how the material and practical concerns of the fisheries, trade, justice and settlement met with a colonial Newfoundland drawn from the imagination. Idealised places—historical, mythical and fictional—were layered upon Newfoundland's landscape by successive travellers and colonisers. These were used to implant or evoke specific ideas and images to mould a colony in that vision. Likewise, mythologised empires of the past were invoked in justification of imperialist and nationalist claims on Newfoundland and its inhabitants. Exploring this brief period in Newfoundland's colonial history offers a rare opportunity to survey the early laminate layers of a colonial palimpsest, as this ancient landscape is repeatedly written over by various colonisers—literally, in the case of Mason's map (fig. 20)—who clothe it with competing myths, histories, plans, and ambitions, whether commercial enterprises, imperialist/colonialist designs, or personal fantasies of heroism and fortune.

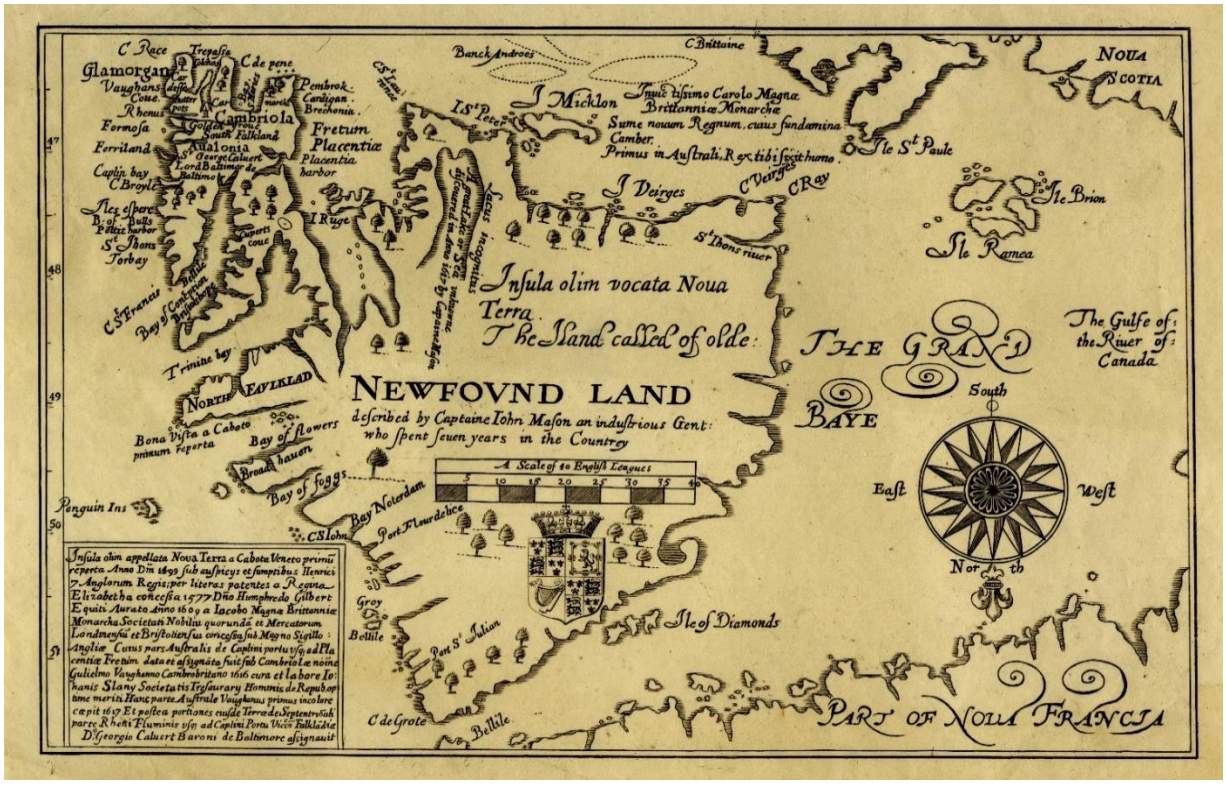


Fig. 20: John Mason, 'The Iland called of olde: Newfound Land described by Captaine John Mason an industrious Gent: who spent seven years in the Countrey', in Orpheus Junior [William Vaughan], *Cambrensium Caroleia* (London: William Stansby, 1625), n.b. Oriented with north toward the bottom. Call # G 3435 1625 M3 MAP. Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Creative Commons.

‘Westwarde be founde new landes’: the early colonial landscape[2]

By the time of English colonisation in the 1610s, Europeans had known about Newfoundland’s existence for over a century. It had been ‘found‘ by John and Sebastian Cabot, Italians commissioned by Henry VII; and ‘claimed’ by Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, who planted a flag and ‘by the voice of a common Cryer proclaimed that Country to belong to the English Jurisdiction’.[3] This, like other European assertions of ownership, disregarded the prior claim of Newfoundland’s indigenous population: c.500-2000 Beothuks who, by 1829, were extinct due to a combination of biogeography and conflicts/incursions into their territory by Europeans and Mi’kmaq.[4] Vikings had also settled briefly at L'Anse aux Meadows in c.1000 AD, but in the early modern period the Cabots’ voyage was thought to mark the arrival of the first Europeans in Newfoundland in 1497, though Bristolians made earlier voyages.[5] The island supported a burgeoning English migratory fishery across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but John Rastell was the first Englishman to propose its colonisation in print. Written after his own unsuccessful North American voyage, *The Four Elements* (1519) was inspired by the Cabots and possibly by his brother-in-law More’s *Utopia*, which had incorporated ‘America’ into its narrative (Rastell’s son later reached Newfoundland on an infamous voyage during which the crew allegedly resorted to cannibalism).[6]

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[2] Rastell, ‘Four Elements’, 49 (line 737).

[3] The party included Richard Whitbourne, governor of Vaughan’s colony; see: Richard Whitbourne, ‘A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land’, in *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982), 112; David LLoyd, *State-Worthies, or, The States-Men and Favourites of England since the Reformation* (London: Thomas Milbourne for Samuel Speed, 1670), at 626.

[4] See Laurie McLean, *The Beothuk, 2021 and Beyond: A Recap of Past Research and Future Prospects* (Beothuk Institute: Norris Arm South, NL, 2021): to access this report and further on the Beothuk see ‘Projects and Reports’, The Beothuk Institute, https://beothukinstitute.ca/projects-and-reports; Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 46. The Inuit of Labrador engaged concurrently in a guerrilla war with the French and Basque fishermen in South Labrador and Newfoundland’s northern coast until the eighteenth century: Peter E. Pope, ‘Bretons, Basques, and Inuit in Labrador and Northern Newfoundland: The Control of Maritime Resources in the 16th and 17th Centuries’, *Études/Inuit/Studies* 39, no. 1 (10 November 2015): 15–36.

[5] For further on the late-fifteenth-century voyages and possible evidence of (what would be the earliest North American) Christian settlement at Carbonear, 1498, established by Augustine friars transported by the Cabots, see ‘The Cabot Project’, Department of History, University of Bristol, 2021, http://www.bristol.ac.uk/history/research/cabot/. For summaries and key findings, see: Margaret M. Condon and Evan T. Jones, ‘William Weston: Early Voyager to the New World’, *Historical Research* 91, no. 254 (1 November 2018): 628–46; Evan T. Jones, ‘Alwyn Ruddock: “John Cabot and the Discovery of America”’, *Historical Research* 81, no. 212 (2008): 224–54.

[6] Rastell, ‘Four Elements’; More, *Utopia*. For further on Rastell see Richard Axton, ‘Introduction’, in *Three Rastell Plays: Four Elements, Calisto and Melebea, Gentleness and Nobility*, ed. Richard Axton (Cambridge: D. S.

Rastell is an early prototype for later colonial plans. Vaughan, by accident or design, mirrored Rastell's philosophical approach and literary aesthetic as well as his colonial ambition, as Rastell's Messenger outlines: 'This phylosophycal work is myxyd / With mery conseytis, to gyve men comfort / And occasion to cause them to resort / To here this matter, wherto yf they take hede / Some lernynge to them thereof may procede'.[7] Rastell saw the value of Newfoundland's raw materials—timber, tar and cod—and its potential as a source of new commodities; but he, like Vaughan, had loftier plans.[8] A Newfoundland colony could propagate knowledge, extend the King's dominions, spread scripture to those who 'as yet lyve all bestly', and attain glory and honour through settlement (as opposed to straightforward resource-extraction): 'O what thynge a had be than / Yf that they that be englyshe men / Myght have ben the furst of all / That there shulde have take possession / And made furst buyldynge and habytacion / A memory perpetuall'.[9]

By the early 1600s it seemed Rastell's ambitions would finally be realised. From 1610-1637, Newfoundland was the object of colonial ambition for an array of parties with concurrent interests and landholdings. Beyond Vaughan, Cary, and Calvert, other grantees included: the joint-stock Newfoundland Company, which settled a colony at Cupids (Cupers) Cove in 1610 spearheaded by the Bristol merchant and first colonial governor, John Guy, and later by Captain John Mason; the Bristol Company of Merchant Adventurers, which established a colony at Harbour Grace (Bristol's Hope) around 1618, governed by a Devonian poet, Robert Hayman; and William Alexander, a friend of Mason and Vaughan's (both appeared in the *Fleece*) whose vast grant included part of Newfoundland in addition to Nova Scotia where he focused his efforts (see 'Alexandria' marked on fig. 15).[10]

Brewer, 1979), 1–27; David S Shields, 'John Rastell's The IIII Elements', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 107, no. 3 (27 September 2013): 297–309.

[7] Rastell, 'Four Elements', 34 (lines 134-141). Compare this to Vaughan's dedication to the Muses and 'Reasons which moved the Author to intermingle merrie and light conceites among matters of Consequence': [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, A2r-v; at 1; 9–12. See also Bacon, *Wisedome of the Ancients*, A1r-B4r, and discussions above.

[8] Rastell, 'Four Elements', 49–51.

[9] Ibid., 49 (lines 762-767).

[10] Its full name was 'the Company of Adventurers, and Planters of the Citie of London, and Bristoll, for the Colony or Plantation in New-found-land [408]' and for a list of members see: Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol. XIX* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons for University of Glasgow Press, 1905), 405–8. It struggled financially and alienated some of its land to Vaughan and later Cary and Calvert (in addition to that Vaughan assigned them for similar reasons). For further on the Cupids colony and fisheries, see Cell, *English Enterprise*, 53–80 and for transcriptions of the key archival sources, see Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 60–99. For further on Alexander, see George P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes,*

The Merchant Adventurers were chiefly interested in exploiting the commercial possibilities presented by Newfoundland, but their reliance on expensive and unreliable supplies from England made this challenging. The individual proprietors, like Rastell, had grander ambitions. As Cell puts it, they 'desired land rather than trading privileges, and a society more perfect that they found at home'.[11] No group expected quick or vast return on their investments; but most expected further time to develop their settlements and advance the fisheries.[12] One of the governors, Hayman, for instance, envisaged establishing a city 'Carolinople' in the king's honour.[13] Such hopes were dashed in 1637, when David Kirke, a Scottish privateer and veteran of the Thirty Years' War, established the Company of Adventurers to Newfoundland with the Marquis of Hamilton, and the earls of Pembroke and Holland, and was granted a commercial monopoly and proprietorship of the whole island. This was later challenged successfully by Calvert's son, Cecil, who regained the rights to Avalon in 1661.

A Brief Account of Britanniol's Colonies

Following the collapse of his settlement at Renews in 1619 (his colonists were poorly skilled and most returned to Wales), and while continuing to promote plantation, Vaughan subdivided his land to parties with concurrent connections to Ireland. The first, Henry Cary, was naturalised as a Scot, becoming 1st Viscount Falkland in the Scottish Peerage in 1620.[14] Cary planned to run his colonies of North Falkland (the Bonavista Peninsula), and South Falkland (Fermeuse and part of Renews' harbour), as a terminable joint stock and, unusually and uniquely, focused his promotional efforts on Ireland where he was made Lord Deputy in 1622 (though his main investor was Vaughan's Welsh brother-in-law, Sir Henry Salusbury of

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1620-1686 (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons for University of Glasgow Press, 1922), 27–90; John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*.

[11] Cell, *English Enterprise*, 81.

[12] Cell, 'Introduction', 17.

[13] Robert Hayman, 'A Proposition of Profitt and Honor Proposed to my Dread and Gratious Soveraigne Lord, Kiinge Charles, By his humble Subject Robert Hayman', 1628, Egerton MS 2451, ff.164-169v, British Library, London, UK.

[14] For his naturalisation, see: Sean Kelsey, 'Cary, Henry, First Viscount Falkland (c. 1575–1633), Lord Deputy of Ireland', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2014), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/4837.

Llewenni).[15] Cary's 'Instructions to His Settlers' reveal his plan to achieve the cultural conformation of the settler and native populations through social engineering.[16]

The second was Sir George Calvert, made 1st Baron Baltimore in the Irish peerage in 1625, whose colony, Avalon, was named after the mythical Isle of Arthurian legend. Having recently converted to Catholicism, Calvert envisioned it as a sanctuary for persecuted Catholics. Calvert was granted a large estate in Ireland in 1623, the same year in which he successfully petitioned the King for a larger tract of land in Newfoundland, establishing Avalon as a Province and creating the first of several proprietary colonial charters modelled on the Durham palatinate, which granted Calvert personal rule over the region.[17] The three colonisers probably met at Oxford in the 1590s and Vaughan had further connections to them through his brother; Calvert and Cary were also concurrent privy councillors and both were in Ireland in the early 1620s.[18]

There is a marked contrast between what occurred on the ground and the colonisers ambitions. In 1617, Vaughan sent Welsh colonists to Newfoundland, but the 'welch Fooles', as Thomas Rowley called them, apparently made little attempt at planting and lived in temporary shelters left by fishermen until the arrival of Vaughan's appointed governor, Richard Whitbourne in 1618 (see also inscription, fig. 20).[19] Whitbourne first visited Newfoundland in 1579 and on several occasions thereafter. He offered practical advice to several gentlemen-colonisers and was himself an effective promoter, publishing three

[15] A tract dedicated to Falkland and promoting his colony, probably by a kinsman Thomas Cary, was the only colonial tract to have been printed in Dublin: T.C., *A Short Discourse of the New Found-Land: Contayning Diverse Reasons and Inducements, for the Planning of That Countrey. Published for the Satisfaction of All Such as Shall Be Wiilling to Be Adventurers in the Said Plantation* (Dublin: Societie of Stationers, 1623). See also Cell, 'Introduction', 37–45; Cell, *English Enterprise*, 89–90; Netzloff, 'Writing Britain from the Margins', 12. Vaughan mentions Salusbury planning a Spring voyage to Newfoundland with some other 'gentlemen of North Wales' in Vaughan, *Newlander's*, A7r. For further on Salusbury see Ryan Lewis, Peter E. Pope, and Tor Fosnæs, 'A Voyage to Newfoundland "for the Reformation of Abuses in That Country and upon the Coasts Thereof": A Letter in the Family Papers of Sir Henry Salusbury, Drafted by Richard Whitbourne (?)', *Newfoundland Studies* 33, no. 2 (2018): 507–19.

[16] Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 'Lord Falkland's Instructions to His Settlers' printed 244-245.

[17] James I initially granted him all of Newfoundland but this conflicted with other holdings so it was reduced to Avalon; see: 'The Charter of Avalon', 7 April, 1623, [B.L. Sloane MS 170, ff.7-14] in Ibid., 258–69; 260 refers specifically to the 'Bishoppricke or County Palatine of Durham'. See also 'Manorialism' below.

[18] Cell, 'Introduction', 16, 45–47.

[19] Cell, *English Enterprise*, Letter from Thomas Rowley to Percival Willoughby, 1619, quoted 84; Whitbourne, 'A Discourse and Discovery', 134–35; Prowse, *Newfoundland*, 112.

editions of his *Discourse and Discovery of the New-found-land* (1620-1623).[20] In 1615, tasked with impanelling juries to investigate abuses amongst fishermen in Newfoundland, Whitbourne also established the colony's first formal court.[21] On Vaughan's behalf, he sent most of the Welsh 'fooles' back to Wales and set out to reorganise New Cambriol; but, despite his efforts, by 1619 few remained and by 1623 Whitbourne had turned to advising Cary.[22] Vaughan planned to send more settlers in 1624 and Whitbourne hoped these would be hard workers, since the others had been 'idle people, that in all that time had not done any labor for the aforesaid Doctor [Vaughan] to the value of a penny'.[23]

There is, however, scant evidence for Vaughan's colony continuing at strength after 1619. Vaughan himself wrote in 1626 that Cary and Calvert had to 'undergoe the whole burden' while he recouped his losses, and though Eburne's 1624 tract stated that Vaughan had 'sent thither divers men and women that doe inhabite there, and prosper well', his dates may be unreliable.[24] A more reliable source for Cambriol's continued existence in some form was Hayman, a colonial governor in Newfoundland, 1618-1628. Hayman describes '*Cambriolls* rich *Plantation*' positively and in the present tense in *Quodlibets* (1628), and mentions a '*very good friend, Mr.* John Poyntz, *Esquire, one of the Planters of* Newfoundland *in Doctor* Vaughan's *Plantation*', of whom he writes immediately following verses commenting upon Cary's and Willoughby's '*great cost and losse, adventur'd in this*

[20] James I King of England and Richard Whitbourne, *At Theobalds, the 12. of Aprill 1622: The Copy of a Reference from the Kings Most Excellent Maiesty: As Also a Letter from the Right Honourable Lords of His Maiesties Most Honourable Privy Councell, to the Most Reuerend Fathers in God, the Lords Arch-Bishops* (London: Felix Kingston, 1622); Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse Containing a Loving Inuitation Both Honourable, and Profitable to All Such as Shall Be Adventurers, Either in Person, or Purse, for the Advancement of His Maiesties Most Hopeful Plantation in the New-Found-Land, Lately Undertaken* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1622). Cell helpfully reprinted the 1622 editions of Whitbourne's *Loving Invitation*; *At Theobolds* and the *Discourse and Discovery*, in *Newfoundland Discovered*, focusing on the 1622 edition of the latter, which was the first to include letters from colonists. She notes variations among the editions (1620-1623) and I will henceforth use her paginations for the later editions: Whitbourne, 'A Discourse and Discovery', *Newfoundland Discovered*, 101-206.

[21] Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land: With Many Reasons to Prooue How Worthy and Beneficiall a Plantation May There Be Made* (London: Felix Kyngston for William Barret, 1620), Preface; Christopher English, *Whitbourne, Sir Richard (1561–1635), seaman and publicist for Newfoundland* (Oxford University Press, 2004); Lewis, Pope, and Fosnæs, 'A Letter in the Family Papers of Sir Henry Salusbury', 513–14.

[22] In *A Loving Invitation*, he recommends siting Cary's settlement at Formosa and (again) Renews, which sat on the border of Vaughan and Cary's grants: Richard Whitbourne, 'Richard Whitbourne's "Invitation"', in *Newfoundland Discovered,* 208–9.

[23] Whitbourne, 'A Discourse and Discovery', 103–4.

[24] Richard Eburne, *A Plaine Path-Way to Plantations: That Is, a Discourse in Generall, Concerning the Plantation of Our English People in Other Countries* (London: G[eorge] P[urslowe] for John Marriot, 1624), 107-108; Cell, *English Enterprise*, 85.

action of Newfound-land'.[25] Nonetheless, though Vaughan continued to promote colonisation until at least 1630 and supported the efforts of others, his own settlement had not flourished to any great degree.[26]

As can be deduced from Hayman's comments, Cary's North and South Falkland, were short-lived (roughly from 1623-1626). Cary, frequently confused with other family members, is principally known for his activities in Ireland, where he, like John Vaughan, fought under Essex in the 1590s and later served as Lord Deputy (1622-1629).[27] From around 1617 Cary sat on committees that addressed colonial concerns, yet he was a indifferent council member and investor in the Virginia and North West Passage Companies, and did nothing with his Newfoundland grant (obtained in 1619/20) until joining forces with Whitbourne in 1622, who dedicated *A Loving Invitation* (1623) to Falkland, a tract intended to attract investors.[28]

According to Vaughan and Whitbourne, Cary sent forth 'many men and women' from Ireland in 1623 under the command of Sir Francis Tanfield, a relative of his wife and proprietary governor of South Falkland c.1623-1625.[29] The colony, in frequent conflict with the fishermen, continued until at least 1626.[30] Though Cary and Vaughan offered no financial support after 1630, Pope suggests settlement in Fermeuse-Renews 'seems to have been continuous from this period' indicating that it was 'not a complete failure as a colonial effort'.[31] Yet even if a few stragglers remained, by 1628 Cary's colonial project had dissipated, as indicated by Hayman's verse to Falkland: 'I joy'd when you took part of Newfoundland; / I griev'd, to see it lye dead in your hand'.[32] By 1633, Cary too was dead.

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[25] Hayman, *Quodlibets*, Book II, verses 92; 93 and 94: 34-35.
[26] Vaughan, *Newlander's*, see A7r for Salusbury. Calvert mentions Vaughan can act as his proxy in a petition from Calvert to the Duke of Buckingham in 1628, reprinted in Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 283–84.
[27] Cell, 'Introduction', 37–38. His principal biographies make no mention of his interest in Newfoundland: Kelsey, 'Cary, Henry, First Viscount Falkland (c. 1575–1633), Lord Deputy of Ireland'; John P. Ferris and Rosemary Sgroi, 'CAREY (CARY), Sir Henry I (c.1575-1633), of Aldenham, Herts. and Carey House, Smithfield, London', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Apparently he had issues of mistaken identity in his lifetime as well: LLoyd, *State-Worthies*, 939.
[28] Cell, 'Introduction', 38-39; Ferris and Sgroi, 'Carey [Cary], Sir Henry'.
[29] Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 105; [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Tanfield is mentioned in Pt. 3: 21.
[30] For further, see Gillian T. Cell, 'TANFIELD, Sir FRANCIS', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 1*, 1966, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/tanfield_francis_1E.html; Cell, *English Enterprise*, 88–92; Cell, 'Introduction', 34–45.
[31] Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 53.
[32] Hayman, *Quodlibets*, Book II 92: 34.

Of the partners, Sir George Calvert's colonial efforts were by far the most successful. Calvert had professed his conversion to Catholicism openly after resigning as Secretary of State in 1625 but Cary and Vaughan's vocal antipathy towards Catholicism did not preclude their close association. The colony Calvert established at Ferryland in 1621 under Captain Winne's governorship had erected a large building with a stone kitchen within its first year and was closely followed by a second settlement at Aquaforte. After six years of managing the colony remotely, Calvert travelled to Newfoundland with the intention of settling 'it in a better order than it is'.[33] By 1629, however, he wrote to the King that for eight months full 'there is a sadd face of wynter upon all this land, both sea and land so frozen for the greatest part of the tyme…the ayre so intolerable cold as it is hardly to be endured ... my howse hath beene an hospital all this wynter', and appealed to him for a different (warmer) colony near Virginia.[34]

Charles, initially counselled against it: for 'men of your breeding and condition are fitter for other employments, than the framing of new plantations. Which commonly have rugged & laborious beginnings' (and it was, besides, too costly for individuals), but he later relented and granted him Maryland.[35] The colony, under the proprietorship of his son and descendants was to become the longest-lasting proprietary colony in North America, enduring, with a brief break, until 1778 when it rebelled against British rule. Archaeological findings in Avalon supported by documentary and other evidence from Maryland indicate the Calverts' desire to instate an atavistic and feudalistic manorial system of land management and governance in their New World colonies.

What is missing in this short summary of 'British' attempts at colonising Newfoundland, is the fish. Yet Newfoundland's fisheries, cod cures and imperial/colonial policies on the fishing trade are essential to an understanding of its colonies and the colonial imagination, as well as a key dynamic in English/British imperial-colonial politics and in the

[33] For further on Calvert and the settlement of Avalon, see Krugler, *English & Catholic*, 77-128; Aaron F. Miller et al., '"Over Shoes Over Boots": Lord Baltimore's Final Days in Ferryland, Newfoundland', *Journal of Early American History* 1 (2011): 167–82; Thomas M. Coakley, 'George Calvert and Newfoundland: "The Sad Face of Winter"', *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71, no. 1 (1976): 1–18; Cell, *English Enterprise*, 92–95; Cell, 'Introduction', 45–58. For the colony's involvement with the missionary work of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide,* see Codignola and Stock, *Coldest Harbour*.

[34] George Calvert, '19 August 1629, Calvert to Charles I', in *Newfoundland Discovered*, 295–96.

[35] King Charles I, '22 November 1629, Charles I to Calvert', in ibid., 296–97.

island's historiography. It is worth noting that, despite English claims, Newfoundland was in effect 'shared' with France until the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht when British sovereignty was formally acknowledged (though by treaty and custom French fishermen maintained a migratory fishery inshore and offshore, long after the migratory British fishery was replaced by a resident settler fishery from around the 1820s).[36] In essence, this chapter explores how and to what end the materiality of Newfoundland (cod, boats, timber, earth) was fused with an imagined Newfoundland. Or, how codfish and the fleshy, smelly, visceral materiality of the fishing trade could be cognate with 'Neptunes Sheepe' and the mythical, allusory imaginary of Britanniol.

The 'Piscatorial El Dorado'

From the sixteenth to the late twentieth century, if Europeans thought of Newfoundland at all, they probably thought of cod. In the early 1600s, when the 'British' colonial gaze focused in earnest upon Newfoundland, its Grand Banks and shore fisheries had been drawing enterprising fishermen from across Europe for over a century, providing salt cod for requisite fast days (fish being the only flesh permitted) and provisioning the warring armed forces of the continent with a cheap source of protein that would keep almost indefinitely. Newfoundland saltfish would later become an essential component of the slave trade, and cod of the lowest quality was shipped to feed Caribbean slaves and labourers in exchange for molasses, sugar and rum—an exchange with a lasting effect on the foodways of both regions (rum is still the preferred spirit of Newfoundland; saltfish a staple across the Caribbean).[37] Any analysis of colonial Newfoundland, therefore necessitates a deeper understanding of Newfoundland's fisheries and their contested historiography.

[36] James K. Hiller, 'The 1904 Anglo-French Newfoundland Fisheries Convention: Another Look', *Acadiensis* 25, no. 1 (1995): 83.

[37] Rum is the most popular spirit in NL and they consume more than any other Canadian province or territory: Jan Conway, 'Alcohol Consumption in Canada - Statistics & Facts', *Alcohol Consumption in Canada*, 2020, https://www.statista.com/topics/2998/alcohol-consumption-in-canada/. From the seventeenth century to the 1960s (when prices rose and it became a 'rich man's food'), 'salt fish, imported from the North Atlantic fisheries, has been the staple fleshfood eaten by practically everyone, nearly everywhere in the West Indies': John E. Adams, 'Fish Lovers of the Caribbean', *Caribbean Studies* 25, no. 1/2 (12 October 1992): 1–10; at 2-3.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the English, Scots and other Europeans could access plentiful stocks of fish in the North Sea and, for a shorter season, the Norwegian Arctic; but Newfoundland's fisheries, especially its shoals of cod, were legendary (though even across the early modern period their size and number were gradually eroded by intensive fishing).[38] Huge specimens of six- and seven-feet-long, weighing 200 pounds swam in waters that were reputedly so full of cod they could be pulled up in baskets rather than nets, and even speared with pikes.[39] Stephen Parmenius who voyaged with Gilbert described a cornucopian, 'inexhaustible supply of fish (*piscium inexhausta copia)'*, while Captain John Mason, an early colonial governor, observed 'Cods so thicke by the shoare that we heardlie have beene able to row a Boate through them'.[40] From as early as 1504, fisheries were delineated on manuscript maps alongside the '*ille de baccalao* [island of codfish, i.e. Newfoundland]'.[41] Early maps displayed Newfoundland's Grand Banks in otherwise featureless waters, the essence neatly conveyed on Barent Langenes' 1598 map by a giant codfish, almost as large as the island—giving some indication as to the fisheries' status and prominence in European conceptions of Newfoundland (e.g. figs. 20, 21, 22 and 23). Champlain's map includes Grand Banks and giant cod both, but no settlers, though he may have been unaware of their 1610 arrival; by the 1690s, Coronelli's Banks detail the underwater topography and are quite beautiful.

[38] For further on the impact of the early modern European fishing trade on stocks and size, see Matthew W. Betts et al., 'Zooarchaeology of the Historic Cod Fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada', *Journal of the North Atlantic*, no. 24 (27 September 2014): 1–21. Innes was the forerunner of a burgeoning body of literature on the global economic clout of Atlantic cod: Harold A. Innis, *Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1940; 1978). For the historiography of the cod fisheries in North America, see Pope, *Fish Into Wine*, 11-44; and Arthur R. Clausnitzer Jr., 'The Seventeenth-Century English Cod Fisheries of Newfoundland and New England, circa 1600-1713: An Archaeological and Historical Comparison' (PhD, diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2018), 6–7. For a contemporary list of other fish found in Newfoundland, see: John Mason, 'A Briefe Discourse of the New-Found-Land (1620)', in *Newfoundland Discovered*, 95 and Whitbourne, 'A Discourse and Discovery', 122–23.

[39] Mason, 'Briefe Discourse', 95. Rastell said very similar a century earlier: Rastell, 'Four Elements', 50 (lines 805-808).

[40] Parmenius, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*; Mason, 'Briefe Discourse', 95.

[41] K. J. Rankin and Poul Holm, 'Cartographical Perspectives on the Evolution of Fisheries in Newfoundland's Grand Banks Area and Adjacent North Atlantic Waters in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Terrae Incognitae* 51, no. 3 (2019): 194, 196–98.



Fig. 21: Barent Langenes, Terra Nova, Amsterdam, ca. 1602. This second version of the map of Newfoundland and Nova Francia, after Cornelis Claesz's *Nova Francia*, ca. 1594. Originally printed in Langenes *Caert-Thresoor* (1598), Middelburg. Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/50640/terra-nova-langenes.

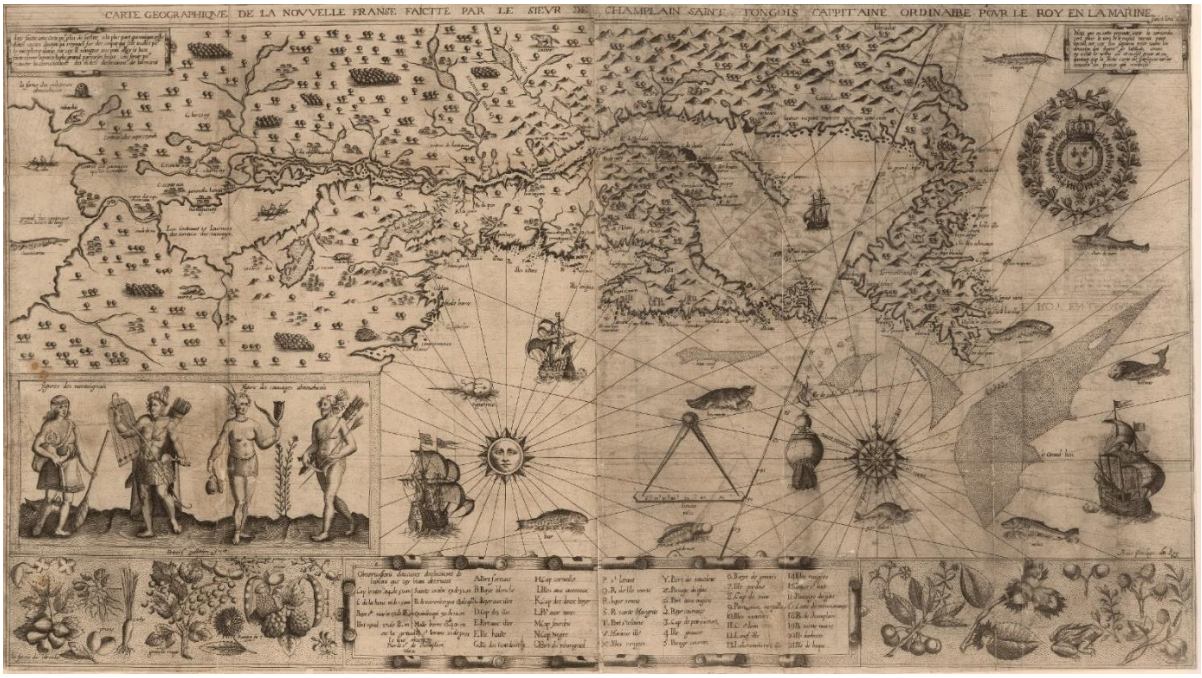


Fig. 22: Samuel de Champlain, 'Carte geographiqve de la Novvelle Franse / faictte par le sievr de Champlain, Saint Tongois cappitaine ordinaire pour le roy en la marine', Paris, 1612. Call # Cabinet Ca612 1. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.

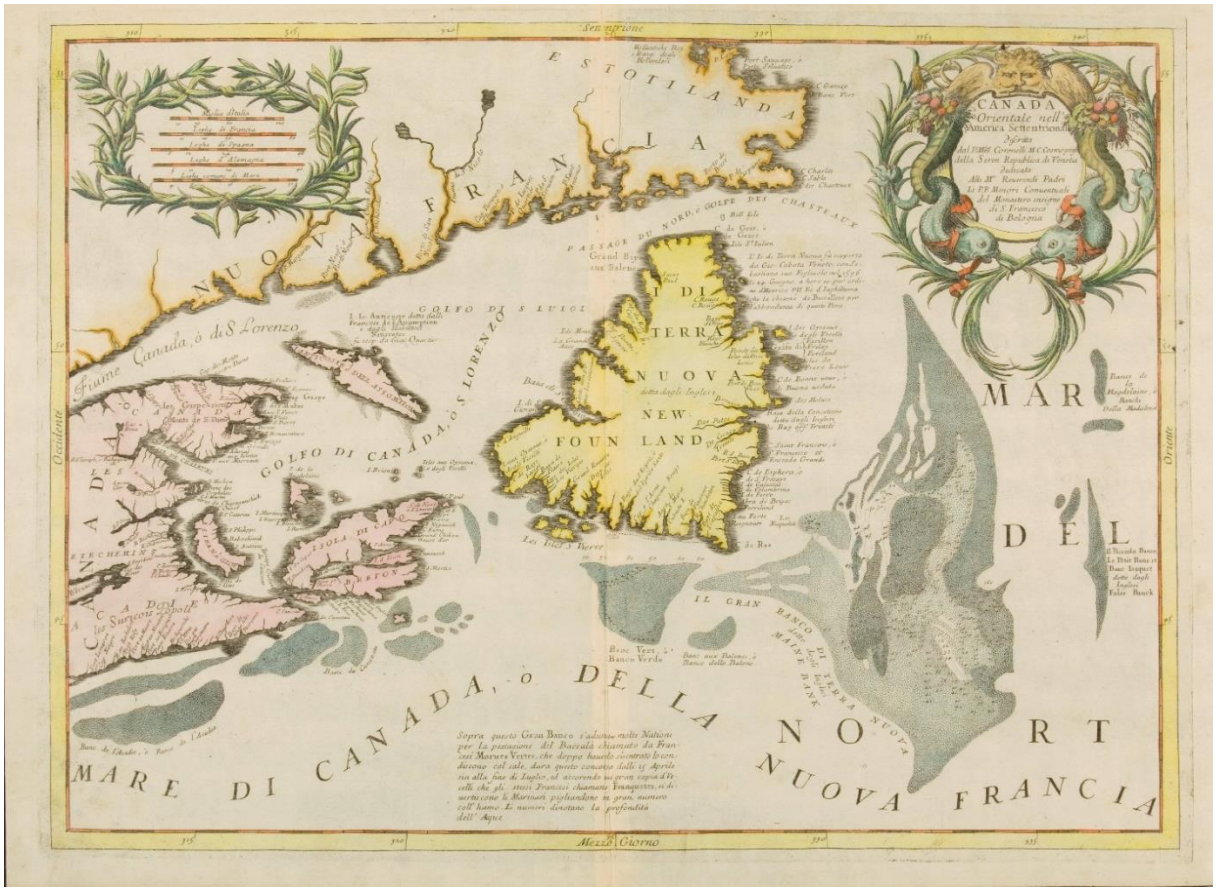


Fig. 23: Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, 'Canada orientale nell' America settentrionale', Venice, [1692-94?], in *Atlante veneto, nel quale si contiene la descrittione geografica, storica,* Venetia: a' spese dell'autore, 1695-[1697]. G 3402 S2 1692 C67 c. 3 MAP. Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Creative Commons.

The increasingly-detailed depiction of this submarine topography was a new cartographical innovation that recognised the global importance of the Grand Banks.[42] By 1719, Pierre de Charlevoix was to posit that they were 'properly a mountain, hid under water' and the number of cod were 'equal that of the grains of sand which cover this bank'.[43] Such quantities of fish were equivalent to gold: in his *Circle of Commerce* (1623) Edward Misselden, who appears in Vaughan's *Fleece*, characterised the fishing trade as: 'A Mine of Gold it is: the Mine is deepe, the veines are great, the Ore is rare, the Gold is pure, the extent unlimited, the wealth unknowne, the worth invaluable'.[44] Vaughan too claimed Britain's profits from the abundant fish, coupled with cultivation of the land, would be equal

[42] Rankin and Holm, 'Evolution of Fisheries'.
[43] Charles Travis et al., 'Inventing the Grand Banks: A Deep Chart', *Geo: Geography and Environment* 7, no. 1 (2020): at 1.
[44] Misselden, *Circle of Commerce*, 141.

to those of Spain's American goldmines.[45] Newfoundland was, as Prowse memorably observed, 'a piscatorial El Dorado'.[46]

However, in the late sixteenth century, fish—even gigantic cod—had neither the glamour of gold mines, nor the novelty of the pygmies and potatoes offered by other colonial prospects; and, despite the encouragements of Elizabethan promoters, the Queen showed scant interest in Newfoundland.[47] An argument for increased exploitation of the existing fisheries was far less compelling than silvered mines and there was doubtless snobbery at play. Where voyages of exploration, naval exploits, colonisation and even privateering were seen as noble or gentlemanly pursuits, fishing itself was associated with those of lesser rank. Vaughan eagerly encouraged 'plaine persons and simple' to fish (like Jesus' disciples), but uses 'us' only very loosely when he writes that his '*sacred Majestie* discovered that plentifull *Fishing* unto us, to allure us from our home-bred idlenesse, to this necessary place of *Plantation*'—and the physical 'labours and the sweat of their browes' he repeatedly mentions are metaphorical or someone else's.[48] Calvert went further, calling fishermen, 'the most barbarous people' he had ever had dealings with, and hoped his patrons would insulate him from their every 'grubbing complaint'.[49]

Mason—aware of this gentlemanly aversion, nevertheless hoped financial promise would overcome revulsion: 'some squeaysie stomach will say, Fishing is a beastly trade & unseeming a Gentleman, to whom I answere (*Bonus odor luti cum lucro*) & let them propund the Hollanders to themselves for example whose Countrie is so much inriched by it'.[50] Vaughan, even whilst advocating for the fishing trade, has Apollo 'deliver us' from its odours: 'From stinking fish and Bacon' and the 'The Smell of foule ship-pumpe'.[51] Those further down the social hierarchy found it equally distasteful. Henry Crout, Sir Percival Willoughby's agent and his son's guardian, wrote from Newfoundland that some colonists

[45] Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia*, 1625, A2r sig.: '*& Britanni tui tantam vtilitatem ex Piscium copia, quasi Manna, Cultura terrae etiám addita, annuatim percipient, quanta Hispanis ex Aurifodinis in America prouenire possit*'. The fish are also a 'Golden Harvest': [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece,* Pt. 1:6.
[46] Prowse, *Newfoundland*, 18.
[47] Cell, 'Introduction', 3. For further on Gilbert, see Nathan J. Probasco, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the Elizabethan Expedition: Preparing for a Voyage* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).
[48] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt 3: 5-6; Vaughan's own sweat and toils are intellectual but for references to the virtuous sweat of labour see also 'To the uncharitable readers', Pt 1: 4, Pt. 3: 33.
[49] Baltimore to Wentworth, August 29, 1629, in *Wentworth Papers*, 12/75, Sheffield City Archives quoted in Krugler, *English & Catholic*, at 102.
[50] Mason, 'Briefe Discourse', 95.
[51] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 23; 95.

'scorned to torne a Fish which had good wagges of the companie'—and Crout clearly shared their sentiment, commiserating that he would rather have explored the island than stayed at Renews 'making of the fish and spoilling our clothes'.[52] Fishing and curing was a messy, smelly business and if one could be said to 'smell' (social) rank: it did not smell of fish.[53]

A further hindrance to early colonial promoters was the English fishermen themselves, who generally opposed permanent settlement.[54] Settlers might threaten the freedom of the transatlantic fishing grounds, which had traditionally been open to all without monopolies or exclusions.[55] By this time, European fishermen had effectively divvied up the coastal zones and shorelines of Atlantic North America for use by different nations through established custom, according to their favoured fishing grounds.[56] English planters might prove to be a greater threat to the West Country fishermen's exclusive use of preferred coasts than continental fishermen (theirs was a shore fishery as the British only established an offshore Banks fishery after 1713).[57] In fact, the internal squabbles of the English fishermen themselves were a serious impediment to the trade's efficiency.[58]

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[52] Henry Crout, '10 April 1613, Henry Crout to Sir Percival Willoughby', in *Newfoundland Discovered*, 81.

[53] For further on smelling rank and the smell of rank in the opposing sense, see Holly Dugan, 'Coriolanus and the "Rank-Scented Meinie": Smelling Rank in Early Modern London', in *Masculinity and the Metropolis of Vice, 1550-1650*, ed. Amanda Bailey and Roze Hentschell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 139–59. The idea that odor is linked to social hierarchies, modernity and/or civility is persistent: for further, see Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Follow Your Nose? Smell, Smelling, and Their Histories', *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 2 (22 October 2011): 335–51; Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1986), esp. chapter 9. Gerbier notes that 'a Gentleman well bred must never…offend with the smell': Gerbier, *Interpreter, First Part*.

[54] Cell, 'Introduction', 4, 6.

[55] Ibid., 4.

[56] Peter Pope, 'Transformation Of The Maritime Cultural Landscape Of Atlantic Canada By Migratory European Fishermen, 1500–1800', in *Beyond the Catch: Fisheries of the North Atlantic, the North Sea and the Baltic, 900-1850*, ed. Darlene Abreu-Ferreira and Louis Sicking (Boston: Brill, 2009), 123–54. There has been much debate about which nations fished Newfoundland's waters, when and where they fished, and to whom they sold their catch; for further, see: Darlene Abreu-Ferreira, 'Portugal's Cod Fishery in the 16th Century: Myths and Misconceptions', in *How Deep Is the Ocean? Historical Essays on Canada's Atlantic Fishery*, ed. James E. Candow and Carol Corbin (Sydney, NS: The Louisbourg Institute, University College of Cape Breton Press, 1997), 31–44; Jean-François Brière, 'The French Fishery in North America in the 18th Century', in *How Deep Is the Ocean? Historical Essays on Canada's Atlantic Fishery*, ed. James E. Candow and Carol Corbin (Sydney, NS: The Louisbourg Institute, University College of Cape Breton Press, 1997), 45–64; Olaf U. Janzen, 'The Logic of English Saltcod: An Historiographical Revision', *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin Du Nord* XXIII, no. 2 (2013): 123–34.

[57] Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 22.

[58] These are first mentioned by John Guy in 1611 whose laws against the fishermen's 'abuses' were never enforced. See: Lewis, Pope, and Fosnæs, 'A Letter in the Family Papers of Sir Henry Salusbury'; and also [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 15; Whitbourne, 'A Discourse and Discovery', 131.

Among Europeans there was agreement about which nations operated where, but the English fishery was operated by competing, independent outfits, and those arriving early in the season often destroyed the supplies, boats and fishing stages of other fishermen, giving them several weeks' start on competitors.[59] This would have reduced their competitors' profits substantially as the summer season was eight-to-twelve weeks long, across which time a crew of five might catch and cure some twenty thousand fish (drying took several weeks).[60] Vaughan, drawing on Whitbourne's first-hand experience, intended to reorganise the trade by extending the range of salted fish for trade to 'Mackerels, Salmons, Herrings, and Eeles', and establishing fixed times of access to the shore and fishing stages for the seasonal fishermen and colonial settlers (settlers would fish when seasonal fishermen were *en route*).[61] This plan depended on the co-operation and participation of all parties and relied on the settlers maintaining and sharing access to fishing stages: an unappealing plan, one imagines, to fishermen already using the shore and operating independently and profitably.

A plentiful supply of salt was also essential. The English dry cure used less salt than the wet/green cure popular in France, but salting was still necessary as (dried unsalted) stockfish required a drier climate. Since the 1930s there has been an enduring misconception that salt's differential cost among European nations determined both a given nation's choice of cure, and the rate and development of their respective North Atlantic colonies (negatively in Newfoundland's case).[62] Recent research demonstrates that the English trade's preference for the dry cure was instead based on transport routes and consumer preference in the principal markets they served (Iberia and southern Europe), just as the French served an established internal market for both cures.[63] The cost of salt was

[59] See [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 15, 17. Beothuks also sometimes dismantled the structures for the iron after the fishermen left for the season: Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 22–23.
[60] Mason, 'Briefe Discourse', 95; Cell reports it taking up to three months though she cites no source but it may be a misreading of Whitbourne who says the fish has to sit out in the open for 3 months (ie across the fishing season) which sometimes led to it spoiling: Cell, *English Enterprise*, 5; Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 23. For Whitbourne's analysis see Whitbourne, 'A Discourse and Discovery', 127–34 (see 132 for the 3 months).
[61] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 15-16.
[62] The misconception is extensive, for a complete examination of this, see Janzen, 'English Saltcod', 129–32. Re salt shortages impacting colonial development and land survey, see 131, fn. 35.
[63] Janzen, 'English Saltcod', 129–134; Regina Grafe, 'Popish Habits vs. Nutritional Need: Fasting and Fish Consumption in Iberia in the Early Modern Period', in *Discussion Papers in Economic and Social History*, ed. Robert Allen et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1–39; Pope, *Fish Into Wine*. Grafe argues that increased consumption of English saltcod in early modern Iberia was likewise caused by multiple factors,

nevertheless a factor and Vaughan planned to 'erect salt houses' in Newfoundland to avoid the expense of purchasing it; New Cambriol might even supply '*England*, when the same growes deare'.[64] This was a shrewd plan if salt of high-enough quality could be produced and Wynne believed so, sending Calvert 'a barrell of the best Salt that ever my eyes beheld', from Avalon, claiming it could be further improved in time.[65]

The English 'dry cure' necessitated use of the shore, but fishermen could access it and profit from the fisheries without establishing any permanent settlements or colonies.[66] While continental Europeans often stored their offshore catch in brine in the ship's hold—the English cured their fish in temporary fishing stations.[67] This method became known colloquially as the 'Newfoundland Cure'—hence Vaughan's titular pun in his book of remedies for colonists: *The Newlanders Cure* (1630).[68] A curing station could be erected within a couple of weeks though the structures were not fit for permanent habitation. Figs. 24 and 25 from the 1690s are the earliest extant depictions of seventeenth-century Newfoundland cod curing stages, and give some idea of their efficient division of labour, which could be described as a protoindustry.[69] Turgeon argues that the fisheries, more broadly, were even 'proto-colonial' because European fisherman occupied the waters and shores of the North Atlantic, extracted resources and guided early explorers, enabling European nations to 'progressively construct a colonial territory'.[70] However, while these early tendrils of imperialism may be visible in the fisheries when viewed retrospectively, there was little support for the colonial project from the fishermen of the period

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including demographic changes, increased market integration and the ability of the English to link the fish with other trades, such as wine and wool, and also simply taste.

[64] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 16, 65-66. Whitbourne advised him on this too.

[65] '*Another Letter to Master Secretary* Calvert *from Captaine* Wynne, *of the 17. of August, 1622'* in Whitbourne, 'A Discourse and Discovery', 202.

[66] Cell, Innes, and others argued that shoreline processing was virtually exclusive to the English, but other Europeans, the Basque and even the French, also used the shore, as has been shown by the historiographical and archaeological evidence. See table on page 3: Matthew W. Betts et al., 'Zooarchaeology of the Historic Cod Fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada', *Journal of the North Atlantic*, no. 24 (2014): 1–21; also Olaf U. Janzen, 'The Logic of English Saltcod: An Historiographical Revision', *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin Du Nord* XXIII, no. 2 (2013): 129, 132.

[67] Janzen, 'English Saltcod', 128–29.

[68] Ibid., 128; Vaughan, *Newlander's*.

[69] Pope, *Fish Into Wine,* 417, fn.10.

[70] His argument is made in relation to French Newfoundland but might be applied equally to England. See Laurier Turgeon, 'Codfish, Consumption, and Colonization: The Creation of the French Atlantic World During the Sixteenth Century', in *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move*, ed. Caroline A. Williams (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 34–35. Mimeault likewise argues that the fisheries were a tool of imperial appropriation of the New World: Mario Mimeault, 'La Pêche à La Morue Des Français d'Amérique Du Nord de 1500 à 1763', *Acadiensis* 47, no. 2 (2018): 26–49.

themselves. They saw no incentive to settlement, favouring access to the fisheries and shores of Newfoundland established by custom rather than delimited by colonial patent, international treaty or royal decree.



Fig. 24: Herman Moll (d. 1732), 'A View of a stage & also of Manner of Fishing for, Curing & Drying Cod at Newfoundland', 1718, Item ID number: 2926914. Source Libraries and Archives Canada. This image is from a map by Herman Moll published in 1718 (NMC 8931). Moll copied it from a 1698 map by Nicolas De Fer, L'Amerique divisée selon letendue de.

Moll's Legend:

A View of a Stage & also of ye manner of Fishing for Curing & Drying Cod at NEW FOUND Land.

A. The Habit of the Fishermen (clothing, hooded coat, boots and apron)

B. The Line

C. The Manner of Fishing (casks were slung over the side of the ship and fishermen stood in them)

D. The Dressers of ye Fish

E. The Trough into which they throw ye Cod when Dressed

F. Salt Boxes

G. The Manner of Carrying ye Cod

H. The Cleansing ye Cod

I. A Press to extract ye Oyl from ye Cod Livers K. Casks to receive ye water & Blood that comes from ye Livers

J. Another Cask to recieve the Oyl

K. The manner of Drying ye Cod



Fig. 25: Gerard van Edema (1652-1799) Fishing Station Placentia Bay c1690. Copyright Royal Ontario Museum Toronto, Canada.

Piscatorial Policies

Nevertheless, the policies of successive English and, later, British monarchs enhanced the attractions of Newfoundland's fisheries to speculative English and Welsh colonisers as much as to fishermen and merchants, and a range of protectionist policies were implemented to stimulate the internal market for sea fish and intermittently remove restraints on exports.[71] (In contrast, Scottish fishermen and Scottish, later British, monarchs focused their efforts on developing the herring fisheries. Parallels can be found, however, in the English/British fisheries policies addressed towards colonial Newfoundland and the

[71] In the late sixteenth century, to ensure the nation had access to a cheap protein and the armed forces could be fed, the amount of fish that could be exported legally was drastically reduced. For details of the changing policies, see: R. C. L. Sgroi, 'Piscatorial Politics Revisited: The Language of Economic Debate and the Evolution of Fishing Policy in Elizabethan England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 35, no. 1 (2003): 1–24; Cell, *English Enterprise*, 22–33.

Scottish/British policies that sought to exploit the herring fisheries of the Highlands and Islands. For instance, in the attempted colonisation of Lewis by Lowland Scots in the sixteenth century and in the activities of the British Fisheries Society in the eighteenth century).[72] Though the largest market for Newfoundland's cod was undoubtedly Catholic Europe, the English nonetheless hoped to increase English and Welsh consumption.

In Protestant England fish had become tainted by its association with the Roman Church, which allowed its consumption during fasts. This 'Popish flesh' was considered less nourishing and therefore—according to the contemporary male view—effeminate and suspect: Shakespeare's Falstaff criticises Prince John by remarking that 'none of these demure boys come to any proof; for thin drink doth so overcool their blood, and making many fish meals, that they fall into a kind of male green-sickness; and then when they marry, they get wenches'.[73] Kent in *King Lear* likewise considers it a matter of character: 'I do profess…to love him that is honest…to fight when I cannot choose, and to eat no fish'.[74] Successive Protestant Tudor rulers nevertheless promoted and legislated an unpopular 'Political Lent'—weekly, then bi-weekly and Lenten 'fish days'—prosecuting those who failed to observe them.[75]

Naturally, this was dressed as civic and patriotic duty rather than being rooted in any religious or theological cause.[76] Vaughan, for obvious reasons, favoured increased fish consumption, which would support his colonial designs (Apollo 'guards' his subjects '*From eating* Flesh, *insteed of* Fish'), but as a vocal anti-Catholic railed against any religious

[72] Beyond the fisheries resource-extraction, policies toward the Gàidhealtachd (Gaelic speaking regions) were more akin to those in Ireland, which were intended to 'civilise' and later 'improve' the Gaels and Gaelic culture. For further, see Aonghas MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility*; Martin Rorke, 'The Scottish Herring Trade, 1470-1600', *The Scottish Historical Review* 84, no. 218 (6 October 2005): 149–65; Bob Harris, 'Scotland's Herring Fisheries and the Prosperity of the Nation, c.1660-1760', *The Scottish Historical Review* 79, no. 207 (6 October 2000): 39–60. The later colonialist policies of the British Fisheries Society had a transformational and enduring impact on the region's built environment: Daniel Maudlin, 'Highland Planned Villages: The Architecture of the British Fisheries Society' (Phd diss., University of St Andrews, 2002); Daniel Maudlin, 'Robert Mylne, Thomas Telford and the Architecture of Improvement: The Planned Villages of the British Fisheries Society, 1786–1817', *Urban History* 34, no. 3 (2007): 453–80.

[73] William Shakespeare, *Henry IV* Part 2: Act 4, Scene 2: 70-74.

[74] William Shakespeare, *King Lear,* Act 1, Scene 4: 13-17.

[75] For further, see R. C. L. Sgroi, 'Piscatorial Politics Revisited: The Language of Economic Debate and the Evolution of Fishing Policy in Elizabethan England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 35, no. 1 (2003): 1–24.

[76] See, for example, discussion of fish days in M.A.P.,'CECIL, Sir William (1520 or 1521-98), of Little Burghley, Northants., Stamford, Lincs., Wimbledon, Surr., Westminster, Mdx. and London', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P. W. Hasler (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1981).

connotations to fasting days.[77] The policy was not intended simply to increase the consumption of fish at home to stimulate the fishing industry, whether in local or international waters, but also to increase the number of skilled mariners trained in navigation who could sail them.[78] This early recognition of the value of a practical rather than theoretical knowledge of navigation by authorities is often missed.[79] So too, the empirical knowledge of skilled fishermen and mariners which contributed to contemporary cartography and the innovative mapping of underwater features such as the Grand Banks.[80] Yet these and other 'secrets of the sea' were strategically and politically important *arcana imperii*, forming part of the reason of state of European nations, as indicated by the title of Robert Dudley's sumptuous atlas *Dell'Arcano del Mare* (1646-8).[81]

To promoters, the benefits of the 'piscatorial' policies were manifold: they would boost the local and international fishing trade, enable voyages of exploration, increase naval prowess and capacity, provision ships and troops, and support colonial and imperialist enterprises, which would in turn garner prestige and power for the nation—arguments virtually identical to those made by Vaughan and his fellow colonisers for the advancement of plantations.[82] Given such encouragements, by the end of the sixteenth century the English were sending c.200-250 ships to the Avalon peninsula each summer, generating an estimated annual profit of £100,000.[83] The trade was so profitable that, in an early example of marine insurance, merchants began to take out policies on the Newfoundland catch.[84]

It is hardly surprising then that fish dominate the historiography of Newfoundland. In fact, in broader Atlantic, imperial and colonial histories Newfoundland is only visible in

[77] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.2: 124-126; Pt.3: 95.
[78] M.A.P., 'CECIL, Sir William'; Sgroi, 'Piscatorial Politics'.
[79] Margaret Schotte, 'Sailors, States, and the Creation of Nautical Knowledge', in *A World at Sea*, ed. Lauren Benton and Nathan Perl-Rosenthal (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 90, 95.
[80] Rankin and Holm, 'Evolution of Fisheries'.
[81] Robert Dudley, *Dell'arcano del mare, 3 Vols.* (Florence: Francesco Onofri, 1646). The atlas was the earliest to cover the globe, the first to employ Mercator's projections and the first by an Englishman, albeit in Italian, and also discussed navigation aids including his own method of calculating longitude, plans for a navy, fortifications and shipbuilding, and discussions of military discipline. For further on Dudley, see Simon Adams, *Dudley, Sir Robert (1574–1649), mariner and landowner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/8161.
[82] Sgroi, 'Piscatorial Politics'.
[83] Cell, 'Introduction', 4 says 200; Whitbourne says 250 in a ' Copy of a Letter to the right honourable Charles Earle of Nottingham Baron Howard of Effingham, etc. It Relates to Newfoundland' reprinted in Lewis, Pope, and Fosnæs, 'A Letter in the Family Papers of Sir Henry Salusbury', 514–16.
[84]'Insurance Policy on Newfoundland Fish in 1604' in Prowse, *Newfoundland,* 84.

relation to its fisheries—considered primarily as a site of resource-extraction rather than in terms of its settlement and socio-cultural development.[85] Yet Newfoundland's 1610 colonial settlement was the second-oldest British settlement in colonial North America after Virginia in 1607—and the island had the largest, concentrated British population north of the thirteen colonies until Halifax (est. 1749) outgrew it in the late eighteenth century.[86] This feeds into core-periphery theories of empire or world-systems, in which Newfoundland is viewed in British/Atlantic/North American histories from the core's perspective.[87] This was also true historically. As Jack Bumsted notes, in the imperial heyday of the nineteenth century 'many considered it not a proper colony at all, for [to them] it was really a permanent fishing station located off the Grand Banks'.[88]

Mythologising Newfoundland: from 'stinking fish' to 'Neptune's Sheep'

European colonial enterprises invariably incorporated the fishing trade into their overall plan, but successive colonisers combined material concerns with historical and mythical allusions to give character and shape to their colony. Atlantic/colonial histories have positioned cod as the sole concern of the English/British, but for many colonial speculators, cod was simply the means to an end. Promoters of Newfoundland from Rastell to Calvert had broader ambition than simply purchasing a site for seasonal fishing stages, whether imperial, colonial, commercial, social, or spiritual in nature. The proprietors of 'Britanniol', for instance, intended to establish social controls or laws to regulate the lives of both planters and the indigenous Beothuks, which will be addressed in the next chapter:

[85] For instance, excepting a sentence listing colonial 'debacles', Newfoundland is only mentioned in regard to its fish in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 37; 190–91; likewise in John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 8–9, 12–13, 24, 154; and Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (New York and Toronto: Vintage Books, Random House, 2012).

[86] John Michael Bumsted, 'The Cultural Landscape of Early Canada', in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill, 1991), 373.

[87] For further on core-periphery theories, world-systems theories and their use in historical and contemporary analyses of colonies and former colonies, see Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'Maritime Communities of the North Atlantic Arc in the Early Modern Period', *Journal of the North Atlantic* 12 (2019): 44-72, 44; Clausnitzer Jr., 'Seventeenth-Century English Cod Fisheries', 9-17. For some examples, see Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, eds., *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).

[88] Bumsted, 'Early Canada', 363–73. See also, Pope, *Fish into Wine*, vi.

Vaughan proposed a 'Reformation' of dress to avert moral and economic decline; Calvert wished to recreate a feudalistic, manorial system of land ownership and justice—and partially achieved it; Cary planned to inculcate settlers and Beothuk children with English culture. Each invoked the past in pursuit of these ends. Vaughan used a multiplicity of Classical, Biblical and literary allusions. Cary drew on English historical experience in Ireland, while Calvert's 'Avalon' played upon Arthurian and Grail myths to define his land grant and imbue it with meaning.

'British' Newfoundland in the 1620s was a land of dichotomous extremes: Avalon and Parnassus painted with the 'sadd face of wynter' and smeared with fish guts.[89] It was both a physical place and—like Cavendish's *Blazing World*—a product of 'man's *fancy*, framed in his own mind': a place in which fancy/fiction and reason/truth were 'joined…as two worlds at the end of their poles'.[90] These opposing worlds are unified in Vaughan's Britanniol, an imperialist colonial imaginary in which fantasy and reality are conjoined—a duality encapsulated by Vaughan's description of cod as both 'stinking fish' and 'Neptune's Sheep' in the same text. Having now addressed the 'stinking fish'—the material realities and policies of the fishing trade, we turn to 'Neptune's Sheep' the myths, legends, imaginary worlds and symbolic landscapes that were mapped onto Newfoundland.

From the earliest European encounters with Newfoundland, the island and its surrounding waters were overlaid with mythical or phantom lands and creatures. In early documentary sources distinctions between the real and fantastical are consistently hazy. Newfoundland's location and geographical boundaries shift and blur in fifteenth and sixteenth-century European cartography: it appears and disappears, stretches and morphs from a solid mass to an archipelago to an island. In numerous reports, Newfoundland is conjoined to the fabled western islands and cities of Classical and medieval legend—fantasy lands which appear on fourteenth and fifteenth century maps and Portolan charts: the Atlantis of Plato's *Timaeus* and *Critias;* the Fortunate Isle; the Isle of Brasil; St Brandon's Island; the Lost Island, Groclant; Antillia; Salvaga.[91]

[89] Calvert, 'Calvert to Charles I'.
[90] Cavendish, 'Blazing World', 5–6.
[91] For further see E. G. R. Taylor, 'Imaginary Islands: A Problem Solved', *The Geographical Journal* 130, no. 1 (1964): 105–9; George E. Buker, 'The Search for the Seven Cities and Early American Exploration', *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (1992): 155–68; Probasco, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, chapter 4; Margaret Small,

In 1497, when the Cabots alighted on the island, they had been looking for the mythical Brasil (sometimes synonymous with the Grand Banks) and believed they had found the Isle of the Seven Cities of Antillia, a phantom, sometimes utopian, land that appears on maps from the fourteenth century (and resurfaces in chapter 7 in the form of a Rosicrucian brotherhood).[92] When Gilbert staked his flag—guided by Hakluyt's reports and John Dee's map of 'Atlantis' (America)—he was in fact looking for the non-existent but much-desired, Norumbega (variously a land/river/city) that was itself sited in numerous North American locations and merged with other mythical places (it was still being referenced in a map by Dudley of the 1640s: fig. 26 see calligraphy, top right).[93] Newfoundland was also populated with imaginary creatures and its waters filled with sea monsters (e.g. figs. 22 and 27). For several hundred years it was mooted as the enigmatic 'Vinland' described in Scandinavian sagas, a land of grape-vines, unipeds and 'Skraelings'.[94] Parmenius' poem celebrating Gilbert's voyage described 'Dragons and giants here that Hercules / Would not have thought beneath his dignity', and Whitbourne—Vaughan's pragmatic governor who sailed with Parmenius and Gilbert—later gave an eyewitness account of what he supposed was 'a Marmaid, or Mareman' in the harbour of St John's.[95] Myths, mermaids and monsters were thus integral to sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century conceptions and representations of the island.

'From Thought to Action: Gilbert, Davis, And Dee's Theories behind the Search for the Northwest Passage', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 44, no. 4 (2013): 1041–58; Birgitta Wallace, 'L'Anse Aux Meadows, Leif Eriksson's Home in Vinland', *Journal of the North Atlantic* (2009): 119. Antillia is sometimes Antillia/Antilia/Atullia/Antiglia.

[92] Buker, 'Seven Cities', 161, 163; Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men*, 76.

[93] Probasco, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, throughout but esp. Chap. 4; Kirsten A. Seaver, 'Norumbega and Harmonia Mundi in Sixteenth-Century Cartography', *Imago Mundi (Lympne)* 50, no. 1 (1998): 34–58; Small, 'Search for the Northwest Passage'. It appears as late as the 1640s in Dudley, *Dell'arcano del mare.*

[94] There is unassailable evidence of Norse habitation in Newfoundland and many scholars agree it formed at least part of the 'Vinland designation'. However, Vinland's location remains controversial and does not equate exactly with Newfoundland since it cannot support the grapes mentioned in the sagas. For further, see Birgitta Wallace, 'L'Anse Aux Meadows, Leif Eriksson's Home in Vinland', *Journal of the North Atlantic* Special Vo (10 November 2009): 114–25; Birgitta Wallace, 'The Norse in Newfoundland: L'Anse Aux Meadows and Vinland', *Newfoundland Studies* 19, no. 1 (2003): 5–43; Kirsten A. Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men: The Story of the Vinland Map* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), esp. 38-39 (the book also examines the forgery of a map of Vinland); Kirsten A. Seaver, '"Pygmies" of the Far North', *Journal of World History* 19, no. 1 (26 October 2008): 63–87.

[95] Parmenius, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, 103; Whitbourne, 'A Discourse and Discovery', 194-195.

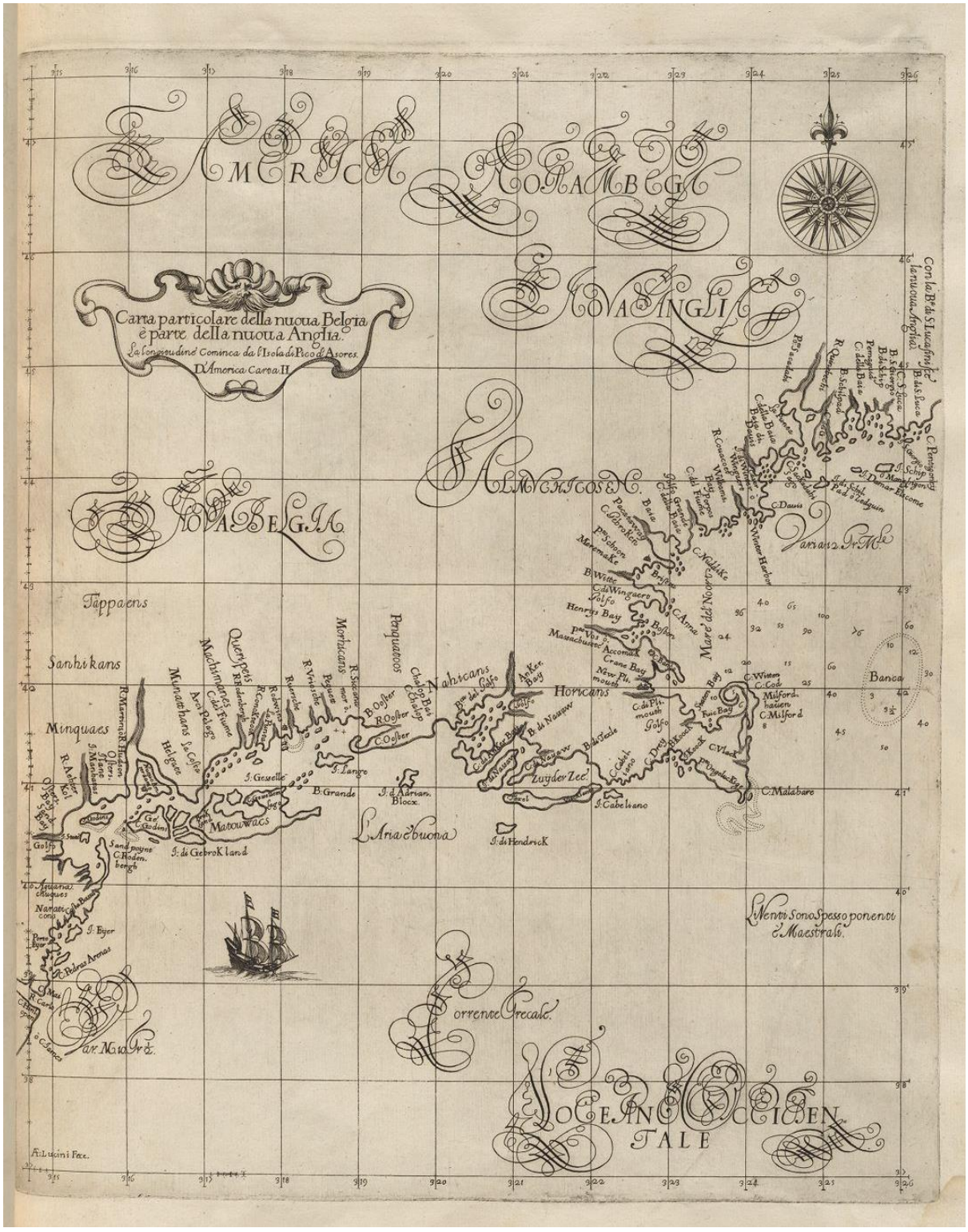


Fig. 26: Robert Dudley, Dell' arcano del mare, 3 vols. (Firenze: Nella stamperia di Francesco Onofri, 1646-1647) 3: t.3:libro 6 (seq. 649). Harvard Map Collection, Harvard Library.



Fig. 27 Jan Doetecom, Petrus Plancius; Cornelis Claesz, 'Nova Francia alio nomine dicta Terra Nova', 1592-94 Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec. Commons.

Imperialists and colonial promoters from across Britain and Ireland drew on this rich and fabulous pool to great effect. In the 1570s Elizabeth I's magician John Dee sought to claim Newfoundland as part of an ancient British Empire that stretched from Florida to the Arctic.[96] His evidence included the fabled northern conquests of King Arthur, and voyages to America by the early Irish Saint, Brendan the Navigator; the twelfth-century Welsh Prince Madoc; the Cabots; and a genealogy for Elizabeth I that traced her lineage back to Arthur and Brutus of Troy (Dee traced his own back to Madoc).[97] Dee's imperialist claims were

[96] It also encompassed Scotland, Iceland, France and Scandinavia. The principal imperial colonial sources for Dee are: John Dee, 'Brytanici Imperii Limites', Additional MS 59681; 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries', ff. 26-269, Vitellius C.VII Cotton MSS; 'A brief Remembraunce of Sondrye foreyne Regions', Augustus, Cotton MSS; 'Thallatokratia Brettaniki' or 'The British sea sovereignty', ff. 95-105, MS Harley 249, all at British Library, London; John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (London, 1577). Also E. G. R. Taylor, 'A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee', *Imago Mundi (Lympne)* 13, no. 1 (1956): 56–68.

[97] Glyn Parry also notes the mystical and angelic authorities Dee drew upon in formation of his British Empire. For further on Dee's claims, see Glyn Parry 'John Dee and the Elizabethan British Empire in Its European Context', *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 3 (2006): 643–75; Glyn Parry, *The Arch Conjuror of England John Dee* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), esp. 94-113; Ken MacMillan, 'John Dee's "Brytanici Imperii Limites"', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 64, no. 1/2 (2001): 151–59; Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The*

promoted by contemporaries at the heart of the Elizabethan project of exploration and expansion. Richard Hakluyt; Gilbert, for whom Dee made maps; Sir George Peckham, who granted Dee 5000 acres in North America for the substantiation of legal right to it; Vaughan's friend Florio, who first publicised England's 'righte' to the new-found land via the Cabots; and over half a century later, Thomas Smith and Samuel Purchas, who echoed Dee's arguments in print.[98] Spenser's *Faerie Queen* likewise drew on Dee's arguments and Arthurian myth to reclaim the smaller Galfridian empire of England and Ireland through poetic allegory.[99]

Dee's notion of a 'British' Empire was later adopted by James I and VI in his pursuit of the unification of western islands and nations and the advancement of colonies in the Old and New World. As Nicholas Canny notes, 'Great Britain', the new king's chosen term for his composite monarchy, was itself a 'mythical name'.[100] It was serendipitous that legendary figures in the national histories of Wales, Ireland and England (Arthur, Madoc, Brendan) had prior claim to Newfoundland and that colonisers from Wales, Scotland and England (many with titles and lands in Ireland) held land there in the 1620s, enabling the island to be viewed symbolically and literally as part of a 'British' Empire. Later, in the seventeenth century, in identical fashion to Dee's use of Arthur, the King of Denmark, Iceland and nominally Greenland, drew on Norse exploration in the Vinland sagas to bolster his claims to territories in North America.[101] These Danish and British claims were made upon the basis of

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Making of a Myth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 34–48. For an examination of the medieval Arthurian sources and fragmentary *Insule Britannie*, which lists northern islands as 'British' possessions but erases Arthur from the account, see Thomas Green, 'John Dee, King Arthur, and the Conquest of the Arctic', *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*, no. 15 (2012), www.heroicage.org.

[98] Richard Hakluyt, *Discourse of Western Planting (1584),* ed. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993); Probasco, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, esp. 18-42; Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, 150–57; chapters 5 and 6 discuss the legal basis and argument for colonial possession more broadly as does Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Sovereignty, Property and Empire, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[99] For further, see Edmund Spenser, *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser: In Three Volumes, vols. 2-3: Spenser's Faerie Queene,* ed. J.C. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Geoffrey of Monmouth and Lewis Thorpe, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), 219-222 on the conquering of Ireland; David Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 52–55; David Armitage, 'Literature and Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume I: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny and Alaine Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 115-116; Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, 156.

[100] Nicholas Canny, 'The Origins of Empire: An Introduction', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume I: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny and Alaine Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 2.

[101] Wallace, 'L'Anse Aux Meadows and Vinland', 32.

prior right of conquest, precedence and inheritance; but the authorities they drew upon are highly dubious.

Myth, Legend, History

In examining how colonial projects, ostensibly concerned with the practical and material processes of planting and fishing, drew on ideas about the past, found in myths, histories and legends, it is useful to note distinctions between these terms and their use and meaning in early modern Europe. Myth in the modern sense has a range of definitions, from traditional supernatural stories explaining the natural world or events, false but commonly held ideas or beliefs, imaginary or idealised people or things, or simply to fallacies. Myth was understood in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (as now) as fables or stories, but not in the latter sense as straightforward fallacies.[102]

As outlined above, truth and fact were not always synonymous in early modern Europe. Morality was entangled with truth (and often God) and therefore what was true might also be fictional and what was factual might be false. Seventeenth century writers of political and colonial literature commonly described mythological and other imaginary aspects of their vision as allegories, fancies, fictions, romance, or simply as Poetical, but this did not necessarily trivialise or lessen their veracity. As we have seen, many scholars believed that ancient wisdom or divine knowledge could be conveyed or recovered through allusions and parables. Myths could thus bring greater truth or depth to a colonial vision rather than obscuring it.

What might now be called myth, being an imaginary or idealised person or thing, was also found in early modern histories and contemporary geographies. Arthur and Madoc, for instance, were invoked by Dee and others to support English and Welsh claims on Newfoundland, and their claims to historicity or myth are therefore relevant to early

[102] William Salesbury, *A Dictionary in English and Welsh* (1547): Gida: Myth; Gwden: A myth; Edmund Bohun, *A Geographical Dictionary* (1693) 'mythick': ... the Palace of Memnon, and the Temple of Osiris, so much celebrated in the ancient Poetry, and mythick History. Long. 61. 20. Lat. 26. 50. ; Richard Huloet, *Historiae Animalium* (1551) 'mythicus': Fabler, or fable teller, or full of fables. Fabulosus, Mythicus. Thomas Blount *Glossographia or a Dictionary* (1656) Mythologie (mythologia) a declaration of fables, an expounding or moralizing upon a tale. All cited in LEME Lexicons of Early Modern English, https://leme.library.utoronto.ca/, 2021.

modern justifications of colonial possession. Both figures resurface in Calvert and Vaughan's colonial projects.[103] Since the sixteenth century at least, there has been some debate about whether figures of national importance, such as Brut, Arthur and Prince Madoc, were mythical (imaginary) or legendary (real historical people or events that have been heavily embellished or fictionalised).[104]

Henry VIII's historian, Polydore Vergil, Hakluyt and Purchas, for instance, were all sceptical about the factual accuracy of medieval geographical and historical texts due to their inclusion of fantastical or conflicting claims; but, rather than outright invention, these were generally thought to be the result of scribal errors, plagiarisms, corruptions and exaggerations occurring through transmission.[105] So too Vaughan, who writes admiringly in *Church Militant* of '*Valiant Arthur*' as a historical figure, but in the same work dismisses the Knights of the Round table as inventions of tenth-century monks.[106] 'Mythistory: 'an history mingled with false fables and tales'—a term familiar to Renaissance scholars of Thucydides who coined it—would aptly describe their attitude towards early manuscripts.[107] When Hakluyt excised what he thought were fallacious or irretrievably corrupted accounts by David Ingram, John Mandeville, and Asiatic Amazons from later editions of his works, he kept Geoffrey of Monmouth and Lambarde's accounts of Arthur's conquests, though he knew they were heavily embroidered.[108] Hakluyt believed his collection of travel literature

[103] E.g. Madoc is referenced twice in John Guy's Latin epigram 'De Colchide Cambriold omine CAROLEIO illustrata, & impensis Authoris Cambrensis fundata' in Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia*, 1625, A2v; Avalon is part of Arthuriana: George Calvert and James I King of England, '7 April 1623, The Charter of Avalon', in *Newfoundland Discovered*, 258–69.

[104] For analysis of Arthuriana and Arthur's historicity, see Green who details a variety of 'historical figures mythicised and mythical figures historicized': Thomas Green, *Concepts of Arthur* (Chalford: Tempus Pub, 2007). For Madoc, see Williams, *Madoc*; Derrick Spradlin, '"GOD Ne'er Brings to Pass Such Things for Nought": Empire and Prince Madoc of Wales in Eighteenth-Century America', *Early American Literature* 44, no. 1 (2009): 39–70.

[105] For further, see Mary C. Fuller, 'Arthur and Amazons: Editing the Fabulous in Hakluyt's Principal Navigations', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 41, no. 1 (2011): 173–89. Scepticism about Arthur was met with rage, e.g. Powel's blistering attack on Polydore Virgil and William Paruus in Caradoc (of Llancarfan), *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales: A Part of the Most Famous Yland of Brytaine, Written in the Brytish Language About Two Hundreth Years Past*, trans. H. Lhoyd, and trans. and ed. David Powel (London: John Harding, 1584), 175.

[106] Vaughan, *Militant*, for historical Arthur: 112-114; for the monks' tales: 178.

[107] It was translated via Latin for English use in the eighteenth century: Nathan Bailey, *Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (London: Thomas Cox, 1737), entry for MYTHISTORIA or MYTHISTORY.

[108] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English nation,* repr. in 12 vols., 2nd ed. (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1903), 1:liii, lxvi, 6; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol. XIX* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons for University of Glasgow Press, 1905). For further, see Fuller, 'Arthur and Amazons', e.g. on 175-176: Fuller quotes Hakluyt's marginal gloss: '"*Mandevillus nihili facit has fabulas*": Mandeville makes these fables out of nothing' and also Purchas:

had moral purpose as well as having practical utility and he wished readers to become 'inflamed unto virtue...by the remembering of...worthy acts'.[109]

Historical 'truth' and convention were challenged beyond the inclusion of fabulous or legendary material as the historical imagination bled into other arts and literary styles to produce blended forms: from translations, constitutions, genealogies and political utopias that incorporated histories, fictions, poetry and myth, to historical dialogues that abandoned chronology.[110] The sister arts likewise reflected history in their waters. Spenser devised the fantastical *Faerie Queen* as an instructive and applicable model of virtue for individuals and imperial commonwealths, but in a letter about the work to his patron, Raleigh, he purports the allegory is both a work of 'historicall fiction' and a 'History', elaborating that:

> For the Methode of a Poet historical is not such, as of an Historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affayres orderly as they were donne, accounting as well the times as the actions, but a Poet thrusteth into the middest, even where it most concerneth him, and there recoursing to the thinges forepaste, and divining of thinges to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all. The beginning therefore of my history, if it were to be told by an Historiographer should be the twelfth booke, which is the last.[111]

Predictably, there was contemporaneous debate across Europe about the proper purpose of history, its nature and methodology, and the ways the *ars historica* might overlap or even exceed the poetical, visual and philosophical arts in its capacity both to reveal truth and

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'Mandeville, whose geography Ortelius commendeth, howsoever he acknowledgeth his work stuffed with fables'.

[109] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 1: lxvi; Fuller, 'Arthur and Amazons'.

[110] See discussion of Dee above, and for further examples, see: J. H. M. Salmon, 'Precept, Example and Truth: Degory Wheare and the Ars Historica', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11–36; David Wootton, 'Thomas Hobbes's Machiavellian Moments', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800*, ed. Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 210–42; Joseph M. Levine, 'Thomas More and the English Renaissance: History and Fiction in Utopia', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800*, ed. Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 69–92; Patricia Springborg, 'Leviathan, Mythic History, and National Historiography', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800*, ed. Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 267–97; Armitage, 'Literature and Empire'.

[111] Spenser, *Poetic Works*, 3:485–87. He concludes: 'I have briefly overronne to direct your understanding to the wel-head of the History' (487).

produce moral effects. In this context, history, geography, poetry, legend, myth, tradition and ritual were interchangeable tools that could be used to sculpt a colony and instil morality, and/or to effect behaviours in colonial inhabitants.

Gardens, Islands and Groves: Ideal Symbolic landscapes

By the 1620s a patchwork of mythistorical allusions were applied to colonial Newfoundland that included an array of gardens, islands and rural idylls. These were evoked by a range of colonisers to frame Newfoundland as a perfected place, equal to the spaces of utopia and myth. For instance, in Parmenius' *De Navigatione*, Calvert's Avalon, William Alexander's Alexandria, Robert Hayman's *Quodlibets* and, most vividly, Vaughan's *Fleece*. As outlined in earlier chapters, the broad narrative and literary and geographic spaces of Vaughan's *Fleece* are drawn from Classical mythology. These provide the frame through which Vaughan wishes us to view Newfoundland and himself. The whole is littered with characters, allusions and references to Classical myth and literature, from his dedication to the Muses, to the 'Pegasean steeds' watered at the well of the monster-slayer Bellerophon that are ridden by Vaughan and friends.[112] Unravelling these allusions would require annotation of the entire text, but it is worth untangling a few strands to offer a flavour of the whole and to indicate some of the ways myth is intended to shape the geographic spaces of Newfoundland as much as the literary spaces of the *Fleece*, conveying a sense of place and intending to inculcate virtuous action through allusion.

Vaughan's imagined Britanniol contributes to a shared imperial imaginary in which Newfoundland is a mirror image of Utopia, Arcadia, Eden, Mount Helicon, and the Garden of the Hesperides. Just as his friends and fellow colonisers assisted in his self-presentation as hero of myth, so too do they collude in the representation of Newfoundland as a place of myth and legend, connecting the nascent New Cambriol and Britanniola to an existing rhetoric that painted Britain or England within it, as a magical, paradisal island.[113] Berrier, for instance, proposes in a commendatory epigram that 'Th' Hesperian Apples [Hercules] by waking got: / But Orpheus greater Gaine doth us allot. / For which let Paris judge, who now

[112] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 28-29.
[113] Catherine A. M. Clarke, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700-1400* (Boydell & Brewer, 2006).

shall have / The Golden Apple, which the World doth crave?'.[114] The Garden of the Hesperides was the goddess Hera's orchard in the far west and the Hesperides, the nymphs of the night who tended it for her. The orchard's golden apples reputedly had regenerative powers and could heal or grant eternal life. Hercules stole the apples as one of his twelve tasks and later, after he parts from the other Argonauts, they travel to the Garden, where Orpheus persuades the nymphs to tell them how to find water. In a related tale, when Paris judges which of three goddesses should be granted one of the apples as a prize for their beauty, he is given the love of Helen of Troy by Aphrodite as a reward for choosing her; hence Berrier's demand that Paris judge whether Vaughan or Hercules might be judged the greater.

This strand of myth is frequently alluded to and embroidered upon in Vaughan's texts, most directly when he describes Cambriol Colchos as the Garden of the Hesperides and Newfoundland's cod as the golden apples.[115] In Classical sources, the Hesperides' Garden is portrayed as an earthly paradise commonly guarded by a serpent-like and many-headed dragon, Ladon, who protects the magical apples. These motifs reverberate elsewhere: in the apples of Biblical Eden and the golden fleece of Colchis, prizes that were also protected by serpents and dragons, a fact noted by Philostratus the Elder, who writes that these creatures are 'devoted to gold and whatever golden thing it sees it loves and cherishes; thus [they guard] the fleece in Colchis and the apples of the Hesperides'.[116] Vaughan follows this tradition, protecting his 'golden' fisheries and his plantation with dragons—and conflating several myths in his stern warning to sceptics, slugabeds and sinners, to: '*come not at* Colchos [i.e. Newfoundland], *nor presume yee once, more then* Tantalus, *to touch the* Golden Apples *of our* Hesperides. *There lies a Couple of* Dragons *in the way.* Pinge duos Angues, sacer est locus. *The Place is not for you*'.[117] Conversely it *is* a place for virtuous readers, one made all the more attractive by its exclusivity. Appropriately, the torture of Tantalus was that he could never eat the ripe fruit hanging above him and

[114] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*,'An Epigram vpon the Golden Fleece, moralized by the Authour for the good of Great BRITAINE, B3r'.
[115] Ibid., Brv.
[116] Philostratus the Elder and Arthur Fairbanks, 'Imagines Book II. 17 Islands', in *Philostratus the Elder, Philostratus the Younger, Callistratus*, ed. Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1931), 200–201.
[117] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 'To the uncharitable readers', B1r.

Vaughan here wishes the indolent or immoral to have no part in the ripe fruit of his fishing trade.

The dragon Ladon, who guards the Garden also shared the name of a river/god in Classical Arcadia, connecting the two idealised places and suggesting a common origin to some (they are ostensibly located in geographic space in the myths).[118] In Renaissance literature these earthly paradises performed the same function and were commonly conflated or referenced one another, particularly in the spaces of romantic and pastoral poetry and even commonplace books. [119] They are kindred to the idealised gardens/groves/woods of Classical, Medieval and Renaissance literature and art, known as *locus amoenus*, a 'lovely or pleasant place', which universally featured water, trees and grass.[120] They also intermingled with other utopian, legendary or magical lands, including Eden, the Fortunate Isles, the Faerie realm, the Islands of the Blest, Elysium, and Avalon, of which further below.[121]

Berrier's dedicatory verse highlights this interconnection admirably. His intention is to contrast imaginary lands with the materiality of Vaughan's 'real' ideal: Newfoundland/Colchis—yet to do so he uses other imagined and imaginary lands: 'From Westerne Colchos brings the Golden Fleece; / Which no *Eutopia* is, nor Fairy-land, / Yet *Colchos* in *Elisian* Fields doth stand'.[122] By Fairy-land he alludes to broader folkloric tradition but also to Spenser's fictional *Faerie Queen*, which was, like Vaughan's *Fleece* and More's *Utopia*, an allegory of colonialism—though Spenser himself distinguishes his instructive

[118] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Hesperides', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2013, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hesperides-Greek-mythology.

[119] For instance, Robert Herrick, *Hesperides: Or, The Works Both Humane & Divine of Robert Herrick, Esq.* (Exon. [Exeter?]: John Williams and Francis Eglesfield, 1648); John Evans, comp., 'Hesperides, or, The Muses garden' [manuscript], compiled ca. 1655-1659, V.b.93, Folger Shakespeare Library Collection, Washington, D.C. Herrick's is a poetry collection and Evans' is a commonplace compilation. For further, see Ann Coiro, 'Herrick's Hesperides: The Name and the Frame', *ELH* 52, no. 2 (1985): 311–36; Hao Tianhu, 'Hesperides, or the Muses' Garden and Its Manuscript History', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 10, no. 4 (2009): 372–404.

[120] John Roberts, 'Locus Amoenus', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, ed. John Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1983), 183-202 describes the topos of the ideal landscape in European Classical and medieval literature.

[121] Coiro, 'Herrick's Hesperides', 313.

[122] Vaughan, *Golden Fleece, 'An Epigram vpon the Golden Fleece, moralized by the Authour for the good of Great BRITAINE'*, B3rv.

fictional empire from ideal commonwealths, his own being modelled on Classical histories rather than Platonic fancies.[123]

Vaughan uses similar juxtapositions repeatedly, such as when his own fabled places, Parnassus and Cambrioll-Colchos, are the setting used to expose the fraud of other fabled places. For instance, in order 'to firret out the better the Originall of Purgatory', Apollo asks historical figures whether 'there was any such place as Purgatory' in their time.[124] Reckoning it to have appeared only in the last five centuries, he asks:

> And shall I sleepe still, replied *Apollo*, while this *Enchanter* [the Pope] beguiles with his false lure the ares of simple Soules? The *Poets* had their *Elisian* fields, as this *Fellow* his Fable of *Purgatory*. They devised theirs of pleasure. But He invented his of base covetousnesse to rake to his Treasury what others got with infinite troubles… Shall Jugglers and Mountebankes circumvent your understanding with trifles and nifles in a bag, or with a pigge in a poke?.[125]

This may in turn be an allusion to Boccalini's imagined market of political charlatans peddling false political tools in the first chapter of the *New-found Politicke*.[126]

Vaughan cites other idealised lands, including *Utopia* and Arcadia/*Arcadia*, of Ancient Greek myth and Sidney's hand. More's *Utopia* (1516) appears several times, not simply held up as a mirror to his 'real' utopian colony, but cited for its valuable socio-political truths.[127] A section in Boccalini/Vaughan's earlier *New-found Politicke* had brought Parnassus and Arcadia together when the challenges of imperialism are conveyed through a parable of shepherds enlarging flocks in Arcadia.[128] Vaughan again unites these ideal and colonial spaces in the *Fleece* when he refers to the swains of Arcadia and quotes a poem from Sidney's *Arcadia,* a work he evidently admired and with which he had some personal connection.[129] His close friend Matthew Gwinne edited the first edition with Fulke Greville

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[123] See 'A Letter of the Authors to Sir Walter Raleigh' in Spenser, *Poetical Works*, 3:485–87.
[124] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1:83.
[125] Ibid., Pt. 1: at 83-84, see also Pt.1: 148.
[126] Vaughan, Florio, and [Scott], *Newfound Politicke,* 1-7.
[127] [William Vaughan], for citations of '*Eutopia*' in the text see Pt. 1: 135; Pt. 3: 34.
[128] Boccalini, *New-Found Politicke*, 178–80.
[129] Vaughan quotes a poem from Sidney's *Old Arcadia* beginning 'Who doth desire that chaste his wife should be' in [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3:85 (swains); Pt.2: 63-64 (Sidney poem). Sidney, in turn, mentions Hesperian apples in a poem from 'Astrophil and Stella' in the folio of Arcadia: in Philip Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 208; *Arcadia* itself adopts the frame of a Classical pastoral utopia, and drew upon romantic Classical texts such as Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* and chivalric medieval romance.

and possibly also with another of his friends, John Florio (this was the 'New Arcadia', published in 1590), both of whom feature in Vaughan's publications.[130] Yet another acquaintance and fellow coloniser, who appears in the *Fleece*, William Alexander, is connected to the *Arcadia* and wrote an extension to the fifth edition (1621) that was included in several later additions.[131] Co-incidentally, a section of Alexander's former colony, Nova Scotia, is now called the Acadian Peninsula, a bastardisation of the Arcadia of Greek myth. Arcadia was the name given to a shifting region of the northeast Atlantic coast that later became New France, demonstrating a cross-European idealisation of lands in the New World.[132] Like Sidney's *Arcadia*, the *Fleece* adopts a fantasy setting influenced by Classical myth and pastoral to comment upon current affairs, but it is difficult to see why Robert Endres believes it was 'heavily influenced in style' by Sidney's chivalric romance, with which it shares little stylistically beyond the allusion to the ideal of Arcadia.[133]

Idealised gardens and groves not only provided the *locus amoenus* for medieval and early modern poems and art, they also represented poetry itself. Poetry compilations and collections of moral or thematic sayings were conceived as allegorical gardens, replete with springs of water and flowers (*florilegia*).[134] Mount Parnassus, and sometimes Mount Helicon, where the Muses resided, were seats of poetry and learning in Greek mythology—Helicon was the site of two springs sacred to the Muses, the Aganippe and the Hippocrene,

[130] Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London: John Windet for William Ponsonbie, 1590). There have been several manuscripts, editions and extensions of the Arcadia (Old and New) and the extensive editorial work of different parties has caused much controversy then and now. Ringler and Davis collectively offer a thorough review of the evidence and debates: Ringler, *Poems of Sidney*, for Florio's involvements see 533-534; for manuscripts and their relationship to the publications see 366-380; see also Joel Davis, 'Multiple "Arcadias" and the Literary Quarrel between Fulke Greville and the Countess of Pembroke', *Studies in Philology* 101, no. 4 (2004): 401–30; Yates, *John Florio*, 197-206 for Florio's involvement and his argument with other Hugh Sanford, co-editor of the second edition.

[131] Philip Sidney and William Alexander, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia…Now the Fift Time Published, with Some New Additions. Also a Supplement of a Defect in the Third Part of This History, By Sir W. Alexander*, 5th ed. (Dublin: Society of Stationers, 1621).

[132] William F. Ganong, 'Little or No Idea of the Origin of the Name "Acadia"', *The New Brunswick Magazine* 3, no. 4 (1899).

[133] Robin Endres, 'Robert Hayman's Quodlibets', *Canadian Literature* 8 (2011): 68-78, 70.

[134] Allott, *Englands Parnassus*; John Bodenham, Nicholas Ling, and A. B., *Englands Helicon: Casta Placent Superis, Pura Cum Veste Venite, et Manibus Puris Sumite Fontis Aquam* (London: I. R[oberts] for Iohn Flaske, 1600); John Bodenham and Anthony Munday, *Belvedere, or, The Garden of the Muses* (London: E[dward] A[llde] for Iohn Tap, 1610). For a later example, see Poole's (fascinatingly dreadful) dedication to 'hopeful young Gentlemen' in Joshua Poole, *The English Parnassus, or, A Helpe to English Poesie* (London: Thomas Johnson, 1657), which offered aspiring poets 'a collection of all rhyming monosyllables, the choicest epithets, and phrases'.

the latter created by Pegasus' hoof hitting a rock.[135] Vaughan undoubtedly intended readers to make such connections, fashioning his texts as idyllic groves to which his readers could be transported. He makes this explicit when he describes the *Golden-Grove* as the Garden of the Hesperides, alluding to his family estate of the same name, but here referring specifically to the text itself: 'this Grove of mine, conformed as nere as I could, like unto that golden grove of the ancient Hesperides'.[136]

Vaughan saw his textual groves as gardens of art and learning that could be explored: strolling among the florilegia would edify readers in the manner of the 'sylvan' texts discussed above but he also intended his literary works to exemplify the artistry of the poet.[137] Thomas Michelborne's commendatory verse for the *Golden-Grove*, professed his success in this regard: 'Some write of th'isle of the Hesperides, / Where golden fruit in greatest plentie grew; / … No more a fiction, now no more a toy; / Vaughan hath made that true, which they but faign'd; / By Vaughans Art it is that we enioy / That, which but onely they in shew obtain'd, A Golden-grove, a harbour of delight'.[138] His *Cambrensium Caroleia, Golden Fleece* and his *Golden-Grove* thereby create magical, mythical and mythistorical literary spaces, and invoke imagined ideal places; but they also shape geographic spaces—west Wales and Newfoundland—and engage a wide circle of friends and colonisers in this sculpting of geographic space into place.

There is a further layer to this allusion in Vaughan's work. The Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, whom Vaughan quotes in *Golden-Grove*, offered an alternate version of the Hesperides myth in *Bibliotheca historica* (ca. 30-60 BC).[139] According to Diodorus the Hesperian golden treasures are sheep, not apples (the Greek word *μῆλον* means both 'sheep' and 'apple'), and Dracon, meaning dragon, is their shepherd: the flock are described as golden because of their great beauty rather than their colour.[140] So, in Classical myth the Garden of the Hesperides lies in the far west, filled with golden apples that may also be golden sheep, guarded by a dragon/shepherd. In Vaughan's *Golden Fleece* the Hesperian

[135] Parmenius for instance presents Oxford as the new Helicon in *De Navagatione*: Parmenius, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, 93.
[136] See dedication to his brother in Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*. For later works using the same frame, see Coiro, 'Herrick's Hesperides'; Tianhu, 'Hesperides, or the Muses''.
[137] See also discussion in section on 'Patchwork Thinking' in Chapter One.
[138] Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*.
[139] Ibid., see Of periurie or forswearing. Chap. 19.
[140] Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History,* 10 vols., ed. Jeffrey Henderson and trans. Charles Henry Oldfather (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1935), 2: (Book IV) 426-427.

Garden is New Cambriol in the far western New World and the golden apples are the cod—'parti-coloured like the Rainebow' and golden because of their value, guarded by ships and treaties.[141] However, this Hesperian Garden—New Cambriol—is also Classical Colchis where the golden sheep Chrysomallos was held and whose fleece was prized by the ancient Argonauts; and Vaughan's 'new Argonautickes', must travel to 'a new Colchos': Cambrioll Colchis, 'where the Golden Fleece flourisheth on the backes of Neptunes sheepe, [the cod] continually to be shorne'![142] Though in the Renaissance, the Garden of Hesperides is turned into Arcadia—a poetic literary space—in Classical literature the Garden had an ostensible geographic location, and Vaughan's emphasis is that his allusions describe a real place, Newfoundland. He is nonetheless aided in his myth-based sheep metaphors by the pastoralism of Classical literature, where shepherds and sheep abound.[143]

There is likewise mythical resonance in Calvert's choice of Avalon as a description and title for his province. As with French 'Arcadia', now the Acadian Peninsula, Calvert's province endures today as the Avalon Peninsula. Though Calvert did not produce an expository text to accompany his project, his allusions to Classical and Celtic myth are nonetheless vivid. His desire to reclaim a lost and idealised past can be traced in the present-day Newfoundland landscape, which retains its mythical title and in the physical remnants of his colonial manor house complex at Ferryland.[144] Arguably, the manorial estate of Old English/Welsh memory—comprising manor, hall, lordship, and devoted vassals—was itself an idealised, mythologised place, located in chivalric romance and medieval poetry, and Calvert's ambition to erect the medieval manorial system in his two colonies is discussed briefly in chapter four. Avalon can also be found in chivalric romances and poetry, but the first instance of it in connection to Newfoundland is in a letter from

[141] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3:2. See fns. 399-401.
[142] Vaughan, *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3:10, 103, 150.
[143] See also his reference to his use of 'Gyges Ring to see the Cause of harmes' in England and Wales in ibid., 'Dedication to the Muses... and King of Great Britaine', A2r-v. King Gyges' ring was found by his ancestor, a shepherd, and turned the wearer invisible so they were able to check on the royal flock discreetly, here checking on the golden fleece of fisheries and plantation.
[144] Arthur Clausnitzer Jr., 'The Seventeenth Century Brewhouse and Bakery at Ferryland, Newfoundland', *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 41, no. 2 (2012): 1–17; James Lyttleton, 'The Manor Houses of the 1st Lord Baltimore in an English Atlantic World', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 51, no. 1 (2017): 43–61; Krugler, *English & Catholic*.

Captain Wynne, governor of Calvert's Ferryland colony.[145] Its first official mention is in the 1623 Charter that expanded his holdings: 'Wee doe for us, our heires & successours erect…a Province, & doe call it Avalon, or ye Province of Avalon, & soe hereafter will have it Called'.[146] The designation evoked Christian and Celtic myths to portray Newfoundland as a mythical idyll and a holy place of religious birth and sanctuary.

In the Matter of Britain, the Isle of Avalon surfaces repeatedly. It was known as the Isle of Apples or fruitful trees, and sometimes the Fortunate Isle.[147] The styling again characterises Newfoundland as an idyllic and magical, apple-growing realm, echoing Vaughan's golden apples in the Garden of the Hesperides and those of Eden. Arthurian legends are often contradictory but, in these, Avalon is variously the place where the sword of Caliburn/Excalibur was forged, where the Lady of the Lake resides, where Arthur is taken to heal after the Battle of Camlann, and is the site of his tomb (though in Welsh, Cornish and Breton tradition, Arthur did not die but is simply resting in Avalon and will return, Christ-like, to lead them once again).[148]

There are further Christian allusions, since according to the Arthurian literary cycle, Avalon was also the final resting place of the Holy Grail, the cup from which Jesus drank at the last supper and with which Joseph of Arimathea caught the blood dripping from his wounds during the crucifixion. Joseph reputedly carried the Grail and Christianity to Glastonbury and the Britons in 70 AD and was entombed there on his death.[149] By the late 12th century Avalon was therefore closely associated with Glastonbury (at one time an island surrounded by marsh), or synonymous with it, after some Glastonbury monks claimed they'd found the bones of Arthur and Guinevere there, which were 'of marvelous bignes'.[150] It is likely this was a publicity stunt to raise funds for the rebuilding of the Abbey which had been destroyed by fire but the idea was encouraged by Edward I and Henry II who wished to

[145] Edward Wynne, 'A Letter from Captaine Edward Wynne, Governour of the Colony at Ferryland, within the Province of Avalon, in Newfound-Land, unto the Right Honourable Sir GEORGE CALVERT Knight, His Majesties Principall Secretary. July 1622', in *Newfoundland Discovered*, 195.
[146] Calvert and King of England, 'Charter of Avalon', 261.
[147] Caradoc, *Historie of Cambria*, 175; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Vita Merlini*, trans. John Jay Parry (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1925), fn. 48.
[148] Monmouth and Thorpe, *History of the Kings of Britain*, 217, 261; Caradoc, *Historie of Cambria*, 10, 163.
[149] Caradoc, *Historie of Cambria*, 10. A principal source was William of Malmsebury's *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae* written in the mid thirteenth century. See also Justin A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 56–57.
[150] Caradoc, *Historie of Cambria*, 175.

lay claim to Arthur's legacy and subdue the Welsh. Many still believed them, including Vaughan who later noted in discussion of Arthur in his history of the Protestant faith: that 'brave *Martiall Prince*, / Whose *Tombe* was found in *Glastenbury* since'.[151] Avalon was therefore a place of national and religious significance, which bound the disparate British nations together in a shared sacred and secular history.

Calvert envisaged his Avalon would do the same, becoming a place of religious significance and sanctuary for all 'British' Catholics and reclaiming Arthur's British empire in the New World. Calvert would carry the Roman Faith to the 'Barbarous people' of colonial Avalon as Joseph of Arimathea had brought Christianity to the pagan Britons of ancient Avalon.[152] Though Cloakley concludes that the 'name suggests but does not prove a religious impulse behind the plantation'; a religious motive is not conjecture, as evinced by Calvert's relationship with the discalced Carmelite Simon Stock, a missionary operating in Protestant England on behalf of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.[153] Stock even claimed to have had a hand in Calvert's conversion to Catholicism, writing to Propaganda in 1624: 'I have gained for Our Lord…two councillors of the King's Privy Council', and the date would certainly coincide with Calvert's resignation in 1624/5.[154]

The Catholic Church was concerned about Protestant expansion—'the terrible poison of their apostasy' being spread across America and 'infesting' the world with heresy (a favourite metaphor of Stock's).[155] Stock believed it to be of 'great importance to the Holy Church and to Christianity that [Avalon] be inhabited not by heretics but by Catholic Christians' and at least fifteen to twenty Catholics were dispatched to the colony and—following Calvert's repeated request for clergy—a priest and two Jesuit fathers were also sent to join the 'new mission'.[156] Stock was in frequent correspondence with Calvert

[151] Vaughan, *Militant*, 113.
[152] Calvert and James I, 'Charter of Avalon', 258.
[153] Coakley, 'Calvert and Newfoundland', 8. The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was established in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV. For further, see Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, 9 and fn. 68.
[154] Simon Stock, 'Simon Stock to [Cardinal Ottavio Bandini, Member of Propaganda in Rome], London, 15 November 1625', in *Coldest Harbour*, 76–77.
[155] Stock also believed a passage existed to the Indies and China and Avalon could be used in furtherment of a global mission: Simon Stock, 'The Letters of Simon Stock', in *Coldest Harbour*, passim.
[156] Simon Stock, 'Simon Stock to [Cardinal Ottavio Bandini, Member of Propoganda in Rome], London, 10 May 1625', in *Coldest Harbour*, 81.

between 1625 and 1630, and kept Propaganda informed of their progress in the Avalon mission.[157]

In one missive, he explained to Propaganda that the colony 'thus was named [after] that land where Saint Joseph of Arimathea first preached the Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Britain'.[158] The explicit mention of Joseph hints at something calculatedly astute in Calvert's choice. The tale of the Arimathean conversion of the Britons had taken on new prominence in England and Wales in the late sixteenth century as Protestants attempted to reduce the importance of St Augustine's mission of conversion in the sixth century and recast it as a papal takeover of a long-established Christian Church in Britain: John Foxe consequently framed Augustine's arrival as an invasion, titling his account of it as 'Britayne Conquered'.[159] Significantly, an earlier origin for the arrival of Christianity in Britain established the credentials of the English Church as apostolic—and therefore one of the oldest in Christendom, predating the Catholic faith in England by six hundred years.[160] Catholics and Protestants alike sought to prove the antiquity and legitimacy of their faith and the claim caused an eruption of inter-and intraconfessional ecclesiastical histories as well as a number of supposedly-profane English/British histories—clearly written with inherently religious and ideological motives.[161] Such debates have bearing on the naming of the colony.

Where Protestant antiquarians claimed their Church was apostolic and that Britons (and Tudors) were descendants of the Trojan Brut, Constantine and King Arthur, Richard Verstegan's influential *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605) separated the Britons from

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[157] Stock, 'Letters'.

[158] He implies involvement by saying 'we had called it Avalon…' but though this is highly unlikely, given the timing, it is possible that he had insight into Calvert's intentions, given their connection. For further, see Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, 15; Simon Stock, 'Simon Stock to [Propganda, in Rome], London, 8 February, 1625', in *Coldest Harbour*, 77–79; LLoyd, *State-Worthies*, 750–751.

[159] Rosamund Oates, 'Elizabethan Histories of English Christian Origins', in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Elliot Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 165–85, 169-171 re Foxe; John Foxe, *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History: Contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of Thynges Passed in Euery Kynges Tyme in This Realme, Especially in the Church of England*, 2nd ed. (London: Iohn Daye, 1570). Gildas was a key source for Foxe in this and Vaughan drew on both writers in his own history, e.g.: Vaughan, *Militant,* 118-119.

[160] Oates, 'English Christian Origins', 169-172.

[161] For instance, in discussions of the extent and right of political, religious and monarchical authority. These did not have a uniform voice on either side. Ibid., 170–76; Donna B. Hamilton, 'Richard Verstegan's A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence (1605): A Catholic Antiquarian Replies to John Foxe, Thomas Cooper, and Jean Bodin'. *Prose Studies* 22, no. 1 (1999): 1–38. This continued throughout the seventeenth century: Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft*, 55–63.

the English, who were, he claimed, Anglo-Saxons not Britons, thus proposing their origins lay in Germany and the tower of Babel, and that English/Anglo-Saxon Christianity was only established through Augustine's papal mission.[162] Yet English/Welsh Catholics were as enchanted as Protestants by the notion of Christianity's greater antiquity in their nation and also with the romance of Arthurian Britain. Other Counter-Reformationists attempted to address the first issue by proposing English Christianity had three periods of conversion, the earliest being papal—Pope Eleutherius' (d. 189) conversion of the British King Lucius—but this disconnected it from the Arimathean-Arthurian legend of greater antiquity (and romance).[163] This was indicative of a broader pattern. As Ditchfield observes, the Roman Catholic Church's move towards greater conformity led to an attempt by historians to 'save the phenomena' of their regional beliefs, cults or devotions, which were often entangled with national historiography and origin myths, such as Brut and Arthur in an Anglo-Welsh context.[164] Therefore, by naming their Catholic refuge in the New World 'Avalon'—by liaising with Propaganda and sending Catholic clergy and believers to Newfoundland with its support—the Calverts insinuated an ancient papal origin for the English Church and wrested Arthurian and Grail legend back from an exclusively Protestant historical narrative, thereby ensuring Protestant and Catholic settlers alike could be united under the name and British-Christian history it invoked.

Calvert did not like his cold colony and left Avalon in 1629. He was granted Maryland in 1632 and died later that year, but his son continued his father's mission to establish a refuge for English Catholicism in the New World. Tellingly, Stock wrote to the Propaganda in 1636, 'Of that mission of Avalon little news reached me, although it yet progresses. The site is now changed, being towards Virginia'.[165] To Stock, and perhaps to the Calverts, 'Avalon' was both place and mission. Newfoundland had retained the name, but the Avalon mission would continue elsewhere, in Maryland. It is unfortunate that we have no personal account of Calvert's intentions in naming the colony. Nevertheless, the evidence strongly suggests

[162] Oates, 'English Christian Origins'; Hamilton, 'Verstegan's Restitution'; Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In Antiquities: Concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation* (Antwerp: Robert Bruney, 1605).
[163] Oates, 'English Christian Origins', 172–73; Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft*, 55-63.
[164] Ditchfield, 'What Was Sacred History?', 73. For a detailed case study in an Italian context, see also Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[165] Simon Stock, 'Simon Stock to Francesco Ingoli, Secretary of Propoganda, [in Rome], Canterbury, 15 October 1636', in *Coldest Harbour*, 135.

that Lloyd's explanation of Calvert's reasons for the coinage were correct when he later wrote that it was: 'in imitation of old *Avalon* in *Somersetshire*, wherein *Glassenbury* stands, the first-fruits of Christianity in *Britain*, as the other was in that part of *America*. … Indeed [Calvert's] publick spirit consulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of Christianity, and the Kings Dominions, in that his ancient, primitive, and heroick work of planting the world'.[166] Lloyd's last line, paraphrasing Bacon, presents Calvert's efforts in the light with which they were doubtless intended, as a continuation of the colonies of Rome, of Brutus and Arthur, and the religious colonisation of the known world by the Roman Church.[167]

[166] LLoyd, *State-Worthies*, 750–751. See also Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, 15; Simon Stock, 'Simon Stock to [Propganda, in Rome], London, 8 February, 1625', in *Coldest Harbour*, 77–79.
[167] Bacon, *Major Works*, 407.

4: The Materials of Memory: Fashioning Culture, Space, and Identity in Britanniol

The layering of ideal lands and myths on New World colonial landscapes had moral, religious and social purpose, as the previous chapters have outlined. This approach sought to shape society through allegory, image, and example, rather than by legal or brute force. It presented a series of frames through which we might view and understand colonial Newfoundland as the answer to a range of desires, from personal heroism, fame, and fortune, to religious sanctuary, evangelising mission (Protestant and Catholic), and ideal commonwealth. Newfoundland's proprietary colonisers did not, however, limit themselves to instructive methods. Beyond reorganising the fisheries, colonisers envisaged controlling colonial society in material ways through law, punishment, and planned settlement. They intended to mould future colonial cultures, identities, and spaces through material culture (buildings, towns, dress, maps), language, social engineering, and placemaking. To articulate their vision, the colonisers again pillaged the mythistorical and recent past. Due to the constraints of space, discussion will be limited to three illustrative examples of varying length: a brief account of Calvert's feudalistic system of land ownership, justice, and settlement will be followed by longer discussions of Vaughan's dress laws and shaming rituals, and Cary's plan to establish cultural and religious uniformity among the settlers and Beothuks in North and South Falkland.

Each of these examples look beyond allegory and allusion toward lived colonial space and what colonisers hoped would be enacted in that space. Placemaking is a process by which people shape geographic space collaboratively. This might be done practically (e.g. establishing fishing grounds among nations, constructing fishing stations and colonial settlements) or through allusion to myth and ideal landscapes, as discussed in chapter three. Drawing together these mythical, cultural and material landscapes, the second part of the chapter will focus on spatial thinking to address how ideas about space and place also fashion colonial identities and cultures. It will consider how the geographic spaces of Newfoundland/Britanniol were conceived and designed, through maps, political discourse and placenames, to reinforce the cultural values, and social or national identities of colonisers.

Calvert's Manorialism

Calvert's Newfoundland and Maryland were the progenitors of several colonial palatinates modelled on the Bishop of Durham's palatinate (itself enduring into the nineteenth century), which granted a colony's proprietors with extensive privileges and powers more akin to a principality than a feudal barony.[1] As such, the Calverts had the power of an early Prince of the Church and, with it, planned to establish a social hierarchy and feudalistic form of governance and land ownership that had been declining in England and Wales since the fourteenth century—from which time it was largely been superseded by modern courts of justice. The medieval manorial system Calvert intended for Newfoundland was partly fulfilled in the family's colony in Maryland, where it lasted into the early eighteenth century, though only a few manors held court barons and court leets.[2] The experience of Maryland nonetheless gives some indication of his intent.

In contrast to the communities of New England, Maryland became a colony of large, rural estates owned by Lords of the Manor who had jurisdiction over tenants, with a Palatine Calvert Princeling ruling over all with royal authority. However, though this model of rule had demonstrable impact on settlement plans and social hierarchies, the Calverts' power was limited in practice. Maryland's Assembly challenged the authority of the Calvert proprietors, just as Parliament checked the power of the English/British monarchy, and the Calverts' ambition to create a predominantly Catholic colony was never realised due to the large number of Protestant immigrants—who in fact staged a revolution against the Calverts in 1689.[3] The Calverts were not, for instance, able to pass their 'Bill for Baronies' which

[1] For further on the English palatinates or county palatines, established in the fourteenth century and ruled by the Bishops of Durham, Earls of Chester and Dukes of Lancaster, see: Gaillard Thomas Lapsley, *The County Palatine of Durham: A Study in Consitutional History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924) and David Marcombe, ed., *The Last Principality: Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham, 1494-1660* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1987). For the relationship between the Durham palatinate and later colonial charters, especially that of Maryland and New Jersey, see Tim Thornton, 'The Palatinate of Durham and the Maryland Charter', *The American Journal of Legal History* 45, no. 3 (27 May 2001): 235–55, who argues that the palatinate model was not an archaic and irrelevant remnant of the past as Lapsley and later American historians claimed but 'current practice' with which Calvert was personally familiar (247-9).

[2] J. Hall Pleasants, 'Prefaces 61 and 62', in *Proceedings of the County Court of Charles County, 1658 to 1666. Manor Court Proceedings, St. Clements Manor, St. Mary's County, 1659-1672*, ed. J. Hall Pleasants, 1936, lxii-lxv; 627-638; John Johnson, *Old Maryland Manors: With the Records of a Court Leet and a Court Baron* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1883).

[3] For further, see Antoinette Sutto, *Loyal Protestants and Dangerous Papists: Maryland and the Politics of Religion in the English Atlantic, 1630-1690* (Charlotteseville, VA, and London: University of Virginia Press, 2015).

would have allowed them to grant titles and create a new, landed, Maryland aristocracy.[4] Titles had value beyond the material benefits they entailed and there were plans to erect new nobilities in Virginia, Carolina and Nova Scotia, as well as in Gerbier's American 'Project' (of shifting location), discussed in the following chapters.

To the rising gentry, such as Calvert, the New World offered opportunity to rise yet further in the social hierarchy. The palatinate and manorial system put far greater power in the hands of the Lords Proprietor and Lords of the Manor than would have been possible in the Old World. These models were throwbacks to an earlier age and a society far more stratified than that of then contemporary England and Wales. There was at the same time nostalgia among the English nobility for an idealised and feudal Old England—when their power had been greater, the serfs firmly under their thumb, and the monarch had been kept in check—as well as some resentment for its loss, as evidenced, for instance, by parliamentary debates in the 1620s and in the earlier Essex Rebellion.[5] There was a related desire to reinstate feudalism in the New World, which is manifest in colonial projects from Newfoundland and Maryland to Barbados and Carolina.

One could also fashion oneself in ancient lordly mode in a colony, in a way that the tastes and the social intricacies of the English court would not allow. For instance, setting aside some of the limitations imposed by local materials and labour, a comparison of the principal buildings erected by Calvert and his son in England, Newfoundland and Maryland in this period suggest through their design that Calvert wished to present himself to his English peers as a fashionable gentleman of taste and wealth while in his Irish and New World plantations, he presented an architectural style and image that looked to a medieval past and feudal tradition.[6]

Across the 1620s, he bought or built properties on his new estates on both sides of the Atlantic. In Ireland and Newfoundland Calvert's residences were of archaic, medieval style; he bought an old, English-style manor or castle at Clohamon (contemporary visual accounts of it differ) and constructed a manorhouse complex in Ferryland, while in England,

[4] Johnson, *Records of a Court Leet*, 7.
[5] Richard C. McCoy, 'Old English Honour in an Evil Time: Aristocratic Principle in the 1620s', in *The Stuart Court in Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm R. Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 133–55.
[6] Lyttleton, 'Manor Houses'.

he built Kiplin Hall, North Yorkshire, in a modern, double-pile style (i.e. rooms front and back).[7] The design was probably based on a plan originating in London rather than northern England and, though of relatively modest scale, featured superior architectural detailing typical of a far larger, grander property.[8] It is unclear whether the atavism of Calvert's colonial manors was a conscious stylistic choice, or simply a more practical, efficient, and cheaper option for colonial estates, where there were few European gentry to impress with one's fashionable architectural tastes. His colonial properties nevertheless mirrored the feudalistic character of his rule, which looked to a vanishing (and Catholic) Old England—a time when the Bishops of Rome and lords of the manor held sway over all English souls, vassals and villeins.

Vaughan's National Dress

Vaughan was preoccupied with fabricating New Cambriol, Britanniol and Parnassus through material culture of a different sort, though his ambitions were not realised. To Vaughan the regulation of dress was a key tool of colonial governance, which fashioned the ideal colonial society and served national and imperial interests. His desire to control the dress of inhabitants in New World colonies was shared by others whose projects were short-lived, such as Sir Balthazar Gerbier, examined below, and the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, who gave the Chamberlain's Court the power to regulate dress in the *Fundamental Constitutions* (1669).[9] In practise, five English/British New World colonies—Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Carolina and Barbados—passed sumptuary laws that regulated the dress of particular social groups, and Virginia, Carolina, Jamaica and Barbados passed laws to ensure slaves were provisioned with clothing; however, these regulations are rarely examined in detail and have not been addressed collectively in their entirety by any single scholarly study.[10] Consequently, the prevalence of laws regarding dress (the term

[7] Ibid.; Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480-1680* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press and English Heritage, 1999), 164.
[8] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 164.
[9] Anthony Ashley Cooper and John Locke, 'First Set of the Constitutions for the Government of Carolina; by John Locke', in *The Shaftesbury Papers*, ed. Langdon Cheves (Charleston, SC: South Carolina Historical Society, 1897), 105.
[10] The most thorough studies are by DuPlessis, who omits Virginia's seventeenth-century sumptuary laws, but includes the colony's eighteenth-century sumptuary laws regarding slaves; Robson, who does not address the

encompasses all bodily adornment, including jewellery, footwear, hairstyles and accessories) has been overlooked. The evidence of application in states and colonies, considered in conjunction with the regulations envisaged in unrealised projects, indicates that the control of dress was believed to be an effective and desirable feature of colonial governance and imperialism; and, further, that colonisers from Britain were far keener on instating such laws than their implementation—or the historiographic record—reflects.

Vaughan proposed that 'one of the chiefest Causes of the decay of Trading and of the want of Money in these Times …[was] the proud affectation of men of Inferior Ranks … [wearing] gorgeous Garments, more glorious then Princes'.[11] If left unchecked, sumptuous dress would irreparably damage the social order and cause an 'alteration of the commonwealth'.[12] A key solution he envisaged for these moral and economic ills was the imposition of strict, protectionist clothing laws based on nationality and rank to which a chapter of the *Fleece* is dedicated.[13] The punishment for breaking these laws was also dress-based and was modelled on the penitential costumes used by the Spanish Inquisition during *autos-da-fé*: festivals of penance.[14] The significance of these laws, however, extends far beyond the few pages the chapter encompasses.

English/British colonies in the Caribbean and her account of Virginia is incomplete; and Hunt who does not include the Caribbean and mistakes the 1619 Virginia Law for Massachusetts (38-39), n.b. Hunt's statistics and discussions also address all sumptuary laws rather than simply those pertaining to dress (e.g. food, drink, games etc). See Robert S. DuPlessis, 'Sartorial Sorting in the Colonial Carribean and North America', in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 346–71; Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Ruthann Robson, *Dressing Constitutionally: Hierarchy, Sexuality, and Democracy from Our Hairstyles to Our Shoes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Ruthann Robson, 'Beyond Sumptuary: Constitutionalism, Clothes, and Bodies in Anglo-American Law, 1215-1789', *British Journal of American Legal Studies* 2, no. 2 (2013): 479–509; Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 29, 38–39. RE early Virginia, the law of 1619 was passed by the self-governing assembly of VA, see 'Against excesse of apparel' in H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1619-1658/59* (Richmond, VA, 1915), 9–10; but sumptuary laws were also demanded by the England-based Council who reissued their earlier instructions to Governor Watt in 1621 to 'suppress … excess in cloaths; not to permit any but the council and heads of hundreds to wear gold in their cloaths, or wear silk till they make it themselves': The Council for Virginia, 'Instructions to Governor Watt, 24th July 1621', in *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, Volume 1 of 13*, ed. William Waller Hening (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 114.

[11] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 58.

[12] Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, Chapter 58 is in fact titled: 'Of superfluitie in apparell, another cause of the alteration of a commonwealth', Bb2r-Bb4v.

[13] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 57–62.

[14] Ibid., Pt. 2: 62.

Vaughan's commentary on dress permeates the *Fleece* and other works. A recurring theme is that fashionable and sumptuous clothing were the root of virtually all forms of immorality and caused moral, economic, and religious degeneracy on a personal and national scale—bankrupting the gentry, causing a decay of hospitality and charitable giving, and encouraging sinfulness.[15] According to Vaughan, clothing had the power to maintain or collapse moral order, economic health and social hierarchies. By enforcing strict clothing laws and removing sartorial choice, these issues would be resolved, and order ensured. Vaughan's nationalistic sartorial strategies also reflect the increasing importance of national and imperial identities to early modern Europeans, and the myths and legends of nationhood and empire associated with them. This can likewise be discerned in the rules Cary set out for his colony and in the place-names and early mapping of Newfoundland addressed further below.

Vaughan's desire to regulate dress in New Cambriol was shared by governments and monarchs across early modern Europe, who employed dress laws to maintain social hierarchies, to control or limit the consumption and trade of goods, and to support protectionist economic policies for the local—and later, colonial—manufacture of fabrics, furs, weaves or dyes.[16] Dress controls later supported British imperial expansion and triangular trade in several ways. While the literature on consumption in the long eighteenth century emphasises the increased choice, variety and richness of goods available to Europeans through their respective empires and global trade, for some consumption was involuntary.[17] For plantation slaves in British colonies, such as South Carolina, imperial

[15] His discussions of dress are extensive, e.g. see Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, see chapters 8, 11, 21, 26, 29, 58; [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 4, 7, 22; Pt. 2: 6, 14, 57-62, 94-95, 135; Pt. 3: 3, 55; Vaughan, *Newlander's*, 101–2, 127.

[16] For further, see Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996); Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and Law in Henry VIII's England*; Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade, c.1500-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack, *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c. 1200-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 22–42; Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling the Privilege of a Few with the Common Good: Sumptuary Laws in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009), 597-617; Hilary Doda, '"Saide Monstrous Hose": Compliance, Transgression and English Sumptuary Law to 1533', *Textile History* 45, no. 2 (2014): 171–91.

[17] Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994); John Styles and Amanda Vickery, eds., *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / The Yale

policies and colonial dress laws removed choice, imposed European-style clothing and European hierarchies on enslaved bodies and legally restricted their consumption to the poorest quality goods produced within the empire—whether saltfish, linens, plaids or cottons—thus creating a ready market for substandard goods or those with a small profitable market.[18]

Whether in eighteenth-century colonial British America, or medieval and early modern Europe, laws governing dress have traditionally fallen under sumptuary legislation, which was used across Britain and Ireland from the thirteenth century to regulate the consumption of foods, fabrics and dress styles, according to rank, gender, sexuality, religion, nationality or wealth. Their classification as 'sumptuary' implies such laws were limited to the curtailment of excessive consumption; but, as Sponsler notes, this obscures their 'ideological agenda' since they were primarily used to narrate and enforce a hierarchical social order.[19] In fact, regulations relating to dress, materials, grooming, and bodily markings are frequently, and rather misleadingly, described as sumptuary laws in academic studies even when they do not address consumption practises.

In recognition of this, Harte refers to the 'state control of dress' while Sponsler and Quataert prefer 'clothing laws' to detach the implicit association with consumption, and Riello and Rublack distinguish between the imposition of specific forms of clothing (clothing laws) and legislation that forbids the wearing of particular types of clothing (sumptuary laws).[20] Vaughan and Gerbier, however, envisaged the use of both clothing and sumptuary

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Center for British Art / Yale University Press, 2007). Styles discusses the involuntary consumption of servants and the poor: John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

[18] DuPlessis, *Material Atlantic*, esp. 125-163; Monica L. Miller, *Slaves to Fashion: Black Dandyism and the Styling of Black Diasporic Identity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 27–136; Shane White and Graham White, 'Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Past & Present* 148 (1995): 149–86.

[19] Claire Sponsler, 'Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws', *CLIO* 21, no. 3 (1992): 265-284, 267, 275, 279; Margaret Rose Jaster, 'Clothing Themselves in Acres: Apparel and Impoverishment in Early Modern England', in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles, Vol. 2*, ed. Robin Netherton and Gale Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 91-100, 94–95.

[20] Negley B. Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England', in *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 132–65. Sponsler, 'Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws'; Donald Quataert, 'Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 403–25; Ulinka Rublack and Giorgio Riello, 'Introduction', in *The Right to Dress : Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800*, ed. Ulinka Rublack and Giorgio Riello (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 4. Under the latter's definition, all laws in England and Wales would be considered sumptuary

laws as Riello and Rublack identify them; but the latters' definition does not allow for the control or legislation of dress more broadly, such as dress-based punishments or minimum requirements for the apparelling of slaves—practises that are also relevant to discussion in this and future chapters. Therefore, dress controls will be added here as a general catch all, encompassing all forms of sartorial regulation and enforcement used in governance.

Despite the persistent and significant presence of sumptuary laws and other dress controls in early modern societies and European political and literary discourse, academic studies have customarily treated sumptuary legislation with 'unrestrained condescension' and its study was, until recently, confined to dress history.[21] Its scholarly treatment has undoubtedly been affected by its relationship with the study of dress more broadly, which historically has often been met with indifference or disapproval, and/or considered the sole purview of women or gay men (while academia, particularly 'mainstream' academia, has traditionally been gendered male).[22] In recent decades the regulation of dress has received greater scholarly attention and been addressed at a global scale and by a range of historical disciplines, resulting in richer and more nuanced interpretations and analyses.[23]

However, only a handful of studies address dress controls in a 'British' colonial context in any detail and references to it are more commonly brief within discussions of wider clothing cultures and/or focus closely on the early United States.[24] Here, laws

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except the Act of 1571 which required woollen caps to be worn on Sundays by all commoners over 6: 13° Eliz. C. 19, *The Statutes of the Realm, Vol. IV* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1819), 555.

[21] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law,* x [quoted]. Also Susan J. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 139–43.

[22] There is a large literature on this but see for instance: Susan J. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 2; Margaret Spufford, 'The Cost of Apparel in Seventeenth-Century England, and the Accuracy of Gregory King', *Economic History Review* 53, no. 4 (2000): 677–705; Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 12–41; Lou Taylor, 'Doing the Laundry? A Reassessment of Object-Based Dress History', *Fashion Theory* 2, no. September (1998): 352. For discussion of dress and dress studies as gendered, see: David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 2, 6; John Styles, 'Dress in History: Reflections on a Contested Terrain', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 2, no. 4 (1998): 383–89; Beverly Lemire, *The Force of Fashion* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 1.

[23] See fns. 465, 468-69, 473-74 and also Rublack and Riello, 'Introduction'.

[24] The foremost work on this is by DuPlessis: Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) and Robert S. DuPlessis, 'Sartorial Sorting in the Colonial Carribean and North America', in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 346–71. For a legal approach, see Ruthann Robson, *Dressing Constitutionally: Hierarchy, Sexuality, and Democracy from Our Hairstyles to Our Shoes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1-33; Ruthann Robson, 'Beyond Sumptuary: Constitutionalism, Clothes, and Bodies in Anglo-American Law, 1215-1789', *British Journal of American Legal Studies* 2, no. 2 (2013): 479–509. Examples of brief

pertaining to dress in unrealised colonial projects will be examined in the context of contemporary political and religious discourse and in light of laws within Britain and Ireland, and English, later British, colonies to highlight differences in governance, policy and status within and among different states and imperial territories. Though sumptuary laws were passed in Scotland across the seventeenth century and dress controls continued to be enforced or passed in other European states (including Great Britain) and/or their colonies in the eighteenth century, in England and Wales the last sumptuary laws restricting the use of specific styles and fabrics to explicit ranks, degrees and genders, were repealed in 1604, twenty-two years before Vaughan was writing.[25] He had been an enthusiastic supporter before their repeal, however, writing: 'I exhort everie man to live according to his vocation, and to observe her Majesties decrees and proclamations, whereby Cavaleering groomes, and dunghilled knaves, are straightly prohibited to weare the same sutes and apparell as Gentlemen'.[26]

However, as his sentiments and the broader evidence of colonial projects suggest, feeling was far stronger about its reinstatement in England/Wales than much of the historiography and legal record suggests. Indeed, rulings on dress were often made through proclamation, and English repeal of sumptuary legislation probably had more to do with the constitutional struggles between Parliament and the Crown in the early seventeenth century—and Parliament's desire to prevent Crown rule by proclamation—than with the deregulation of dress.[27] Though they were not passed, successive bills of apparel were submitted to Parliament with support within both Houses and across religious divides across

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discussion include, Alice Morse Earle, *Customs and Fashions in Old New England* (New York: Charles Sribner's Sons, 1894), 208; Monica L. Miller, *Slaves to Fashion: Black Dandyism and the Styling of Black Diasporic Identity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 54; 92-93.

[25] For further on sumptuary laws in England/Wales and Scotland, see: F. E. Baldwin, 'Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England', (Phd diss., John Hopkins University, 1923), 1-736; Negley B. Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England', in *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 132–65; Maria Hayward, '"Outlandish Superfluities": Luxury and Clothing in Scottish and English Sumptuary Law from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 96–120; Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); F. J. Shaw, 'Sumptuary Legislation in Scotland', *Juridical Review* 24 (1979): 81–155; J.C., 'The Sumptuary Laws of Scotland', *Journal of Jurisprudence*, 1891, 290–97. Eighteenth century British dress controls were distinctly imperial, focusing on the dress of specific regions and peoples.

[26] Vaughan, *Golden-Grove,* chap. 28.

[27] Proclamations on clothing began in 1511: Baldwin, 'Sumptuary Legislation', 210–13. See also Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 312–19; Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England', 132–65; Robson, *Dressing Constitutionally*, 14-15.

the seventeenth century, suggesting desire to use clothing in governance persisted in England and Wales long after its repeal.[28] Ultimately, these bills were only unsuccessful due to a lack of consensus over their focus and form of implementation, rather than any lack of enthusiasm for dress control, or poor perception of its effectiveness.

In addition to economic protectionism and the maintenance of social hierarchies, dress controls were also widely employed to discipline or identify individuals or ethnic groups, and/or to ensure socio-religious and cultural conformity within communities, nations and empires. Vaughan's commentary and regulations share all these ambitions but the sartorial strategies he uses to achieve them differ markedly from English/British practice. In early modern political and utopian thought a clear relationship existed between clothing and social control and Vaughan's views are representative of contemporary debates, though his solutions are unusual in England and Wales.[29] To fully comprehend Vaughan's intentions for New Cambriol/Cambriol Colchos/Britanniol, it is first necessary to contextualise his views on Anglo-Welsh clothing culture.

Vaughan was one of a long line of commentators and social reformers, both Protestant and Catholic, who associated sumptuous dress with a variety of socio-religious problems. Clothing was a marker of power, rank, wealth and national and social identity, but clothing also had the power to mould the wearer. The right clothing fashioned moral, virtuous citizens and supported native industries. The wrong clothing caused degeneracy, profligacy and immorality; it would corrupt and impoverish the nation while enriching foreign states and empires through consumption of their silks and trims. Like many, he believed fashion (itself an innovation of the Renaissance) was a social blight: 'a Leprosie… transferred from the Court to the Citie, from the Citie to the Countrey', and from other nations.[30] He associated the 'New Fashions of Apparell' with foreignness, effeminacy, cuckoldry and even to a decline of wit and intelligence among courtiers, who were made 'Clownes [in] Gownes' by its demands.[31] In Parnassus, Vaughan argues that the corruptions

[28] Successive bills were submitted 1610, 1614, 1621, 1626, 1628, 1629 and 1640, and in 1668 a Lord's committee was also established to examine sumptuary laws. My thanks go to Professor Maria Hayward for this information.
[29] J.M. Campbell, 'Dress, Ideology, and Control: The Regulation of Clothing in Early Modern English Utopian Texts, 1516–1656', *Utopian Studies* 28, no. 3 (2017): 398-427.
[30] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 'To the indifferent Readers'.
[31] Ibid., Pt. 2: 60-61.

of fashion have spread to the noblewomen and even the Divines of Apollo's Imperial city, who are 'polluted with this enormitie to ruffle in rich Robes, and to flaunt with silken Sailes'.[32] This conceit allowed him to take up the issue in Apollo's court where he might present his extensive opinions on dress.

Vaughan shared the pervasive fear that extravagant dress dissolved social hierarchies, making it impossible to visually distinguish the yeoman from the gentleman or the gentry from the nobility, and that the fashion for cross-dressing (hairstyles included) violated natural order by removing gender differences, turning women into men or hermaphrodites, and men into cuckolds or wives.[33] His language and arguments closely mirror those of Philip Stubbes, who ranked 'excesse of Apparell' as 'the greatest abuse' in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, and Bishop Hall, whose sermons railed against uppity 'base…peasants [who] degenerate into gallants' and at the abomination of women wearing men's clothes.[34] Hall's 1605 satirical dystopia even imagined the eventual outcome: in 'Amazonia, or Gynandria' ('once an American region but now ours [England's], thanks to the manly spirit of our inhabitants') men and women's fashions, hairstyles and gender roles are reversed—there, the men weep in spotless homes while the violent, abusive, and sexually-demanding women neglect the crops and infrastructure.[35] (The degradation and emasculation felt to be caused by this is evidenced by its use as a punishment of male slaves in plantation colonies, who were forced to wear women's clothes).[36] As Vaughan was writing in the 1620s, cross-dressing fears reached their peak and pamphleteers shared their damnation of the mannish woman, dubbed *Hic Mulier*, and her counterpart *Haec-vir* the womanish-man.[37] These sexually-aggressive women were reputedly turning into 'deformed

[32] Ibid., 58, 61.
[33] Junior [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.2: 59-60; Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, Ch. 58.
[34] Joseph Hall, *The Works of Joseph Hall in 12 Vols. Vol. V: Sermons* (Oxford: D.A. Talboys, 1837), Sermon on 'The Fashions of the World': 246-258; 254-255 [quoted]. Stubbes' commentary on dress is extensive—as with Vaughan, who admired him: Philip Stubbes, *Philip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses,* ed. Margaret Jane Kidnie (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), esp. 64-131, at 64.
[35] Clothing forms part of the satire for other regions and Book 2: Viraginia offers a broader parody of the sins of women and 'hermaphrodites' (e.g. vanity, lust): Joseph Hall, *Another World and Yet the Same: Bishop Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Edem [1605]*, ed. and trans. John Millar Wands (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 62–66, 118 (Index of Proper Names, quoted); 57-68 (for Viraginia).
[36] Miller, *Slaves to Fashion*, 92–93.
[37] Anon., *Hic Mulier: Or, The Man-Woman* (London: I. T[rundle], 1620); Anon., *Hæc-Vir: Or, The Womanish-Man* (London: I. T[rundle], 1620). Similar fears were also expressed in other parts of Europe, e.g. for Germans, see: Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 167–68.

monsters, by cutting their haire, wearing French doublets, having open breasts and false bodies'—all to the 'prostitution of their souls', according to Hall; some, including Vaughan, even deemed it satanic.[38]

The misogyny inherent in discourses of dress and dress controls is pervasive and often shockingly vitriolic.[39] Unsurprisingly, European sumptuary laws were often rooted in misogynistic and patriarchal discourses about the political economy of marriage and the corruption and wickedness of women.[40] More blame was uniformly apportioned to women by Vaughan and others for overspending on dress, for familial and national impoverishment, and society's consequent descent into vice and vanity. Such arguments often pitted nature and a divine natural order against human artifice and deformities—caused by those that sought to alter nature. Thus Whately writes of man's primacy in marriage: 'Nature hath framed the lineaments of his body to superiority, & set the print of government in his face, … he must not suffer this order of nature to be inverted…if he doe, that is a deformed family'.[41] Likewise, where women might have thought make-up, chopines (high, platform shoes), structured undergarments or 'galligaskins to bear out their bums', offered improvements on nature, male writers were swift to correct them: both apparel and women ('hussies') were condemned as sinful, duplicitous and 'deformed'.[42] (Indeed, the deceits of dress were everywhere: false embellishments 'deformed' women's bodies but modest attire too might deceive prospective husbands by hiding a woman's physical imperfections or

[38] See Junior [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 59-60; Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, Ch. 58; Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses,* 67, 116-118; Hic Mulier, *Muld Sacke: Or The Apologie of Hic Mulier*, *Muld Sacke* (London: William Stansby for Richard Meighen, 1620) [quoted]; Anon., *Hic Mulier*; Anon., *Hæc-Vir*; Hall, *Sermons*, 255. For further, see Sandra Clark, '"Hic Mulier," "Haec Vir," and the Controversy over Masculine Women', *Studies in Philology* 82, no. 2 (25 February 1985): 157–83; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 77–85.

[39] For example, see the diatribe on women's dress, hair and makeup in Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, 106–25.

[40] For further, see Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions,* throughout but esp. 255-272. Gendered sumptuary laws go back as far as ancient Greece and Rome: Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England', 133; fn. 6; as did the lambasting of women in particular, e.g. in Juvenal, see: Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*, 132.

[41] Whately, *Bride-Bush*, 18–19. Whately appears in [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.2: 65-66.

[42] The deceit, falseness, alteration and deformities of fashion were common themes, e.g. see Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, Ch. 58; see William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), 147 (quoted); Thomas Lupton, *Siuqila Too Good, to Be True* (London: H. Bynneman, 1580); Hall, *Sermons*, Sermon on 'The Fashions of the World': 246-258.

deformities—a problem resolved in More's Utopia by the fiancés seeing one another naked before marriage; an assurance More also reputedly offered his prospective son-in-law).[43]

According to Stubbes, the 'newfangles' of fashionable dress made 'artificial women, not women of flesh and bloud, but rather Puppits or Mawmettes consisting of ragges and clowtes'—but a woman in makeup was worse: she 'sheweth herself to be more than whoreish. For she…hath corrupted, and defaced (like a filthy strumpet or brothel) the workemanship of God in her, what is this els[e], but to turne trueth into falsehood, with painting and slibbersauces'.[44] For Vaughan too, fashionable dress and hairstyles were a clear indicator of immorality: 'Ladies, with their breasts nakedly discovered, with their haire cut like a Tomboy' would undoubtedly cuckold their husbands, while 'frizled haire … gaudy raiments, and gold put about… are the forerunners of adultery' (the Countess of Somerset exhibited all his dislikes, even having her portrait, showing 'frizled' hair, re-engraved to keep up with the new fashion for short cuts: figs. 28 and 29).[45]

[43] According to John Aubrey; for further, see Jane MacRae Campbell, 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking: Clothing and Control in Early Modern English Utopian Writing, 1516-1688' (University of Exeter, 2016), 94.
[44] Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, 120, 109.
[45] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 60; Vaughan, *Golden-Grove,* Chapter 8. So too for Hall who wrote an entire sermon about hair called 'The Women's Vail' Joseph Hall, *The Works of Joseph Hall in 12 Vols. Vol. V: Sermons* (Oxford: D.A. Talboys, 1837), 461-474 (esp. 465-468) and disliked make up too claiming God would wash the faces of 'plaster-faced Jezebels' with fire and brimstone (114); Stubbes even accuses vain women of stealing the hair of children: Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, 111–12. For further on the figs. and Countess, see Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 77–85.



Fig. 28: Frances, Countess of Somerset by Simon de Passe line engraving, early 17th century NPG D28097 ('frizled' hair).



Fig. 29: Frances, Countess of Somerset by Simon de Passe line engraving, 1620s-1630s NPG D6807 ('Tom-boy' hair).

The dress of women was intensely political. More than mere decoration, forms of female dress that were perceived as immodest, fashionable, foreign or masculine, represented a failure of patriarchal authority, and by extension symbolised a highly visible breakdown of civic and national order. Thus, in an ideal world for some early modern men, women who wore make-up or chopines would simply be put to death—as was proposed by Italian friar, Tommaso Campanella, in his utopian *City of the Sun*; or, as Thomas Lupton suggested in his own utopia, *Sivqila*—to avoid 'this vice' altogether—women must be kept indoors, except to attend Church or Market, and laws passed to ensure women's faces and bodies were concealed at all times under black, linen gowns stretching 'downe to the ground, and all of one fashion' (a burqa or boshiya in all but name—and akin to the mourning dress of Flemish women: fig. 30).[46]



Fig. 30 'Le dueil de Flandres', François Desprez, Recueil de la diversité des habits, qui sont de présent en usage, tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique & isles sauvages , le tout fait après le naturel (1525-1580), [27r sig.] D3. Courtesy of the National Library of France.

[46] Tommaso Campanella, *La Città del Sole: dialogo poetico / The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, ed. and trans. Daniel John Donno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 60–63. Lupton, *Siuqila*, 60-61. Lupton's was the first utopia written in English and the first English imitatior of Utopia. For further on Lupton and dress in *Siuqila*, see Jane MacRae Campbell, 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking: Clothing and Control in Early Modern English Utopian Writing, 1516-1688' (MA diss., University of Exeter, 2016), 40-51; 95-97; Campbell, 'Dress, Ideology and Control', 411–15.

Vaughan, writing some time before New Cambriol offered opportunity to fashion his ideal society through dress controls, ruminated sadly upon the loss of that real-world utopia—prelapsarian 'Paradise'—where:

> They had no Be[a]ver hats sharpe on the top, like unto the spire of a steeple, nor flatte crownde hats, resembling rose-cakes. They wore no embro[i]dered shirtes, nor garments of cloth of gold. They knew not what meant our Italianated, Frenchified, nor Du[t]ch and Babilonian breeches. They bought no silken stockin[g]s, nor gaudie pantoffles. Their women could not tel[l] how to frizle and lay out their haire on borders. They daubed not their faces with deceitfull drugs, wherewith, hiding the handi-work of God, they might seeme to have more beautie, then hee hath vouchsafed to give them. They imitated not Hermaphrodites, in wearing of mens doublets.[47]

Clearly, in Vaughan's New Cambriol social, gender and sartorial hierarchies, and distinctions among degrees, nations and fashions would be maintained. He distinguishes himself from leading Elizabethan Puritan thinkers, Thomas Cartwright and Robert Browne, arguing that they 'strive' not only for an equality of 'apparel [but for] an equalitie, as in *Sir Thomas Moore[s] Eutopia* of Degrees and Livings, under pretext of the Apostles paritie, that none of them should be greater then the other'.[48] It is worth noting that the sumptuary laws later established by Puritan colonists shared the conservative attitudes of Protestant conformists like Vaughan and Lupton, and their laws sought to preserve, rather than eradicate, conventional social hierarchies, though in New England's laws, as increasingly in Old Europe's, social distinctions were predicated on relative income rather than rank and pedigree.[49] (Dress controls continued post-revolution and even into the twentieth century addressing similar concerns to Vaughan's, e.g. multiple states passed ordinances seeking to

[47] Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, Ch. 58.
[48] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.1: 135.
[49] Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 102-103; 163–64. See for example Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 5 Vols.* (Boston: William White, 1823-1854), 1:126, 183, 274-5; 2: 84; 3:243, 261.

eliminate cross-dressing, while male/female dress/undress was treated differentially, both under the law and by a range of federal and state dress codes).[50]

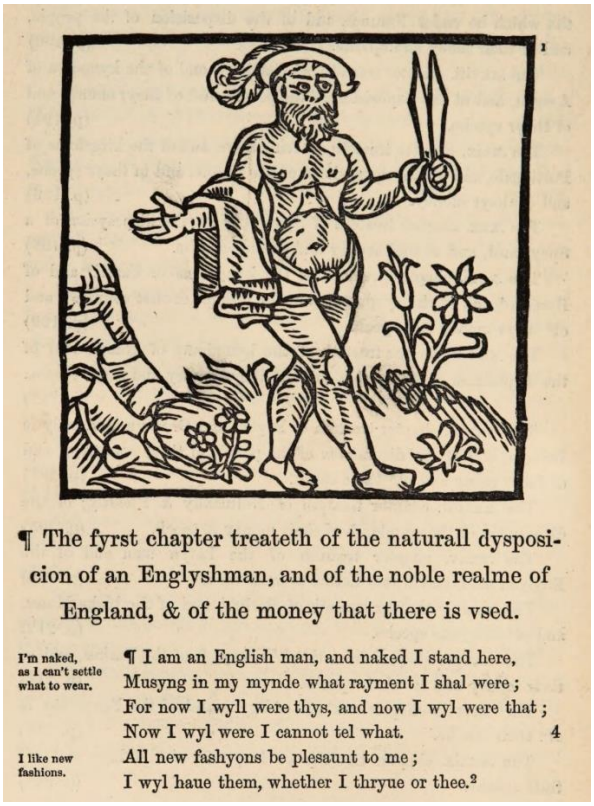
Vaughan mischaracterises or misinterprets (possibly intentionally) the arguments of all parties here by extending the contentions of the vestments controversy—in which many Puritans rejected the clergy's wearing of vestments as 'Romish'—into broader social hierarchies, and linking their arguments to the (Catholic) More's dress controls in Utopia, which supposedly eradicated social hierarchies.[51] In fact, the stylistic variations in the dress of More's Utopians clearly define a social hierarchy, but to most readers these distinctions are rendered invisible by their conforming to familiar social structures and appearing within an overall category of inexpensive clothing.[52] Accordingly, Utopian priests wear distinctive vestments of multi-coloured feathers which serve the same distinguishing, hierarchical objective as clerical vestments in England; they are merely cheap rather than sumptuous.

Nonetheless, Vaughan is quick to address the Puritans' 'pretext' for egalitarianism, saying: 'I must put you in mind that this paritie and good order ceased at the Apostles death' and claims hierarchies had emerged even in their time.[53] What was established thereafter was the natural order, social hierarchy, and though Vaughan did not wish to adopt foreign fashions he admires other nations' strict maintenance of sartorial order:

> Every [*Dutch*]man is distinguished in his Ranke: some by wearing a Copper Chaine, others a Silver; and the Nobler of Gold. In *France* the meaner sort of women weare Hoods of Taffata, other of Satten, and the better of Velvet. No man intrudes into anothers vocation. But with us*, Joane is as good as my Lady*, Citizens Wives are of late growne Gallants. The Yeoman doth gentilize it. The Gentleman scornes to be behind the Nobleman. Yea, many are not ashamed to goe as brave as the King.[54]

[50] Robson, *Dressing Constitutionally*, 34–79.
[51] For the vestments controversy, see Robert Crowley, *A Briefe Discourse against the Outwarde Apparell and Ministring Garmentes of the Popishe Church*, *Vnfolding of the Popes Attyre* (Emden: [Egidius van der Erve], 1566); Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), esp. ch. 6; and throughout for further on Browne and Cartwrght; Hilary Doda, 'Rounde Heades in Square Cappes: The Role of the Vestments in the Vestiarian Controversy', *Dress* 39, no. 2 (2013): 93–110. For vestments themselves, see Percy Dearmer, *The Arts of the Church: Ornaments of the Ministers* (London and Oxford: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1908).
[52] Campbell, 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking', 25-38; Campbell, 'Dress, Ideology and Control', 405-411.
[53] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 135-136.
[54] Ibid., 'To the indifferent readers'.

Vaughan, echoing Elizabethan commentators, damned the fickleness and inconstancy of the English—with their 'mingle-mangle' of degrees, magpie taste for foreign fashions and their hotch-potch style—devising assemblages that led William Harrison to claim: 'except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see any so disguised as are my countrymen of England'.[55] The Englishman was a patchwork man clothed in the fashions of other nations: not just fickle, but effeminate, corrupted and monstrous.[56] Vaughan references the then well-known image of a naked Englishman with shears, who loves new fashions 'above all things' and has no identity since he dresses in this or that according to foreign fashions, without regard for its effect on the moral and economic wellbeing of himself or others of his nation (fig. 31).[57]



¶ The fyrst chapter treateth of the naturall dysposicion of an Englyshman, and of the noble realme of England, & of the money that there is vsed.

I'm naked, as I can't settle what to wear.

¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were;
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that;
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

I like new fashions.

All new fashyons be plesaunt to me;
I wyl haue them, whether I thryue or thee.[2]

Fig. 31 Woodcut of 'The Englishman who loves new fashions' from Andrew Boorde, *The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (1548), ed. Frederick James Furnivall, vol. 10 (London: N.Trübner, 1870), 116–17.

[55] Harrison, *The Description of England*, 146.
[56] For further and a range of literary examples, see Roze Hentschell, 'Treasonous Textiles: Foreign Cloth and the Construction of Englishness', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 3 (2002): 543–70.
[57] Andrew Boorde, *The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge (1548)*, ed. Frederick James Furnivall, vol. 10 (London: N.Trübner, 1870), 116–17. Boorde, like Vaughan, was a writer and spy who published books on health, diet, general advice and jests and may have had broader influence on Vaughan's works. For further, see Cathy Shrank, 'Andrew Borde: Authorship and Identity in Reformation England', in *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 27–64. Harrison also references the Boorde woodcut in Harrison, *The Description of England*, 149.

Ironically, other nations were equally insecure about the influence of foreign fashions and characterised themselves in almost identical ways, so elsewhere we find naked Germans, Italians, French, Flemish, and naked Europeans as a whole (e.g. figs. 32-35).[58] The English may have been notable in their changeability, however, since these images were all examples of self-reflection whereas an outsider, the Flemish artist Lucas De Heere also depicted the English as naked in his costume book, 'Theatre of all the Peoples and Nations of the Earth'.[59] Though the image with the shears is not labelled, De Heere's student Van Mander maintained that it represented an Englishman (a passage on the previous page, suggests a more general condemnation of followers of fashion).[60] Certainly though they also appear clothed, the English—ancient and modern—were the only people imagined as naked in his extensive painted manuscript (figs. 9 and 34).[61]

The Emperor Apollo decrees the image of the naked Englishman be 'defaced' and, to remedy the multiplicity of dress-based problems, rules that 'national dress' be imposed in Newfoundland: 'one proper comely Fashion bee accommodated to every severall Nation specially, to the *English*, of whom there was a Proverbe, that *no sooner sprung up a Fashion among the Lackies at Paris, but the Gallants in London would like Apes take it up as a patterne*', and, further, that 'no Nation should hereafter presume to weare Rayments of any other stuffe, then was wrought within their native Countrey'.[62] This protectionist policy would maintain each nation's cloth industries and stop the import of expensive dyes, foreign fabrics and trims—protections that extended to the national values, culture and

[58] See also Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*, 144–45; 149–51, 169.
[59] Lucas D'Heere, *'Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations'*, f. 126r. The Library dates this as 1550. This may be when the work was begun but it was still being added to nearly two decades later: as evidenced by the image of an Inuit captured by Frobisher on f.124r, dated 1567 (which itself dates the voyage not his return with the Inuit).
[60] Ibid., f.125v [verse]; f.126r [naked man]. For Van Mander, see Gaudio, 'Truth in Clothing', 26–27. Van Mander claimed the image was given to Queen Elizabeth and Gaudio believes this is the image and work referenced in the Elizabethan 'Homily on Excess of Apparell' but it is far more likely to be the original image by the English Boorde (1548), which was the earliest example of the genre, fits the description aptly and furthermore was printed in English and widely available: *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to Be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory and Now Reprinted for the Use of Private Families, in Two Parts* (London: George Wells, Abel Swall & George Pawlett, 1687). Homily 322-334; reference to image and book 327.
[61] D'Heere, 'Théâtre de Tous Les Peuples', f.61r-f.73r [clothed English]; 60r, 126r [naked English]; there is further version of the naked ancient English in Lucas De Heere, 'Corte Beschryvinghe van Engheland, Schotland, ende Irland', 1573-75, ff. 1r-27v, at f. 8v., Add MS 28330, British Library, London.
[62] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 2: 62.

moral health of the nation.[63] It would also fix dress styles in aspic: with no money wasted following fleeting trends.



Fig. 32: Naked German with shears in Hofkleiderbuch (Abbildung und Beschreibung der Hof-Livreen) des Herzogs Wilhelm IV. und Albrecht V. 1508-1551 - BSB Cgm 1951 [manuscript Court dress book (illustration and description of the court liveries) of Duke Wilhelm IV and Albrecht V. 1508-1551 - BSB Cgm 1951,] Munich. Bavarian State Library.

[63] Re protection of morals and values see, for instance, Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier: Or, A Quaint Dispute Between Velvet Breeches and Cloth-Breeches* (London: John Wolfe, 1592), a popular satire in which 'velvet breeches' represented foreign imports and immorality.



Fig. 33 Naked European (bottom left), Hans Weigel; Jost Amman, engraver, Trachtenbuch [Book of Costumes], (Nürmberg: Bey Hans Weigel Formschneider, 1577), frontispiece, L.11.33. Trinity College, Cambridge.



Fig. 34: Naked Englishman, Lucas D'Heere, MS 'Théâtre de Tous Les Peuples et Nations de La Terre Avec Leurs Habits et Ornemens Divers, Tant Anciens Que Modernes, Diligemment Depeints Au Naturel Par Luc Dheere Peintre et Sculpteur Gantois',126r.



Fig. 35 Leipzig chimney wall hanging, from the Leipzig Old Town Hall. The nine figures each represent a different nationality in typical clothing. The German on the far right is naked holding a bale of cloth. The figures are mockingly explained in inscriptions, 1571. Inventory # V466. GRASSI Museum for Applied Arts, Leipzig (Photo: Christoph Sandig), [CC BY-NC-SA].

Vaughan offers us no stylistic specifics, but given his surrounding discussion of clothing and nationalism it is likely he intends each nation's costume to be clearly-gendered, modest, 'comely' and in keeping with Protestant values (i.e. no flashy or 'deceitful' adornments or masculine styles). The dress of women would no longer be problematic but would instead be a visual symbol of order: patriarchal, moral, civic and national. Each nation's costume would also acknowledge rank and social status materially and visually. Social hierarchies could easily be made visible by the use of high-quality fabrics, cut and decoration, even in outfits of approximately the same style.[64] Recognising that some of the highest quality fabrics were not produced locally, he exempts the nobility from the law that restricts the use of imported materials, allowing them to display their superior rank appropriately.

Beyond the moral and economic advantages of a 'comely' national dress, produced from native cloth and labour (for the lower and middling sorts at least), Vaughan's intention to impose a national style reflected broader culture and burgeoning European interest in national identities and myths. Imperial expansion, religious reformations and religious and territorial conflicts all contributed to a desire to label, identify, ally to or differentiate between oneself and others through dress. The search for the natural origins of cultural forms (of buildings, liveries etc.), and an associated ambition to categorise and order knowledge, extended to people and clothing; ethnographic studies incorporated dress (encompassing all bodily adornments) as standard. The origin myths or genealogies of nations were, in turn, often symbolised by forms of dress that were intended to reflect national character and attributes.

[64] This is very similar to Lupton's approach: Campbell, 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking', 40–51; 95–97; Campbell, 'Dress, Ideology and Control', 411–15.

The right dress clothed you in civility: it recognised your humanity, and identified your nationality and national virtues. Civility was, of course, a key social marker and measurement within early modern society, but in imperial-colonialist terms, civility was shorthand for the coloniser: savages were everyone else. And savages were perpetually naked—though this nakedness was usually symbolic rather than literal. For instance, the Scottish and Irish are often characterised as naked for going barefoot, barelegged, or wearing distinctively Irish/Scottish dress and hairstyles; in fact, the standard European image of the sixteenth century 'savage' in heraldry is almost identical to depictions of the 'wild' Irish and 'savage' Scots (figs. 36-38).[65] Savagery, and its symbolic nakedness, was principally about perceived inferiority of rank, education, and culture, especially dress (the word did not take on explicitly racial connotations until later); thus it was not applied in text or image to 'gentle' Scots or Irish (fig. 39).[66]



Fig. 36 'A savage's head', Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *The Complete Guide to Heraldry*. (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1909), fig. 253.

[65] William Newton, *Display of Heraldry* (London: William Pickering, 1846), 131. See also images of wild Irish in D'Heere, 'Théâtre de Tous Les Peuples', 1550, f.79r, f.80r. There are also savage Scots in esprez, *Recueil de La Diversité Des Habits*.

[66] See, for instance, Gentle Scots in D'Heere, 'Théâtre de Tous Les Peuples', 1550, f.76r. Though if not uniformly savages, Irish, Welsh and Scots were certainly presented as culturally inferior by the English, e.g. by Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge*, 122-131; Shrank, 'Andrew Borde', 36-38.



Fig. 37: ‘Four inhabitants of Ireland in dress of the 16th century: a noblewoman, a burgher's wife, and two wild Irishmen’, Lucas De Heere, ‘Corte Beschryvinghe van Engheland, Schotland, ende Irland’, 1573-1575, Add MS 28330, f.34ar. By permission of the British Library.



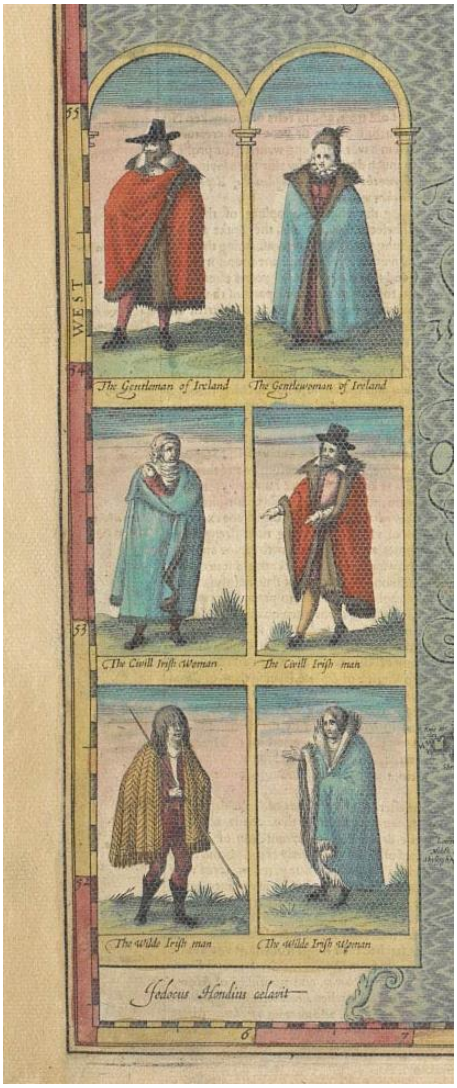


Fig. 38: [Left:] 'Eccosais Sauvage 1550 [Savage Scot]', Lucas D'Heere, MS 'Théâtre de Tous Les Peuples et Nations de La Terre Avec Leurs Habits et Ornemens Divers, Tant Anciens Que Modernes, Diligemment Depeints Au Naturel Par Luc Dheere Peintre et Sculpteur Gantois', 1550, f.77r. Fig. 39: [Right:] The Gentle, Civil and Wild Irish. Detail of John Speed, Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain (first printed in 1611–12 and reprinted in this version in 1616), 137-38. By permission of the British Library.

Vaughan follows common practice, referring throughout to indigenous Newfoundlanders as savages (he does not believe there are any in Britanniol but he wants to trade with those in the north) and implies the same of the 'wild Karnes & Red-shanks of Ireland [who] would not be more savage then us [in England, if there were no English justice system]'.[67] There is a slight question mark over the humanity of savages and women and Vaughan feels he must name his authorities on the matter (who had to defend their contentions 'stoutly'). He writes somewhat doubtfully that '*Homo*; [is a term] the

[67] Ibid., Ch. 12' Of Justice', D8r.

Grammarians, even since *Orbilius, Quintilian*, and *Priscians* time, have stoutly maintained to bee a common name to all men, civill and savage; yea, and to all sorts of women, the chast, as the strumpet' (man's value lies in his civility, woman's in her chastity).[68] The plan was to 'civilize those rude Nations'—and unchaste women—through dress, religion, justice, and even poetry.[69]

In imperial terms, therefore, clothing was a powerful tool: used to suppress or celebrate national or imperial identities and to shape them in specific ways, as Vaughan intends, but could also be usefully employed to shape behaviour through discipline and shame. Though Vaughan was fiercely anti-Catholic he thought the sartorial punishments used by the Roman Church were highly effective and worthy of emulation and he modelled his methods of punishment on the practices of the Inquisition. Accordingly, those who do not obey the ruling to wear national dress would be forced 'to weare Saint Benedicts Hood of Red, Greene, Blew, and Yellow Colours, which the Spanish Inquisition have ordayned for their Heretickes converted upon every Festivall Day for the space of one whole yeere next after the Offence committed'.[70]

He is referring to *sambenitos*, the 'costumes of infamy' heretics were forced to wear during the Inquisition's *autos-da-fé*—rituals of public penance of medieval origin that lasted into the nineteenth century—in which the penitents, as they were called, were paraded in costume and, at their most extreme, ended with them being burnt alive.[71] More ordinarily, as Vaughan prescribes, those being punished had to wear the outfit whenever they went out in public for a year after the festival, and *sambenitos* were frequently preserved and displayed in Churches as testament to the heresies. The costume comprised coloured tabards/scapulars, often covered in writing and symbols that indicated specific heresies/punishments, and a *capirote* or *coroza*—a conical paper hat, sometimes covered in fabric and coloured according to the crime. Goya's later painting of an Inquisition Tribunal gives some flavour of what Vaughan is suggesting (fig. 40). His description of it as a hood,

[68] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.2: 31.
[69] Ibid., Pt. 3: 32; re the civilising affect of poetry: Vaughan, *Golden-Grove*, Y1r.
[70] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.2: 62. He also refers to it in a tale of a merchant kissing an Abbess who has 'to doe a yeeres penance there in the Inquisition house with wearing a Jackanapes Coat of many colours, which they call Saint *Benets hood* or *Sanbenita*': Pt.1: 46.
[71] For further, see Francisco Bethencourt, 'The Auto Da Fé: Ritual and Imagery', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (22 April 1992): 155–68.

suggests something closer to the modern style of *capirote* still worn at Easter by the confraternities of penitents in Spain, such as the Nazarenes, later adopted by the similarly anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klan (fig. 41).



Fig. 40: Francisco de Goya, 'The Inquisition Tribunal', 1812-1819, held in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, Spain. Public Domain.



Fig. 41: Procession of the Reales Cofradías Fusionadas in Malaga, Spain, 2016. Photo: Pedro J. Pacheco. Commons License.

Vaughan believes offenders will, in this way, 'bee branded with Infamy'.[72] They will be cloaked in shame and held up for contempt, just as robes of office or vestments imbued wearers with the virtue, power and authority of Justice or the Church. Though there were no 'British' *autos-da-fé*, dress-based punishments and sartorial identifiers were also employed throughout Britain and Ireland across the early modern period. Practises included badging or branding the poor, or the enforced wearing of 'scold's bridles', iron collars, sack-cloth gowns, smocks, or sheets as part of ecclesiastical discipline, court-ordered penance or rituals of social shaming.[73] Some of these punitive methods continued in the New World—most often, though not exclusively—targeting slaves and women, who were stripped, shrouded, collared, badged and branded—practices that marked out those living within colonial communities as, variously, disobedient, sinful, or, in the case of native Americans, as friends or enemies of England, later Britain.[74]

There is inherent contradiction or duality in discussions of dress in such contexts: dress is both crime and punishment, object and subject, divine and satanic (as is undress or nakedness, which may be innocent and sexual, natural and unnatural, artistic and cultured or primitive and savage). Dress is a dichotomy in a whole. It is what makes it such a powerful and multifaceted instrument when used by the state, empire or other authority, such as a colonial proprietor or Church. Indeed, no other objects have this dual role, or have an equal position of power within politics, religion and culture in this period. As such, though Vaughan is unique in his desire to enforce national dress through law in a North American context and singular, as a Protestant, in his plan to use a materially, explicitly Roman Catholic form of punishment for those who break it; yet his propositions reflect broader

[72] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.2: 62. He also refers to it in a tale of a merchant kissing an Abbess who has 'to doe a yeeres penance there in the Inquisition house with wearing a Jackanapes Coat of many colours, which they call Saint *Benets hood* or *Sanbenita*': Pt.1: 46.

[73] Flora Johnston, 'Jonet Gothskirk and the "Gown of Repentance"', *Costume* 33, no. 1 (1999): 89–94; 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. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 116–36; Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 70; Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 54, 236, 249, 257, 336–37; Martin Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge: Regulating Sex in England, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 108, 319, 337; Steve Hindle, 'Dependency, Shame and Belonging: Badging the Deserving Poor, c.1550–1750', *Cultural and Social History* 1, no. 1 (2015): 6–35.

[74] Clara Ann Bowler, 'Carted Whores and White Shrouded Apologies: Slander in the County Courts of Seventeenth-Century Virginia', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85, no. 4 (1977): 411–26; DuPlessis, *Material Atlantic*, 130, 140; Robson, *Dressing Constitutionally*, 25–26.

European, and later American, concerns and social practices regarding dress/undress and its interrelationship with discourses of civility, morality, gender and, later, race. The conceit of Parnassus/Britanniol simply allows Vaughan to carry these concerns to their natural conclusion and solution: prescriptive, as opposed to proscriptive, clothing laws and dress controls.

Prefiguring Petty: the 'transmutation' of the Irish and Beothuks in Falkland

Cary, in contrast, took a different approach to sculpting the culture of his colony and looked to a different past: to the experience of the English in Ireland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the Cambro-Norman conquest in the twelfth century. Cary, who was made Lord Deputy of Ireland concurrently, wished to eradicate cultural difference in his colony through social design. This would be achieved through a programme of restricted immigration dependent variously on language, gender, religion, rank and ethnicity, and the removal of Beothuk children from their families. His plans prefigure those of William Petty, who devised a similar plan for the 'Irish to be transmuted into English' in the 1670s, and later colonial and Canadian policies towards indigenous nations of dispossession, resettlement and the removal of their children in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[75] Though there is little extant material upon which to evaluate his influences, given his experience in Ireland and the nature of his 'Instructions to Settlers' it is likely he was familiar with the rhetoric used in tracts about the 'Irish Problem', which took style and content from Classical and medieval sources to find their 'solutions'. These were heavily influenced by Gerald of Wales' extensive writings on Ireland, which had in turn drawn on Roman accounts, and this earlier conquest gave England the narrative and justification for its colonisation of the 'barbarian' Irish.[76]

[75] William Petty, *Tracts; Chiefly Relating to Ireland* (Dublin: Boulter Grierson, 1769), see Political Anatomy: 318.
[76] For instance, see Richard Beacon, *Solon His Follie, or a Politique Discourse, Touching the Reformation of Common-Weales Conquered, Declined or Corrupted* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1594). For further on Gerald and his works on Ireland, see Caoimhe Whelan, 'New Readers, Old History: Gerald of Wales and the Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland', in *Writing History in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Laura Cleaver and Andrea Worm (Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 213–31; Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006), the Irish and other 'barbarians' are examined in Part III; for his own Classical sources see 168-169.

In contrast to the romance of Arthurian conquest or Madoc's adventures, the imperial-colonial landscape of Ireland was bloody and brutal. Many of the heroes, colonial adventurers and poets of Elizabethan England were involved in the government or plantation of Ireland and promoted the eradication of the people and/or their culture, including the Gaelic language, music and dress.[77] Gilbert, for instance, flanked the entrance to his tent with a passageway of severed heads intended to 'bryng greate terrour to the people, when thei sawe the heddes of their dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolke, and freendes', a policy commentator Thomas Churchyard adduced to be justified as it resulted in 'short warres'.[78] Spenser meanwhile recommended a scorched-earth policy intended to induce famine, obedience or eradication.[79] Essex massacred Irish men, women and children as well as Scottish non-combatants in his 'Enterprise' for the recovery of Ulster, and Sidney praised severe measures because with the Irish 'no other passion can prevail but fear' and 'besides in their manner of life [they] choose rather all filthiness'.[80]

More's *Utopia* had offered an earlier and enduringly popular model for the systematic elimination of cultural distinction in colonised lands that was frequently referenced in colonial works/treatises. In More's fiction, the Utopians claim disingenuously that they 'easily blend together' with the peoples they colonise, 'to their mutual benefit'; but what is described is cultural erasure since colonised societies must follow their laws, 'live according to their principles and adopt their way of life'—or be driven out.[81] The formerly 'backward' Utopians were themselves 'transformed' and civilised by their

[77] Margaret Rose Jaster, 'Breeding Dissoluteness and Disobedience: Clothing Laws as Tudor Colonialist Discourse', *Critical Survey* 13, no. 3 (2001): 61–77. A concurrent example of planned cultural suppression or erasure can be found in King James' project to 'civilise' the Hebrideans on the Isle of Lewis: MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility*.

[78] The title of the section quoted is indicative of contemporary attitudes: 'And abstracte of the aucthoritie, and entertainemente, that was giuen and committed by the honourable sir Henry Sidney Knight [Philip's father], Lorde Deputie of Irelande: to sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, duryng the tyme of his continuaunce and service in Munster, in Irelande. Written to showe how that seuere and straight handely of rebellious people, reformes them sooner to obedience, then any courteous dealyng: because the stiffe necked must be made to stoupe, with extremitie of Iustice, and stoute behauiour' in Thomas Churchyard, *A Generall Rehearsall of Warres, Called Churchyardes Choise* (London: John Kingston for Edward White, 1579).

[79] For further, see Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland: From the First Printed Edition (1633) by Edmund Spenser*, eds. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); Hadfield, *Wilde Fruit and Salvage Soyl*.

[80] Philip Sidney, 'Discourse on Irish Affairs', in *Miscellaneous Prose*, 11.

[81] Thomas More, *Utopia with Erasmus's The Sileni of Alcibiades*, ed. and trans. David Wootton (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co, 1999), 103.

conqueror Utopus, who replaced their language, culture and name with his own.[82] It is a useful reminder that any given utopia is someone else's dystopia and that ideal realms are not always idylls. Indeed, despite the atrocities, by the 1620s—in a tract promoting colonisation and his lands in Newfoundland and New Scotland—William Alexander painted Ireland itself as the ideal colony, placing it foremost in a line of ancient colonial endeavours stretching from Babylon through Rome to Ireland. In a passage that erases the brutality of colonisation and even the existence/personhood of the Irish, he wrote that:

> The Romanes did build some Townes which they did plant with their owne people by all rigour to curbe the Natives next adjacent thereunto, And our King hath incorporated some of his best Brittaines with the Irish, planted in sundry places without power to oppresse, but onely to civilize them by their example. Thus Ireland which heretofore was scarcely discovered…is now really conquered, becomming a strength to the State, and a glorie to his Majesties gouernment, who hath in the setling thereof excelled all that was commended in any ancient Colonie.[83]

It is helpful to consider Cary's brief 'Instructions to his Settlers' in this context. This text is the only information we have about his ambition for the colony, beyond the *Short Discourse* written by T.C., probably his relative Thomas Cary, and printed (uniquely for a colonial work) in Dublin.[84] It can be judged by the location of its printing, that the *Discourse* was aimed at Irish investors, but it is telling that all the internal references are to England and to English trade and produce. Its target audience was certainly either the 'New English' Protestants who had been granted estates as a consequence of the Tudor conquest of Ireland, or the 'Old English' Catholics, a then-recent term used for the Cambro-Normans who had invaded Ireland in the twelfth century and settled there. Cell assesses it was aimed at the Old English due to the Stationer's Office having published it, as the English authorities would not have wanted the New English to 'renege on their Irish plantations' but this does not necessarily follow, given the number of English with land in Ireland who were also

[82] Ibid., 91.
[83] Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*, 4–5.
[84] Henry Cary, 'Lord Falkland's Instructions to His Settlers', in *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630*, ed. Gillian T. Cell (London: Hakluyt Society, 1982), 244–45; T.C., *A Short Discourse*.

engaged in colonial projects elsewhere, and it seems less certain still in light of his 'Instructions'.[85]

Cary's plans suggest that he, like many English of the period, was concerned that the Old English had become too much like the Irish, intermarrying and adopting Gaelic customs. His 'Instructions', sought to impose English culture on inhabitants of colonial Falkland in place of any and all others, and reflect the contemporary fear that living among the Irish and adopting their language, dress and practices would cause degeneration, infecting the English with what was perceived to be Irish incivility (as was believed had happened to the Old English). William Herbert, an Englishman involved in the Tudor government of Ireland, wrote in this vein about the need to regulate Irish clothing and impose English fashions, because: 'Contynuall testymonie in their eie that they are a different people from us and we from them strangers and alientes … breedeth and Confirmeth in them a strangenes and alienacion of mynde from us, our lawes and government'.[86] The argument would apply equally to Gaelic language and music, since 'the minde receiv[es] impressions by the eie, and by the hearinge'.[87] Boorde, as a typical example, thus distinguished between the civilised Irish—'The people of the Englyshe pale be metely wel manerd, using the Engyshe tunge', whom he admires for their amity and faithfulness—and the 'wyld Irysh', who speak Gaelic and are lazy, angry, 'lak maners & honesty, & be vntaught & rude'.[88] With care, however, the degeneration and dilution of English culture found in Ireland could be prevented in Newfoundland through social engineering.

To achieve this aim, Cary intended to encourage or prevent specific cultural groups from settling. He wanted hard workers with the patience to cultivate rough land: no idlers and few gentlemen, just enough to command the husbandmen (he has no view on fishermen, though Whitbourne had advised him on ways to increase his profits by selling part of Calvert's catch in Ireland).[89] He is keen on cattle but wants only the hardy breeds

[85] Cell, 'Introduction', 38–39.
[86] William Herbert 'A note of sutch reasons as mooved mea toe putt the statute In execution against Irish habites' (1589), *State Papers, Ireland*, Vol. CXLIV, 57, ii, printed in Jaster, 'Breeding Dissoluteness and Disobedience: Clothing Laws as Tudor Colonialist Discourse', 72-73. Herbert also wrote William Herbert, *Croftus, sive de Hibernia liber,* another treatise recommending harsh treatment of the Irish.
[87] Herbert, 'A note of sutch reasons', 72.
[88] Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge*, 132–33.
[89] Richard Whitbourne, '24 Dec. 1622, Richard Whitbourne to Lord Falkland', in *Newfoundland Discovered*, 223.

from Scotland, North Ireland and North Wales that can live on 'hard grownde' without fodder. One might think he also wants men of those regions, used to cold, unyielding terrain, but he instructs his factors 'to take Care that what nation soev*er* doth plant there that they speake onlie the pure Englishe tounge & that they have but one Religion'.[90] In terms of the latter, though pragmatism and the desire for a conformity may have superseded his personal beliefs, he would undoubtedly have wanted this to be the Protestant faith. On his wife Elizabeth's mid-marriage conversion to Catholicism he begged Charles for a separation, demanded she leave the household without any financial support and, as Hodgson-Wright concludes, seemed 'bent upon a course of virtually starving her into recanting her faith' until the King intervened to make Cary pay maintenance.[91]

Cary's demand for 'pure Englishe' speakers, is consistent with the approach of the Utopians and would have been welcomed by the Tudor and Stuart monarchs. If the ear and eye shaped the mind, then language was key to cultural, religious and political conformity. Cary's stipulation swiftly eliminated those who spoke in Scots, Welsh, Irish or Scottish Gaelic without good English (principally Catholics), but it also referred only to men, since he had separate and specific requirements for women. This is where we find him most like Petty. Cary instructed that:

> Noe sort of women bee suffred to goe thither but the Englishe & such as have hade good educacion in Englande which will make a good nation in tyme for those will maintaine the language to ther Children & then it is noe great matter of wha[t] nation bee soe the women bee Englishe.[92]

Compare this to Petty's later plan to 'transmute the Irish into English' through an 'Exchange of Women': an early modern, transnational *Wife Swap* that envisaged 2,000 unmarried Irish women per year being sent to England to learn English and 'for Breeding in English manners

[90] Cary, 'Instructions', 244.
[91] For further on Elizabeth (née Tanfield) who is known in her own right as author of the first original play published by a woman, see: Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, 'Cary [Née Tanfield], Elizabeth, Viscountess Falkland'; E.C. [Elizabeth Cary], *The Tragedy of Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry* (London: Thomas Creede for Richard Hawkins, 1613).
[92] Cary, 'Instructions'.

& huswifery' and equivalent Protestant Englishwomen being sent to marry the poor Irish.[93] Answering earlier concerns, Petty argued that:

> when the priests, who govern the conscience, and the women, who influence the other powerful appetites, shall be English, both of whom being in the Bosom of the Men, it must be, that no massacring of the English, as heretofore, can happen again. Moreover, when the language of the children shall be English, and the whole oeconomy of the family English, viz. diet, apparel, &c. the transmutation will be very easy and quick.[94]

By Petty's time in the 1670s, fears that the Old English would shift national and political allegiance as a consequence of their immersion in Gaelic culture appeared to have come true. After 1641, in reaction to the expansion of the Protestant New English and Presbyterian Scots in Ulster, the Old English had joined the Irish in a Catholic Confederacy.[95] McCormick observes the plan's relationship to seventeenth-century scientific thought and alchemical experimentation: 'in Baconian terms, Petty's demographic transmutation—like the corpuscularian chemical transmutation he modeled it on—both constrained nature and let it work, forcibly transplanting subject populations but relying on eminently natural processes – sex and motherhood – to "superinduce" new natures upon them, effecting a "natural" union of peoples'.[96] Petty's contemporaries had no issue with the plan's treatment of women or the removal of their rights and choice, rather they were worried about its efficacy: would the English women not degenerate into Irish rather than the obverse?[97] In the logic which placed men above women, the success of Petty's plan was only questionable because it allotted women greater power and influence than men; but it was a valid point. In this regard, Cary's proposal had the advantage.

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[93] Petty, BL MS Add. 72879, f.91 quoted in Ted McCormick, 'Transmutation, Inclusion, and Exclusion: Political Arithmetic from Charles II to William III', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, no. 3 (2007): 264, fn. 28.
[94] Petty, *Tracts; Chiefly Relating to Ireland*, Political Anatomy: 321.
[95] McCormick, 'Transmutation, Inclusion, and Exclusion', 261–62.
[96] Petty's work is most usually cited in the history of economic thought, but McCormick's research demonstrates its value to histories of colonialism, sociology and science. For further see Ted McCormick, 'The Advancement of Policy: Art and Nature in William Petty's Political Arithmetic', in *Inter-Disciplinary Seminar on the History and Philosophy of Economic Thought* (London: Unviersity College London, 2008), 8; Ted McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) chapters 5 and 6; Ted McCormick, 'Transmutation, Inclusion, and Exclusion', 259–78.
[97] McCormick, 'Transmutation, Inclusion, and Exclusion'.

His argument for restricting immigration to English women in Newfoundland is comparable to Petty's, but he does not imply a policy of forced marriage against the interests of the parties involved. Cary's policy had further likelihood of success because he could restrict access to the colony to those with good English already and prevent any women but the English from entering, thereby preventing the invasion of alternative cultures and further dilution of Englishness. His plan was also usefully malleable: rather than the Irish alone being transmuted into English, it could be applied to any non-English culture. Scottish, Welsh, Irish or Beothuk 'lead' could be turned into English 'gold' within a generation. However, for the Beothuks, there would be no English wife or child. Nor would there be an English husband. Though the colonisers of Newfoundland were aware of the Beothuks they believed a benefit of 'Britanniol's location was that Beothuk territory was in the north of the island and did not encroach on their colonies. Cary was nevertheless concerned that English culture and allegiances would be thinned and eventually overcome by integration with the Beothuks as with Old English integration with the Gaels. His foremost instruction was: 'Lastlie & Chieflie that none of our planters doe plant themselves among the natives for that is onlie a drowneinge of our men'.[98]

To plant meant to grow something from a seed. A plantation was intended as a tendril of the planting nation's culture—seeded in a colony—which would grow and expand. Planting in this context recalls common European parallels between fertile and virginal New World land and the body of a women: each could be explored, possessed, seeded. To Cary, if Englishmen were to plant themselves among the Beothuks, they would be in effect seeding Beothuk children, brought up in that culture by their mothers: speaking the native tongue, adopting their customs, faith, loyalties and clothing. Therefore, the opposite was also true and Cary continues: 'But to strengthen our Ile, if we Canne may take some of the young breed of the natives & bringe them upp amounge our selves but the[y] most [*sic*] not be passeinge 5 or 6 yeers olde when wee take them from there parentes wherebye they will not have Remembrance of them s[oon]'.[99] The parents, steeped in Beothuk culture, were of no interest to Cary but he believed the children could at this young age be transformed, or as Petty would argue 'transmuted', into Christian English.

[98] Cary, 'Instructions', 245.
[99] Cary, 'Instructions'.

He states of this plan to kidnap indigenous children from their families, to sever their connection to their culture and people: 'if we Canne [we] may'; but on whose authority does this permission rest? Protestant and Catholics alike saw the Old and New World as a battleground of faith and, in religious terms, God was believed to have given permission to those engaged in the evangelising mission to carry Christianity across the globe.[100] Yet, governments as well as God lent their authority and permission to a virtually identical enterprise and Cary's 'Instructions' anticipate later colonial, state or provincial policy in a range of settler colonies, revealing its Canadian roots to stem from seventeenth century Ireland, rather than late-nineteenth century North America as is often supposed.[101]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, British and later Canadian, United States and Australian governments, often working in conjunction with Christian Churches/missions, enacted a series of policies that effected the removal of indigenous children from their families and their re-housing in white British/European-Canadian/Anglo-American/Anglo-Australian households, residential schools, orphanages or missions.[102] In Canada, indigenous children's attendance at 'Indian' residential schools, administered by Christian Churches, was mandatory between 1894 and 1947 (the last closed in 1996) and thousands of children were physically and sexually abused or died in their care.[103] Like Cary's 'Instructions', this policy was intended to 'civilise' and assimilate indigenous children into European-Canadian culture and eradicate their own cultures, languages and identities.[104] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada concluded in their final

[100] For example, see Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*; Antoinette Sutto, *Loyal Protestants and Dangerous Papists: Maryland and the Politics of Religion in the English Atlantic, 1630-1690* (Charlotteseville, VA, and London: University of Virginia Press, 2015); Michael P. Winship, *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018).

[101] Margaret D. Jacobs, 'The Habit of Elimination: Indigenous Child Removal in Settler Colonial Nations in the Twentieth Century', in *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, ed. Jeff Benvenuto, Andrew Woolford, and Alexander Laban Hinton (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 193–193.

[102] Andrew John Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander Laban Hinton, eds., *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014). This was a policy also enacted in other regions and by other empires and nations.

[103] Since the commission's report, unmarked graves containing the bodies of thousands of unidentified indigenous children have continued to be found across Canada, over 900 in 2021 alone. See Scott Hamilton, *Where are the Children Buried?* (Thunder Bay, ON, 2015), in 'Highlighted Reports', National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba, https://nctr.ca/records/reports/; BBC News site, 'Canada: 751 Unmarked Graves Found at Residential School', 2021, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-57592243.

[104] For an examination of the effects of this loss of language and culture, see Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Legacy. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Vol. 5* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 103–38.

report, that this process of assimilation 'amounted to cultural genocide', if not (legally) genocide itself.[105] It is likely the earlier colonial precedent set by Cary has been missed in the Canadian historiography, in part because it was short-lived but, principally, because there were no Indian residential schools in Newfoundland (though there were several in Labrador). However, this absence was not because Newfoundland's settler colonial population had integrated with, or lived alongside, its indigenous population. It is because by the time these policies were enacted there were no Beothuks left to assimilate.

The term genocide was born in the 1940s and the notion of cultural genocide is more recent still, but its practises and purpose were openly debated and considered throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was the intended result of many colonialist policies or theories. Yet where genocide/cultural genocide now has negative moral connotations, early modern discourse regarding equivalent practices was often cloaked in virtue and presented as an ideal to be emulated. For instance, More's Utopians achieve a desired 'cultural genocide' in their colonies by expelling those that do not follow Utopian laws or adopt their culture, language and practices; but in the text we also encounter the culturally-degenerate 'barbaric, brutish' Zapoletes, who can withstand harsh conditions and labour and whom the Utopians employ as mercenaries and who live hundreds of miles away in harsh, mountainous country that is, one presumes, of no colonial value.[106] They are only useful to Utopians as expendable fighters (they 'simply don't care how many Zapoletes get killed'), which has the additional benefit of acting as a slow form of genocide, since 'the whole of humanity would be eternally in their debt if they could exterminate every last surviving Zapolete, so disgusting and evil do they consider them to be'.[107] Turning complex, diverse social groups into reductive, easily-legible stereotypes (barbarians, savages)—often conceived as preternaturally strong, thus able to survive brutal treatment—is a common feature of ethnic/racial prejudice and appears as precursor to genocide.[108]

[105] The Commission pushed for it to be recognised as genocide under the UN Convention on Genocide though Canadian courts disagreed. For further, see Ibid., 125 [quoted], 206, 271. For all reports of the Commission, see https://nctr.ca/records/reports/.

[106] More, *Utopia with Erasmus's The Sileni of Alcibiades*, 139.

[107] Ibid., 139–40.

[108] Jeff Benvenuto, Andrew Woolford, and Alexander Laban Hinton, 'Introduction', in *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, ed. Jeff Benvenuto, Andrew Woolford, and Alexander Laban Hinton (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 15; Adam Waytz, Kelly Marie Hoffman, and Sophie Trawalter, 'A

Taken at face value, the colonial model of Utopia portrays cultural genocide as desirable (though this does not necessarily reflect More's personal view). So successful was their transmutation into Utopians from Abraxans that Utopians looked back with pride on their conquering by Utopus, whose desire to obliterate what came before was so great that he turned their peninsula into an island. Yet, like many others, Sidney—intimately familiar with the government of Ireland—accounted More's Utopia to be 'most absolute' (i.e. perfect, complete) and Vaughan too cites it for its wisdom.[109] Like the Utopians, 'British' colonisers characterised their colonisation by Rome as a blessing; they saw their own mythologised history repeating in the New World. Where Romans had brought civility to Britain via Brut, and Joseph of Arimathea had brought Christianity, so too could 'British' colonisers seed their culture, faith and civility across a restored British Empire—reclaimed for King Arthur, Prince Madoc, and Saint Brendan.

Spatial imaginaries, 'imaginary objects' and material landscapes: unifying Newfoundland and Britanniol

Where the last chapter explored how classical allusion and allegory framed Newfoundland as an ideal/real place, this has, thus far, considered how colonisers intended to shape the cultural, social, and physical landscape of their colonies. The remainder of this chapter will draw these themes together with those of the introduction to explore how colonial landscapes, identities, and cultures are fashioned in the mind, on the page, and on the ground, through conceptions of geographic space—as found in political discourse, language, art, and cartography: collectively examining how conceptions of and ideas about space and place contribute to the processes of colonial and imperial place-making, which had lasting impact on colonised landscapes.

To do so, we return briefly to Parnassus. In Part Three of the *Fleece,* Apollo wishes to establish the veracity of Vaughan's claims about Newfoundland. He summons experienced colonisers and governors to his court to advise him on:

Superhumanization Bias in Whites' Perceptions of Blacks', *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 6, no. 3 (8 April 2015): 352–59. Superhumanisation is part of a wider process of dehumanisation.

[109] Philip Sidney, 'A Defence of Poetry', 71–121; 86 quoted. For a sample of his views on Ireland, see Sidney, 'Discourse on Irish Affairs', in *Miscellaneous Prose*, 8–12.

> …whether the Golden Fleece be in greater plenty and abundance in this *I[s]land* or in *New England, Virginia*, the *Summer Iles*, or in some other forraigne Coast, which your Nation may easily possesse. At these words, there was much muttering among the *English* and *Scottish*. For some contended on the behalfe of *Virginia*; others contested for *New England*. Every man had his opinion according to his imaginary object, wherein most preferred private fantasies, before the intellectuall facultie.[110]

Vaughan then pits the fantasies of the assembled colonisers unfavourably against the reasoned arguments made by Orpheus Junior/Vaughan. It is a canny move in such an overtly fantastical text to imply that such a select group of seasoned planters have failed to apply reason and their intellect to Apollo's question, instead basing their conclusions on personal investment in alternative regions, whether financial or emotional. The implication of course is that Vaughan's assessment of Newfoundland's fisheries and plantations as a collective 'golden fleece' is rooted in knowledge, fact and intelligent appraisal. In this, he is backed by two of the company, John Mason and John Guy, both former governors of the Cupids Cove colony, who, as characters, provide testimonies based on their personal accounts in support of Vaughan in Apollo's court, and who, as themselves, wrote epigrams introducing the *Fleece* that sustained Vaughan's Classical allegories.[111]

The passage usefully reflects the chapter's themes and ideas it touches upon. To describe a colony or foreign region as an 'imaginary object' is apposite, probably in ways Vaughan did not intend. If a colony is an 'object' it is one that is newly made, which can be separated from the continental landscape, neatly parcelled up, bought, owned or exchanged. The regions the group fix their minds upon (the Summer Isles, Virginia, Newfoundland) are 'objects' of desire that can be coveted or acquired to fulfil one's 'private fantasies'. Material culture, concerned with 'objects', also encompasses the physical materiality of geographic landscapes, and referring to the colonial object as 'imaginary' usefully conveys the separation between an object itself and how we think about it. It connects and differentiates between the idea of a place and the physical space itself and highlights the way the imagination moulds space into place, shaping it to its own ends—into an 'object' that can be comprehended and represented as a unified whole: Britanniol.

[110] Ibid., Pt. 3: 21-22.
[111] Ibid., Pt 3: 22-26 for Mason's testimony; 27-30 for Guy's testimony.

In popular use 'imaginary' refers to fictional places existing only in the imagination. So too in the 1620s. From the late fourteenth century imaginary was understood as 'not real, existing only in fancy' (from French), also as, 'pertaining to an image' (from Latin *imaginary*: a 'picture to oneself') or as Bullokar defined it in his *English Expositor* (1621): 'that which is conceited in the minde'.[112] It is in the latter two senses that Vaughan uses it here. The 'imaginary objects' Vaughan describes are New England, the Summer Isles, Virginia and Britanniol, pictured in the minds of the colonisers as the answer to Apollo's query; but they do not exist 'only in fancy'. Vaughan expects his readers and characters to hold the same shared conceptions of the real-world places and spaces he names; yet, these are also English and Welsh creations. The names correspond to physical regions—but they were not understood or represented as such before European arrival there, nor were they bordered or clearly-defined regions geographically or topographically before the introduction of these designations and what they intend to convey. What was at first a subjective idea about an area of geographic space—a representation such as 'Britanniol', 'the Grand Banks', 'America' or the 'New World'—gradually became a collective understanding of space among a particular group of people—equally subjective but at a group level.

A shared (skewed) perception of space allowed Europeans to assume Columbus' accidental arrival on a single, tiny island in the North Atlantic represented the 'discovery' of the 'New World' or 'America': a huge landmass encompassing a vast array of lands, peoples, habitats and climatic zones condensed to a single object. Newfoundland itself—a descriptor (from the perspective of Europeans) as well as a location—sometimes served for all the Americas: as with Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found land of Virginia* (1588) and its illustrated reissue.[113] Even those involved with plantation, seem to have been confused about scale and the distance between different colonies. The Council for the Commission for New England, had apparently worried that Calvert's Avalon might encroach on their own holdings, to which an amused Calvert replied 'you may be please to

[112] 'Imaginary (Adj.)', *Etymonline: Online Etymology Dictionary*, www.etymonline.com; John Bullokar, *An English Expositor: Teaching the Interpretation of the Hardest Words Used in Our Language. With Sundry Explications, Descriptions, and Discourses*, 2nd ed. (London: John Legatt, 1621), entry for 'imaginarie'.

[113] Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: Of the Commodities There Found and to Be Raysed, as Well Marchantable, as Others for Victuall, Building and Other Necessarie Uses for Those That Are and Shal[l] Be the Planters There* (London: [R. Robinson], 1588); Thomas Harriot and Theodor de Bry (engraver), *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Francoforti ad Moenum: Typis Ioannis Wecheli, 1590).

lett their Lordshipps knowe that the Colony of New England concernes not me at all; it is farre remote of my plantation w*hi*ch is in Newfoundland a nearer part of America, by some hundreds of leagues'.[114]

Vaughan uses 'imaginary object' here in a way that is closer in meaning to that used by present-day scholars in the social sciences and humanities when discussing social and spatial imaginaries. Social imaginaries are a given group's collective understanding of their social existence and social structures, giving that particular community coherence, albeit temporary, and encompassing expectations about normative behaviours and hierarchies.[115] Taylor summarises it neatly as the 'common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy'.[116] In earlier periods, descriptions of it might be found in volumes intending to capture the spirit of the age or, later, the *zeitgeist*.[117] There is a clear distinction between what one individual might imagine and the communally produced imaginary, as philosopher Bottici clarifies: 'whereas the imagination is a faculty that an individual possesses, the social imaginary is the social context that possesses individuals'.[118] Spatial imaginaries are closely connected to social and political imaginaries and interlink/overlap (though not necessarily consistently or uniformly).[119] They can incorporate the abstract spaces of culture and politics but are located in geographic space; possibly why geographers often prefer Said's 'imaginative geographies'.[120] Spatial imaginaries are always temporally specific, so the 'America' of early modern Europeans is quite distinct (geographically, socially, etc.) to the 'America' of 2021 (even to the 'America'

[114] George Calvert, '16 January 1627/6 "Calvert to John Coke"', in *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1982), 275.

[115] Key theorists of the concept include: Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006) in relation to nations/nationalism; and Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004).

[116] Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, 23.

[117] Paul James, 'The Social Imaginary in Theory and Practice', in *Revisiting the Global Imaginary: Theories, Ideologies, Subjectivities: Essays in Honor of Manfred Steger*, ed. Chris Hudson and Erin K Wilson (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 33.

[118] Chiara Bottici, 'Imagination, Imaginary, Imaginal: Towards a New Social Ontology?', *Social Epistemology* 33, no. 5 (2019): 433.

[119] Political imaginaries, as opposed to imaginary polities, interconnect with, but do not always align with the notional borders of spatial imaginaries.

[120] For example, see Derek Gregory, *The Colonial Present* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978; 1995); Felix Driver, 'Imaginative Geographies', in *Introducing Human Geographies*, ed. Paul Cloke, Philip Crang, and Mark Goodwin, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Hodder Arnold, 2005), 144–55. Human geographers tend to use spatial geographies or other similar terms: see a list in Josh Watkins, 'Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography: Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions', *Geography Compass* 9, (2015): 508-522, 509.

of 2021 envisioned by opposing political parties or other nations). The Newfoundland of Vaughan is likewise quite distinct to the historical Newfoundland Prowse describes in the 1890s.

But why should we examine how anyone imagined Newfoundland in the 1620s and '30s? Or, more broadly, why should historians care about how people imagined spaces/places when they did lots of things in those spaces that could be studied instead? While the spatial turn in academia has seen an explosion of space-based analyses that have enriched historical studies of early modern material culture, religion, gender and politics among myriad others, among these studies, few discuss spatial imaginaries or place-making, perhaps seeing these as confined to human geographers and sociologists. Though they may not have acknowledged it, historians have placed space at the centre of their studies since the earliest times, using it as a geographic boundary for their research (in Classical or medieval histories of cities, nations, islands, empires) and/or as lens through which to view history, as per Braudel's seminal study of the *Mediterranean*, which put geographic space-time as an actor on the centre stage rather than focusing solely on specific individuals and events. Or in the recent flourishing of oceanic histories. Some scholars, like van Royen, have noted the changing 'spaces' in fashion among historians: 'Braudel wrote about the old queen, the Mediterranean, not about the new king, the Atlantic'.[121] However, fewer reflect on the existence or development of the spatial imaginaries they use as their lens. Atlantic historians fill their ocean with competing interpretations, embroidering the social imaginary that is 'the Atlantic world', yet they rarely consider how the shared conception of the 'Atlantic' or the Grand Banks (or Europe, etc.), that their studies assume is itself a historical creation—a spatial imaginary—that continues to evolve and be challenged.[122]

The way spaces and places were imagined in the past is not only essential to historical understanding, it also leaves a residue in our present understanding of these

[121] Colin Heywood, 'Beyond Braudel's "Northern Invasion"? Aspects of the North Atlantic and Mediterranean Fish Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century', *International Journal of Maritime History* 26, no. 2 (1 May 2014): quoted on 195.

[122] Exceptions include: David Armitage, 'The Atlantic Ocean', in *Oceanic Histories*, ed. David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 85–110, esp. 89-91; Paul Cohen, 'Was There an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the Limits of a Historiographical Concept', *History of European Ideas* 34, no. 4 (1 December 2008): 388–410. See also Travis et al., 'Inventing the Grand Banks'; Chiara Bottici, *Imagining Europe: Myth, Memory, and Identity*, ed. Benoît Challand (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Michael Wintle, 'Renaissance Maps and the Construction of the Idea of Europe', *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, no. 2 (1999): 137–65.

spaces/places—in the language we use and in the broader cultural and physical landscape. Ideas about space are harnessed by political parties, nations, empires or organisations to persuade people to their cause, from the provincial government of Newfoundland to the postcolonial government of Canada to the UN: as Armitage *et al.* noted 'oceans do all kinds of discursive work for the UN, offering ways to make the world appear to be one'.[123] Historians do not simply record facts, they attempt to ascribe meaning and motive to action—and how space is imagined influences, sometimes determines, our actions in it. Communal ideas about space and place are how people make sense of the world around them and shape it.[124] How space is imagined and represented in image and word affects how we act or perform, how we think, live and feel, how we are treated within that space. Consequently, these ideas may also define or restrict our understanding of space/place, placing limits upon how we can imagine or challenge ideas about those spaces or the laws and boundaries that regulate them.[125]

As we have seen, the spatial imaginary of the New World and its spatial metaphor as *tabula rasa* supported European notions of cultural and spiritual superiority—of planting the seeds of civility and Christianity in empty ground—and this shared idea in turn gave birth to imperial and colonialist spatial imaginaries which would fill and nourish this empty space. These are Vaughan's 'imaginary objects': colonies and colonial societies. To understand colonialism and colonial societies we need to understand how people 'made' geographic spaces into colonial places, by combining how they imagined them with how they lived or what they did in them rather than one superseding the other. Vaughan, Cary, Calvert and other colonisers hope to create their own imaginary objects: building an image of their colony in the minds of others, through words and images (maps, illustrations) and drawing others in to share their vision.

Indeed, if Vaughan was hardly effective as a coloniser, he was successful in engaging others in his own vision for New Cambriol and Britanniol and inspiring them to nurture it.

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[123] Sujit Sivasundaram, Alison Bashford, and David Armitage, 'Introduction', in *Oceanic Histories*, ed. David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1.
[124] Driver, 'Human Geographies', 146;
[125] Partha Chatterjee, 'Whose Imagined Community?', *Millennium* 20, no. 3 (1 March 1991): 521–25; Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 5. For a detailed examination of how legal ideas (and laws) do this in a colonial context, see Andrew Fitzmaurice, 'The Genealogy of Terra Nullius', *Australian Historical Studies* 38, no. 129 (2007): esp. 2; 1-15; Fitzmaurice, *Sovereignty, Property and Empire,*.

The colonisers brought to Apollo's fictional court in the passage above were real men, alive at the time of publication, who had corresponded or worked with Newfoundland's proprietors and were experienced in sailing, exploring and planting. Not only were these men incorporated into the *Fleece's* allegorical and mythical Newfoundland/Britanniol—and given their acquaintance, one imagines with their knowledge or tacit approval—but two colonial governors Mason and Guy, also participated in its representation, producing a map and verses that uphold and elaborate on Vaughan's, and to an extent his partners', allegorical vision and allusions.[126] This is a representation of space shared by key figures in the colonisation of Newfoundland: a spatial imaginary.

'Britanniol' also reappears in manuscript and print, two years after the *Fleece's* publication, and by a coloniser who does not feature in it: Robert Hayman, colonial governor of Newfoundland between 1618 and 1628, who embellished Vaughan's imaginary with an imagined city, 'Carolinople'.[127] Hayman adopted Vaughan's designation in *Quodlibets, lately come over from new Britaniola, old Newfoundland* (1628), the first literary work published by a coloniser of Canada.[128] Giving new Britanniola, and by association, 'old Newfoundland' historical depth, he refers to it as 'anciently called Newfoundland', stretching time by condensing the millennia of its existence into the past 130 years—as if it came into being when Cabot alighted there—even while making that 130 years 'ancient' history. Hayman was a poet and student of Law, like Vaughan, whom he met at Oxford.[129] Before travelling to Newfoundland, he was part of Jonson's literary circle.[130] *Quodlibets* included verses about a panoply of colonial and literary figures, many of them friends.[131]

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[126] Mason and Guy, among others, provide epigrams for both works; Mason also provides the fold-out map for each: [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, B3r-B3v.; Vaughan, *Cambrensium Caroleia*, 1625, A2v.

[127] Hayman, 'A Proposition of Profitt and Honor'.

[128] Judgements on Hayman's skill vary wildly, from Netzloff and Cell's 'doggerel' to Prescott's 'verse satirist'. For further on Hayman, see: Cell, 'Introduction', 19; Allan Pritchard, 'From These Uncouth Shores: Seventeenth-Century Literature of Newfoundland', *Canadian Literature* 14, no. Jacobean Poets in Newfoundland (1962): 5–20; Robin Endres, 'Robert Hayman's Quodlibets', *Canadian Literature* 8 (2011): 68–78; Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais*, 130–34; Netzloff, 'Writing Britain from the Margins', 14-15.

[129] He may have met Cary at Oxford too, as he also went to Exeter College. See Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses (1815 Edition) Vol. 2*; Cell, 'Introduction', 18.

[130] He even had a play dedicated to him: Edward Sharpham, *Cupids Whirligig* (London: Elizabeth Allde for Arthur Iohnson, 1607), A2r. Reprints of the play in 1611, 1616 and 1630, also featured a dedication to Hayman, and *Quodlibets* shared its publisher, Elizabeth Allde.

[131] These included the literati above, as well as William Alexander, Cary, Calvert 'Lord of Avalon in Britaniola', Vaughan, Guy and Mason and their wives, plus translations of two poems attributed to Rabelais (actually by François Habert) and many by his friend, a renowned Latin epigrammist, John Owen. See William Barker,

To Hayman, Vaughan's Britanniol and Cambriol are not allusions or allegory but literal, tangible places. Britanniol is his physical home as well as an 'imaginary object' that can fulfil his desires. *Quodlibets'* dedication adds 'King of *Britanniola*' to Charles' other titles.[132] In a poem dedicated to Vaughan, Hayman assures him that New Cambriol flourishes still, and wishes illness had not prevented his travelling there:

> Beleeve me, Sir, your *Colches Cambrioll* /
> Is a sweet, Pleasant, wholesome, gaineful soyle…
> …To your new *Cambrioll's* rich *Plantation*,
> Let *Dolphins* dance before you in the floods,
> And play you, *Orpheus Junior*, in her woods.[133]

Vaughan wrote a commendatory verse for the volume, as did Wither and Richard Spicer, both of whom reference Parnassus, suggesting familiarity with Vaughan's promotional works (though references to Parnassus in poetic works were not uncommon).[134]

Even if cynically done, three colonial governors of Newfoundland reiterated and ornamented Vaughan's allegories and imaginative geographies, clearly demonstrating how Vaughan's allusions and ideas had been absorbed into the broader imaginary of the 'New-found Land' by a range of significant figures in imperial-colonial terms. Indeed, what swiftly becomes apparent when examining attempts to colonise Newfoundland from the 1580s to 1630s, is how small and interconnected this group of colonisers was; how so many had family and/or social ties, were involved in the planting of Ireland or other colonies—and how many of them were personally familiar with Vaughan, Calvert and Cary. Beyond connections discussed, Vaughan was related to the arctic explorer Thomas Button and had family connections with the Devereuxs, Chichesters and Perrots, all of whom were involved in the governance of Ireland.[135] Mason, Guy, and Hayman were involved variously in the

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'Hayman, Robert (Bap. 1575, d. 1629), Colonist and Poet', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/12772. For Habert and his other Rabelaisian works, see: Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais*, 132. Hayman refers to Owen as a 'Friend' in a comic verse to him in Hayman, *Quodlibets,* Book III, verse 70: 49; Calvert's verse is Book II verses 84 and 97: 32, 35-36; Cary verse 91: 34; Vaughan and his wife verses 87-88: 32-33.

[132] Hayman, *Quodlibets*, A2.

[133] Ibid., Book II, 86 and 87: 32-33.

[134] Ibid., Book III, verse 79: 50 reveals that Spicer was a physician married to his cousin.

[135] Cell, 'Introduction', 20.

exploration/colonisation of New England, New Hampshire, and Guiana. Others who feature in the *Fleece* and *Cambrensium Caroleia* in the dedications, epigrams or narrative, might serve as a roll call of significant early modern colonisers.

The classical 'Art of Memory' anchored items to be remembered to locations, whether 'memory theatres' or real-world places.[136] The reverse is also true, that our experience of space is mediated by the past, by personal or cultural memory, nostalgia, place-names and physical artefacts. Gregory argues that 'imaginative geographies are not only accumulations of time, sedimentations of successive histories; they are also *performances of space*'.[137] These early colonisers wished to restore and perform the glories of the mythological and mythistorical past on their contemporary colonial stage: Newfoundland.

Maps, nations and identities: New Cambriol, Britanniol and Great Britain

Cartography also, like a stage, frames space and mediates our understanding of it. Early colonial promotors adopted a classical, humanist model of rhetorical persuasion in colonial literature, which regularly included maps and ethnographic illustrations.[138] This is the model Vaughan adopted: intertwining facts, with established myths to render doubtful things credible, using his rhetorical skills to persuade his readers of the benefits of colonising not just his own colony, New Cambriol, but all of Britanniol. We commonly think of rhetoric as a style or method of oration or literature, but maps are also rhetorical and persuasive.

In the 1970s, Schulz proposed that early modern maps are generally of two types: functionary—used 'simply report[ing] geographical and topographical facts'—or containing 'ideal content…[with] didactic intent', and that, though interrelated 'in function they differ clearly'.[139] Since Schulz was writing, Harvey, Gregory, Wood, Woodward, and others have demonstrated that maps are inherently ideological, particularly in colonial/imperial

[136] Frances Yates, *Selected Works, Vol. III: The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 1999).
[137] Gregory, *Colonial Present*, 18–19, his italics.
[138] Andrew Fitzmaurice, 'Classical Rhetoric and the Promotion of the New World', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58, no. 2 (1997): 221-243, 223. For his expanded argument, see Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*.
[139] Juergen Schulz, 'Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500', *The Art Bulletin* 60, no. 3 (22 April 1978): 425–74, at 442.

context.[140] In other words, the two types are really always one type: didactic and idealised, but sometimes with a greater degree of accuracy.[141]

Maps are metaphors for geographic space. As Korzybski's dictum reminds us: 'the map is not the territory'.[142] Maps, like the frame of an artwork or stage, contextualise geography and action, as implied in atlas titles, such as Speeds' *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* or Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.[143] In a manner akin to Vaughan's accompanying patchwork text, which draws upon/quotes a vast array of sources, Mason's map—printed as a fold-out page within *Cambrenisum Caroleia* and the *Fleece*—is a mosaic composite of symbolic, cartographic, and geographical data, land survey, and colonial projects (fig. 20). It includes the placenames of different nations and colonisers, rendered variously and seemingly without consistency, in Latin, English, French and Spanish. It is theatrical and performative, metaphorical and rhetorical.

Yet this is not to suggest that Mason's map, the earliest 'British' map of Newfoundland, was poor by contemporary cartographic standards. Rather it was based on detailed survey of the island and earlier maps.[144] Mason's and other printed maps educated readers about new lands; but they were, like the texts of Bacon and Montaigne, in a state of 'perpetual motion', constantly revised to map the shifting coastlines of geographic knowledge.[145] In fact, examining early European maps of Newfoundland in chronological order is a little like thumbing the pages of a flicker book: colonies appear, disappear, are

[140] The literature is vast but see for instance: Martin Dodge, ed., *Classics in Cartography: Reflections on Influential Articles from Cartographica* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), sections 2 and 3; John Brian Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography,* Vol. 3 of 6 Vols. in Two Parts (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); John Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

[141] More recently, even the notion of progress in mapping has been challenged or qualified: Matthew Edney, 'Cartography Without "Progress": Reinterpreting the Nature and Historical Development of Map Making', and 'Progress and the Nature of "Cartography"', both in *Classics in Cartography: Reflections on Influential Articles from Cartographica*, ed. Martin Dodge (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 305–9, 331-342; Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

[142] J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the Hisotry of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), quoting Alfred Korzybski at 152.

[143] John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine, Presenting an Exact Geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland and the Iles Adjoyning* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1616).

[144] He writes of the survey, which took several months, in a letter to Sir John Scot, Edinburgh, who later published it in 1620: 'Mason to Scot, August 31 1617' in John Mason and Charles Wesley Tuttle, *Capt. John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire Including His Tract on Newfoundland, 1620: The American Charters in Which He Was a Grantee: With Letters and Other Historical Documents. Together with a Memoir*, ed. Charles Wesley Tuttle (Boston: Prince Society, 1887), 220–21.

[145] Farley, 'Mosaic Form', citing Michel Jeanneret, at 112.

replaced, then vanish; borders and coastlines stretch and shift; rivers and mountains emerge or evaporate; place names come into being, pass into different languages or out of use. It is disorienting; but often the dramatic alterations depicted intrude very little on the physical landscape though they tell us much about the cultural landscape.

Mason's map offers a snapshot of Newfoundland as 'British' colonisers envisaged it in the early seventeenth century. It was a product of personal exploration and experience, but it was also a persuasive visualisation of the colonial imaginary of Newfoundland/Britanniol, unifying the disparate colonial projects and presenting them as a single vision, a *fait accompli* (fig. 20 and detail of it: fig. 42). The map narrates Vaughan's, Calvert's and Cary's prominence and success, and is even suggestive of their respective characters or purpose. For instance, the colonial holdings of Cary and Calvert celebrate their own newly-minted titles in the Scottish and Irish peerage: Falkland and Baltimore, respectively. 'Avalonia', as above, illuminates Calvert's religious and patriotic intentions. In contrast, it is the Welshness of Vaughan's holdings that is foremost: the placenames of New Cambriol revive the places and patrons (e.g. Pembroke) of Old Wales important to Vaughan: Golden Grove, Cardiff, Glamorgan, Cardigan, Brechonia. All are neatly united in one image.[146]

Its promotional labour is made all the more visible by contrasting it with the map accompanying Alexander's promotional text, published two years before Vaughan/Mason's and again in 1630, which omits Vaughan and New Cambriol entirely, as well as virtually all other established placenames and geographical details (fig. 15). The landmasses are presented as owned objects (echoing earlier discussions), whose only remarkable features are the facts of their possession by either a named nation or individual. These also represent a hierarchy, whether by illuminative accident or design. Regions are claimed for the nations of England, France and Scotland, by adding a 'New' to each, but Vaughan's New Wales (Cambriol) is elided from history and landscape as if it had never existed (though according to Hayman it had greater longevity than the featured Falkland), returned to its former title, Newfoundland.

[146] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 3: 19.

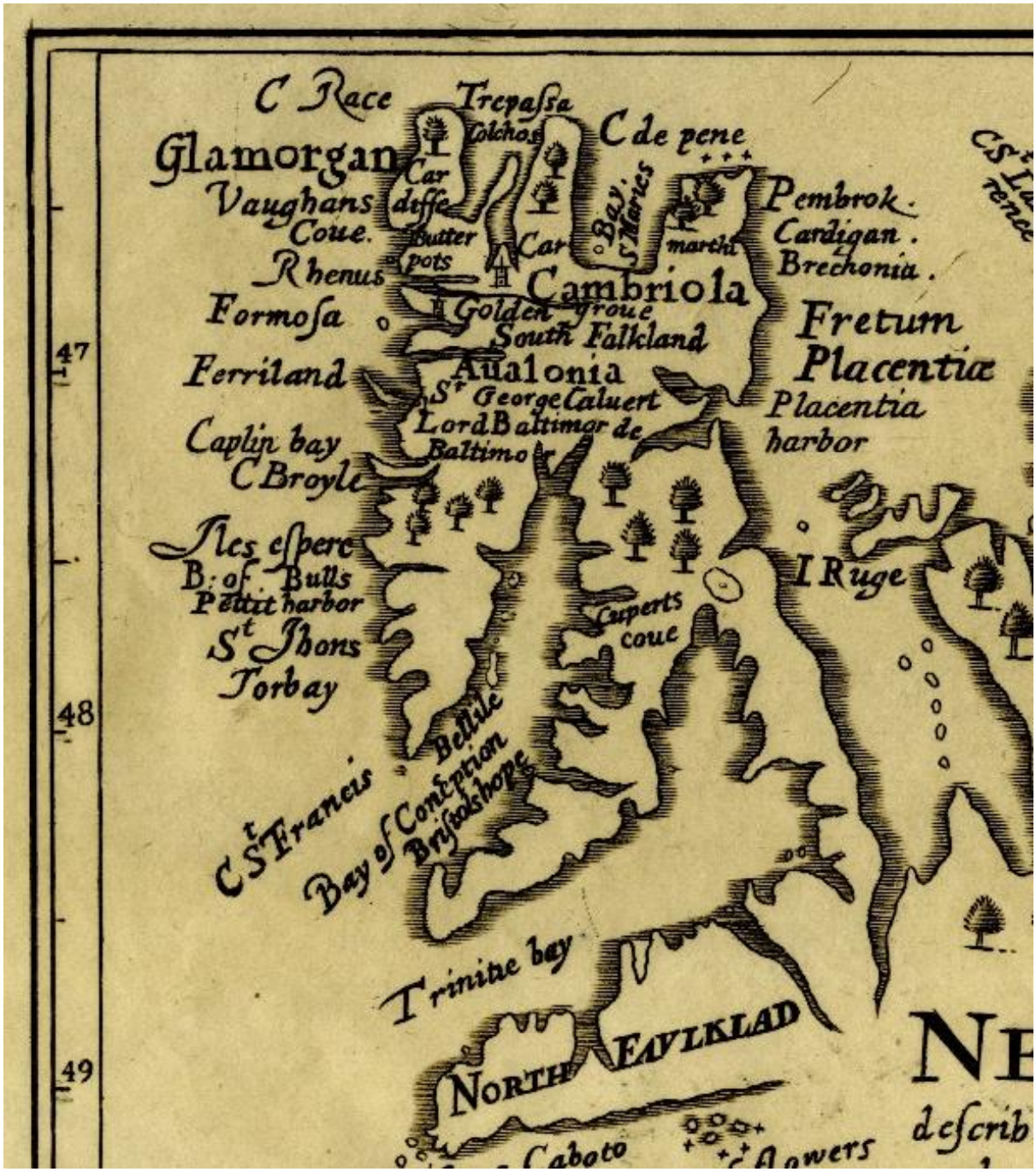


Fig. 44 Fig. 20 Detail of John Mason, 'The Iland called of olde: Newfound Land described by Captaine John Mason an industrious Gent: who spent seven years in the Countrey', in Orpheus Junior [William Vaughan], Cambrensium Caroleia (London: William Stansby, 1625), n.b. Oriented with north toward the bottom. Call # G 3435 1625 M3 MAP. Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Creative Commons.

The map echoes the nations' differential status within Britain. Alexander, a Scot, titles it a 'Map of New England', even while seeking to promote his own New Scotland, while New Wales vanishes as a political entity altogether, reflecting its similar status within Great Britain. Below nationalist claims, other aspects of the map reflect a deeply hierarchical

worldview based on title and property. Established placenames and topographical features are ignored in favour of the names of individual landowners, which are peppered across the landscape, thereby removing the notional shared identity of colonial communities (e.g. Avalon), towns or regions, most of which do not appear. Furthermore, the landowners are all titled, their honours given rather than their family names.

The visual rhetoric of this map is usefully contrasted with Mason's/Vaughan's. At a broader level, Vaughan had envisioned New Wales, established as equal alongside New Scotland and New England in the New World, but at a smaller scale, he also imagined Britanniol and the three colonies of Cambriol, Avalon and Falkland (he ignores the others) as mirror to the tripartite form of the mythical imperial imaginary of 'Great Britain' or the Empire of Great Britain (as per Speed's map), and its three contiguous nations. 'Great Britain' had its own mythical origins in Arthuriana but also in the myth of Brutus, whose New Troy or Trinovantum was an island divided on his death between his three sons Locrinus (England), Albanactus (Scotland) and Kamber (Wales).[147] Newfoundland's proprietors, in turn, represent and unite the nations of Britain in Britanniol. As with Britain and Ireland, the colonial experience of the Irish is at the behest of the other nations; they are expected to perform their part on this colonial stage as actors not directors.

As the maps recount, there were other differences in status among the nations. In the 1620s the four nations were part of a composite monarchy that included several territories with differences in their administrative powers and systems of governance (e.g. English palatinates, Jersey and Guernsey, transatlantic colonies). Within this composite there were marked differences in the sovereignty and status of nations and regions: Wales, for instance, came under the jurisdiction of England (after Acts of 1536 and 1543) and was what the Spanish jurist Juan de Solórzano Pereira called later in the century, an 'accessory' union; while Scotland/England's union was described as *aeque principaliter* (equally important), with each nation retaining its distinct identity and juridical independence.[148] Despite Vaughan/Mason's efforts to elevate Wales, this too is visualised on Mason's map, in Charles

[147] Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande. The Second Volume of Chronicles: Conteining the Description, Conquest, Inhabitation, and Troblesome Estate of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London: s.n., 1586).

[148] For further see J. H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past & Present*, no. 137 (1992): 48–71; especially 52-53; Roger A. Mason, '1603: Multiple Monarchy and Scottish Identity', *History* 105, no. 366 (2020): 402–21.

I coat of arms, of which there were two versions, a predominantly Scottish or English quartering; here the 'English' version is depicted.

The Arms of a monarch memorialise nation as well as family. These now-impenetrable antiquarian images were once as visible and recognisable as the logos of McDonalds or Nike, being present on everything from churches and china, to servants' badges and coaches. As a form of symbolic history-writing, Arms were a visual memorial, and in this heraldic history, Wales has been written out. Under the Tudors, a Welsh dragon had supported the royal shield, but this was replaced by the Stuarts' Scottish unicorn.[149] Wales, annexed by the English crown, held no status as a nation in the arms of England or Great Britain.[150] The Stuart coat of arms exemplifies the erasure of Welsh history and identity enacted by annexation: its colonisation complete.

In '*Great Britaines Sister, or Britanniol'*, however, these differences in status could be erased.[151] There the Welsh could be raised to national equals in colonial-imperial terms. It is revealing that in Vaughan's *Grove*, written before James VI became James I, his references are usually to England, but in later texts he frequently adopts James' mythical 'Great Britain' or 'Cambro-Britain'.[152] This suppression/adoption of different national identities can be explained in part by political calculation and expediency; but James' ascension to the English throne also created the possibility of a Great Britain formed of sibling nations and was welcomed by Vaughan and other Welsh, who might now have a part in 'Great Britain' rather than being subsumed within England. Unlike Ireland, Wales could be viewed by English contemporaries as thoroughly conquered, no longer having even nominal individual status: a colony that had been 'blended' with its victors in the fashion of the Utopians.

While elsewhere Vaughan presents a façade of submission to English culture and identity in a manner of which Cary would have approved, his true views about the English briefly flash into focus in his *Spirit* when he convicts the Anglo Saxon Spirits for slandering and mocking the Scots and Welsh—felt to be particularly unjust in light of their stealing the

[149] Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *The Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1909), 225–26.
[150] Nor did they have their own King of Arms, unlike Ireland who had the Ulster King of Arms and Scotland who had the Lyon King of Arms; for further, see Fox-Davies, *Guide to Heraldry*, 29-33.
[151] Vaughan, *Newlander's*.
[152] In *Golden-Grove*, England/English appears sixty-nine times; Wales/Welsh only three. In *Fleece, Cambrensium* and *Newlander's Cure*, texts published after the Stuarts' came to the English throne, England remains dominant but Wales has greater presence and he identifies his location and nationality as both countries, e.g., 'our English Chronicles', 'wee in Wales', 'heere in England': Vaughan, *Newlander's*, n.p., 68, 69.

Stone of Destiny from the Scots and Loegria, King Arthurs' realm, from the Welsh. Vaughan's comments defy Cary's proposition that the 'pure English' tongue eradicated cultural difference. He professes that the English continually 'derid and defame' the Welsh and Scottish with 'ironicall items [and] ridiculous girdes' then theorises somewhat gleefully that with a new Scottish King they will have to stop mocking them for not using 'glib…smooth' words and talking in accents that 'displease your delicate eares'.[153]

However, it is in relation to the 'Cambrian cause' that the strength of Vaughan's feelings are felt. He draws on the nationalist myths and histories of Wales and England to overturn the 'English' narrative of Welsh inferiority and English unconquerability and prophesises to the Anglo-Saxon Spirits:

> [We are the] poore remnanst of the ancient *Britaines*: and let not the Prophecies of our *Bardhs* dismay your generous minds, *that we one day shal Lord it in* Troy-novant, *measuring your silken Stuffes upon our warlike Pikes*: that we shall worke our full revenge, *for that* dismall and bloudy *long-knive'd day*.[154]… I will not say how *Austen* the Monk subjected your Ancestours to the *Romish* yoake, how *Swaine* with his *Danes*, and *William* with his *Normanes* swayed over your persons, goods, and lands; … Though these misfortunes of yours might well satisfie a revengefull Spirit, yet will not I insist on such cruell Augurismes… I rejoyce that, that the memoriall of *Offaes Ditch* is extinguished with love and Charitie, that our greene *Leekes*, sometimes offensive to your daintie nostrils, are now tempered with your fragrant *Roses*.[155]

Vaughan wished 'like the Gracian *Orpheus*, to leave this memoriall to posteritie, that a Cambrobritain hath founded a new Cambrioll, where he made the deafe to heare, and the woods to move'.[156] Cary envisaged English identity and culture being planted in Britanniol, but he, as in Old England and contemporary Ireland, was deaf to Vaughan's Welsh poem and blind to the power and endurance of other nations' cultural myths and histories, beyond their outward conformity. Vaughan in contrast saw Britanniol as a sister to Great

[153] Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 7th Circle Lineament VII: 321-323.
[154] In Welsh legend the night of the long knives was the massacre of the civilised Romano-Welsh by the brutish Saxons, who had driven them into Wales. Henry Tudor's ascension to the English throne was seen by some as the Welsh taking back England as their own.
[155] Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 323.
[156] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt.1:24.

Britain, born without her sister's errors and inequalities, where Cambro-Britains could live free and equally with their English and Scottish neighbours.

To conclude, David Lloyd neatly summed up the experience of Newfoundland's early colonial proprietors when he remarked wryly of Gilbert's 1583 voyage: 'it is matter of greater difficulty to transport Colonies into far Countries upon private mens wealth, than they and others in a credulous and sanguine fit imagine: and this, *Quod sis, esse velis nihilque malis*'.[157] The Latin quotation, 'wish to be what you are, and want nothing more', is the penultimate line of one of Martial's *Epigrams*, which advised its readers on how to live a happy life.[158] In these chapters, we have seen that early colonisers saw the New World as the answer to a wish list of personal, social, religious, and imperial desires. Perhaps, as Lloyd suggests, it was naïve optimism that drew hardened colonisers and gentlemen proprietors alike to Newfoundland, but it was also a desire for change, a way to transform themselves and to build the colonial society they might live in: to fashion its cultural and nationalist-imperialist identity by stitching the materials of the past to a 'new fabricke and heroicall Action'.[159] It was—resisting Martial's recipe for happiness—a wish to be more than what they were. Though their endeavours brought neither happiness nor wealth to these early colonisers, they brought something equally valuable. Hope that the world could change, that the past could be recovered and made anew in a New-foundland, in a New World across the ocean.

[157] LLoyd, *State-Worthies*, 627.
[158] Martial's *Epigrams*, 10.47.
[159] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, Pt. 1: 3.

5: The Project Beagle, Sir Balthazar Gerbier's 'well-composed model'

We now turn south from Newfoundland to the lands between Florida and Guiana, and to Sir Balthazar Gerbier, who arrived in England in 1616—the year in which Vaughan bought the tract of land that was to become New Cambriol. In the next four chapters we will examine Sir Balthazar Gerbier's ambitions for state and society, as mapped out in his texts, focusing principally on his constitution for an unrealised project to establish a sovereign state in the Southern New World (1649) and a manuscript utopia describing an ideal state.[1] Gerbier (1592-1663)—painter, architect, calligrapher, art buyer, weapons-designer, utopianist, coloniser, spy, educationalist, experimenter, slave owner, and prolific pamphleteer—was a man caught between times and tides: on the one hand, a slippery, double-dealing courtier and Renaissance polymath, nostalgic for a magnificent and mythologised, chivalric nobility distinguished by its material splendour; on the other, a self-made, forward-thinking, social reformer and improver, who wished to alleviate poverty and increase social mobility in England, France and the Netherlands, yet produced one of the earliest publications in English promoting slavery as a prop to imperialism.[2]

Across three decades, he made repeated attempts to establish social projects in a variety of European states and to obtain funding for mining and colonial ventures in the southern New World: with limited success.[3] In 1659, after years of campaigning, he obtained

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[1] Balthazar Gerbier, 'Project Pour l'establissement d'un Nouvel Estat En Amerique, MS Rawlinson C. 254 [63r-82v]', 1649, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Balthazar Gerbier, 'Loix, Status, Ordonnances, et Coustumes, Pour Un Nouvel Estat', in *Secretum Virtutis et Scientiarum Speculum/Miroir de La Vertu*, MS 2505 28–39, 1654, Wellcome Library, London. We will also touch briefly upon promotional pamphlets for a colony he later settled briefly in Guiana with Dutch partners: Balthazar Gerbier, *Octroy van de Hoog. Moog. Heeren Staten Generael, Aengaende de Colonie Op de Wilde Kust van America, Onder Het Beleyt van Den Ridder Balthazar Gerbier, Baron Douvily* (Unknown: s.n., 1659); Balthazar Gerbier, *A Sommary Description, Manifesting That Greater Profits Are to Bee Done in the Hot than in the Could Parts off the Coast off America: And How Much the Public Good Is Concerned Therein Referring to the Annexed Advertissement, for Men Inclined to Plantation* (Rotterdam: Henry Goddaeus, 1660); Balthazar Gerbier, *Sommier Verhael van Sekere Amerikaensche Voyagie Gedaen Door Den Ridder Balthasar Gerbier, Baron Douvily* (s.n.: Cedruckt voor den Autheur, 1660).

[2] Gerbier, *Sommary Description*.

[3] See, for example, the range of pamphlets Gerbier published which recommended systems of financial support for the poor and/or indebted as well as a variety of other schemes for the public good: Balthazar Gerbier, *Remonstrance Tres Humble Du Chevalier B. G.* (Paris: Francois Preuveray, 1643). Balthazar Gerbier, *Mont de Piété Pour Le Soustien Des Pauvres* (Paris: Chez François Preuveray, 1643); Balthazar Gerbier, *Suite de l'Avant-Coureur Des Monts de Piété* (Paris: Francois Preuveray, 1643); Balthazar Gerbier, *Factum, Touchant Les Monts de Piété* (Paris: Francois Preuveray, 1643); Balthazar Gerbier, *Motifs de l'institution Des Monts-de-Piété* (Paris: s.n., 1643); Balthazar Gerbier, *Justification Particulière Des Intendants Des Monts-de-Piété* (Paris: Francois Preuveray, 1643); Balthazar Gerbier, *Avant-Coureur Des Monts de Piété* (Paris: Francois Preuveray,

a Dutch colonial patent and travelled with his family to Cayenne where he settled a short-lived colony on the Approuague River; but there was a dispute between Gerbier, settlers and the crew who mutinied and killed his daughter Catherine and wounded another, as is illustrated in one of the pamphlets he printed about the murder and his Amsterdam depositions (figs. 43 and 44).[4] The experience radically altered his worldview, though not his interest in establishing a colony.

The breadth of Gerbier's interests and activities has resulted in a patchwork of scholarship that rarely touches upon his utopian and colonial endeavours, and his dubious reputation among the seventeenth-century elite has, until recently, affected his academic treatment.[5] While his early mastery of marketing and tactical communications and his role

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1643); Balthazar Gerbier, *Serments Que Doivent Prester Les Officiers Des Monts de Pieté* (Paris: Francois Preuveray, 1643); Balthazar Gerbier, *Exposition Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier* (Paris: Francois Preuveray, 1644); Balthazar Gerbier, *Exposition Des Intentions Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier* (Paris: s.n., 1644); Balthazar Gerbier, *A New Years Result in Favour of the Poore* (London: T.M., 1651); Balthazar Gerbier, *Some Considerations on the Two Grand Staple Commodities of England* (London: T. Mab and A. Coles, 1651); Balthazar Gerbier, *To the Parliament, the Most Humble Remonstrance of Sr. Balthazar Gerbier, Kt.* (London: s.n., 1650). He announced in the Perfect Diurnall that he would offer free credit to the poor from his house: Balthazar Gerbier, 'Announcement', *Perfect Diurnall* 13, no. 4-11 March (1650): 109. For mining, see Balthazar Gerbier, *Waerachtige Verklaringe Nopende de Goude En Silvere Mijne* (The Hague: Iohannes Ramazeyn, 1656); Balthasar Gerbier, *Waarachtige Verklaringe Vanden Ridder B. G., B. Douvilij: Noopende Sijn Saecke van Goude En Silvere Mynen* (The Hague, 1657); Balthazar Gerbier, *Tweede Deel van de Waerachtige Verclaringe Nopende de Goude En Silvere Mijne* (The Hague: Iohannes Ramazeyn, 1656). For his educational schemes see below.

[4] For his account, see Gerbier, *Sommier Verhael*; Balthazar Gerbier, *Informatie Voor de Rechtsgeleerde Die van Wegen d'Edele Heeren Bewinthebbers Vande ... West-Indische Compagnye Gherequireert Syn Hare Advisen Te Geven Op Den Moorde in Cajany Begaen, En Waer van Gemelt Is in Het Sommier Verhael Door Den Baron D., in Druck* ([Rotterdam?]: s.n., 1660); Gerbier, *Sommary Description*, A3r.

[5] There are exceptions, such as the work by Vera Keller, 'Pennetrek: Sir Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1663) and the Calligraphic Aesthetics of Commercial Empire', in *Early Modern Knowledge Societies as Affective Economies*, ed. Inger Leemans and Goldgar Anne (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 58–86; Vera Keller, 'The "Framing of a New World": Sir Balthazar Gerbier's "Project for Establishing a New State in America," ca. 1649', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2013): 147–76; M. G. De Boer, 'Balthazar Gerbier', *Oud Holland: Journal for Art of the Low Countries* 21, no. 3 (1903): 129–60; Jane MacRae Campbell, 'Sir Balthazar Gerbier's Utopian Dreams of the New World', ed. Jenny Mander, David Midgley, and Maya Feile Tomes, *Transnational Perspectives on the Conquest and Colonization of Latin Americ*a (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 23–34. Gerbier's colonial designs are also discussed briefly in Hugh Ross Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, Evans Brothers Ltd., London: 1949, 56-58 and by Paul R. Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower: El Dorado and the Murder of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 2-4; 20-24. He has recently received some attention from archaeologists and anthropologists working in French Guiana: Martijn Van Den Bel and Lodewijk Hulsman, 'Une Colonie Néerlandaise Sur l'Approuague Au Début de La Deuxième Moitié Du XVIIe Siècle', *Bulletin de La Société d'Histoire de La Guadeloupe* 164 (2013): 1–15; Martijn Van Den Bel and Lodewijk Hulsman, 'Le Bourg de Cayenne: Une Colonie Néerlandaise Au Pied Du Fort Nassau (1655-1664)', *Bulletin de La Société d'Histoire de La Guadeloupe* 178 (2017): 87–121.



Fig. 43: Balthazar Gerbier, *Sommier verhael, von sekere Amerikaensche voyagie* (Rotterdam : Gedruckt voor den autheur; 1660), A2r-A3r.



Fig. 44. Balthazar Gerbier, *Sommier verhael, von sekere Amerikaensche voyagie* (Rotterdam : Gedruckt voor den autheur; 1660), A5r-A6r.

as a 'cultural and political' broker have recently been acknowledged, some of his projects will be examined here for the first time.[6] The scale and diversity of his activities and reforming ambitions deserve impartial treatment, and an examination of his lesser-known manuscripts, letters, and scattered historiography, suggest that his contribution to diverse disciplines, including colonial and Atlantic History, histories of slavery, material culture, natural philosophy, architecture, banking, and education, should be recognised and deserves further analysis.

This case study will concentrate on Gerbier's early projects and texts up to 1654, in which he envisioned nobility and order as the cornerstones of a society he wished to settle in the New World. These are representative of his initial conceptions for an American colony established with English partners, rather than the slave-based, Dutch, trading and mining colony that he promoted, and partially realised, in his later texts and projects.[7] Chapter five will examine the mode and form of these early texts, while six will look at the idea of order and origins, as found in his societal plans, and how these are entwined with the rigid dress controls he devised. Chapters seven and eight will consider his plans for an order of chivalry that would spearhead his new state and the ways in which he intended to thread his new society with an ancient lineage by building its foundations out of the symbols and ceremonies of classical and medieval Europe. The geographic and colonial realities Gerbier encountered in Europe and South America diverted and eroded his initial idealism resulting in fundamental shifts in Gerbier's outlook and ambitions. This evolutionary arc mirrors the wider colonial narrative and a cycle of fluctuating European understanding of the Americas that recurs throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[8]

Scholarship on Gerbier tends to be stratified and discipline-specific due to the breadth of his activities. These appear in, and address a range of languages, archives, states, and continents. While a full account of his life cannot be accomplished here, a brief

[6] Jason Peacey, 'Print, Publicity, and Popularity: The Projecting of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, 1642—1662', *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 2 (2012): 284–307; Marika Keblusek, 'Introduction: Double Agents in Early Modern Europe', in *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera. Noldus (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1–10; Marika Keblusek, 'Cultural and Political Brokerage in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Balthazar Gerbier', in *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain, 1550-1800*, ed. Juliette Roding (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), 73–82.
[7] This is addressed in Campbell, 'Utopian Dreams'.
[8] Ibid.

biography and historiography provide necessary context for the following chapters.[9] Gerbier was born in Zeeland in 1591 to French Huguenot parents. After his father died, he went to France where his natural proficiency for art and languages became apparent: he later noted 'I had pretty good insight in several Arts, and Sciences and I excelled not a little in Writing, Limning, Drawing, and in the Mathematickes, as Geometry, Architecture, Fortifications, and in the Framing of Warlike Engines'.[10] His skill brought him to the attention of Prince Maurice of Orange who sent him to England in 1616 in the retinue of the Dutch Ambassador.[11]

By 1619 he had entered the service of the King's favourite, George Villiers, the Marquess of Buckingham (created First Duke of Buckingham in 1623) as his art buyer, diplomatic agent and, later, the keeper of his ciphers.[12] He was also a successful artist and architect in his own right. He renovated York House for Buckingham, styled masques and entertainments, and was a well-known limner or miniaturist, whose subjects included: Charles I, Villiers, Prince Maurice, and various nobles (figs. 45-49).[13] In 1623, he travelled with Buckingham and Charles I to seek a match with the Spanish Infanta (with Vaughan's brother John) and was commissioned to paint her portrait so James could see her.[14] The

[9] In addition to entries in Dictionaries of National Biography, partial biographies have been attempted by Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, 26-60 (one of these was Gerbier); and Chaney's 'Notes towards a Biography of Balthazar Gerbier' in Edward Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 215-225. The only attempt at a full biography is Lita-Rose Betcherman, 'Balthazar Gerbier: A Renaissance Man in Early Stuart England' (Phd diss., University of Toronto, 1969).

[10] Balthazar Gerbier, *A Manifestation* (London: Printed for the Author, 1651), 5.

[11] Gerbier, *Manifestation*, 5-6.

[12] Balthazar Gerbier, 'Letter from Gerbier to Buckingham, introducing himself', in MS Tanner 73, fols. 119-123, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, 30.

[13] Balt[h]azar Gerbier, 'To All Men That Loves Truth' (Paris: s.n., 1646), A2r; Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 3rd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), entry for 'Gerbier, Sir Balthazar'; Christiane Hille, *Visions of the Courtly Body: The Patronage of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, and the Triumph of Painting at the Stuart Court* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 175. He gives some valuable thoughts on the unique requirements of masques, e.g. ventilation and acoustics, and challenges of their design in Balthazar Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse Concerning the Three Chief Principles of Magnificent Building. Viz. Solidity, Conveniency, and Ornament* (London: s.n., 1662), 39–40. For discussion of the Villiers miniature, see Ron Harvie, 'The Spectre of Buckingham: Art Patronage and Collecting in Early Stuart England' (PhD diss., McGill University, Montreal, 1998), 141–44.

[14] Lloyd Bowen, 'Vaughan, John, First Earl of Carbery, (1574/5–1634), Courtier and Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28133. After the match failed Gerbier's portrait was given to the Countess of Denbigh, Buckingham's sister, Susan: Ron Harvie, 'The Spectre of Buckingham, 141, fn. 255. He was also asked to paint an allegorical piece on the return to England with the Infanta, and proposes a design 'Balthasar Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham' in Godfrey Goodman and John S. Brewer, *The Court of King James the First,* Vol. 2 of 2, trans. and eds. Godfrey Goodman and John S. Brewer *(*London: Richard Bentley, 1839), 260–67, at 265–66. For further on the Spanish Match, see Alexander Samson, ed., *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); and for Gerbier's connoisseurship, see Jerry





Fig. 45: Left: Portrait of Charles I, as Prince of Wales. Miniature by Balthasar Gerbier, 1616. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Bequeathed by John Jones. Fig. 46 Centre: Balthazar Gerbier, George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham, later 1st Duke of Buckingham, 1618. Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick. Fig. 47: Right: Balthazar Gerbier. Portrait of Maurice, Prince of Orange, in a small feigned oval medallion on cartouche. 16161862,0208.3. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 48: Balthazar Gerbier, Portrait of a Gentleman. Private Collection. Commons License.

Brotton, 'Buying the Renaissance: Prince Charles's Art Purchases in Madrid, 1623', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 9–10, 22–25.

failure of the match led to war and Gerbier designed 'Mines Massoned up in Ships, which were to have blown up the Dycke at *Rochell*' during Buckingham's failed campaign.[15]

However, it is for his skilful curation of the artistic tastes of the English elite for which he is principally known.[16] Indeed, the art collections Gerbier curated for Villers in the 1620s and Charles I in the 1630s were reputedly some of the greatest in Europe. He saw art as both an investment and his passion (he kissed a Bonnarotta crucifixion 'three times, for there is nothing that can be more perfect' and said of Tintoretto's nude of Danaë 'that flint as cold as ice might fall in love with it' (fig. 50).[17] He secured masterpieces by Veronese, Tintoretto, Reni, Manfredi, Bassano and Titian—purchasing *Ecce Homo* for Villiers for the vast sum of £275—the first Titian bought for an English private collection and reputedly inducing the Earl of Arundel to offer £7,000 for it in 'money or land'.[18]

Recent scholarship has highlighted the essential role played by artists/art-buyers in seventeenth century diplomacy and 'intelligencing' (spying) and Gerbier's role within this network.[19] Where Vaughan was a casual intelligencer, Gerbier was engaged in such activities for many years, acting both professionally and personally, for and against his employers. For instance, in 1627 he and Rubens, a close friend, embarked upon secret

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[15] Gerbier, *Manifestation*, 8.

[16] For further, see I.G. Philip, 'Balthazar Gerbier and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures', *The Burlington Magazine* 99, no. 650 (1957): 155–56; Lita-Rose Betcherman, 'Balthazar Gerbier in Seventeenth Century Italy', *History Today* 11, no. 4 (1961): 325–31; Lita-Rose Betcherman, 'The York House Collection and Its Keeper', *Apollo*, 1970, 250–59; Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and His Art Collection* (London: Pan Books, 2007), passim but esp. 80-83, 110-112; Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour,* 215-225.

[17] 'Gerbier to Buckingham, Boulogne, 17 Nov 1624' and 'Gerbier to Buckingham, 8 Feb 1624-5' *The Court of King James*, 339; 369-70.

[18] Quotation from Horace Walpole, 'Anecdotes of Painting', in *The Works of Horace Walpole , Earl of Orford in 5 Volumes, Vol. 3* (London: G.G. and J. Robinson and J. Edwards, 1798), 208. See also: Philip, 'Balthazar Gerbier and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures', 156, which also lists the substantial costs Gerbier estimated for the purchase of paintings, their transportation and frames in 1621, taken from MS. Tanner 73, f. I22-3 in the Bodleian Library); Betcherman, 'Balthazar Gerbier in Seventeenth Century Italy', 331; Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 217; Jeremy Wood, 'Gerbier, Sir Balthazar (1592–1663/1667), Art Agent, Miniature Painter, and Architect', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10562.

[19] Patrick Ignacio O'Neill, 'Charles I and the Spanish Plot: Anglo-Habsburg Relations and the Outbreak of the War of Three Kingdoms, 1630-1641' (PhD diss., University of California Riverside, 2014), 29–42, 127–211; Jeremy Wood, 'Artists and Agents: Connoisseurship at the Caroline Court', in *Charles I: King and Collector (Exhibition Catalogue, Royal Academy of the Arts, London, 2018)* (London: Royal Academy of the Arts, 2018), 30–35; Akkerman, 'The Postmistress, the Diplomat, and a Black Chamber?: Alexandrine of Taxis, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and the Power of Postal Control'; Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Noldus, eds., *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Stuart, *Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart*; Maija Jansson, *Art and Diplomacy: Seventeenth-Century English Decorated Royal Letters to Russia and the Far East (Brill Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History, Vol. 9)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Sellin, 'Raleigh's Gold Mine'.



Fig 50: Domenico Robusti Tintoretto (1518-1594), 'Danaë', c. 1570, A-91. By permission of the Museum of Fine Arts of Lyon.

treaty negotiations between Britain and Spain while organising the purchase of Rubens' personal art collection for Villiers.[20] Rubens also stayed with Gerbier in Bethnal Green for ten months, often using his family as models.[21] As Charles I's agent, Gerbier regularly engaged in secret discussions, sending messages to England sewn into the doublet of his secretary, Sidney de Bere, or via a Welsh priest; however, his reputation in the European

[20] Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, 31; Wood, 'Gerbier'. For further on both Rubens and Gerbier's activities, see William Noël Sainsbury (coll.), *Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, as an Artist and a Diplomatist*, ed. William Noël Sainsbury (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1859) and O'Neill, 'Spanish Plot', 133–99. See also letter CXXVI: 'B. Gerbier to Sir F. Cottington, [London], February 17th, 1629-30' in William Noël Sainsbury (coll.). *Life of Rubens*, 142-146, at 145.

[21] Rubens apparently acknowledged his friend by including a sheaf of corn, a *gerbier* in French, in the ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall (Gerbier's coat of arms was charged with a *gerbier*): Anthony W. Johnson, 'Jonson's Eirenic Community: The Case of The Masque of Augers (1622)', in *Writing and Religion in England, 1558-1689: Studies in Community-Making and Cultural Memory*, ed. Roger D. Sell and Anthony W. Johnson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 169–94; 175, fn. 24. Even before they met, Gerbier dedicated sixty-three lines of his lengthy poem about Hendrick Goltzius to Rubens. See Balthazar Gerbier, *Eer Ende Claght Dicht Ter Eeren van Den Lofweerdighen Constrijken Ende Gheleerden Henricus Goltius* (The Hague: Aert Meurs Boeckvercooper, 1620); David A. Freedberg, 'Fame, Convention and Insight: On the Relevance of Fornenberg and Gerbier', *Ringling Museum of Art Journal* 1 (1983): 236-259, 240.

courts was destroyed when evidence was uncovered indicating that he was paid by the Archduchess Isabella for information about a group of Dutch protestant revolutionaries, to whom Charles I had offered his clandestine support, that resulted in their death (he later accused Cottington of perpetrating this 'grand Treachery').[22]

Gerbier's betrayal can be more readily understood in light of his spiralling debts, caused to great degree by Charles' failure to pay his allowance or repay monies spent on his behalf for the greater part of a decade.[23] At one point his family were even held in France as security and released individually as debts were paid.[24] He fled to Paris between 1642 and 1649 with other Royalist courtiers (though they did not get on: he accused Sir Kenelm Digby of kidnapping his daughters and turning them to Catholicism) and throughout the 1640s and 50s Gerbier published pamphlets in English and French that declared his innocence in regard to perceived slanders, both political and personal.[25] It is in this volatile period, that Gerbier embarked on his colonising endeavours.

The 'Project Beagle'

From 1643 until his death in 1663, Gerbier's existence was peripatetic, and he embarked upon a search for order, designing multiple improving plans for society. In addition to colonial plans, there were projects and models for weapons, fortifications, mining techniques, advice on trade, banking schemes, sanitation, street plans, and the establishment of a short-lived academy for gentlemen—alongside which he offered a

[22] Gerbier, *Manifestation*, 11-15; Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, 38-39; Wood, 'Gerbier'. This is most thoroughly explored in O'Neill, 'Spanish Plot', 165–211.
[23] Patrick Ignacio O'Neill, 'Spanish Plot', 21, 138, 179-182; Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, 35; 43.
[24] Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, 43, 45–46; O'Neill, 'Spanish Plot', 29–42, 127–211.
[25] See, all by Gerbier: *A Wicked and Inhumane Plot of Nicholas Parney, a French Dancer, Living at Westminster* (London: s.n., 1642); *Manifeste Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier* (Paris: s.n., 1644); *A Letter from Sr. Balthazar Gerbier Knight. To His Three Daughters Inclosed. In a Nunnery Att Paris* (Paris: s.n., 1646); *His Last Admonitions to His Daughters, His Answeares to Theire Letters, Their Refusall of a Conference, after They Had Accepted the Same* (Paris: s.n., 1646); *Relation Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier Pour l'esclaircissement de Quelques Particularitez Qui Regardent Les Affaires d'Angleterre et Qui, Jusques Icy, n'ont Pas Esté Bien Entendues* (Paris: M. Blageart, 1648). This pattern of accusation followed by denial and protestations of innocence began in the 1620s when Gerbier wrote to Buckingham about Gabriel March, also in Villiers' service, whom Gerbier was worried had been slandering him: 'Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham [n.d. c. 1625]' in Goodman and Brewer, *King James*, 388-97.

parallel series of free public lectures, also published, for those of lesser means.[26] Gerbier was not alone in seeking knowledge, reform, and financial security; the unstable political and religious climate of the seventeenth century produced an array of scientific discoveries and profitable or improving schemes. However, the uncertain times spawned as many bizarre and improbable projects and projectors as genuine—and to many contemporaries, Gerbier was all too typical: one of the 'project beagles' parodied by Brome's play, *The Court Beggar*, who begged favour and 'sniff[ed] out' money at court to fund implausible projects.[27]

Brome may even have had Gerbier in mind when he depicted one of the 'beagles' as a 'Picture-drawer Limner, or Painter' whose plan is to obtain the monopoly on painting all the Kings' and Queens' heads on 'signes for Tavernes, Innes, Ale houses, and all Houses and Shops of Trade throughout the Kingdome'.[28] Throughout Brome's play, the projectors tout increasingly outlandish schemes, from the commodification of butterflies to turning 'profits out of all the Common-Cryes i' th' City, As of—Oysters—Codlings'.[29] Therefore, it was not Gerbier's intelligencing alone that brought him condemnation, so too did the countless projects he pushed and his reliance on patronage for their enactment. Between 1643 and 1663, Gerbier produced myriad documents that recommended new schemes to friends, patrons, courts, and Parliaments across Europe, variously: colonial, financial, scientific, architectural, social, artistic, cryptographic, religious and educational in nature and scope.[30] His, often dire, financial situation and responsibility for an extensive family (nine children) caused him to walk a tightrope between the two sides during and after the Civil War and Restoration. His switching of allegiance did him no favours with contemporaries and later critics, though many others survived the times in the same fashion with less censure, and

[26] Gerbier, 'Announcement'.

[27] Richard Brome, *The Court Begger. A Comedie. Acted at the Cock-Pit, by His Majesties Servants, Anno 1632* (London: Richard Marriot and Tho. Dring, 1653). The date of 1632 is an error due to a recycled title page and due to its content cannot have been written before 1639 and O'Conner dates it ca. 1640: Marion O'Connor, 'The Court Begger: A Critical Introduction', *The Court Begger. Richard Brome Online* (London and Sheffield, 2010), http://www.dhi.ac.uk/brome.

[28] Brome, *Court Begger*, P4v. Coincidentally, the year the play was published, Gerbier and artists Peter Lely and George Geldrop presented a plan to paint the Commonwealth Parliament's members and the recent 'memorable' battles: Balthazar Gerbier, Peter Lely, and Georg Geldorp*, Proposal to the Parliament of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Knt., Peter Lely, and Georg Geldorp "concerning the representing, in oil, Pictures of all the memorable Achievments since the Parlament's first sitting"*, London, s.n.: 1651.

[29] Brome, *The Court Begger*, S6r. Projectors are similarly derided in Richard Brome, *The Antipodes a Comedie. Acted in the Yeare 1638. by the Queenes Majesties Servants, at Salisbury Court in Fleet-Street* (London: I. Okes, for Francis Constable, 1640), esp. I2r.

[30] These are too numerous to list: see bibliographic entries for Gerbier in this period.

even reward.[31] Historically, his suspect reputation and the public failure of many of his projects coloured opinion of his reforming schemes and colonial plans; even now, many scholars, including Brotton, Wood, Sellin, and others give him short shrift.[32]

Rather than being assessed for their individual significance or merit, Gerbier's projects are often dismissed upon judgements relating to his reputation, literary style, his self-promotion and reliance on patronage—and the sycophancy and indebtedness it spawned. It is worth noting that manoeuvrings and fawnings were acknowledged to be common necessaries for anyone who sought to elevate themselves in the Stuart courts: as Halifax posited—echoing Brome's idea of a *Court Begger*: 'The Court may be said to be a Company of fashionable beggars. A man who will rise at Court must begin by creeping on all fours; like a place in Heaven is to be got by being much upon one's knees'.[33]

When his projects are examined impartially, it is clear Gerbier did not simply wish to turn a profit, or concoct schemes that would merely dupe investors or elevate his position, and scholars have begun to acknowledge his contribution to the historical development of diverse disciplines, from economics to marketing, education, and building practices.[34] Here, examination of his early colonial and utopian manuscripts suggests private constancy to the Royalist side and a strong desire to leave the world in better order: to improve society, not simply his position in it. This analysis places his work in the broader context of social and utopian reform and the spirit of improvement, as well as revealing the pivotal role played by utopias/utopianism in perceptions of the New World and the formulation of colonial schemes.

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[31] For his switches of allegiance see, for instance, Balthazar Gerbier, *To the Right Honourable the Parliament, and the Councell of State of England. The Most Humble Expression of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Concerning His Integrity and Zeale to This State and Nation; and the Account He Desires to Give Thereof* (London: s.n., 1649).

[32] Brotton, *Late King's Goods*, e.g. 243-46; Wood, 'Gerbier, Sir Balthazar (1592–1663/1667), Art Agent, Miniature Painter, and Architect'; Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower*, 4, 20-24.

[33] Quoted in Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, 2.

[34] For financial schemes, see Seiichiro Ito, 'The Making of Institutional Credit in England, 1600 to 1688', *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 18, no. 4 (2011): 487–519; Charles F. Dunbar, 'Notes on Early Banking Schemes', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 2, no. 4 (1888): 482–90. For marketing and education: see Peacey, 'Print, Publicity, and Popularity'; Roger Philip McCutcheon, 'The Beginnings of Book-Reviewing in English Periodicals' *PMLA* 37, no. 4 (1922): 703: McCutcheon notes that Gerbier was forward-thinking, being 'perhaps a little premature in starting' his Academy in the 1640s rather than naïve or foolish. For literary skill, see Freedberg, 'Fame, Convention and Insight', 241: who described Gerbier's poem about Goltzius, as 'an ingenious composition, sometimes affecting and sometimes witty'.

'Draughts, Models, Frames'[35]

Gerbier's texts reflect a preoccupation with order. His position, dependent on the generosity or obligation of others, was consequently precarious and he was frequently knocked 'out of course' by the fate or vagaries of his patrons, his own intrigues, and by wider religious and political turmoil. In response, from the 1640s onwards, he tried to set society 'in order again' and to cement his position within it.[36] One of the ways in which he intended to do this was to create a model for society (as he did for any design project, whether for an interior, masque, weapon, or building: framing, designing, drafting).[37] His fullest models, outlining his 'instructions' for the state in its entirety, are set out in two manuscripts: the *Project pour l'establissement d'un nouvel estat en Amerique* (The Project for Establishing a New State in America, 1649), a draft constitution for a proposed new state to be settled in the Americas, and the *Loix, status, ordonnances, et coustumes, pour un nouvel Estat* (Laws, statutes, ordinances and customs for a New State, 1654), a literary utopia that sets out the laws of an ideal state of no specified location.[38]

The *Project* has a curious origin. It was produced in connection to a secret agreement of 1628, uncovered in the 1990s, between the 1st Duke of Buckingham and King Adolphus of Sweden in which a 'glorious design' was set out: the Duke would be granted sovereignty of a new State in the Americas in exchange for a tenth of the profits of a secret gold mine. The Duke's right to rule there would be defended by Adolphus 'against any and all', even the English.[39] This gold was to be drawn from the legendary El Dorado mines reputedly found by Raleigh in Guiana.[40] Raleigh was accused of inventing the mines but, according to Michel le

[35] Gerber, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders*. London: Thomas Mabb, 1663, 5.
[36] Gerbier, *The Art of Well Speaking*, A2v.
[37] The use of architectural models was not common in England in the period and, in this, Gerbier references the practices of architects in Amsterdam in *A Brief Discourse*, 17. However, he had recommended the use of models in his interior and architectural renovations to York House as early as the 1620s, see: 'Balthazar Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham, Gravesend, 2nd December 1624', in Goodman and Brewer, *King James*, 1630, 360.
[38] Balthazar Gerbier, 'Project Pour l'establissement d'un Nouvel Estat En Amerique', MS Rawlinson C. 254 [63r-82v], Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1649, and 'Loix, status, ordonnances, et coustumes, pour un nouvel Estat', in *Secretum virtutis et scientiarum speculum*, MS 2505, 28-39, Wellcome Library, London.
[39] There are two copies of this agreement, each of which has different sections enciphered. A copy of the treaty is enclosed with Gerbier's 'Project' in MS Rawlinson, C. 254. I am indebted to Keller's translation of the 'Project' and documents with which it was enclosed, which were published and appended to her article, Vera Keller, 'New State in America', 147–76, for Gerbier's papers in MS Rawlinson C. 254, Bodleian Library 35: 163-176. The other is translated in Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower*. The quotation is from the Sellin version.
[40] For further, see Ralegh, *Discoverie*.

Blon (another of the Duke's artist-agents), Buckingham claimed Raleigh had given him the map to the mines' location before his execution.[41] Gerbier had carried the signed agreement from Sweden to England in 1628, but arrived too late to deliver it into the hands of Buckingham, who had been assassinated. In 1649 Gerbier sent his *Project* to the Duke's son, George Villiers, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, enclosing a copy of the secret treaty with it in the hope that the plan could be reinstated; but Villiers took it no further.

Gerbier had already made unsuccessful overtures, referencing secret gold mines, to the Prince of Orange in 1645 and had similarly attempted, via Le Blon, to get investment from the Swedish Crown for a mining expedition to the Americas on the basis of the old agreement with Buckingham. In these and later submissions to the Commonwealth Parliament and Dutch States General, Gerbier claimed that he had met a 'Don Anthonio Hennin', a Flemish Secretary for foreign languages in Spain, when he was negotiating the Spanish match with Buckingham in 1623, and that Hennin had given them the secret location of an island in the Americas which was rich in gold.[42] Sellin believes the real source to be Raleigh and that Gerbier's expeditions were not fruitful because the information he possessed was partially enciphered (the other part held by Le Blon; each holding the key to the wrong ciphers) but that it revealed just enough to persuade Gerbier that he could locate the gold; Gerbier's concealment of Raleigh as the source simply served to protect his patron Buckingham's reputation (such as it was).[43] It is hard to know the truth since Gerbier embellished the Hennin tale in different documents and later added a different source, a priest called Maton who had brought him a lump of gold; but, given the efforts he made to

[41] As Sellin argues, this showed the Duke's 'perfidy' since he failed to support Raleigh's claims of gold, keeping the secret map for himself even though such evidence may have prevented his execution: Sellin, 'Raleigh's Gold Mine'.

[42] For example, in Gerbier, 'Project'; Balthazar Gerbier, *To the Parliament, the Most Humble Remonstrance of Sr. Balthazar Gerbier, Kt.* London: s.n., 1650, 7; Balthazar Gerbier, *A Sommary Description*. Sellin notes that he could find no reference to Hennin in Spanish records, even using variations on the name in different documents, while Keller notes that he was reputedly Flemish, though she adds no further comment. Keller, 'New State in America', 152, fn. 8; Sellin, *Treasure, Treason*, 18-20. For Henin, see also fn. 65. As Keller intimated, there is a Fleming called Antoine de Henin. However, he was the Bishop of Ypres, known principally for co-editing and publishing the works of a 9th century monk, Rabanus Maurus, in 1626-7. It seems unlikely that he was Gerbier's source. However, there is a painting of him by a seventeenth-century artist Jean the Younger Bellegambe (ca.1560 - after 1626), 'Antoine de Henin, Bishop of Ypres, on his death bed' (currently held in the Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, France). It is possible that using the name was an artistic joke made by Gerbier, given his knowledge of art and artists, or that he knew of the painting and the name was used subconsciously.

[43] Sellin, 'Raleigh's Gold Mine'; Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower*.

fund expeditions to the Americas, and at great personal loss, it is clear that he believed whatever information he possessed about the gold's location to be true.[44]

However, rather than wishing simply to exploit the mines for gold, Gerbier saw this as an opportunity to advance his ideas about a model society. In a letter to Hartlib the previous year, he reflected: 'I wrotte some time past a little Treaty for the framing of a new world in florida', and it is apparent that he had circulated or discussed an earlier draft at the Palatine Court-in-exile, noting in the margin that Hartlib, as a steadfast supporter of the Palatinate cause, 'may heare of it att the Prince Elector Palatin'.[45] Keller has noted that it is impossible to know whether Gerbier composed the *Project* in 1628 when the agreement was made with King Adolphus or at some later date.[46] However, it is clear that the 1649 version (to date, the earliest copy found) was composed by Gerbier close to the time of its being sent to Villiers in February 1649, since Charles I was executed as a 'Tyrant' only the previous month and the *Project* outlines the circumstances under which a King could be legitimately judged a 'Tyrant', stating that, if he were, his life would be spared.[47] It is unlikely regicide would have been an immediate concern for the outline of a model society much before that time and since the letter to Buckingham to which the 'Project' is appended are written in the same ink and handwriting style on paper of the same size and quality, it is likely it was penned specifically for the Duke.[48]

The model societies of the *Project* and *Loix* and the language used to describe them are almost the same, though not identical. There are additional and omitted passages in both documents when compared but the majority of the text is the same. However, there are material differences between the two. Where the 'Project' is appended to a letter, the 'Laws' displays remarkable penmanship and forms part of a large bound folio, alongside quotations, paintings of biblical scenes, an array of 'useful secrets' from a design for a

[44] Though he referenced Raleigh's gold and El Dorado in later documents, he retained the source as Hennin. Amongst other examples: in *To the Parliament, the Most Humble Remonstrance*, 8, Henin was 'poysoned by a black Spanyard' because he had revealed the secrets to Villiers; in a *A Sommary Description,* he had 'produced the mynerall which hee had braught frome America, and that the sayd mynerall did render a verry rich quantity off gold'. However, in a Dutch publication a priest called Maton was the source, and he had brought back precious minerals and gold from a location confirmed by a Spanish shipping company: Gerbier, *Waarachtige Verklaringe*, 1-2. The variations in the tale suggest that Gerbier might be obfuscating to prevent the further denigration of his and his patron's names by revealing the true source as Raleigh.
[45] Gerbier 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A.
[46] Keller, 'New State in America', 149, fn. 1.
[47] Gerbier, 'Project', 64r.
[48] Gerbier, 'Project', 63v.

bomb—the 'Model de la Machine'—and methods of enciphering, to the 'Laws' amongst other items (see for instance, figs. 51-53). Given their similarity, it can be surmised that the deviations were intentional or, at least, that Gerbier worked from a common draft or drafts, as can also be surmised from comments in his letter to the Second Duke of Buckingham, in which he explained his choice of language by noting that 'The Treatie is in the French tongue wherein I write it; and it being familiar to your grace I have thought fit to leave it the same as it was first drawne'.[49]

Broadly, the texts outline monarchical societies in which the King's powers are limited and supported by a strong nobility that is both hereditary by blood and created according to merit but limited in size by a system of inheritance that combines laws of primogeniture with Salic Law, which prohibits female succession.[50] Systems of justice and rule are broadly established, as are sumptuary laws, tithes, taxation, colonisation of other lands, and the division of the state. The *Project* text, intended for Buckingham's sovereign state, includes additional laws pertaining to criminal justice as well as statutes that would erect Mounts of Piety, an idea which Gerbier had pursued tenaciously, particularly in France.[51] These imagined societies were to be ruled and led by an ideal nobility and royalty who would provide a model of virtue for the masses to emulate.

[49] MS Rawlinson C. 254, 60r; Keller, 'New State in America', 163.

[50] Salic Law was used in the Frankish Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties and was called such because it was mistakenly thought to be drawn from a set of Germanic laws called the *Lex Salica*.

[51] See bibliography for references to Mounts of Piety, charitable organisations that lent money to the poor at reasonable rates, operating as benign pawnbroker rather than bank since they usually used possessions as collateral.

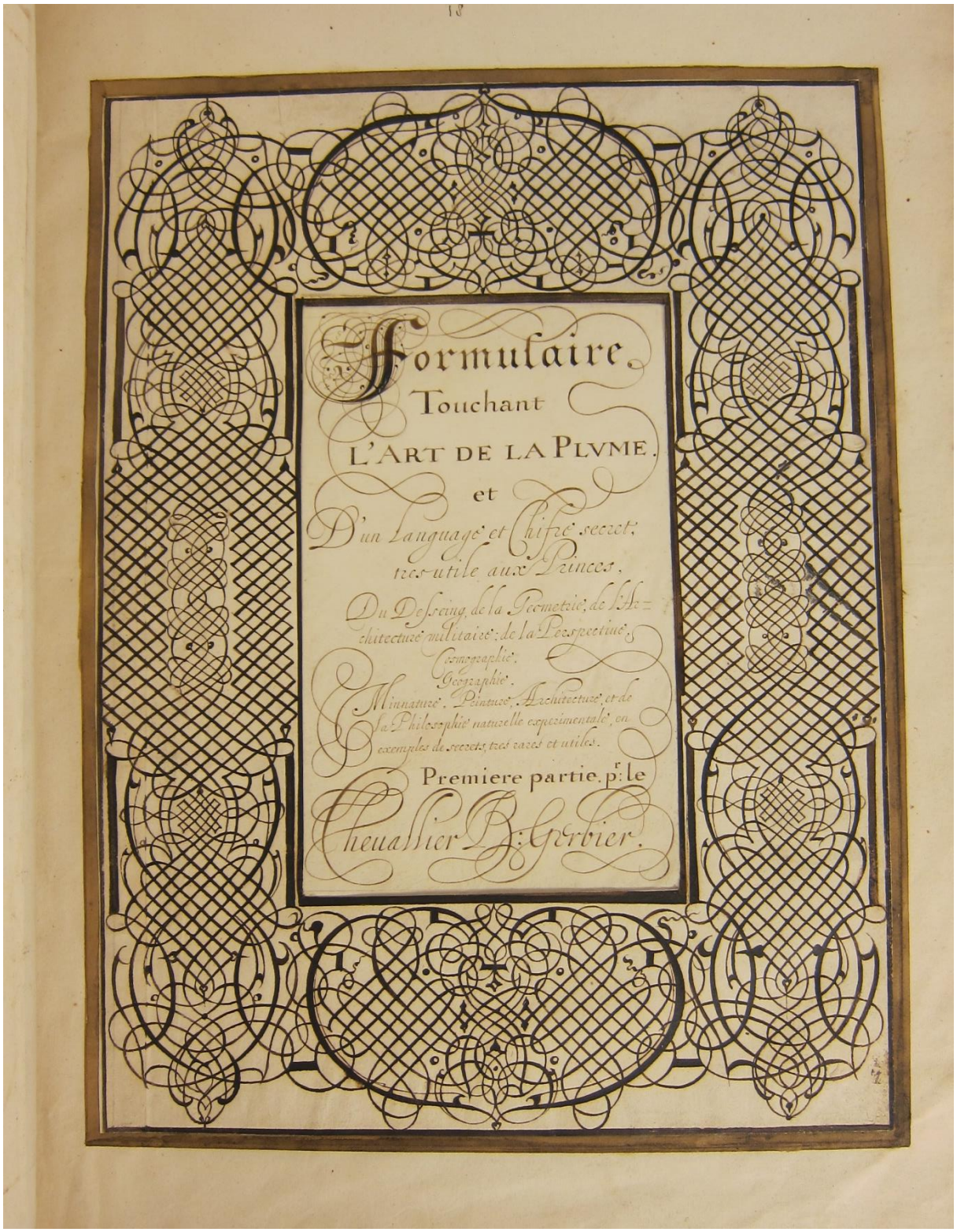


Fig. 51: The Art of the Pen, Balthazar Gerbier, 'Loix, Status, Ordonnances, et Coustumes, Pour Un Nouvel Estat', in 'Secretum Virtutis et Scientiarum Speculum/Miroir de La Vertu', 18r, MS 2505 28–39, 1654, Wellcome Library, London. Author's own image.

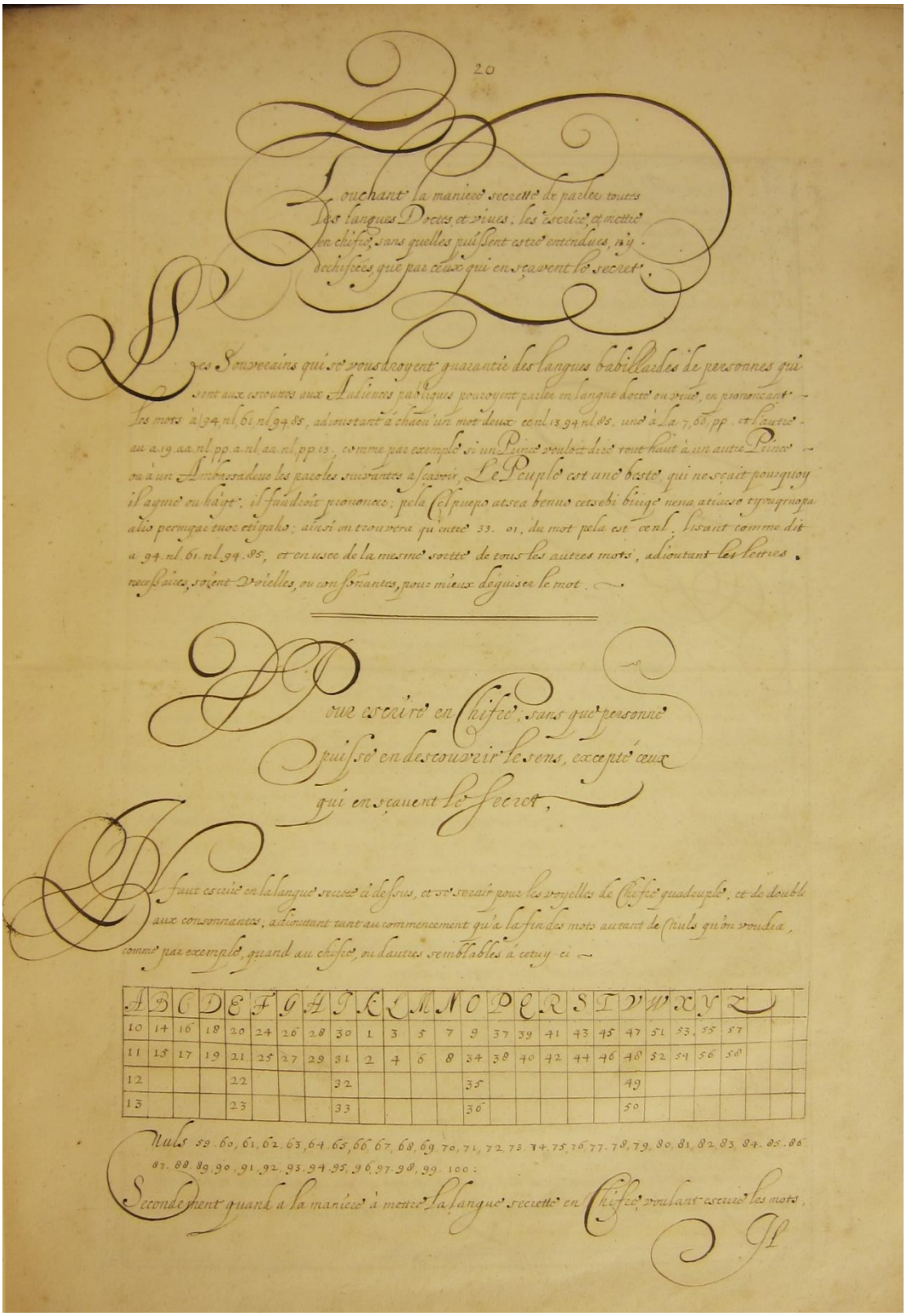


Fig. 52: Methods of Enciphering, Balthazar Gerbier, 'Loix, Status, Ordonnances, et Coustumes, Pour Un Nouvel Estat', in 'Secretum Virtutis et Scientiarum Speculum/Miroir de La Vertu', 20r, MS 2505 28–39, 1654, Wellcome Library, London. Author's own image.

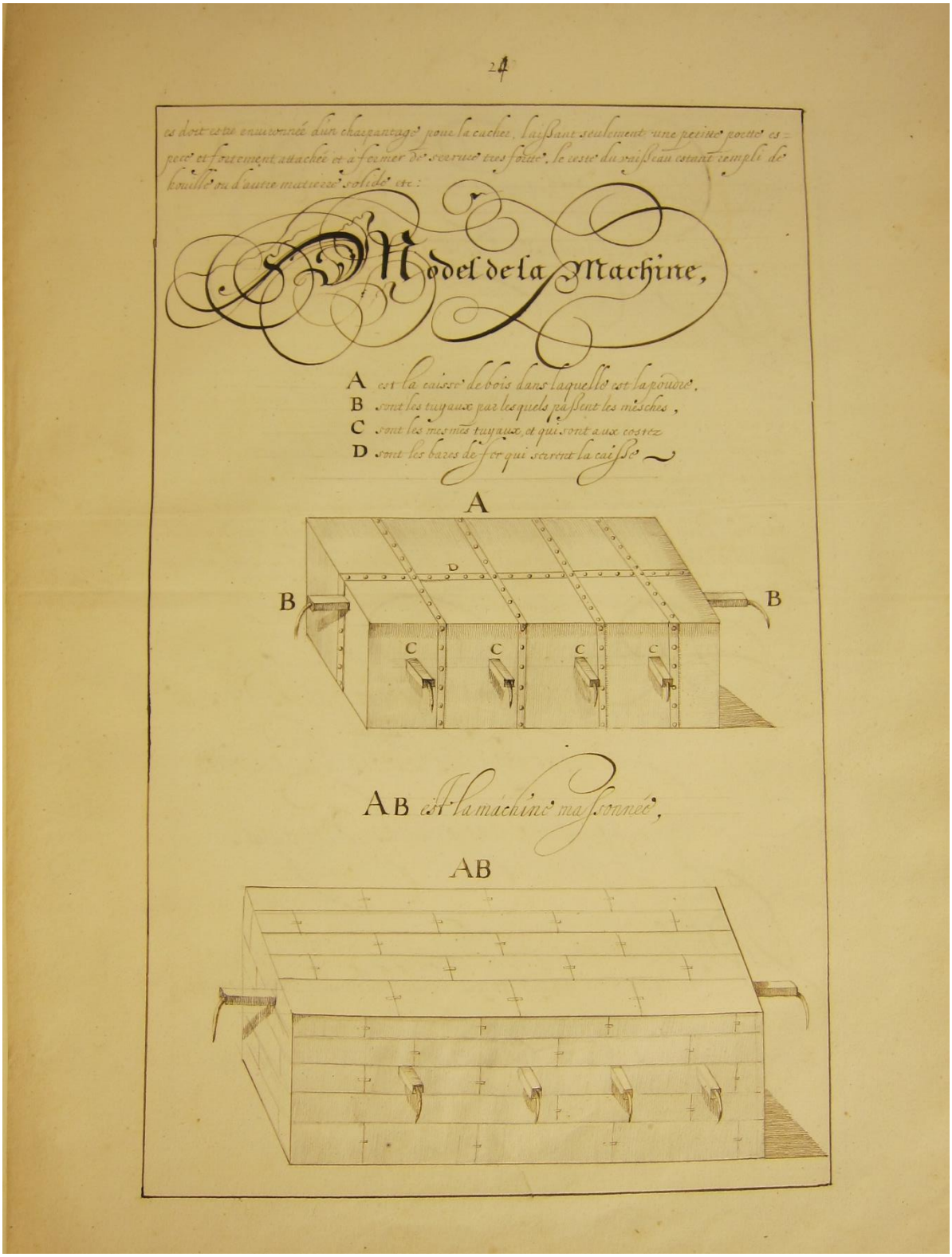


Fig. 53: The Model of the Machine, Balthazar Gerbier, 'Loix, Status, Ordonnances, et Coustumes, Pour Un Nouvel Estat', in 'Secretum Virtutis et Scientiarum Speculum/Miroir de La Vertu', 24r, MS 2505 28–39, 1654, Wellcome Library, London. Author's own image.

'Contriving the Models of their intended Fabrick'[52]

Rather than literary conceits, the two models of society produced by Gerbier in 1649 and 1654 were intended to be valuable and transformative: objects of political knowledge contributing to *arcani imperii*, 'secrets of empire', or '*Arcana Republicae*' as he described it to the Commonwealth Parliament.[53] These model states were presented to courts and parliaments and discussed with friends, such as Hartlib, within the context of other 'secrets': discoveries and experimental projects drawn from Gerbier's knowledge of music, art and nature, his travels, diplomatic work and experimental designs and schemes, (e.g. Hartlib noted, 'Sir B. Gerbier intimated to have a most rare and approoved secret and Receipt against Burning so as to take away the paines and to heale without any scarres').[54] His mode was in line with late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century writers and natural philosophers who sought to collect secret knowledge through nature, art, and travel, or to extract new political ideas from history, in the manner of Tacitus, who uncovered 'reasons of state' through his studies of Roman emperors, as discussed in chapter two.[55] Cartographic knowledge was also framed in this fashion, as indicated by Dudley's *Dell'Arcano del Mare* [Secrets of the Sea], since nations with the most accurate marine and land maps held the advantage in the European scramble for colonies and fisheries.[56]

The concept of the 'above-ground mine', promulgated by Giovanni Botero and Francis Bacon, proposed that artifice and greater knowledge—taken from travel, art, economics, politics or history—could yield greater profits or benefit to the state than natural mines of gold or silver.[57] Adapting the model to their own needs, the Tacitean

[52] Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*, 16.
[53] Gerbier, *To the Parliament*, 14.
[54] Their letters discuss an extensive range of projects in similar terms, including Gerbier's financial and educational schemes, ciphers, 'a great Designe for reducing the french Records and Rolls', medicinal cures for toothache and the 'defluxion of rheume', and Gerbier's experiments in the cultivation of Flemish tree varieties in Bethnal Green. See, amongst others, Gerbier and Hartlib, *Hartlib Papers,* 10/2/12A-14B; 10/2/18A-19B; 10/2/20A-B; 10/2/33A. Hartlib likewise 'mined' the knowledge and experiments of his correspondents to create his 'Ephemerides', which regularly featured Gerbier, e.g.: 'Ephemerides', 1649, Part 2': 28/1/20A (quoted above), 20B, 26A; 'Ephemerides', 1651, Part 1: 28/2/9B. See also Keller, 'New State in America', 160-61.
[55] Vera Keller, 'Mining Tacitus: Secrets of Empire, Nature and Art in the Reason of State', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 45, no. 2 (2012): 189–212.
[56] See, for instance, Dudley's detailing of Newfoundland's marine topography in Robert Dudley, *Dell'arcano Del Mare, 3 Vols.* (Florence: Francesco Onofri, 1646); also Rankin and Holm, 'Evolution of Fisheries', 204.
[57] For further see Keller, 'Mining Tacitus'. Alan T. Bradford, 'Stuart Absolutism and the "Utility" of Tacitus', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (1983): 127–55. Extracting this 'deep knowledge' could make one a

Vaughan and Misselden characterised the fishing trade as 'deepe' underwater mines of 'pure gold', as did Pierre de Charlevoix, a Jesuit historian who later claimed the Grand Banks were indeed the 'true mines, which are the more valuable, and require much less expence [sic] than those of Peru and Mexico'.[58] Gerbier showed an awareness of the concept and wrote to Parliament using the same language and analogy: he claimed he held a 'secret …made by one Don Hennin…whereby the Cloath trade might be made more worth to the English Nation then the Golden Mynes ever were or can be to the Spanyards…by the which secrets, this Common-wealth might…extend the power, and encrease the wealth of the English Nation beyond that of any People'.[59] 'Secrets' are scattered throughout his works and letters from the 1640s onward.

Such secrets could also be drawn from, or revealed through, utopian or dystopian models for society, whether highly practical or purely theoretical.[60] For a societal plan, as with architecture, by using a model, a creator's intentions could be easily seen, which prevented interference or alteration in the design by other parties at a later stage: 'when once the Model is approved, never to alter, nor to pull down what hath been well begun, nor to hearken to the diversity of opinions, which have been, [which] are the causes of many Deformities and Extravagancies…. a well-experienced Surveyor must not be disturbed in his task, and undertaking…[just as] (by the power of the great Architect and Director of all things) works out his own compleat Fabrick, if not interrupted'.[61] He admired the Classical artists and architects who 'were so carefull in the ordering…of their…Stone Images

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'Trismegistus', e.g. see Bacon's 'A Device for the Gray's Inn Revels', Francis Bacon, *Francis Bacon: The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); 54-55.

[58] Charles Travis et al., 'Inventing the Grand Banks', Charlevoix (1719) quoted at 3; Misselden, *Circle of Commerce*, 141; [William Vaughan], *Cambrensium Caroleia*, A2r. Misselden though not a professed Tacitean, also 'mined' the works of Tacitus and other Classical texts: Andrea Finkelstein, 'Gerard de Malynes and Edward Misselden: The Learned Library of the Seventeenth-Century Merchant', *Book History* 3 (10 March 2000): 6, 11, 12.

[59] Gerbier, *To the Parliament*, 7-8.

[60] For instance, Bacon's *New Atlantis* allowed him to show the benefits the secret knowledge the 'above-ground mine' brought to the state: Atlantean spies travelled secretly throughout the world retrieving knowledge for the benefit of *Atlantis*, while 'Miners', tested it or made new experiments. Some of his essays were also a vehicle for such information, see: Bacon, *Major Works*, 341-490; Keller, 'Mining Tacitus', 199, 203. Cavendish likewise explored how secrets of art and nature could be harnessed by natural philosophers for the benefit of not only a single state but multiple worlds in her utopian works: Cavendish, *Political Writings*, 1–110; also, serving a function akin to Bacon's essays, 'Orations of Divers Sorts, Accommodates to Divers Places', also in *Political Writings*, 111–292.

[61] Balthazar Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*, 16-17, 22-23. Or, as he also remarked: '*Trop de Cuisineirs gattent le pottage,* Too many Cooks spoils the Broth': 24.

and…how to Represent' them, and 'would wish Builders to proceed in the contriving the Models of their intended Fabrick'.[62]

To represent his image of the ideal state he would create a model for society, creating 'a ground worke for the establishing of a new State' with foundations in the 'fabrick' of text rather than stone.[63] In these models, Gerbier would distil and preserve the *arcana imperii* he had gathered through his artistic and diplomatic travels through the courts and landscapes of Europe and through his scientific or social experimental projects. In a building, as Gerbier explained in his architectural treatises, the order, design and singularity of an architect's original plan could be preserved by clear lines of authority and construction management. In a model for society, Gerbier would prevent the dilution and mismanagement of its design by articulating his vision in models presented entirely through laws.

Fundamental Laws

Laws, whether in fictional utopian societies or realised/unrealised states, are ideological, reflecting the social order and vision of a governing authority or, to follow Gerbier's metaphor, the architect. Law itself is an ideal realm and reflects a given society's principles of justice and ethics. In this way, law and utopia are conceptually similar, since law 'already includes elements of idealisation serving utopian purposes' as Appelbaum wrote more broadly of political theory.[64] In practise, law-makers tend to approach issues of justice pragmatically, since they must act within the confines of the existing legal and judicial systems and according to socio-political structures and climate (particularly in legal systems that rely on precedents rather than a formal constitution, as in the tradition of English law), but in the planning of ideal societies the citizens, culture and political structures can be explicitly ordered and/or conceived to be as one with the law and the vision of its creator. As the creator of the foundational laws of these model states, Gerbier

[62] Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*, 16.
[63] Letter, 'Gerbier to George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, Feb 19 1649', MS Rawlinson C.254, 60r.
[64] Robert Appelbaum, *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3. Rawls' 'veil of ignorance', a conceit intended to derive the ideal system of justice also illustrates these conceptual similarities: John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Revised Ed (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 118.

both sat above and outside the law and defined his ideological vision through the law and laws.[65] Though his system of rule allows for the future establishment of new laws, it has no mechanism for the alteration of the 'fundamental laws', which are to be kept 'in perpetuity'.[66] Though his plans did not allow for their removal he may have envisaged their enhancement or increase, noting to the Second Duke of Buckingham that it was a model to which 'much can bee Added'.[67]

Gerbier's 'Project' may be the first example of a codified constitution for the New World, anticipating the American Constitution of 1787, in conceptual model if not in content. His 'Project' and 'Laws' established written and fixed fundamental laws ('les loix fondamentalles de l'Estat') that would guide his state and bind the actions of ruler(s) and citizens alike—a constitution in the modern rather than seventeenth century meaning of the term, in which fundamental laws were the supreme authority and could not be revoked by a monarch, Senate or superior court of law.

This was unlike other forms of law, such as the English common law which—though frequently referred to as 'fundamental' in the seventeenth century—was communally-created and evolving, or the laws of colonial Virginia and those later established by the *Fundamental Orders of Connecticut* (1639), the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* (1669) or *Fundamental Laws of West New Jersey* (1676), which—despite the nomenclature—were subject to debate and revision and could be removed wholesale by a revocation of the colonial/Royal Charter. As Daniel Hulsebosch observed, 'constitutional ideas and imperial expansion developed simultaneously and reciprocally' and the birth and growth of the British empire spawned debate about jurisprudence, dominion and colonial rule and rights.[68]

Exemplifying this, Gerbier sowed the seeds of empire even within his embryonic state plan, foreseeing the implications imperial expansion might have upon the sovereignty of his imagined/nascent state: 'The same laws will be observed religiously in any land conquered in the future…so that even though the State grows and increases it never

[65] For fundamental laws: Gerbier, 'Project', 72v; 'Loix', 36.
[66] Gerbier, 'Project', 72v; 'Loix', 36.
[67] Letter, 'Gerbier to George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, Feb 19 1649', MS Rawlinson C.254, 62r.
[68] Daniel J. Hulsebosch, 'The Ancient Constitution and the Expanding Empire: Sir Edward Coke's British Jurisprudence', *Law and History Review* 21, no. 3 (2003): 439-482, 443.

changes'.[69] He simultaneously squashed the possibly of notional independence or collaborative law-making for future colonies while fixing the fundamental laws of the 'home' state in aspic. While Gerbier's 'Project' and 'Laws' can usefully be contrasted with colonial projects—and he posited them as such to the Commonwealth Parliament and other European courts—they are not, strictly speaking, plans for any real or imagined English colony, but are rather plans for the erection of a new nation state that, once fully-established, would conquer other lands to create colonies of its own.

These models contribute to wider discussions about law reform, fundamental law and constitutions—issues that were heavily contested throughout the seventeenth century. Gerbier was an early proponent of fundamental law: in the modern sense of the term defined by John Gough as a 'framework of government, such as the Constitution of the United States' or laws which 'cannot be altered by or repealed by ordinary legislative procedure'.[70] The term had only gained traction in the early seventeenth century and was subject to much debate.[71] Contemporary Scotland and England had no fundamental and unchangeable laws that would be defined as such in the sense Gerbier accorded to his laws of state. There is only occasional mention of fundamental law in texts published in English before the late 1630s and most relate to French history, particularly the activities of the Catholic League of France in the late sixteenth century, or to discussions about the 1603 Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England.[72]

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[69] Gerbier, 'Project', 76v; 'Loix', 38.

[70] J. W. Gough, *Fundamental Law in English History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 2. Bilder argues that this was not even the initial intention of the writers of the constitution, i.e. a unified, monolithic text, and that this post-dated the convention of 1787, emerging across the next decade: Mary Sarah Bilder, 'The Ordeal and the Constitution', *The New England Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (6 May 2018): 130.

[71] See for example, Gough, *Fundamental Law*, passim. Gough gives a thorough account of its emergence and application in the early seventeenth century, its usage being quite different to modern understandings of the term, concluding that fundamental law in the modern (American) sense, 'has never been a part of English law': 212-213; see also Charles Howard McIlwain, 'The Fundamental Law behind the Constitution of the United States', in *Constitution Reconsidered*, ed. Conyers Read (Columbia University Press, 1938), 3–14. This shift in meaning is accompanied by evolving notions of constitutions and constitutionalism which transformed between the late-sixteenth and late-seventeenth centuries—often characterised as the shift from 'c' to 'C': Sarah Bilder, 'Constitutional Law'; Charles Howard McIlwain, *Constitutionalism Ancient and Modern*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Liberty Fund [Cornell University Press], 1947).

[72] This is based upon a search of Early English Books Online https://www.proquest.com/eebo and is therefore subject to the limitations of this collection. For the Catholic League, see for instance Antony Colynet, *The True History of the Ciuill Warres of France* (London: Thomas Orwin] for Thomas Woodcock, 1591), 287-293, 413; Anon., *An Answere to the Last Tempest and Villanie of the League, Vpon the Slanders Which Were Imprinted by the Same, against the French King* (London: T. Scarlet] for Cuthbert Burby, 1593), title page, 40-42; Thomas Wilcox and Pierre Leroy, *A Pleasant Satyre or Poesie Wherein Is Discouered the Catholicon of Spayne, and the*

To understand Gerbier's new, radical notion of fundamental laws, it is necessary to understand the context in which he was writing and the debates about fundamental law and constitutionalism that took place shortly before and long after his arrival in England. James' ascension to the English throne had spawned and spurred debates about the quality and origins of the two nations' laws, as well as constitutional arguments over the limits of monarchical and Parliamentary power and disagreement over who had the right to make and interpret the law. The King's ambition was to unify his people 'under one Monarch' but also to govern them 'by one Law'.[73] As commentators observed, this raised questions about each kingdom's 'fundamentall lawes' and whether these would be subsumed, retained or removed by the union—even, as John Thornborough noted, whether the oath made at the King's coronation to 'mainetaine auncient and fundamentall lawes' allowed him to 'alter any law' at all.[74] In support of the Union, Bacon encouraged James to be bold in his ambition to have 'uniformity in the Principal and fundamental Laws', to 'superinduce a new form' of polity that drew upon the wisdom of Tacitus and Machiavelli and was modelled on the 'fundamental laws of nature', rather than simply drifting into an easy but poor amalgam of kingdoms that would 'retain the ancient forms still severed, and only conjoined in Sovereignty'.[75]

Famously, Sir Edward Coke sought to constrain the power of the Crown in the early seventeenth century by invoking the collective authority of the common law, arguing that custom, reason and historical precedent superseded the authority of both monarch and Parliament. Coke believed that law should be the purview of the judiciary who were the most fit to make and interpret the law (above Parliament and the King, whom he considered least fit). This role was also customary in English law-making since the common law was, as Charles McIlwain later wrote, 'in the main the product of a court, not of a legislature, and its development was brought about through activities that are more accurately described as

Chiefe Leaders of the League (London: Printed by the widdow Orwin for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater-noster row at the signe of the Talbot, 1595). For Union of Crowns see below.

[73] James VI and I, *His Maiesties Speech to Both the Houses of Parliament, in His Highnesse Great Chamber at Whitehall, the Day of the Adiournement of the Last Session, Which Was the Last Day of March 1607* (London: Robert Barker, 1607), 12.

[74] John Hayward, *A Treatise of Vnion of the Two Realmes of England and Scotland* (London: F[elix] K[ingston] for C[uthbert] B[urby], 1604), 14; John Thornborough, *A Discourse Plainely Proving the Evident Utilitie and Urgent Necessitie of the Desired Happie Vnion of the Two Famous Kingdomes of England and Scotland by Way of Answer to Certaine Obiections against the Same* (London: Richard Field for Thomas Chard, 1604), 20.

[75] Bacon and Spedding, *Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, 3:90, 94, 97. This also relates to the notion of an 'above-ground mine' discussed above.

judicial rather than legislative'.[76] Coke, daringly, told King James that while he might be blessed with 'great endowments of nature', these did not extend to a judge's superior skills in 'artificial reason and judgment of law'.[77]

James strongly objected, contending that a King's role was not only to make and define law but to interpret it: '*Eius est explicare, cuius est condere* [it is for him who composes, to interpret]', while a judge's role was to state the law, not to make the law through interpretive declaratory comments or other means since a judge's 'Office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare*'.[78] (Parliament's desire to curtail the monarchs' own habit of passing laws by proclamation contributed to the repeal of sumptuary law in England, as discussed in chapter four). Gerbier departed from both views and approaches in the mechanisms he established for law-making. His model establishes a balance between King and Senate (his equivalent of Parliament) and removes legislative power from the judiciary. Gerbier's King could not make law without the assent and verification of two-thirds of the Senators and the Senate must create all laws in the King's name.[79] A separate supreme 'sovereign court of justice called Parliament' would judge criminal and civil cases in two chambers, creating a Parliament that was an administrative and judicial instrument of the Senate and Crown, rather than a legislative body in itself.[80] In this way, the legislature—the makers of the law (i.e. the Senate and its 'chief', the King), were separated from the judiciary—the interpreters and adjudicators of the law (the Parliament).

Though Gerbier shared Coke's ambition to place the law above and before all other forms of power and authority, he did not limit himself to any precedent or inherited system. Where Coke had to marshal and unify old laws and customs, Gerbier could create unalterable laws of his own devising to the same end. Coke collated these into a broad

[76] Charles Howard McIlwain, *The High Court of Parliament and Its Supremacy: An Historical Essay on the Boundaries between Legislation and Adjudication in England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1910), 44.
[77] Edward Coke quoted in J. D. Ford, 'Conciliar Authority and Equitable Jurisdiction in Early-Modern Scotland', in *Law and Authority in British Legal History, 1200-1900*, ed. Mark Godfrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 162.
[78] James VI and I, *His Maiesties speech to both the houses of Parliament, in his Highnesse great chamber at Whitehall, the day of the adiournement of the last session, which was the last day of March 1607*, London: Robert Barker, 1607, F (first quotation); James I, 'A Speech to the Lords and…March anno. 1609', 555 (second quotation); Ford, 'Conciliar Authority and Equitable Jurisdiction in Early-Modern Scotland', 162.
[79] Gerbier, 'Project', 64v, 65r; 'Loix', 30.
[80] Gerbier, 'Project', 73r-73v; 'Loix', 36. This is reminiscent of the English Parliament as described by McIlwain in *The High Court of Parliament*, in which he argued that the Parliament of the middle ages was more court than legislator, though he toned down his assertions in later works.

canon of common law in his 'frame of the ancient common laws of this realm'.[81] Due in part to his efforts, there was a revived interest in older bodies of law, such as *Magna Carta* and St Edward's 'Laws', which became pawns in constitutional debates across the century.[82] Pocock would later term this shifting canon, the 'ancient constitution', a misleading title, as Pocock later admitted, since it was not a constitution in the modern, or indeed Gerbian, sense—being neither fixed and written, agreed upon, nor indeed termed such by Coke.[83] Commentators often described the common law canon or 'ancient constitution' as the fundamental laws of the nation, sometimes in partnership with 'natural law', while others defined natural law or divine law as the fundamental law.

Gerbier's model highlights the ambiguity of the notion of fundamental law in the seventeenth century and heralds a conceptual change in the idea of a constitution. When Gerbier writes that his monarch would be judged a tyrant and sequestered if he was 'duly convicted of having wanted to ruin the fundamental laws of the State', it might seem that he is simply replicating the charges brought against Charles: that the King 'hath had a wicked Design totally to Subvert the Ancient and Fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation'.[84] Yet, despite their similarity the two charges are qualitatively different.

In Britain, despite their purported existence, there was no consensus as to what the fundamental laws might be, nor was there agreement, even among 'common-law men' about the extent to which the law (fundamental or otherwise) had authority over King or Parliament, whether it could bind them, be amended or even overturned. For instance, the

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[81] Edward Coke, preface, to *The Ninth Part of the Reports of Sir Edward Coke*, ed. John Fraser (London, 1826), iv, quoted in Hulsebosch, 'The Ancient Constitution and the Expanding Empire', 445.

[82] Garnett, 'Sir Edward Coke's Resurrection of Magna Carta'; Foxley, 'Magna Carta and Seventeenth-Century Politics'; Janelle Renfrow Greenberg, *The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution: St. Edward's 'Laws' in Early Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2001); Gough, *Fundamental Law*, 30–79.

[83] The term gained popularity in the 1690s, e.g. James Tyrrell, *Bibliotheca Politica: Or An Enquiry into the Ancient Constitution of the English Government* (London: R. Baldwin, 1694); James Tyrrell, *A Brief Enquiry into the Ancient Constitution and Government of England as Well in Respect of the Administration, as Succession Thereof* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1695); Robert Ferguson, *A Letter to Mr. Secretary Trenchard Discovering a Conspiracy against the Laws and Ancient Constitution of England: With Reflections on the Present Pretended Plot* (London: s.n., 1694). For further on the 'ancient constitution' see Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*; Glen Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution. An Introduction to English Political Thought* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992); J. P. Sommerville, 'The Ancient Constitution Reassessed', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 39–64; Greenberg, *Radical Face*.

[84] Gerbier, 'Project', 63v-64r; Gerbier, 'Loix', 28. Also, 'January 1649: An Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England', in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 1253-1255.

legal scholar and antiquarian, John Selden, cited by Pocock as a believer in 'the supremacy of the common law over all other forms of law in England', argued that Parliament had the authority to 'alter any part of the Magna Carta', a key document of common law and often argued to be 'fundamental'.[85] Consequently, depending on their understanding of the term, contemporaries could interpret the crimes of the men charged with the subversion of 'fundamental law' to be of a quite different or uncertain nature, and beyond or within the purview of Parliament or the King. Even Parliamentarians hearing the charges were not always clear about their meaning. According to Gardiner, during the trial of Strafford, who was charged with 'intending the subversion of the fundamental Laws' of both Ireland and England and of 'arrogat[ing] to himself a Power above the Fundamental Laws', the poet Edmund Waller 'got to the heart of the matter by asking what *were* the fundamental laws'?—he was promptly told that 'if he did not know that, he had no business to sit in the house'.[86] The answer was hardly edifying.

By contrast, in Gerbier's imagined states, the charges against a tyrannical monarch were specific and meaningful, an accusation could list and define the exact fundamental laws that had been broken or subverted and—since the supreme authority of the law over the King/Senate was embedded in the founding articles of the state—constitutional authority would be undisputed. McIlwain proposed that the fear of 'arbitrary rule [Americans] had suffered under as colonists' shaped the form and fundamental laws of the US Constitution; Gerbier likewise, responding to the arbitrary rule of Charles I and writing just months after the regicide, sought to do similar.[87] Gerbier projected a modern form of constitution that sought to alter rather than replicate the jurisprudence of England or Scotland. In doing so, he elevated the position of law within the system of governance making it anterior to all other forms of authority or power.

Gerbier's desire for the reform of jurisprudence and the laws themselves was shaped and informed by other commentators and reformers. In the same letter to Hartlib of

[85] Pocock, *Ancient Constitution,* 286, 296; Glen Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution. An Introduction to English Political Thought* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), 58; Selden's speech of 19 April quoted in J. P. Sommerville, 'The Ancient Constitution Reassessed', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 51.

[86] My emphasis. S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642*, ix. 336, quoted in Gough, *Fundamental Law,* Note A, 214; John Rushworth, 'The articles against Strafford' in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 8, 1640-41*, (London: D Browne, 1721), 61-101.

[87] McIlwain, 'Fundamental Law', 4.

October 1648 in which Gerbier noted that he had written his 'little Treaty' for Florida, Gerbier mentioned seeing the anonymously-authored, *An Experimentall Essay Touching the Reformation of the Lawes of England* (1648); it clearly inspired him and he noted that his mind continued to 'pray on that Essay'.[88] The tract argued that:

> The whole Matter of all Lawes, is by Lawyers divided into Things, Persons, and Actions: by Things, they meane that which Men really have and possesse of Goods and Lands: Persons are differenced according to their severall Conditions in the Common-wealth, and so have severall Legall Capacities, which Nature hath not produced; those which are differences in Nature cannot be taken away, but the other may in reference to the Lawes, though such Distinctions may remaine still in Common acception: And by Actions are meant the wayes and meanes to acquire their Right, by Processe of Law, according to Bargaines, Contracts, Deeds, Wills, Trespasses, and Matters concerning the Pleas of the Crowne, about Felonies, Treasons, and Matters of the Peace. If these Three Generall Matters were reduced to their true naturall Singlenesse, a short roome would containe all the Lawes of any Common-wealth or Kingdome.[89]

Gerbier adopted this model and the laws presented in his *Project* and *Loix* correspond to the categories and conform to the brevity recommended in this extract (though the content of the laws in the *Essay* and Gerbier's texts do not always agree). This suggests that the original structure of the 'little Treaty', originally written 'some time past', was revised to follow this new design.[90] The tract went on to argue that the English system of Common Law had resulted in an unnecessary proliferation of laws, 'to the pusling of all the people that are not lawyers' and that the language of the laws was obfuscating and unnecessary: the language 'should be short and plaine as could be, without the nice words, and Tautologies' which characterised the current statutes.[91] Gerbier, likewise adopted straightforward language, with little repetition. However, this may not have been inspired

[88] Gerbier, 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A-19B; Impartiall well-willer to the peace and well-beeing of all [Anon.], *An Experimentall Essay Touching the Reformation of the Lawes of England Anno 1648. By an Impartiall Well-Willer to the Peace and Well-Beeing of All* (London: Matthew Simmons, 1648).
[89] Anon, *Reformation of the Lawes,* 1.
[90] Gerbier 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A.
[91] Ibid., 5.

by the *Essay* alone since he developed his own theories about language and vocabulary for his Academy and recommended adopting plain language in construction projects; for instance, in his architectural treatises he consciously adopted the vernacular terms commonly used by construction workers for Classical ornament and the architectural orders: using 'such workmen-like termes, as may serve for a Clark of the works to speak unto them'.[92]

Though there is a conceptual intersection between law and utopia (each create idealised and imaginary spaces, agents, actions, and causes that are defined by their authors), Gerbier's ideal laws—like the *Essay's* recommendations—were not created purely as an intellectual exercise or instructional 'secret'. Like his architectural models, the texts encompassed the vision of a larger project in miniature, with the intention that they would be realised in full scale at a later time.[93] With the *Project,* Gerbier's intent was to provide a ready-made constitution for the new sovereign state ruled by the Duke(s) of Buckingham, and, though his *Loix* are for an imaginary state with no corresponding real-world location, the *Arcana Imperii/Republicae* contained in them were likewise intended for real-world application, set as it was within a manuscript of other 'very rare and useful' secrets.[94] The two texts therefore created a broadly unified societal model (they are, to some degree, interchangeable), which was simultaneously destined for an imaginary location and a real place: nowhere/anywhere and America. The actual geographical location in the Americas frequently shifted in Gerbier's ideation, displaying a concept of real space that was as imaginary as utopian space, as discussed further below.

Machiavelli, commenting upon the creation of a 'new republic', observed that a 'sculptor finds it easier to make a fine sculpture out of a rough block of marble than out of

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[92] Gerbier, *Counsel and Advise*, 103. In his *Counsel's* dedication to John Roberts, Baron of Truro, n.p., he describes his 'language [as]…the phrase of Mechanicks'. Most architectural treatises before Gerbier's applied the Latin or Greek terms for Classical ornament and, therefore, for many construction terms in the *Oxford English Dictionary* Gerbier is the sole authority. For further, see Charles David, 'Commentary on Balthazar Gerbier's Counsel and Advise to All Builders'. FONTES Sources and Documents for the History of Art 1350–1750, Issue 8, 2008, http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2008/546.

[93] Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*, 16.

[94] The full title is: *Secretum virtutis et scientiarum speculum / Miroir de la vertu. Et quelque secrets utiles aux Princes Et aux Peuples. / Formulaire Touchant l'Art de la Plume et D'un language et Chifre secret; tres utile aux Princes, du Desseing, de la Geometrie, de l'Architecture militaire, de la Perspective, Cosmographie, Geographie, Minnature, Peinture, Architecture, et de la Philosophie naturelle experimentale, en exemples de secrets, tres rares et utiles*, title page.

one that has been poorly worked on by somebody else'.[95] Gerbier likewise perceived the New World as a piece of unworked marble that could be modelled and carved into an ordered society. Europe, in contrast, was a body so riddled with disease and corruption that it could not be healed or helped: 'Some boddies are so accustommed to feede on fleames and ill humors that iff a Phisician should undertake to take them away the Boddy would fall into some other distemper', and one is reminded of Vaughan's conception of the Old World as diseased and 'outworne'.[96] Gerbier, consequently, grumbled to Hartlib that his model society had found 'no undertakers' at the Palatin Court, concluding that 'greate alterations have theire greate Inconveniencies…[and that] most men beeing sett on the old track, to runne and rubb on in the usuall boulling greene'.[97] He also quoted Cardinal Richelieu, who, in answer to a 'commonswealths man' demanding Church reforms, observed that 'it would prove more facile to forme a new World then to reforme the Old' (echoing Machiavelli).[98] A similar idea was again espoused in the *Reformation of the Lawes of England*, which conflated/(mis)quoted the ideas of Machiavelli and 'Sir Francis Bacon [who] saith, the best way to Reforme a Common-wealth without disturbance, is, to reduce it to its first Principles, or Primitive Order'.[99] Gerbier would look to the past to consider the basis of his new state; to ask what the essential principles of a society were, or should be; and how these ideals could be embedded in simple and concise laws as the *Lawes* tract had recommended?

The 'first Principles, or Primitive Order'

Gerbier saw nobility as the basis of his society. The character and order of the new state would be defined and spearheaded by its nobles, who would be archetypes of virtue and honour, fashioned and constrained through regulation; they would also rule the state and own the land. At its foundation would be three hierarchical, chivalric Orders of Knighthood, which, with a just and sovereign King at the helm, would provide the embryonic

[95] Niccolò Machiavelli and David Wootton, *Selected Political Writings*, ed. and trans. David Wootton (Hackett Publishing, 1994), at 115; Campbell, 'Gerbier's Utopian Dreams'. Also echoed in Bacon's observation in 'Of Regiment of Health', that 'it is a Secret, both in Nature, and State; That it is safer to change Many Things, then one', *Major Works*, 404.
[96] Gerbier, 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A. For Vaughan, see chapter one.
[97] Ibid., 10/2/19A-B.
[98] Ibid, 10/2/19/A.
[99] Anon, *Reformation of the Lawes of England,* 5.

new state with a point of origin and guiding first principles.[100] As discussed, these designs—laid out in a 'sommary description to which much can bee Added'—had been altered following Charles I's execution for tyranny and treason.[101] In Gerbier's state, no sovereign could be executed by the state for any reason, nor his title removed, though he could be sequestered under specific circumstances.[102] In the letter to the second Duke of Buckingham that accompanied his American *Project*, Gerbier blamed Charles I's fate chiefly on the poor counsel he was given.[103] Gerbier's idealised monarch would not be so poorly served, but neither would his authority be unconstrained. By limiting the power of the King and barring all but members of the Orders of Knighthood from power in his new states, Gerbier devised a strengthened nobility who would provide wise and good counsel to a King who would rule justly even if, like Charles I, he were 'subject to personal infirmities'.[104] The two designs thus suggest Gerbier was a monarchist and possibly a Royalist but, having witnessed Charles' 'personal infirmities' at close hand, he was no absolutist.

Before examining the character and definition of the ideal monarch and nobles that would provide the foundation for Gerbier's new states, we must consider the context in which Gerbier was writing and framing his thoughts about society's 'first principles'. He may have begun formulating his ideas following his 1623 trip with Buckingham and the King in pursuit of the Spanish Match between Charles I and the Infanta, as this was when he later claimed he and Buckingham had first uncovered the secret to the 'act of making off gold by a pouder of production'; but we can confirm he had submitted complete designs for a utopian society, 'composed and rulled as a Musike booke' to the Palatinate Court at some point in the 1640s and revised these in early 1649 in the midst of Civil War.[105]

However, only minor alterations were made to the *Project* of 1649 to create the *'Laws'* of 1654, across which time England was living under a republican Commonwealth.

[100] Gerbier, 'Project', 69r-v, 70r; 'Loix', 32-33.
[101] Letter, 'Gerbier to George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, Feb 19 1649', MS Rawlinson C.254, 62r.
[102] He could be sequestered if he subverted the fundamental laws of the State; altered the (one) religion; or had princes unlawfully killed. In the 'Loix' were added to these the rape of noblewomen and entering into 'unjust wars without the support of the Senate, to the ruin of the State'. Gerbier, 'Project', 63v-64r; Gerbier, 'Loix', 28.
[103] Letter, 'Gerbier to George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, Feb 19 1649', MS Rawlinson C.254, 60r-61v.
[104] 'Gerbier to George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, Feb 19 1649', 62r.
[105] For gold, see 'A summary relation of Sr Balthasar Gerbiers proceedings since this Parliaments assembly and his finall ends thereby' 1 March, 1652[3] [in Gerbier's hand], fol. 307v-307r, Additional Manuscripts 32093, fols. 304-307, British Library, London. For the submission to Palatine court, see 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A.

The change in government had little impact on his vision, and the form of rule in the two texts is largely unaltered. This may give us the best indication of Gerbier's views on the conflicts that had ravaged the country over the best form of government, since contradictory reports have made it difficult to ascertain his position. Ultimately, we cannot know whether Gerbier had any loyalty to any cause but his own, but it is perhaps his familiarity with playing both sides, and attempting to satisfy both, that induced him to see the ideal state as one that was strictly ordered and balanced—retaining a king but curbing the excesses of royal power and authority and strengthening the power of the nobility. As he insisted in 1661, '[I] cannot be unsworne, neither to king nor Parliament'.[106]

Gerbier's desire to shape a new and powerful nobility was undoubtedly informed by his experience in the courts of Europe across several decades, during which time—and in spite of his dubious reputation—he developed long relationships with nobles and royals including the Prince and Princess of Condé, the Countess of Clare, and the Winter Queen, Elizabeth of Bohemia, to whom he owed his engagement as the architect of Hamstead Marshall, a house built for her by Lord Craven (later a Lord Proprietor of Carolina). There is a sense that he was seduced by the glamour of the powerful nobles and royals he liaised with during this time and the romance of the intrigues he was party to, and he constantly stresses the secrets to which he was privy. His sorrow at later being shut out of this glamorous world is apparent in the eulogy he penned for himself in his later years, 'For my last Earthly Habitation', in which he relates his efforts on behalf of Buckingham and Charles I, notes the treaties and negotiations he carried out in the 'Courts of Princes', and boasts that he had 'seene all the Pompe which the European courts could afforde'.[107] Yet, he bemoaned that it was all for naught, since 'all his travills, attendances, Negotiations,

[106] Gerbier, 'Summary Contents of Sir Balthazar Gerbier His Papers', f. 191r.

[107] Balthazar Gerbier, 'For my last Earthly Habitation' fol. 5v. in 'Genealogie de messire Bathazire Gerbier Chevalier de l'Esperon d'Or. Baron d'Ouily Gentilhomme de la Chambre ... Grand Mtre des Ceremonies, et Introducteur des Ambassadeurs ay Toy de la Grande Bretagne, [1640?]', CLE M6, Clements Collection, National Art Library, London. The 'Genealogie', formerly in the collection of Horace Walpole, is listed in the catalogue as a printed book with a suggested date of 1640 but it is in fact a series of manuscripts bound together, many of which were written at a far later date, some as late as 1662. The 'Genealogie' itself was authored and illuminated in 1638 by 'the Heralds of Arms of his Catholic Majesty in Brussels' but the greater part is in Gerbier's hand and includes eulogies and prayers for himself and various family members as well as 'Secrets' collated in discrete but appended collections, which were intended for his children after his death.

Indefatigable Labours, and Residencies, ended in Calamaties', concluding sadly that at the end there was 'nothing left to him save his memory, to call to minde what hee had bin'.[108]

Gerbier's fascination with nobles, and his preoccupation with the ideal of nobility and its visual, spatial and material representation, were fundamentally intertwined. This worldview is evinced throughout his works, whether in his thirty-five-page catalogue of the European Orders of Nobility (within a pocket-sized travel guide); his two architecture manuals which stress that buildings should serve the needs and reflect the magnificence of their noble inhabitant; his 'Genealogie', which provided the evidence for his claims to a Baronetcy (he often styled himself Baron D'Ouvily); or in his illuminated, holographic, folio manuscript detailing the coats of arms, robes and brief histories of the nobility and royalty of Europe, of which 200 pages feature ink-and-watercolour illustrations, including 'Pavilions of Honour' for England, France and Rome (e.g. figs. 54-56).[109]

Nobility was the foundation stone of Gerbier's vision for a new society and the three Orders of Knighthood were its central pillars (explicitly so: the second order was called the Order of the Columns).[110] The Orders of chivalry would impart the sense of (elite) tradition and history Gerbier considered necessary to nationhood; embody the essential virtues of nobility, attesting to their natural and rightful authority over the lower orders; and would furnish the state with a ruling landed-elite. A key reason to establish new ranks and noble bloodlines in the New World was to prevent the collapse of a social hierarchy based on

[108] Gerbier, 'For my last Earthly Habitation', fol. 5v.

[109] Balthazar Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus, or, An Assistance to a Traveller* (Oxford: Robert Gascoigne, 1665), 34-69; Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to Builders*; Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*; Gerbier, 'Genealogie'; Balthazar Gerbier, MS PL 2939, 'Armoiries Royales (Tant Anciennes Que Modernes) Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier', n.d. Pepys Library, Cambridge. The manuscript is undated, but it contains a large portrait of Charles II on page 115 and a brief account of the reign of Charles I and Charles II's restoration to the throne, which has been pasted over an earlier passage (fig. 56) so we can judge it was begun pre-1660 and revised sometime after May 1660 and 1661 (and no later than 1663 when Gerbier died). It may originally have been created when Gerbier was made Master of Ceremonies in May 10, 1641 but it seems likely, following its revision, that it was intended as a gift for Charles II to support Gerbier's request to keep the patent he still held for the Master of Ceremonies role at the time of the Restoration, which he lost to his former assistant Sir Charles Cotterell in 1661; see: 'Charles I - volume 482: July 1641', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1641-3,* ed. William Douglas Hamilton (London, 1887), 53, 66; 'Charles II - volume 23: December 1-18, 1660', 415; 'Charles II - volume 31: February 19-28, 1661', 522, in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1660-1*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1860). MS PL 2939 was obtained by Pepys ca. 1680s, as can be established from the type of binding and number of pencil annotations marking its movement within Pepys' library, which he catalogued according to height. Thank you to Catherine Sutherland, Pepys Library, for this information.

[110] Gerbier, 'Project', 69v; 'Loix', 35.

these: if there were no identifiable ranks, how would society be ordered? A hierarchy based on brutishness, money, or other undesirable factors?

The greater part of both texts attends to the power, offices, lands, and laws pertaining to the knights of the Order and their families (the King also being a Knight of the first Order). Property was directly connected to the order of nobility: all land would be divided among the King and his fellow knights of the brotherhood of the first Order, the Order of the Star, and the King would call them ‘cousins’, while they would be ‘brother’ to



Fig. 54: Balthazar Gerbier, 'Robes of the Kings of France, England and Scotland', in 'Armoiries Royales (Tant Anciennes Que Moderns) Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier', MS PL 2939, 5. By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.



Fig. 55: Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1663), Pavillion of Emperors of the Occident, in 'Armoiries Royales (Tant Anciennes Que Moderns) Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier' , MS PL 2939, 49. By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.



Fig. 56: Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1663), Arms and brief histories of the Stuarts, in 'Armoiries Royales (Tant Anciennes Que Moderns) Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier', MS PL 2939, 147. By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

one another.[111] The fraternal, familial, language used within the order contrasts with that of those outside the order who must use different titles—terms that recognise their subservience and acknowledge the superiority and honour of the knights. To non-brothers Knights of the Star would be 'Princes' or 'Peers' since 'They will be all equal in quality and in power': a title that reveals an insularity and indifference to the personhood of commoners since anyone calling them such will not be their peer.[112]

In the *Project,* the Princes were to be drawn from the 'principle actors in the enterprise' (Buckingham's notional co-investors in the new state), while the Princes in the less-commercial, utopian 'Laws' were the 'principal authors of the establishment of the monarchy'.[113] Membership of the first and second Orders, once established, would be hereditary and perpetual (though prevented from increase through primogeniture); and where the male line died out, lands and titles would return to the State to allow the King to reward virtue.[114] This also created a pathway to knighthood for commoners who might be made a Knight of the third order, the Order of the Shield, if they 'performed an act of virtue, either with arms or by some great service to the State'.[115] Though narrow, this path allowed for social advancement; a Knight of the Shield's descendants would also be noble (descending through a system of primogeniture, as in England) and could ascend to the second order: the Order of Columns.[116] The Senate, also called the Grand Council, would be comprised of Knights of the first and second order (on three-year rotation) who were obliged to swear fealty to the King and would be '*dépendront pur luy seul* [dependent on him alone]'.[117] However, all aspects of governance and justice required ratification by two-thirds of the Knights, limiting the power of the King.[118] Gerbier, having served James VI and I and known Charles I for three decades, had experienced the practical realities of the Stuart

[111] Gerbier, 'Project', 66r, 69r; 'Loix', 30-32.
[112] Ibid.
[113] '*Les autres douzes seront distribuees a douze personnages des Principaulx Autheurs de l'entreprise*': Gerbier, 'Project', 66r; '*Les autres douses seront distribuées à douse personnages, des principaux auteurs de l'établissement de ceste nouvelle Monnarchie*': Gerbier, 'Loix', 31.
[114] Gerbier, 'Project', 66r, 67r; 'Loix', 31.
[115] '*Nul n'y sera receu qui n'ait faict auparauant quelque acte signal de vertu, soit par les armes ou quelque grand service rendu à l'Etat'*: Gerbier, 'Loix', 33; 'Project', 70r.
[116] Gerbier, 'Loix', 33: '*qui que ce soit y poura parvenir de quelque condition qu'il soit auparauant; et quiconque y parviendra sera Noble, et sa postérité* [anyone will be able to become a member of this order whatever their previous condition, and thereafter they will become noble, as will their posterity].
[117] Gerbier, 'Project', 63r; 'Loix', 28.
[118] Gerbier, 'Project', 64v, 65r; 'Loix', 30.

kings' belief in Divine Right and ensured power in his new states could not be manipulated to serve an absolutist sovereign by enshrining this in unalterable fundamental laws ('*les loix fondamentalles de l'Estat*'); as discussed, an attempt to alter these foundational laws was one of the circumstances under which a king could be removed from power and sequestered.[119]

Gerbier's ambition for society to be led by and rooted in the virtues of an exclusive order, brotherhood or society was one he shared with others of the period. A range of exclusionary, predominantly male-only, groups or brotherhoods emerged across the seventeenth century, which sought to provide society with leadership in government, religion, knowledge, or literary culture. What these disparate groups shared was their belief in the right of their chosen group to take precedence in the social hierarchy and a desire to redefine or reinscribe the social order. This was founded on claims that the select few were the sole holders of secret knowledge, or possessors of unique qualities or virtues, which justified their superior position in society. The group were characterised as special or ideal, providing a model for humanity just as model constitutions and utopias were intended as models for society. They included utopian brotherhoods, academies, colleges, secret societies and orders of nobility: groups that often had overlapping interests and members.[120]

Like Gerbier, these groups wished to confine power to a socio-cultural elite: the nobility and/or monarchy, or the intellectual, sometimes spiritual, elite. Those wishing society to be led by a scientific elite frequently drew on the texts of Francis Bacon, Jan Amos Comenius, Johann Valentin Andreae, and the Hartlib circle, of which Gerbier was a peripheral member in the late 1640s. A number of these utopian fraternities or networks believed they could regain the wisdom of the Biblical Patriarchs that had been lost to humanity with The Fall through scientific experiment, alchemy or natural magic, while some were also millenarians, believing they could bring about the second coming through their

[119] Gerbier, 'Project', 63v-64r; Gerbier, 'Loix', 28. See also, fn. 90.

[120] See for instance: Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*; David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710*, 1st pbk. e (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); George Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius; Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (London and Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool; Hodder and Stoughton, 1947).

endeavours.[121] Others, like Gerbier, seeking to bolster a hierarchy of rank, endeavoured to restore or redefine the ideals of chivalry and nobility in English society. Some did so by publishing tracts on the true nature or dissolution of nobility, others through the creation of Academies for the education of the nobility (as did Gerbier) or by attempting to establish control over the literary and historical culture and education of the nation.[122]

Shifting Mottoes and the Metaphor of Light

Gerbier repeatedly used metaphors of light to emphasise the powerful emulative role naturally played by those in authority, especially the nobility. His Order of the Star embodied this, and he revised the mottoes associated with this Order several times over six years. Each related to light and drew on a rich cultural tradition. Analogies of light were frequently employed in the idealised representation of elite social groups and individuals in this period, whether describing a royal, noble or spiritual and/or intellectual elite.[123] The metaphor of light is similar to Rosencrantz's description of 'majesty' in *Hamlet* as 'a massy wheel / Fixed on the summit of the highest mount, / To whose huge spokes ten thousand lesser things / Are mortised and adjoined'.[124] Radial geometry was commonly used in post-Renaissance Europe to represent centralised power: in literature, portraiture, in the design of masques, in the design of landscape gardens, as at Badminton (fig. 57), or in city plans, as in Wren's masterplan for the reconstruction of Post-Fire London (fig. 58).

Light, however, is a particularly powerful, positive, metaphor for centralised power as it not only radiates outwards from a central source, it illuminates, penetrating the

[121] See Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*; Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*, especially chapters four and five; James A Bennett, Scott Mandelbrote, and Bodleian Library, *The Garden, the Ark, the Tower, the Temple: Biblical Metaphors of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Museum of the History of Science in association with the Bodleian Library, 1998).

[122] For instance, Linda Van Norden, 'The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries' (University of California, Los Angeles, 1946); Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*, 184, Appendix C, 257–58; Edmund Bolton, *Elements of Armories* (London: George Eld, 1610); Edmund Bolton, 'Academ Roial', Add. 39,177, British Library, London; Edmund Bolton, 'The Proposition in Parliament concerning and Academ Royal', Harleian 6143, British Library, London; Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*, 184 and Appendix C, 257-58.

[123] Vaughan for instance uses them throughout Vaughan, *Militant*, e.g. there are too many references to spiritual light of God/Jesus/Church/Bible to enumerate, but he also refers to the light of nobility: 'A Noble Minde surmounts a Noble Birth; But who hath Both-shines like Sunne on Earth': A4r, the light of great learning 167, 177, and of monarchy 295-6.

[124] Hamlet Act 3, scene 3.

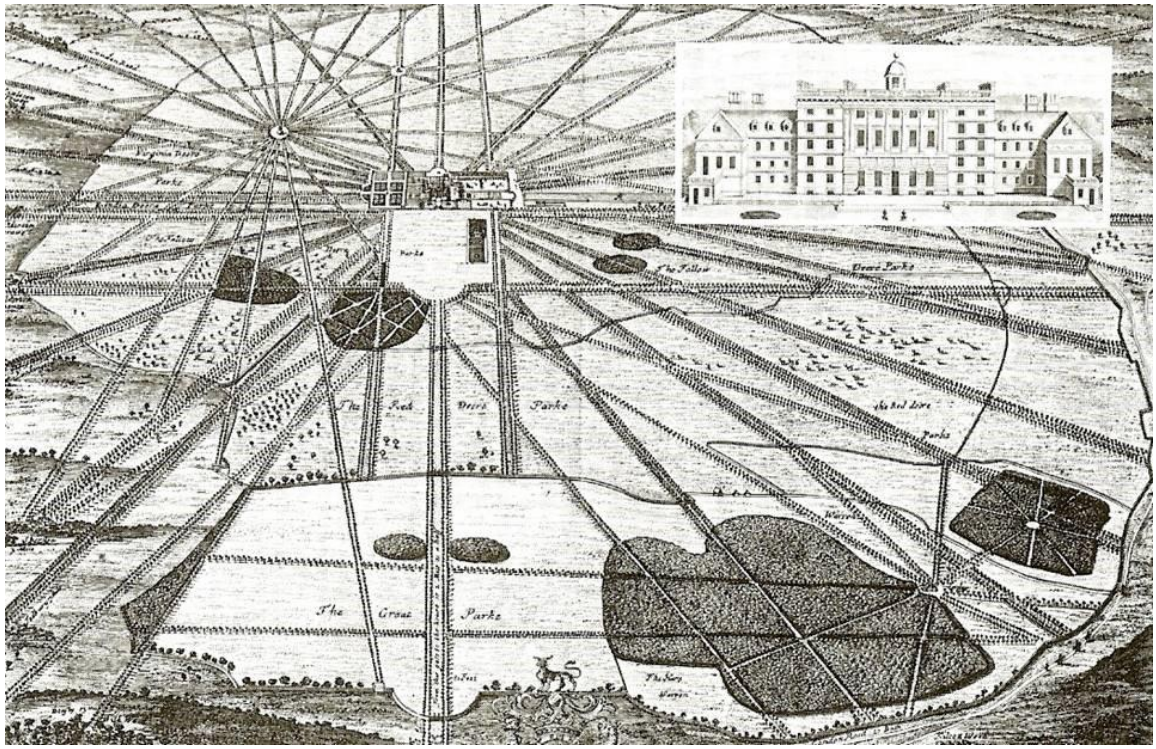


Fig. 57: Pierre Van Der Aa (1659-1733), Engraving of Badminton House and Estate, Gloucestershire, England, in Estates of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1727 (Antique Prints Engravings by County, Heatons of Tisbury, 2014).

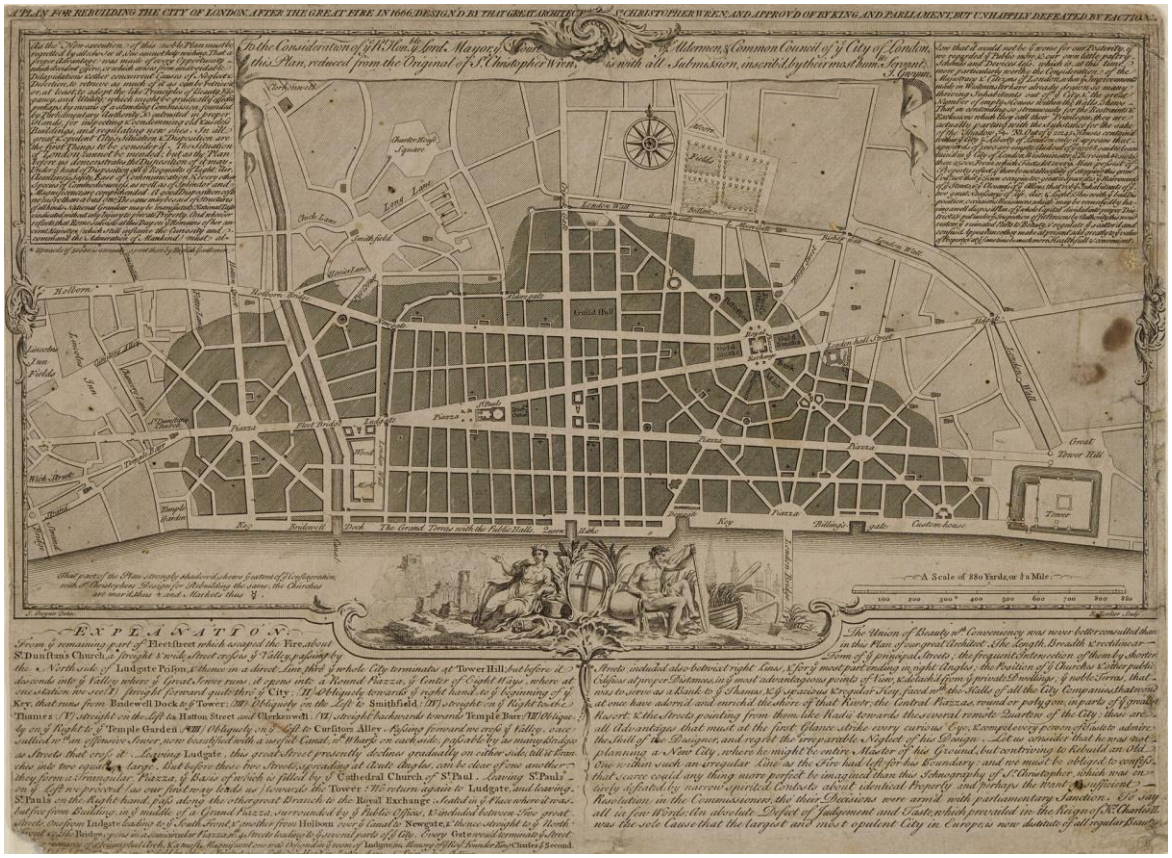


Fig. 58: Christopher Wren (1632-1723), 'Plan for rebuilding the City of London following the Great Fire of 1666'. By permission of the British Library

darkness. Images of single-source radial light were, therefore, extremely popular in portrayals of nobility and monarchy. As such, the sundial was a favourite analogy of Gerbier's and one that he used repeatedly across five decades. In a dedication addressed to the newly-formed Commonwealth Parliament, which introduced his *Art of Well Speaking* (1650), Gerbier professed that the work 'shall bee in imitation of those who having little pocket Watches subject to faile in their Motions, and to bee out of course, are repaired and set in order again; by the Sunne which cannot faile in his splendor, nor his Motion. You are this day… the light of the State'.[125] In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham in which he related King James' desire to be sent Gerbier's miniature of Villiers (possibly fig. 46), he wrote 'I have painted on the lid of the box [containing the miniature] the emblem of the sun-dial, the hand of which turns continually towards the pole-star, with these words, *undecumque ad idem*; signifying that your Excellency though absent and transported to distant lands—that your heart and soul, unchangeable turn and aspire towards his Majesty continually'.[126] In a culture in which livelihood was dependent upon patronage, flattering dedicatory remarks were commonplace, but Gerbier's illustrations of the ideal of nobility and monarchy as a model for humanity permeate every aspect of his literary and artistic outpourings and, as a repeated choice, the analogy suggests insight into Gerbier's view of the social order: that those of rank should be positioned at the centre of society and it was the duty and blessing of those below them to be held in order and guided by them.

Consequently, the nobles and monarch Gerbier conceived for his new state were not only exemplary but radiant: the 'king was to be a goodly glorious brave shinning Lyon without Nailles and without Teeth. The knights of his order to have for theire motto So lett your light shine before men'.[127] It is worth noting that Gerbier's 'shinning Lyon' king must be 'goodly' and 'glourious' but he has no teeth, his is the toothless power of an inspiring figurehead. Nonetheless the lion-king shines like the sun, a symbolic portrayal of monarchy that had been used to great effect by successive monarchs. Elizabeth I, James VI and I,

[125] Balthazar Gerbier, *The Art of Well Speaking Being a Lecture Read Publiquely at Sr. Balthazar Gerbiers Academy*. London: Robert Ibbitson, 1650, A2r. The publication was not met with universal acclaim (see above) though some believed he possessed a 'prodigious confidence of address': Walpole, 'Anecdotes of Painting', 191; Herbert P. Horne, 'The Venture of Sir Balthasar Gerbier, Knight, Sometime Master of the Ceremonies to King Charles the First; Cap. 1', *Hobby Horse*, 1893.

[126] 'Balthasar Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham', London, 25 March, 1623' in Goodman and Brewer, *King James*, 260-267; 263. He reused the sundial metaphor again in 'To Charles II' in *A Sommary Description*, 1660, A and to Prince James, Duke of Monmouth in *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, A5r.

[127] Gerbier 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A.

Charles I, Charles II, and later, most famously, by Louis XIV, the 'Sun King', used solar symbolism in their artistic self-representations, within portraits, masques and ballets, often embodying the sun or Apollo, the sun god, in performances of court displays, masques or ballets (e.g. figs. 59 and 60).[128] Gerbier later wrote of the need to make these artificial representations as realistic as possible to enhance their immersive dramatic effect and symbolic power, 'as that the Spectators may think those sights to be naturall operations. The Sun, Moon, and Stars, no Past-board devices, but so represented, as that they may dazzle the Eyes of Spectators'.[129] Solar symbolism also appeared in building design, architectural ornament, designed landscapes, sermons and heraldry; Charles I embellished the St George Cross of the Garter Badge with a sunburst and Louix XVI adopted the sun as his emblem in 1661.[130]

Yet in Gerbier's 'Project' and 'Laws', rather than the 'shinning lyon' king alone radiating light, it is primarily the wider nobility who embody the sun shining its light on humanity. As with the sundial metaphor which was a variation of the same, Gerbier engaged with the notion repeatedly, scattering references to the guiding light of nobility throughout his texts. Light was a pervasive and flexible metaphor that was effective on different scales and in reference to different aspects of nobility. In T. W.'s lengthy book title it is used to express the greater honour of a nation as a whole: *Englandes bright honour shining through the darke disgrace of Spaines Catholicon. Seruing as a cleare lantherne, to giue light to the whole world, to guide them by; and let them see, the darke and crooked packing, of Spaine, and Spanish practises*.[131]

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[128] See for instance, Charles I as Apollo in oil by Gerrit Van Honthurst (1590-1656), 'Apollo and Diana', 1628, Royal Collections Trust, RCIN 405746; James Shirley, *The Triumph of Peace· A Masque* (London: Iohn Norton, for William Cooke, 1634); William Davenant, *Luminalia, or The Festivall of Light Personated in a Masque at Court, by the Queenes Majestie, and Her Ladies. On Shrovetuesday Night, 1637* (London: Iohn Haviland for Thomas Walkley, 1638); Russell West-Pavlov, *Spatial Representations and the Jacobean Stage: From Shakespeare to Webster* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), see chapter 2 'The Sun King: James I and the Court Masque', 59-81; Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 155-158, 163.

[129] Gerbier, *Brief Discourse*, 1662, 39–40.

[130] A 1620 sermon by the Bishop of London described James' as 'the body of the King, the morning & mid-day influence of that glorious Sun': John King, *A Sermon at Paules Crosse, on Behalfe of Paules Church, March 26. 1620. By the B. of London. Both Preached and Published by His Majesties Commandment* (London, 1620), 43; Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 155–88.

[131] T.W., *Englandes Bright Honour Shining through the Darke Disgrace of Spaines Catholicon. Seruing as a Cleare Lantherne, to Giue Light to the Whole World, to Guide Them by; and Let Them See, the Darke and Crooked Packing, of Spaine, and Spanish Practises. Discour* (London: The Widow Orwin and John Deane, 1602).



Fig. 59: Henri Gissey (C. 1621-73), costume design for Louis XIV in the guise of Apollo for his court debut, from a copy of the ballet made by R. Ballard in 1653. Public Domain.



Fig. 60: Elizabeth I as sun queen and bringer of hope: the inscription reads ‘Non sine sole iris ‘No rainbow without the sun’. (She is holding a rainbow). Isaac Oliver (c.1565-1617), Elizabeth I, The Rainbow Portrait, c. 1600–02, in the collection at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Public Domain.

Whereas, from the alternate perspective of those who observe or live in the light, in Castiglione's enduringly popular *Book of the Courtier*, Count Ludovico proposes that, 'Noble birth is like a bright lamp that makes clear and visible both good deeds and bad, and inspires and incites to high performance', whereby light is not just a source of authority but a source of illumination that brings greater public visibility or exposure to the behaviours and qualities of those in power (those who emit light).[132] Bacon, whom Gerbier much admired, also played on the metaphor to combine the ideals of scientific investigation and nobility in his 'Device for the Gray's Inn Revels', in which a Counsellor advises his 'Excellency to become as some comet or blazing star…[and to make] conquest of the works of nature [by]…searching out, inventing and discovering of all whatsoever is hid and secret in the world; that your excellency be not as a lamp that shineth to others and yet seeth not itself, but as the Eye of the World, that both carrieth and useth light'.[133]

Comenius, a fellow correspondent of Hartlib and possible influence on Gerbier's educational endeavours, likewise employed light as metaphor, extending it to an entire work in *Via Lucis* [Way of Light], which drew upon countless Biblical metaphors of light to reveal the seven-stage path to 'the light of wisdom' that would bring salvation to all humanity.[134] While Baconian scholars withheld the secret knowledge they uncovered from others, *Via Lucis*, promoted universal education, including for women and the poor—as did Gerbier's Academy. As with Gerbier, Comenius' utopian vision was, however, far from egalitarian. Addressing the fear that the *Via Lucis* would create a 'confusion of ranks', Comenius reassured any concerned that 'a vast difference will remain between men who are learned in the elementary sense, and those who are professionally learned—such a difference as God indicated when he foretold that the light of the moon should be as the light of the sun, but yet that the light of the Sun should be seven times greater'.[135] Comenius' model society was, like Bacon's and Gerbier's, rigidly hierarchical and guided by a small elite: learnedness replacing noble rank as the stratifying force in society.

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[132] Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, 54.

[133] Bacon, *Major Works*, 54; also Bacon, 'New Atlantis': the learned Fathers of Salomon are, as with Comenius' vision, the leaders of society but they withhold their knowledge from other nations and from others in their society. Their superior position mimics that of nobility in contemporary English society in its outward show of material splendour.

[134] John Amos Comenius, *The Way of Light*, trans. E.T. Campagnac (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press and Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., 1938), 29.

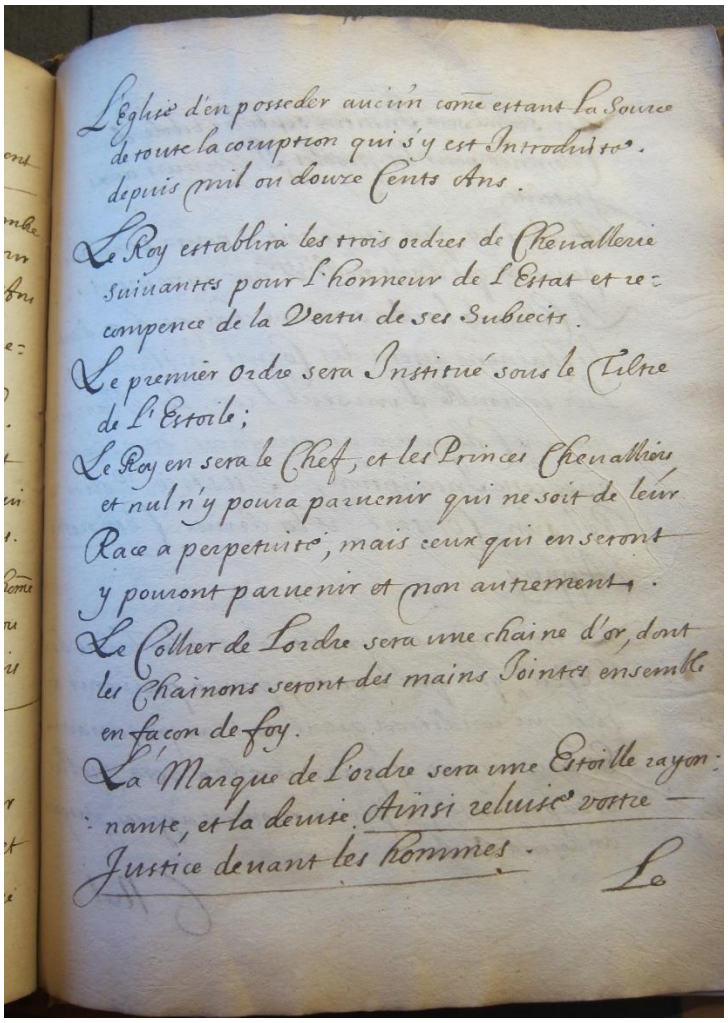
[135] Comenius, *Way of Light*, 129.

Gerbier was clearly aware of this historiography, the metaphor's resonance and application in the political, spiritual and scientific spheres, as well as the pivotal role of light in art, landscape design and architecture, and he used it with consideration.[136] Despite this, his cosmography was geocentric and out-dated: he called Copernicus a heretic and mocked the idea that the 'World [was] like a joynt of meat spitted, which turns and windes about' the sun.[137] Nonetheless, he believed 'that the Sun is the principle of light' and that the 'Moon hath no other light then that which shee borrows of the Sun, nor then any other Starre'.[138] In the letter to Hartlib of 1648 that briefly outlined his imagined state, Gerbier initially gave the motto of his Knights as 'So lett your light shine in the world' before crossing it out and amending it to, 'So lett your light shine *before men*' [my emphasis]: that is, as for Castiglione, the flame of nobility was to guide the path of others, to be an exemplar rather than simply a source of power.[139]

A year later, in the 'Project' he sent to Buckingham, the motto of the first Order of the Knights of the Star, became '*Ainse reluise vostre Justice devant les hommes* [Thus will your Justice shine before men]'.[140] The motto had been revised in the shadow of the regicide of 1649 to emphasise the centrality of justice to the right to rule, perhaps also referring to the justice delivered upon the King. This emphasis is also literal, since the phrase is underlined within the text of the letter, ensuring its importance is not disregarded (fig. 61). Gerbier believed justice was 'the source and spring of all Vertues in general, and the inseperable principle of every Vertue in particular'.[141] Justice was a duty that was to be

[136] Gerbier's writing shows a familiarity with courtesy and advice literature, including those described as 'Mirror's for Princes' as well as heraldic histories, genealogies, Classical and Biblical texts and recent developments in natural philosophy, engineering and education. See, for example: Gerbier, 'Armoiries Royales (Tant Anciennes Que Modernes)'; Gerbier, *Secretum Virtutis et Scientiarum*; Balthazar Gerbier, *Interpreter, the First Part*; Gerbier, *The Interpreter of the Academie for Forrain Languages, and All Noble Sciences, and Exercises, Concerning Military Architecture, or Fortifications* (s.n. [Paris?], 1648); *Hartlib Papers*, various.
[137] Balthazar Gerbier, *A Publique Lecture on All the Arts, Sciences and Noble Exercises, Which Are Taught in Sr. Balthazar Gerbiers Academy* (London: Robert Ibbitson, 1650), 12.
[138] Balthazar Gerbier, *The First Lecture of an Introduction to Cosmographie (Which Is a Description of All the World) Read Publickly at Sr. Balthazar Gerbier, His Academy at Bednall-Greene* (London: Gartrude Dawson, 1649), 12; Gerbier, *Publique Lecture*, 12.
[139] Gerbier 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A.
[140] Gerbier, 'Project', 69r.
[141] Balthazar Gerbier, *The Academies Lecture Concerning Justice* (London: Gabriel Bedel, 1650), 1.

carried out selflessly, objectively, nobly and, just as nobility and virtue were considered synonymous, so too were justice and rule inextricably intertwined.[142]



L'Eglise d'en posseder aucun comme estant la Source de toute la corruption qui s'y est Introduite depuis mil ou douze Cents Ans.

Le Roy establira les trois ordres de Cheualerie suiuantes pour l'honneur de l'Estat et recompence de la Vertu de ses Subiects.

Le premier Ordre sera Institué sous le Tiltre de l'Estoile;

Le Roy en sera le Chef, et les Princes Cheualliers et nul n'y pourra paruenir qui ne soit de leur Race a perpetuité, mais ceux qui en seront y pourront paruenir et non autrement.

Le Collier de l'ordre sera une chaine d'or, dont les Chainons seront des mains Iointes ensemble en facon de foy.

La Marque de l'ordre sera une Estoille rayonnante, et la deuise Ainsi reluise vostre — Justice deuant les hommes.

Le

Fig. 61: Underlining. Balthazar Gerbier, 'Project Pour l'establissement d'un Nouvel Estat En Amerique', MS Rawlinson C. 254 [63r-82v], Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1649. Author's own image.

However, in the revised 'Laws' of 1654, the chivalric device reverts once more to '*Ainse reluise vostre Lumiere devant les hommes*' [Thus let your light shine before men].[143] Again, the words of the motto (as also for the mottos of the two lower Orders of knighthood) are made prominent within the body of the text to recognise their role as guiding principles for the knights and for the state—on this occasion through comparative enlargement and calligraphic flourish (fig. 62). Here, the King and his fellow knights of the

[142] Taking bribes in the delivery of justice could also result in corporal punishment in the 'Project', though not the 'Loix'. Gerbier, 'Project', 74v.
[143] Gerbier, 'Loix', 33.

Star once more embody noble virtue. They alone were to be the candle in the dark, the guiding light for those below them in the social order without further emphasis upon justice or other qualification.

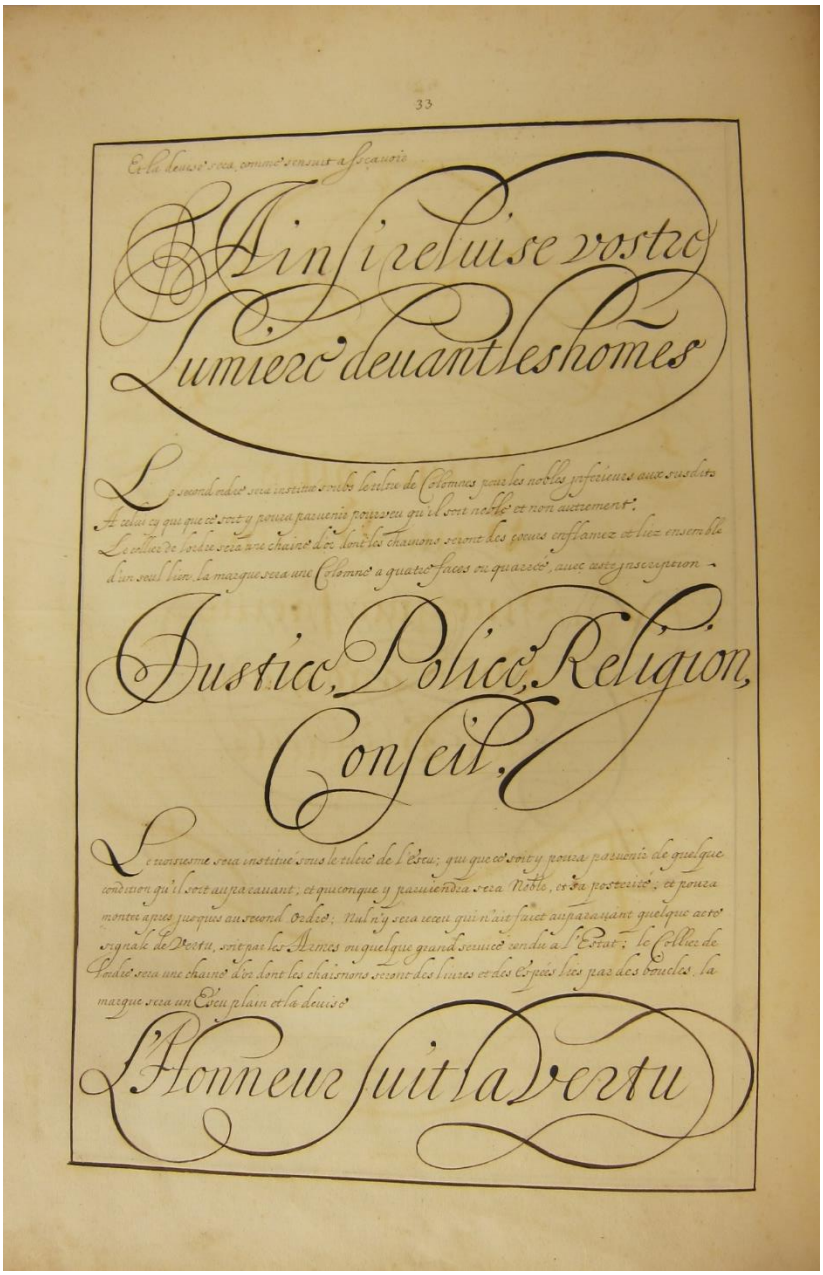


Fig. 62: Balthazar Gerbier, 'Loix, status, ordonnances, et coustumes, pour un nouvel Estat', 1654, in MS 2505, 33, Wellcome Library, London. Author's own image.

This contrasts with the 1649 version: that iteration had emphasised the knights of the Star's shared responsibility for justice (their justice would shine before men). Gerbier clarified this further in the letter to Buckingham that enclosed the 'Project', Gerbier wrote

that it was a King's first duty to deliver justice. Should he deliver it wisely, he deserved obedience from his subjects but would also be rewarded by their love and loyalty: if a 'Prince bee a Lover of Justice, of order, and Consequently of good Laws, the People will love him, and Stick to him, let him be never so much subject to personall infirmities'.[144] Should the King fail in his delivery of justice, he would be judged by the whole state, via representatives drawn from the three estates of Senate, Knights (of all levels) and commoners. Justice could not be embodied by a single individual (therefore equivalent to the King) and it is only within the justice system that commoners are granted any official role in Gerbier's imagined states.[145] (This was explicit since '*Personne ne pourra estre admis aux charges qui n'ayt aparauant este chevalier* [no-one can be admitted to an office who has not previously been created a knight]').[146]

In an addition to the 1654 'Laws' not present in the 'Project', Gerbier stipulates *'Recto Judicato Fil Hominum*': a command that appends a passage that deals with the judgment of tyrannical kings.[147] He is quoting from Psalm 57 in the Latin Vulgate, translated as 'do ye judge uprightly, O ye sons of men?' in the King James version (it is Psalm 58 in the King James, which uses the Hebrew numbering rather than that used in the Vulgate).[148] The context is important. The Psalm addresses the future King David's persecution by Saul who had manipulated justice to have David unjustly condemned and outlawed as a traitor in the supreme court of law.[149] In the Psalm, David convicts those who condemned him, describing their 'lies' and sins and urging their punishment—'Break their teeth, O God, in their mouth' (v.6)—and prophesies the vengeance God will wreak upon them for their ill judgment: 'he will wash his feet in the blood of the wicked' (v.10).[150] Written under the Commonwealth, Gerbier's intention seems clear. His appeal for true justice in the 'Laws' is reversed, now

[144] 'Gerbier to George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, Feb 19 1649' in MS Rawlinson C.254, 60r-60v, 62r. Also, Gerbier, 'Project', 63v.
[145] See also Gerbier, 'Project', 72v, 73r; 'Loix', 36.
[146] Gerbier, 'Loix', 35.
[147] Gerbier, 'Loix', 30.
[148] 'Psalm 58' in Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (eds.), *The Bible: Authorized King James Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). The Douay-Rheims version (Psalm 57), translates it similarly though without the questioning tone as 'judge right things, ye sons of men': *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate* (New York: Benziger Brothers (1914), 797.
[149] For further, see commentary on Psalm LVIII in Matthew Henry, *An Exposition on the Old and New Testament.* 5 vols. Fifth edition. (London: 1761-63), 2: 428-430. In this, Henry (1662-1714) also draws on the commentary of the seventeenth-century Huguenot theologian, Moïse Amyraut (Amyraldus).
[150] 'Psalm 58' in Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*.

being made on behalf of a just and noble monarch who may be prosecuted at the whims of the earthly and sinful people, rather than demanded for the people who might be subject to the 'personal infirmities' of a tyrannical king.[151] The light which illuminates the people in 1654 is therefore the virtuous nobility of the King and his fellow knights of the Star, rather than the 1649 light of their justice.

To conclude, Gerbier's texts defined and moulded an ideal of nobility that would be virtuous and magnificent but his tinkering with the phrasing of the Knight of the Star's shining device highlights the constricting nature of the noble ideal (and the flexibility of the metaphor). While it sustained and justified a hierarchy of rank, those of noble and royal blood had to embody and live by the qualities it described—as Castiglione observed, flaws would be more visible in the illuminated noble than in others—and as Gerbier wrote of nobility in 1650: 'you are the choisest part of men, so you aspire to the best…to shine like Starres in the managing of the greater affaires, to make the better judgement of whatsoever appears to your consideration'.[152] Or, as Lady Mary Wroth put it, moving the metaphor from the source of light to its refraction, 'a spot being more markt in a Diamond, then in an ordinary piece of glasse'.[153]

Across these metaphors the point is the same: though the rewards of nobility were great, greater too were the demands made upon noble character, duty, and action than on those lower in the social order, whose actions might be expected to be base and brutish by the greater and lesser nobility. In the Duchess of Newcastle, Margaret Cavendish's *Divers Orations*, a General facing a mutiny by his officers 'cannot but wonder at the baseness of my officers and under-commanders; for though inferior men have inferior minds, rude and wild natures, and barbarous manners, yet men of quality usually have generous, and noble minds, gentle natures, and civil manners'.[154] Gerbier's nobles were to personify this beau idéal, yet, he was not entirely quixotic; he anticipated the new elite in his State might exhibit minor imperfections or some difference of opinion regarding acceptable noble conduct or

[151] 'Gerbier to George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, Feb 19 1649', 62r.
[152] Gerbier, *Concerning Justice*, A2-A3.
[153] Mary Wroth, *The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania. Written by the Right Honorable the Lady Mary Wroath. Daughter to the Right Noble Robert Earle of Leicester. And Neece to the Ever Famous, and Renowned Sr. Phillips Sidney Knight. And to Ye Most Exele[n]t Lady Mary Co* (London: [Augustine Mathewes?] for Ioh[n] Marriott and Iohn Grismand, 1621), 42–43. Also Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, 54.
[154] Cavendish, *Political Writings*, 150.

display. He therefore sought to mould and control the nobility through fundamental laws that placed restrictions and demands upon the rule, behaviour, practises, and dress of the upper ranks. This would ensure they embodied, or at least outwardly displayed, the virtues and trappings of true nobility.

6: Seeing Divine Order: Knowledge, Dress and the Architectural Orders

Atavism, the desire to return to something ancient and ancestral, and, order, the desire to arrange and control the surrounding world, permeate Gerbier's vision for his new state and other utopian and colonial models. Gerbier's 'Laws' and 'Project' describe a rich material and visual world which, if nominally somewhere in the New World, is ultimately located in its own imaginary geographic space and temporality, detached from any physical site. It is nonetheless strictly ordered, according to gender, status, and rank. Like Vaughan, Gerbier looked to notional ancient English, Christian, and Classical pasts—as well as to a more recent chivalric ideal—to create the foundations for his society, using education, dress, architecture, honours, and heraldry to define and impose order on all members of society. A preoccupation with order was by no means peculiar to Gerbier and he was influenced by the ideas put forth in recent and contemporary texts, touched upon in earlier chapters, that advocated investigating nature and searching the past to reform knowledge and reclaim the divine plan.

To this end, the principal means by which Gerbier sought to order his citizens was through strict clothing and sumptuary laws, which this chapter will examine in detail, contrasting these with Vaughan's different approach to dress controls. In the formation of these, Gerbier looked to the hierarchies found in nature, the medieval past, and to the origins of the Classical orders of architecture as understood in mid seventeenth-century Europe. These were based on the writings of the first century BC Roman architect Vitruvius, who saw their beginning in Ancient Greece. Gerbier, like other Renaissance writers, sought a Christian origin myth to justify faith in Classicism and argued that, instead, the orders came 'directly from Heaven', a theory most famously put forth by Juan Bautista Villalpando in his commentary on Ezekiel in 1596, in which he purported that Solomon used the orders in his Temple.[1] Buildings, as architectural metaphor, are also employed in Gerbier's description of the new State's Orders of Nobility. As with his repeated analogy of light, these allusions demonstrate his desire for nobles to act as leaders and imitative models for society but are,

[1] Thank you to Simon Ditchfield for pointing me towards Villalpando. Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jeronimo del Prado, *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis Ac Templi Hierosolymitani, 3 Vols* (Rome, 1596); Balthazar Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse Concerning the Three Chief Principles of Magnificent Building. Viz. Solidity, Conveniency, and Ornament* (London: Thomas Mabb for Thomas Heath at the Globe, 1664), 2.

at a more fundamental level, about order. Spearheaded by a shining King, the Knightly Orders were to be the metaphorical foundations and keystone of Gerbier's new state, providing and securing a solid base and superstructure for society and the body politic. Like Vaughan, he looks to the past, but where Vaughan used historical figures and ancient texts to construct his patchwork *Fleece*/Newfoundland, Gerbier draws on visual and material culture, and the dressed body as the foundations for his new state.

Order and knowledge

Gerbier's 'Project' and 'Laws' reflect a preoccupation with order: foremost a desire to order people hierarchically, socially, morally, spatially, sartorially—as reflected in nature, as ordained by God. Gerbier saw 'Microcosme man' as the epitome and mirror of the universe and at the centre of his new state.[2] If the body and actions of the individual could be correctly ordered and controlled, this would be mirrored in the State. A similar desire for order, and fear of disorder, can be found in numerous texts and images of the time. Many of these sought to reform and advance knowledge, and clearly influenced Gerbier's thinking, particularly the ideas of Bacon, who had proposed that an investigation of ancient texts and the natural world could provide the key to and model for an ideal state.[3] Gerbier's ambition was to create 'fundamental laws' that would embody the natural—divine and hierarchical—order and also take the best parts of the past to create a perfectly ordered State.

The Christian world understood that God had created perfect order in all things. Gerbier, a professed Huguenot, was familiar with the teachings of John Calvin, who argued that the 'skillful ordering of the universe is for us a sort of mirror in which we can contemplate God, who is otherwise invisible…[but] although the Lord represents both himself and his everlasting Kingdom in the mirror of his works with very great clarity, such is our stupidity that [since the Fall] we grow increasingly dull toward so manifest testimonies'.[4] Humanity had lost knowledge of God's design in Adam and Eve's Fall from grace but scholars argued that the true nature and correct order of all things could nevertheless be

[2] Balthazar Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders* (London: Thomas Mabb, 1663), 33–34.
[3] Bacon, *Life of Bacon, Vol. III, 90*.
[4] Calvin, *Institutes*, I v.1, 9; v, 11, 14 quoted in Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 164.

recovered variously through spiritual observation, scientific investigation of the natural world, and by excavating ancient texts, monuments, and languages.[5]

Bacon, as one of the foremost proponents of the recovery and reformation of knowledge, proposed in *Novum Organum* that: 'in the arts and sciences, as in mines, all ought to echo to the sound of new works and further advancement', since 'by his fall man lost both his state of innocence and his command over created things. However, both of these losses can to some extent be made good even in this life, the former by religion and faith, the latter by the arts and sciences'.[6] Bacon, and subsequently his followers, including Hartlib and many of his epistolary circle, envisioned this flourishing and reclamation of knowledge as the Great Instauration, *Instauratio Magna*, under which humanity would regain ascendancy over nature and recover Adamic knowledge, both 'divine and human', thereby fulfilling a prophecy laid down in Daniel 12:4 that declared this advancement as a prelude to the Second Coming: 'But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and for, and knowledge shall be increased'. Bacon quoted this passage in *Novum Organum* and it also appears on the title engraving of the 1620 edition of *Instauratio* (fig. 17).[7]

As Weeks has demonstrated, Bacon was aware that his audience must be persuaded and motivated to adopt the, often radical, ideas he put forth; he wrote in *Cogitata et visa* (ca. 1607?), that he 'recognised the desirability of a certain measure of prudent conformity'—that by making his ambitions and theories more palatable to his readers he could thereby effect their 'peaceable entry into the apprehensions of men'.[8] Bacon's open discussion of his motivational techniques suggest that the religious argument proposed for the advancement of knowledge was employed as such a tool. Nevertheless, many of his readers, including Gerbier, adopted his argument and language, whether faithfully or

[5] For further on millenarianism and the recovery of Adamic knowledge, and the brotherhoods, societies and thinkers engaged in this, see George Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius; Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (London and Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool; Hodder and Stoughton, 1947); Charles Webster. *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660*; Donald R. Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 1998); Anne M. Myers, *Literature and Architecture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

[6] Francis Bacon, *The Oxford Francis Bacon, Vol. 11 of 16: The Instauratio Magna. Part II, Novum Organum and Associated Texts*, ed. Graham Rees and Maria Wakely (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 147; 447.

[7] Ibid., 152; Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660*, xxv–xxviii.

[8] *Cogitata et visa* cited in Sophie V. Weeks, 'Francis Bacon's Doctrine of Idols: A Diagnosis of "Universal Madness"', *British Journal for the History of Science* 52, no. 1 (1 March 2019): 5.

cynically. The undertaking to reclaim lost knowledge also crossed over and intersected with the interests and members of groups and brotherhoods Gerbier has been connected to, such as millenarians, Rosicrucians, and freemasons, discussed in the next chapter, whom Stevenson argued had 'an obsession with the Hermetic quest for the lost wisdom of the ancients'.[9]

Several of these individuals/groups ventured to establish Academies to promote their ideas and achieve their aims. Many also imagined the realisation of their vision in utopian texts.[10] Gerbier's ambitious programme for his own Academy, could likewise be realised in his new state/utopia. The 'Project' and 'Laws' thus include programmes of education; for instance, from the age of ten to twenty, royal sons and the eldest sons of nobles would be educated together at court in all 'honourable subjects'.[11] Since the Project was written during the establishment of his London Academy and the 'Laws' written a few years after its collapse while he was in Zeeland promoting an academy in Middelburg, it seems likely these 'honourable subjects' are reflected in the syllabus he was indefatigably promoting during their production.[12] The folio which houses the 'Laws' in fact served as

[9] This obsession began around 1550: David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 22; Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia,* passim.

[10] For further, see R.C. Stephens, 'The Education of a Ruling Class in Renaissance England', *Educational Review* 9, no. 2 (1957): 78–95; Timothy Raylor, 'Milton, the Hartlib Circle, and the Education of the Aristocracy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Milton*, ed. Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 382–406; Peacey, 'Print, Publicity, and Popularity', 284–307; Feingold, 'Projectors and Learned Projects', 66-70; Elbert Thompson, 'Milton's "Of Education"', *Studies in Philology* 15, no. 2 (1918): 159–75. For its interconnection with utopias/utopianism and examples, see fn. above and Chloe Houston, '"Knowledge Shall Be Increased": Natural Philosophy and Religion in the Early Modern Utopia', *Literature Compass* 4, no. 5 (2007): 1397–1411; Line Cottegnies, 'Utopia, Millenarianism , and the Baconian Programme of Margaret Cavendish's The Blazing World (1666)', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 71–91. Several other academies, discussed in the next chapters, were founded in this period, intersecting with some of these groups' educational aims but unrelated to Baconianism, e.g. Francis Kynaston's, Musaeum Minervae, which failed largely because of university objections: those following were careful to state their endeavours complimented rather than competed with the universities.

[11] Gerbier, Project', 67v; 'Loix', 31.

[12] The curriculum included: 'French, Italian, Spanish, Germain, and Low Dutch…both Ancient and Modern Histories, jointly with the constitutions and Government of the most famous Empires and Estates of the world, besides the true Experimentall Philosophy… Mathematicks, to wit Arithmetick, the true keeping of the booke of Account by double partie… Geometrie, Cosmographie, Geographie, Perspective, and Architecture, as well for Building as Magnificent shows, and the Secret Motions of Scenes…Practicall Mathematicks:…Fortifications, Besieging and defending of Places, Fire-works, Ordering of Battailes, Marches of Armies, Musick, Playing on all sorts of Instruments, Dancing, Fencing, Riding the Great Horse, together with the new manner of fighting on Horsebacke…Drawing, Painting, Limning, and Carving' Gerbier, *Interpreter, First Part*, 3-4; Gerbier, *Interpreter [Part two]*, 1-2.

promotional vehicle for both his curriculum and his new state.[13] His engagement with this wider search for knowledge, and associated interest in educational reform, are therefore integral to his early vision of a colonial society and the instruction of its future leaders.

The curriculum Gerbier devised for his Academy in 1648 testifies to his intimacy with Baconian thinking, where, in addition to conventional academic subjects and gentlemanly pursuits, he would teach 'natural experimentall philosophie'.[14] Raylor credits Hartlib with this innovation in Gerbier's curriculum (Gerbier is dismissed as an uninspired 'courtly entrepreneur and shameless self-publicist').[15] Yet Hartlib's own petition to erect 'a little Academie for the Education of the Gentrie of this Nation' does not use the phrase.[16] Excepting the translation of Bacon's own works, Gerbier is in fact the first to adopt Bacon's expression in English, and uses it repeatedly, predating Boyle's use of it in 1660—mooted as the earliest—by twelve years.[17]

However, Gerbier did not mean by this that he would teach experimental science in the modern sense. Experiment and experience were largely synonymous in this period and, as Wootton explains, even the differentiations made by Bacon and Hobbes between the terms do not conform with one another or with modern (eighteenth-century) definitions.[18] What Gerbier intended his readers to deduce from this phrase was twofold: that the overarching aim of natural experimental philosophy was 'universall knowledge…the summe whereof is, that of a primary cause; to wit, God' and that his students would be taught 'profitable' and practical arts and sciences, such as grafting and preserving plants, improving

[13] Keller, 'New State in America', 161.
[14] Gerbier, *The Interpreter the First Part*, 3 [on 3 he also uses 'experimentall natural philosophy'], 8, 78. See also Balthazar Gerbier, *A Publique Lecture on All the Arts, Sciences and Noble Exercises, Which Are Taught in Sr. Balthazar Gerbiers Academ* (London: Robert Ibbitson, 1650), 17.
[15] Raylor, 'Education of the Aristocracy', 396.
[16] He was however similarly keen to look at 'Experiments of Industrie practised in Husbandrie & Manufactures…tending to the good of this Nation' as well as focusing on (Protestant) 'Ecclesiastical concernments'; see: 'Copy Petition In Scribal Hand H, Hartlib To King Charles II', *The Hartlib Papers*, 7/19A.
[17] Anstey and Vanzo mistakenly suggest Robert Boyle's *Spring of the Air (*1660), 'is the earliest printed book in English to use the expression 'experimental philosophy'. Peter Anstey and Alberto Vanzo, 'The Origins of Early Modern History', *Intellectual History Review* 22, no. 4 (2012): 516 and fn. 92. Gilbert Watts notes in the foreword to his 1640 translation of Bacon's *Of Advancement* that he 'was the first that ever joynd Rationall & Experimentall Philosophy in a regular correspondence': Francis Bacon, *Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning; or, The Partitions of Sciences· Nine Books*, trans. Gilbert Watts (London: Leon Lichfield for Robert Young and Edward Forrest, 1640), 3.
[18] Wootton, *Invention of Science*, 312–13.

soil, and making medicines rather than simply reading ancient texts.[19] It is questionable whether he was qualified to teach this, but Gerbier's inclusion of it in his syllabus nonetheless demonstrates his familiarity with and early adoption of the new scientific terminology.

The search for order and 'universal knowledge' detectable in Gerbier's social and colonial projects, is likewise evident in a proliferation of texts on ordering things, across a diversity of topics, throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This was related to and coeval with the tide of knowledge that washed across Europe with the advent of the printing press (the challenge of imposing order on the 'omnigatherum'). There were endeavours to define the 'right use and ordering of bees' and the correct 'order of reading the scriptures' (being the method and spiritual approach taken, rather than a recommended sequential order of reading), treatises on the ideal ordering of angels, forests or armies, amongst many others.[20] There were several on *The Method and Order* or *True Order* of reading or writing History.[21]

As discussed in chapter two, it was important to collate, organise and classify this recovered knowledge appropriately, whether presented on the page (e.g. in dichotomous tables; diagrams; lists; in the arrangement and classification of ideas and objects in scientific or religious texts; and within/among commonplace books) or in the mind (e.g. seeing, reading or experiencing the knowledge in the 'correct' order and method).[22] Once

[19] Gerbier, *Publique Lecture*, 17–18.

[20] See, for instance: Edmund Southern, *A Treatise Concerning the Right Use and Ordering of Bees*, (London: Thomas Orwin for Thomas Woodcocke, 1593); John Levett, *The Ordering of Bees: Or the True History of Managing Them...Shewing Their Nature and Breed* (London: Iohn Harison, 1634); Moses Cook, *The Manner of Raising, Ordering, and Improving Forrest-Trees Also, How to Plant, Make and Keep Woods, Walks, Avenues, Lawns, Hedges, &c.: With Several Figures* (London: Peter Parker, 1676); Gyles Clayton, *The Approoued Order of Martiall Discipline... Whereunto Is Adioyned a Second Booke, for the True Ordering and Imbattelling of Any Number so Euer, with the Proportions of Euery Battell* (London: I. C[harlewood] for Abraham Kitsonne, 1591); Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells Their Names, Orders and Offices the Fall of Lucifer with His Angells* (London: Adam Islip, 1635).

[21] Degory Wheare, *De Ratione et Methodo Legendi Historias Dissertation* (Oxford, 1623); J. H. M. Salmon, 'Precept, Example and Truth: Degory Wheare and the Ars Historica', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11–36; Hugh G. Dick and Thomas Blundeville, 'Thomas Blundeville's "The True Order and Methode of Wryting and Reading Hystories" (1574)', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (January 1940): 149–70; Edmund Bolton, 'Hypercritica, or a Rule of Judgement for Writing or Reading Our Histories (1618?)', in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, 1605-1650*, Vol. 1 of 3, ed. Joel Elias Springarn (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1909), 82–115.

[22] See, for example, Bacon's six-part plan for the unfinished, *Instauratio Magna*, his 'Catalogue of Particular Histories arranged by titles', or why information should be 'presented in a suitable order. So we must fashion *Tables,* and *Structured Sets of Instances*': Bacon, *Bacon, Vol. 11,* 147; 216; 475-485. Also Comenius's division of

recovered, knowledge of divine intentions as to the true nature and order of people and things could be communicated in textual models, as per the descriptions of ideal commonwealths, imaginary States, and utopian brotherhoods that proliferated in texts across this period.[23]

The blurring of the real and imaginary in these models—and their frequent entanglement with colonialism and travel as discussed in the introduction—is made apparent in Gerbier's new state, since it is simultaneously intended for nowhere (the 'Laws' do not specify a real-world location) and somewhere (roughly Florida to the Caribbean). Though not all societal models had such serious or clear intentions of application, relatively brief outlines of imaginary societies, and educational systems within them, were nevertheless often drawn upon or cited as workable templates that could be applied to real-world situations; for instance, Petty, the economist and natural philosopher (he of the great wife swap), noted to Hartlib that Utopia was 'a true patterne of a rightly constituted Commonwealth and which might easily bee put in practise'.[24]

In considering these idealistic aims and lofty claims, however, Feingold cautions us not to take the motives of scholars and projectors in the Hartlib circle or later Royal Society at face value. He argues that cynical 'opportunism…and personal gain' might lie behind the words of thinkers that some historians have claimed as 'altruists, passionately concerned with the reformation of learning'.[25] Certainly claims that one offered the 'truth' about what was being touted in a tract was a good sales technique, and incorporating a moral and

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Via Lucis into seven parts or stages: Comenius *Way of Light*. For other examples, see: Katherine O. Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric and Early Modern English Literature* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*; Ernst Gombrich. *The Sense of Order*. See also chapter two discussions on 'discerning truths'.

[23] For a broad range of examples see: Lyman Tower Sargent, *British and American Utopian Literature, 1516-1985* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988); Nicole Pohl, 'Utopianism after More: The Renaissance and Enlightenment', *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, 2010, 51–78; Robert Appelbaum, *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*, Webster, *Great Instauration*.

[24] Hartlib, 'Ephemerides', 1649, Part 2': 28/1/20A. For further examples, see also fns. 73-77 re Quiroga and *Utopia*; Hugh Francis Russell Smith, *Harrington and His Oceana: A Study of a 17th Century Utopia and Its Influence on America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 152–215; Ernesto De Marchi, '"Locke's Atlantis",' *Political Studies* 3 (1955): 164–65; David Armitage, 'John Locke, Carolina, and the Two Treatises of Government', *Political Theory* 32, no. 5 (2004): 610; Vicki Hsueh, 'Unsettling Colonies: Locke "Atlantis" and New World Knowledges', *History of Political Thought* 29, no. 2 (2008): 295–319.

[25] Mordechai Feingold, 'Projectors and Learned Projects in Early Modern England', *The Seventeenth Century* 32, no. 1 (2017): 63–79; 70. He acknowledges that Webster acknowledges the influence of ambition and wealth in pursuit of projects but 'deems idealism to precede personal gain, thereby safeguarding the proposals themselves from the taint of opportunism' [70].

religious dimension to any publication in the fevered religious climate of the 1640s might be described as an act of self-preservation rather than evidence of genuine belief; but it would be misleading to consider financial gain to be the sole or most significant reason for adopting this terminology or approach. The same language can be found in sources unintended for a wide audience or for publication—such as letters, commonplace books and diaries—and the desire to establish the true nature and correct ordering of people, objects and ideas permeates texts of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whether secular or religious, attached to projects or independent of them.[26]

Motives are seldom simple. Projectors like Gerbier undoubtedly strove to make their plans profitable and palatable; but the need to eat does not necessarily preclude a sincere pursuit of knowledge. Arguably, the nobility's disapproval of and distaste for remunerative work, which coloured the historical view of those projectors and scholars dependent on either their patronage or book sales to make a living, might influence historians' views.[27] (Feingold's examples of 'personal gain' or the funds allocated to the projects of 'grasping courtiers and schemers' could be applied to the research grants and salaries of present-day academics, of whom we do not demand they separate their demand for professional advancement from their commitment to scholarly investigation).[28] As we have seen, Gerbier's money problems coupled with his endless tracts and letters promoting new schemes (the two indubitably linked) had the unfortunate effect of further tarnishing the reputation he sought to mend through these publications.

Yet, as Peacey has demonstrated, his projects and the promotion of them were not universally directed at those from whom he sought money, and indicate a 'serious interest' in reform.[29] For instance, in addition to free lectures every Saturday, which drew large crowds, Gerbier pledged that 'there shall be an open Hall for some of the poore children of

[26] There are copious examples in diverse fields, some of which are discussed at length in: Eric Watkins, *The Divine Order, the Human Order, and the Order of Nature: Historical Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*; Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Vine, *Miscellaneous Order;* Lewis, *Petty on the Order of Nature.*

[27] This is certainly so in Gerbier's case, where valid criticisms (e.g. for his evident treason, arrogance, misogyny, racism) are rarer in the historiography than those that malign his projects and motives on this basis. This general disapprobation was why many projectors attempted to separate themselves from this label, as Feingold describes: Feingold, 'Projectors and Learned Projects', 70–76.

[28] Feingold, 70; 75. Mordechai Feingold. 'Projectors and Learned Projects'.

[29] Peacey, 'Print, Publicity, and Popularity', at 285, see also 307.

the Parish… to learn gratis such sciences as may bee fit'.[30] Ambition and money were undoubtedly motivating factors, but they were not exclusively, so: beyond the intellectual and epistemological aims discussed above, Gerbier's projects, including those for his new state, also sought to prevent the criminalisation of poverty by offering financial support and safe lending, provide universal access to public records, improve sanitation, and offer educational provision for all (free to those who could not otherwise access or afford it: women and the poor). Some, such as the Mounts of Piety, are incorporated in his new state.[31] He also maintained a consistency in his designs for society certainly up until the mid 1650s and retained and elaborated upon many of his theories in his later years, particularly his understanding of the correlation between the proportions of man and the architectural orders, an idea which influenced his sumptuary and clothing laws. His plans for his American state are entwined with the aims and projects of several of the groups Feingold discusses.

Divine Order: A Hierarchy of Dress

Gerbier described his society as being as 'composed and rulled as a Musike booke' in which the focus of his musical arrangement was mankind itself (all of us made in God's image).[32] It would be ruled in both senses: governed harmoniously and ordered on a hierarchical scale (like the ledger-like composition of fig. 63). As Bacon noted, there was 'great affinity and consent between the rules of nature, and the true rules of policy; the one being nothing else but an order in the government of the world, and the other an order in the government of an estate'.[33] In a model society, if the social and political order was a mirror of the natural and divine order everything else would follow accordingly.[34] Echoing Bacon in a lecture delivered at his Academy in 1649, Gerbier declared that studying Cosmography, Geography and History, was 'a kinde of borrowing from the all knowledge of God' and urged his students to study the natural world, since God 'hath put in man a minde full of knowledge; that there is nothing which fits him better than those objects [of natural and human history], which may administer unto him a more perfect knowledge of things

[30] Gerbier, 'Announcement'. Gerbier, *Interpreter, First Part*, 4.
[31] Gerbier, 'Project', 78v-79r.
[32] 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A.
[33] Bacon, *Life of Bacon, Vol. III*, 90.
[34] Ibid., 92.

created; for that he seeth thereby the works of the maker, and reciprocally the maker by his works'.[35]

Other reformers likewise looked to nature for guidance as to the best form of government; yet, what was considered 'natural' could be subject to interpretation. Where some, such as the Diggers, saw equality in nature, for Gerbier and for most, what nature narrated—and was therefore the order God intended—was a hierarchy of all things, the foundation of which was a hierarchy of people, which Gerbier inscribed in his state through law. In the same 1649 lecture, Gerbier quoted from Psalm 8, which reflects upon the divine order of beings and humanity's (man's) position in the cosmos—a little beneath angels yet granted 'dominion' over nature and supremacy over all earthly things. In medieval Europe this was visualised as the 'Great Chain of Being', the hierarchy of all life and matter, within which 'mankind' could be hierarchically divided yet further still. It was a conception and image of divine order that had already spread to the New World (see fig. 63).[36] In keeping with this, the inhabitants of Gerbier's new state would be ordered hierarchically through social and legal practice and treated differentially by the law according to their status. Space too would be ordered hierarchically, and restrictions placed on physical appearance and consumer choice according to status.

[35] Balthazar Gerbier, *The First Lecture of Geographie (Which Is a Description of the Terestriall Globe). Read Publickly at Sr Balthazar Gerbier His Academy, At Bednall-Greene* (London: Gartrude Dawson for Hanna Allen, 1649), 2.

[36] Fig. 63 is from the first printed book by an 'American', the Mexican-born Diego Valadés: Didacus Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana Ad Concionandi et Orandi Usum Accommodate* (Perugia: Petrus Jacobus Petrutius, 1579). The didactic imagery of the *Rhetorica* could also be described as utopian: reflecting perfected or ideal states. For instance, other engravings include the 'ideal atrium', which (like the educational projects in European utopian texts), depicts an idealised vision of education and religious conversion in Mexico; another depicts cherubim teaching the seven liberal arts (17).



Fig. 63: 'Great Chain of Being', Didacus Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana ad concionandi et orandi usum accommodate* (Perugia: Petrus Jacobus Petrutius, 1579. 1579), inserted between 220 and 221. Getty Research Institute.

Hierarchy was considered natural and divinely ordained throughout the early modern period and there was little debate across early modern Europe about the basic form of the social structure. Commentators broadly agreed that there were four overarching 'degrees of people', as William Harrison described it: 'gentlemen [the greater and lesser nobility and gentry], citizens or burgesses, yeomen and artificers', which were then broken down into subcategories with minor variations.[37] Historians have long-debated the relative accuracy of such clean divisions among citizens, and in recent decades have exposed greater agency and social movement across and among different ranks, genders, ethnicities and levels of wealth than was previously believed to occur, as well as greater complexity and calibration in contemporary evaluations of status, which incorporated additional qualitative factors, such as social credit, power, age, marital status, physical health and appearance, and religious belief.[38] While the social order Gerbier devised for his new state was imaginary—a description of desire, rather than a mirror held up to European society—these nuances and blurrings of boundaries nonetheless help us understand Gerbier, his world and his worldview and aid in the identification of which aspects of contemporary European society he wished to alter or replicate in his creation of a new social order.

A key alteration to the social and legal norms then practised in Gerbier's chosen homeland of England was the imposition of strict, extensive, and unalterable dress controls that were 'to be kept unchanged in perpetuity'.[39] As discussed in chapter four, English/Welsh sumptuary laws had been repealed in 1604, half a century before Gerbier was writing.[40] This was therefore a departure from English practice. (English law will be used here for comparison since Gerbier was a naturalised citizen of England and submitted his 'Project' in support of the English Duke(s) of Buckingham, but also because the Netherlands where he was born and the Dutch with whom he partnered in his later colonial voyages, passed relatively fewer and less relevant dress laws—most related to mourning dress,

[37] The best known accounts are: Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (London: Henrie Midleton for Gregorie Seton, 1583), 12–34; Wiilliam Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), 94; 94–144.

[38] For further, see fn. 27 and also Rosemary O'Day, *Women's Agency in Early Modern Britain and the American Colonies: Patriarchy, Partnership and Patronage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007); Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London: Oneworld, 2017); Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*; Edith Snook, *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England: A Feminist Literary History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[39] Gerbier, 'Loix', 36. The following discussion expands upon Campbell, 'Dress, Ideology and Control', 415-417 and Jane MacRae Campbell, 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking', 52-56.

[40] For historiography of sumptuary and clothing laws in Europe and the Americas, see fns. 468, 474-486.

servants' dress, and protections against French imports, though unlike the English laws these were still active in the seventeenth century.[41] It is also for simplicity's sake, since sumptuary laws were enacted in many countries and cities across Europe and were employed for broadly similar reasons to that of English law and wrought similar local debates about the morality of excessive apparel and fears over the disintegration of hierarchies if all classes of people were allowed to dress as they liked).[42]

As Vaughan's dress controls and the discourses that inspired it have amply demonstrated, there was great enthusiasm for the use of dress in governance in the early seventeenth century, which trickled into the early eighteenth century, though this is poorly reflected in both the law and the historiography. As we have seen, social commentators, reformers, and reactionaries frequently animated their ideas in imaginary realms, through fiction, poetry, satire, and utopias. This included clothing cultures, and the regulation of dress in particular. The intimacy between utopian and colonial discourses—typified by Gerbier's utopian/colonial texts—allowed authors and colonisers to free themselves from the habits of their homeland. They could fantasise about radical solutions to the social problems caused by dress, use dress to identify or punish, or speculate on the ways in which desirable sartorial habits could be enforced/reinforced. Consequently, of twenty-three early modern utopian texts written or published in England between 1516 and 1656, 91 per cent mention dress and 82 per cent contain broader comment or discussion of clothing. Of that 82 per cent, 95 per cent use dress to control or socially order citizens. Just over half do so explicitly through law (strengthened by social enforcement) while the remainder enforce dress codes socially, either to support a specific vision of the social order, or to control

[41] Isis Sturtewagen and Bruno Blondé, 'Playing by the Rules? Dressing without Sumptuary Laws in the Low Countries from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century', in *The Right to Dress : Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 74–95. See also Letter 65 of Margaret Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, ed. James Fitzmaurice (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004), 119–220 for Margaret Cavendish's horror at the Dutch commoners trying to 'out-brave the Nobles' in dress and her desire for strict sumptuary laws.

[42] For further on individual regions, see Riello and Rublack, *The Right to Dress;* Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*; Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling the Privilege of a Few with the Common Good: Sumptuary Laws in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009); Astrid Pajur, 'Costume and Control: Sumptuary Laws and Social Order in Seventeenth-Century Tallinn' (University of Uppsala, 2014); Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 6, 56, 122, 199, 246, 253, 265–70, 280–82.

perceived subordinates or 'others'.[43] Gerbier and Vaughan were therefore far from alone in their dreams of dress control, albeit in pursuit of divergent ends.[44]

Attitudes towards dress have altered radically since Vaughan and Gerbier were writing, which has meant that its presence in texts that are considered political/constitutional is often overlooked. Though dress continues to be an object of moral/prurient/religious debate, its significance in governance and political discourse has diminished (though not disappeared; women's clothing is still politicised, e.g. controversies rage over who—usually different groups of men—should control the dress of Muslim women). Excepting its economic value, when dress history first emerged as a sub discipline in the mid twentieth century, it was ghettoised and feminised, relegated to the lower rungs of History as insignificant.[45] In 1987, Cohen, for instance, included 'descriptions of clothing' in a list of things that were 'out of the way, even bizarre' to study; but, rather than being 'out of the way' (he presumably dressed himself every day), it is clothing's very ubiquity that renders it invisible—what the anthropologist Daniel Miller describes as the 'humility of things'—which allows people to disregard their significance.[46]

Even now, debates about the morality of dress occasionally seep into scholarly discussion or affect attitudes towards those who consider it important: as Miller argues, if clothing is viewed as trivial we may 'consider people who take clothes seriously as themselves superficial'.[47] Such attitudes have led to scholars misinterpreting, deriding, or simply ignoring the commentary on clothing—and other forms of material culture—in early modern culture, and in political/philosophical works in particular. (For instance, Gaukroger complains that in New Atlantis '[w]e are given particulars of everything from the placing of

[43] Campbell, 'Dress, Ideology and Control', 402, specific examples throughout. Examples also throughout Campbell, 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking: n.b. clothing remained central to the characterisation of ideal realms across the early modern period, e.g. if the period is expanded from 1516 to 1726, then encompassing forty-eight utopian texts, 92% mention dress and 63% include discussion of clothing. 12.

[44] Elite women were also often strong supporters of sumptuary law. See Letter 65 in Margaret Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, ed. James Fitzmaurice (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004), 119–20; Margaret Cavendish, 'The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World (1666)', in *Political Writings*, ed. Susan James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1–110; and discussion of elite women and clothing controls in Campbell, 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking'.

[45] For further see Campbell, 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking', 17-20; Campbell, 'Dress, Ideology and Control', 401; also fn. 480.

[46] Stephen Greenblatt, 'Resonance and Wonder', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 43, no. 4 (1990): Walter Cohen quoted at 18; Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 50-51.

[47] Miller, *Stuff*, 13. See also Susan J. Vincent, *Anatomy of Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2009), xv.

windows in the streets to the dress of the Fathers of Solomon's House, right down to the colour of their underwear (white); but we are given no details of any of the mechanisms by which political and civil processes operate'; yet Bacon, like Gerbier, conveys the socio-political order and dynamics of power through dress, a language he assumed could be read by all).[48]

Colonial histories have also typically treated the presence of sumptuary laws in the colonial record as an archaic and irrelevant remnant of Old-World custom; but the regulation of dress is powerfully entwined with ideas of constitutional rights, human rights, freedoms and democracy, as well as socio-economic protectionism, and features prominently in political and legal discourse across the modern as well as early modern era.[49] Indeed, its utility as a socio-political tool, suited to a variety of applications, was recognised by the framers of the American Constitution, though it was not included in the final draft. For instance, George Mason of Virginia spearheaded the call for a Sumptuary Clause and

[48] Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 165. See also Howard White, *Peace Among the Willows: The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1968), 193-196, who examines the colour symbolism of Bacon's dress in the *New Atlantis* using the 'traditions of color symbolism in religion, in art, and in heraldry', yet he does not consider looking at early modern clothing culture itself, which arguably would have offered greater insight. For instance, on the significance of colour in early modern dress see the chapter on yellow starch in Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 59–86; also Hayward, 'Dressed in Blue'; Maria Hayward, '"A Sutte of Black Which Will Always Be of Use to You": Expressions of Difference and Similarity in the Clothing Choices of the Scottish Male Elite Travelling in Europe, 1550–1750', in *Dress and Cultural Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Cornelia Aust, Denise Klein, and Thomas Weller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 33–51; J R (John Robert) Harvey, *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), esp. Intro. and ch.3. For discussion of dress and colour in *New Atlantis* and other texts, see Campbell 'Dress, Power and Wishful Thinking', 71-73, 87-88.

[49] For example for the period up to 1800, see Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack, *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c. 1200-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Ruthann Robson, 'Beyond Sumptuary: Constitutionalism, Clothes, and Bodies in Anglo-American Law, 1215-1789', *British Journal of American Legal Studies* 2, no. 2 (2013): 479–509. Satire is a good indicator of social revalence, see: Swift, *Tale of a Tub*; Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, ed. Kerry McSweeney and Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For discussion of Britian and its former colonies to the present-day, see Ruthann Robson, *Dressing Constitutionally: Hierarchy, Sexuality, and Democracy from Our Hairstyles to Our Shoes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Taran Harmon-Walker, 'Fundamental Rights or Hand-Me-Down Restrictions: The Specter of Sumptuary Law in Clothing Expression Doctrines of the U.K., the U.S., & Canada', *Georgia Journal of International & Comparative Law* 49 (2021): 177–209; Caroline Irene Dick, 'Sumptuary Law by Any Other Name: Manifestations of Sumptuary Regulation in Australia, 1901-1927' (University of Wollongong, Australia, 2015). The UN defines clothing as a human right, see Article 25: UN General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10 December 1948, 217 A (III), available at: https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights

established an investigating committee and Founding Father John Adams even observed that the 'very mention of sumptuary law will excite a smile'.[50]

Therefore, as chapter four established, to neglect or trivialise the importance of clothing to early modern men and women would be both anachronistic and inaccurate: clothes were taken seriously by very serious people, whether in the personal sartorial display of taste, rank, religious belief, wealth, or political allegiance, or within governance as a means of social or economic control. However, Vaughan's approach to dress controls was quite different to Gerbier's though rooted in similar views about its power to mould society. In Gerbier's new State the regulation of dress is integral to society and is explicitly ideological. In the 'Project' and 'Laws', dress operates on multiple levels: to define Gerbier's desired hierarchical social order, visually and materially; to express and support a patriarchal and aristocratic ideology; and to embody the natural and Divine order, which he believed these reflected.

In achievement of these aims, Gerbier's dress laws depart from their historical English equivalents by introducing additional levels of state control and sanction over the outward show and consumption choices of citizens (as did Vaughan's). In England, penalties for violating sumptuary laws could affect commoners harshly with imprisonment and fines (on paper at least, since there were relatively few prosecutions), but nobles who flouted the laws, if subject to sanction at all, were simply fined.[51] However, punishment for clothing violations would be meted out even to 'Princes and Senators' in Gerbier's new State in America, who would be given corporal punishment (absent in the 'Laws').[52] In both texts, Gerbier also *prescribed* aspects of the dress of both commoners and the nobility in addition to *proscribing* specific colours, styles and materials in the dress of commoners, where English law made no such attempt to define or control non-official dress, or to curb the sartorial choices of the nobility.[53] Moreover, Gerbier's clothing laws were far more

[50] Robson, *Dressing Constitutionally*, 31-32 [quoting Mason's 'Thoughts on Government'].
[51] Baldwin 243
[52] Gerbier, 'Project', 70v-71r.
[53] See the entirely proscriptive statues detailed in the 'Appendix: summaries of sumptuary petitions and statutes, 1337–1509/10' in Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 33–37; also the Henrician statutes listed in Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and Law in Henry VIII's England*, 22–39.

constricting than Vaughan's prescriptive dress controls, themselves a departure from Anglo-Welsh practice, adding additional layers of control.

Prescriptive clothing had, however, been the norm for Official or ceremonial dress in England and elsewhere in Europe for centuries, and a combination of injunction and custom within Church, State and other institutions, defined the clothing worn by nobles of differing rank and honour, members of the Houses of Parliament, those in the legal profession, the clergy, academics, guilds and local burgesses.[54] The intrinsic connections between law, clothing and office are deeply embedded in our vocabulary. Investiture, the term used to describe the moment in which a person is inaugurated into a rank or position, comes from vestment, the ceremonial robes that symbolically and literally clothe them with Office and/or Honour. The languages of law, custom, religion, and finance are a semantic palimpsest of clothing terminology: investment/vesture; raiment/arrangement; livery/'livery of seisen'; custom/costume, suit of court/suit and habit.[55] To 'dress' 'rule', 'direct, guide, keep straight', and 'regulate' all have the same Proto-Indo-European root: reg*—the older connections still visible in the military expression to dress ranks, meaning to 'align a column of troops'—and 'ordering' was synonymous for 'tailoring' in the sixteenth century.[56] Illuminating these interconnections, Defert writes of monks' habits that, '[n]o sixteenth-century French dictionary defines "*l'habit monastique*" simply as a "garment". The "*habitus monasticus*" designates the rule, the way of life, from which the garment cannot be

[54] For further on legal dress, see Gary Watt, *Dress, Law and Naked Truth: A Cultural Study of Fashion and Form* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2003); Paul Raffield, *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Thomas Woodcock, *Legal Habits: A Brief Sartorial History of Wig, Robe and Gown* (London: Ede and Ravenscroft, 2003). For the dress of Office and ceremony (secular and religious), see Conal Condren, *Argument and Authority in Early Modern England: The Presupposition of Oaths and Offices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chapters 2,3 and 5; and for robes of the monarchy, nobility and Parliament from late seventeenth century onwards, see Ede and Ravenscroft, *Robes of the Realm: 300 Years of Ceremonial Dress*, ed. Serena Dilnot (London: Michael O'Mara Books, 1989). For clerical dress, specifically, see Percy Dearmer, *The Arts of the Church: Ornaments of the Ministers* (London and Oxford: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1908) and for academic dress Charles Franklyn, *Academical Dress from the Middle Ages to the Present Day Including Lambeth Degrees* (Lewes: W. E. Baxter, 1970).

[55] Watt, *Dress, Law and Naked Truth*, 2–4, 91.

[56] Ibid., 2; Janet Arnold, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500-1914* (London: National Trust, 1999), 51; Douglas Harper, 'Etymology of dress', Online Etymology Dictionary, https://www.etymonline.com/word/dress.

disassociated … The garment is a rule of conduct and the reminder of this rule for the wearer as well as for others'.[57]

Gerbier's clothing designs upon his imagined populace visually inscribed honour and Office but were also intended to exhibit powerful control over the morality, spiritual health, and self-identity of citizens. Robes of office were more than fabric. They were imbued with symbolic power and meaning, vessels of memory and tradition. Conal Condren observes that the ceremonies of Church and State 'were woven round talismanic and sacred robes', placing dress at the heart of rites and rituals.[58] However, the power invested in robes was not merely symbolic: a garment was a material and spiritual agent possessing the power both to protect and alter the wearer. A judge's robe defended him against the spiritual damnation caused by errors of judgement. Matthew 7:2 warns, 'For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again'; but—since the 'performance of public judgement resided not in his private person but in his robe of office'—a false judgement made by a berobed-Judge would not cost him his soul.[59] Judicial robes thus held the power to condemn, protect, or to cleanse and forgive: Vaughan, writing of the Protestant faithful, claims that God, the ultimate 'judge will clothe them with his robes of grace'.[60]

When donning ceremonial or official robes, it was therefore also sometimes necessary to live up to one's clothes. Clothing injunctions for the legal profession, enacted at Gray's Inn in 1574, demanded that 'every man of this Society, should frame and reform himself for the manner of his Apparell'.[61] Compelling his nobles and Officers to wear official robes at all times in public, therefore, ensured Gerbier's rulers comported themselves with the honour of their position. Dress was an active partner in this task, aiding the wearer in this reformation of character, since clothing could alter and transmute the virtue and

[57] Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Habits, Holdings, Heterologies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book', *Yale French Studies*, no. 110 (11 May 2006): Daniel Defert quoted at 117.
[58] Condren, *Argument and Authority*, 43.
[59] Watt, *Dress, Law and Naked Truth*, 86–87.
[60] Vaughan, *Militant*.
[61] William Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales or Historical Memorials of the English Laws* (London: F. and T. Warren, 1666), at 282; see also 148, 197, 244, 283: it was also important to ensure clothing and facial hair were respectful and in accordance with the status of official buildings, e.g. no cloaks or hats. For further on legal dress, see Paul Raffield, 'Reformation, Regulation and the Image: Sumptuary Legislation and the Subject of Law', *Law and Critique* 13 (2002): 127–50; Raffield, *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558-1660*.

character of a person, 'fashioning…the mind' and body of the wearer.[62] Furthermore, the alteration was mutual: clothing worn by important persons absorbed and retained some of that individual's power and character as well as possessing its own qualities. (Even now, such clothing has resonance, what Greenblatt describes as the power 'to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world': thus Cardinal Wolsely's hat 'still radiates a tiny quantum of cultural energy').[63] Clothing conferred virtue and decorum while constraining baser urges, as the 1615 reforms of the Inns of Court maintained: 'decency in Apparel is an ornament to all Societies, and containeth young men within the bounds of Civility and order'.[64]

Gerbier's sumptuary and clothing laws were therefore integral to his overall ordering of society: socially, spiritually, and morally. Unalterable laws enshrine his prescriptions on style, colour, material, and ornamentation, dividing people by rank, degree of Honour, Office/profession, gender, and marital status. As assistant to John Finet and later Master of Ceremonies himself, Gerbier was intimately aware of the importance and centrality of clothing within the rituals of Office and rank. His encyclopaedic knowledge of the robes, Orders of Chivalry, and heraldry of the European monarchs and nobles is displayed in the illustrated folio manuscript, 'Armoiries Royales (Tant Anciennes Que Modernes)' (e.g. figs. 54-56).[65] As such, where his laws depart in style and function from their English counterparts, we can understand Gerbier to be fully cognisant of the implications.

His laws pertaining to Official dress specify that 'Officers of the justice and police will wear the black robe at the Palace, and … a soutane of the same colour over their clothes. Finance officers will wear the purple robe and be distinguished by a soutane of the same colour over their clothes' (a soutane or cassock is the floor-length, high-collared and front-buttoned garment traditionally worn by Roman and Anglican clergy), while 'Princes and

[62] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, ed. W. L. Renwick. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), at 70. See also Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 2–4; Edith Snook, 'The Greatness in Good Clothes: Fashioning Subjectivity in Mary Wroth's Urania and Margaret Spencer's Account Book (BL Add. MS 62092)', *Seventeenth Century* 22, no. 2 (2007): 227.
[63] Greenblatt, 'Resonance and Wonder', at 12 and 19; then, as now, we can also marvel at the quality, skill and workmanship involved in the production of such objects: 31-32.
[64] 'Orders for the Reformation and better Government of the Innes of Court and Chancery, agreed upon by the common and uniform consent of the Readers and Benchers of the four Houses-of Court', 7th November 1615, in Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales or Historical Memorials of the English Laws*, 317–18, at 318.
[65] Gerbier, 'Armoiries Royales'.

senators will wear the Council's gown of scarlet lined with ermine'.[66] These sartorial requirements provided citizens with a colour-coded visual key to status and Office. Aspects of the apparel of commoners was also to be prescribed to enable quick visual identification. Craftsmen in the 'Project', though not the 'Laws', were to wear something on their clothing to indicate their profession, such as a badge or symbol.[67]

Where in England the strength of custom or institutional regulation enforced prescriptions on Official and ceremonial dress, in Gerbier's imagined State, dress codes were to be legally enforced. English sumptuary law, when in place, had occasionally allowed exceptions that recognised the requirements of official/institutional dress codes, such as the exemptions made for Academics, who were allowed to wear exotic furs even if they were 'under the degree of Gentleman', in accordance with the custom of marking academic degrees with different furs and fabrics.[68] Strong recommendations were also made to meet standards of professional dress, such as in 1637 when the Privy Council requested that (legal) counsellors appear 'in their gownes according to theire places'.[69] Clothing infractions of the clergy could conceivably be prosecuted in ecclesiastical courts. However, though social shame and institutional sanctions were powerful deterrents, no laws of State prescribed or enforced the dress codes of Office.

In Gerbier's imaginary America, however, anyone wearing scarlet or crimson silk who was not a Senator or Prince, would be flogged, since this 'special mark for distinguishing them will be protected on pain of corporal punishment'.[70] Elsewhere in his texts, Gerbier gives nobles and commoners differential treatment under the law but here, all are subject to the same corporal punishment, whether Knights (of the second or third Order) or commoners, a situation that had no equivalent in England or the rest of Britain. The upper ranks prosecuted under Tudor sumptuary law were usually given gentler treatment (a fine or reprimand) than those further down the social scale, but even for the poorer sort punishments more often involved confiscation coupled with social humiliation rather than

[66] Gerbier, 'Project', 70v-71r; 'Loix', 35.
[67] Gerbier, 'Project', 79r: '*Tout homme de mestier portera sur son habit une marque de sa profession*'.
[68] Henry VIII c 14 'An Act against Wearing of costly Apparel' (1509/10).
[69] Woodcock, *Legal Habits: A Brief Sartorial History of Wig, Robe and Gown*, 56.
[70] Gerbier, 'Project', 70v-71r; 'Loix', 35. The 'Loix' omits the corporal punishment.

physical pain.[71] Gerbier's decision to remove corporal punishment from his 'Laws' reflects a gentler, more idealistic tone overall, and perhaps marks a shift from fear to hope as a cultural landscape defined by war and terror gave way to a tentative peace. The 'Laws' omits a large section present in the 'Project' that relates to more practical matters, such as fraud, debt, poverty, religion, crime and punishment. This may reflect a reduced interest in these issues, some of which were more personally compelling in 1649 than in 1654 (such as his own problems with debt and credit), or perhaps, being imagined without fixed location, it reflects even greater idealism and escapism from practical realities than the 'Project', written specifically for America.

In both texts, however, Gerbier wished to deepen and extend the uses of sumptuary legislation beyond that of Tudor England to encompass and control aspects of Official, public and private dress of all ranks and genders. For instance, no commoner could wear precious metals, pearls or 'other finery'; or scarlet, 'brocade fabrics, gauze and cloth of gold or silver', while no female commoners were permitted to wear particular categories of jewellery, such as earrings or necklaces, or adorn their head other than with a simple cap of taffeta, crepe or toile.[72] These regulations were in keeping with the proscriptive style of European sumptuary laws, which restricted consumption rather than imposing specific costumes. Yet Gerbier also does the latter. English law seldom ordered or defined the style or type of dress worn by citizens, and it had never prescribed the dress of the elite.

The few commands that imposed articles of dress upon citizens are limited to a medieval ordinance, which commanded that 'all the comyn strompetes sholde were raye hodis and white roddis in her hondes' to distinguish them from respectable women; the Elizabethan 'Act for the Making of Cappes' of 1571, which demanded that everyone over the age of six wore a cap on Holy days but specifically exempted the gentry and nobility; and the later requirement of 1697 to 'badge' anyone receiving poor relief.[73] The choice involved (however small) in being a prostitute or asking for poor relief might arguably insert a voluntary aspect to these clothing impositions—however brutally prejudicial against the

[71] Wilfred Hooper, 'Tudor Sumptuary Law', *The English Historical Review* 30, no. 119 (1915): 441 Doda, '"Saide Monstrous Hose"', 173.
[72] Gerbier, 'Project', 71r-72r; 'Loix', 35-36.
[73] Baldwin, 'Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England', 108; Robson, *Dressing Constitutionally*, 11; 13 Elizabeth I c.19, *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:1, 555.

poor or desperate—but in all cases the upper ranks are excluded. However, Gerbier's order of dress is to be universally applied with greater impositions and restrictions placed upon the dress of the elite than on commoners and on the dress of women of all ranks than upon men.

In contrast to Vaughan's uniform and modest national dress, which would distinguish ranks only through fabric and cut, Gerbier wished to implant a sartorial order that defined rank, gender and marital status visually through sumptuous (and often revealing) styles and fabrics, in a hierarchy of colours and ornamentation. In so doing, he removed opportunities available to the European social elite, who were able to express and display their wealth, fashion and taste freely, albeit within the confines of sumptuary legislation (when in place) and limited by their relative wealth. In Gerbier's imagined state, the highest ranks are subjected to the most limiting demands since all Princes and senators must wear a 'cassock of scarlet or crimson silk' when in public, while all knights are subject to the less-restrictive imposition that 'required [them] to always wear their Order on them', and male commoners are not required to wear anything specific, excepting craftsman who must wear a mark of their profession on their clothing (this latter only in the Project).[74]

Women are likewise ordered hierarchically and visually through dress, with the greatest degree of control exhibited on noblewomen's dress. While knights who were not Princes or Senators could dress in styles according to their choosing as long as they wore a mark of 'their Order' (e.g. the chain of the rank) noblewomen were offered less freedom of expression. 'In addition to the upper body garment and skirt, the wives and daughters of the nobles will wear a long and trailing gown with wide sleeves reaching four fingers below the elbow' and will wear 'garlands of flowers, feathers or precious stones on their bare heads'; likewise while 'the commoners, also in addition to the upper body garment and skirt, will wear a dress with narrow sleeves, as they do in France' and will wear 'a cap of taffeta, crepe or toile' and nothing else on their heads (the laws for common men simply forbade the wearing of gold, silver or scarlet, as also applied to female commoners).[75]

Gerbier's laws magnify the splendour of the nobility through the richness, expense and range of styles, jewellery, and fabrics they were exclusively allowed. The style of

[74] Gerbier, 'Project', 70v-71r, 79r (craftsmen); 'Loix', 35.
[75] Gerbier, 'Project', 71v-72v; 'Loix', 35-36.

clothing specified is also intended to set them apart from commoners. The excessively large sleeves and 'trailing' gowns the noblewomen were to wear would be impractical and restrictive, unsuitable for anything but social performance and *otium* (idealised leisure). The sheer weight of the fabric, with greater volumes accorded to higher degrees, also prohibited vigorous activity. (John Chamberlain remarked how the mourners at Elizabeth's funeral 'came laggering along even tired with the … waight of theyre clothes, every Lady having twelve yeardes of broadcloth about her and the countesses sixteen').[76] Likewise, the rich robes of office worn by noblemen would similarly prohibit or at least severely hinder any attempt at manual labour. Both forms of clothing would also be vastly more expensive due to the amount of fabric required, as well as the superiority of the cloth, inscribing noble superiority in material terms. (While these are costumes designed in the imagination, contemporary portraits give some indication of what Gerbier may be envisaging, e.g. of Princess Mary, figs. 64 and 65). Gerbier's statutes therefore visually define the rank and status of both sexes. However, the clothing laws that apply to women have an additional aim: to beautify them as objects of sexual desire, decorated for male consumption.

All noblewomen must wear flowers, 'feathers or precious stones' on their undressed heads, while common women must cover their hair with a cap.[77] Girls who were unmarried would be easily identified by a requirement that they wear a 'pink rose of ribbon [worn] on the left side of their head' and also 'have the throat and part of their chest uncovered whereas married women…will cover them with crepe'.[78] Maidens and noblewomen, considered to be the most alluring, were correspondingly marked out and covered less. The exposed décolletage of unmarried girls advertises their (notional) virginity and their availability to bachelors of all ranks and is made more visible by the contrastingly concealed breasts of married matrons. These unmarried women would be young, since women would be 'compelled' to marry between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five and men between twenty and thirty. Although no-one would be forced to marry someone they dislike, nor be allowed to marry someone their parents disliked, if the family were unsuccessful in finding a match, the mayors and deputies would draw upon a book of genealogies to secure an

[76] Per Palme, *Triumph of Peace: A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1957), at 4.
[77] Gerbier, 'Loix', 35-56.
[78] Ibid.



Fig. 64: Gerrit van Honthorst, Probably Mary, Princess Royal and Princess of Orange, 1650s. NPG 1534. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 65: Bartholomeus van der Helst, Mary Stuart, Portrait of Princess Mary Stuart (1631-1660), Widow of Willem II, Prince of Orange, 1652. Rijksmueum, Amsterdam.

alternative.[79] Gerbier's artistic connoisseurship may also have had some influence on this aspect of his sumptuary law. In European art of the Renaissance, nudes were often framed by rich and contrasting fabrics and textures, highlighting the whiteness of noble and European skin, untouched by sun or labour (e.g. figs. 50).[80] The exposure of flesh was also deemed more alluring when framed by fabrics that incompletely concealed, simultaneously and erotically hiding and highlighting nakedness (e.g. fig. 70).[81] The partial exposure of virgin flesh, enforced by law, would provide titillation for all men, whether prospective husband or not, and exposed a maiden's 'wares' for the pleasure and identification of any onlooker.[82]

In a similar fashion, women's hair is hierarchically ordered and fetishized by the sumptuary laws. While the hair of commoners is concealed under fabric, the hair of noblewomen must be styled but left gloriously uncovered and ornamented with flowers, jewels and precious stones enhanced and framed by 'pendant earrings', which are prohibited to commoners.[83] The sexual allure of hair was such that calls for it to be covered or celebrated are pervasive in religious texts and early modern literature: to Petrarch it was the ensnarer of men.[84] Ungerer similarly describes hair as a metaphorical 'trap set by Lechery to lock men in the lascivious embraces of flowing tresses'.[85] The legislation thus objectifies noblewomen as sexually desirable commodities and artworks, on display to all but unavailable to the masses.

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[79] Gerbier, 'Project', 76r; 'Loix', 38.

[80] Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 248–53. Kim F. Hall. *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*.

[81] Watt, *Dress, Law and Naked Truth: A Cultural Study of Fashion and Form*, 9; John Harvey, 'Showing and Hiding: Equivocation in the Relations of Body and Dress', *Fashion Theory - Journal of Dress Body and Culture* 11, no. 1 (2007): 65–94. Watt, *Dress, Law and Naked Truth: A Cultural Study of Fashion and Form*, 9; John Harvey, 'Showing and Hiding: Equivocation in the Relations of Body and Dress', *Fashion Theory - Journal of Dress Body and Culture* 11, no. 1 (2007): 65–94. Ironically, the tale of Susanna depicted in fig. 70 is about lecherous elders who spy on her bathing (when she refuses to have sex with them they falsely accuse her of adultery but their lies are discovered), which gave countless artists the opportunity to paint her naked so they could spy on her with them under the guise of an edifying tale of chastity and virtue.

[82] Harvey, 'Showing and Hiding', 70-1.

[83] Gerbier, 'Loix', p.36.

[84] Gustav Ungerer, 'Sir Andrew Aguecheek and His Head of Hair', *Shakespeare Studies* 16 (1983): 116-18.

[85] Ungerer, 'Sir Andrew Aguecheek', 117. See also Thomas Hall, *Comarum: The Loathsomnesse OF LONG HAIRE: OR, A TREATISE Wherein you have the Question stated, many Arguments against it produc'd, and the most materiall Arguments for it refell'd and answer'd, with the concurrent judgement of Divines both old and new against it. With an Appendix against Painting, Spots, Naked Breasts* (London, 1654). See also discussion of hair in chapter four.

Though both wished to control how women looked and behaved, Gerbier's idea of divinely ordained dress was, indeed, the exact opposite of Vaughan's. Rather than decorating them, Vaughan was horrified by sinful 'breasts nakedly discovered' and frizzled hair covered in 'gaudy raiments'.[86] Vaughan's, and other Protestant commentators', prurient views on dressing women's bodies and hair in the early seventeenth century clearly had an inhibiting effect on female fashions—it was remembered by John Breval, a century later, as a period of terrible modesty.[87] In a poem about women's dress through history, he writes of James' succession, 'Now follow'd Canting *Puritans* in Shoals, / Who spoil'd our Bodies, as they damn'd our Souls; / Of every Ornament they strip'd the Fair, / And hid their Bubbies with Paternal Care'.[88] The verse highlights the titillation offered by revealing fashions; it is not women's bodies but male pleasure which is 'spoil'd' by their concealment.

In More's *Utopia*, and in real-world colonies, Ireland and, later, Scotland, clothing laws were used to obliterate the cultural traditions of indigenous peoples and to impose and maintain that of the invading culture. Dress could also be used, as in Utopia and later colonies, to mark and identify slaves. In all cases, dress was used to impress an idea of superior 'civility' and political might upon the indigenous/enslaved populations. In later colonial texts in which he promoted the idea of slavery, Gerbier argued that slaves did not require clothing, a cruel premise clearly upheld in later slave-based colonial societies where it became necessary to pass laws detailing minimum requirements. This, however, was in the future. In his earlier Project and Laws, commoners are the lowest members of the social hierarchy, and the nobility the most sartorially restricted. In his new state, Gerbier sought to impose and protect what might be called Gerbian culture, neither European nor of the New World, but created as a reflection of what Gerbier saw as the natural hierarchy and gender roles. In so doing, Gerbier removed the sartorial choice and opportunities for self-expression that were available to nobles and commoners in contemporary England. The immutability of these laws set these styles, ornamentations, and restrictions in aspic: in Gerbier's imagination the bodies of his citizens were ideal artistic objects that could be dressed and positioned as if in a painting set in its frame.

[86] [William Vaughan], *Golden Fleece*, 60; Vaughan, *Golden-Grove,* Chapter 8.
[87] John Breval, *The Art of Dress. A Poem* (London: R. Burleigh, 1717), 12–13.
[88] Breval, *Art of Dress*, 12–13.

Bodies, buildings and the classical orders

Gerbier was a keen consumer and occasional producer of buildings and theories of architecture. In developing his clothing laws, Gerbier looked back upon English and European legal tradition and to European art, but also to building design and the Classical orders of architecture. By the seventeenth century, the 'orders' described a set of ratios, proportions and ornamentation from which an appropriate building could be produced of any required size or status. While potentially complex mathematical attributes were associated with the meaning and use of each order, each was most directly represented by a particular style of column and capital. In Renaissance architecture treatises, these vary in number from three to five or more. The three Greek orders (Doric, Ionic and Corinthian) and two Roman (later called the Tuscan and Composite by Italian Renaissance writers) were elucidated by Vitruvius in *De architectura* in the first century BC. This was the only known architectural text to have survived from antiquity and so had immense practical and philosophical significance across post-Renaissance Europe. After Vitruvius, each order has its basis in the proportions of the human body and is analogous to a body type and forms of dress (e.g. man, matron, maiden).[89] Later architectural writers also adopted the analogy and the personification of the orders. For instance, Wotton, Gerbier's acquaintance, wrote of the Composite order, that 'to know him will be easie by the verie mixture of his *Ornaments* and *Clothing*'.[90]

Given his interests in both architectural and societal order, it is no surprise that there are direct parallels between the gendered stylistic components and decorative accessories Gerbier selected to dress his citizens and the ornamentation and descriptions of the Classical orders. For instance, the notionally female orders (Ionic being a matron, Corinthian a maiden) demand greater ornamentation and fineness than the masculine orders. Like Gerbier's noblewomen, the Ionic matrons are 'dressed' in robes, with their hair (the volutes) coiffed in ringlets and adorned with ornaments, while the unmarried Ionic is likewise decorated in a different manner to the Corinthian maidens. Wotton seems almost titillated

[89] Vitruvius, *Vitruvius: The Ten Books of Architecture*, trans. Morris Hicky Morgan; illus. Herbert Langford Warren (New York: Dover, 1960).
[90] Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: John Bill, 1624), 39.

by them, imagining the Corinthian column to be 'laciviously decked like a Curtezane'.[91] Though less sexually-experienced than Wotton's courtesans, the unmarried virgins in Gerbier's colonial society are no less overt in their sexual allure, and with their exposed décolletage and be-ribboned hair, they reflect the prettier adornments of the Corinthian 'girls', which celebrate 'the outlines and limbs of maidens', with ornamentation that, like Gerbier's clothing laws, emphasises their bodies.[92]

Though Gerbier outlines his State through a series of laws with no accompanying exposition, many of his works confirm that he viewed bodies and buildings to have the same representational purpose and organisational function. Rather than simply being analogous, he speaks about them interchangeably. The geometry found in nature and Classical rules of proportion, drawn from the human form, were for Gerbier sources of beauty and a mirror of the divine: bodies and buildings could reflect God's glory in their proportions and decoration. In this way, dressed bodies and dressed buildings in Gerbier's new State had a spiritual aspect beyond their visual and material articulation of the social hierarchy. The architecture, heraldry and clothing Gerbier describes in the 'Laws' and 'Project' do not simply decorate his laws, but in many ways define his new state. Moreover, Gerbier (reasonably) expected his intended readers to be fluent in this visual rhetoric.

Gerbier, fluent in both Latin and Italian, was familiar with *De Architectura*, which had been published in Latin from 1486 and in Italian from 1522 (the earliest English translation was not published until 1726).[93] He refers to Vitruvius and the Classical orders in texts of the 1640s, in his discussion of architecture in the *Interpreter* (1648), and in later architectural works where he echoes Vitruvius' 'firmitas, utilitas, venustas', in his own three requirements for a good building: 'conveniency, solidity and ornament'.[94] This puts Gerbier at the forefront of English writings on classical architecture. Only two English texts had been published before Gerbier's: John Shute's *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563) and Henry Wotton's landmark *Elements of Architecture* (1624).[95] Gerbier was also aware of the works and publications of the Italian Renaissance and later French reinterpretations of

[91] Ibid., 37.
[92] For Vitruvius' descriptions see fn. 91-94 below.
[93] John Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), 135.
[94] Gerbier, *Interpreter, First Part*; Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders*; Gerbier, *Brief Discourse*, 1662.
[95] John Shute, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture Used in All the Ancient and Famous Monymentes* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563); Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*.

the Classical architectural orders and complained of artless practitioners who 'may perchance have…seen the Books of the Italian Architects, have the Traditions of Vignola in their Pockets…heard Lectures on the Art of Architecture, which have laid before them the most necessary Rules, as also the Origine of the several Orders'; yet who still manage to translate this knowledge into poor architectural forms: they 'make a shew of some thing, but misse thereby (as ill Bow-men) the Mark'.[96]

As in other fields, architectural historians, such as Summerson and Harris, have been disparaging of Gerbier's own building designs, though their aesthetic opinion seems to have been somewhat influenced by their understanding of his character (probably garnered from Horace Walpole's withering description).[97] For instance, Summerson initially attributed the design of the York House Water-Gate in London to Gerbier but later agreed with Harris that it must be by Inigo Jones. When attributed to Gerbier, the Water-Gate was deemed 'gauche' and unsophisticated, 'a poor reflection of Jones' disciplined style', but, when attributed to Inigo Jones, it was characterised by 'intelligent and idiosyncratic detailing'.[98] Regardless of Gerbier's relative skill as an architect, his fundamental belief in the universal significance of the architectural orders infused many of his writings.

The connection between the human form, architecture and the (divine) Classical orders is central to Gerbier's sumptuary laws for his new State and his orders of nobility (for example, his Order of the Columns) and though he does not describe the design of his proposed buildings in detail he describes some of its decoration, such as on the Banqueting Hall of the Knights. Gerbier believed the Classical orders came from God. Therefore buildings, like bodies, set out and ornamented according to these rules, celebrated and reflected His glory. Gerbier described the connection between the orders, the body, and God's plan in his *Counsel for Builders*:

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[96] Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders*, 4–5. For a good summary of the principal interpreters and theorists of the Classical orders and their architectural works, see Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture*, 135–38, though he omits the treatises by Gerbier and also, more surprisingly, that of Gerbier's close acquaintance Wotton.

[97] Horace Walpole, 'Anecdotes of Painting', 190-202.

[98] Howard Colvin remains 'uncertain' of its authorship. See, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 397–98. John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, 9th ed. (Yale University Press, 1993); John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (London: Penguin, 1983); John Harris, 'Who Designed the York Water-Gate?', *Country Life*, no. Nov 02 (1989): 150–51; John Harris, Stephen Orgel, and Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court. A Quatercentury Exhibition Held at the Banqueting House, Whitehall from July 12th to September 2nd, 1973* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973), 201.

> [T]hat which the Grecians and Romans have found to be a Dimension sunk down from above, as all those who have made it their respectfull observations of the Dimensions the Creator hath been pleased to give to the Microcosme Man, they have found that there is a perfect concordance, amongst them, a Body consisting of so many Models of so many height of Heads; A Head of so many distances between the one Eye and the other, nay even in the gaping of a well-proportioned Mouth.[99]

Like Luca Pacioli, in *Divina proportione* (1509), illustrated by da Vinci, Gerbier connects the divine proportions of man with the orders of architecture and sees 'Microcosme' or 'Vitruvian' man as a mirror of the universe, an idea drawn from Classical and hermetic texts (fig. 66).[100] The Greeks and Romans it was argued, though pagan, had uncovered part of the divine simply by replicating the perfect proportions found in nature.[101] However, Gerbier believed this knowledge had already been given to the Biblical forefathers: these 'Dimensions and Rules came directly from Heaven, when the great Architect and Surveyor of Heaven and Earth, prescribed the Rules and particular Orders for the Building of a floating-Pallace, (*Noahs* Ark) and the glorious matchlesse Temple of Solomon, the perfect House of Prayer'.[102]

Solomon, it followed, not only predated but informed the Greeks and Romans. Therefore, Classical architecture was, in truth, the one true Christian architecture—the argument Villalpando put forth in his commentary on Ezekiel, which featured illustrations of the reconstructed Temple complex in the Corinthian order.[103] Gerbier is unusual and possibly unique, however, in presenting Noah's Ark as an even earlier Biblical precedent for the use of the classical orders.[104] For Gerbier, there was also a further religious connection. The Huguenots associated themselves and their persecution with the Biblical children of Israel and deployed a polygonal ground plan in their 'temples' in the Netherlands and

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[99] Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders*, 33–34.

[100] Petro Cataneo's later version of Vitruvian man *I Quattro Primi Libri Di Architectura* (Venegia, 1554) features a naked man on a t-shaped cross floorplan of a basilica and is explicitly connected to the earthly Church; for further see Peter Fingesten, 'Topographical and Anatomical Aspects of the Gothic Cathedral', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20, no. 1 (18 May 1961): see fig. on 13.

[101] Gerbier, *Interpreter, First Part*. Balthazar Gerbier.

[102] Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse,* 2–3.

[103] Villalpando and del Prado, *In Ezechielem Explanationes, 3 Vols*; Gerbier, *Brief Discourse*, 1664, 2.

[104] Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse,* 2. He also refers to the orders given to Noah in construction of the Ark in Gerbier, *The Interpreter, the First Part,* 173

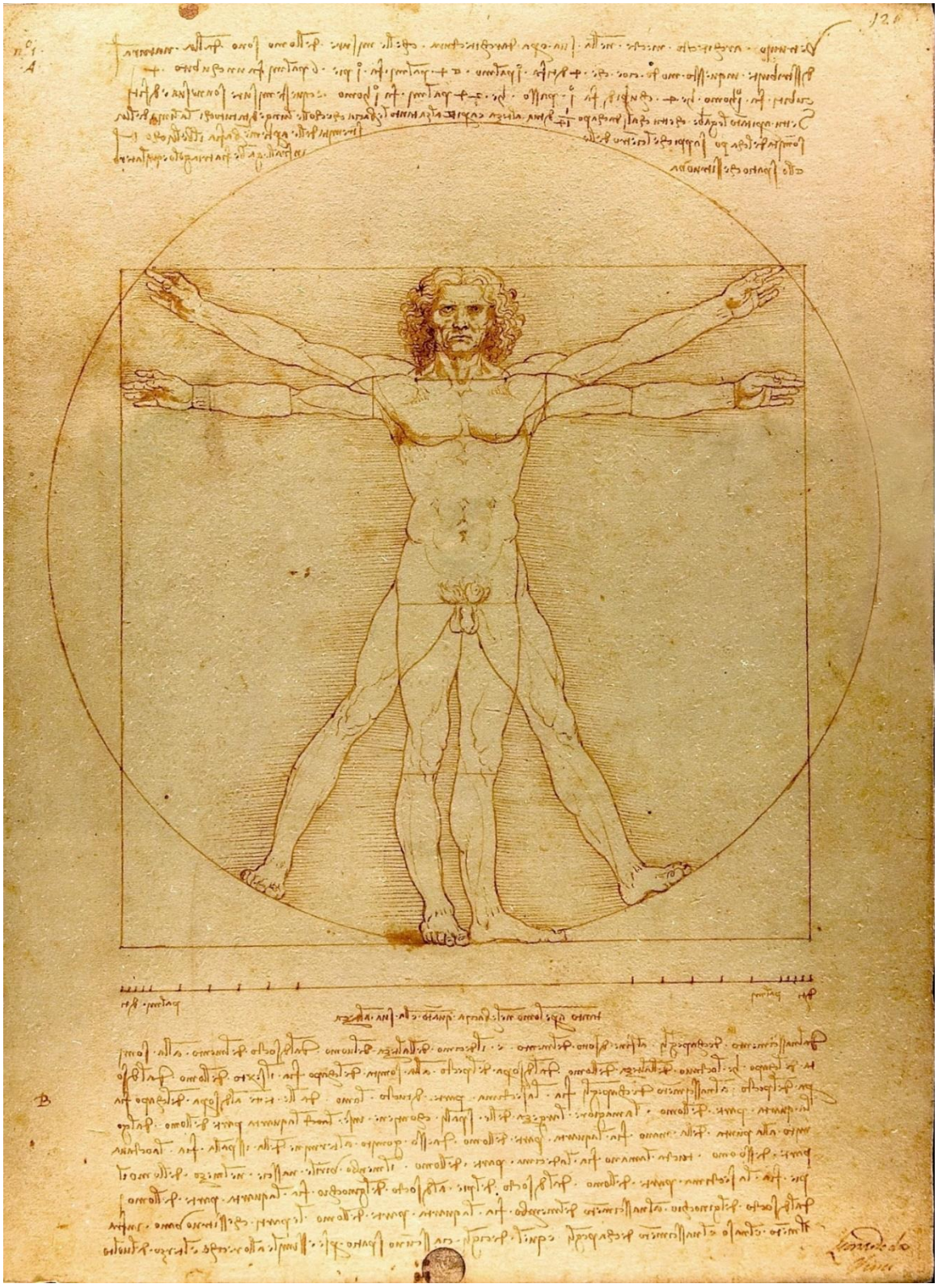


Fig. 66: Leonardo da Vinci, Vitruvian Man, c. 1492, 228, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Photo: Luc Viatour / www.Lucnix.be .

France, which became popularly associated with the design of Solomon's Temple, several of which Gerbier would have known first hand.[105]

Davis believes Gerbier's references to Solomon are derived from Roland Fréart de Chambray, whose *Parallele* (1650), later translated into English by John Evelyn, was a critical review of the ten established versions of the architectural orders, which included Villalpando's arguments and explored his Temple designs.[106] It is very likely that Gerbier read *Parallele*, but his references to Noah seem to be his own and it seems certain he would already have been familiar with Villalpando's ideas, which had been aggressively adopted in the Protestant states of Germany and the Dutch Republic, especially in Middelburg, Gerbier's hometown, and by Constantijn Huygens and his circle in the 1630s, with whom Gerbier corresponded and undertook negotiations.[107] It is less certain but possible that his interest in Solomon, Noah and the Hermetic search for lost knowledge may derive from a familiarity with freemasonry. A key aspect of the Old Charges that masons ritually recite is the craft's part in preserving and passing on geometrical knowledge to humanity after the flood.[108]

This connects Gerbier to an architectural and theological debate, and demonstrates Gerbier's commitment to a Biblical origin for the architectural orders, but what bearing does it have on Gerbier's dress controls? The architectural orders, applied to a building, are a visual expression of (divine) order that is analogous in cause and effect to the ways in which clothing laws were applied to dressing the body.[109] Most significantly, as we have seen, Gerbier's clothing laws describe separate forms of ornamentation—including dressing of their hair—to distinguish men, married women and maidens, just as Vitruvius described the architectural orders and their origins in the bodies and clothing of men and women. Briefly,

[105] Andrew Spicer, 'Rebuilding Solomon's Temple? The Architecture of Calvinism', *Studies in Church History* 36 (2000): 277.
[106] Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Parallèle de l'architecture Antique Avec La Moderne* (Paris: Edme Martin, 1650); John Evelyn, *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern* (London: Tho. Roycroft for John Place, 1664); Davis, 'Introduction: Counsel and Advice: "Owners of Buildings" and Their Trustees', 5.
[107] Keblusek, 'Cultural and Political Brokerage', 156–57; Jeroen Goudeau, 'Ezekiel for Solomon: The Temple of Jerusalem in Seventeenth-Century Leiden and the Case of Cocceius', in *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, ed. Jeroen Goudeau, Mariette Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 92.
[108] Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, 20-21, 85; Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision*.
[109] Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, 20.

the Doric order 'exhibit[s] the strength, beauty and proportions of a man'.[110] The Ionic has 'the delicacy, adornment and proportions of a woman'; at the 'foot they substituted the base in place of a shoe; in the capital they placed the volutes, hanging down at the right and left like curly ringlets, and ornamented at the front with cymatia and with festoons of fruit arranged in place of hair, while they brought the flutes down the whole shaft, falling like the folds in the robes worn by matrons'.[111] The 'third order, called Corinthian, is an imitation of the slenderness of a maiden; for the outlines and limbs of maidens, being more slender on account of their tender years, admit of prettier effects in the way of ornament'.[112] Shute's illustrations of the orders make this analogy explicit, juxtaposing a human form next to the relevant order (figs. 67-69).[113] Wotton, whom Gerbier knew personally, makes similar comparisons, but with some additions; for instance, noting that the Ionique matron was no 'light House-wife, but in a decent dressing' and describing the Tuscan order as 'a plain, massie, rurall Pillar, resembling some sturdy well-limmed Labourer, homely clad'.[114] Gerbier too paraphrases these descriptions and embellishes them in different texts.[115]

The socially and hierarchically-determined use of different architectural orders for different buildings is equivalent to Gerbier's citizens' bodies and the clothing laws applied to them.[116] For example, in laws which decorate high status women with loose hair styles, precious stones and pendant earrings, where men are given robes and less ornamentation. Bodies and buildings are also interchangeable in his other texts. He repeatedly describes the ornamentation of buildings in terms of the decoration and dressing of the human form and emphasises the importance and impact of the first impressions made by the dressing of a building/human. For instance: 'the best Ornaments of a Face appears at first sight by the Eyes, Mouth, and Nose; so doth the best qualities of a perfect Building, by Windowes, and

[110] Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture*, 103. Vitruvius, Morris Hicky Morgan (trans.), and Herbert Langford Warren (illus.). *Vitruvius: The Ten Books of Architecture*.
[111] Ibid., 104.
[112] Ibid., 104–6.
[113] Shute, *Chief Groundes of Architecture*.
[114] Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, 33-39 (33, 36 quoted).
[115] Gerbier, *The Interpreter, the First Part*, 174; Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*, 4-6.
[116] For further on this 'language of use' see Vaughan Hart, 'Decorum and the Five Orders of Architecture: Sebastiano Serlio's Military City', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 34, no. Autumn (1998): 75–84.

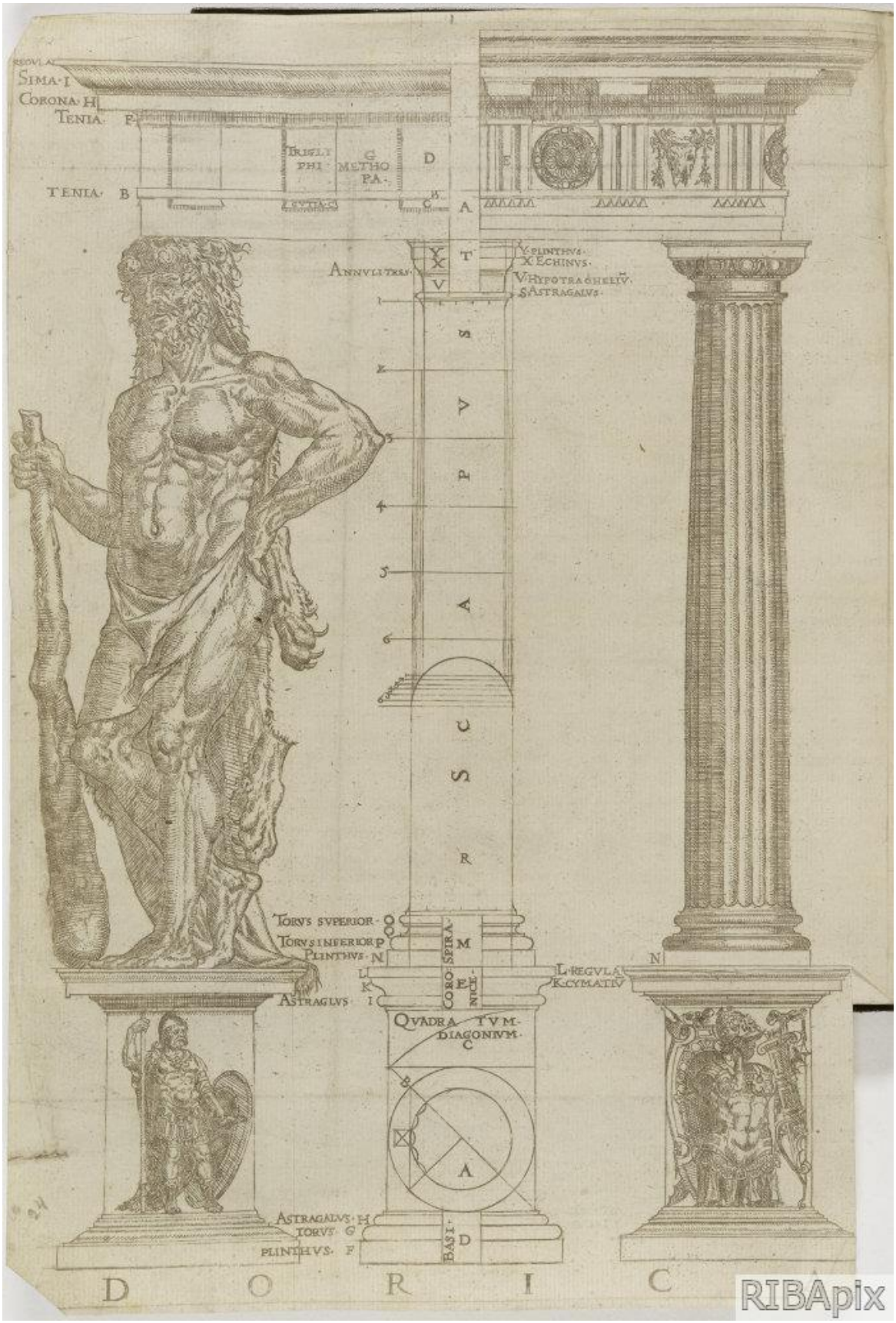


Fig. 67: The Doric Order, in John Shute, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture Used in All the Ancient and Famous Monymentes* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563), opposite folio vi [f.24]. RIBA Collections.



Fig. 68: The Ionic Order, in John Shute, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture Used in All the Ancient and Famous Monymentes* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563), opposite folio viii [f.30]. RIBA Collections.



Fig. 69: The Corinthian Order, in John Shute, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture Used in All the Ancient and Famous Monymentes* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563), opposite folio xi [f.38]. RIBA Collections.

Doores well placed'; elsewhere he suggests handsome buildings should be as 'English Females [who] had a singular grace to set their Ornaments right and handsomly.[117]

In this, Gerbier may have drawn upon Vasari, Vitruvius, or possibly Wotton, whom Gerbier had known since at least 1621, who paraphrased Vasari's recommendation that one should 'passe a running examination over the whole *Edifice*, according to the properties of a *well shapen Man*…whether the principall *Entrance* be on the middle Line of the *Front* or Face, like our *Mouthes*, whether the *Windowes*, as our *Eyes*, be set in equall number and distance on both sides, whether the *Offices* like the *Veines* in our Bodies, be usefully distributed'.[118] As Wotton wryly remarked, this '*Allegorical* review may be driven as farre as any *Wit* will'—a notion Gerbier appears to have taken to heart.[119] An apprehension of his unification of bodies and buildings also makes sense of a passage in Gerbier's treatise on *Magnificent Building*: 'The Barbarians and naked Tapoyers, Caripowis, Alibis, (and several Charibdiens) do place Pendants in their Nostrils, which are proper for the Eares; and these hinder not the use of the Lips, which ought to be observed by all Builders', a recommendation that may have puzzled the builders to whom it was addressed.[120]

Bodies and buildings were thus amalgamated in Gerbier's imagination, and he imagines others will comprehend his meaning without further explanation. With this understanding, Gerbier's dress controls can be understood as architectural designs; and just as specific orders were suitable for buildings of different scales of grandeur, or (masculine) military structures, so too different orders of dress could be applied hierarchically to

[117] Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*, 6; 11; also Gerbier, *The Interpreter, the First Part, 174*.
[118] Paraphrasing Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1550) Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, 117. For further on their acquaintance see Brotton, *Late King's Goods*, 81; also a 1638 letter to John Dinely, which suggests a friendship, or certainly acquaintance, with Gerbier: 'Henry Wotton to John Dinely, September 26, 1638' in Henry Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae: Or, A Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems with Characters of Sundry Personages*, 4th ed. (London: B. Tooke and T. Sawbridge, 1685), 576.
[119] Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, 117. Some wits took it very far indeed, e.g. in a later series of satirical prints, Petitot parodied the fashion for neoclassicism in architecture by dressing people in pilasters and pediments Ennemond Alexandre Petito and Benigno Bossi (illus.), *Mascarade à La Greque* (Parma, 1771). Available digitally at www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/355281.
[120] Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*, 7. See also reference to the fashions in clothing and building, Gerber, *Counsel and Advice*, 2. Again in a criticism of surveyors, he writes similarly (4): 'It also points at several incongruities committed by Surveyours; and who minded more the show that they were skill'd in describing Columns, Pilasters, Cornishes and Frontispieces (though for the most part places as the wilde *Americans* are wont to put their Pendants in their nostrils)…'.

different ranks and genders.[121] Indeed, Summerson's discussion of the orders of architecture could be applied without qualification to Gerbier's sumptuary laws: the Romans 'invented new ways of using the orders not merely as ornamental enrichments for their new types of structure but as controls. The orders … make their buildings expressive, they make them speak; they conduct the building, with sense and ceremony and often with great elegance, into the mind of the beholder. Visually they dominate and control the buildings to which they are attached'.[122] Gerbier's laws for his new state control his citizens and define their visual expression, hierarchically, just as the architectural orders control a building.

Visual Rhetoric: Training the Eye to See

Gerbier's skill and flexibility in producing images to accompany his texts—from hand-painted naturalistic watercolours to abstract diagrams—begs us to ask why he did not complement his 'Laws' or 'Project' with images of the clothing designs and jewellery he prescribed, or the buildings he envisaged, relying solely on textual descriptions. There are several possible answers. The 'Project', enclosed within a letter, would be unlikely to contain any extensive illustration, although Gerbier had been known to include such in his correspondence; for instance, he includes a sketch of a calculating machine by Pascal in a letter to Hartlib.[123] Yet the 'Laws' are part of a large manuscript that includes hand-drawn diagrams as well as naturalistic watercolours of Biblical scenes and could conceivably have accommodated some images to illustrate the laws (e.g. figs. 52-53, 70). One reason for the absence of accompanying paintings or diagrams is the depth and extent of the material world he envisaged: there was too much to paint. Another is that he expected the readers of his 'Laws' and 'Project' (nobles or rulers of State; the educated elite) to be as familiar with this visual rhetoric as he was himself and assumed his descriptions would be brought to life, in three-dimensional form in the mind, if not rendered on the page.

[121] He discusses 'the distinction between the well ordering of the Palace of the Soveraign, and that of meaner Habitations': Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice*, 2, 5. Hart, 'Decorum and the Five Orders of Architecture: Sebastiano Serlio's Military City'.
[122] Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, 20. John Summerson. *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*.
[123] 4 October 1648 'Gerbier to Hartlib', [10/2/13A], A M. Greengrass, M. Leslie, and M. Hannon, 'The Hartlib Papers', 2013.



Fig. 70: Susanna and the Elders (in Protestant Apocrypha and Catholic Bible, Book of Daniel, chapter 13), Balthazar Gerbier, 'Loix, Status, Ordonnances, et Coustumes, Pour Un Nouvel Estat', in 'Secretum Virtutis et Scientiarum Speculum/Miroir de La Vertu', 17r, MS 2505 28–39, 1654, Wellcome Library, London. Author's own image.

Dress, architecture, heraldry, and emblem could be read by those who understood the visual language and system of symbolic associations. As Gerbier wrote to Buckingham, 'pictures are noble ornaments…and histories that one may read without fatigue'.[124] Gerbier anticipated that his readers shared the skill and cultural knowledge that would enable them to construct a visual and material world in the imagination from his textual descriptions and, thereby, to 'read' the objects and visual references in his text in the mind's eye. Baxandall neatly described the way in which visual perception is informed by cultural and historic context as 'the period eye'.[125] He suggests that there are three 'culturally relative kinds of thing the mind brings to [what we see]…a stock of patterns, categories and methods of inference; training in a range of representational conventions; and experience drawn from the environment, in what are plausible ways of visualizing what we have incomplete information about', such as the absent illustrations in Gerbier's Project and Laws.[126]

Where Boccalini and Vaughan used magical spectacles to discern political, scientific, and religious truths, Gerbier wishes instead to cultivate an 'intelligent eye'.[127] He threads his texts with discussions of how to educate the (natural) eye to see the invisible geometries of the world: the flying lines of perspective, lineaments of latitude and longitude, golden ratios in buildings and bodies, pendants in the nostrils of buildings, and volutes in girls' curls. He writes of ways to 'frame [the] minde' and educate the 'Ey[e] of one's imagination' to observe the world in the correct manner and order—whether studying cosmology and the natural world, travelling across Europe, watching a ceremonial procession, or 'reading' a building.[128] Therefore, though he provides no visual illustration of the material culture he imagined in the Laws and Project, if we use the eyes of our imagination, joining it to a deeper understanding of the intellectual and artistic viewpoint from which he was writing,

[124] 'Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham, 8th Feb. 1624-25', in Goodman and Brewer, *Court of King James*, 370.
[125] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
[126] Ibid., 31–32.
[127] I borrow the phrase from Crowther and Barker who describe how scholars trained the eye to comprehend and visualise planispheric projections, instruments and complex data, by progressing through a sequence of mathematical and naturalistic diagrams, such as found in Johannes de Sacrobosco's *De sphaera*. For further, *see* Kathleen M. Crowther and Peter Barker, 'Training the Intelligent Eye Understanding Illustrations in Early Modern Astronomy Texts', *Isis* 104, no. 3 (2013): esp. 429, 431; and Kevin Tracey, '"All things in Number hath created bein / As in a glas of art they may be sene": Exercising Mathematical with Thomas Blundeville', Thomas Harriot Seminar, Durham, 6-7 Sept, 2019.
[128] Gerbier, *Geographie*, 3; Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*.

we have, as Baxandall puts it, 'plausible ways of visualizing what we have incomplete information about'.[129]

Gerbier's societal model and his dress controls within it reflect his understanding of divine order: his hierarchies are based on rank but also on artistic and architectural proportions, that derive from the human form, itself a mirror of God. A greater understanding of Gerbier's visual perception and the cultural context in which it was formed, inform, and give life to, the material world and visual rhetoric Gerbier intends to convey through his written description. For instance, Gerbier's artistic training and connoisseurship in art and architecture had trained his eye to perceive bodies and buildings as geometric forms that could and should be treated in the same manner. In his *Interpreter of the Academy* (1648), he emphasised the mathematics of art and the artistic dimensions of geometry, seeing both as part of the same body of knowledge, unified by perspective.[130] Just as geometers would find it impossible to 'represent anything' without the art of perspective, an artist recognises that 'there is no forme…wherein the Perspective does not enter', whether considering, as he suggests, the distances, shape and measurements of facial features or an array of columns.[131] Mathematics and art were enmeshed in the Renaissance: painters and mathematicians drew their knowledge from the same texts and images and often used their complementary skills as a source of additional income, studying and teaching perspective, geometry and double-entry book keeping, as did Gerbier.[132]

Yet above all its uses and applications, for Gerbier the principal function of art was 'to see[e]th…the works of the maker' and to hold a mirror to His works; consequently he considered the true artist to be one 'whose works doth most imitate the Author of all things, that he makes as it were a new creation', something only made possible through an accurate representation of what could be seen through the eye.[133] This required knowledge of perspective, a skill developed in art in the early fifteenth century by Filippo Brunelleschi, Leon Battista Alberti and Piero della Franchesca, who produced the earliest work devoted to perspective, *De Prospectiva pingendi* (c.1474), which influenced Paciolo's later work on

[129] Baxandall, *Painting and Experience,* 32.
[130] Gerbier, *Interpreter, First Part,* esp. 153-154.
[131] Ibid.*,* 154.
[132] For further, see discussion in Wootton, *Invention of Science*, 163–86; 200-201. Gerbier proffers his services in the teaching of these in manuscripts and publications, e.g. Gerbier, *Interpreter, First Part*, 3, 180.
[133] Gerbier, *Geographie*, 2; Gerbier, *Interpreter, 158*.

divine proportion (as above). della Francesca's work was used by both artists and mathematicians who sought to understand the mathematics of perspective and to train the eye to comprehend and replicate geometrical shapes and distances accurately.

Gerbier stresses the importance of training the eye to visualise the 'flying lines of perspective' and other tools of measurement, such as the 'imaginary circles and lineaments' of the lines of latitude and longitude.[134] In his *Subsidium peregrinantibus* he argued that without training in geometry and perspective the knowledge contained in scientific, military religious and architectural texts could not be 'understood, and their knowledge attained unto…nor can it otherwise be received for a possibility, that *Archimedes* with a glasse, framed by revolution of a parabolicall section, did fire the *Roman* Navy in the Sea coming to *Syracusa*'.[135] An 'intelligent eye' was also necessary for Biblical exegesis and to experience certain revelations.[136] As Gerbier, quoting Ramus' *Way to Geometry*, suggests 'nor could the fabrick of *Noahs* Arke be understood, without some mean skill in Geometry. The *Sciagraphy* of the Temple … nor sundry words both in the New and Old Testament, whose proper signification is meerly Geometricall'.[137] This aligned with the intellectual surge of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century that sought the correct ordering of knowledge and of the natural world discussed above, an ideal that encompassed the senses and the correct ways of viewing and experiencing the world.

In this, Gerbier emphasises the primacy of Geometry, which 'teacheth to make a scale to the whole world, and all that therein is'.[138] It is revealing that Gerbier discusses Geometry and proportion in *Subsidium* within a section on Orders of knighthood and chivalry, since to Gerbier, they are related. Geometry connects, orders, and measures all: it

[134] Gerbier, *Interpreter the First Part, 154;* Gerbier, *Geographie*, 3.
[135] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 69-70.
[136] It was an issue that had concerned theologians for centuries, e.g. see Roger Bacon, *The Opus Magus,* trans. Robert Burke (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1928), 232–43, cited in Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision*, 68; Guy Lazure, '"Un Vehemente Deseo de Comprender La Imagen de Aquel Famoso Templo Se Adueña de Mí". Seeing and Understanding the Temple of Solomon According to Juan Bautista Villalpando S.J. (1605)', *Word & Image* 24, no. 4 (2008): 413–26.
[137] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 70. It is not clear whether this is Gerbier's translation of the Latin original, or a quotation taken from page 2 of the Author's Preface (referring to Ramus not the translator) in the first 1636 English translation of the work, with which it shares remarkable similarities though it is not identical: Peter Ramus, *Via Regia Ad Geometriam. The Way to Geometry Being Necessary and Usefull, for Astronomers. Geographers. Land-Meaters. Sea-Men. Engineres. Architecks. Carpenters. Paynters. Carvers, &c.*, trans. William Bedwell (London: Thomas Cotes, 1636).
[138] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 69–71.

is a key to the great Architect's divine plan, and offers insight into how we might perceive Gerbier's societal plans. Plans, as this chapter has outlined, that are predicated on a hierarchy of people, who are visually ordered and ornamented in accordance with the natural and divine order—derived from the hierarchies of nature and human proportion, replicated in the architectural orders, and reflected in Gerbier's new state.

7: History, Lineage, Arms, and Honours

A key aspect of Gerbier's vision is the textual portrait painted of his chivalric Orders and the objects, buildings, symbolism, and ceremonies associated with them. The Orders are both the route to power and the symbol of authority and virtue in Gerbier's State, but a further, important dimension of their function is to impart a sense of tradition and lineage to what would be a new-born State without its own history. Gerbier invents heraldry, material trappings, and rituals for the Knights to spin an imaginary heritage out of a patchwork of real-world cultural forms and symbols. These in turn, lent legitimacy to his chivalric Orders and the pre-eminent position of Knights in the new State. His demonstrable awareness of contemporary European honours, orders, and brotherhoods—their ceremonies, robes, emblems, and origins—give us further indication of the political and cultural role he intended for his Orders in the new State.

The Orders of knighthood and chivalry are the sole mechanism by which nobility and rank is conferred in Gerbier's state, and the only avenue to power, property and governance (since all land is divided amongst the Orders' members and no one may hold office unless they are a knight).[1] The members of the (premier) Order of the Star's privileges, the word itself meaning private law, also included freedom from taxes and tithes, as long as they provided men or money during wartime and fought in person on the side of the King in any civil wars.[2] Nobles also acted as exemplary models: their power, virtue, and justice radiating outwards and illuminating those living in the shadow of 'ignobility', like the metaphorical light used to describe them. The virtue and honour imbued by noble rank was mirrored by that of the office they held and robes they wore, since in this period there was more than simply a moral dimension to office-holding: *office* constituted a moral body of itself. As Condren writes: 'so far from merely being roles assumed, *officia* could be formalised as moral beings, making even the notion of an office as a duty itself sometimes misleadingly incomplete'.[3] The nobility therefore defined, ordered, and organised Gerbier's State in multiple ways.

[1] Gerbier, 'Project', 66r, 70v; 'Loix', 30-31, 35.
[2] Gerbier, 'Project', 66v; 'Loix', 31.
[3] Condren, *Argument and Authority in Early Modern England: The Presupposition of Oaths and Offices*, 7.

As with the architectural orders they embodied, Gerbier's nobles were positioned, dressed, and ornamented to operate powerful horizontal as well as vertical controls on the political and social edifice through dress and other civil laws relating to the Orders. As the table in fig. 71 shows, a title, collar, emblem, and a device is specified for each of the three Orders and this symbol of brotherhood was to be worn by the knights at all times. When in public, aspects of their clothing were prescribed by law, according to their rank (as above), and all were expected to carry a sword: a privilege denied to commoners except in times of war.[4] While they were the pinnacle of a deeply hierarchical society, the Orders were also internally hierarchical. Gerbier, like Shakespeare's Ulysses, believed degree must be reflected in all aspects of society, even within and among 'communities…schools and brotherhoods', such as the chivalric Orders, since 'The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre / Observe degree, priority and place, / … Office and custom, in all line of order' and 'when degree is shaked, / Which is the ladder to all high designs…what discord follows'.[5]

The Three Chivalric Orders

Name	Members	Collar	Emblem	Device
The First Order: The Star	The King and Princes	a gold chain; whose links will represent hands clasped together in a sign of faith.	a shining star	~~So lett your light shine in the world.~~ So lett your light shine before men. (Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A) Thus let your justice shine before men (the 'Project for a New State in America', 1649) Thus let your light shine before men (the 'Laws, Statutes and Ordinances..', 1654)
The Second Order: The Columns	Hereditary nobles	a gold chain, whose links will be inflamed hearts bound together by a single link.	a four-faced, square-cut column	The symbol will be inscribed…with the following inscription: Justice, police, religion, counsel, and the device: This is our Support (the 'Project for a New State in America', 1649) The symbol will be inscribed…with the following inscription: Justice, police, religion, counsel (the 'Laws, Statutes and Ordinances..', 1654)
The Third Order: The Shield	Those who have 'performed an act of virtue, either with arms or by some great service to the State'	a gold chain whose links will represent books and swords linked by buckles or loops.	a plain shield	Honour follows virtue

Fig. 71: The Three Chivalric Orders: their collars, emblems, and devices. Author's own image.

[4] Gerbier, 'Project', 71r; 'Loix', 35

[5] William Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, 1:3. Ulysses' speech is in the context of his concerns about the lack of degree displayed in the Grecian camp.

Members of the Order of the Star were thus prohibited from marrying outside that degree, or outside the State, unless there were no potential spouses of that rank available, under which circumstance they would be allowed to marry daughters of Knights of the Column, but not the Shield, by which Gerbier sought to preserve rank and noble bloodlines within the State and to create strong dynastic alliances.[6] Likewise, though knights of the Shield and Columns could access all positions within law enforcement and justice, those of the first order were 'preferred'; yet, despite his elevation of knighthood and hierarchy overall, Gerbier—experienced in the courts of Europe—recognised that inherited nobility might confer honour but did not always bless men with abilities to match it. So, to that preference he added, 'if they are capable and not otherwise'.[7] Similarly, though there would be no office of Admiral or Commander in Chief, in war troops would be led by members of the Order who would be commissioned for the task according to their merit and competence.[8]

Through these laws, Gerbier intended to mould a nobility that would have greater power, aptitude, and control than their equivalents across Britain and Ireland to balance the absolutism he had witnessed under the Stuarts. However, Gerbier's State would be ruled by a newly-crowned monarch and the nascent Princes and knights (in the 'Project' specified as the principal actors/investors in the establishment of the American colony/state). It would be a state, monarchy, and nobility with no history of its own, since whether in South America or in the imagination, it was to be a new creation. (In the case of the American 'Project', the land and indigenous populations clearly possessed their own histories and rulers, but Gerbier does not consider them). Gerbier, therefore, needed to shape a ruling group whose moral authority and right to superior position would not be questioned.

To this end, Gerbier embedded shared cultural associations and a visual rhetoric in the creation and description of his Orders of chivalry and their ornaments (i.e. their collars, robes and badges) to accord its members and the State they spearheaded with a veneer of tradition and long lineage, and to associate them with a specific set of values. This legitimised the position of the knights in society, connecting them to an imaginary—but distinctly-European—tradition and archetype of nobility. The identity of social groups (e.g.

[6] Gerbier, 'Project', 66v-67r; 'Loix', 31.
[7] Gerbier, 'Project', 70v; 'Loix', 35.
[8] Gerbier, 'Project', 74v-75r; 'Loix', 37.

English nobles), is frequently based upon collective memory, described by Wendt as a combination of 'myths, narratives and traditions that constitute who a group is and how it relates to others… kept alive through generations by an ongoing process of socialisation and ritual enactment'.[9] The self-identity and superior social position of the European nobility, for instance, had been retained for centuries through dynastic associations, the common languages of Classicism and Christianity, and the shared ideals and myths of honour and chivalry. These might also be described as products of the European elite's *habitus*, Bourdieu's term for the cultural lens through which different social groups perceive the world and are habituated to share particular moral values, aesthetic tastes, bodily comportment, associations, and ideas. From this, hierarchies emerge resulting in social distinctions of taste between different classes or, in this period, ranks.[10]

These shared values and collective memories could be used internally to maintain group identity and externally to exert symbolic power over those outside the social group. These can be found in the Classical and/or Chivalric symbolism, analogies, and allusions embedded in masques and plays; the dynastic bloodlines represented in heraldry; or the devices and shields of Elizabethan and early Stuart jousts and tourneys, which celebrated a mythologised medieval chivalry. Narratives of nobility and chivalry could also be evoked for more overtly political purposes. King Arthur, for instance, was deployed in the propaganda and self-fashioning of successive monarchs.[11]

In this way, shared noble identity and ideals could be retained and celebrated through text, image, symbol, material culture, and pageantry: languages in which Gerbier was well-versed. Elite education and cultural familiarity with various forms of visual rhetoric

[9] Quoted in Liesbeth Geevers and Mirella Marini, 'Introduction: Aristocracy, Dynasty and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1520–1700', in *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities*, ed. Liesbeth Geevers and Mirella Marini (Farnham: Routledge, 2015), 2.

[10] Pierre Bourdieu and Richard Nice (trans.), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1984), 13–96; 169–75.

[11] See for example, Roger Sherman Loomis, 'Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast', *Speculum* 28, no. 1 (1953): 114–27; for Henry VIII see Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); for Edward III, see Stephanie Trigg, Shame and Honor. *A Vulgar History of the Order of the Garter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 51-52; Glyn Parry, *The Arch Conjuror of England John Dee* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 141; Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Random House, 1986), 103–20; Ben Jonson, *The Works of Ben Jonson, Vol. 7 of 9 Vols.*, ed. W. Gifford and F. Cunningham (London: Bickers and Son, 1875). For Arthurian references in tournaments and masques, encompassing representations of the Tudors, Stuarts and various nobles, see also Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip, 1987), 165-170, 173–83.

and social performance facilitated the reading of social spaces and situations, masques, buildings, and ceremonies in ways that were often deliberately exclusionary and can be difficult to recover. In the 'Project' and 'Laws', Gerbier evokes the rhetoric of noble honour, lineage and virtue and employs familiar rituals and cultural references (*habitus*) to implant the identity and traditions of his nascent nobility and State by sleight of hand.

Lineage, Arms and Honours

The nobility of Europe employed such narratives within their social group but also as a familial dynastic tool, using pedigrees, heraldry, and family lore to immortalise their family names and deeds, as with Vaughan, Dee and Elizabeth I.[12] Gerbier's illustrated, folio 'Genealogie', which he had authenticated by the Herald of Arms in Brussels to verify his claims to a baronetcy, shows his awareness of the importance of lineage at a personal level, but he also saw its value at a societal level; and his 'Laws' and 'Project' demanded genealogies were recorded by the State in addition to their being kept by individual families.[13] With these, Gerbier's State could monitor and preserve bloodlines, lands and rank through the tight controls it placed upon the upper Orders, ensuring the laws prohibiting marriage between disparate degrees were observed (such as between the family members of knights of the first and third Orders).[14] There would also be State involvement in the union of commoners.[15]

Genealogies, pedigrees and blood books provided a means of ordering and visualising knowledge and connecting a family, social group and nation to its past. Genealogies at this time sometimes employed a tree-form and often included images, sometimes portraits but more frequently armorial achievements and/or shields (as with Gerbier's), which held additional symbolic and dynastic information (e.g. fig. 72).[16] Reading

[12] Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Aristocratic Identity Formation in Seventeenth-Century Ireland', in *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities*, ed. Liesbeth Geevers and Mirella Marini (Farnham: Routledge, 2015), 32. See also fns. 232, 990, 996 re genealogies.
[13] Gerbier, 'Project', 66v-67r, 68r-68v; 'Loix', 31-32.
[14] Gerbier, 'Project', 66v-67r; 'Loix', 31.
[15] Gerbier, 'Project', 76r; 'Loix', 38.
[16] For a range of examples of early modern European genealogies as trees, see Manuel Lima, *The Book of Trees: Visualising Branches of Knowledge* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2013), 30, 57, 59–60, 62,



Fig. 72: Sample page of Gerbier's Genealogy, in Balthazar Gerbier, 'Genealogie de messire Bathazire Gerbier Chevalier de l'Esperon d'Or. Baron d'Ouily Gentilhomme de la Chambre ... Grand Mtre des Ceremonies, et Introducteur des Ambassadeurs ay Toy de la Grande Bretagne, [1640?]', CLE M6, f.18r. Clements Collection, National Art Library, London. Author's own image.

85, 87. In heraldry an achievement is a complete display of arms, crests and accessories, including mottoes and orders if possessed.

heraldry now requires specialist knowledge but in the early seventeenth century heraldic colours and badges were an everyday visual language, emblazoned everywhere—on buildings and bridges, servants' liveries, carriages, barges, weapons, books, papers, works of art, inn signs, china, seals, or indeed, anything that could be labelled. It was essential, therefore, to have at least a rudimentary knowledge of the arms of important noble families in order to read the cultural landscape (for commoners too at a local level), acknowledge honour and rank in the city, at court, or when travelling (hence Gerbier's exhaustive guide) and in earlier times to recognise friend and foe at the tourney or on the battlefield. Consequently, heraldry was considered an essential part of a young gentleman's education—taught in Gerbier's Academy and undoubtedly to the young princes and nobles of his new State.

Recording dynastical histories, and badging objects and individuals through heraldry, affected and shaped how the past was understood, defining what nations, as well as families, remembered and celebrated. Since titles and armorial bearings were how honour and power were recognised in medieval and early modern Europe, significant historical or mythical figures were frequently allotted Arms (and robes and genealogies) retrospectively, invention standing-in for the theorised-original (figs. 73 and 74).[17] It is a subject to which Gerbier repeatedly turned—later observing in *Subsidium*, that: 'What Coat of Arms Amraphel the first King (and Moses the first Duke) had, is not ascertained; some Heralds give… to King David a Sling Azur, Field Argent, for Crest a Lions head'.[18] As he makes apparent, some attributed Arms were broadly agreed upon, but others, such as Arthur's, inspired a wide array, including those painted by Gerbier (fig. 75).[19] Even Satan was given arms since, as Dennys nicely explains: 'Clearly before his fall he was a gentleman and an unfortunate gentleman does not cease to be armigerous just because he is cast into prison,

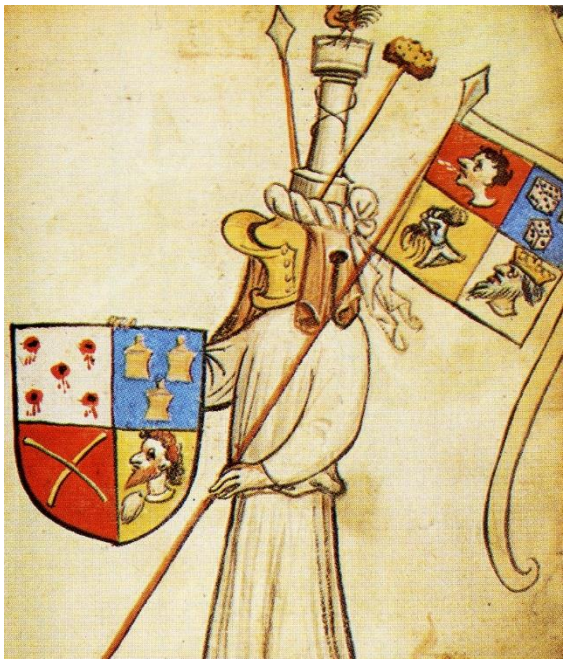
[17] See for instance, Andre Favyn who writes that 'the Patriarch Noah gave for Armes the Lyon (the Symbol of Command Royaltie)', André Favyn, *The Theater of Honour and Knight-Hood*, trans. Anthony Munday (London: William Iaggard, 1623), 24/A2. See also Charles Boutell and A.C. Fox-Davies, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, 11th ed. (Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, 1914), 21; Rodney Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1975). Biblical genealogies were also very popular, e.g. for examples of genealogies for Jesus, see Lima, *Trees*, 80, 82. For arms and robes, see throughout Gerbier, 'Armoiries Royales', e.g. he paints the theorised originals of Roman arms (51) as well as those for Picts, Celts and Saxons (117-125); and, to ensure consistency, includes the Greek palium and Roman toga in his illustrated guide to robes (7), as well as literal coats of arms, (i.e. tabards/coats with arms on them) for European nobility (e.g. 13-45).

[18] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus, or, An Assistance to a Traveller*, 22.

[19] For further on Arthur and brief histories and Arms of early British rulers/peoples, including Brut, Belinus, the Picts, and Romans, see Gerbier, 'Armoiries Royales', ff. 117-120.

even the prison of hell'.[20] It is an insight into Gerbier's and his contemporaries worldview that they do not consider that these legendary figures would not have had coats of arms and titles (e.g. he makes Moses a Duke).





Figs. 73 and 74: Two images of Christ wearing a tilting helm, with shields and banners showing his Arms. The one on the left shows a mandylion, the shroud that wrapped Christ's body, imprinted with his image. From MS. 1st M.5, ff. 1b, 2. Hyghalmen Roll, College of Arms, London. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

It was likewise fairly common for purportedly noble/royal genealogies, authenticated by Heralds, to engage in what might now be thought of as wishful thinking, or leaps of the historical imagination. Vaughan (who did not question his own royal descent) mocked the practice in *Newlander's Cure*: 'Of *Pedigrees* that *Scoundrell* vauntes … Prates, how for Sires hee *Giants* had'.[21] Many took their ancestry back to prehistory, including invented figures, usually ancient Celtic/Brittonic, Saxon or Pictish royalty; or even, in the case of monarchs, Jesus, Adam and Eve. In demonstration of this, both Charles I and Charles II commissioned series of paintings of legendary and real Scottish kings going back to Fergus

[20] Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, 111–12, 128. For an example of this, see 'The dragon, who is Satan, comes forth again (Rev. 20:7)' showing Satan's arms of 'Gules a Fess gold between three frogs proper', from the unfinished 'Douce Apocalypse' c. 1265-70 MS. Douce 180, 87, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford.
[21] Vaughan, *Newlander's*, 106. This could refer to the giants that populated Britain when Brutus of Troy arrived according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, or those of Celtic or Biblical myth.



Fig. 75: Escutcheons for ancient English Kings, in Balthazar Gerbier, 'Armoiries Royales (Tant Anciennes Que Modernes) Du Chevalier Balthazar Gerbier', MS PL 2939, 121. By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

I (330-305 B.C.) of whom they claimed ancestry in order to demonstrate their divine right to rule Scotland (e.g. figs. 10 and 76).[22]



Fig. 76: Jacob Jacobsz De Wet II (1641/2-1697), 'Achaius, King of Scotland (796-828)', 1684-86, RCIN 403334. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

[22] Re the first series: George Jamesone painted the ancient kings of Scotland to celebrate the Scottish coronation and entry to Edinburgh of Charles I in 1633. Bulloch claims Jamesone simply gathered existing portraits together and lined them on either side of the Netherbow, Edinburgh, as part of the triumph, but a later biographer, Duncan Thomas claims Jamesone's greater involvement and discovered 25 of the original 109 portraits produced (the Royal Collection Trust website suggests 26 are in private collections). See John Bulloch, *George Jamesone: The Scottish Vandyck* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1885), 68; Duncan Thomson, *Life and Art of George Jamesone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974). Charles II then commissioned Jacob de Wet II to produce 111 portraits of ancient Scottish kings in 1684, 97 of which are still on display in the Great Gallery at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh. The kings were taken from chronicles written by Renaissance humanists, Hector Boece, *Scotorum Historiae*, 1527, and George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 1582: for further see 'Fergus I, King of Scotland', *The Royal Collection Trust*, 2020, www.rct.uk/collection/403322.

As a (twentieth century) Herald, Wagner, admits the Heralds' willingness to take dubious evidence at face value is 'not in any way surprising. An England whose leading scholars not only believed firmly in a series of fictitious British kings beginning with Brutus about 1170 B.C., but accepted a still earlier series derived from Samothes son of Japhet, who died in 2013 B.C., would scarcely be unduly critical of some modest improvements to the pedigrees of its nobility'.[23] In this way, genealogies presented a desirable or official version of history, writing out inconvenient disruptions to the preferred dynastic and/or national narrative and lending those in power the additional authority of heroic ancestors. By making the recording of genealogies a point of law, Gerbier ensured rank, blood-lines, and preferred 'histories' were preserved and that, through their European genealogical-origins, his newly-created nobles were connected with Old Europe and its mythical and Christian heritage.

Titles of honour and the rituals and material culture associated with them mattered to Gerbier and were a constitutive element of his mental world. Essentially, genealogical diagrams are reductionist, marking lives in titles, births, deaths, unions, and emblems. Heraldic genealogies and histories defined the noble ideal through blood lines, shields and mottoes while implanting a specific visual idea of history and what mattered in history. Ong describes a similar cultivation of the mind engendered by the wide adoption and application of Ramus' dichotomous table and dialectical 'method'.[24] This presented information (about anything) as a series of bipartite divisions, beginning with definitions and broad principles and descending to specifics.[25] Gerbier and his contemporaries saw the value of lineage in terms of legitimating rule but their thinking had also been cultivated by this heraldic-genealogical form of history-writing to seek precedent, and a natural, historical, and divine root for the chivalric concepts and ideals they celebrated. Therefore, rather than a focus on genealogies and pedigrees, late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books about honour and chivalry are most often preoccupied with the lineage of an idea: the practice of recognising and marking out the honour of individuals and their descendants through arms,

[23] Anthony Richard Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (London: Burke's Peerage, 1952), 16–17.
[24] Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason*, (Harvard University Press, 1958).
[25] Ibid., esp. 30. See also Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, 51–87; Lima, *Trees*, examples on 102-109.

titles, collars, and rituals, as with Gerbier's Orders (fig. 71). Tracing lineage aligns with the wider search for order and origins and a Ramist descent to specifics.

Writers on the subject, including Gerbier, turned therefore to history and to biblical and Classical texts for illustrative early examples.[26] Ashmole argued that 'the beginning and original of *Knighthood*' was 'with much probability' in ancient Greece and, by mocking the angelic origin proposed by the French (and some English), hoped to lay claim greater authority for his own narrative, 'we are not so vain as to offer at the deriving this degree or order from before the Creation, and say, that Saint *Michael* the Archangel is *premier Chevalier*, … *or Premier Chevalier de Paradis*, as he is called in … the said Order of *Saint Michael*'.[27] Favyn likewise proffered Creation as the origin of 'Armes and Blazons' in *Theatre of Honour*, a title that acknowledges honour as a staged performance, and the frame through which we are instructed to view and interpret the actions and histories of its players.[28] It was, in all such accounts, an argument in favour of hierarchy: the acknowledgement of the superiority of some men over others, whether by marking out the heroism or virtue of an individual, or by separating specific groups from the masses (e.g. nobles, or members of an elite fraternity).

Everyone cited Rome at some point in their evidence, including Gerbier who, like Ashmole, linked Orders and knighthood to nationhood. His new state is born with the founding of noble Orders.[29] Moreover, he envisaged an earlier antiquity for Arms than Classical Greece or Rome, in which animal skins, literal coats, memorialise national myths and historic victories:

> the true original of Arms was the Heroick Acts of a Nation, and Victory fought by them; when (to perpetuate the memory thereof) Trophes and Coats were made, representing the vanquish'd party; for if they (in the day of Battel) had covered their

[26] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus;* John Selden, *Titles of Honour* (London: William Stansby for John Helme, 1614); Bolton, *Elements of Armories*; Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke, 1672).
[27] Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 5. Leigh too argued that the 'original Author of honoring Nobilities' was God who 'hath made a discrepans of heavenlie spirites, giving them several names as ensignes of honour': Gerard Leigh, *The Accedence of Armorie* (London: Henrie Ballard, 1597), 4v sig.
[28] Favyn and Munday (trans.), *Theater of Honour*, 24.
[29] See also Gerbier, 'Armoiries Royales', 117-121 where he honours nations and peoples involved in the founding of Britain with arms, e.g. the Romans, Britons, Picts, and Saxons, in addition to those for individuals in.

> Heads with Lyons, Leopards, or Tygers skins, the Conqueror would Coat them as the most notorious marks to have vanquisht that party.[30]

Others argued that titles, arms or ensigns had no 'first certaine author' because they were, as Edmund Bolton—who also shared Buckingham's patronage—explains: 'universal, and natural' and 'as antient at least as Moses'.[31] To add weight to this, Segar and Bolton described the practices of contemporary American and African tribes, whom they saw as representing humanity at its 'rudest' and most primitive, thereby embodying the evidence that arms and honours were natural and universal.[32] Segar suggests, 'Here may bee thought of those Tecuytles in some parts of America, which are there a kind of Knights made with solemnitie by the chief Priest, and boaring them through the Nostrells with a Tygers bone and the bill of an Eagle'.[33]

However, where Europeans are marking honour through titles and badges, for Bolton the marks of the indigenous peoples represent notes of dishonour: a 'barbarous' inversion of the nobles' coats of armes. The 'sorry liveries' of Americans are nonetheless evidence of arms being preordained, since both honour and dishonour are natural and universal.[34] He surmises that, like the livery costumes and badges worn by nobles' servants, the 'shoulders of the naked FLORIDIANS are badged with the markes of their Lords', and in these 'rude skores [he] truely see[s] the seed of arms, for nature (like a raw Scholar) began in these to practise her notion'.[35] These, however, are as the first elements of geometry when contrasted with the most magnificent Architecture.[36] In other words, the 'rude skore' being equivalent to a one-dimensional line or angle, and the livery of a Renaissance servant, equivalent perhaps to a Corinthian pillar. It was an analogy to which Gerbier would have been sympathetic, and makes apparent Bolton's desire that his

[30] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 21-22. See also Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 1–43.
[31] Bolton, *Elements of Armories*, 7–8. For hieroglyphics, see commendation from H.C. in Bolton though he himself deems them 'not so worthy of observation' though often used in impresas. Bolton, *Armories*, 1, 3, 36; also N.W.'s introductory commendation in Paolo Giovio, *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iouius, Contayning a Discourse of Rare Inuentions, Both Militarie and Amorous, Called Imprese*, trans. Samuel Daniel (London: Simon Waterson, 1585); Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 60–64.
[32] Bolton, *Elements of Armories*, 16–22; 44–52; Selden, *Titles of Honour*, 372–73; William Segar, *Honor Military, and Civill Contained in Foure Bookes* (London: Robert Barker, 1602), 51, 60–61.
[33] Segar, *Honor Military, and Civill*, 372–73.
[34] Bolton, *Elements of Armories*, 21–22.
[35] Ibid., 20–21.
[36] Ibid., 22.

Elements of Armories be seen as analogous to Euclid's *Elements,* both being a reduction to first principles and origins, leading to greater complexity and sophistication.

This is reminiscent of Gerbier's descriptions of the indigenous Americans' improper adornments, given as the embodiment of incivility and a lack of sophistication: the nostril-pendants on buildings representing the corruption of the perfect geometric proportions and decorous ornamentation defined by the architectural orders. For such commentators the 'common notion' of arms is nonetheless universal, adopted even by such 'barbarous cannibals', thereby attesting to the natural truth of honours, hierarchy, and heraldry.[37] Gerbier's Orders and honours delineated in his 'little Treaty for…florida', would establish his state according to the proper social order, marked by new traditions whose origins would nonetheless be natural, ancient and divine.[38]

Gerbier's Orders of Chivalry and the Order of the Garter

In both real-world Europe and Gerbier's State, the jewel and pinnacle of all honours was the Order of chivalry, which defined an ideal of knighthood. Mottoes and rituals guided action and virtuous thought, while regalia and ceremonies imbued the wearer with honour, and guided outward display. When compared with this ideal, human reality inevitably fell short and such perfect specimens of knighthood could only exist as archetypes in chivalric romance or mythistory. Accordingly, since at least the fourteenth century, each subsequent generation mourned the loss of the chivalric ideal, blamed it on its own dissolution, and turned to the heroes of an earlier era. Commentators in each generation describe the decay and weakening of knighthood and of chivalric ideals—judging mockery as a marker of their decline—or classing the continued interest as a 'revival'.[39] Yet rather than waning or

[37] Ibid., 20–21.
[38] Gerbier 'Balthazar Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, 24 October 1648', 10/2/19A.
[39] James N. Ortego II, 'Seeking the Medieval in Shakespeare: The Order of the Garter and the Topos of Derisive Chivalry', in *Fifteenth-Century Studies, Vol. 35*, ed. Matthew Z. Heintzelman, Barbara I. Gusick, and Martin W. Walsh (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 81; Roy C Strong, 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter', *Archaeological Journal* 119, no. 1 (1962): 245-46.

disappearing, the chivalric ideal simply evolved, redefining the ideal to suit different periods and tastes.[40]

Despite their prevalence in early modern culture, Strong remarked in the 1960s, that a 'history of orders has not occurred. Marooned as it were in a backwater of early Victorian antiquarianism it is little wonder that most modern historians dismiss such things as already antiquated survivals of an age of chivalry which had long since vanished beyond recall. And yet in the age of the Tudors and the Stuarts orders were held in high esteem'.[41] To an extent, this lack has been remedied by time.[42] Yet for many modern scholars, Orders of chivalry remain the province of antiquarians: a niche interest sitting alongside heraldry and genealogies. Since ample evidence belies a lack of interest in chivalric Orders and heraldry in the seventeenth century, this indifference probably stems from the current unfashionability of studying elite culture, and a persistent resistance to the visual and material sources essential to such studies (and the challenge of interpreting their, often impenetrable, arcane symbolism). Gerbier's preoccupation with Orders thus reflects the contemporary—rather than out-moded—interest in chivalric values and ideals, as well as a wider interest in establishing exclusionary fraternal brotherhoods.

It is likely Gerbier's obsession with Orders stemmed in part from his intimacy with Charles I who sought to advance the Garter Order and reform its ceremonies and rites across the 1620s and 30s.[43] He had also acquired an extensive knowledge of chivalric Orders and titles in the courts of Europe, where an awareness of honours and precedence was essential to his various diplomatic and artistic roles. It is difficult to overestimate their cultural importance in that world. The fabled tales of the origins of Orders (military,

[40] J. S. A. Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 161–98; Richard Cust, 'Charles I and the Order of the Garter', *Journal of British Studies* 52, no. April (2013): 343–69.

[41] Strong, 'Order of the Garter', 245.

[42] See for instance, Hugh E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348–1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Trigg, *A Vulgar History*; Antti Matikkala, *The Orders of Knighthood and the Formation of the British Honours System 1660-1760* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008); Raymond B Waddington, 'Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter', *Source: The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 24, 1993; aristocratic honour and the socio-political role of heralds are placed at the forefront of Cust's recent studies of Charles I: see Cust, 'Charles I and the Order of the Garter'; Richard Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy, 1625-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) .

[43] Cust has rightly foregrounded the masculine and martial qualities of Charles I's vision, where previous scholars argued that his changes shifted towards a more private and religious ethos: Cust, 'Charles I and the Order of the Garter'.

religious, chivalric), often fanciful or embellished, were tirelessly repeated and their membership acknowledged whenever possible, in visual and material culture, and in systems of deference and protocol. Even Gerbier's pocket-sized travel guide, apportioned thirty-five pages to the chivalric Orders of Europe, their origins, mottoes, and ornaments.[44]

In Britain, the Garter was the foremost honour the King (himself a member) could bestow, and it was certainly the primary influence on Gerbier's own Orders. As assistant to Finet, and in 1641 Master of Ceremonies himself, he shared responsibility for organising the Garter gatherings and formalities.[45] To ensure the Order remained exclusive, its membership was limited to twenty-six noblemen at any one time (including the monarch and his or her heir).[46]Membership was blazoned wherever possible: on tapestries, paintings, jewellery, ships' figureheads, coins, and heraldic arms—even featuring in the names of inns attracting Garter knights or the upper ranks.[47] The non-ceremonial Lesser George, an investment badge worn on a blue ribband, is virtually ubiquitous in portraits of its members and was worn by members on all public occasions (e.g. figs. 45, 46, 48, 77-79).[48] Following the Civil Wars, Ashmole thus notes the 'ordinary manner of wearing this *Ribband* in time of peace' but offers an alternative option 'for the more conveniency of riding or action' when it

[44] Balthazar Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 34-69, plus from 21-24 on the origins of arms more broadly (he discusses the Order of the Garter on 67-69; Gerbier, MS PL 2939, 'Armoiries Royales'. The most thorough treatment of the Garter Order was published several decades later by Ashmole: Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 1672. In addition to the European orders of chivalry Ashmole discusses the military and religious orders of knighthood: 27-31, 47-125. See also, Trigg, Shame and Honor. *A Vulgar History of the Order of the Garter*, 48–92.

[45] See for instance, Gerbier's involvement in matters of honour and precedence in relation to use of the King's barge, seating in carriages, and his own position: John Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet, 1628-1641*, ed. Albert J. Loomie (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), 62, 79–80, 224. For Finet's involvement with the Garter ceremonies, as evidence of its importance to the Master of Cermonies' role, see 58–59, 90, 113, 124–25, 176–79, 217, 228, 304–5. Gerbier clearly had an existing personal interest in such matters and also wrote at length on matters of decorum to Buckingham in the 1620s, e.g. 'Gerber to the Duke of Buckingham' in Goodman and Brewer, *Court of King James*, 394–97.

[46] For further on the challenges and solutions posed by a female monarch's leadership of a male chivalric order, see Waddington, 'Elizabeth I and the Order'.

[47] For several examples of Garter references in tapestries and art see Simon Turner, 'Van Dyck and Tapestry in England', *Tate Papers* 17, no. Spring (2012): fns. 25, 26, 57, 58, 62-64. For inns and taverns, see J.C. Hotten and James Larwood, *English Inn Signs* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1951), 14, 243. This was a successful ploy in attracting the peerage, though some were outraged when coffee houses attempted similar (243). For jewellery and arms, see Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 207-8. For ships' figureheads, see 'King Billy', a figurehead carved in Plymouth in 1832 for HMS Royal William, wearing its Garter regalia, 'Figureheads' The Box, Plymouth, https://www.theboxplymouth.com/permanent-galleries/figureheads.

[48] Charles I's original sash was rediscovered and reunited with the painting in the Royal Collections in 2013. N.b. James VI and I had fixed the sash's colour, decreeing, 'it should always be of a Blue Colour, and no other [even] in time of mourning' Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 1672, 227.

should we worn 'spread over the left shoulder, and brought under the right arm, where the Jewel hangs'.[49]

Given his closeness to Garter knights and involvement in their ceremonies, the Order gives us the most likely real-world model for Gerbier's Orders and the role which he intended for them in the State, especially that of his highest Order of the Star. Indeed, one of the additions Charles I introduced to the Garter's insignia was a star pinned to the left breast or sleeve, to be placed above that of lesser orders—as with Gerbier's Knights of the Star (it is just visible on the right of fig. 77). (A curious result of this was the renaming of a number of inns, previously known as *The Garter,* which became *The Star and Garter*, including the one where Shakespeare's Falstaff lived in great style, which really existed, closing down in the late twentieth century).[50]



Fig. 77: Charles I wearing the star, sash and Lesser George of the Order of the Garter in the famous 'triple portrait'. Anthony van Dyck 'Charles I (1600-1649)', c. 1635-before June 1636, RCIN 404420. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

[49] Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 227.

[50] Hotten and Larwood, *English Inn Signs*, 5, 14, 27, 33, 242–43. The Garter ceremonies originally took place at Windsor before moving to the Banqueting Hall and the Merry Wives is known as the Garter play, mentioning it not only in the inn's name but also in speeches, e.g. William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* or *Sir John Falstaff and the Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602; performed 1597), Act 5, Scene 5.

Some sense of the reverence and honour which was accorded to the Garter Order and its ornaments can be measured by three examples that go some way to explaining the role and capacities Gerbier envisaged for his Order. The first demonstrates the position the Order held in the cultural imagination. Marshall's 1640 engraving of Bacon depicts him wearing a Lesser George, though he was not a member (fig. 78-79). The Lesser and Greater Georges, invariably depict St George in an identical pose: astride a leaping horse, bounding across the badge or through the air (e.g. figs. 80-81). As the pinnacle of all honours, Bacon is thus invested as Garter Knight in an imaginary realm of learning.



Fig. 78: William Marshall, Sir Francis Bacon (after Simon de Passe, from life), frontispiece, Francis Bacon, *Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning; or, The Partitions of Sciences Nine Books*, trans. Gilbert Watts (London: Leon Lichfield for Robert Young and Edward Forrest, 1640). Call # STC 1167. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.



Fig. 79: (detail of) William Marshall, Sir Francis Bacon (after Simon de Passe, from life), frontispiece, Francis Bacon, *Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning; or, The Partitions of Sciences Nine Books*, trans. Gilbert Watts (London: Leon Lichfield for Robert Young and Edward Forrest, 1640). Call # STC 1167. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.



Fig. 80: Lesser George known as 'The Juxon George' second half 17th century. RCIN 442207. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.



Fig. 81: Example of a Greater George, worn on the Order of the Garter's collar, composed of garters and twenty-six Tudor roses (one for each member) introduced by Henry VIII. Sir Robert Vyner, 'Garter Collar and Great George [George 1661; collar c.1685]'. RCIN 441924. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

The second example recalls earlier discussions of robes and office. In 1632, following the death of King Adolphus of Sweden—a Garter knight whose contract with Buckingham inspired Gerbier's 'Project' for an American State—a reception was held for his Garter's return. Four gentlemen in the Swedish ambassador's train carried the ornaments of the order upon specially-made 'cushions of velvet…covered with fine cloths of needlework' and delivered these in solemn procession to the 'antiest knights' of the Order, who were robed in their full Garter habits.[51] Then, following a salute to the ornaments, all proceeded, in pre-agreed order, to deliver them to the king and remaining knights, accompanied by twelve heralds, the Usher and Garter king of Armes.[52] Full ceremony and pomp was accorded to these objects, even when severed from their wearer: as above, they are accorded agency,

[51] Finet, *Note Books of John Finet*, 177. It is similar to the procession of Cardinal Wolsey's hat, carried before him by attendants on a velvet cushion, as related in Greenblatt, 'Resonance and Wonder'.
[52] For a detailed account see Finet, *Note Books of John Finet*, 176–78.

power, and reverence, now increased through their having absorbed some of the substance of kingship and honour from Adolphus.

The third example relates to Charles I's preparations for death. On the eve of his execution, Charles I bequeathed his jewellery to his children, keeping only his Garter ornaments. The following morning, he dressed himself in the honours of the Order, donning his ribbon and George.[53] As a symbol and embodiment of his honour and degree, it is significant that he wore the ornaments to the scaffold knowing that they must almost immediately be removed—as a practical measure in order to bare his neck, but also to avoid their being dishonoured by the cut. He must have been aware of the irony of being executed in front of the Banqueting House, the site of the annual Feast of St George and the conclusion of the Knights' processions.[54] He reputedly carried to the scaffold a prayer taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*—a pastoral romance that celebrates the ideals of chivalry, and public and private virtue—his costume, prayer and performance blending the ideal and material worlds, even in this viscerally real context (one commentator remarked that he went to the platform, displaying the 'same unconcernedness and motion [as] on a Masque-night').[55] His last act was to remove the sash and George and hand them to Bishop Juxon before placing his head upon the block.[56]

Collectively, such examples demonstrate the depth of meaning and importance these ornaments and honours held in the minds of the nobility. For Garter Knights, and many onlookers, power and honour inhered in the objects of the Order as well as bestowing it on their wearers. Gerbier, as witness and enthusiast, understood the significance of these

[53] Though small, his sash and George are visible in most depictions where his head his shown (e.g. in insert miniatures, since the head is often absent in the main image, having been cut off), e.g.: unknown artist, 'The Execution of Charles I, c. 1649, PGL 208. On loan from Lord Dalmeny, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh; Francoys Van Beusekom, 'The execution of Charles I', c. 1650, RCIN 601937, The Royal Collection Trust.

[54] Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, 124–25; Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 1672.

[55] Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, at 82. Though it appears unlikely, there was controversy over whether Bishop Gauden or Milton, who first exposed the prayer as Pamela's from the *Arcadia*, had some hand in the prayer's inclusion with the *Eikon Basilike*; for further, see Nicholas McDowell, 'Milton, the "Eikon Basilike", and Pamela's Prayer: Re-Visiting the Evidence', *Milton Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (16 May 2014): 225–34; King of England Charles I and John Gauden Bp. of Worcester, *Eikōn Basilikē, the Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings: Together with His Private Prayers, Used in the Time of His Restraint, and Delivered to D. Juxon, Bishop of London, Immediately before His Death* (London: s.n., 1649).

[56] Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, 82. Fig. 80, known as the 'Juxon George' was originally thought to be the one Charles wore on the scaffold and handed to William Juxon, Bishop of London, with the word 'remember' but dating has since proved this wrong (a number of others have also been claimed as the 'Juxon George').

ceremonies, objects, and beliefs to a sense of history, nationhood, and to the maintenance of power: he therefore wrapped his new State in a new, but familiar, habit of honours, rituals, and ornaments.

Orders and Fraternities

Noble Orders were in all instances connected to a mythologised chivalric ideal and a nation's heroism, but they also invoked popular and specific national and dynastic legends. In Britain, this returns us once again to Arthur. In Ashmole's exhaustive study of the Order of the Garter, he cites as a 'most ancient' prototype: the Knights of the Round Table whom Arthur had united 'into a Fellowship or Order'.[57] Gerbier, too, proposed that Arthur 'institute[d] the Order of the Round Table'.[58] The connection was long-established. Edward III, who established the Garter Order, had initially intended to recreate the Arthurian court, complete with a hall and Round Table to seat three hundred knights.[59] The Garter had also been connected to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as the Order's motto is inscribed on the manuscript.[60] Through Arthur, the Garter and other 'British' Orders, were associated with the origins of English chivalry and Arthur's British empire.

Gerbier's interest in creating a set of exclusive, hierarchical brotherhoods is clearly based on knightly medieval tradition; but it is also reflective of a wider associational movement. Across the 1600s, societies, clubs, and fraternities sprang up across disparate fields. Some, as above, were interested in the reformation and advancement of knowledge, in spiritual ideas, or in the management and protection of their craft; some formed loose literary circles or historical societies, or were political, while others yet were strictly sociable (interests and members frequently overlapped).[61] Gerbier has been associated with a

[57] Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 1672, 94–95. While Ashmole admits Arthurian legends are the 'issue of uncertain Tradition', like Hakluyt, he supports their inclusion in his history since so many authorities attest to their veracity.
[58] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 64–65. Also in Gerbier, 'Genealogie', 117r, he notes that, Arthur, the King of Great Britain was head of the order of the knights of the round table.
[59] Trigg, *A Vulgar History*, 51–52.
[60] Henry L. Savage, 'Sir Gawain and the Order of the Garter', *ELH* 5, no. 2 (June 1938): 146–49.
[61] See Peter Clark, *Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800*; Dickson, *Tessera of Antilia*; Timothy Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, James Smith, and the Order of the Fancy* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press, 1994); Michelle Pfeffer, 'The Society of Astrologers (c.1647–1684): Sermons, Feasts and the Resuscitation of Astrology in Seventeenth-Century London', *The British Journal for the History of*

variety of these, adopting aspects of their symbols and ceremonies in his Orders. From this, we can infer that he wished us to connect them with these wider fraternal traditions.

As with the Garter and Round Table, members of such groups sometimes created imaginary or mythologised origins, as writers had done for the practice of granting titles and arms (e.g. masons were traced back to the Biblical patriarchs; 'clubs' to 'Lycurgan Sparta' and Rome; and English literary societies to Chaucer and Occleve's 'Court of Good Company').[62] By 1659, Aubrey had noted a new term: 'we now use the word clubbe for a sodality in a taverne', a designation which Carlyle later connected to *Gelübde*: the vows of twelfth century Chivalric Orders.[63] Though Timbs thinks this connection spurious, many of these groups/fraternities clearly viewed themselves in similarly elevated light. The vast majority recorded rules or meetings, created hierarchical rituals and grand titles (e.g. 'High Seneschall'), and sometimes adopted clothing or symbols to mark membership.[64]

Bolton—who shared many of Gerbier's interests as well as Buckingham's patronage—even planned to create a 'College of Honour' within the Order of the Garter itself: an 'English Olympus', split into 'inferiors' and superiors' or 'essentials'.[65] Bolton's original 'Academ Roial' of 1617 had evolved by the late 1620s into an academy that would have authority over the arts, eventually culminating in a 'Cabanett Royall', a sort of royal historical society or museum attached to the academy.[66] Though Gerbier had no hand in these, given their overlapping interests and shared patron, it is likely he was aware of Bolton's projects (the 'Academ Roial' was later mistakenly attributed to him). Indeed, the

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Science 54, no. 2 (2021): 133–53; John Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London: With Anecdotes of Its Famous Coffee Houses, Hostelries, and Taverns, from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Time* (London: John Camden Hotton, 1872).

[62] Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life*, 1–3.

[63] Ibid., 3–4. 'Sodality' defined as c.1600: 'companionship, a brotherhood, association, fellowship … especially of religious guilds in the Catholic Church' further highlights the interconnection of such groups: Douglas Harper, 'Etymology of sodality', Online Etymology Dictionary, https://www.etymonline.com/word/sodality .

[64] There are many examples but the following give some sense of the range: Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture*, 73-75; Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, 13–25; 125–53; Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeenth Century*, 247–63; for literary circles and bawdier examples, see, amongst many others: Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life*, 9–12, 30–32, 34–37, 108–13, 261.

[65] Edmund Freeman, 'A Proposal for an English Academy', *The Modern Language Review* 19, no. 3 (1924): 291–300; Richard Cust, 'Charles I's Noble Academy', *The Seventeenth Century* 29, no. 4 (2014): 337–57. not to be confused with John Hall's 'Cambridge Essentials' of 1647, limited to sixty members: 'every one at least a Gentleman of blood and coatarmour': Ibid., 257.

[66] B. S. Monroe, 'An English Academy', *Modern Philology* 8, no. 1 (1910): 2–3; Richard Cust, 'Charles I's Noble Academy', *The Seventeenth Century* 29, no. 4 (2014): 337–57, 340; E. M. Portal, 'The Academ Royal of King James I', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 7 (1915-1916): 189–208.

lavish illustration accompanying Bolton's original petition emphasises the glorious lineage of English heroism that Bolton wished to bequeath to his 'order within the Order of St. George': an ambition mirrored in Gerbier's Orders of chivalry (fig. 82).



Fig. 82 Illustration from Edmund Bolton's 1617 petition to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham for the Establishment of the Academ Roial. Harley 6103, 2v, 3, British Library, London. Author's own image.

Another fraternity that may have influenced Gerbier's design was the Masonic Order. His texts and interests are suggestive of a familiarity with freemasonry: the symbolism used in his Order of the Columns; his references to Hiram, mason of Solomon's Temple, and to God as 'the Great Architect' (though the title alone was not uncommon); and his otherwise fairly obscure interest in tracing geometry and the architectural orders through Vitruvius to Solomon and Noah.[67] Some scholars have assumed Gerbier's entry into the brotherhood, though no written evidence of initiation or lodge membership has been found to prove this conclusively.[68] Though early, it is possible that Gerbier could have been a member in this period. Ashmole's initiation in 1646 is the earliest recorded example of a non-operative gentleman English freemason, the earliest in Scotland was 1634.[69] Furthermore, unlike other gentlemen architectural writers of the time, such as Wootton and de Chambray, Gerbier was interested in the practice of masonry and architecture, rather than simply the theory, and his architectural knowledge may have allowed him to become a skilled member as opposed to the (then-rare) non-operative 'speculative' member.[70]

As a recognizable feature of contemporary elite society, Orders and fraternities were frequently reimagined in art, literature and life, for both serious and comic effect. When Bacon wrote the *New Atlantis*, he, like Gerbier, spearheaded the society he imagined with a noble fraternity, the 'Fathers of Salamon', a brotherhood of learning that is recognised and celebrated by material splendour and social position in the same fashion as the nobility were honoured in European society and by Orders of chivalry. Yet, recognising their prominence in the cultural landscape, Bacon also parodied them in *Gesta Grayorum*, performed for the Grey's Inn Revels of 1594, which purported to be a history of Henry, Prince of the fictional state of Purpoole, and 'Knight of the Most Heroical Order of the

[67] Gerbier, *Brief Discourse*, 1662, 2–3; Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice*, 53, 99, 108; Gerbier, *The Interpreter, the First Part, 166*; Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 69-71, 99.
[68] Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision.*
[69] Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, 102.
[70] He is unusually respectful of the technical knowledge, experience, and skill of master builders, especially in Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders*, encouraging gentlemen to familiarise themselves with the everyday terms used by masons and other craftsmen for architectural features and construction methods. He is often their sole source in dictionaries of architecture: Davis, 'Introduction: Counsel and Advice: "Owners of Buildings" and Their Trustees', 26–26.

Helmet'.[71] Elizabeth I and the cultured audience would have understood the elegance of the caricature, which included a set of satirical articles for the imaginary Order.

Jonson, alert as ever to fashionable ideas, lampooned the scientific and spiritual brotherhoods linked to Rosicrucianism in several masques.[72] He was also the first writer (in 1627) to refer to a 'club' in the sense of a social group, and established his own literary dining club, for which he devised some light-hearted 'Rules for the Tavern Academy: Or, Laws for the Beaux Esprits', the verses displayed in Latin on the walls of the Apollo Room in the Old Devil Tavern where they met.[73] (The often less elite but no-less-pompous sociable 'club', or voluntary association, exploded in popularity in the eighteenth century, with an estimated 25,000 in the English-speaking world. This led to an odd reversal, with historical brotherhoods being 'reincarnated in associational terms: King Arthur's knights were [thus] described as the "original club of Round Table Troopers"').[74]

Orders of chivalry and their ceremonies were likewise gently mocked or mimicked in dining, drinking, and literary clubs or brotherhoods, such as the Tityre-tus, the Order of the Bugle, and the Order of the Fancy.[75] Some emulated the Orders' regalia as well as offering humorous versions of their elaborate titles, rules, rituals, and coats of arms (e.g. the 'Learned' Noviomagians 'found Arms for the[ir] Club, with a butter-boat rampant for the crest, which is very significant').[76] The 'Sublime Society of Beef-Steaks', established in the early eighteenth century, reached the pinnacle of parody and crossed over to the other side: its membership and 'relics', became seriously sought after, even now (fig. 83).[77]

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[71] William Canning, Francis Bacon, and Francis Davison, *Gesta Grayorum, or, The History of the High and Mighty Prince, Henry Prince of Purpoole ... Who Reigned and Died, A.D. 1594* (London: W. Canning, 1688).

[72] Ben Jonson, *Ben Jonson. Vol. 6 of 11: Bartholomew Fair, The Devil Is an Ass, The Staple of News, The New Inn, The Magnetic Lady*, eds. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), 6: 348; Yates, *Rosicrucian Englightenment*, 184.

[73] See text and discussion of 'Leges Convivales: Verses over the door of the Apollo' in Jonson, *Ben Jonson*, Vol. 8, 8:651-657; for the use of club, see Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture*, 69, 73. For further on the Apollo Club, which unusually, if not uniquely, allowed women of character to join its meetings, see Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life*, 9–13.

[74] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800*, 4–5.

[75] For further, see Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture*; Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture'; Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life*.

[76] Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life*, 261.

[77] The 'Brotherhood' established rituals, titles and songs, printing its Rules in 1735 (reprinted in Walton: xiii-xvi). As well as rings, ribbons and badges, the society's emblem, the gridiron, appeared on a throne, a sword, ceremonial hats, tablecloths, glasses, plates, and even cruet sets. For further, see Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life*, 17, 105–27 (Timbs thinks it was established before 1709, Arnold claims 1735); Walter Arnold, *The Life and Death of the Sublime Society of Beef Steaks* (London: Bradbury, Evans, & Co., 1871). Timbs includes an



Fig. 83: 'Badges of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks'. The Society's badge was a gridiron, inscribed with the motto 'Beef and Liberty'. The British Museum has several examples, including this pair from 1801 in the Montague Guest collection of badges, tokens and passes: presented in 1907 to the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities (1067). © The Trustees of the British Museum. N.b. this was an example of the 'Modern Badge', an older design is also shown in John Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London* (London: John Camden Hotton, 1872), 17.

Clearly, such allusions were only humorous because they referenced a common cultural motif and practice. Yet, though satirical, these mock Orders expose the truth of their desirability and the reason for Gerbier's adoption of them in his new state. Their elite members were both the audience and object of the joke, and the bite of the humour depended on the shared knowledge that titles, honours, and exclusive memberships were perceived as greatly desirable in reality. Neither would these parodies have been considered amusing had the mockery not stemmed (on every occasion) from one of their own. These were in-jokes: directed internally within—and intended solely for—their own closed gentlemanly or intellectual circles, rather than directed outwards for the entertainment of the uneducated masses. Masses of whom Gerbier wrote, quoting Count Egmond, that 'there are no Arms more gaudy and impertinent than those which many ignoble fantastick Mechanicks do hold forth'.[78]

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engraving (17) of Society 'relics' 'recently' (in 1872) sold at Christie's, while an eighteenth-century Beefsteak Society mourning ring fetched £3,600 at Christie's in 2006: Stephanie Harris, 'Served best perfectly rare… at £3600 a portion', 27 Nov. 2006, Antiques Trade Gazette website, https://www.antiquestradegazette.com .

[78] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 21.

Gerbier's Noble knights would be neither fantastical nor Mechanicks, and it was to an elite, cultured audience that Gerbier presented his plans for a new State in the Courts of Europe and for whom his Orders of Chivalry were created. He used a brotherhood, a form of social organisation with which he and they were familiar, and the rituals and symbols associated with real-world fraternities and Orders of chivalry, to create cultural depth and lineage in his new state by association. Through them, he would instil in his nascent State a sense of nationhood, which he linked directly with the granting of honour and titles. Furthermore, by creating a familiar *habitus* he could transfer the social hierarchies and dynamics of power and authority found in Europe to his new state by replicating the cultural associations and organisations that formed them, such as knightly Orders of chivalry. These would be serious and greatly desirable noble brotherhoods—equal to those of Europe and rich in tradition, symbolism, and splendour.

8: Order, Symbol and Ceremony

The images that most aptly reflect Gerbier's textual description of genealogies and degrees are dichotomous tables or tree diagrams, but the visual world of his Orders' collars, robes, symbolic jewellery, and devices relate to the emblem book and *impresa*. The intended courtly readers of Gerbier's texts were conversant with a material and visual world that was heavy with symbolism. To their accultured minds, paintings, buildings, adornments, and robes offered a palimpsest of meaning. Collectively, they formed a visual library which stored and conveyed a vast amount of information—instantly—if one had the skill to read it. Armorial bearings (branded on liveries, coaches, buildings and every other conceivable object) commemorated key events in dynastic and national histories: a continual reminder of who was in power and why. Likewise the 'noble ornaments' of buildings, arms, emblems, and art, which, to Gerbier and his peers, were 'histories that one may read without fatigue'.[1] Like arms, buildings could herald victories and narrate 'true' histories. As Gerbier noted:

> …the *Grecians* (in remembrance of their Victories) did Range the Colombs in their Buildings, to represent the number of Slaves which they had taken; the Grains, Beads, Drops, Pendants, Garlands, Enterlaced-Knots, Fruitage, and an infinite number of Ornaments, which are put on the Frize, to signifie the Spoiles which the Victors had brought away from their Enemies; and to preserve the Memory thereof, did place them on their Buildings, that they might also serve for a true History.[2]

Gerbier's descriptions of the ornaments and devices of his Orders of chivalry were therefore intended to present a story, or rather an ideological argument, through visual rhetoric: to conjure histories and ideas through symbol and association rather than simply to decorate their members in magnificent style, though that too was his intention. This visual rhetoric extended to public processions and private ceremonies, discussed below, which were intended to define, maintain and celebrate the social and civic order and the glories of the past.

In the first instance, a history and antiquity were associated with the typology and form of the ornaments themselves; for instance, the collar of gold as opposed to some other

[1] 'Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham, 8th Feb. 1624-25', in Goodman and Brewer, *Court of King James*, 370.
[2] Gerbier, *Brief Discourse*, 1662, 5–6.

metal, or a symbol or badge as opposed to some other device, being used to mark honour. Unsurprisingly, Segar suggests the collar's origins lie in Rome: 'When Manlius [a fourth century BC Roman general] in single combat had slaine a French man, hee tooke from him a collar of golde, all bloodie, and put the same about his owne necke in token of victorie. After which time, he was surnamed Torquatus, because Torques in the Latine signifieth a collar or chaine'.[3] Within the category of ornaments of chivalry as a whole there was a hierarchy of dignity and degree, as seen in the differing functions, styles, and materials of the Garter's Lesser and Greater Georges (sash and badge for everyday; collar and pendant for ceremonial wear: figs. 77, 80-81).

This hierarchy of ornament existed among and within Orders, but also to the forms themselves, as Segar notes: 'among the ensignes and ornaments of Honor and Armes, the great Collar is of highest reputation'.[4] Therefore, each of Gerbier's Orders is memorialised by a gold collar. Gold itself represented wealth and status, literally costing a lot, but was also heavy with symbolic power, playing a central role in religious and secular ceremonies, and referenced in Biblical and Classical texts. Hart highlights the metal's additional resonance in 'alchemical emblematics in which gold was the symbol of purity and, as such, the theoretically perfect state towards which base metals strove'.[5] Gold was therefore emblematic of the broader search for elements and origins, and signified an ideal of purity, just as chivalric knighthood represented ideal manhood.

In any examination of emblem and symbol there is, of course, a danger in assuming connections which were not intended. While it is impossible to prove the precise symbolic meaning(s) Gerbier wished to impart in each instance cited below, evidence is provided to demonstrate Gerbier's knowledge of the connections made. This is intended to give weight to the conclusions but is also suggestive of their wider resonance in courtly culture and the multiplicity of interpretations and meanings that can be directed toward symbols. In any case, as Stevenson remarks, it would be a poor symbol that had only one level of meaning'.[6]

[3] Segar, *Honor Military, and Civill*, 61–62.
[4] Ibid., 62. Accordingly, the collar or chain of a Knight of Bath is lesser than a collar of a Garter Knight, but both are greater than their respective Order's everyday ornaments.
[5] Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 30–31.
[6] Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, 140.

The Order of the Star

The mark of Gerbier's foremost Order was to be a shining star; its members radiating their 'justice' or 'light' before and upon men (fig. 71). In this, the Order of the Star echoed the reformed regalia of Garter knights, emulating the star Charles I had recently added to their habit (fig. 77). As a frequent cultural motif, the star's radiance undoubtedly signified the lamp of nobility and just monarchy, but, given Gerbier's repeated allusions to sundials and compasses, the Order's star might also be a compass star, which represented love, constancy and guidance: 'an ever-fixed mark' for Shakespeare's 'wand'ring bark'.[7] An alternative translation might be a blazing star.[8] Blazing played upon the idea, of blazoning, which describes a coat of arms or proclamation.[9] To blaze thus had dual purpose, as in Cavendish's *Blazing World*, or when Davenant wrote of commoners who: 'look upon the outward glory and blaze of courts, as Wilde beasts in darke nights stare on their Hunter's torches'.[10] The star of Gerbier's Order blazoned the Star Knights' title and degree and the illuminating light of their nobility.

In contrast to the secular symbolism of the Garter chain, which interspersed tasselled garters with Tudor roses, Gerbier's chain was explicitly religious, linking the Order with the Christian faith—literally, since the links of the chain were formed from 'hands clasped together in a sign of faith' (figs. 71 and 88). Since this passage is introduced by the words 'the Christian Religion' in a huge swirl, his religious intent seems clear. As Keller has demonstrated, Gerbier was a master of the 'single-line unbroken flourish… in Dutch a *pennetrek*', and the skill displayed in this and other key lines, attest to their significance.[11] However, 'foy [foi]' can be translated as faith or honour, so the hands might equally be the clasped hands of brothers, pledging to honour and keep faith with one another and God. The Star also resonates with the Biblical message of a different (real-world) chivalric 'Order of the Star', which, according to Gerbier, had been created 'in remembrance of the Star which did conduct the three wisemen [and] was instituted by John de Valois, a French King,

[7] William Shakespeare, Sonnet 116: 'Let me not to the marriage of true minds'.
[8] In Keller's translation of 'The Project', she translates 'une étoile rayonnante' as blazing. See Keller, 'New State in America', 169.
[9] Boutell and Fox-Davies, *Handbook to English Heraldry*, 31–32.
[10] William Davenant in 1650 quoted in Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, at 81.
[11] For further on his penmanship, and its connection with the marketing of knowledge, see Keller, 'Pennetrek', esp. 61, 64-77.

in Anno 1351, the motto, *Monstrant Regibus Astra Viam* [The Stars Show the Way to the Kings]'.[12]

Through this symbolism, which entwined a blazing star with the Christian faith and a motto of justice, Gerbier may also have hoped to invoke the memory of the 'British Solomon', James VI and I.[13] Gerbier had been in London for three years when a 'blazing star', a comet, had appeared in the sign of Libra, associated with *Justitia*, the personification of justice in Roman mythology.[14] Following initial consternation, the star was judged to represent the good fortune and prosperity brought about under James' rule.[15] Masques, poems and architecture blazoned the King's dynastic and political achievements, representing James and his court as celestial bodies in allegorical, 'emblemated motions of the heavens'.[16] In keeping with this early augury, James, and later Stuarts, were repeatedly identified with Jupiter and Solomon, both associated with Justice. In his inaugural speech in 1616, James made the connection explicit, associating himself with 'the Prophet David and his son Solomon' and stating that 'Kings are properly judges, and sit in the throne of God, and thence all Judgement is derived'.[17]

Gerbier was fully cognisant of these allusions, not least because of his involvement in the commissioning and delivery of the vast panels Rubens created for the Banqueting House ceiling. These were conceived according to a strict iconographical plan that visualised James as Solomon in his Temple; then unifying the crowns (Scotland and England are the mothers from the Biblical 'Judgement of Solomon' who fight over the nascent Britain); and culminating in his Apotheosis, emphasising his Divine right to rule (figs. 84 and 85).[18] In each

[12] Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 34–35.
[13] For further on James as Solomon, see Palme, *Triumph of Peace* various, especially 235; Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts,* 105, 111, 149; Nick Myers, 'Hercule Gaulois, Great Britain's Solomon-Myths of Persuasion, Styles of Authority', in *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruikshanks (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), 29–42.
[14] Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, 3.
[15] John Bainbridge, *An Astronomical Description of the Late Blazing Star* (1619) quoted in Palme, 4-5, for other contemporary refs see fn. 1, at 4.
[16] Ibid., 6.
[17] Ibid., 189–90; William Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the Lives and Reigns of, Mary Queen of Scotland, and of Her Son and Successor, James the Sixth, King of Scotland, and (after Queen Elizabeth) King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland* (Humphrey Mosely, Richard Tomlins, and George Sawbridge, 1656), 439.
[18] The Royal Collection offers useful commentary on each panel as well as the series, though oddly does not note James' portrayal as Solomon, despite the Solomonic pillars in fig. 85 and reference to the Judgement of Solomon in fig. 85. For the essays and also the Apotheosis, see also Peter Paul Rubens and Studio, 'The Apotheosis of James I', c.1632-4. RCIN 408414. Royal Collection Trust website, www.rct.uk.

panel James wears the Greater George, again testifying to the importance of Orders in the display of royal power (Rubens had also painted Charles II as the Garter's patron St George, when living with Gerbier some years earlier).[19] In the letter that introduces the American 'Project', Gerbier links Solomonic justice to kingship explicitly: 'Let God give us a King said the Hebrews to the Prophet to doe us Justice as to other Nations…let a Prince be a Lover of Justice, of order, and Consequently of good Laws, the People will love him, and Stick to him'.[20] Whether he intended to reference James, specifically, or the Stuarts more generally, it seems certain that Gerbier wished to draw associations between his Order and the ideals (if not the reality) of Stuart kingship, blazoning the justice with which they were so prominently associated and linking his Knights of the Star to the star-clad Knights of the Garter.

[19] Peter Paul Rubens, 'Landscape with St George and the Dragon', 1630-35. RCIN 405356. Buckingham Palace. Royal Collection Trust; Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, 79.
[20] Gerbier, 'To the illustrious Prince', MS Rawlinson C.254, 62r.



Fig. 84: Peter Paul Rubens and Studio, 'The Wise Rule of James I', c.1632-4. RCIN 408411. Banqueting House Ceiling, London. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

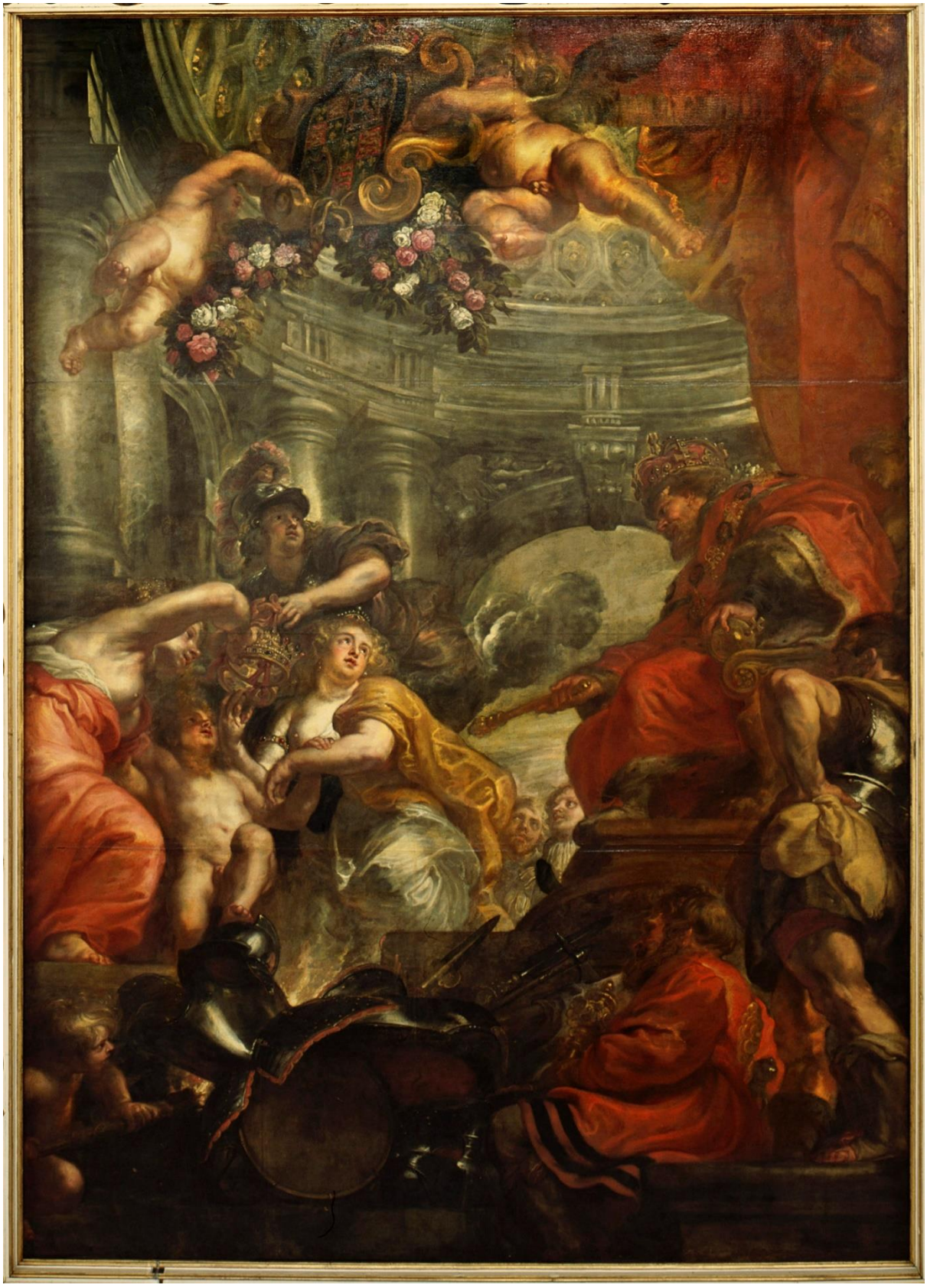


Fig. 85: Peter Paul Rubens and Studio, ‘The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland’, c.1632-4. RCIN 408417. Banqueting House Ceiling, London. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

The Order of the Columns

Gerbier's Order of the Columns, reserved for hereditary nobles, again emphasised justice: the badge inscribed with the words 'Justice, police, religion, counsel', and, in the 'Project' only 'the device This is our Support'.[21] The architectural metaphor is unambiguous: a building cannot stand without the columns, and so the Column Knights will support the monarchy by providing sound advice, maintaining religious faith, and holding office. Given the more powerful role given to the nobility in Gerbier's State when contrasted with England, and the constitutional power they are granted to sequester the King if he is judged a tyrant, the command to 'police' is intended to operate vertically and horizontally—to ensure the fundamental laws of the state are observed and good order kept by all, whether royalty, Peers, or commoners. The Order's chain, inflamed hearts bound by a single link, indicates the fervour with which the Knights of the Column must support the King and state by upholding the motto of their brotherhood, metaphorically blazoned on their burning hearts.

Columns and hearts both represent fortitude and constancy within heraldry. Hearts also connoted loyalty, love, and emotion, and had spiritual connotations. The heart was sacred: it symbolised the soul, inner thoughts, and memories of a person. In Christianity it is where God is found; in emblem books hearts were frequently set aflame by the light of Christ, or remade by God's burning grace.[22] In fact, an entire literature focused solely on the heart emblematic: the schools of the heart, *Schola cordis*, within which the figure of a heart undergoes spiritual trials and transformation.[23] Other emblem books were equally obsessed with hearts and their plural meanings and indicate the layers of symbolism Gerbier's collar could draw on. Cramer's influential *Societas Jesus et Rosae Crucis Vera* (Frankfurt, 1617) features forty mainly heart-based emblems (a work most probably intended, like Vaughan's and Andreae's, to reframe Rosicrucianism as staunchly Christian and Protestant)—and his

[21] Gerbier, 'Project', 69v.

[22] Emily Jo Sargent, 'The Sacred Heart: Christian Symbolism', in *The Heart* (New Haven and London: Wellcome Collection and Yale University Press, 2007), 102.

[23] For further, see Lewalski, who identifies five kinds of emblem books dealing with religious or spiritual subjects (one of which is the *schola cordis*) listing the principle works in each category. The earliest *Schola Cordis* was by a Dutch Jesuit Benedict van Haeften (1629): Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 188–96. Christopher Harvey, Benedictus van Haeften, and Francis Quarles, *Schola Cordis, or, The Heart of It Selfe, Gone Away from God Brought Back Againe to Him & Instructed by Him in 47 Emblems* (London: H. Blunden, 1647), for inflamed hearts see 143–47.

later expanded *Emblemata Sacra* which includes hearts in forty-five of the fifty, sometimes disturbing, plates; while Saltmarsh's *Holy Discoveries and Flames* (1640), used the image of a flaming heart throughout.[24]

The emblems often lend themselves to mystical, alchemical interpretation, but this seems unlikely to be Gerbier's intention, as there is no evidence that Gerbier's Hermetic interests extended to alchemy (fig. 86).[25] There is nevertheless religious as well as alchemical significance in the gold of his collar; the words and Biblical quotations accompanying Cramer's burning hearts describe their being purified seven times in the furnace, witnessing to the 'quality of gold…and goodness of the mind' (fig. 86).[26] Cramer's books were a 'major influence' not only on European religious and emblematic literature but also on the ornamentation of Northern European architecture, which as Mödersheim claims, was largely due to the immense popularity of the 'caridomorphous *picturæ* motifs'.[27] In other words, everyone loved the hearts.

Therefore, when Gerbier creates a golden collar of burning hearts—an immensely popular emblem, weighty with meaning—he implies the Column Knights have undergone spiritual transformation: they are lit by a religious fire and cleansed by grace. Tested but resilient. To inflame is also to set alight with passion, love, or desire. The Column Knights were thus expected to have a burning, but steadfast, affection for their (Protestant) God and noble brothers, and for the ideals of honour and chivalry which defined the Orders of knighthood.

The collar, as with the Greater George, was probably intended to be worn only on ceremonial occasions, whereas the symbol the Column knights must always wear (by law) was a 'four-faced, square-cut column'. The column was the principal form by which

[24] John Saltmarsh, *Holy Discoveries and Flames* (London, 1640); Daniel Cramer, *Emblemata Sacra* (Frankfurt, 1624); Daniel Cramer, *Emblemata Sacra: Hoc Est, Decades Quinque Emblematum Ex Sacra Scriptur* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1674); Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics,* 190, 193-196; for Cramer and Rosicrucuanism, see Daly, *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem*, 84.

[25] Cramer's books, which ran to multiple editions, have often been linked to Hermeticism due to the Rosicrucian title and the emblems' unusual symbolism but also because his publisher also printed Michael Maier's alchemical texts: Sabine Mödersheim, 'Theologia Cordis: Daniel Cramer's Emblemata Sacra in Northern European Architecture', in *The Emblem in Scandinavia and the Baltic. Glasgow Emblem Studies Vol. 11*, ed. Simon McKeown and Mara R. Wade (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2006), 304.

[26] Cramer, *Emblemata Sacra*, 1674; Daniel Cramer, Fiona Tait (trans.), and McLean Adam, *The Rosicrucian Emblems of Daniel Cramer* (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1991), 62.

[27] Mödersheim, 'Theologia Cordis: Daniel Cramer's Emblemata Sacra in Northern European Architecture'.

Vitruvius and later architectural writers, including Gerbier, delineated the Classical orders, reflecting the body of man and divine proportion (figs. 66-69). As representative of a specific architectural order, a column supported but also defined and controlled the edifice and its ornamentation. In the same fashion, Knights of the Column would uphold the King and the laws of the State but would also mediate and control the monarch's actions by managing his finances, examining and ratifying all laws, even by imprisoning him if necessary.[28] Since Gerbier believed the architectural orders had been adopted but not created by the (heathen) Romans and Greeks, a column might also represent the divine order of a Christian God, and the Column Knights be symbolic of a Christian celestial plan.



Fig. 86: Examples of inflamed heart emblems: 4: 'I love'; 7: 'I am constant, steadfast, resolute'; 24: 'I am tested and shown to be true'; 33: 'Suffer and Learn', in Daniel Cramer, *Emblemata Sacra: Hoc Est, Decades Quinque Emblematum Ex Sacra Scriptur* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1674). Public Domain.

[28] See 'The Project', 63r, 65r; 'Loix', 28, 30. Column in the military sense was not in use until c. 1670s: Douglas Harper, 'Etymology of Column', Online Etymology Dictionary, Harper, Douglas. "Etymology of column." Online Etymology Dictionary, https://www.etymonline.com/word/column.

Accordingly, the Knights were to be pillars of the (Protestant) Christian faith, upholding the single 'religion' of the State, as their motto makes explicit ('Justice, police, religion, counsel…This is our Support').[29] Gerbier prohibits gifts or bequests to the Church because he sees this as 'the source of [its] corruption'.[30] Consequently, the 'support' given to the Church by the Knights of the Column would be a financial obligation rather than merely symbolic: men of the Church could not own property, so would be 'supported through pensions by the Lords of the Lands, who will be obliged to do so'.[31]

A supporting column within an Order of chivalry must also uphold the ideals of honour, arms, and chivalry itself. Gerbier and his contemporaries drew parallels between Orders of chivalry and the architectural orders; both ideals also entangled with the iconography of heraldry.[32] Gerbier describes the two ideals in identical terms: those educated in Classical architecture, have 'Marshald the Orders of Colombs', while his second-tier, chivalric Order is 'the Order of the Columns'.[33] Wotton likewise connected heraldry, noble degree, and the Classical orders, as represented by columns, in *Elements of Architecture*. One might assume Wotton's account of the Doric order were a description of a man and his rank and arms if the architectural terms were exchanged for items of dress. He writes of the Doric column:

> …save a sober garnishment now and then of *Lions heads* on the *Cornice*, and of *Triglyphs* and *Metopes* always in the *Frize*…and a little light sculpture about the…*Necke* under the *Capitall*. His ranke or degree is the lowest of all *Congruity*, as being more massie then the other three, and consequently abler to support…To discerne him will be a peece rather of good *Heraldry*, than of *Architecture*: For he is best known by his place, when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his Frize…when he is alone.[34]

[29] Gerbier, 'The Project', 69v.
[30] Gerbier, 'The Project', 68v-69r.
[31] 'The Project', 68v.
[32] Vaughan Hart, 'A Peece Rather of Good Heraldry, than of Architecture: Heraldry and the Orders of Architecture as Joint Emblems of Chivalry', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 23 (19 May 1993): 52–66. Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, 110–112; Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 65–77.
[33] Gerbier, *Brief Discourse*, 1664, 4.
[34] Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, 35–36.

While Gerbier's Column Knights were of very high rather than 'lowest' degree, they too would be discerned by their emblems of honour and the 'peculiar ornament' of their heraldic insignia: the column.

Wotton and Gerbier were not the first to join the Classical orders to heraldry and chivalry. The Stuarts associated themselves directly with the revived antique style, and the architectural orders were employed in artistic representations of the dynasty to represent both Solomonic justice and the perceived revival of chivalry and honour across the kingdoms under Stuart rule (e.g. fig. 84-85). It was, therefore, with calculated intent that Gerbier's rival, Inigo Jones, used the Classical orders to depict the fallen (and restored) House of Chivalry in Jonson's Arthurian-themed masque *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) (figs. 87 and 88). The scene opens on ancient British ruins, littered with cobwebbed shields, which Jones depicts as a mixture of real and imaginary medieval and Classical ruins (fig. 87). When Lady Chivalry is awoken, restored by Henry, so too are the architectural orders (fig. 88).[35] Interestingly, Jones did not use the orders here merely to accord with Stuart tastes: rather, he believed that the introduction of Classical architecture into England was in fact a restoration of Ancient British Architecture, the style being first introduced by the Romans who taught harmonious proportion by constructing Stonehenge.[36]

The Lady of the Lake laments the decayed 'house of Chivalry' by describing its former glory in terms of Classical porticoes, triumphal arches and statuary: 'More truth of architecture there was blazed / Than liv'd in all the ignorant Goths have razed'.[37] James was again portrayed as a blazing star when he played King Arthur, who is discovered as a star above.[38] In the end both the ancient architectural style and chivalric honour are restored by Prince Henry. The play typifies contemporary understanding of the architectural orders as parallel to and emblematic of the Orders of chivalry. The two types of Orders are embodied by the Column Knights, who carry the ideals of chivalry and architecture, and support the fundamental laws and religion of the State.

[35] For further discussion, including possible architectural sources, see John Harris, Stephen Orgel, and Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court. A Quartercentenary Exhibition Held at the Banqueting House, Whitehall from July 12th to September 2nd, 1973* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973), 43–52, 68–74; also Hart, 'Heraldry and the Orders of Architecture', 53-54.
[36] Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, 111; Harris, Orgel, and Strong, *The King's Arcadia*, 82–83.
[37] Jonson, *Works of Ben Jonson,* 7:151.
[38] Jonson, 150, 152.



Fig. 87: The Fallen House of Chivalry, c.1610 (pen & ink on paper), Jones, Inigo (1573-1652) / The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth / Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees / Bridgeman Images. Stage design for scene I of *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) by Ben Jonson; also known as 'The Lady of the Lake'.



Fig. 88: Chivalry Restored. St George's Portico, c.1610 (pen & ink on paper), Jones, Inigo (1573-1652) / The Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth / Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees / Bridgeman Images. Stage design for scene II of *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) by Ben Jonson; also known as 'The Lady of the Lake'.

Columns are equally significant in religious, masonic, and Hermetic works; however, the column on the Knights' badge is square cut and solitary, rather than a pair (the pillars of Hercules, Solomon, and the sons of Lamech, who reputedly inscribed sacred knowledge on columns that survived the flood, all come in pairs).[39] Single columns, however, had their own allusions and histories: in heraldry, symbolising strength and fortitude; in architecture defining each order; while according to masonic lore, when Hermes Trismegistus finds only one of Lamech's sons' antediluvian pillars, he uses it to convey geometric and other knowledge to mankind. Rich allegory indeed.

It is notable that Gerbier's column is simply 'squared', rather than denoting a particular Classical order. (This could easily have been represented on a badge, as Gerbier, a limner himself, and familiar with the detailed artistry of Garter ornaments, would have known). Gerbier's simplistic design then seems deliberate. It is also explicitly stone, rather the wooden tree trunk, that Vitruvius and his emulators saw as 'the Original' column—referenced sculpturally by Bramante in the Sant'Ambrogio basilica, Milan, with which Gerbier was familiar (fig. 89).[40] Gerbier's badge blazons an idea, an elemental column represented by the geometric perfection of squared stone. As above, Gerbier believed geometry was divine order made manifest and essential to the attainment of religious and secular knowledge, and revelation.[41] He noted with approval that 'Plato did refuse the entry into his Academy, to those that had not studied Geometrie' and referenced 'the saying of Plato, that God doth alwaies work by Geometry'.[42] Geometry was the key that unlocked the universe, from microcosm to macrocosm, and the squared stone was the smallest block of this larger idea.[43]

This presents yet further possible interpretations. Gerbier's only description is that it is 'une Colomne a quatre faces ou quarrée': a 'four-faced, square-cut column. Colloquially, if

[39] Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, 146–47. Solomon's pillars, Boaz and Jachin, were often represented as twisted due to the (false) legend that the spiral columns of St Peter's in Rome had been taken from the original Temple. For further, see J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The Shrine of St. Peter and Its Twelve Spiral Columns', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 42, no. Parts 1 and 2 (1952): 21–33.
[40] Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, 32.
[41] He references several Classical and Renaissance geometers including Plato, Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Diophantus, Ptolomy and Ramus as well as artist-architectural writers on perspective and geometry. Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 69–72.
[42] Gerbier, *The First Lecture of Geographiee*, 1; Gerbier, *The Interpreter, the First Part*, 138, 142; Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus,* 70.
[43] Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders*, 33–34; Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 71.

a person had ‘une bonne quarré’ it meant ‘they were furnished with very wide shoulders and a commanding presence’—certainly a fitting description of an idealised knight—but the term was more commonly used to mean cutting stone into a square or rectangular block (so, a squared column) and most often used to describe ‘a figure with four sides and four angles, perfectly square’.[44] Bolton’s *Armouries*, notes that ‘Hermae were certain squared stones in manner of a statue without an head, set in publick wayes, and dedicated to MERCURIE…[and] HERMES’: often associated or conflated with Hermes Trismegistus.[45] The pillars were often topped with a bust of Mercury/Hermes or sculptures of distinguished people, their honour proclaimed by association with Hermes, herald of the gods. If perfectly hewn, the carved stone became a pure geometric shape, indicative of skilful masonry and geometric precision. Therefore, the symbol blazons the Column Knights’ honour by use of a mason’s column reduced to barest essentials or elements.



Fig. 89: Stone columns carved as tree trunks in the arcades of the Canon’s house referencing the origin of Classical columns, according to Vitruvius. Donato Bramante, Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, Milan. Photo by Giovanni Dall’Orto. Public Domain.

[44] *Entry for* ‘Quarré’ Académie française, *Le Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française, t. 2* (Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1694).
[45] Bolton, *Elements of Armories*, 173–74.

The Order of the Shield

The third Order of chivalry is represented by a Shield, the rudimentary and foundational symbol of arms in heraldry. As the only path to honour and high position available to commoners, the Order represents social mobility, and the emblems of the Shield knights amalgamate the complex and contrasting ideals of nobility: uniting medieval martial knighthood with Classical and early modern ideas of virtue achieved through office-holding. Membership of the Order could, accordingly, be achieved through an 'act of virtue, either with arms or by some great service to the state', as typified by the device: 'honour follows virtue' (figs. 62 and 71). These twin pillars of honour are represented by a gold collar of interlinked swords and books.

Equating virtue and honour with arms unified Classical and chivalric ideals. In discussions of the moral code of the nobility—what Arthur Wilson described in 1653 as 'Old English Honour'—virtue and nobility were invariably linked to combat.[46] The virtue and pre-eminence of martial prowess was repeatedly emphasised in sixteenth century noble advice literature, or 'Mirrors for Princes' works, many of which retained their popularity in the seventeenth century.[47] As noted, Gerbier's 'Laws' sit within the frame of a much larger folio manuscript, the 'Mirror of Virtue', directing us to view this work as a reflection of ideals (of behaviour, custom, and law).

It is unsurprising then that, as with the collar of the Shield knights, European Orders, often established in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, frequently feature swords in their ornaments, sometimes bloodied or crossed; but, unlike the Shield collar, no Order includes representations of books.[48] Where an earlier conception of chivalric knighthood ignored, or even disparaged, book-learning (e.g. John Larke claims those descended of 'noble bloode

[46] William Huse Dunham and Jr., 'William Camden's Commonplace Book', *The Yale University Library Gazette* 43 (1969): 151–52, Richard C. McCoy, 'Old English Honour in an Evil Time: Aristocratic Principle in the 1620s', in *The Stuart Court in Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm R. Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 135-138, Wilson at 135.

[47] Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, 57; George Bull, 'Introduction', in *The Book of the Courtier* (London: Penguin, 1967), 13; Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London, 1534), 62, 194. Machiavelli's 'virtue' encompasses the qualities one must posess to hold power and martial skills are necessary to maintain control and aquire a reputation: Niccolò Machiavelli, *Selected Political Writings*, ed. and trans. David Wootton (Hackett Publishing, 1994), 67–69.

[48] See for example the swords listed as ornaments of the chivalric orders of Europe (and absence of books) in Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 46, 51, 62–63.

and borne to armes…wastyn gretlie theire tyme in suche nedeless besinesse [as] practique of law or custom of lande or of civile matier'), later notions of nobility embraced it.[49] The palette of talents attributed to the ideal Elizabethan knight included a skill in poetry as well as arms, but the book of the Shield collar represents the broader virtue of service to the state, as defined by the pathways to honour Gerbier specifies.

The collar unifies competing notions of what constitutes virtuous action and the qualities that confer nobility. The two upper Orders, which Gerbier reserved for hereditary peers and royalty, embody an ancient idea of nobility and right rooted in blood, lineage, and dynastic alliances. Lineages that would by necessity be European, since the state does not yet exist, and it is clear Gerbier aims at a colonial/utopian society of Europeans, not of indigenous peoples and their lineages. However, the upper Orders express an idea of ancient, hereditary nobility, and, as such, these long-lineages exist in the state *in potentia*. The Order of the Shield, however, challenges this narrow definition and pathway, enabling nobility to be conferred through virtuous action, whether martial or official.

Since the thirteenth century, the term 'nobility' had dual function: to denote a person of high social rank and to describe high moral character. In the medieval period the two were generally considered to be mutually constitutive or synonymous: if one was a noble, one would also exhibit the qualities of nobility. However, the Renaissance began the gradual severing of the conceptual link between noble, as a noun denoting rank, and noble, as an adjective denoting moral virtue. Though Gerbier is clearly enamoured with ancient lineage, this strand of Renaissance humanist thought also appealed to him as a self-made noble, so to speak. It is an idea Gerbier celebrates elsewhere in the 'Mirror of Virtue', filling a page with the Latin motto *Nobilis est ille, quem nobilitat sua virtus*, nobility proceeds from virtue, echoing the more common claim that virtue is the true measure of nobility, *virtus vera nobilitas est*.[50]

[49] William Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse: Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on His Invasion of France in 1475*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Roxburghe Club, 1550; 1860), 77.

[50] For further on Renaissance discussions of what constituted true nobility see Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, Vol. 2 of 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 213–44, esp. 227. The origin of Gerbier's motto is unclear but it appears in Skelton where it is attributed to John Cassian (c. AD 360 – c. 435), known as John the Ascetic: John Skelton, *The Book of the Laurel*, ed. F. W. Brownlow (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), 145.

It would, however, be tricky for anyone to perform acts of virtue in Gerbier's state, whether military or civil since very few avenues to power and position are available to those not already members of an Order. While in contemporary Europe, Orders of chivalry were additional honours bestowed upon men who were already knights, it is implied that in Gerbier's state membership of the Orders encompasses knighthood in its entirety, that there is no wider pool of knights from which the Orders' membership is drawn. In either case it would be difficult for commoners to provide great service to the State, and virtually impossible for them to perform an act of virtue through arms, since commoners would be prohibited from carrying a sword unless during wartime or travelling, likely rendering them with few martial skills to speak of, and reminding us also that heraldic 'arms' originally signified the right to carry weapons.[51] In a telling conjunction, duels are prohibited in the 'Project' between 'citizens and…those who bear arms'; the nobility not being considered as common citizens but separate and superior, subject to a different law.[52]

This older signifier of knighthood is referenced in the non-ceremonial badge of the Shield Knights: the plain shield, both the symbol and carrier of heraldic arms and a defensive tool. The emblem charges the Knights with the defence of the King, the State, their faith and the ideals of chivalry, mirroring the higher-ranking Column knights who 'support' these tenets. A plain shield might also be described as empty or uncharged. According to the *Handbook of Heraldry*, a shield is '"borne" by the personage to whom it belongs: and, in its turn, the Shield "bears" whatever figures and devices may be displayed upon it; whence, all these figures and devices are entitled "Bearings" or … "Charges"; and they are said to be "charged" upon a Shield'.[53] Contemporaries, surrounded by the 'logos' of heraldry, made clear distinction between plain and painted shields. The plain, as Bolton remarks 'hath nothing of a coate', while those depicting heraldic arms, denoted honour and conveyed a wealth of dynastic, genealogical or biographical information through colour and image.[54] Symbolically, the Shield knights' bearings exist only *in potentia*, implying they have not previously been armigerous. It is by entry to the Order that they have won the right to

[51] Gerbier, 'Project', 71r; 'Loix', 35.
[52] Gerbier, 'Project', 77r (absent from 'Loix').
[53] Boutell and Fox-Davies, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, 39.
[54] Bolton, *Elements of Armories*, 79–80.

blazon their ancestry, family lore, and alliances. Their unmarked shield is not 'charged'; it awaits their future deeds and dynastic achievements.

Precedence and procession

In the courtly circles in which he moved between the 1620s and 1640s, Gerbier had repeatedly encountered tricky issues of precedence and individuals with sensitivities regarding their position and place.[55] It is perhaps why he wished to create an ordered society that clearly demarcated differences in status through the style, colour and ornamentation of people's dress. His social hierarchy is more rigid than England's, his chosen homeland. At the pinnacle of society, Gerbier's three Orders were internally hierarchical, though the supremacy of the Knights of the Star was assured overall (just as the Garter superseded all other English/British honours, excepting that of monarchy itself, though this distinction and the internal hierarchies of knighthood are sometimes missed in present-day scholarship).[56]

To make these hierarchies clear and undisputable, lots would be drawn at the birth of the State to establish the 'rank and place of the Princes…and will be so established forever for them and their posterity [as] regards the rank of their families'—who would also follow them in public processions ahead of the Column and Shield.[57] In each Order's meetings, members would proceed in order of their reception into their respective brotherhood, and every Order's sessions would be led by the King.[58] Gerbier intended his knights to proceed in rank and participate in public processions but it is unclear whether the Orders' meetings were also to be partially public, as had been the tradition of the Garter

[55] Finet's diaries during his time as Master of Ceremonies reveal the frequent squabbles and sensitivities to rank, place and rights of those at court and in diplomatic circles whose precedence depended upon the rank of their masters and country's allegiances as well as their own status. Gerbier is also involved in several of these. See fns above and throughout Finet, *Note Books of John Finet*. For graver errors, see also Richard Cust and Andrew Hopper, eds., *The Court of Chivalry 1634-1640* (London: British History Online, 2018).
[56] Knighthood in general is occasionally conflated with membership of a chivalric order, such as the Garter; see, for example, Ortego II, 'Derisive Chivalry'. However, these honours are reserved for a small number of people (who are often knights or of higher degree already). Knights bachelors, for instance, are appointed and are not members of an Order.
[57] Gerbier, 'Project', 70r; 'Loix', 35.
[58] Ibid.

knights (though in James' reign, their ceremonial processions were witnessed by invited diplomats and courtiers but were closed to commoners).

The ceremonies of Gerbier's imagined state epitomise the cultural shift taking place in early modern attitudes towards pageantry and procession: this was a transition from the heyday of the medieval entries and processions of great lords with trains of several hundred liveried attendants, to the late seventeenth century, which witnessed the last of the great heraldic funerary processions and royal entries in Britain and Ireland, and saw massed attendants replaced by liveried coaches and a handful of associated servants.[59] Gerbier, did not imagine great baronial trains but certainly envisaged large 'public assemblies' of royalty and nobility, with their families and civic officials all proceeding in ranked order, wearing their specified robes and accessories.[60] In procession, the social order would be made gloriously and colourfully visible by his dress laws. As Owen Feltham wrote in a 1628 essay on civic order: 'we may see beauty of *order*, in nothing more than in some *princely procession*'.[61] It also referenced the Roman tradition of celebrating the virtues of honour and glory through public spectacle and triumphal procession.

This form of public pageantry was a fading fashion, however, and had declined under Charles I and James I, after James' initial 'glorious' entry into London in 1604.[62] Gerbier himself was involved in the designs for the last of the great royal triumphs, which welcomed the restored Charles II into London on St George's Day, the date also marking the annual Garter feast.[63] Tellingly, by the early eighteenth century, the illustrations of Garter knights in procession had been excised from reissued copies of Ashmole's history of the Order, as had the ten full-page illustrations of members' heraldic shields.[64] Dress, however, retained its importance, and the 1715 edition retained a fold-out illustration of robes and ornaments.[65] Yet, despite its popularity and prevalence in early modern culture, Hill notes a relative

[59] Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms*.
[60] Gerbier, 'Project', 70r; 'Loix', 35.
[61] Quoted in Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, 81, fn. 1.
[62] Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Martlesham: Boydell Press, 2010), 49.
[63] Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse*; Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840,* entry for 'Gerbier, Sir Balthazar'. For further on Gerbier's involvement, see Jenkinson, *Court of Charles II* , 50, 60-67; Keller, 'Pennetrek', 75; Christine Stevenson, 'Occasional Architecture in Seventeenth-Century London', *Architectural History* 49 (2006): 35–74.
[64] Elias Ashmole, *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: A. Bell, W. Taylor, J. Baker and A. Collins, 1715).
[65] Elias Ashmole. *Order of the Garter*.

dearth of studies examining English/British civic pageantry, even of the more-glamorous triumphs or entries, especially when compared to other European countries, or with the vast literature on court masques.[66] The historiography of public, rather than courtly, spectacle is perhaps caught, like Gerbier, in a period of changing attitudes: histories 'from below' aim to restore our understanding of the everyday rather than the occasionally-spectacular, while historians of high culture focus on court spectacle.

Whether public or courtly, pageantry and spectacle suffer from a scholarly focus on texts and high-art, which do not bring to life a vibrant visual culture that is often hard to recuperate. Translating textual descriptions of civic pageantry and spectacle is also challenging, or even distasteful to some: Chambers thinks the full examination of this 'imagery would be tedious', a view Hill claims is 'typical', as is a disdainful attitude towards any writers or dramaturges who produced public festivities.[67] The colourful public processions of Gerbier's state thus reflect a dying form of spectacle—as well as a wilful ignorance of the physical conditions of contemporary American colonies—but they were intended to reassure onlookers of the rightful authority of those in power, and to narrate the social order in the clearest and most powerful way possible in an image-literate, iconographic and material world, rich in symbolism.

Decorum, civility and tradition

Whether in public procession or private consultation, the ornaments, robes, and dress styles assigned to each Order and to different offices, genders, and degrees, were intended to reflect the minutiae of hierarchy and status materially and visually, and to implant an idea of civility, morality, and order on the nascent state. The whole social edifice modelled the idea of decorum as observed in Classical architecture, in which ornament and design should reflect the status of the building's owner or the gods or goddesses to whom it was dedicated. Decorum affected all aspects of social behaviour and artistic and literary

[66] Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 4.
[67] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, 4-7, at fn. 7. Jenkinson likewise argues that 'few accounts [of royal entries and coronation spectacles] have been comprehensive in assessing the nuances of its symbolism, meaning and ramifications': Jenkinson, *Court of Charles II*, 48.

expression. For instance, Selden, wrote in respect to his dedications that he 'was resolv'd, that, as the Architecture of olde Temples … was either Dorique, Ionique, or Corinthian according to the Deity's severall nature, so in analogie, should Gifts of this kind be to the Receivers'.[68]

Decorum was also the speech, taste, actions, and outward display fitting to one's status and degree. It even defined the places and spaces one could appropriately visit or occupy (for instance, high-ranking women were confined to a limited number of suitable venues and specific rooms, while specific ranks or professions frequented different inns according to their station).[69] Gerbier, like Selden, saw perfect decorum in Classical architecture. This followed Vitruvius and his interpreters, such as Sebastiano Serlio, who, as Hart notes, 'traced the application of decorum to the very birth of the art of building and of civil society: … he relates that primitive men slowly began "to augment their habitations, giving them a degree of ornamentation...with the result that men of better judgment with the passing of the years began to harmonise commodity with decorum, particularly in more civilised places"'.[70]

Like official or ceremonial robes, which reciprocally affected the wearer, imbuing them with the honour and virtues of office, Classical buildings might have a civilising affect upon inhabitants, encasing and framing them with divinely ordained proportion and a moral scaffold. This notion has quite a different resonance when considering the 'Laws' (which might be located anywhere, even a reimagined Europe), than when considering the American 'Project', in which imposed civility has a more sinister aspect in light of the indigenous Americans, who are almost/entirely absent from the 'Project'. Both texts mention the initial suspension of taxes on 'naturel' native or foreign merchants, but indigenous peoples may have been so far from Gerbier's mind that he envisaged Europeans to be the native population (since the society of his vision is both nascent and long-established). His 'Euro-Gerbian' society would enforce clear rules of decorum to ensure precedence and hierarchy were recognised, reinforced by dress controls and newly-created

[68] 'To my most beloved Friend and Chamberfellow, M. Edward Heyward' in Selden, *Titles of Honour*.
[69] Hotten and Larwood, *English Inn Signs,* 5-8, record different versions of a popular contemporary ballad/ poem about inn signs reflecting the status of their regular occupants, e.g. the 'knights went to *The Golden Fleece*', etc. See also 14.
[70] Sebastiano Serlio, 'MS Book VI', fol. 1r quoted in Hart, 'Decorum and the Five Orders of Architecture: Sebastiano Serlio's Military City', 83.

traditions and ceremonies. These lent a decorous veneer of authenticity to the proceedings and to the authority of the nobles.

One such tradition is the annual feast of the knights to be held in their Assembly Hall—upon which would be a frontispiece (absent in the 'Project') displaying lines in Latin from Corinthians 10:31: 'Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God', which Gerbier presents in beautiful calligraphy (fig. 90).[71] This fantasy is probably rooted in Gerbier's involvement in the furnishing of the Whitehall Banqueting House (he would undoubtedly have liked to have Jones' job of designing it). Despite its name, the Banqueting House was used for functions, ceremonies and entertainments but was never used for eating in general (meals were served in the Guard Chamber, Privy Gallery, or Lodgings).[72] It was, in fact, only used for a single meal: the annual feast of the Knights of the Garter.[73] It appears Gerbier's Assembly Hall would be used in similar fashion, reserved for ceremonial use, like the ornamental collars worn during feasts.

The fabric of the building and robes Gerbier describes would be expensive and splendorous, but they would also convey the ambitions and hierarchies of Gerbier's nascent state through symbol and ceremony. Like the decoration of the Banqueting House, which glorified the Stuarts through artistic allegory and symbolism, Gerbier envisaged a building dedicated to royal and noble power: built to house the Orders' annual feasts, processions, and ceremonies. It seems safe to assume, given Gerbier's comments elsewhere, that the Hall's design would be Classical. It would thus embody and celebrate God's divine order in its structure and in the hierarchical Order of its noble knights, and erect a new 'House of Chivalry' in the New World.

[71] Gerbier, 'Loix', 34. Keller envisages this as a wall-text painting, since Gerbier had done these before. However, a frontispiece suggests this would be on the building itself, worked in stone, though a text-painting might certainly appear within the building. Keller, 'Pennetrek', 67–68.
[72] Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, 131–32.
[73] This was after it moved from its former venue at Windsor. For further on the Garter's annual Grand Feast, see Palme, 131–35; Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 467-502; Trigg, *A Vulgar History*, 53, 56, 139, 142, 173, 176, 183, 184, 234.



Fig. 90: The Motto on the Knights' Assembly Hall, in Balthazar Gerbier, 'Loix, Status, Ordonnances, et Coustumes, Pour Un Nouvel Estat', in 'Secretum Virtutis et Scientiarum Speculum/Miroir de La Vertu', 34r, MS 2505 28–39, 1654, Wellcome Library, London. Author's own image.

Visual and material culture: the body and experience

Gerbier and his contemporaries believed that the eye could be trained to see things in the correct manner and order. As outlined above, the 'correct' way of seeing and thinking was cultivated and moulded by, variously, an understanding of artistic perspective and geometry; an assimilation of diagrams simplifying complex external phenomena or formulae; and by genealogical models and emblematic heraldic histories. Modern scholars make similar connections. For instance, Kemp proposes that the way we 'think about space, consciously and unconsciously, is profoundly associated at the deepest structural level with the way that space has come to be represented in Western art from the time of the invention of linear perspective in the Renaissance'.[74] Acheson and Ong suggest, rather, that printed diagrams, far more prevalent than works of fine art, were pivotal to the construction of both the early modern and our own mental worlds.[75] Ong goes even further, suggesting Ramus's diagrammatic approach may have spearheaded a 'drive toward thinking not only of the universe but of thought itself in terms of spatial models apprehended by sight…thought as the sort of thing vision apprehends'.[76]

It would seem there is consensus across the ages. Yet modern scholars frequently miss a key and formative addition to the artistic and scientific forms that shape thought, vision, and spatial awareness: the human form, its adornments and movements through space. Though dress historians have explored the materiality of clothing and its relationship to the body, and literary scholars and art historians have explored the symbolism of costumes and the role of the body within courtly performances of masques and ballet, even here, the lived experience and performance of the dressed body within built spaces or landscapes is often perceived to be secondary and subservient to other arts (e.g. literature, painting, drama, music, costume design), which are considered 'the point' so to speak: the principal conveyers of symbol, allegory, and power.[77]

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[74] Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, at 3.
[75] Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*; Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric* .
[76] Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, 9.
[77] See for instance, Christiane Hille, *Visions of the Courtly Body: The Patronage of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, and the Triumph of Painting at the Stuart Court* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012); Harris, Orgel, and Strong, *The King's Arcadia*; Sue Vincent, 'To Fashion a Self: Dressing in Seventeenth-Century England', *Fashion Theory* 3, no. 2 (1999): 197–218.

The difficulty of, or lack of interest in, interpreting the visual symbolism, or in reimagining the vibrancy and performative aspects of public spectacle or closed ceremonial, has led it to be trivialised or ignored by many historians, as detailed above. Yet this restoration is essential to our understanding of the society Gerbier envisages. Inevitably, a procession recorded in text or illustration cannot convey the lived experience; but it does not mean we should not attempt to capture something of its flavour. As Palme argues: 'to Arundel [the Earl Marshal] and his collaborators…a procession itself was a work of art, a form expressive of the most lofty values'.[78] In this light, the clothed body was the central artform and the sister arts were subservient to it: framing, modelling or describing it, and recording its experiences.

Historical analyses tend to privilege text over image and object, and fine art over other forms of visual and material culture, but for Gerbier and his contemporaries the body was the ideal expressive vehicle, the medium of choice to record and display wealth, taste, grace, status, refinement, and symbolic meaning, as conveyed through dress, movement, and experience. According to Gerbier, art at its most perfect offered a mirror image to God's world, and 'Microcosme man' was at the centre of the universe.[79] The representation of the human form in art or architecture was therefore subservient to the human form itself, even for an artistic connoisseur such as Gerbier. His treatises remind architects that a building should serve its owner, reflecting the status, taste and needs of the inhabitant, even to the detriment of aesthetic concerns; for instance, staircases should be of the correct height and spacing to be comfortable for a man's pace and wide enough to accommodate the servants who would accompany him.

If cost can be considered a material marker of regard, then the body, its adornments and sense-experiences vastly outweigh the importance of art, buildings, scripts, sets, scores, or even books in the seventeenth century. The greatest expenditure was on one's dress and experiences, rather than the texts or the paintings that might record those experiences or the people enjoying them (the things we emphasise and focus on). While texts, illustrations, scores, and paintings may be the only extant sources for activities intended to be experienced and seen, they were—and are—lesser than the experience itself: poor copies

[78] Palme, *Triumph of Peace*, 58.
[79] Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders*, 33–34.

or different things altogether, much as ekphrasis, the attempt to recreate one artform through another, is not the same as the art it seeks to imitate, though it may be of equal merit.

Though text was important to convey information, and literature and chorography could transport the reader to foreign and fictional lands in the imagination, no seventeenth-century courtier would have said the experience of watching a masque with the court performing it, and reading it later having missed the performance, were equivalent.[80] Post-event accounts are, of course, incredibly valuable, whether recorded in painting, poem, script, report, or music; but they cannot capture physical sense experience, conversation, or political and social dynamics. These features would have been as important—often far more important—to participants than any post-event record, and the absence of these animations and experiences from the historical record should not lead us to discount or downgrade their importance.

Rather than portraiture or a script adding symbolic meaning absent in real life, bodies were another canvas and paper, with the fabrics, jewels, gestures, scents, architectural spaces and compositional frame in which the body was set, each conveying meaning. This was the same for meals, ceremonies, and processions, but can be missed in the reading of history because we cannot see or feel it. Of course, this does not mean poetry, prose, and painting were not valued by or as meaningful to seventeenth century men and women, but if lived experience and a complex material and visual culture beyond that of fine art (e.g. clothing, jewellery, heraldry, architecture) are ignored, our understanding of the period is dramatically reduced.

The public processions and social displays Gerbier dressed his inhabitants for, were key to the maintenance and performance of power and authority, evidence of the rightness of the social hierarchy. Nobles would live up to their sumptuous clothes and titles, and the bright light of their nobility would dazzle the lower orders, who would be entertained humbled, or at least distracted (a strategy akin to that of Vaughan and others whose aim was to smuggle in serious religious and political arguments and truths under the guise of

[80] For example, Milton suggests that 'study and learning' allows 'the mind to take its flight through the history and geography of every nation… to live in every period of the world's history and to be, as it were, coeval with time itself'. John Milton, *John Milton Prose: Major Writings on Liberty, Politics, Religion, and Education*, ed. David Loewenstein (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), Prolusion VII, 17.

allegory or comedy). As a walking emblem, the dressed body was a key part of these social displays, performances and experiences. However, the majority of these took place behind closed doors rather than in public exhibitions.

In the society Gerbier envisions, as in Europe at this time, the dress, rituals, and displays of the upper ranks were directed principally to one another and, in the minutiae of rank, to those who were their superiors. Therefore, Gerbier's dress and social controls were intended to operate both horizontally and vertically, in public and in private. As an illustration of this, at the very top of the ladder, European royals sought to impress, persuade or humiliate other European royals through the rituals and rhetoric of their dress. Thus, when pursuing the Spanish match, Charles I and his entourage curated their fashions to excite the sartorial tastes of the Spanish, with great success; the Spaniards were, however, horrified when British courtiers did not correctly respect status according to Spanish hat-wearing hierarchies.[81] Later that year, the Spaniards were again suitably impressed by the robes and regalia of the Garter knights at the St George's dinner but shocked by their lack of decorum in hat etiquette; a grave discrepancy 'corrected' in a drawing of the dinner by a Spaniard who was unlikely to have been in attendance but who understood the intricacies of hat honour.[82]

The importance and political power of private or intimate sartorial displays and rituals is more often forgotten because it is rarely visible in the historical record, but it was undoubtedly why Gerbier places such emphasis on chivalric brotherhoods and noblewomen's dress in his new state; forms of display that are largely directed inward at a small elite group, just as the ornaments of the Beef-Steak Society were in-jokes, incomprehensible to, and unobserved by, commoners. Enormous sums were thus spent on entertainments for intimate groups, with courtiers virtually bankrupting themselves to provide ever-greater splendour and spectacle. Indeed, almost everything was cheap when

[81] Lesley Ellis Miller, 'Dress to Impress: Prince Charles Plays Madrid, March-September 1623', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 44-45; P.J. Corfield, 'Dress for Deference and Dissent: Hats and the Decline of Hat Honour', *Costume* 23, no. 1989 (1989): 71, and for hat honour generally: 64–79.
[82] Miller, 'Dress to Impress', 45.

compared with the dress of the upper ranks.[83] Even Charles I, who with Gerbier's assistance spent what were then vast sums building his art collection, spent far less on artworks than on dinners or adornments. For instance, Rubens' enormous panels for the Banqueting House ceiling cost Charles less than a single pair of diamonds.[84] For context, in the 1630s a town house in Covent Garden suitable for the gentry cost roughly £150, while an artist might charge £4-5 for a portrait, rising to £26 for one by Van Dyck, or between £5 and £40 for one by Daniel Mytens.[85] By contrast, when Buckingham escorted Henrietta-Maria from Paris to England in 1625, his personal trousseau included twenty-seven suits—extravagant even then—with one set all over with diamonds, 'thought to be worth fourscore thousand pounds' and another in purple satin embroidered with pearls reputedly costing £20,000.[86]

Yet, unlike public processions, shows, and official diplomatic visits such as Buckingham's, for which we might have multiple documentary sources and illustrations, many of the most costly and spectacular events of the early seventeenth century occurred without public fanfare. Here the expensive costume worn for the fleeting social experience was the end itself (not the record of that experience or performance on paper, in paint, for public consumption, or for longevity or posterity).[87] When Buckingham entertained the king, queen and French ambassador at York House in 1616, there were ballets and masques between courses and 'great feasting and show, where all things came down in clouds', the single night costing approximately five or six thousand pounds.[88] Gerbier may have been directly involved, since he staged and devised mechanical devices for masques at York House which he had partially renovated. Indeed, following suit, he hosted a dinner for Charles and Henrietta Maria himself, estimated to have cost at least 1000 pounds, which he

[83] Malcolm R. Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty in Early Stuart England', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 86–112. He offers multiple useful examples of relative costs of art, food, carpets etc.

[84] Smuts, 106. In Madrid in pursuit of a Spanish match, he spent 80,382 *reales* on dress but only 5,790 *reales* on paintings: Miller, 'Dress to Impress', 37–38.

[85] Charlotte C. Stopes, 'Daniel Mytens in England', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 17, no. 87 (1910): 160–63; Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty', 96.

[86] Francis Grose and Thomas Astle, eds., *The Antiquarian Repertory: A Miscellaneous Assemblage of Topography, History, Biography, Customs, and Manners. Intended to Illustrate and Preserve Several Valuable Remains of Old Times, Vol 2 of 4* (London: Edward Jeffery, 1808), 13–14.

[87] See, for instance, Hill's examination of Lord Mayor's Shows about which 'accounts survive in surprisingly large numbers', even though these may be contradictory or problematic. Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 1, 214, 337-342.

[88] Thomas Birch (compiler), *The Court and Times of Charles the First; Containing a Series of Historical and Confidential Letters in Two Vols, Vol. 1* (London: Henry Colburn, 1849), 166.

could ill afford.[89] Again, in financial terms, the immediacy of the moment and experience of wearing or seeing splendour outweighed the cost of any building, poem, or painting.

Understanding the centrality of dressed bodies and sense experience, particularly sight, makes sense of Gerbier's deeply material society and the social performances and public rituals he imagined playing out within it. To modern eyes Gerbier's preoccupation with dress, heraldry, symbol and ceremony, and his faith in their power to influence the actions and moral agency of citizens of his American/utopian state may seem obscure, foolish, or improbable. As Greenblatt argued, if concerns of the past 'have been rendered "obscure," [by academics] it is because of a disabling idea of causality that confines the legitimate field of historical agency within absurdly restrictive boundaries'.[90] In the attempt to recuperate the lived experience and intensely iconographic visual and material world of a seventeenth-century courtier, evidence abounds of the importance and centrality of the dressed/ceremonial body to ideas about the moral, religious, and political order—as well as to the self-fashioning and interior lives of the gentry and nobility.

To conclude, Gerbier called his American 'Project' a 'sommary description', but it is not a representation of a real place, it is a description of a fantasy: an imaginary geographic space, place, and temporality.[91] Yet, for Gerbier, people's activities and buildings were integral to his conception of geographic space: 'Geographie is as the eye of man, or as the Looking-glasse of History', incorporating principalities, cities, and chorographies.[92] Therefore, he must create a sense of place and an ancient past by sleight of hand. His society exists in an imaginary time and place in which the 'new' State has been long-established with a large population of noble families, commoners, and even homeless mendicants, aided by Mounts of Piety, who populate a settled landscape of farms, cities, towns and large country estates. There are armed forces (infantry and navy), a working justice system, government departments, hospitals, mines, and banqueting halls. His state is projected forward through time, but also provided with the material and symbolic trappings of history: genealogies, lineages, traditions, robes, rituals, and ceremonies.

[89] 'Letter from Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, Christ College, February 16, 1627-8' in Ibid., 321.
[90] Greenblatt, 'Resonance and Wonder', 18.
[91] 'Gerbier to George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, Feb 19 1649', 62r.
[92] See Gerbier, *Publique Lecture*, at 12; Gerbier, *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*, 71.

Collectively, the 'Project' and 'Laws', present a completed vision: a state 'composed and ruled like a Musicke book', bound by fundamental and immovable laws. They are textual expressions of control and authority: commanding and all-knowing, rather than suggesting or persuading. Here Gerbier is Creator, controlling and constructing new worlds, rather than observing and responding to the New World. One imagines he sees this socio-political edifice as the work of a great architect, whose qualities Gerbier describes in an illuminating passage:

> And as there is a necessary Magnificence to be exprest on the Front and inside of Princely Buildings, answerable to their greatness; so is it absolutely necessary, that the Architect be possest with a Soul as great as the Player in the French Play, called the *Visionaries,* where he perswades himself to be *Alexander,* and governs his Motions accordingly. And the Lines and Strokes of the Architect must be *Alexander*-like: his Figures and Statues *Colosses,* his *Pyramidis* like those of *Aegypt,* and the Vaults like that Rock wherein *Alexander* and *Darius* wrastle for Mastery in a Valley in *Persia*.[93]

If the architect of a princely building must be god-like and heroic, showing a conviction and strength of vision to mirror that of the Great Architect, what of the architect of a new state, in a New World, whose construction must house an entire society? It brings to mind Vaughan, another coloniser who fashioned himself as an ancient hero of Greece.

Gerbier concludes his 'Laws' with the commandment: '*Salus patriae suprema lex esto*, The welfare of the nation shall be the supreme law,' a variation on Cicero's Laws: '*Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto*, the welfare of the people shall be the supreme law'.[94] Gerbier's primary concern is the preservation and health of the ideal state itself—founded on 'justice,' 'virtue,' and 'honour'—rather than the Ciceronian concern for the people. Yet it is people and their bodies who are the centre of his new state and control its edifice, the microcosme defining and ordering the macrocosm of his state, and securing its welfare. Specifically, it is Gerbier's radiant, ideal body: noble, virtuous, chivalric, ceremonial, and beautifully dressed.

[93] Gerbier, *Brief Discourse*, 1662, 30.
[94] Gerbier, 'Loix', 38; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Legibus - De Re Publica* (Milton Keynes: Jiahu Books, 2014), 49.

Conclusion

Imperialism in early seventeenth-century Britain and Ireland was advanced by a loose coalition of companies and proprietors working under the broad banner of Crown and state. Colonial patents operated in similar fashion to their commercial namesake, as test models or prototypes, often with little uniformity across the colonies they spawned, which had different systems of government, faced a diversity of social and environmental challenges, and were motivated by vastly different ideas about the purpose of colonisation and imperialism. Even about the nations and empires in which they lived or were attempting to settle.

This presents a challenge to historians of colonialism or the Atlantic in this period who, seeking to trace patterns and themes, cannot compare like with like, and—to continue the patenting analogy—see only the prototypes that were put into production. The purpose of this thesis is therefore to restore short-lived projects to our view of the colonial landscape, to deepen and broaden our understanding of seventeenth-century colonialism by addressing the full range of colonial plans and visions that gave birth to 'British' imperialism. It is hoped that future research will continue this work, examining, for instance, short-lived projects in later periods and other regions, such as the Carolinas and Georgia in the long eighteenth century, allowing us to consider changes and commonalities across time and space. Though not solely British, it would also be enlightening to explore Gerbier's later project to establish a slave-based trading and mining colony in South America with Dutch partners in more depth.

History has largely conceived of the 'British' New World colonial project in this period as 'English'. These projects demonstrate the plurality and instability of national-imperial identities of colonisers and colonists. Vaughan, Gerbier, and their partners encompass a range of national/transnational/imperial identities and histories that inform their plans. When Vaughan published his first poems in praise of Essex, for instance, the only 'British' Empire was one of ancient memory and early kings—Edgar, Edward, Arthur—and the Welsh were all that remained of it: a 'poore remnanst of the ancient Britaines', now utterly subdued by the Saxon English.[95] By the time he sent colonists to Newfoundland,

[95] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28; Vaughan, *Spirit of Detraction*, 323.

Vaughan had embraced a new idea: Great Britain, a 'mythical name' invoked by a new king, and when he laid his colonial plans, it is this inner empire he reimagines in Britanniol/Newfoundland, not the greater British Empire as it later emerged.[96] While other scholars have noted the connections between the colonies of the inner and outer empires, these projects look beyond the (US) American colonies to Canada and Central/South America, making new connections, such as Cary's plan to remove indigenous children from their families, which anticipated policies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

History has also, largely, and with the benefit of hindsight, dismissed the projects addressed here as failures, unworthy of scholarly attention. Failure, as discussed, is a problematic term in histories of colonialism; but these projects undoubtedly failed in the narrow sense: none achieved their original aims, either of settling long-lasting colonies or of ordering their colonies according to their ambitious societal visions. Though these projects were short-lived they illuminate the social thinking of those in control of the imperial colonial project, before their vision was diluted and eventually shattered by colonial realties and/or the King's revocation of their claims. While we cannot blind ourselves to outcomes, if projects are analysed solely in light of their eventual collapse we miss valuable insights. These colonisers and projects were thought credible and worthy by many at the time, and it is enlightening to consider both as if we, like them, cannot see their future.

Considering these projects at the point of conception, also exposes their entanglement with social and spatial imaginaries, utopias and other ideal realms, such as law, justice, poetry; mythical, mythologised and imaginary lands; or the mythistorical past. It is the nature of all utopias to be someone else's dystopia, and this is all too apparent in the context of colonialism; but examining these imagined and imaginary spaces collectively is illuminating, whether the mythologising of Newfoundland or the restoration of an Arthurian empire.

The New World was a vessel for colonisers' desires whether social, religious or personal. This at a broad level connects them to ideal societies but it also allows individual colonisers to fantasise about the achievement of personal desires, something that is seldom addressed beyond the desire for wealth and power. Yet here we see far more complex and rich fantasy lives being played out in an imagined New World. Whether through literary

[96] Canny, 'Origins of Empire', 2.

flight or architectural vision, Vaughan and Gerbier imagine themselves as the superheroes of the Classical and medieval world: demigods, Argonauts, King Arthur, or Alexander the Great. Vaughan and Gerbier's fantasies express different conceptions of heroism, virtue, artistry, and fame, reflecting a changing concept of heroism across the early modern to modern periods, a further examination of which would be enlightening in the context of European expansion, colonialism and Empire.

While individual projects have shed light on debates in early modern scholarship or extended our understanding of early modern mentalities—for instance, we find Gerbier's 'Project' is probably the earliest example of a constitution for the Americas to anticipate the foundational US Constitution, and that he is the first to adopt Bacon's 'experimental philosophy' beyond translations of his own works—examining them collectively reveals shared concerns. Most prominent of these is the desire to use dress in colonial governance. Vaughan's and Gerbier's projects show that the ambition to regulate dress in colonies (and the metropole) was far more prevalent than its patchy enactment would suggest.

Analysing laws devised for unrealised colonial projects alongside the laws and discourses about dress in both colonies and across Britain, demonstrates that dress control was considered a powerful socio-political weapon that could be wielded in pursuit of a wide variety of social, political and religious ends. Though colonisers and commentators had different objectives, what they shared was a view of clothing as a key means of securing moral and social order and shaping the socio-political and cultural character of their respective colonies or nations. To design their laws, Vaughan and Gerbier drew on historical and contemporary clothing culture as well as their imagination, and the material worlds they envision are both new and ancient: reversion and innovation.

This integration of myths, histories, ideals and legends is what characterises each of the colonial projects addressed here, all of which draw on the past to shape a New World future. For modern historians, concerned with evidence and fact, the early modern approach to the past and truth seems undisciplined, a mixture of histories, myths, ideals, and exemplars drawn variously from texts, art, architecture, heraldry, genealogies, or geographies. In the context of colonialism, where projectors made exaggerated claims about Eden and El Dorado, it is a tangle that might easily be dismissed as nonsense or cynical advertising. There is no doubt this plays its part. However, studying these projects, suggests that the 'truth' of early colonial projects is far more complex.

In the modern world, myth is usually thought to be antithetical to history: one is concerned with origins, archetypes, morality and cultural imagination, the other concerned with objectivity and fact. The early modern practise of unpicking the threads of myth and falsehood from mythology or mythologised historical accounts (e.g. of Arthur, Brut, Prester John), might still be attempted by academics but their recoveries are careful and qualified.[97] Historians might value, or even study, (ancient) myth but they do not take it literally and most assume it will be interpreted as obvious falsehood; in contrast, scholars of mythology often think history is of no relevance to myth.[98] For Jacob Burckhardt, the notion of a modern myth is a contradiction in terms, while at the postmodern extreme, others conceive all history to be as myth—in the sense of invented stories that give meaning to the past—and rigour and science are eradicated from the discipline.[99]

Yet in the Renaissance, history, myth and poetry were frequently viewed as vehicles or emblems of higher truth, sources of secular, natural or divine revelation. Even in modern times, some appear to view history's relationship with truth with an early modern eye. Burckhardt, for instance, believed '[w]e might find something to say against every line of the 'Storie Fiorentine' [Machiavelli's history of Florence], and yet the great and unique value of the whole would remain unaffected', while according to Mali, Theodor Mommsen, in turn, 'predicted that Burckhardt's work would still be read and still be true even if every sentence in it would be corrected by more accurate research'.[100]

It is a perspective that presents truth as a spectrum: lesser truth having a greater correspondence with fact and accuracy, and higher truth virtually abandoning fact altogether in favour of greater correspondence with, variously: morality, divine intention, or great skill in evoking the feeling, zeitgeist or 'imaginary' of an earlier age. It is illuminating if we consider this approach to truth and knowledge as those of the seventeenth century did and to recognise their purpose in using the past in their imperial or colonial visions in various forms (e.g. history, myth, legend, genealogy, heraldry, artefacts). The past is

[97] See for instance Wallace, 'L'Anse Aux Meadows and Vinland'; Wallace, 'Leif Erikson's Home'; Green, *Concepts of Arthur*.
[98] Peter Heehs, 'Myth, History, and Theory', *History and Theory* 33, no. 1 (1994): 2, 5.
[99] Heehs, 'Myth, History'.
[100] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London, 1960), 45, quoted in Joseph Mali, 'Jacob Burckhardt: Myth, History and Mythistory', *History and Memory* 3, no. 1 (13 November 1991): 113.

presented as an ideal realm, a utopia. Its purpose was to reflect moral truth: to act as emulative model, to instruct and mould behaviour. Presenting a mirrored ideal drawn from the mythistoric past was more elegant and likely to be more persuasive than the brutal imposition of one's vision. We might compare Spenser's and Vaughan's literary allusions and allegories, or Gerbier's exemplar of shining nobility (albeit fashioned by and imposed through rigid fundamental laws), to the blunt, doctrinal or legalistic approach of Falkland's 'Instructions' and Dale's Code in Virginia. As Spenser wrote to Raleigh: 'So much more profitable and gratious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule'.[101]

Being 'true' the past might also have more power than other ideals employed for similar purpose, such as law, utopian and conduct literature, chivalric romance, even poetry. Where utopia might be unachievable, a recovery of the past might be in reach. As their authors emphasise, the ideal colonies/colonial imaginaries presented in colonial discourse, promotional texts, maps, and place-names were not 'feigned' utopias; they were new social models that blended the technologies of the present/future with the best bits from the past. Though occasionally fantastical or quixotic, these were visions that were considered to be attainable. What we see in these varied colonial projects is an ancient, 'mythistorical' and noble New World, in which history, legend, utopias, and ancient and modern myths are intertwined. However, it may be possible to disentangle colonisers' deliberate use of allegory and allusion from geographic or anthropological ignorance to recover their purpose and perspective, and—by using the 'eye of our imagination'—see their ancient and noble New Worlds.

[101] Spenser, *Poetical Works*, 3: 486.

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