



Edited by Nandini Das

Lives in Transit in Early Modern England

Identity and Belonging

Amsterdam
University
Press

Lives in Transit in Early Modern England

Connected Histories in the Early Modern World

Connected Histories in the Early Modern World contributes to our growing understanding of the connectedness of the world during a period in history when an unprecedented number of people—Africans, Asians, Americans, and Europeans—made transoceanic or other long distance journeys. Inspired by Sanjay Subrahmanyam's innovative approach to early modern historical scholarship, it explores topics that highlight the cultural impact of the movement of people, animals, and objects at a global scale. The series editors welcome proposals for monographs and collections of essays in English from literary critics, art historians, and cultural historians that address the changes and cross-fertilizations of cultural practices of specific societies. General topics may concern, among other possibilities: cultural confluences, objects in motion, appropriations of material cultures, cross-cultural exoticization, transcultural identities, religious practices, translations and mistranslations, cultural impacts of trade, discourses of dislocation, globalism in literary/visual arts, and cultural histories of lesser studied regions (such as the Philippines, Macau, African societies).

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Nandini Das*

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Introduction

At the end of a long, bone-jarring taxi-ride from Panaji, the modern capital of the state of Goa in western India, there is a small, secluded, white building. During the monsoon rains it is surrounded by exuberant greenery, lush and overwhelming, and the salute of a hundred croaking frogs greets visitors as they dash from the road to shelter under the building's covered portico. This is the site of the seminary at Rachol, one of the earliest training colleges for Jesuit missionaries in Asia, established in the late sixteenth century to aid their efforts to convert the inhabitants of Portuguese-held Goa and the larger Portuguese empire in the Indies. It is still an active seminary, though no longer run by the Jesuits. In the late sixteenth century, Tomás Estevão or Padre Estevam was a familiar presence among its corridors and courtyards, first as its rector, and then as the principal Jesuit priest in charge of the local province of Salsette. Much of his proficiency in the local languages was likely to have been cultivated here, from the fluid, poetic verses of classical Marathi, to the salty, fishy, musical rhythms of Konkani, the colloquial language of Goa's markets and ports, teeming with locals and travellers, the fishermen on their boats, and the women at home.

It is safe to assume that his *Kristapurana*, or 'Life of Christ' – a huge 11,000 verse epic, published in 1616 after years of importuning the Jesuit Superior General, Claudio Acquaviva – would have found its way here, printed in Roman rather than Devanagari characters since movable type for the latter was yet to be developed. Padre Estevam's involvement makes this book the first Christian epic to be written and printed by an English poet, fifty years before John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, because behind his Portuguese sounding name was a very English identity. The man whom the seminary knew as Padre Estevam was the first documented English traveller to arrive in India, otherwise known as Thomas Stephens, of Wiltshire. A Catholic religious exile from England, he had reached Goa by way of Rome and Lisbon in 1579. His arrival had coincided with a time when the more tolerant policies of cultural intermingling that had been practised by the Portuguese in India for the best part of a century were changing under new governance. The establishment of the Goan Inquisition in 1567 and associated edicts took a firm stance against local religions and cultures, proscribing the use of traditional sites of worship, and banning the use of indigenous languages and customs, from the singing of folk songs, to the cooking of rice. Stephens's *Kristapurana* opens with a plea. 'You have removed the previous religious books', a local Brahmin importunes the narrator, the 'Patri-guru' (padre-guru), 'so why

do you not prepare other such books for us?' He will do it, he promises, but it will take some time: 'mnhanati eke divasi romanagri / ubhawali nahim' (Rome was not built in a day). A Wiltshire voice with a very English turn of phrase glimmers across two continents and three languages.¹

The *Kristapurana* is therefore that curious thing, a transcultural epic, with its Konkani syllables precariously fixed in Roman characters at a Portuguese Jesuit press, and the life of Christ captured in the form of a Hindu *purana*. An English Catholic, on enforced exile from the land and language of his birth, becomes its speaking voice. He is accosted by the new Christians of a foreign land whose language, religion, and culture he himself was helping to erase. The roles played by Stephens and his epic in the history of early modern Goa align them clearly with the exercise of European colonial power, although to stop there would be to tell only part of the story. Both are also products of a series of encounters that speak across European cultures, between Asian and European elements, between printed and oral traditions. The *Kristapurana's* attempt to make the biblical story available in cheap print, undertaken by an English Jesuit priest educated in Rome, would be difficult to imagine without the context both of Protestant printing and secret post-Reformation recusant presses. Its identification as a *purana*, a holy narrative that fits within a rich existing Sanskrit and Marathi culture, is notably different from contemporaneous Jesuit missionary activity elsewhere, such as in Japan. Perhaps most important is the final twist in its history: the *Kristapurana's* lyrical praise of the Marathi language meant that the poem would be recited for centuries by Catholics of western India as a mark of resistance against European colonial rule.

Thomas Stephens is one of the twenty-four 'lives in transit' examined in this volume. Together, the questions they raise are simple. In a period marked by mobility, both enforced and voluntary, what did it mean to belong, or not to belong? What did it mean to move between cultures, countries, languages, and faiths? How were such figures perceived, and what effect did movement across borders and between spaces have on notions of identity and belonging? *Lives in Transit in Early Modern England* emerges from the collaborative work of 'Travel, Transculturality, and Identity in England, c.1550–1700' (TIDE), an interdisciplinary project funded by the

1 Thomas Stephens, *Kristapurana. Part I*, trans. Nelson Falcao (Mauritius: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2017), p. 21. For a modern edition of the Marathi original, see *The Christian Purāna of Father Thomas Stephens of the Society of Jesus: A Work of the 17th Century: Reproduced from Manuscript Copies and Edited with a Biographical Note, an Introduction, an English Synopsis of Contents and Vocabulary*, ed. Joseph L. Saldanha (Bolar, Mangalore: Simon Alvares, 1907).

European Research Council between 2016–2022. Although a standalone volume, it compliments TIDE's previous publication, *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* (2021).² That volume, as its title acknowledges, was modelled on Raymond Williams's *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976). Taking a syncretic and diachronic lens to the language and terminology around identity, race, and belonging in the period, it uncovered complex histories of usage that still resonate today. *Lives in Transit* offers examples of this complexity in action. In a period of travel, expansion, imperial ambition, and emergent colonial violence, its essays draw our attention to border-crossers and cultural go-betweens whose lives and interventions challenged and stretched the ways in which the early modern English made sense of difference, belonging, and their place in the world.

The argument for delving into such microhistories of individual lives has been made before. Natalie Zemon Davis's *Trickster Travels: The Search for Leo Africanus* and Sanjay Subrahmanyam's *Three Ways to be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* are perhaps the most representative exemplars of an approach that has increasingly demanded our attention over the last two decades, interrogating early modern negotiations with belonging and identity on the one hand, and our own methods of knowledge production and navigating the limitations of archival presence on the other.³ Zemon Davis describes her eponymous 'trickster' – al-Hasan al-Wazzan or John Leo Africanus, the North African diplomat and traveller captured by Spanish pirates in 1518 and presented to the Pope – as an 'extreme case'. Most sixteenth-century North Africans, after all, managed to live their lives unimpeded by extended capture and exile, and few of those captured went on to produce such a defining text as al-Wazzan's *Description of Africa* would be for European encounters with that continent. Yet extreme cases, she argues, 'can often reveal patterns available for more everyday experience and writing', and al-Wazzan allows us an opportunity to 'explore how a man moved between different polities, made use of different cultural and social resources, and entangled or separated them so as to survive, discover, write, make relationships, and think about society and himself'.⁴ For Leo Africanus, as for many scholars of the early modern world to follow, the

2 Nandini Das, João Vicente Melo, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021).

3 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: The Search for Leo Africanus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006; London: Faber and Faber, 2007). Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to be an Alien* (Chicago: Brandeis University Press, 2011).

4 Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels*, p.11.

kind of flexibility that survival in such a world demanded is exemplified by Amphibia, the ‘wily bird’ of the animal fable that Africanus shares with his readers. Amphibia lived as well with the fish in the sea, as with the birds in the sky, and Africanus’s account wryly admits to his own attempts to emulate her slippery example: ‘all men doe most affect that place, where they finde least damage and inconvenience. For mine owne part, when I heare the Africans evill spoken of, I wil affirme my selfe to be one of Granada: and when I perceive the nation of Granada to be discommended, then will I professe my selfe to be an African.’⁵ Africanus’s Amphibia is the motif of the TIDE logo, which has inspired the cover images of both *Keywords of Identity* and the present volume.

Subrahmanyam would argue that there is more to microhistory than illustrative exemplarity. His volume opens with the testimony of an obscure sixteenth-century Berber adventurer, Sidi Yahya-u-Ta’fuft, allowing us to approach the implications of Amphibia’s slipperiness from another perspective, one that illuminates her perpetual difference: ‘The Moors say I am a Christian, and the Christians say I am a Moor, and so I hang in balance without knowing what I should do with myself.’⁶ As Subrahmayam notes, a historian could ask a number of pertinent questions about such a figure and his lament, in order to justify affording him a place within a macroscopic understanding of the period in which he lived.

How typical or unusual are he and his situation, and why should this matter to us? What are the larger processes that define the historical matrix within which the trajectory of such an individual can or should be read, and how meaningful is it to insist constantly on the importance of such broad processes?⁷

Yet such macroscopic approaches, Subrahmanyam argues, can afford only ‘limited insights into what might have been the lived world of such a man’.⁸

Attending to border-crossers and figures caught in between cultures, languages, and faiths such as al-Wazzan or Yahya (or indeed the figures presented in this volume), demands a conflation of both approaches: a deep attention to the texture of an individual life, and an acknowledgement of the

5 Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, ed. Robert Brown, trans. John Pory, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 189–190.

6 Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways*, p. 1.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

global connections and movements of this period, which in themselves defy neat geographical and national categories. Yet bridging that gap between the microhistories of individual lives and the macrohistory of global movements is not without its own dangers. Miles Ogborn's *Global Lives* acknowledges the challenge of finding a way 'between the opposite perils of tokenism ... and exceptionalism', while John Paul Ghobrial has warned of the temptation that lies in 'our rush to populate global history with human faces': 'a risk of producing a set of caricatures, a chain of global lives whose individual contexts and idiosyncrasies dissolve too easily into the ether of connectedness'.⁹ Ghobrial's own work on the seventeenth-century figure of Elias of Babylon, whose life took him from his native Iraq to travel widely across Europe and the Spanish colonies in the New world, has illuminated how often Elias's life and actions were haunted, not so much by his wandering, as by the home he had left behind and by the post-Reformation fate of Eastern Christian communities. 'When seen through the eyes of his contemporaries and his descendants', Ghobrial observes, 'the global life of Elias pales in comparison to the local significance he had within his community as an early convert to Catholicism'.¹⁰ Equally significant is Ania Loomba's caveat about another danger that haunts the 'ether of connectedness', namely its tendency to privilege connection over coercion when we emphasise England's relatively insecure place as a global colonial presence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 'While it is important to eschew anachronistic formulations about early colonialism', she argues, 'to divorce the histories of trade and colonialism is to obfuscate the dynamic of both'.¹¹ To acknowledge the link between the two

is not to occlude the sprawling and differentiated global stories that fed into it nor to suggest that such a modernity was always already waiting to be born, but, in fact, to foreground difficult questions about the historical processes and global relations through which this modernity came into being.¹²

Fifteen years since the publication of Zemon-Davis's *Trickster Travels*, Zoltán Biedermann's recent essay on '(Dis)connected History and the Multiple

9 Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 11; John-Paul Ghobrial, 'The Secret Life of *Elias* of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory', *Past and Present* 222 (2014), pp. 51–93 (59). See also John-Paul Ghobrial, 'Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian' and other essays in *Past & Present*, 342 (2019), pp. 1–22.

10 Ghobrial, 'Secret life', p. 89.

11 Ania Loomba, 'Early Modern or Early Colonial?' *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14:1 (2014), pp. 143–148 (146).

12 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Narratives of Global Early Modernity' has returned our attention to this fundamental problem with finding our way through the complicated world that our subjects inhabited, and which we, as early modernists and scholars, attempt to navigate with varying degrees of success. Biedermann's elegant formulation makes a case for attending as carefully to breakdowns of communication, to narratives of disowning and distancing, as much as to narratives of exchange. As he argues, 'Entanglements, entwinements, crossed gazes, and acts of interweaving all have come with remarkably soft associations for a history deeply marked by violence'.¹³ Yet at the same time, foregrounding that violence alone would return us to a form of historiography that reads the early modern period as 'one long and sinister buildup to European global hegemony, with all non-European agency reduced to impotency, survivance, or resistance'.¹⁴ How does a scholar of the early modern world proceed in such circumstances? Biedermann argues for an acknowledgement that throughout this period narratives of connection and disconnection, exchange and violence, were less easy to disentangle than we might think. They emerge often as synchronic aspects of the same historical moment. Disconnection, he suggests, 'is not the result of something happening to connections. It is a possibility embedded in connections. It is the result of the fact that a connection establishes a link between two nonidentical entities'.¹⁵ There is a danger in such a formulation, admittedly, of normalising disconnection and the history of violence that it often carries with it. Yet its reminder of the concurrent nature of connection and disconnection is a crucial one, which is borne out repeatedly by the twenty-four men and women who occupy the pages of this volume.

The subjects of the essays in this collection, although far from comprehensive in representing the various types of individuals caught up in both forced and voluntary movement in this period, are drawn from a wide range of professions, nationalities, and preoccupations. Their ways into and out of England were determined by multiple imperatives. The volume divides them into four groups. Some acted either directly or indirectly as agents and representatives of state, such as the notoriously cunning Spanish ambassador to King James's court, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, count of Gondomar (1567–1626), or James's own wife and consort, Anna of Denmark (1574–1619), who appear in Section I: 'In and out of the state'. Others who

13 Zoltán Biedermann, '(Dis)connected History and the Multiple Narratives of Global Early Modernity', *Modern Philology* (2021) 119:1, pp. 13–32 (24).

14 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

appear in Sections II and III ('Intellectual Exchange' and 'Conversions and Conversations'), were defined by the networks of information and religious forces that shaped encounters between England and the world throughout this period, and whose presence helped to define those same encounters in their turn. Many of those in focus in Section IV ('Managing Liminality') illuminate both the potential and the problems that haunted such transcultural lives, and that continue to inflect our historiographical approaches today. Such categorisations are neither exclusive nor singular. However, across the board, they draw attention respectively to four major domains in which English responses to matters of identity and belonging were debated, negotiated, and modelled: state and court, learning, the Church, and everyday negotiations and popular culture. Those groupings illuminate certain continuities and patterns in the strategies to which individual lives bear witness, but they are also invitations to readers to interrogate such categories and offer their own.

Often juxtapositions across and within the sections prove illuminating. Jane Dormer, the English-born Duchess of Feria (1538–1612) and Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza (1566–1614), the would-be Spanish Catholic martyr who annoyed and bemused her English interlocutors, appear in Sections I and III respectively, but both provide striking examples of the ways in which the social status of aristocratic women facilitated both agency and mobility in ways not available to many of their poorer counterparts. On a different level, a comparison of the abundance of information available on Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705) and the striking lack of records about Esther Gentili (d.1649) reminds us of the fundamental role that was played by class and social status not only in enabling or shaping the limits of mobility, but also in preserving its historical traces. Other pairs, such as the sailor and adventurer, Anthony Knivet (1577–1649), and the Oxford scholar and linguist, Edward Pococke (1604–1691), or alternately, Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel (1585–1654), and Virginia Ferrar (1627–1688), appear within the same section as individuals in their own right, but also illuminate the implicit workings of gender and class when read against each other. There is seemingly little in common between the Elizabethan translator and writer of Italian descent, John Florio (c.1552–1625), and the indefatigable Scottish exile, John Durie/Dury (1596–1680), whose attempts to broker a Protestant union in northern Europe brought him into the circuit of some of the principal intellectual and political figures of the times. Yet the lives of both speak to a certain restless fluidity of language and origin, and of intellectual and interpersonal networks that connected post-Reformation England to developments in continental Europe.

As Florio's complicated and deeply uneasy negotiation of his Italian birth and claims to Englishness illustrates, for many such figures, the in-betweenness that defined them was both an outcome of the porosity of global boundaries in this period, and an identity that served at the same time to strengthen the conceptual and linguistic boundaries that circumscribed their lives and actions. With some, such as Roderigo Lopez (c.1525–1594), the Protestant doctor of Jewish-Portuguese descent who opens the final section (Section IV: 'Managing Liminality'), or Corey the Saldanian (d. c.1627) who closes it, we are reminded of the very real violence through which the exercise of such boundaries could operate. Lopez's alleged treason, which became fodder for Elizabethan gossip and xenophobia and ultimately cost him his life, and Corey's apparent disregard for European civilisation, fuelled by deep homesickness under East India Company captivity, are reminders of the ways in which the fundamental definitions of what constituted a naturalised citizen or a traitor, a savage or a barbarian, were evolving under the pressure of the presence of people like them in early modern England.

Finding the archival evidence of such lives challenges the narrative impulse of historiography repeatedly. Tracing the footsteps of Elias of Babylon across multiple languages and documentary traditions, Ghobrial strikingly equates his enterprise to glimpses of a man caught 'as if in a hall of mirrors where each new source distorts, skews and stretches certain elements of his person in unforeseen ways'. 'What I present here, therefore', he warns his readers,

is not a complete, or completed, biography, but rather a series of snapshots of a man taken at different moments of his life. If the picture presented here remains too blurred, I hope that it may be regarded in part as a consequence of the fact that he lived his life in constant motion.¹⁶

In a more recent essay, Ghobrial has analysed the movements of those he puts 'under the microscope' through the lens of 'identification' – which includes both self-identifications and those imposed onto an individual by others – reminding us that individuals chose to act and were categorised through a series of affiliations that challenged the idea of 'identity' as something fixed and unchanging.¹⁷ His reference to the microscope also highlights the issue of scale. Increasingly at the heart of researching individual lives

¹⁶ Ghobrial, 'Secret life', pp. 55–56.

¹⁷ Ghobrial, 'Moving Stories and What They Tell Us: Early Modern Mobility Between Microhistory and Global History', *Past & Present*, 242 (2019), pp. 243–280.

is the methodological question not only of how attention to the particular can shed light on broader processes of change, but also, more importantly, how scholars can use this shifting lens to make sense of particular moments, events, and sources. Many of the essays in this volume follow that example. As in the case of the Italian-born musician, Mark Anthony Bassano (c.1546–1599), the Jesuit, Robert Parsons (1546–1610), or the Bengali boy known as Peter Pope (fl.1614–1622), whose conversion was orchestrated by the East India Company as a demonstration of their civilising effect on non-Christian Indigenous peoples, the essays capture one or more moments in a ‘life in transit’ when multiple imperatives and claims on the figure at the centre were seen to intersect and overlap in surviving documentary evidence, rather than attempting to offer a traditional biography.

However, as the essays on Peter Pope, Corey, and Pocahontas (c.1595–1617) in this volume also acknowledge, that experience of living a life in motion tended to obscure the presence of some individuals more than others. Over the past few decades, a growing body of scholarship has interrogated the complicated nature of early modern constructions of race or ‘racecraft’, within which questions of lineage and blood, faith and colour, were not only inextricably entangled with each other, but were equally also caught up in the processes through which differential access to power was ensured. Racecraft in its most basic form, after all, as Ayanna Thompson has noted, is ‘the underlying imaginative horizon, belief system, or individual and collective mental landscape that seeks to divide humans along unequal lines’.¹⁸ Writing about the representation of black women in European art in ‘Object into Object?’, Kim F. Hall had remarked in 2000 on the way in which the ‘compositional isolation’ of those women often reflect that fundamental reality. ‘The focus on white male agents in European history’, she points out, ‘allows us to fill in an imaged life of the original (or even to know details about that life); nonetheless, the same cannot be said for black women’.¹⁹ Imtiaz Habib, whose careful excavation of fragments of

18 Ayanna Thompson, ‘Did the Concept of Race Exist for Shakespeare and His Contemporaries? An Introduction’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Race*, ed. Ayanna Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 1–16 (8). While it would be impossible to provide anything but a reductive list here, Thompson’s Introduction offers a good point of entry into recent scholarship in the field, as does the Introduction to *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion*, ed. Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton (New York: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 1–30.

19 Kim F. Hall, ‘Object Into Object?: Some Thoughts on the Presence of Black Women in Early Modern Culture’ in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 346–379 (374).

information from English church and court records has fundamentally shaped our understanding of black presence in early modern England, addressed this challenge directly. ‘The book’s discussions of the records of black people may often appear to be of speculative and symbolic value’, his incisive introduction to his 2008 monograph, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677*, acknowledged.

But in the project of reconstructing the irrecoverable history of early modern English black people speaking from silence is not a willful disregard of an axiom of scholarly wisdom. It is a sober assertion of the obligation of a necessary risk and one that redeems a difficult task from being one that is not attempted at all.²⁰

Walter Benjamin does not appear in Habib’s introduction, but it is difficult not to be reminded of Benjamin’s argument that ‘the history of the oppressed is a discontinuum’, in which the marginal and the powerless are regularly denied a voice.²¹ As Shoshana Felman has suggested in reflecting on Benjamin, history, and silence:

Because official history is based on the perspective of the victor, the voice with which it speaks authoritatively is *deafening*; it makes us unaware of the fact that there remains in history a claim, a discourse that we *do not hear* ... History transmits, ironically enough, a legacy of deafness in which historicists unwittingly share.²²

Resisting that legacy of deafness has been one of the most exciting developments over the past decades when it comes to recovering marginalised voices, whether it be in terms of race, or gender, or indeed, both. In ‘Object into Object?’, Hall had asserted that the ability ‘to imagine and possibly locate a different trajectory’ to recover such voices was not an attempt ‘that makes of the past whatever we want’, but a ‘disruption of the imperialist glance [which] is an important weapon in any arsenal of resistance’.²³

20 Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 17.

21 Walter Benjamin, ‘Paralipomènes et variantes des Thèses “Sur le concept de l’histoire”’ in *Écrits français*, ed. Jean-Maurice Monnoyer (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), p. 352, quoted in Shoshana Felman, ‘Benjamin’s Silence’, *Critical Inquiry, Angelus Novus: Perspectives on Walter Benjamin* 25:2 (1999), pp. 201–234 (210).

22 Felman, p. 210.

23 Hall, ‘Object into Object?’, p. 374.

For Marisa J. Fuentes, still struggling sixteen years later with ‘a historical disciplinary structure that required more sources to make a project “viable”’, the problem lay in the very ‘ethics of history and the consequences of reproducing indifference to violence against and the silencing of black lives.’²⁴ Fuentes’s response in *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* presents a series of intricate microhistories of a handful of women in eighteenth-century Barbados, foregrounding absence as often as it records presence. The failure of the archive to preserve or present the traces and voices of these ‘dispossessed’ women becomes an intrinsic part of the story it tells, throwing a raking light on our own historical methodologies and discursive practices. Some of the essays in this volume, such as the ones on Corey and Pocahontas, similarly reflect on the historiography that frames our knowledge about these men and women. Among the various ambassadors, queen consorts, scholars, chaplains, and adventurers in these pages, their presence stands as a stark reminder of the radical difference, both in historical and critical attention, that marks our understanding of the forces that shaped the early modern world, and of the people caught up in their unfolding. A close attention to power relations, an acknowledgement of local knowledge-holders and agents, and an understanding of individuals’ complicity in the colonial project has been important to the essays in this volume as a whole. Where possible, essays have used the records that exist for white European or elite individuals to shed a critical light on imperial self-fashioning, and to try to reconstruct those other lives that intersected with them: the hundreds of Indigenous peoples whom Knivet encountered in Brazil, for example.

From the varying forms that displacement took in this period, to the variety of relationships that it engendered, the collective story that these lives tell cannot be reduced to a single grand narrative. What it does offer, however, are three reminders. First, that debates in early modern England about identity, belonging, and the nation can rarely, if ever, be disentangled from the English involvement in global geopolitics and trade, which these ‘lives in transit’ illuminate. Whether it was closer home, in the country’s complicated relationship with continental Europe, or further afield, in the nascent colonies in America or the early trading factories in the Middle East and Asia, England and English thoughts about themselves, from their language, culture, and fashion, to their place in the world, were framed by a constant calibration against others. Second, that such calibration

24 See Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 146, 12.

was hardly ever neutral, or stable, or indeed universally accepted by the English themselves. Its sensitivity to multiple forces – political, mercantile, religious, and cultural – defied a single narrative. Questions of who belonged and who did not, or even what belonging meant, went through multiple interpretations in the same period, the same space, and even for the same individual, depending on whether the question was posed in the abstract or the particular. Matters of gender, race, and class added further variables. As a woman and as the daughter of ‘the King of Virginia’, Pocahontas’s place in the English imagination and public discourse, for example, was always to be different from that of Corey the Saldanian or Peter Pope. Third, that while displacement and mobility could open new possibilities and new avenues of exchange for some, that instability of definition also rendered the lives of many deeply vulnerable. As the chaplain, Roger Williams (c.1606–1683), and Teresia Sampsonia Shirley (c.1589–1668), the Circassian wife of an English diplomat and adventurer, would realise in very different circumstances, finding one’s place as someone between languages, faiths, cultures, and nations, was to be doubly exposed, subject to the suspicion and questioning of both the English and the non-English. Roderigo Lopez’s end painfully illustrates the dangerously provisional nature of belonging in such circumstances, as a negotiated position whose terms were always subject to revision and revocation.

In addressing this varied and complicated terrain, this collection of essays, along with its companion volume, *Keywords of Identity*, is a work in progress. To assert that may seem strange in a published book, but as volumes born out of interdisciplinary discussions, ranging across multiple traditional and non-traditional archives and resources, at a time when our understanding of the history of identity, race, imperialism, and early English colonialism are all under radical re-evaluation and questioning, it is necessary to acknowledge this inevitably tentative nature of the enterprise. In the evolving collective conversations about global connections and disconnections, about stories of exchange and articulations of difference – of language, faith, and race – what these *Lives in Transit* offer are certain vignettes of complexity. The individual lives covered in its pages, we hope, can act as sites of critical consideration of the multiple imperatives in play in the shaping of the early modern world. Attending to them is to enter, not conclude, a conversation which continues to leave its mark on our own concepts of identity and belonging.

Nandini Das

In and Out of State

The complicated allegiances of political agents who crossed borders, and the range of backgrounds and social groups they came from, are evident in many of the lives of individuals throughout this volume. This opening section on court figures – on the political lives of those who operated within multiple royal courts, and the knowledge and experience they brought to bear on defending or subverting competing state interests across borders – has several aims. At a fundamental level, it illuminates the fluidity of ‘state’ itself as a term in the early modern period, which broadly referred to several institutions or ‘networks of agencies’ that exercised political power within and for the realm.¹ It draws attention also to the court as the visible centre of the state, providing both exemplars and exceptions to the debates and practices around transnational and transcultural movement, identity, and belonging that governed the lives of ordinary subjects.

The majority of the men and women in this section served as consorts and courtiers, or held state-appointed offices as members of parliament, privy councillors, or ambassadors. Each had privileged access to the workings of court life, but that access was influenced and shaped in diverse ways by factors including religious belief, upbringing, nationality, time period, and individual agency. Jane Dormer’s first taste of the English court came as a child, when she served as playmate for Henry VIII’s son and heir, Edward. Yet by becoming a favourite of the Catholic Mary I and choosing to marry a Spanish ambassador against her family’s wishes, Dormer became an active figure in continental Catholic politics, managing large estates in Spain as the Duchess of Feria and rejecting invitations to return to England after her move to Madrid in 1559. Others acted as state agents in more official capacities, which introduced different complications in establishing the terms of their status and reception. In *Agents Beyond the State*, Mark Netzloff explores the rising professional status of soldiers, diplomats, merchants, and colonial explorers who contributed to expanding state administration in the Tudor era. Often, state officials relied on such figures while categorising them as vagrants, pirates, mercenaries, or spies.² Robert Shirley and the doubts

1 Michael Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, 1550 – 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 6.

2 Mark Netzloff, *Agents Beyond the State: The Writings of English Travellers, Soldiers, and Diplomats in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). See also Nandini Das, João Vicente Melo, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021).

surrounding his credentials are an illustrative case of the complexities involving informal actors in diplomatic exchanges, even as he helped spur fashionable interest in Persia at the Jacobean court.

Ladies-in-waiting and diplomats may be expected figures when examining court life and mobility in and out of the state, an Italian musician less so. Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder, who contributed to the evolution of Tudor court music, offers a glimpse into the influence of Italian migrants on the cultural life of the court and on manifestations of elite urbanity. On a human level, essays on figures such as Ferrabosco also point to the lives of the artists, artisans, and servants who were so central to the lives and self-fashioning of court agents, and who appear, however fleetingly, in state documents such as records of Danish servants at the Jacobean court, or in a passport issued to Dormer as she travelled to Spain. Conceptually, they raise critical questions about the nature of power, social status, and the politics of mobility. How was court access gained or lost? Who benefited most from participating in state governance, and who was excluded from political decision-making?

Ferrabosco also serves as an example of how exploring sociability and the arts can shed light on the practice of politics in the early modern world. Reflecting on recent cultural and material approaches to political culture, Noah Millstone writes of how scholars have sought to expand 'political history in new directions, and especially to new sources...[such as] poems, paintings, masques, plays'.³ At the same time, an attention to culture and society should also involve relating politics to 'socio-economic structures and conditions' that explain the social meanings of political and administrative structures and encounters.⁴ In this way, the essay on the book collecting of the Spanish ambassador Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count Gondomar, can develop an understanding of his political manoeuvring, and the Catholic Anna of Denmark's patronage of Walter Raleigh places her within the burgeoning imperial-mindedness of the elite in London, complicating the idea of a unified vision of Protestant empire in early seventeenth-century England.

Finally, as Jane Dormer and Anna of Denmark show, these case studies examine women as political actors alongside men, shaping political culture through their own experiences of living in multiple societies. Many of them moved between the courts of England and Europe, creating alliances and

3 Noah Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 13.

4 *Ibid.*

networks that operated on a global scale. Catherine of Braganza's patronage of Italian art and music prompted her to reject the political and cultural influence of the French at Charles II's court, while her marriage dowry, which included the colonies of Bombay and Tangiers, helped the English secure a stronger presence in India and North Africa.

Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria (1538–1612)

Jane Dormer was born in England on Christmas Eve 1538 and died in Spain in 1612. An unswerving Catholic, her life offers insight into the complex nature of Anglo-Spanish relations in the long sixteenth century, from Mary I's marriage to Philip II of Spain to Elizabeth I's accession to the throne and the Stuart succession. Dormer never returned to England after her departure in 1559. As Duchess of Feria, she embraced her responsibilities as a grandee of Spain – the highest-ranking of the Spanish nobility – while remaining connected to England through correspondence networks and by welcoming English Catholics into her pan-European household in Madrid. Spending over fifty years in Spain, nearly forty of those as a widow, *Juana* (Jane) Dormer asserted her political and religious ambitions by using her status and her in-betweenness to further the Catholic cause. In her later years, this included overseeing large-scale building projects in Zafra, the Feria family seat, where she was eventually buried. Her architectural projects demonstrate the remarkable contribution of an English woman to the Counter-Reformation building projects of imperial Spain.¹

The most detailed source for Dormer's life is the biography written by her personal secretary, Henry Clifford, in his later life. The source has its clear biases, as Clifford was mainly concerned with offering a hagiographical account of his employer's virtues. Much of the information Clifford supplied about his patron's upbringing and activities, however, can be corroborated by various sources, and it remains a valuable text for understanding the influence of Catholicism and court life on Dormer's childhood, and the way she organised her household and positioned herself within the elite world of Catholic Madrid. Clifford presented Dormer's childhood as one dominated by strong women who exerted a powerful influence on her upbringing. Men seemed almost marginal to the female world navigated by Dormer, her grandmother, and royal women including Mary and Elizabeth Tudor. Dormer's mother died when she was four, leaving her in the care of her grandmother. The elder Jane, Clifford recounted, had full 'government' of the Dormer house and estate, which 'she governed with great discretion and noble moderation'.² As loyal followers of Mary I, the Dormer family remained

1 Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); *Rethinking the Baroque*, ed. Helen Hills (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011); Amanda Wunder, *Baroque Seville: Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2017).

2 *The Life of Jane Dormer Duchess of Feria by Henry Clifford, Transcribed from the Ancient Manuscript in the Possession of the Lord Dormer*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London: Burns and Oates, 1887), p. 17.

Catholics despite the rising power of Protestants at court. The Dormers were proud of their resistance to the English Protestant regime, celebrating the martyrs in their family and condemning those who opposed Mary I's rule.³

In addition to growing up in a household managed by her formidable grandmother, Dormer orbited the aegis of royal power from the age of six, when she became playmate to Edward VI. At Mary's ascension, Dormer held a privileged position as one of her ladies-in-waiting, eventually becoming keeper of Mary's jewels and the queen's favourite. '[S]eldom or never would the queen permit her absence. She slept in her bedchamber ... she read together ... At the table, [Mary] ate the meat that the hand of Jane Dormer carved for her, which is an evident argument and proof of her virtues'.⁴ Dormer's commitment to a well-run household, which contemporaries praised until her death, hinged on the traditional virtues of hospitality and largesse, and may well have been shaped by the intimacy of her participation in English court society in her youth.

While Dormer reportedly attracted numerous suitors at court, she married *Don Gomez de Figueroa y Cordova*, duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador for Philip II, on 29 December 1558, shortly after Mary I's death. The marriage seems to have been one of mutual desire, one that went ahead despite the reservations of Dormer's uncles, notably Sir Henry Sidney. It was 'distasteful to them to see such their niece of that esteem and regard to leave the country, kin, and friends to go to live with a stranger in a country so far from them, and in a climate so different from theirs. But Almighty God had so ordained it'.⁵

While Dormer's marriage was considered one of personal choice – 'the duchess preferred before great lords at home, this noble stranger of Spain' – she also acquired significant status and wealth from the union.⁶ The large entourage that accompanied the Feras as they travelled from Calais to Bruges and across the Spanish-controlled Netherlands gives an indication of the size of her household even before she acquired Feria lands. The passport issued for travel included safe passage for six gentlewomen, a laundress, a yeoman of the wardrobe, five gentlemen and their seven serving men, two pages, two chaplains, sixty horses, 1,500*l* of jewels, and the duke's greyhounds, as well as a passport for Dormer's grandmother and the elder Jane's chaplain and servants.⁷ Dormer gave birth to a son, Lorenzo, that same year, during her travels.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103.

7 Note of a passport required for the countess of Feria, c.1559, The National Archives, SP 15/9/1.



Figure 1 Portrait medal of Philip II (obverse) and Queen Mary I (reverse) by Jacopo Nizolla da Trezzo (1555). Met Museum, accession number 1975.1.1294./Public domain.

In Spain, the duchess embraced the life of a grandee's wife. Her management of her husband's estates gave her considerable authority, in keeping with the customs of aristocratic women in Spain. Her personal connections may have made her new life in Spain feel somewhat less alien. Philip II had spent time in England while married to Mary I, and it may be that Dormer's faith, her role as Mary's lady-in-waiting, and her marriage to Philip's ambassador brought a sense of familiarity with Catholic and Spanish customs. Letters addressed to her arrived for 'Madama la Duchesse de Feria, a Madrid'.⁸ The Ferias lived in Madrid, which Philip II turned into the Spanish capital in 1561. Large renovation projects transformed the royal palace, proclaiming the king's imperial splendour. Philip II claimed dominion over Spain, the Netherlands, Sicily, and vast parts of Central and South America, and Dormer's immense position of privilege placed her in the upper echelons of a bustling, cosmopolitan city.

As with many Spanish noblewomen, Dormer cultivated a sociable household and a reputation as a gracious host.⁹ She retained correspondence with the English nobility and provided assistance to English Catholics abroad. In 1559, shortly after departing London, Catholic ambassadors wrote of how 'Lady Sidney says she wishes to write a long letter to the countess (of Feria) with plenty of news from here'.¹⁰ In 1562, the Seville-based merchant Hugh Tipton sent the duchess 'a barrel of salmon and one of red herrings'.¹¹ The

8 [Unknown] to the duchess of Feria, 3 July 1571, Hatfield House, CP 6/32.

9 *The Life of Jane Dormer*, p. 124.

10 'The Bishop of Aquila to the duke of Alba, 9 September 1559', in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas)*, vol. I, 1558–1567, ed. Martin A.S. Hume (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1892), p. 97.

11 'Hugh Tipton to [Thomas] Challoner, 24 February 1562', in *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign: Elizabeth*, vol. 5, 1562, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1867), p. 623.

‘Count and Countess of Feria’, wrote the ambassador Thomas Challoner from Madrid in 1562, ‘both show great frankness to the English’.¹² Even into the 1590s, a letter to Robert Cecil about seditious English Catholics reported that ‘Edmunde Thurland, a gentillman, was trayned upp in Spaigne w[i]th the ould dutchess of Ferea, widdow doughter of Dormore’, suggesting that members of the late Elizabethan regime were aware of both the duchess and her support of English Catholics, which continued four decades after her arrival in Spain.¹³

In 1571, Dormer suffered two personal losses when her husband and her grandmother died within months of each other. Rather than return to England, however, Dormer stayed in Madrid. It is likely that she considered the opportunities available to her in Spain to be favourable to those she might have as a recusant widow in Elizabethan England. Although ‘a stranger, young, out of her country, far from friends, left in a manner wholly solitary, with the care and charge of the estate of the duchy in her only son, not yet twelve years of age’, Dormer continued to open up her house to exiled Catholics.¹⁴ Men and women wrote letters to ask for charity, thank Dormer for monetary support or lodgings, and convey objects to friends passing through Spain.¹⁵ In 1578, she asserted her support of transnational Catholic networks by securing pieces of devotional art from St Paul’s Cathedral in London. These were used as surety by an Irish agent who sought to purchase arms and munitions to serve the Catholic cause, with Dormer serving as an intermediary.¹⁶

Dormer’s correspondence with the English Catholic elite in the 1570s was heavily political. She circulated information about, and accepted gifts from, Mary, Queen of Scots, whom she had met with in France *en route* to Spain. Friends updated her on the Protestant persecution of Catholics at the time of the 1571 Ridolfi plot. Such news often carried a political immediacy. ‘Now our Queen has her army ready under the earl of Sussex’, wrote the Catholic exile George Chamberlain in 1570 (referring to Mary rather than Elizabeth), ‘to enter those parts where our Lords

12 ‘Thomas Challoner to Sir John Mason, 1 August 1562’, in *ibid.*, pp. 197–205.

13 ‘Richard Ropcliffe to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 June 1595’, Hatfield House, CP 32/94.

14 *The Life of Jane Dormer*, p. 130.

15 Replies of John Snowden to the preceding interrogatories, 25 May 1591, The National Archives, SP 12/238, fol. 275r; Examination of Hen. Walpole, Jesuit, before Edward Drewe, Attorney General Coke, and Richard Topcliffe, 27 April 1594, The National Archives, SP 12/248, fol. 181r.

16 ‘Philip Sega, bishop of Piacenza to Ptolemy Galli, cardinal of Como, 27 November 1578’, in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Vatican Archives, vol. II, 1572–1576*, ed. J.M. Rigg (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1926), pp. 530–538.

and gentlemen remain'.¹⁷ Philip II's secretary, Gabriel de Zayas, noted that rumours circulated that Dormer possessed a ring that was 'to be conveyed in the name of the [Spanish] King to the Queen of Scotland'.¹⁸ Though dismissed as rumour, this type of information-exchange placed Dormer within potentially seditious debates around religious confessionalism and monarchical legitimacy. Although Dormer does not appear to have been directly involved with plots to put the Scottish queen on the English throne, Mary reputedly sent the duchess a book of gold with the old service in Latin, personally inscribed. Information about these gifts and meetings was included in a letter that also discussed the financing of Catholic ships.¹⁹

Historians have queried how far Dormer retained political influence after the 1570s. Her son Lorenzo, who had turned 18 in 1577 and married the same year, likely took over many of the responsibilities of governing the Feria estates. Yet it appears that the rigorous dedication she applied to serving monarchs and managing her husband's 'civil and criminal manners' were instead directed elsewhere. One of the most remarkable elements of Dormer's later activities was her building projects in Zafra, the seat of the Feria family and a busy market town that served to connect trade routes between Seville and Madrid.²⁰ Feria had owned extensive land and property in both Madrid and Zafra, which fell under Dormer's oversight after his death.

Dormer and her kinswoman, Margaret Harrington, were responsible for renovating, rebuilding, and refurbishing the convent of Santa Clara, the large Parroquia de la Candelaria, which features the duchess' coat of arms on the façade, and the Iglesia Conventual de Santa Marina. Scholars have used Dormer's extant letters and her recipe book, now in the British Library, to discuss her role in fostering a pan-European

17 George Chamberlain to the duchess of Feria, 5 April 1570, The National Archives, SP 15/84; Occurrents out of Spain, 5 January 1572, The National Archives, SP 70/122, fol. 16v; Anne Lady Hungerford to the duchess of Feria, 20 March 1570, The National Archives, SP 15/18, fol. 50r; Anne Lady Hungerford to Dorothy Essex, at the duchess of Feria's, 25 March 1570, The National Archives, SP 15/18, fol. 62r-v; Richard Gibbons to [Jane Dormer] duchess of Feria, 7/17 June 1602, The National Archives, SP 12/284, fol. 48r.

18 'Antonio de Guaras to Gabriel de Zayas', *Calendar of State Papers: Spain, vol. II, 1568–1579* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894), pp. 495–496.

19 John Hawkyns to Lord Burghley, 7 June 1571, The National Archives, SP 53/6, fol. 131r.

20 For a more detailed assessment of these projects, see João Vicente Melo and Lauren Working, "Means of Persuasion": The Material Culture and Oppositional Politics of Jane Dormer and Luisa de Carvajal, Two Counter-Reformation Female Agents', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (forthcoming).

Catholic community in Madrid, but her building projects also shed light on her faith and her sense of politics and aristocratic responsibility beyond the bounds of the household.²¹ Dormer ‘was not sparing in advancing these good works’, building projects that publicly reflected fundamental Counter-Reformation conceptions of spiritual and political magnificence.²² The Iglesia Conventual de Santa Marina, begun by Harrington, Dormer’s cousin, was adjacent to the Feria palace, linked through interior corridors. At the church, tenants could hear and see the mass in ‘magnificence and devotion’, while the bells in the bell tower proclaimed the spiritual and earthly authority of God and the Feria family over the mountains and scorched hills of Extremadura.²³

In 1606, Dormer secured permission from Pope Paul V to make further alterations to Santa Marina after Harrington died.²⁴ She had the old church demolished, transforming the narrow building into ‘an ample ... edifice with beautiful *reredos*’ (altarpieces and screen decorations), and provided for the nuns of the convent at Santa Clara, who were tasked with regularly conducting religious ceremonies in her honour.²⁵ Dormer filled the new spaces with archways, stone monuments, paintings, textiles, and reliquaries, turning large parts of Zafra into a building site. Beyond the structures themselves, a range of people – craftsmen, labourers, and religious women – contributed to these projects and witnessed the changes to the town as a result of Feria wealth and investment. A description of Philip II’s immense building works at the Escorial in the Sierra de Guadarrama outside Madrid, completed between 1563 and 1584, evoke the many hands that contributed to producing ‘Oratories and Chappels’ during rebuilding projects, which required a ‘multitude of Masters, Overseers, Hirers of Workmen, other Officers and Day-Labourers ... to distribute and place the Materials, as

21 Hannah Leah Crummé, ‘Jane Dormer’s Recipe for Politics: A Refuge Household in Spain for Mary Tudor’s Ladies-in-Waiting’, in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe*, ed. Nadine Akkerman and Brigit Houben (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 51–71 (71). Jane’s recipes and advice for perfuming gloves are included in Thomas Lodge’s manuscript medical book, The British Library, Add MS 34212.

22 *The Life of Jane Dormer*, p. 179.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 180–181.

24 José de Santa Cruz, *Chronica de la Provincia de San Migel de la Orden de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco* (Madrid, 1671), pp. 637–639. With thanks to João Vicente Melo for the translation.

25 *Ibid.* For a more detailed account of Dormer’s patronage, see Juan Carlos Rubio Masa, *El mecenazgo artístico de la Casa Ducal de Feria* (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2001); José María Moreno González, *Educación y cultura en una villa nobiliaria: Zafra, 1500–1700* (Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva, 2016).

Stone, Wood, Mortar, &c. ... Smiths, Carpenters, Stone-cutters, and all sorts imaginable'.²⁶

Although on a smaller scale, Dormer may have been inspired by the Escorial. Both building projects combined the display of spiritual and temporal power, and mirrored Philip's keen interest in collecting relics, a pastime that Dormer, like many members of the Catholic nobility, shared.²⁷ Dormer's relic-collecting brought human bones from across Europe, the Mediterranean, and further east to Zafra in finely-wrought gold, silver, and wooden reliquaries. A cabinet of her relics survives today in the Santa Clara convent. As with the Spanish noblewoman, Luisa de Carvajal (also in this volume), who engaged in the trade for relics by collecting the body parts of Catholics executed in London, the circulation – the economy – of relics connected female collectors to wider networks of political alliances.²⁸

In 1609, Dormer fell and broke her arm, an accident that plagued her until her death three years later. She seems to have been in continual pain after her fall, remaining bedridden for the last year of her life. Like many devout Catholic Spanish women, she had begun to dress in a modest Franciscan habit, a coarse black mantle under her clothes, which she intended to be 'her outward shroud'.²⁹ In Madrid on 13 January, after meeting with visitors and friends, Dormer ate roast partridge and jelly, received the last sacrament, and died. Afterwards, her body travelled to Zafra on a nine-day journey, where she was buried in Santa Clara.

Many details of Dormer's life, particularly in her later years, remain obscured. What is clear is that her decision to remain abroad after the death of her husband allowed her to proclaim her commitment to the continental Catholic community in a way few English Catholics of the time were able, not least through her extensive architectural projects. While Spanish women regularly donated money for charitable acts that included financing renovations and repairs to religious buildings such as chapels, the scale of Dormer's

26 Francisco de Santos, *The Escorial, or, A Description of that Wonder of the World for Architecture and Magnificence ... translated into English by a servant of the Earl of Sandwich* (1671; Wing F2061), pp. 6, 8, 17–19.

27 Guy Lazure, 'Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60 (2007), pp. 58–93.

28 See Luisa de Carvajal in this volume. For a discussion of the economy of relics, see *The Life and Writings of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza*, ed. and tr. Anne J. Cruz (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014), p. 80; Peter Davidson and Andrew Nicoll, 'Recusant Archives and Remains from the Three Kingdoms, 1560–1789: Catholics in Exile at Home and Abroad', *The Downside Review*, 122 (2004), pp. 289–311 (289–290); Alexandra Walsham, 'Introduction: Relics and Remains', *Past and Present*, 206 [Supplement 5] (2010), pp. 9–36.

29 *The Life of Lady Jane*, p. 202.

patronage, especially as a foreigner, is less common.³⁰ Moreover, her interest in architecture and relic-collecting came at a time 'between the Renaissance and the baroque'; her interest, as a Englishwoman, in building in the 'new style' pioneered by Jesuits during the Counter-Reformation is significant.³¹ The countess used her resources to promote political and religious values that went beyond national identifications, but traces of her English upbringing remained. In a comment to Dormer's half-brother Robert Dormer, Clifford reported that after over forty years of living in Spain, Dormer continued to speak well 'in her own language, with such fit terms and good works as such English as came hither to visit her marvel at; seeing since she left England the language hath been much altered and refined'.³²

Lauren Working

Further Reading

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30 Peter Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England', in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, eds. Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley, and Arthur F. Marotti (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), pp. 19–51; *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Helen Hills (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 131–149; *Women and Community in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, eds. Michelle Armstrong-Partida, Alexandra Guerson, and Dana Wessell Lightfoot (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020).

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Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543–1588)

Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder is remembered today for his significant contribution to the evolution of Tudor court music. Born in Bologna in 1543 to Domenico Maria Ferrabosco, *maestro di capella* (Chapel Master) at San Petronio cathedral, the composer, lutenist, and singer first came to London in March 1562, motivated no doubt by news of lucrative annuities secured by fellow Italian musicians at the English court.¹ He would remain in the service of the Crown on and off for sixteen years, during which time he profoundly influenced English contemporaries, including his long-term rival William Byrd, and popularised the madrigal, a secular choral arrangement of five to nine voices that would become one of England's primary musical outputs by the end of the century. The posthumous inclusion of his compositions in the suitably titled *Transalpina Musica* (1597), a collection of madrigals from English, French, Dutch, and Italian composers, exemplifies Ferrabosco's significance as a 'go-between' who facilitated access to an increasingly transcultural, supranational European courtly civility. To his English employers, however, at a remove from the continent yet anxious to dispel their parochial reputation, the Italian was more than just a renowned musical talent. He was a transient knowledge gatherer who, having spent his life participating in the diverse and dynamic performance cultures of Europe's greatest courts, was intimately familiar with the kinds of novelties beloved by the English. This essay will therefore shift focus away from Ferrabosco's prodigious musicianship to consider his significant role in nursing England's infatuation with a particularly arresting Italianate novelty.

A curious letter dated to the 1570s addressed to Queen Elizabeth from the Florentine illuminator, calligraphist, and court favourite, Petrucchio Ubaldini, says something of the musician's reputation as a virtuoso:

i giorni passata io haveva promesso à Ms Claudio Cavallarizzo, e à Ms Alfonso Ferrabosco, d'esser content di recitar ad una piacevol Comedia Italiana; per compiacere alla M^{ta} Vra et non si trovando di poi altri, che tre ò quattro, che fusser contenti d'accettar tal carico; ho volute che

1 Richard Charteris, 'New Information about the Life of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543–1588)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 17 (1981), pp. 97–114 (97–98). For a more recent biography of Ferrabosco, see Andrew Ashbee, 'Ferrabosco, Alfonso (Bap. 1543, d. 1588)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9352>> [accessed 14 September 2020].

l'Altezza V^{ra} conosca da me stesso il pronto animo ch'io ho per la mia parte di servirla, et du compiacerla in ogni attione, che mi sia comandata.²

(in the past days I had promised to Master Claudio Cavallarizzo, and to Master Alfonso Ferrabosco, to be content to recite a pleasant Italian Comedy; to please Her Highness, and since there were only three or four others who were happy to accept such a burden; I wanted Your Highness to know for myself the promptness of my part in serving you, and in pleasing you in every action that you command me.)

Ubal dini does not elaborate on why so few volunteers were forthcoming on this particular occasion, although a 'Comedia Italiana' would have been an intimidating undertaking. Whilst the verb *recitare* (translated as 'to recite, to rehearse, to relate, to tell by heart without booke, as players doe their parts in comedies') suggests learning from a script, there were no doubt expectations of something more innovative following the news of a novel, semi-improvised, Italian mode of play that was taking Europe by storm.³

Today, this method of performance practice is generally referred to as the *commedia dell'arte*, and is instantly recognisable by its visually evocative stock characters, or *maschere*, like the old merchant Pantalone, the pedant Dottore, the braggadocious Capitano, and the servant *Zanni* such as Harlequin and Pedrolino. Assuming these familiar roles, practitioners of the *arte*, known as *comici*, extemporised virtuosic, slapstick dramas of domestic conflict around basic, three-act plots known as *scenari*. The form emerged from the theatrical and literary melting pots of Italy's urban centres in the mid-century, though the pan-European dynastic projects of

2 Kathleen M. Lea proposed a date of 1565 for this performance, although it could also have taken place between 1565 and 1568, or 1571 and 1573, when the Paduan Master of Horse Claudio 'il Cavallerizzo' Corte left the earl of Leicester's service for Paris. The records thereafter do not always account for his whereabouts, and it is possible that he may have returned, in which case Ubal dini may refer to the performance for which Ferrabosco and the Italian players were paid £10 in February 1576. A reference to 'Mr Alphonse' overseeing the painting of props and scenography, followed by an entry reading 'Petruccio for his travells & paynes taken in p[re] paracon for the same mask' gives us a likely date of 1572. See Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia Dell'Arte, 1560–1620, with Special Reference to the English Stage*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), II, p. 362; and *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (London: Printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1842), pp. 22–23.

3 This definition of *recitare* is taken from John Florio's *Queen Annas New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues* (London, 1611; STC 11099). For more on the orality of *commedia dell'arte*, see Robert Henke, *Performance and Literature in the Commedia Dell'Arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

enterprising aristocratic patrons provided the opportunity for these itinerant performers to seek their fortunes abroad. The arrival in Paris of the troupe *i Naseli*, fronted by Barbara Nasseli and her husband Alberto ‘Zan Ganassa’, for the wedding celebrations of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria in 1571, sparked a period of patronage and preferment for the Italian players at successive Valois and Bourbon courts.⁴ Ever the conduit for English access to continental innovations, it was in Paris that the English first caught wind of this novel form. Invitations to perform at the Tudor court soon followed: the next year, the Privy Council requested that the Lord Mayor of London license a troupe of Italian players to ‘shewe strange motiones’ in the City.⁵ The following summer, in July 1574, the Revels Office were ordered to equip a troupe of Italian performers who followed the Royal progress from Windsor to Reading with the necessary means ‘For the Ayrnynges, Repayryngs, Translatynges, preparing, Fytting, Furnishing, Garnishing Attending, & setting foorth, of sundry kyndes of Apparell properyes & furniture’.⁶ The ‘shepherdes crookes’, ‘arrowes for nymphes’, and ‘sythe for Saturne’ listed amongst the properties provided by the Revels Office suggest they performed a pastoral.⁷ In April 1577, an ‘Italian play’ was performed before the queen at Durham House, possibly by an Italian troupe, and the following January, the Privy Council drew up a ‘passeporte’ for Drusiano Martinelli, probably in the company of the renowned *comico* Vincenzo Belando, to perform within the City limits.⁸

Like all performers who chased patronage at European courts, the continued success of the *comici* as they crossed linguistic and cultural borders and boundaries was predicated on their flexibility and virtuosity as performers. They were responsive to the idiosyncrasies of their new environments, and incorporated everyday observations of cultural practices into their routines, crafting a theatre that was, as Siro Ferrone has noted, ‘decisively characterised by nomadism’ and ‘marked by the linguistic and cultural interplay that such mobility necessarily cultivates’.⁹ This was often

4 See Virginia Scott, ‘France’, in *Commedia Dell’Arte in Context*, eds. Christopher B. Balme, Piermario Vescovo, and Daniele Vianello (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 76–88.

5 Lea, II, p. 362.

6 Quoted in E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), IV, p. 271.

7 *Ibid.*, I, p. 233.

8 *Ibid.*, I, p. 93; Dronsiano’s License, 1578, The National Archives, London, PC2/12.

9 Siro Ferrone, ‘Journeys’, in *Commedia Dell’Arte in Context*, eds. Christopher B. Balme, et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 67–75 (84).

as simple as incorporating topical jokes, political lampoons, and macaronic word play into a performance; or, it could mean creating new characters and translating whole speeches and set pieces into new languages. Around 1584, while in Paris with the troupe *i Confidenti*, Drusiano Martinelli's brother, Tristano, crafted the most evocative mask of the Italian theatre today, 'Arlecchino', or 'Harlequin', from the *hellequin* devils of earlier French passion plays. Amongst the records of stage business, interludes, and *scenari* in the recently unearthed commonplace book of Abarago Frescobaldi, who performed in Spain with Ganassa's *i Naselli* throughout the 1570s and 1580s, there are speeches from Cinzio's tragedy *Orbecche* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* translated into Spanish.¹⁰ Musical virtuosity was a particularly useful way of communicating across borders, and musicianship was a necessary part of every *comico*'s repertoire. Throughout *Il teatro delle favole rappresentative* (1611), the earliest collection of *scenari* in print compiled by the *comico* Flaminio Scala, characters routinely break into song and play instruments to cheer their companions, woo their lovers, or lull their enemies to sleep.¹¹

The demand for virtuosity created spaces in which musical, theatrical, and artistic cross-fertilisation and innovation could take place. Here, the *comici* met and collaborated with entertainers of all kinds, and were exposed to new music, new forms of regional drama, and new cultural histories to borrow from and adapt. Extant household account books, letters, and diaries of attendees at diplomatic events and aristocratic wedding celebrations reveal the extent to which these performance cultures often overlapped. Several festival books reveal how amateur revelling was enmeshed with professional theatrical and musical entertainments during the 1568 wedding festivities of Crown Prince Wilhelm and Princess Renée of Lorraine in Munich.¹² Whilst at the Valois court to ratify the Treaty of Blois in June 1572, Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln, informed Lord Burghley of the week's assorted revelries. On the Friday he attended 'some pastyme showed [Charles IX] by Italian players'; the following Tuesday he was entertained by the duke of Anjou with 'vearie many sorts of excellent musycke ... an Italian playe, & dyvars vawtars [vaulters] & leapers of dyvars

10 Valle Ojeda Calvo, *Stefanelo Botarga e Zan Ganassa* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2007), pp. 57–129.

11 Flaminio Scala and Richard Andrews, *The Commedia Dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala: A Translation and Analysis of 30 Scenarios*, ed. by Richard Andrews (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2008).

12 See M.A. Katritzky, 'The Diaries of Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria: Commedia Dell'Arte at the Wedding Festivals of Florence (1565) and Munich (1568)', in *Italian Renaissance Festivals and Their European Influence*, eds. J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp. 143–172.

sorts vearie excellent'.¹³ The real variety of Tuesday's entertainment was reported to the Lord Privy Seal by another of Clinton's party, Sir Thomas Smith, who marvelled at:

an Italian Comedie wth candid vaulting wth notable supersaltes, & through hoopess, and last of all the Antiques, of carrying of men one upon an other w[hi]ch som men call Labores Herculis, These things may better be declared by word of them that saw & can skill of it, then by writing especially of me.¹⁴

In July 1575, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester organised three-week long festivities for the queen's visit to his Kenilworth estate. Along with many masques, recitals, and firework displays, a solo Italian acrobat performed 'feats of agilitie' and contortions that according to one eyewitness were 'not expressibl by pen or speech'.¹⁵ This was almost certainly the Florentine Aniello Soldino, who led one of the Italian troupes that so amazed Lincoln and Smith in Paris.¹⁶

Given that Ferrabosco spent a lifetime in the company of players, entertainers, and liberal artisans, entangled in the intersecting performance cultures of European aristocratic courts, it is unsurprising that Elizabeth appointed him to oversee the 'Comedia Italiana'. His father's employment as a singer at San Petronio in charge of the public performances of palace musicians, and his later 1546 appointment as *magister puerorum* (Master of Children) at the Julian chapel in Rome, meant that the younger Ferrabosco was immersed in the world of performance production from birth.¹⁷ By 1559, at nineteen years old, he was in the service of Charles de Lorraine, duke of Guise (who would later help orchestrate the wedding entertainments of Charles IX), and was involved in an epithalami planned for the marriage of Princess Marguerite of France to the duke of Savoy.¹⁸ Even after entering Elizabeth's service a few years later, Ferrabosco maintained these close ties to European courts overseas, travelling back and forth on several occasions over the following decade. These long absences ruffled feathers back in England, but they also helped to compound his reputation as an active knowledge gatherer, offering many opportunities to familiarise himself

13 Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy*, II, p. 347.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 348.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 355.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 354–355.

17 Charteris, p. 97.

18 *Ibid.*

with the latest innovations in Cinquecento theatre and music. It should be noted that Ferrabosco was permitted to collect his annuity *in absentia* throughout this period. Upon his return to London from Rome in 1567 after a period in the service of the great Tuscan patron, Alessandro Farnese, his salary was increased from £66 13s 4d to a startling £100.¹⁹

It is unclear when or if the 'Comedia Italiana' mentioned by Ubaldini ever took place, although Ferrabosco's expertise was put to good use in other entertainments. In February 1572, he took part in a masque at Whitehall, booted in a pair of buskins made from 'cloth of golde'.²⁰ Four years later, in February 1576, the Revels Office made a payment to 'Alfruso Ferrabolle and the rest of the Italiyan Players' for an unknown entertainment.²¹ Such fragmentary records in voluminous registers of court revelry seem insignificant alongside his roughly two hundred extant vocal arrangements and thirty surviving instrumental compositions. Yet they offer a rare glimpse behind the curtain of the diverse, intersecting court performance cultures in which Ferrabosco and his fellow virtuosic liberal artisans were all immersed, and the reciprocal dynamics of knowledge exchange and production that made these knowledge gatherers so prized by royalty and aristocracy across a continent.

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¹⁹ Ashbee, 'Ferrabosco, Alfonso'.

²⁰ *Extracts from the Accounts*, p. 22.

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Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar (1567–1626)

During the discussions concerning the appointment of the future ambassador for Philip III of Spain at the court of James I, Juan Fernández de Velasco y Tovar, duke of Frías and Constable of Castille, stressed that the Spanish ambassador at the English court should be ‘someone from a superior lineage, healthy and Christian, well informed of world affairs and princely courts, a gentleman who is gallant with the ladies, joyful and affable, elegant and munificent, who can go to the houses and feasts offered in that court and city to take advantage of the occasion where he can negotiate better than in the audiences given at the palace’.¹ Velasco y Tovar’s observations were based on his experiences with the English authorities during the negotiations of the Treaty of London in 1604.² They echoed some of the emerging ideas of the role of the ambassador as both a courtly and political agent, adept at a spectrum of social situations and interactions. Someone whose function was to promote the interests of his country, as well as obtain relevant knowledge about his host society.

After some discussions, and a good dose of political intrigue, the members of Philip III’s Council of State approved the name of *Don* Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, a Galician aristocrat who had previously served in different military and administrative posts. Gondomar was not particularly excited about his appointment. The Spanish embassy in London was a post that was ‘neither comfortable nor tasteful’ (*acomodado ni sabroso*).³ The previous ambassadors, Pedro de Zuñiga (1604–1609) and Alonso de Velasco (1609–1613), had failed to improve relations between Madrid and London. Zuñiga, particularly, had been a controversial figure. Appointed by Philip III after the conclusion of the Treaty of London, he was able to establish a good rapport with Robert Cecil, James I’s secretary, but his involvement in espionage activities and the insulting remarks he allegedly made in Madrid about the English court, calling James a *bujarra* (a rude word that suggested that the king had pederastic inclinations) and Queen Anna a ‘whore’, caused a serious upset in London.⁴ Velasco, a close friend of Gondomar, tried to repair some of the damages caused by Zuñiga’s

1 Quoted in Villa-Urrutia, *La embajada del Conde de Gondomar a Inglaterra en 1613* (Madrid, 1913), p. 35.

2 The duke of Frías was the leader of the Spanish delegation depicted in the ‘The Somerset House Conference, 1604’, held at the National Portrait Gallery.

3 Quoted in Luis Tobio, *Gondomar y su triunfo sobre Raleigh* (Santiago de Compostela: Editorial de los Bibliófilos Gallegos, 1974), p. 272

4 Luis Tobio, *Gondomar y los Católicos Ingleses* (A Coruña: Edición do Castro, 1987), p. 187.

espionage, but failed to make an impression, being regarded by many as too timid and discrete.⁵

After arriving in England, Gondomar invested in the reputation of the Spanish embassy to repair the damages caused by his predecessors, spending considerable funds to surpass the pomp and ostentation of the main English courtiers and other foreign ambassadors. In a letter to *Don Pedro de Toledo*, marquis of Mancera, Gondomar stated that ‘the last thing that concerns me is to ruin my estate ... because since its very beginning this post has been marked by great solemnity and ostentation and under me it will not lose even one finger of its reputation, but raise even more’.⁶ But more importantly, and following Velasco y Tovar’s observations, the ambassador made a systematic investment in gathering information about Jacobean England. Gondomar’s successes in achieving these aims are well-known. Thanks to shared intellectual interests, the Spanish ambassador developed a personal friendship with James I.⁷ He also was able to establish rapports with prominent courtly and scholarly figures such as Francis Bacon, and was rumoured to maintain several principal members of the Stuart court on his payroll. Gondomar had profound distaste for all things related to espionage, confessing in a letter to the duke of Lerma that bribery and espionage often made ambassadorship ‘a nasty job’, but his success at the English court made him a highly unpopular figure who epitomised anti-Spanish feelings and the perils of foreign influences on English politics and culture.⁸ Thomas Middleton’s immensely popular and controversial play, *The Game at Chess* (1624), was largely inspired by Gondomar and satirised the Spanish ambassador as a Machiavellian figure whose shadowy politics worked to undermine England.⁹ While Middleton’s play contributed to a

5 Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza, for example, complained that Alonso de Velasco lacked the ‘the clarity, boldness, courage, and grace’ (*el despejo, desembarazo, valor y gracia*) of his predecessor Pedro de Zuñiga. ‘Doc. 115, Al padre José Cresvelo, S.I., Londres, 4 de julio de 1610’, in *Epistolario de Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 1999) <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/epistolario-de-luisa-de-carvajal-y-mendoza--o/>> [accessed 10 July 2020].

6 Quoted in Luis Tobio, ‘O nomeamento de Gondomar como embaixador en Londres’, *Grial*, 24 (1969), pp. 133–162 (156).

7 On this, see Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2003), pp. 255–256.

8 Quoted in Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 226.

9 For a brief overview on English perception of Gondomar, see Mark Hutchings, ‘The Spectre of Gondomar in the Wake of A Game at Chess’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 27:4 (2012), pp. 435–453; Albert J Loomie, ‘Bacon and Gondomar: an unknown link in 1618’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 21:1 (1968), pp. 1–10; Charles Howard Carter, *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs, 1598–1625* (New

stereotypical image of Gondomar as foreign master of the diplomatic dark arts, recent scholarship has highlighted the ways in which the ambassador's search for knowledge about England was informed by other, less sensational sources. A dedicated and reputable bibliophile, responsible for one of the most important private libraries of early modern Spain, he added to his vast library a considerable number of books related to England, ranging from history to Protestant theology.

Gondomar's English library reveals a diplomat who wanted to study his host society and understand the impact of the Reformation on the political and social life of Elizabethan and Jacobean England. The catalogue of the library includes twenty-one works on the history of England and the British Isles written in Latin, and another four written in English. The ambassador seems to have been well acquainted with English intellectual and literary life, and aware of the intricate connections between some authors and various political and colonial projects that could interfere with Spanish interests. The acquisition of works such as the second volume of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1599), a volume of Edward Topsell's *The Historie of Four Footed Beasts* (1607), and Fynes Morysson's *Itinerary* (1617) reveals Gondomar's interest in travel writing, geography, and natural history, and his intention to evaluate English knowledge on subjects that were also considered of crucial importance to the success of the Spanish colonial and commercial enterprises. Among other texts, Gondomar acquired Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1593) and Michael Drayton's *Poly Olbion* (1612), as well as popular prints, maps, and portraits of relevant figures in English history or contemporary politics.¹⁰ The ambassador's bibliophilia and intellectual interests also instigated a regular correspondence with prominent English scholarly figures including Francis Bacon.¹¹

Gondomar's library was above all that of a diplomat. He had a volume of the English translation of Jean de Hotman's *The Ambassador* (1603), a notable diplomatic treatise which influenced how diplomats were perceived in early modern England and Europe. The catalogue of the library of the Spanish ambassador also included several works on English law. Gondomar acquired, for example, two volumes of the 1618 edition of the *Statutes at Large*, and a

York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 120–133; Charles H. Carter, 'Gondomar: Ambassador to James I', *The Historical Journal*, 7:2 (1964), pp. 189–208.

10 The catalogue of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña's personal library has been analysed and published in Carmen Manso Porto, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar (1567–1626): Erudito, mecenas y bibliófilo* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1996).

11 See Lois Tobío, 'A Amistade de Bacon e Gondomar', *Grial* 18:68 (1980), pp. 210–215; Loomie, 'Bacon and Gondomar'.

compilation of the laws and acts issued by the Scottish Parliament during the first years of James's reign as king of Scotland. The works written by the Stuart monarch also interested the ambassador who added to his library the 1616 edition of *The Works of James the First King of England*. The presence of these works suggest that he wanted to study the legal and political apparatus of the English monarchy, as well as analyse the intellectual and political profile of James I. Gondomar also acquired a series of manuscript books (*libros de mano*) on the reign of Elizabeth I (from accounts of her legislative measures and dealings with foreign ambassadors), the Order of the Garter, the protocol of the English royal courts, the embassy of Charles Cornwallis to the Spanish court, and the speeches and correspondence of Thomas Wolsey.

Like other Iberian aristocrats and intellectuals, Gondomar had a good knowledge of Latin, Italian, and French. Although Latin was his preferred language to communicate with James I and some of his English interlocutors such as Bacon, Gondomar studied English during his time in London. Based on the absence of marginalia in his English books, a considerable number of scholars have suggested that Gondomar apparently did not know English. However, more recently, Jocelyn Hillgarth claimed in *The Mirror of Spain* that Don Diego learned to read and speak English, and Ernesto Oyarbide has argued that despite the doubts surrounding the ambassador's language skills, he became a cultural Anglophile.¹² Indeed, the number of English works collected by him during his almost ten years in London suggest that he could at least read in English. The catalogue of his library identifies several 'vocabularies' (*vocabularios*), a vague denomination that included a variety of works from dictionaries to grammars. Gondomar seemed to have studied English through Spanish-English, Italian-English, Latin-English, and French-English dictionaries. His library includes, for example, works such as *A Mess of Tongues* (1617) and John Florio's *Second Fruits* (1591).

Gondomar's English library reveals that the Spanish ambassador followed the recommendations made by early modern treatises that diplomats should study and familiarise themselves with the culture of their host countries. While the spies and informers employed by the Spanish embassy in London may have supplied him with important intelligence about the day-to-day developments of Jacobean politics and diplomatic intrigues, his library

12 Ernesto Oyarbide, 'Embodying the portrait of the perfect ambassador: The first Count of Gondomar and the role of print culture and cultural literacy in Anglo-Spanish relations during the Jacobean period', in *Embajadores culturales: Transferencias y lealtades de la diplomacia española de la Edad Moderna* ed. Diana Carrio-Invernizzi (Madrid: UNED, 2016), pp. 157–186; Jocelyn Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

allowed him to examine the historical evolution of English institutions and society. Its contents suggest a systematic effort to understand the cultural and political systems of his host society in order to be able to navigate local political discourse, bureaucratic practices, and courtly rituals. This strategy was not far from the recommendations made by Jean Hotman, who noted that the ideal ambassador ‘accommodated himself unto the manners of the country where he is’ and that he ‘shall do well do learne what is the forme of government of the Countrie wherein hee is, the limites, greatness and largeness thereof, the maners of the people’.¹³ The books acquired by the Spanish ambassador represent an example of the importance of erudition and knowledge-gathering in the development of the transcultural skills required in diplomatic interactions.

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Anna of Denmark (1574–1619)

In 1590, a young Danish princess, recently arrived in Edinburgh, signed her name in French in a visitor's *album amicorum*: 'Anna Royne decose', Anna, queen of Scotland.¹ Throughout her life as a queen consort, Anna fashioned herself as a multilingual queen who moved deftly between languages, cultures, and customs. She knew Latin, French, and Italian as well as the languages of her home and host countries. Though she supported her staunchly Protestant husband, James VI and I, and publicly conformed to the Anglican Church after James ascended the English throne in 1603, she likely converted to Catholicism in Scotland in the 1590s. Anna encouraged her son Henry's militant Protestant image, but also supported the attempted 1623 match between her son Charles and the Catholic Infanta of Spain. She commissioned the architect Inigo Jones to carry out large-scale building projects at her court at Greenwich and demonstrated a deep-rooted interest in Italian art. At the same time, she retained a strong sense of loyalty and pride in her Danish ancestry, using heraldry and other visual representations of her genealogy to proclaim an affinity with her northern European heritage.² Records from the 1590s indicate that her gentleman server, three ladies of the chamber, secretary, minister, lackey, master of the wardrobe, tailor, furrier, three cooks, carver, and cupbearer in Edinburgh were Danish.³ The Danish royal arms were continually present in Anna's household, from engravings to a 'cloth of estate of purple ... w[i]th the armes of Danmarke', a 'Canopy of greene Velvett embroidered w[i]th silver & the armes of Danmarke', and a fire shovel with 'the Armes of Danmarke'.⁴ In her role as queen consort, as in her patronage and art collecting, Anna affiliated herself with a number of agendas and projects that resist easy categorisation.

This essay places Anna within the imperial activities of the Jacobean court through the lens of voyaging, exploration, and maritime power, linking the

1 *Album amicorum* of Dietrich Bevernest, c.1590–1609, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.325, p. 3. While English writers tended to anglicize her name, the queen continually referred to herself as 'Anna'. This essay adopts Anna's own preference, except when quoting scholarship that uses alternate spellings.

2 Nicholas Cooper, *The Jacobean Country House* (London: Aurum Press, 2006); Jemma Field, 'Anna of Denmark and the Arts in Jacobean England', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Auckland, 2015), p. 27.

3 Amy L. Juhala, 'The Household and Court of King James IV of Scotland, 1567–1603', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2000).

4 M.T.W. Payne, 'An inventory of Queen Anne of Denmark's "ornaments, furniture, householde stuffe, and other parcells" at Denmark House, 1619', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 13 (2001), pp. 23–44 (29–30, 36).

queen consort's Danish upbringing and her luxury consumption to her role as colonial promoter. Since the Danish controlled much of Scandinavia and, by extension, the trade routes and shipping channels from Scotland through the Baltic, her marriage to James brought lucrative opportunities for Scottish trade.⁵ At the same time, scholarly reassessments of Anna's character and actions have established her as a political operator and cultivated patron in her own right, moving away from long-standing assumptions of the queen as a shallow individual, disinterested in politics.⁶ Shortly after James and Anna's move to London in 1603, a French observer at court noted that Anna was 'naturally bold and enterprising', loving grandeur and 'deeply engaged' in the factions and intrigues of Scottish and English court life.⁷ Subjects celebrated Anna in writing and engravings as a northern European 'empress', an identification with the Continent that enabled her to mediate between interests and factions that aligned with aspects of Henry's militant Protestantism as well as James's more pacifist policies. Beyond the male-dominated world of policy-making in Whitehall and parliament, the queen used her role as transcultural mediator to promulgate ideas of imperial glory and even martial valour, not as an alternative to the projects of her son or husband, but through a relational dynamic that placed women within imperial promotion.

A cluster of textual and visual evidence from 1610–1611, the year of Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales, offers insight into the role Anna played in early English imperial projects. As Anna's Italian instructor John Florio noted in his dedication to the queen in the second edition of *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611), the crossing of linguistic and cultural boundaries lent itself to ideas of voyaging. It was 'with a travellers minde, as erst Columbus at command of glorious Isabella', that Florio's scholarship found 'protection and patronage' under the queen, just as venturing and voyaging had led 'your Majesties predecessors' to Virginia.⁸ Florio's invocation of Isabella of Spain came at a distinct moment of colonial opportunity in England. In 1609, two years after the founding of Jamestown, the Virginia Company launched

5 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

6 Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Louis H. Roper, 'Unmasking the Connections Between Jacobean politics and Policy: The Circle of Anna of Denmark and the Beginning of the English Empire, 1614–1618', in *'High and Mighty queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, eds. C. Levin et al (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 45–59; Anna Whitelock, 'Reconsidering the Political Role of Anne of Denmark', in *Queenship and Council in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, and Catherine Fletcher (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave, 2018), pp. 237–258.

7 Quoted in Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 35.

8 John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London, 1611; STC 11099), sig. ¶2v.

a promotional campaign that saturated popular print and sermons with the language of American abundance.⁹ Although the English framed their colonial project as one that eschewed conquest for more seemingly benign forms of plantation and husbandry, the necessity of martial violence in establishing settlement, heavily influenced by the late Elizabethan colonisation of Ireland, pervaded discourse in the early 1610s.¹⁰

It is within this context of colonial expansion that subjects sought Anna's patronage for American projects. Around 1610, Walter Raleigh wrote to the queen, referencing how he had 'long since presumed to offer your Majestie my service in Virginia'.¹¹ Petitioning to be released from his imprisonment in the Tower, Raleigh promised to do the queen due honour in his expansionist efforts, for 'neither death nor life ... cane allewre me or seare me from the performance of my dutie to soe worthie and charitable a Lady'.¹² Raleigh framed himself as a 'vassal', promising to carry out a duty in the service of the queen by using the language of obedience and feudal bonds: the 'bloud of a gentleman' was to be the security.¹³ The following year, Raleigh wrote to Anna again, asking her to act as intercessor with the king and to urge the monarch to 'consider the advantages he might derive from the riches of Guiana before it is too late'.¹⁴ Raleigh retained Anna's support up until his death in 1618, even after his disastrous second voyage to Guiana.¹⁵

The language of service and martial valour emerges strongly in another letter sent to the queen in 1610. The anonymous petition framed colonisation as a female project, invoking, as Florio had, Isabella of Spain's role as patron, and suggesting an order of knighthood with Henry as 'Lord Paramount'.¹⁶ There were 'divers knights and esquires of the best sort and great livings, who desire this society and to be adventurers under the Prince', the petitioners wrote,

9 Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonization, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 70–77.

10 D. Alan Orr, 'Protestant Military Humanism in Early Stuart Ireland', *The Historical Journal*, 62 (2019), pp. 77–99.

11 'Walter Raleigh to Queen Anne, [1610?]', in *The Genesis of the United States: A Narrative of the Movement in England, 1605–1615: vol. I*, ed. Alexander Brown (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), p. 443.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 444.

13 *Ibid.*

14 Walter Raleigh to the queen, [1611], The National Archives, SP 14/67, fol. 196r.

15 Ethel Carleton Williams, *Anne of Denmark Wife of James VI of Scotland, James I of England* (London: Longman, 1970), p. 195.

16 '[Unknown] to the queen, 1610', in *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, vol. 21: 1609–1612*, ed. G. Dyfnallt Owen (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), p. 276.

and they beseeched the queen ‘to be a mean to the King in the matter’.¹⁷ Just as Isabella had instigated the royal support for Columbus’s ‘discovering and planting in the West Indies’, so the search for a passage to China and Japan through North America and Canada would bring ‘gold, silver, stones of prices, silks raw and wrought, and other things’.¹⁸ These goods were precisely those that metalworkers, jewellers, and silk cultivators were charged with finding or cultivating when they arrived in Jamestown from the second supply in 1608, just as James and Anna were pushing for the planting of large number of mulberry trees to produce silk at St James’s and Greenwich.¹⁹

The allure of voyaging and empire appeared in multiple performances during Henry’s investiture, where Londoners were entertained by a staged sea fight between Turkish ‘pirates’ and merchant ships on the Thames.²⁰ Such activities pandered to Henry’s interests in the English navy, but his enthusiasm may have been fuelled by his mother’s family connections. Anna was close to her brother, Christian IV, who had a keen interest in developing the Danish navy. When Christian visited London in 1606, banquets celebrated the English-Danish union created through Anna, featuring dishes fixed with ‘little pendants with the hatchment or armes of *England* and *Denmarke* upon them’.²¹ Royal interaction with English and Danish seafaring bookended Christian’s lively sojourn. Anna, James, and Henry climbed aboard an English barge in August 1606, rowing down the river to Rochester to attend a church service and then to Chatham to watch ‘the proud and glorious sight of the English fleet’ before banqueting on Christian’s flagship.²²

Anna oversaw and helped direct the aesthetic vision of ‘Tethys Festival’, the masque written by the poet Samuel Daniel and performed on 5 June 1610.²³ The masque featured an elaborate aquatic throne with the queen playing Tethys, goddess of the sea, her ladies appearing as nymphs named after English rivers.²⁴ The theme of water, empire, and female abun-

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*

19 ‘Importation of Silkworms and Mulberry Trees’, August [1609], *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. 21: 1609–1612, p. 124; William Kelso and Beverly Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery VI* (Jamestown: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 2000), pp. 33–66.

20 Anne Daye, ‘“The power of his commanding trident”: Tethys Festival as Royal Policy’, *Historical Dance*, 4:2 (2012), pp. 19–28 (19).

21 *The King of Denmarks Welcome* (London, 1606; STC 5194), pp. 15–16.

22 Williams, *Anne of Denmark*, p. 119.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

24 Samuel Daniel, *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and Mightie Prince Henrie* (London, 1610; STC 13161).

dance related Henry's naval interests to Anna's maritime heritage and her responsibilities of state. This 'day gives birth / Unto new types of State', one in which the queen acted as mediator and instigator: 'Beare Tethys message to the Ocean King, / Say how she joyed to bringe / Delight unto his Ilands and his Seas'.²⁵ Surrounded by coral, green-blue silks, whales, and shells creating the form of a ship's helm, it was Anna's status and power that conferred honour to king and prince. Anna gave James a triton, and Henry a sword: 'Prince of th'Isles (the hope and the delight, / Of all the Northerne Nations) with this sword / Which she unto Astrea sacred found ... wherein he may survay, / Infigur'd all the spacious Emperie / That he is borne unto another day'.²⁶ Although the masque was seemingly geographically narrow in scope, perhaps reflective of Daniel's wariness of an expansive English empire, it also valorised the maritime power of the English at a time when Henry actively sought to expand English trade networks and encourage colonial opportunities in North and South America.

The culture of conspicuous consumption at the Danish and English courts further linked commodities and display to transoceanic trade. In the milieu of courtly splendour, Anna's spending seems less indicative of her frivolity and more a manifestation of how elite consumption in early modern England related to global tastes and political authority. Her extravagant collection of jewels, clothing, and furnishings, including Ottoman carpets, ivory, and gems, depended on domestic as well as global trade and diplomacy.²⁷ In 1609, she commissioned a pair of diamond-set earrings shaped 'like mores' heads', four years after she appeared as 'an Ethiop' in the 'Masque of Blackness'.²⁸ These earrings have been seen as showing a 'novel and playful design', but they reflect the exploitative nature of elite ideas about blackness: 'blackamoor' motifs were carved into gems to adorn the body, or into torchères to decorate the household, even while enslaved Africans were transported to plantations or bought to serve in English households.²⁹

25 *Ibid.*, sig. E4r.

26 *Ibid.*, sig. E4v.

27 John Chamberlain exaggerated but reported that her jewels were valued at 400,000*l*, Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 26; Diana Scarisbrick, 'Anne of Denmark's Jewellery: The Old and the New', *Apollo*, 290 (1986), pp. 228–236; Payne, 'An inventory of Queen Anne of Denmark's "ornaments, furniture, householde stuffe, and other parcells" at Denmark House, 1619'.

28 Daniel Packer, 'Jewels of "Blacknesse" at the Jacobean Court', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 75 (2012), pp. 201–222.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 202; Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court, 1590–1619* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 75; Mary Floyd-Wilson, 'Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference in Ben Jonson's "The

In a chapter about Anna's circle and the beginnings of empire, Louis Roper focused on the years between 1614 and 1618, concluding that the queen engaged in 'political activity of the sort customarily assigned to the "public" (viz. male) sphere of early modern European societies', where she 'shared a full-fledged political platform (albeit a negative one) of opposition to Spain and to the Scottish retainers whom James brought south with him'.³⁰ The activity around Anna's circle earlier in the 1610s point to a precedent for these interests. John Smith's letter to Anna about the presence of Pocahontas in London in 1617, in which he acknowledged the importance of female mediation within English colonial relations, emerged from an established pattern of female royal engagement. Keen to make use of Pocahontas's established status as a go-between (see the Pocahontas essay in this volume), Smith asked Anna to honour Pocahontas and foster a diplomatic friendship for reasons of state. If Pocahontas were not well received, Smith wrote, the English might lose their hopes that 'this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her means'.³¹ With Prince Henry dead and Pocahontas's marriage to John Rolfe seeming to usher in a more stable phase of the Jamestown settlement, Smith heralded female diplomacy and intercultural marriage as the means through which stability might be achieved.

In the artist Adam Willaers's 'Embarkation at Margate of the Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth', Anna and James appeared at the foreground of a voyaging scene, standing at the water's edge as they bid farewell to their daughter as she set off for her new life on the Continent as Frederick of the Palatinate's wife.³² Behind the figures, a fleet of ships celebrated English naval power, most evident in the depiction of the *Prince Royal*, built in 1610 for Henry. Though painted four years after Anna's death, the commemorative scene captures Jacobean maritime aspirations in a way that positions women within seafaring and mobility. In 1590, Elizabeth I had written to Anna to express gratitude that she had 'escaped the mercy

Masque of Blackness", *English Literary Renaissance*, 28 (1998), pp. 183–209; Kim F. Hall, 'Sexual Politics and Cultural Identity in *The Masque of Blackness*', in *The Performance of Power: Theatrical Discourse and Politics*, ed. Sue-Ellen Case and Janelle G. Reinelt (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), pp. 3–16.

30 Roper, 'Unmasquing the Connections Between Jacobean politics and Policy', p. 48.

31 'To the most high and vertuous Princesse Queene *Anne* of Great Brittanie', in John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Iles* (London, 1624; STC 22790), p. 122.

32 Adam Willaers, 'Embarkation at Margate of the Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth', 1623, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 404994.

of the waves' and the 'doubtful hazard of the sea' to arrive safely 'to the realm of the King your spouse'.³³ Elizabeth's words placed the young queen consort under the authority of James as both ruler and husband, but her letter also alludes to Anna's personal experience of voyaging. A series of misfortunes, including a heavy storm, had pushed the Scotland-bound fleet back to the coast of Norway. James's uncharacteristic decision to sail to Oslo on 19 November 1589 to 'collect' Anna has been seen as an Odyssean quest; the 'one romantic episode' of James's life.³⁴ While James paced around in Scotland, feeling as if he 'can do nothing of himself' and writing songs that compared the situation to the plight of Hero and Leander, little is known of Anna's reactions to the ordeals she survived during the storm.³⁵

Anna's experience at sea may remain irrecoverable, but her own oceanic crossing sparks a consideration of how voyaging may have influenced female tastes and interests, despite policy-makers's attempts to regulate female mobility.³⁶ Whether travelling along the Thames in a pageant or to new households for her marriage, feasting on board a ship bound for Denmark or travelling by coach from Edinburgh to London, the world of ports, navigation, and 'a travellers minde', as Florio called it, brought Anna into the world of discovery and expansion.³⁷ In Henry's investiture masque, son and husband were elevated by Tethys, goddess of the sea, for it was '*she* [who] joyed to bringe / Delight unto his Ilands and his Seas'.³⁸ Although Henry was 'Prince of th'Isles', Tethys offered the means wherein he might 'survey' his empire, for it was 'these my waves, and watry Governement' that would lead the English to prosperity.³⁹

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33 Elizabeth I to Queen Anne, [May] 1590, The National Archives, SP 52/45, fol. 54r.

34 David Harris Willson, *James VI and I* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963), p. 85.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

36 *By the King a Proclamation Touching Passengers* (London, 1606; STC 8395); for an introduction to issues of female mobility, see *Travel and Travail: Early Modern Women, English Drama, and the Wider World*, ed. Patricia Akhimie and Bernadette Andrea (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019).

37 Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, sig. ¶2v; for a close reading of Anna's progress from Edinburgh to Whitehall, see Mark Brayshay, 'Long-Distance Royal Journeys: Anne of Denmark's Journey from Stirling to Windsor in 1603', *The Journal of Transport History* 25:1 (2004), pp. 1–21.

38 Daniel, *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and Mightie Prince Henrie*, sig. E4r. Emphasis mine.

39 *Ibid.*, sigs. E4v, Fr.

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Robert Shirley (c.1581–1628)

The identity of those who left England was often problematic. Expatriated English men and women were vulnerable to foreign influences that cast doubts on their political and religious affiliations, not only in England but also in their host societies. Robert Shirley, the youngest of the travelling and adventurous ‘Three English Brothers’ celebrated in pamphlets and plays in early-seventeenth-century London, is an illuminating example of the ambiguities surrounding such individuals.

Born in 1581, Robert Shirley was the youngest son of Sir Thomas Sherley and Anne Kempe.¹ In 1598, Shirley accompanied his brother Anthony on a self-appointed diplomatic mission to Persia with the aim of persuading Shah Abbas to concede commercial privileges to England and then obtain a reward from the English Crown. Shah Abbas seems to have been deeply impressed by Anthony Shirley, as in 1599 he appointed him to a diplomatic mission to negotiate anti-Ottoman alliances with the main European courts. To guarantee the success of the mission, Robert remained at the Safavid court as a hostage, but Anthony would never return to Persia. In 1608, the shah decided to allow Robert Shirley to leave Persia and, apparently, entrusted him with continuing the mission to establish contacts with various European powers.²

Throughout his career as a diplomat in the service of the Persian shah, Shirley faced several questions about his true interests, allegiances, trustworthiness, and legitimacy to act as a Persian ambassador. The fact that he was an Englishman and a Christian tied to a foreign Islamic ruler, not to mention his lack of solid diplomatic credentials, raised some suspicions about his real intentions and political allegiances. For example, his nationality led many Iberian sources to suggest that he was influenced by English interests. At the same time, the fact that he was a Catholic and in the service of Shah Abbas rendered his relationship with England questionable. Aware of his problematic credentials, Shirley invested in the creation of an extravagant public persona inspired by Persian material and symbolic culture, which sought to persuade a European audience of his legitimacy, as well as reconcile his European, English, and Christian identity with the service of Shah Abbas.

1 Evelyn Philip Shirley, *The Sherley Brothers: An Historical Memoir of the Lives of Sir Thomas Sherley, Sir Anthony Sherley, and Sir Robert Sherley, Knights* (Chiswick, 1848), pp. 2–3.

2 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to be an Alien* (Chicago: Brandeis University Press, 2011), pp. 96–97; Giorgio Rota, ‘Real, Fake or Megalomaniacs? Three Suspicious Ambassadors, 1450–1600’ in *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzog (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), pp. 169–171.

One of Shirley's solutions to his problems of legitimacy and identity was the adoption of Persian garments. His public appearances, dressed deliberately and sumptuously as a Persian courtier, aimed to awe European audiences, but their main goal was to suggest that Shirley embodied the sovereignty and royal dignity of Shah Abbas. This strategy was in line with the theoretical principles of ambassadorship delineated by Alberico Gentili and Jean Hotman, who highlighted the importance of appointing to ambassadorial posts individuals with the ability to be true doppelgangers of the prince. By appearing in public in full Safavid attire, including a robe of honour presented to him by Shah Abbas, Shirley was able to insinuate himself as a legitimate representative of the Persian ruler, an ambassador who emulated his prince. As Thomas Fuller noted, Shirley was 'much affected to appear in foreign vests, and as if his Clothes were his limbs, accounted himself never ready till he had something of the Persian Habit about him'.³

Yet that identity of Shirley as an adept transcultural mediator was repeatedly challenged, often memorably by other actual Persian visitors to Europe. On the morning of 21 February 1626, for instance, Shirley met Naqd 'Ali Beg, another ambassador who had recently arrived in London from Persia. The meeting descended quickly into chaos, with Naqd 'Ali Beg and his son greeting their supposed colleague with punches and bodily violence which left Shirley knocked out on the ground. The pugilistic acts of 'Ali Beg and his son were motivated by the alleged false credentials presented by Shirley to Charles I. As John Finnet noted, Shirley arrived at the English court with 'Letters of Credence written in the Persian Language, and un-understood for want of an Interpreter nowhere then to be found in England'.⁴ Nor was this the first time that Shirley had been confronted by a rival Persian ambassador who accused him of being an impostor. The events of 21 February 1626 mirrored another earlier diplomatic imbroglio in Madrid in 1611, when the arrival of another Persian ambassador who questioned his credentials led Philip III to politely invite Shirley to leave Spain.⁵

For Shirley, his clothes and ornaments were symbolic of affiliation and identity. If his English body was clothed in Persian fashion, his Persianate persona also incorporated European elements. To attenuate the religious symbolism of his Persianate or Islamicate garment, for instance, he topped his turban with a golden crucifix. By highlighting his Christianity, Shirley sought not only to

3 Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662; Wing F2441), p. 108.

4 John Finnet, *Finetti Philoxenis* (London, 1656; Wing F947), pp. 136–137.

5 Doc. 281, 'Carta régia ao Vice-Rei Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, 27/03/1612' in *Documentos Remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções*, vol. II, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato (Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências, 1884), p. 252.



Figure 2 Sir Robert Shirley by Sir Anthony Van Dyck (c.1622). National Trust Images/Derrick E. Witty.

avoid suggestions of being another 'Christian turn'd Turk', but to present himself as someone who was able to efficiently connect different political, cultural, and religious worlds. Shirley's public persona was thus shaped by an amalgam of symbols, a suggestion of cultural and political hybridity. Such strategy of hybridisation, however, was extremely problematic for his target audiences.

English perceptions of Robert Shirley oscillated between admiration and suspicion. Shirley's public image in England was greatly shaped by the success of Anthony Nixon's *The Three English Brothers* (1607), an unashamedly panegyric pamphlet sponsored by Thomas Shirley, Robert's older brother, praising the military and diplomatic anti-Ottoman exploits of the three Shirley brothers around Europe and the Middle East. Nixon's pamphlet depicted the Shirleys as heroic adventurers who epitomised English commercial and expansionist – not to say colonial – ambitions. The pamphlet's success led to a popular play, *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers*, also staged in 1607. In another pamphlet published by Thomas Middleton in 1609 and probably sponsored by Shirley's father, Sir Thomas, Shirley was presented as the ultimate English response to Portuguese, Spanish, French, and Dutch explorers: a national hero who demonstrated that 'our Englishmen have not only stepped as far as any of them all, but gone beyond the most, and the best of them'.⁶ Such perceptions would be expanded on by Thomas Herbert who, in 1626, described Shirley as 'the greatest traveller in his time'.⁷

Yet Robert Shirley's 'Persian Habit' and turban, his employment in the service of a foreign ruler, and his faith all continued to raise doubts about his Englishness and real political allegiance. During his first audience with James I, Shirley asked to be forgiven for being at the service of Shah Abbas. Although he was pardoned, James expressed his displeasure for seeing one of his subjects dressed as Safavid courtier and asked Shirley to return to English fashion.⁸ During his brief sojourn in Mughal India, the English factor in Agra, Nicholas Withington, reported with some alarm that the Jesuits visited Shirley's residence daily and often said mass there.⁹ His embassy to the Portuguese viceroy in Goa was also seen by the East India Company as a worrying sign of Shirley's proximity to Iberian powers.

6 Thomas Middleton, *Sir Robert Sherley, Sent Ambassadour in the Name of the King of Persia* (London, 1609; STC 17894.5), pp. 2–3.

7 Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile, Begunne Anno 1626* (London, 1634; STC 13190.3), p. 125.

8 Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 311–312.

9 Doc. 172, 'Nicholas Withington to Thomas Aldworthe, agent in Surat. Agra, the 29th October 1614' in *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. II, ed. by William Foster (London, 1897), p. 141.

The Iberians, on their part, had observed him with equal suspicion since 1608, when a report sent by the Augustinian missionaries in Isfahan mentioned that Shirley was seeking 'to persuade the shah to conquer Hormuz, offering English ships'.¹⁰ The many sources in Portuguese and Spanish related to Shirley's exploits in Isfahan, India, Madrid, Lisbon, Rome, or London often stressed the ambiguity of his identity. Although his Catholicism, an important element in Iberian politics, seemed to be genuine, the fact that Shirley was originally the subject of an enemy nation and an apparent servant of an Islamic ruler who was hostile to Iberian interests was a cause for suspicion. The correspondence between Portuguese and Spanish officials based in Goa, Lisbon, and Madrid depicted Shirley as a double agent moved by his own interest and whose loyalty oscillated between Shah Abbas and James I. In short, he was a threat that needed to be stopped. This perception also permeated works circulating and published in Lisbon and Madrid. António Bocarro's *Década XIII*, a work written in the 1620s depicts Shirley as 'an incredibly astute man and a deceiver'.¹¹ Manuel de Severim e Sousa's influential later work, *Ásia Portuguesa* (1675), suggested that the artfulness of *Don Roberto*, as he was known in Iberia, led Shah Abbas to send him to Madrid not to achieve an agreement, but to hamper Iberian aspirations in the Persian Gulf.¹² These perceptions were largely shaped by the fall of Portuguese-held Hormuz to an Anglo-Persia expeditionary force in 1622.

Written in multiple languages and scattered across European, Asian, and African archives, the records of both Robert Shirley's own negotiations, and the different perspectives brought to bear on them by both European and non-European observers, illuminate some of the challenges inherent in uncovering the traces of transcultural lives such as Shirley's. Often a daunting task requiring specific language skills, detailed knowledge about other historiographies, and the ability to move across the complex archival and academic realities of different countries, it invites a form of border-crossing of its own, challenging our own perceptions of national, linguistic, and cultural boundaries.

João Vicente Melo

10 'Sobre ho que ha escrito El Embaixador don Pº de Çuñiga de dous navios que se armarán en Inglaterra para passar a la India', Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Secretarias Provinciales, Lib. 1479 Conselho de Portugal, fol. 265v.

11 António Bocarro, *Década XII da História da Índia*, vol. I, in *Colecção de Monumentos Ineditos para a Historia das Conquistas dos Portugueses em Asia, Africa e America* ed. Roderigo José de Lima Felner (Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências, 1876), p. 35.

12 Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, vol. III (Lisbon, 1675), p. 30.

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Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705)

Catherine (Catarina) of Braganza, the daughter of João IV of Portugal, was born in 1638 in Vila Viçosa. Her life was shaped profoundly by the impact of the Portuguese Revolt of 1640, the event which ended the union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns. Her marriage to Charles II in 1662 was an important step in the international recognition of the House of Braganza, whose legitimacy to the Portuguese throne was contested by the Spanish Habsburgs during the Revolt of 1640.¹ More importantly, the matrimonial union between the Stuarts and the Braganzas renewed the Anglo-Portuguese alliance established in 1373, a particularly significant political development in a period when Portugal was involved in long military conflicts with Spain in the Iberian Peninsula, and with the Dutch across the Atlantic and Asia.² For the recently restored Stuart monarchy, Charles II's marriage to the Portuguese *infanta* offered a lucrative opportunity to alleviate the troubles of a cash-strapped monarch and expand the English presence in the Mediterranean and South Asia. To confirm the alliance, the Portuguese Crown offered a dowry of £300,000 and the colonies of Bombay and Tangiers. In return, England would give military and naval assistance.³

Catherine's first years in England were marked by a clash between two different courtly cultures. The new queen and her Portuguese entourage were frequently ridiculed for wearing *guardainfantes* – a large hoop skirt popular in the Iberian Peninsula – and for the unfamiliar style of music performed by Catherine's musicians. Some of these criticisms echoed the emergence of French fashion and music as the main reference for most European courtly centres in the second half of the seventeenth century. In England, Charles I's marriage with Henrietta Maria of France had contributed to the introduction of French novelties at the Stuart court through the queen's household. France was also the place where many royalist exiles and future English courtiers lived during the Interregnum, including Charles II himself. The

1 Jean-Frédéric Schaub, 'The union between Portugal and the Spanish Monarchy (1581–1640)', in *The Iberian World: 1450–1820* eds. Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, and Antonio Feros (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), pp. 133–134, 138–139.

2 See, for example, Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *O Negócio do Brasil: Portugal, os Países Baixos e o Nordeste, 1641–1669* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2003); Glenn J Ames, *Renascent Empire?: The House of Braganza and the Quest for Stability in Portuguese Monsoon Asia, ca. 1640–1683* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000); Charles Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola (1602–1608)* (London: The Athlone Press, 1952).

3 Gerald L. Belcher, 'Spain and the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance of 1661: A Reassessment of Charles II's Foreign Policy at the Restoration', *Journal of British Studies*, 15:1 (1975), pp. 67–88.

mockery surrounding Catherine and her retinue also included xenophobic elements. Charles's marriage to a Catholic consort was seen with extreme suspicion in a country deeply shaken by the religious conflicts which had instigated the civil wars. Besides the geopolitical rivalries with the Iberian Crowns, not to mention the anti-Iberian feelings stirred since Elizabeth I's reign, also made Catherine a target of English critics. All of these elements are well evident in the diarist John Evelyn's brief reference to the queen's arrival at Portsmouth 'with a train of Portuguese ladies in their monstrous fardingales, or guard-infantes, their complexions olivader and sufficiently unagreeable'.⁴

These initial negative impressions forced Catherine to adapt to local fashions, although she would increasingly embrace an independent cultural identity based on Iberian and Italian elements.⁵ This was not a simple matter of taste, but a political act. Charles II's extramarital liaisons and the inability to produce an heir (the main function of royal consorts), placed Catherine in a difficult position. Anti-Catholicism was another serious obstacle. During the years of the Popish Plot – an anti-Catholic campaign instigated by the conspiracy theories of Titus Oates – Catherine was frequently accused of scheming the murder of the king or effecting his secret conversion.⁶ The tensions between Charles II and Parliament also made the queen's household a convenient target for the denunciation of a Catholic hub at the heart of the monarchy.⁷ The anti-Catholic measures implemented by the Test Act of 1673, especially the ones intended to remove Catholics from English courtly structures, sought to undermine Catherine's household and her perceived capacity to influence the court.

Against this backdrop, Catherine resorted to cultural patronage to cultivate sympathetic courtiers, usually recruited among Catholic aristocratic and intellectual networks, and to acquire enough political agency to promote her interests. Aware of the English interest in Italian music and opera, also shared by the Iberian aristocracy, Catherine found in Italian culture a

4 John Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. II ed. by William Bray (London, 1906), p. 145.

5 Amanda Wunder, 'Women's Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the Guardainfante', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 68:1 (2015), pp. 133–186 (169–170).

6 Adam Morton, 'Sanctity and Suspicion: Catholicism, Conspiracy and the Representation of Henrietta Maria of France and Catherine of Braganza, Queens of Britain', in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500–1800*, eds. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 172–201 (184–188).

7 Eilish Gregory, 'Catherine of Braganza's relationship with her Catholic household', in *Forgotten Queens in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Political Agency, Myth-Making, and Patronage*, eds. Valerie Schutte and Estelle Paranque (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 129–148 (135).

common, relatively neutral medium to reach potential sympathetic sectors of the English aristocracy and develop the capacity to influence court politics. The connections between Iberian and Italian artistic expressions also allowed the queen to cultivate a cosmopolitan cultural identity without marginalising her Portuguese identity. For example, she continued to employ Portuguese musicians, although the queen's ensembles were dominated by Italians by the end of the 1660s.⁸

Catherine's patronage of Italian musicians and painters expressed a rejection of French cultural and political influence at the English court. It set her apart from the Francophile cultural model promoted by her mother-in-law, Henrietta Maria, who remained a strong influence at court till her death in 1669. This trend was all the more noticeable after Charles II's affair with Louise de K rouaille, who had accompanied the king's sister, Henrietta Stuart, duchess of Orl ans and sister-in-law of Louis XIV of France, on a visit to England in 1670. The fact that the affair coincided with the Treaty of Dover, a document signed by Charles I and Louis XIV of France in 1670 which established the lines of a future Anglo-French alliance, added a political dimension to the liaison. Indeed, the French authorities encouraged the affair between the English king and Louise de K rouaille. The political implications of the affair could threaten the position of a childless consort from a declining European power.

Catherine's marriage with Charles II was the basis of an Anglo-Portuguese alliance which sought to maintain Portuguese independence and secure the colonial projects of the two countries. Charles's proximity to Louis XVI would inevitably undermine the marriage treaty signed in 1661. French colonial ambitions were also seen in Lisbon as a serious threat to the Portuguese presence in South America, Africa, and Asia. Louis XIV's claims over the Spanish throne, via his marriage, could affect the future of the House of Braganza as the ruling house of an independent Portugal. As K rouaille emerged as an influential leading figure of a Francophile trend at the English court, Catherine again drew on cultural patronage to maintain her political influence.⁹ Catherine's investment in an Italianate cultural model attracted

8 Peter Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early Music*, 29:4 (2001), pp. 571–587.

9 Edward Corp, 'Catherine of Braganza and Cultural Politics', in *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics*, ed. Clarissa Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 55. For French influence on the English court see Gabriel Glickman, 'Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660–1672', *The English Historical Review*, 128:531 (2013), pp. 263–291. On Louise de K rouaille, see Henri Forneron, *Louise de K rouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth* (London, 1887).

other sectors of the English aristocracy, especially those close to Catholicism. For example, the queen's cultural patronage influenced the duke of York after his conversion to Catholicism and marriage with Mary of Modena. Benedetto Gennari, an Italian painter sponsored by Catherine, would be commissioned by the duke and the duchess, as well as other English aristocrats. Charles II would also be painted by Gennari.¹⁰

Catherine's patronage of Gennari and other artists also followed a strategy that used religious themes to affirm the queen's piety and her commitment to English Catholics. This effort to relate Catherine's religious affiliation to notions of Englishness is also present in Jacob Huysmans's portrait of Catherine of Braganza as St Catherine.¹¹ The portrait explored the symbology of St. Catherine as a martyr to establish a connection with persecuted English Catholics, a strategy Henrietta Maria also adopted. Catherine invested in the circulation of engravings of Huysmans's portrait to consolidate her public image as a Catholic consort whose piety was deeply connected to the experiences of the recusant community.¹² She also used her portraits to display her accommodation to English manners, as seen in her portrait by Peter Lely, produced between 1663 and 1665, which presents the queen dressed according to English fashion.¹³

Thirty years in England had a profound influence on Catherine's tastes and conceptions of courtly life. When the queen-dowager (*Rainha-viúva* in Portuguese) returned to Lisbon on 20 January 1693, many Portuguese courtiers could not hide their surprise at the garments and habits of Catherine and her retinue. The *Rainha-viúva* had abandoned Iberian clothing and – like many English courtiers – followed a sartorial style influenced by French fashion. Catherine's rejection of Iberian fashion challenged the strategies previously followed by her father and brothers to legitimise the House of Braganza in the domestic and international scene. As a new ruling house of a recently independent country, the Braganzas sought to validate their claims to the Portuguese throne by replicating the courtly model of their rivals and predecessors, the Spanish monarchs. Such evocation of Iberian

10 Corp, 'Catherine of Braganza and Cultural Politics', pp. 63–64.

11 Erin Griffey, 'Picturing Confessional Politics at the Stuart Court: Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza', *Journal of Religious History*, 44:4 (2020), pp. 465–493 (489–490).

12 *Ibid.*, 490.

13 For an overview of Catherine's gradual adoption of English fashion and cultural tastes see, for example, Susana Varela Flor, 'Queen Catherine, a Bragança in seventeenth-century London: Cultural legacy, identity and political individuality', in *Representing Women's Political Identity in the Early Modern Iberian World*, eds. Jeremy Roe and Jean Andrews (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), pp. 293–319.



Figure 3 Catherine of Braganza by Peter Lely (c. 1663–1665). Royal Collection Trust /Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021.

royal traditions, however, became less appealing for Catherine. Catherine's refusal to follow the sartorial style promoted by her brother encouraged Queen Maria Sophia and other ladies of the court to demand the end of the restricted dress code with vigour.¹⁴

The clash with Pedro II over the sartorial rules of the Portuguese court is an illuminating example of how Catherine used her status as queen-dowager

14 Maria Paula Marçal Lourenço, 'Os Séquitos das Rainhas de Portugal e a Influências dos Estrangeiros na Construção da 'Sociedade de Corte', *Penélope*, 29 (2003), pp. 49–82 (65).

of England and a calculated display of cultural negotiation to gain political agency. To secure her autonomy, Catherine opted to not live at the royal palace and decided to buy the Bemposta estate, near the centre of Lisbon, to build her own residence.¹⁵ After a period in which she resided in palaces belonging to close aristocratic families, Catherine moved to the Bemposta Palace around 1702.

The personal wealth of the *Rainha-viúva* allowed the maintenance of a truly courtly setup formed by her protégés and a considerable number of Portuguese and English servants, clergymen, and musicians.¹⁶ Catherine's household in Portugal rapidly became a centre for the diffusion of a new aristocratic habitus which contrasted with the more traditional and rigorous early Braganza court. The queen-dowager opposed the excessive formality of Pedro II's court, which she considered to be even more strict than the etiquette followed during her father's reign. John Methuen, the English ambassador in Portugal, reported on 21 February 1693 that Catherine 'seems to be somewhat shocked with the great formality and stiffness here and believes ... Portugal is now extremely different'.¹⁷

The household of the *Rainha-viúva* rapidly became a centre for the distribution of privileges which competed directly with the households of the king, the queen, and the princes. The members and clients of these households were not only attached by patron-client relationships, but also by political and intellectual affinities.¹⁸ Catherine's support of English interests and opposition to Louis XIV's foreign policy contrasted with the pro-French party led by the duke of Cadaval, Pedro II's *valido* (favourite). The clash between the *Rainha-viúva* and the Francophile courtiers led by Cadaval often surfaced obliquely, through matters of protocol and etiquette, rather than in direct confrontation. Catherine's attempts to change the ceremonial rules and modes of sociability of the Braganza court were frequently opposed by Cadaval in a strategy to curb her influence and impede the emergence of an Anglophile faction. The *valido* considered that the organisation and etiquette of Catherine's household questioned the traditional symbolic representations of royal and aristocratic power.¹⁹

15 Joana Almeida Troni, *Catarina de Bragança (1638–1705)* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2008), pp. 206–209.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 211–221; Leech, 'Musicians', p. 585.

17 Quoted from Troni, *Catarina de Bragança*, p. 214.

18 Troni, *Catarina de Bragança*, pp. 224–225.

19 Virginia Rau, *D. Catarina de Bragança, rainha de Inglaterra* (Coimbra, 1941), pp. 328–331.

The conflict intensified after the death of Maria Sophia in 1699. As queen-dowager of England and the oldest female member of the House of Braganza, Catherine replaced the deceased queen as the manager of the *Casa das Rainhas* (The House of the Queens), the structure that managed the estates and households of the queen-consort and the *infantas*. Although not a political office, this was nonetheless a prestigious post in the Portuguese courtly structure which allowed its holder to gain some influence in political affairs since it involved the supervision of courtiers who often performed other functions in the royal administration.

Her political influence was further amplified when Pedro II appointed his sister as regent for a brief period in 1701, due to the king's poor health, and a second time between 1704 and 1705, while Pedro II was absent leading the Portuguese army during the War of Spanish Succession.²⁰ Catherine's regencies accentuated the conflict with Cadaval. Pedro's *valido* and his supporters at the Council of State often refused to attend meetings called by the regent and actively sought to boycott the decisions and appointments made by Catherine during her second regency. One of the criticisms made by the Cavadal faction was Catherine's alignment with English interests. In his memoirs, the count of Povolide recorded that the end of Catherine's regency 'caused great sadness among the many Englishmen who are in Portugal because of the present war [of Spanish Succession], and in other foreigners as well, for the queen's activity and determination in all matters related to the war'.²¹ If Catherine's household in London became a hub of continental Catholic culture, as well as a centre for the promotion of Portuguese interests at the English court, then after returning to Portugal, her household in Lisbon became increasingly associated with Anglophile activities. As in the cases of the architectural projects of Jane Dormer in Spain, or the cultural patronage of Anna of Denmark in the British Isles, the strategies adopted by Catherine, in both London and Lisbon, reveal how early modern aristocratic women who crossed national borders could invest in different symbolic and cultural resources to establish new centres of influence, which allowed them to

20 For an overview of Catherine's regency see Joana Almeida Troni, 'D. Catarina de Bragança: a regência e o poder ao tempo da Guerra da Sucessão de Espanha (1704–1705)', in *Las relaciones discretas entre las Monarquías Hispana y Portuguesa: Las Casas de las Reinas (Siglos XV–XIX)*, vol. I, eds. José Martínez Millán and María Paula Marçal Lourenço (Madrid: Polifemo, 2008), pp. 549–566.

21 Tristão da Cunha de Ataíde e Melo, *Portugal, Lisboa e a Corte nos Reinados de D. Pedro II e D. João V: Memórias Históricas de Tristão da Cunha de Ataíde, 1º Conde de Povolide*, ed. António Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Carmen Radulet (Lisbon: Chaves Ferreira Publicações, 1990), p. 170.

develop acceptable transnational affiliations and enhance their political agency.

João Vicente Melo

Further Reading

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Intellectual Exchange

If geopolitical relationships took shape often through the movement of individuals in and out of states, intellectual exchange in the early modern period was also inextricably linked to mobility and displacement. Ambassadors wrote letters detailing the niceties of diplomacy and political debates. Travellers recorded narrative accounts of their journeys and experiences of foreign cultures. Humanist scholars exchanged thousands of letters which crossed Europe with details of their experiments, discoveries, and discussions. Writers and translators facilitated the textual dissemination of everything from eye-witness accounts of voyages and foreign cultures, to emergent ethnographic ideas about racial and cultural difference.

While many of the figures examined in this volume could be said to have been involved broadly in processes of intellectual exchange, this section attends to those for whom it was a primary focus, and an essential condition of mobility. This focus ranges from the pragmatic to the aesthetic. John Florio, the Italianate Englishman, relied on his Italian heritage to promote himself as a translator and language tutor, his engagement in processes of intellectual exchange and multicultural self-fashioning being economically vital to his survival. Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel, was by contrast not financially reliant on intellectual exchange. She began her travels primarily as a patron, collecting hundreds of pieces of art for her London townhouse. Her interest in intellectual exchange encompassed both the artistic and colonial as her investment in the colonisation of Madagascar developed.

As Arundel's intellectual, artistic, and imperial interests make clear, it is very difficult to critically impose boundaries on the ways and reasons individuals exchanged knowledge. Anthony Knivet's sensationalist account of his travels to Brazil provides modern scholars with invaluable detail on the diversity of Indigenous groups in that region. Writing many years after his experiences, however, his account was inflected by contemporary anti-Iberian sentiment, and given a providential gloss by the Protestant geographer Samuel Purchas, who published Knivet's account in 1625. Like Florio, intellectual exchange served a pragmatic purpose for Knivet, his knowledge of Indigenous cultures ensuring his survival during his decade in Brazil. Virginia Ferrar, meanwhile, was born into a family heavily invested in the Virginia Company's affairs, and her efforts to breed and examine silkworms were praised as aiding the efforts of British colonisation. Even though she never travelled to Virginia herself, Ferrar acted as almost a living embodiment of the imperial and expansionist forces embedded in

her name. For Knivet and Ferrar, colonial concerns were innately bound up with personal and national concerns.

The intelligence networks that helped promote imperial expansion were also linked to religious conversion. Spiritual concerns connect the otherwise very different lives of Edward Pococke and John Durie. Durie, a Scottish cosmopolitan who worked for English, Dutch, Swedish, and French religious and secular bodies throughout his life, operated as a cultural and religious intermediary, developing ideas for Protestant unity as he moved across Europe. Pococke, who served as Levant Company chaplain, Middle Eastern scholar, and the first Laudian Chair in Arabic at Oxford, divided his focus between mercantile, religious and academic aims. The acquisition of knowledge remained his motivating force, with his network of personal and professional relationships crossing the various ethnic, religious, and cultural divides of the Levantine world. Though superficially some of these figures may appear to have little in common, their lives and deep investment in developing and maintaining processes of intellectual exchange speak to its importance in connecting England to the world. Each represents a different angle, offering contrasts and connections between different but overlapping motivations and practises: from the pragmatic to the artistic, mercantile to spiritual, colonial to academic.

John Florio (c.1552–1625)

John Florio was unusually cosmopolitan.¹ He was born in London around 1552 to an unidentified Italian or French mother and the Florentine reformed minister and language tutor, Michelangelo Florio. Michelangelo had come to the Protestant haven of Edward VI's England just two years earlier after escaping execution at the hands of the Inquisition in Rome. At the restoration of Roman Catholicism following Mary I's ascension to the throne in 1554, however, he was forced into exile once again, although this time with his wife and infant son in tow. The family travelled through reformed enclaves in the Low Countries and Germany before finally settling in Soglio, a small village in the Swiss Canton of Grisons. The younger Florio would leave his parents in 1563 at the age of eleven, travelling to Tübingen in southern Germany to study under the renowned humanist Pier Paolo Vergerio. He is less visible in surviving records when at a distance from the controversies that surrounded the scathingly heterodox Michelangelo. By the early 1570s, however, he was once again back on English soil.²

This transnational upbringing has led to some disagreement on how best to categorise Florio. To some, he was English, based on the assumption that his mother was English-born, as well as his own claim to being an 'Englishman in Italiane', interpreted by Manfred Pfister to mean 'an Englishman with an Italian inflection or streak'.³ To others, he was Italian, the son of a

1 For the most comprehensive overviews of Florio's adolescent years, see Francis Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934); Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: The Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Carla Rossi, *Italus ore, Anglus pectore: studi su John Florio*, 2 vols (London: Thecla Academic Press, 2018), I.

2 The 'Jhon Florrey' who resided with the Frenchman Michael Baynard in St James Garlick Hythe is mentioned in a November 1571 census of migrants in the city. Yates dismisses the possibility that this might be Florio out of hand on account of Florrey attending the French Church, although strangers of all nationalities would frequent the service their master attended. In the same survey, five Venetian glassblowers are recorded as attending the French Church with their master Jean Carré, a Burgundian native. In 1581, however, several of the same men are included in a list of strangers who did not attend any church. Apparently, their new master, the Venetian Jacob Verzelini, who attended the English Church, was less interested in outward signs of conformity amongst his employees. See *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, ed. by R.E.G Kirk and Ernest Kirk, 4 vols (Aberdeen: The Huguenot Society of London, 1900–1908), II, pp. 40, 221.

3 Manfred Pfister, 'Inglese Italianato — Italianato Anglizzato: John Florio', in *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Germany: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2005), p. 36. See Rossi, *Italus ore*, pp. 91–93.

stranger who appears in early migrant census surveys and ‘considers himself Italian by the dint of his mother tongue’.⁴ The recent scholarly focus on border crossing and cross-cultural ‘go-betweens’ has seen Florio cast as a man *in-between*, who mediated both Italian and English identities in his printed works with shrewd commercial ingenuity.⁵ In his dual language manuals, for example, designed ‘for Englishmen to attaine to the perfection of the Italian tongue, and for Italians to learne the pronouintiation of our Englishe’, we find a man who slips easily between the two. He asserted his authoritative persona via a process of self-translation, best exemplified by his epistles, where he signs as both the Italian ‘G.’, or ‘Giovanni’, and the English ‘I.’, or ‘Iohn’.⁶ ‘The two names’, writes Pfister, ‘suggest his divided self-definition and his in-between identity: he was both an Italian of sorts, and an Englishman of sorts’.⁷ The intention is to highlight the emergent cultural hybridity of the period; however, the implicit movement from one to the other presumes an inherent tension or division between the Italian and the English that reinforces the notion of cultures as distinct and impermeable. Throughout his writing, however, Florio framed these seemingly uncooperative, conflicting aspects of the self as intersecting. Insisting on one over the other would run the risk of overlooking the ways in which his self-presentation responded to contemporary issues of difference and belonging, and actively stretched the parameters of inclusion and exclusion to breaking point.

In an early sixteenth-century legal context, to be native-English was, in theory, quite simple. It was a matter of blood (one’s lineage) and soil (the place of one’s birth).⁸ Those born overseas to foreign parents were liable to pay higher rates of taxation and customs duty when in England, and were unable to own, inherit, or bequeath property. Those who settled could alleviate some of the burden by purchasing letters of denization. To become a denizen, you were to pay a fee and swear the oath of allegiance for as long as you remained a resident, and in return were extended certain

4 Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 166.

5 See Manfred Pfister, ‘John/Giovanni Florio: The Translator as Go-Between’, in *Translation Practices: Through Language to Culture*, ed. by Ashley Chantler and Carla Dente (Leiden: Brill, 2009); and Pfister, ‘Inglese Italianato — Italianato Anglizzato: John Florio’.

6 John Florio, *Florio his Firste Fruites which Yeelde Familiar Speech, Merie Proverbes, Wittie Sentences, and Golden Sayings* (London, 1578; STC 4699), sigs. *iir, *iiir, **iv, **iir.

7 Pfister, ‘John/Giovanni Florio’, pp. 188–189.

8 ‘Native’, in Nandini Das, João Vicente Melo, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), pp. 189–195.

legal and economic privileges. You still belonged to an alien nation, though you were distinguished from others of your nation simply passing through (for Italians this included a whole host of travellers, merchants, scholars, and diplomats). For those who were wealthy and well-connected, a more comprehensive and costlier Crown Act of Naturalisation would extend the same rights as a natural-born English person.

When Florio arrived back in London in the early 1570s, however, a recent swathe of migration from the continent had placed new pressure on the legal structures and terminology used to determine inclusion and exclusion. War and religious persecution had displaced tens of thousands of Protestants from the Low Countries and France throughout the 1560s and 1570s, and many journeyed to English port towns such as Norwich, Southampton, Sandwich, and London to seek refuge. The response to this influx varied from region to region and administration to administration, although London records show a relatively sustained campaign of anti-stranger petitioning by concerned citizens. The complaints are timeless – the new arrivals did not speak the language, they undercut the prices of local tradesmen, they intermarried and kept themselves separate in church and society, and they refused to assimilate to English life. The children of strangers born in England were a particular cause for concern. They occupied an ambiguous legal position, somewhere between native by birth and strange by descent, that constituted an unsettling in-betweenness. Though ‘born here amongst us’, argued one petition, they too ‘keep themselves severed from us in church, in government, in trade, in language and marriage’.⁹ Though they might grow up in a local dialect and appear English in manner, a stranger-child was not to be trusted as they ‘hath no genealogie of native English but all foreign and strangers unto whom (as to his kindred) nature bindeth him’.¹⁰ City authorities responded to these complaints with legislation that attempted to strip back the residential, economic, and commercial rights granted by the Crown through letters of denization and acts of naturalisation, and redraw the boundaries of belonging to prioritise blood over soil. In 1573, the Common Council of London passed a bill that ordered migrant artisans to ‘teach their arts to Englishmen and set no strangers on work but their own children’.¹¹ A year later, the Common Council proposed an ultimately

9 Quoted in Scott Oldenburg, *Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 15.

10 Quoted in *ibid.*

11 Lien Luu, ‘Immigrants and the Diffusion of Skills in Early Modern London: The Case of Silk Weaving’, *Documents Pour l’histoire Des Techniques*, 15:1 (2010), pp. 32–42 (40).

unsuccessful bill to prohibit the children of strangers from taking-up apprenticeships, stipulating that parents and both sets of grandparents must have been native-born.¹²

Whilst the Corporation vied to establish the supremacy of blood, soil was becoming an increasingly useful way for reformist advocates of the Elizabethan regime to conceptualise allegiance following the break from Rome. The womb of nationhood, wrote one anonymous polemicist, was ‘the comen mother of us all, Our native land’ that gestates and nurtures us, and binds us together in loyalty to the Crown, rather than ‘that forreine tyraunt the Pope’.¹³ Committing his pains, toil, and labour to the betterment of his own country was the duty of every Englishman, ‘to affoord their first fruites & other profits again, rather to the state of their native soyle here ... and to their natural Soveraign & liege lady’.¹⁴ Given Florio’s claim to native English identity through the soil (a 1585 letter written by Michel de Castelnau, the French ambassador and Florio’s employer from 1583–1585, refers to one ‘Jehan Florio, a native of England’), it comes as no surprise that tireless husbandry is one of the more frequent metaphors in the prefatory poems of Florio’s two dual-language manuals for the author’s intellectual labours.¹⁵ In the aptly titled *Florio his First Fruites* (1578), he is repeatedly depicted as a gardener, or more precisely a ‘Graffer’ (grafting is the technique by which the ‘stock’ of one plant is artificially attached to another to create a hybrid) who ‘sets’, ‘sowes’, ‘plantes’, and ‘proynes with paine’, tending to a hybrid tree from gestation to fruition for the benefit of both the English and the Italians.¹⁶ Richard Collins’s contribution to *First Fruites* is particularly conscious of how tending to the soil of one’s birth determines allegiance and belonging:

A Countrey man of ours, I warrant you, his deedes declare hym so:
True to his Prince, right gaineful to his friend, not hurtfull to his fo.
One golden peece, al that he hath, his wyt, his wyl. his tender toyle.
His elder payne, and gaine (good man) he gratis geves unto his soyle.¹⁷

12 Jacob Selwood, ‘“English-Born Reputed Strangers”: Birth and Descent in Seventeenth-Century London’, *Journal of British Studies*, 44:4 (2005), pp. 728–753 (730–731).

13 *A Speciall Grace, Appointed to have been said after a Banket at Yorke, upo[n] the Good Nues and Proclamacion thear, of the Entraunce in to Reign over us, of Our Soveraign Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God, Quene of England* (London, 1558; STC 7599), sig. Eiv.

14 *Ibid.*

15 Yates, *John Florio*, p. 67.

16 Florio, *Florio his Firste Fruites*, sigs. Biiiv–Ciiv.

17 *Ibid.*, sig. B4r.



Figure 4 John Florio by William Hole (1611). All Souls College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.

Florio's 'deedes' should be enough to assuage any doubts as to where he belongs: he is loyal, merciful, and selflessly expends great 'toyle' and 'paines' cultivating a pedagogical work for the benefit of his fellow Englishmen. At the same time, his Italian cultural heritage equipped Florio with the necessary tools to undertake this labour. In the epistle to his first Italian-English dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598), he used the commonplace metaphor of male pregnancy to describe the process of bringing the dictionary,

'bouncing bacchus-like', into the world from conception to birth. It was not spontaneous, a 'brain-babe Minerva, armd at al assaies at first houre', springing forth from his head fully formed, but the sum of both creative and physical labour.¹⁸ From 'my Italian Semele, and English thigh', he wrote, alluding to the classical story of the mortal Semele who, pregnant with Jove's child, looked upon the god in his true form and died. Saving the premature child, Jove sewed it into his thigh, from which later burst forth the infant Bacchus. The dictionary, just like the new-born God, was the product of two births: first, from the womb of Semele, a symbol of 'intellectual imagination' in the period framed here as Florio's Italian cultural heritage; and second, from the flesh of Jupiter, here framed as the English labour, 'tender toyle', and 'payne' of crafting this inheritance into a comprehensive work for his countrymen.

The Italian, however, was not just an intangible cultural and intellectual heritage. Just below the portrait of the author on the frontispiece of his second Italian-English dictionary, *Queene Annas Newe World of Wordes* (1611), is a short Latin verse that includes the line 'Italus ore, Anglus Pectore'.¹⁹ This description of Florio as 'Italian by speech, English by breast' echoes a common metaphor for multilingualism that played on contemporary physiological ideas of a direct channel between the heart and the tongue.²⁰ At the threshold of exteriority and interiority, the 'Ambivalent Organ' was not subject to reason, and as such was liable to reveal the true self and offer unfettered access to the heart.²¹ When rebutting the 'carping' and 'venemous tongues' of his critics in his earlier dual language manuals, Florio argued that they have 'not one sound heart' between them, but one 'cancred with envie' at his linguistic proficiency.²² He aligned himself instead with the early Christian poet Ennius, who according to second-century writer, Aullus Gellius, was said to 'have three hearts (*corda*), because three tongues (*linguarum*)'.²³ When in Rome, wrote Gellius, Ennius spoke Latin and therefore behaved like a Roman. When in Greece or Rudiae, he spoke

18 Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, or Most Copious, and Exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (London, 1598; STC 11098), sig. A3r.

19 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, 1611; STC 11099), frontispiece.

20 Florio, *Florios Second Frutes to be Gathered of Twelve Trees, of Divers but Delightful Tastes to the Tongues of Italians and Englishmen* (London, 1591; STC 11097), sig. *r.

21 Carla Mazzio, 'Sins of the Tongue in Early Modern England', *Modern Language Studies*, 28:3/4 (1998), pp. 93–124 (93).

22 Florio, *Florios Second Frutes*, sig. *v.

23 *Ibid.*

Greek or Oscan and behaved like a Greek or Oscan. ‘Italus ore, Anglus pectore’, on the other hand, contains a subtly different combination of nouns. *Pectore* shares a similar metonymic value to *corda*, but translates more exactly as ‘chest’, conjuring an image of the muscle fibres and sinews of the breast that Florio figuratively stretched and ripped in service to the land of his birth. Equally, the term *ore*, like *lingua*, can refer to ‘speech’ or ‘tongue’, thereby denoting an Italian creative and intellectual genius, but also translates as ‘edge’ or ‘face’, the precipice or outermost layer that is most immediately visible to the outside world. Florio’s way of being and behaving in the world was of course strikingly Italianate, but when engraved below a large portrait of a handsome man with a tidy, pointed beard and full, dark, flowing locks, ‘ore’ should also be read as complexion, considering the frequent contemporaneous English references to ‘swarthy’ or ‘black’ Italians and Spaniards. This heritage was embodied and visible, and this portrait of a proud London-born child of Italians was a defiant reminder of the limitations of traditional identity markers.

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Anthony Knivet (1577–1649)

In September 1601, the mayor of Portsmouth sent a letter to Elizabeth I's secretary of state, reporting that Anthony Knivet, 'an Englishman bourne in Wyltshire', had returned after seven years as a prisoner in Brazil.¹ The account of Knivet's experiences that has survived was eventually published by the geographical editor and churchman Samuel Purchas in 1625, offering a kaleidoscopic account of alliances, rivalries, murders, deceptions, trafficking, and friendships in the late sixteenth-century Atlantic. These were shaped by encounters between individuals from England, Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Africa, Japan, and thousands of Indigenous Americans.²

The son of a well-connected country knight, fourteen-year-old Anthony Knivet joined the explorer Thomas Cavendish's Pacific voyage in 1591. Although described as a 'sailor', Knivet was a gentleman, though disadvantaged by his status as a younger son unable to inherit the assets of his parents.³ His career represents the increasing range of options available to young men seeking livelihoods in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England. 'Younger sons', as the MP Edwin Sandys proclaimed in parliament in 1604, could not rely on 'Learning preferments', which now seemed 'common to all', but must also 'live by Arms' and 'Merchandize'.⁴

Cavendish never reached the Pacific but instead sailed his fleet to Brazil after a delayed departure from Plymouth. Suffering from disease and frostbite, Knivet was left with other ailing members of the crew near San Sebastian (Rio de Janeiro), where they were captured by the Portuguese. For the next seven years Knivet served the Portuguese governor, Salvador Correa de Sá, and his son, Martim da Sá, on Ilha de Gato and in various expeditions along the Brazilian coast and inland towards Peru.⁵ Knivet arrived in Brazil at a moment of drastic geopolitical change. From the 1570s, the Portuguese began to move their focus away from trade-based outposts

1 John Man, mayor of Portsmouth, to Sec. [Robert] Cecil, 27 September 1601, The National Archives, SP 12/281, fol. 201r. Once settled in London, Knivet frequently appeared in records 'Anthony Knyvett of Westminster'.

2 'The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet, which went with Master Candish [Cavendish] in his second voyage to the South Sea, 1591', in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625; STC 20509), pp. 1201–132.

3 Richard Hitchcock, 'Samuel Purchas as Editor: A Case Study: Anthony Knyvett's Journal', *The Modern Language Review*, 99 (2004), pp. 301–12 (301).

4 Sir Edwin Sandys, 'Report of the Travel and Proceeding of the Committee in the Two Bills for free Trade, 19 May 1604', in *Journal of the House of Commons: vol. 1, 1547–1629* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1802), pp. 214–215.

5 Hitchcock, 'Samuel Purchas as Editor', p. 303.

towards sustained settlement and plantation industries, particularly sugar.⁶ Knivet navigated this world of sugar plantations, slave labour – some West Africans, but largely Native Americans – and trade in brazilwood, parrots, and other flora and fauna. Knivet then claimed to have travelled to Africa as a sugar packer, but his description of Angola and the Congo are muddled and unconvincing. Knivet may have sailed to Africa in the late 1590s, but it can be questioned whether he ever left the ship. By the time the account appears in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), Knivet was well established as a teller at the Royal Mint, styling himself ‘Anthony Knyvett of Westminster’.⁷

Knivet’s ‘adventures and strange fortunes’ offer his readers a colourful narrative rife with Catholic treasure, midnight snake attacks, gold, gemstones, crystal mountains, rivers of pearls, and leopards. Beyond its sensationalism, his work is a testimony to the remarkable diversity of Indigenous groups in Brazil. The text sheds light on the entangled lives of Englishmen and Native Americans and on plantation economies in the early modern world. Purchas seemed specifically interested in this aspect of Knivet’s experience.⁸ The additional information on ‘divers Nations of Savages in Brasil, and the adjoining Regions: their diversities of Conditions, States, Rites, Creat[ur]es, and other things remarkeable, which the Author observed in his many yeares manifold peregrinations’ that followed Knivet’s more chronological account seems to have been annexed to his original report, likely at Purchas’s request. To Purchas, Knivet’s description of the vast number of peoples in the forests of Brazil demonstrated the diversity of creation and allowed him to praise the English providentialism that would effect the assimilation of non-Christian peoples through conversion to Protestantism. While Knivet seemed less interested in developing this narrative in his account, Purchas’s commentary and editorial interventions sought to replicate the framework of salvation and conversion seen in the activities of other individuals in this volume, such as Roger Williams and Henry Lord.

Knivet’s text demands a critical eye. Pressed to produce a Protestant, anti-Iberian narrative, and writing some years after his time in Brazil, multiple imperatives and pressures informed the finished product. Purchas

6 John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 44.

7 Anthony Knivet’s will, 15 November 1649, The National Archives, PROB 11/210/451; Hitchcock, ‘Samuel Purchas as Editor’, pp. 304, 312.

8 See, for example, Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, pp. 150–151, 909–912.

bought Knivet's account from Richard Hakluyt at a high sum, and he urged his readers, elsewhere in his book, to focus 'especially [on] Master Knivet', where contemplating 'wild Beasts, wilder Serpents, wildest Men' would allow the armchair traveller to 'learne to be thankfull for thy native sweets at home', while celebrating English efforts to challenge Spanish and Portuguese ascendancy in the Atlantic.⁹ Knivet's voyage occurred shortly after the English had defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588, and his rhetoric of being 'enslaved' by the Portuguese conformed to the language used by Protestant authors who linked ideas of slavery and Iberian tyranny. An oration published in England in 1588 addressed to 'worthy councitien', for example, pressed readers to 'respect your auncient libertie, & consider the thraldome of your neighbours subjected to the tyrannie of Spanish government'.¹⁰ Knivet linked colonial intelligence to this particular kind of Protestant activism, for Spain 'buyeth all the moores of *Affrica*, to make Galley slaves' and 'turneth the *Indies* upside downe ... all this to make up a mightie and spanish ... armie by sea, whose shadowe alone may cause not onely the masts of ships, but also all the toppes of the steeples of England to stoope'.¹¹ While Knivet stressed his resistance to Iberian ways of life, the English were in fact heavily reliant on Spanish and Portuguese intelligence about America.

Despite its biases and various influences, Knivet's report offers an unprecedented English account of the coastal Tupi-speaking peoples such as the Carijós and Tupinambá, to the Tapuia (Tapuia/Jê-speaking) groups who lived further inland. The work of anthropologists, who have made efforts to transcribe and preserve the oral histories and lifeways of Indigenous groups, are also important for verifying or supplementing Knivet's impressions.¹² His descriptions of ecological and linguistic diversity and a range of spiritual practices had a long afterlife. Significant portions of it was used by the royal cosmographer John Ogilby in his *America* (1671) and in studies of Brazilian Indigenous anthropology.¹³ From riding canoes to navigate Brazil's waterways

9 Quoted in Hitchcock, 'Samuel Purchas as Editor', p. 306, fn17.

10 *An Oration Militarie to all Natural Englishmen* (London, 1588; STC 18836.5), sig. A3r.

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13 Hemming, *Red Gold; The Admirable Adventures and Strange Fortunes of Master Anthony Knivet: An English Pirate in Sixteenth-Century Brazil*, ed. Vivien Kogut Lessa de Sá (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).



Figure 5 Feathers sewn to cotton tabby ground, Andes, c. pre-sixteenth century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, accession number 1992.105 (CC BY 4.0).

to his use of Indigenous guides, Knivet survived in Brazil through varying levels of collaboration and coercion. He was often entirely reliant on the decisions of local guides or regional leaders (headmen) for food and shelter, and adopted Indigenous strategies for his own survival. Living among the Tupi-speaking Tamoios for eleven months, Knivet recalled going ‘naked as the *Canibals* did’ and saved himself from wild animals with the ‘knife, that I had about my necke tyed with a string, as the *Canibals* use’.¹⁴

Knivet frequently and interchangeably referred to the peoples he encountered as ‘Indians’, ‘savages’, and ‘cannibals’. At the same time, he described a world of migrations, destruction, and adaptation involving a range of groups, from the Tapuia-speaking Pories (Purí) and the Wataquazes (Waitaká). While the ‘cannibal’ label initially seems to confirm European standards of civility against the supposed savagery of Indigenous groups, Knivet’s willingness to use specific names for places and individuals demonstrates his awareness of a large array of long-standing local traditions and ways of life. The Tamoio, he maintained, ‘have their heads alwayes set with feathers of divers colours which sheweth very prettily... The women are as proper as any Nation can be, tall, comly, well legd, cleane’.¹⁵ Among the Purí, Knivet met Quiarasipsiuca, a ‘great man in his Country’, translating his name as ‘*yellow Sunne*’, and declaring that ‘[n]ever man found truer friendship of

¹⁴ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, pp. 1231, 1209.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1231.

any then I did of him'.¹⁶ Of the Wayanasses, Knivet noted that they did not 'glorie so much to eate mans flesh'.¹⁷

At the same time, despite presenting himself as a hapless narrator tossed between ruthless Iberian masters and the politics of Indigenous groups, Knivet did not navigate Native spaces purely in a position of vulnerability. His awareness of Indigenous societies and their cultivation practices, and his willingness to copy down and report this intelligence, served a practical purpose, enabling him to participate in the capture of Indigenous peoples for the Portuguese slave trade. With the rise of the sugar industry, the number of *engenhos*, or large sugar cane mills, on the Brazilian coast rose from twenty-four in 1570, to one hundred and ten by 1600.¹⁸ On one occasion, Knivet traded with the Purí for seventy enslaved people. His travels to meet his 'friend' Jawaripipo involved negotiations that also ended in enslavement, when his master Martim da Sá ostensibly interfered with Knivet's plans by subverting his and Quiarasipsiuca's efforts to establish peaceable trade.¹⁹

One of the most troubling (recorded) slaving expeditions Knivet carried out was facilitated in part by his knowledge of the Tamoio. He wrote favourably about the Tamoio when he lived among them, describing them 'as proper men as any bee in *Europe*'.²⁰ 'I had told them many times of the comming and going of our *English* ships to the Straits of *Magellan*, and how well we did use all kinde of Nations, and what kinde of all things necessarie wee had for their use', Knivet wrote. 'These words made the *Canibals* desire to come to the Sea coast ... I told them that I knew many places where *English* men and *French* men did use to come, but that neither *Portugall*, nor *Spaniards* was never there'.²¹ In fact, this migration to the coast led the Tamoio into violent conflict with their enemies, the Carijós, who were allied with the Portuguese. The Portuguese intercepted Knivet and the travelling Tamoio at the Lagoa dos Patos, where they 'killed all the old men and women, and all those that had beene particuler actors of the *Portugals* deaths, which were in

16 *Ibid.*, p. 1210. As a 'great man', Quarasipsinca was likely a headman, who mobilised groups through kinship and marriage alliances, the cultivation of resources, and war.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 1228.

18 John M. Monteiro, 'The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies: Coastal Brazil in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: vol. III, South America*, eds. Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 973–1024 (1006).

19 Hemming, *Red Gold*, p. 154.

20 Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, p. 1231.

21 *Ibid.*

all 10000 and 20000, [the rest] parted amongst them for their slaves'.²² While there is no way to trace the fates of all those whom Knivet helped capture or trade, other statistics give an indication of the levels of devastation involved. When the Portuguese enslaved 20,000 Indigenous peoples from the Aribó backlands in 1577, only 2,000 were reported to be living six years later.²³

The history of Knivet entering Indigenous spaces is also, then, a history of English trafficking and imperial participation. Many of Knivet's strategies and descriptions of his activities mirror those of other European go-betweens and profiteers described by Jesuits in Brazil. Commenting on the invasion of Paraíba, one Jesuit described the 'boldness and impertinence with which the slavers allow themselves to enter that great wilderness, at great cost, for two, three, four or more years. They go ... naked as the savages and subject to all the persecutions and miseries of the world'.²⁴ The Jesuit Joseph of Anchieta similarly remarked that those who were most willing to adopt the customs and practices of Indigenous peoples were permitted to live among them because they were indispensable to the slave trade. These men had a special tactic, Anchieta remarked, of persuading Native Americans to travel to the coast, where the Portuguese could capture them more easily.²⁵ In the light of such assertions, Knivet's account of his interactions among different groups for several years, where he lived naked 'as the Canibals did' and acted 'according to the fashion of the Countrey' appear to be rather more than an eccentric part of his 'admirable adventures and strange fortunes'.²⁶ Never just a transcultural individual presenting sympathetic insights into the lives, resistance, and changing lifestyles of invaded peoples, Knivet's behaviour – perhaps even his conscious self-fashioning – aligned him closely to the figure of the slaver. When, on one occasion, Knivet 'refused to go' inland 'into the savage countrey for more slaves', he did not object on ethical grounds.²⁷ Instead, he sought to bargain with 'my Master, *Martin de Saa* ... [who] promised me one of [the Indians] to be my slave, but when hee came to the River of *Janero*, hee sold them, and gave me nothing'.²⁸

Knivet returned to England in 1601. On discovering that his father had died, he lived with his uncle Thomas, who helped him become co-teller of

22 *Ibid.*, p. 1219.

23 Monteiro, 'The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies', p. 1007.

24 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 1008.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 1009.

26 Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, p. 1223.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 1209.

28 *Ibid.*

the Royal Mint.²⁹ ‘Anthony Knyvett of Westminster’ died in 1649, at the age of around seventy-one.³⁰ No remaining evidence suggests he retained an interest in English overseas affairs, and his account remains shadowy and inconsistent, scattered with events that are difficult to verify. At the same time, while Knivet’s account may seem extraordinary, his travels were in many ways very much in line with the experience of other Elizabethan travellers. Hundreds of English men and women including captains, generals, sailors, soldiers, doctors, servants, merchants, artisans, and labourers moved through Native spaces in Central and South America, as well as the better-known migrations into Indigenous territories in New England, the Chesapeake, Newfoundland, and the Caribbean. In his river travels by canoe, his dependence on Indigenous ‘friends’ and guides, and his adoption of regional ways of life, Knivet offers a glimpse of the Anglo-Indigenous relations that placed the English in moments of vulnerability and forced dependence, and which exposed their willingness to participate in imperial systems. Knivet’s account brings together ‘realms of relations ... [with their] fluid frontiers and rituals’, ones that are Indigenous, European, and English.³¹

Lauren Working

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29 Hitchcock, ‘Samuel Purchas as Editor’, pp. 304, 312.

30 Will of Anthony Knivet, 15 November 1649, The National Archives, PROB 11/210.

31 *On This and Other Worlds: Voices from Amazonia*, p. 2.

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Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel (1585–1654)

Aletheia Howard, *née* Talbot, moved between England, Italy, and the Netherlands as a traveller and collector, then as a royalist in exile. She died in Amsterdam in 1654. The youngest of the five children of Gilbert Talbot, seventh earl of Shrewsbury, and Mary Cavendish, Aletheia became joint heir, with her two sisters, to her father's titles and estates after her brothers died in infancy. A Catholic herself, she married the Catholic peer, Thomas Howard, fourteenth earl of Arundel, in 1606. She travelled to Italy with her husband for a year and a half between 1612 and 1614, and again from 1620 to 1623, this time without the earl. While Arundel sat for multiple portraits with her husband, the likeness that seems to best convey the countess's sense of independence is the large painting by Peter Paul Rubens from 1620. She sits at the centre, surrounded by attendants and the ambassador Dudley Carleton, the composition characterised by a vibrant sense of movement and a clear identification with the aristocratic pedigree of European elites.

Lord and Lady Arundel's patronage of architecture and art is well-established. In addition to studies on Lady Arundel's collecting, scholars have viewed the earl's interest in the classical past as indicative of his wider beliefs about honour, status, and the emerging imperial-mindedness of the English elite in the seventeenth century.¹ This essay explores how Aletheia Howard's life offers a way into understanding early Stuart female interests in classical antiquity through their travels, collecting, and architectural and literary tastes. In particular, focusing on Lady Arundel's interest in, and identification with, Greco-Roman culture offers a means of thinking about female involvement in English expansionist projects and concepts of status and authority, where women positioned themselves as arbiters between contemporary London and the classical world. Her Catholicism and her royalist politics contributed to her identification with continental culture, seen in her multiple trips to Italy, her collecting, and in her eventual exile in Amsterdam following the outbreak of the civil wars in England.

In 1608, the Howards moved to Arundel House in London. The countess became a close confidant of James I's wife, Anna of Denmark. Lady Arundel appeared in several court masques and was chief mourner at the queen's

1 Elizabeth Angelicoussis, 'The Collection of Classical Sculptures of the Earl of Arundel, "Father of Vertu" in England', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 16 (2004), pp. 143–159; David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); Ernest B. Gilman, 'Madagascar on the Mind: The Earl of Arundel and the Arts of Colonization', in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, eds. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 284–314.

funeral in 1619, an indication of the prominent place she held in courtly society. The countess also befriended Charles I's wife, Henrietta Maria, who was also Catholic. This allowed her to join a group of courtly Catholic women in London, at a time that saw a rise in virulent anti-Catholic polemic on the part of Protestant policy-makers. From 1633, as well as managing many of her husband's daily affairs, Lady Arundel oversaw the renovation of Tart Hall near St James's Palace. Her interest in architecture may not only have been influenced by her father, but her grandmother, Elizabeth Talbot (Bess of Hardwick), who undertook vast building projects at Hardwick Hall during Elizabeth I's reign. The objects Lady Arundel collected for her townhouse included hundreds of paintings, porcelain, and kitchen utensils, including furnishings for the 'pranketing room' or banqueting house where she hosted lavish social events.

Surviving inventories reveal the influence of Italy and the Netherlands on the countess' collecting. She filled her houses with still life paintings of fruits and vegetables, lacquered cabinets, porcelain dishes, and figurines.² As Jennifer Rabe noted, the numerous objects displayed at Tart Hall appear to exhibit the countess' enthusiasm for botany, medicine, and alchemy, where the arts of distillation, preservation, and practical knowledge around medicine, painting, and other industries could be used by women to signal their own virtuosity.³ Arundel's interest in art and technology found resonance in her name, 'Aletheia', chosen by her godmother Elizabeth I and meaning 'truth'. In ancient Greek thought, *alētheia* denoted 'reality' as known by abstraction; a mathematical balance of proportion that signified the experience of things through the medium of the senses and the brain, demonstrating a harmony between things as they appear and as they are understood.⁴

In Italy, and in London, Lady Arundel lived surrounded by tangible fragments of antiquity. When Lord Arundel failed to successfully manoeuvre the court politics of late Jacobean England, he increasingly turned his energies to connoisseurship, becoming widely celebrated for collecting the first antique marble statues in England, many now held at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The Arundels were patrons of the architect Inigo Jones, the author

2 Juliet Claxton, 'The Countess of Arundel's Dutch Pranketing Room', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 22 (2010), pp. 187–196.

3 Jennifer Rabe, 'Mediating between Art and Nature: The Countess of Arundel at Tart Hall', in *Sites of Mediation: Connected Histories of Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond, 1450–1650*, eds. Susanna Burghartz, Lucas Burkart, and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 183–210 (186, 194, 199, 207).

4 J.J. Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 78.

Henry Peacham, and the antiquarians John Cotton and John Selden, with whom the countess often dealt with in their capacity as household tutors and translators.⁵ Through her and her husband's efforts, the architectural and artistic splendours that travellers to Italy often marvelled at could be witnessed at home. When Francis Bacon first visited Arundel House, he expressed amazement at the sight of the statues lining the galleries.⁶ The presence of the marbles in England, which the Arundels acquired at great expense and through a large network of agents and brokers, exhibit a connection between aristocratic ideas about civilisation and its relationship to Greco-Roman objects, something scholars have also related to Arundel's interest in colonisation.⁷ Peacham specifically linked the 'Greeke and Romane Statues' brought 'to honour the Gardens and Galleries of Arundel-House' to those of 'the last Empire ... at Rome'.⁸ Antique fragments, including ruins of a column, appear in the Arundels' pleasure gardens in the artist Wenceslas Hollar's sketches of the view from the south bank of the Thames.

Lady Arundel's own interest in Italian culture demonstrates some of the ways in which early Stuart women engaged with ideas of classicism and civility. Her sense of independence and her affinity to Italian culture is evident in surviving letters of the time. 'The Earle of Arundel and his Lady have spent many days in [Rome]', the ambassador Dudley Carleton reported in the winter of 1613–1614, where they immersed themselves in Italian society.⁹ Surviving letters from Lord Arundel demonstrated that he often trusted matters of collecting to his wife, filling letters with news from his agents and relying on her to manage these transactions. 'I desire you would presently, by some means, know what Sir Thomas Roe has bought of antiquities, Gods, vases, inscriptions, medals or such like', Arundel wrote to his wife in 1629.¹⁰ The Arundel's librarian, the Dutch

5 Angelicoussis, 'The Collection of Classical Sculptures of the Earl of Arundel', p. 149; Stephen Orgel, *Spectacular Performances: Essays on Theatre, Imagery, Books, and Selves in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 231; Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p. 120.

6 Daniel Mytens, Lord Arundel, 1618, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5293; Daniel Mytens, Lady Arundel, 1618, NPG 5293; Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p. 53.

7 Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*; Gilman, 'Madagascar on the Mind: The Earl of Arundel and the Arts of Colonization'; Orgel, *Spectacular Performances*; Mary L. Cox, 'Inventory of the Arundel Collection', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 19:102 (1911), pp. 232–235.

8 Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1634; STC 19504), p. 107.

9 Quoted in Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), p. 113.

10 'Lord Arundel to Lady Arundel, 29 September 1629', in *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard*, ed. Mary F.S. Hervey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 163.

scholar Franciscus Junius, made note of the countess's large collection of European literature. 'The late Countess of Arundel carried over a vast treasure of rarities', Junius wrote, '[s]hee caused mee to sett her librarie in some order ... I found diverse Greek bookes in folio'.¹¹ Her signature – '*Al: Arundel*' – appears at the front of Fabio Colonna's *Lyncei Minus Congitarum Plantarum Pars Prima & Secunda Pars* (Rome, 1616), perhaps purchased during her travels to Italy.¹² Colonna was an Italian naturalist and a member of the Accademia dei Lincei, the 'academy of the lynx-eyed', where scholars championed sharp observation and inquiry into the natural world. The countess would likely have enjoyed the engravings of flora and fauna in such books, but also the text itself, as extant letters suggest she was fluent in Italian. In 1623, after returning to England, she wrote a letter to Duke Ferdinand of Mantua, thanking him in Italian for hosting her during her travels.¹³ Arundel wrote using the magniloquent rhetoric of the Italian style, speaking of the 'sacred and inviolable' qualities of 'your Highness ... Most Serene Prince' and his 'infinite grace' that made her '[incline] myself in profound reverence'.¹⁴

The Greco-Roman ideals of civility and civil governance enabled early Stuart women to identify with political and imperial figures. Lady Arundel's godmother, Elizabeth I, encouraged comparisons between herself and the emperor Constantine. Imperial motifs appeared in royal letters, political discourse, paintings, and coins. In 1610, Isaac Oliver painted miniatures of Queen Anna, Prince Henry, and Lord Herbert with right-facing classical profiles. Even in the more intimate form of a miniature, Anna's portrait contains the motto *servo per regnare*, demonstrating her subscription to James I's notion of political authority and divine right. A 1618 sketch by the Dutch engraver Jacques de Gheyn III depicted a Roman bust of a woman with a profile of a seventeenth-century woman below. The bust is of empress Faustina, wife of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, while the woman on the bottom of the page is recognizably Lady Arundel.¹⁵ Faustina was an imperial empress, said to have accompanied her husband on military campaigns and on his travels to the East.

11 Francis Junius to William Dugdale, 1656, quoted in Linda Levy Peck, 'Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society: Changing Meanings of Science and the Fate of the Norfolk Donation', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 52 (1998), pp. 3–24 (7).

12 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

13 'The Countess of Arundel to Duke Ferdinand of Mantua, 20 December 1623', in *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard*, pp. 230–231.

14 *Ibid.*

15 Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p. 87.

The Arundels' joint interest in antiquity and collecting can be linked to the imperial vision of many members of the Jacobean court. By the 1630s, the English elite were committed to the project of expansion. They invested in trading companies that profited from tobacco and sugar plantations in Virginia, Bermuda, and the Caribbean. Women demonstrated an interest in Atlantic joint-stock company affairs and in financing voyages from the establishment of Virginia in 1607.¹⁶ Lady Arundel's sister, Lady Elizabeth Grey, bought two shares of Virginia Company stock in 1620.¹⁷ In 1623, the colonist and lieutenant George Harrison suggested that his sister-in-law 'should make a private adventure' and send goods to assist the Virginia colony.¹⁸ In 1627, the merchant William Payne wrote to Katherine, Lady Conway, wishing that her husband or his affiliates would 'come in for a proportion in the lot of St John's at Newfoundland', where there were '[g]reat hopes of good commodities' and 'some houses having been already built'.¹⁹ The following year, other letters to Lady Conway updated her on 'the Newfoundland business', listing the hopes for mines of iron and silver, as well as the more certain and immediate profits gained by fish, furs, and sarsaparilla.²⁰

It is within this milieu of elite colonial projects that the Arundels commissioned the artist Anthony Van Dyck, then resident in London, to produce a portrait commemorating their interest in colonising the island of Madagascar off the southeast coast of Africa in 1639. As Alison Games noted, the project was launched 'in a poem and a painting', in Van Dyck's double portrait of the Arundels and in a poem written by the poet and playwright William Davenant, printed the year before and endorsed by a host of other court wits.²¹ Meetings for the expedition were held at Arundel House, so it is not impossible that the countess had access to official papers or attended meetings herself. Her presence in the Madagascar portrait blatantly places her within these overseas interests. Lord Arundel, staff of office in hand,

16 Misha Ewen, 'Women Investors and the Virginia Company in the Early Seventeenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 62:4 (2019), pp. 853–874.

17 *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia with the Names of the Adventurers, and Summes Adventures in that Action* (London, 1620; STC 24841.4), sig. D2r.

18 'George Harrison to his brother, 24 January 1623', in *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial: America and West Indies, vol. 1, 1574–1640*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Longman, 1860), p. 36.

19 'William Payne to Katherine, Lady Conway, 2 Nov 1627', in *ibid.*, p. 86.

20 'Dr James Meddus to Katherine, Lady Conway, 27 June 1628', in *ibid.*, p. 92.

21 Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in the Age of Expansion, 1560–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 193; William d'Avenant, *Madagascar* (London, 1638; STC 6304).

points to Madagascar on a large globe, but it is the countess who holds the compass so essential to navigation.

The Madagascar scheme did not lead to the successful colonisation of the island, but it provides an example of the willingness of women to advance colonial projects, and to do so in a way that served to enhance their own status and ideas of virtue. In her engagement with global networks of commerce and consumption, Lady Arundel was very much a product of her time, and perhaps, more specifically, of the courtly environment of Anna of Denmark's and then Henrietta Maria's courts in the first few decades of the seventeenth century. The Arundels put forward Anna's grandson, Prince Rupert, as the leader of the Madagascar project. After the Restoration, the prince went on to help found the Royal African Company, which by the 1670s had a monopoly on English trade with the west coast of Africa, trafficking African men and women to the Americas and importing Caribbean sugar into England.²² The early seventeenth century was also the time when Africans began to appear more frequently in elite households and artworks. Anna commissioned a portrait that included an African groom in 1617, and Lady Arundel returned from one of her trips to Venice with a black servant.²³ The African figure in Van Dyck's *George Gage and Two Attendants* (c. early 1620s), now at the National Gallery in London, depicted Gage, a Catholic agent of the Arundels, negotiating for a marble statue of Aphrodite. The painting visually brings issues of race into expressions of English civility and collecting, showcasing an English man as the legitimate mediator of ancient culture. In Ernest B. Gilman's analysis, the depiction of an African man watching the figure of Aphrodite being transmitted to European collectors shows 'a transmission as well as a transaction, of the removal of the old gods to their new habitation': a visual embodiment of the idea of *translatio imperii*.²⁴ As David Howarth has posited, the African in the portrait may in fact have been Lady Arundel's servant, reinforcing the link between female collecting and the articulation of ideas of pedigree and status on a global scale.²⁵

Lady Arundel spent the later decades of her life in royalist exile in Amsterdam, apart from her husband. In October 1642, parliament ordained that 'the China Dishes and Hangings of the Countess of *Arundell* shall be permitted

22 William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672–1752* (Chapel Hill, NC: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2013), p. 2.

23 Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p. 152; Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), chap. 4 and 5.

24 Gilman, 'Madagascar on the Mind: The Earl of Arundel and the Arts of Colonization', p. 307.

25 Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p. 158.

to be transported beyond the Seas, without any Lett of Interruption'.²⁶ The following year, a letter from her youngest son, William, Viscount Stafford, signalled her continuing interest in acquiring global luxury goods. Stafford regretted not having been able to go through with a sale for a cabinet and mentioned coming across porcelain and 'loose diamonds ... but not that I think you would like', as well as 'an Indian Brewhouse for tea' made of good black lacquer.²⁷ Like her son, the countess continued to spend lavishly on objects and patronage projects, developing her art and library collections and funding renovations to Tart Hall until her death in 1654. Her projects serve as a reminder that elite English women did not just identify with humanist concepts of the Renaissance but sought to live them. They translated ideals of urbanity, learning, and virtue into action by travelling, learning languages, financing voyages, consuming global goods, and creating tastes that that helped foster ideas of empire at home.

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²⁶ 'To the Countess of Arundel to transport furniture', 29 October 1641', *Journal of the House of Lords: vol. V, 1642–1643* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1767–1830), p. 424.

²⁷ 'Stafford to Lady Arundel, 24 September 1643', in Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard*, p. 443.

John Durie [Dury] (1596–1680)

The son of the noted Church of Scotland minister, Robert Durie, and Elizabeth Ramsay, Durie was born in Edinburgh in 1596. His early life was marked by his father's banishment from Scotland in 1606, following his conviction for treason for participating in the banned religious Assembly in Aberdeen in 1605. At the age of ten, the younger Durie fled from Scotland with his family to Europe where they settled in Leiden, and his father began his career preaching to various Scottish and English exile and merchant churches across Europe. Many of the views on Protestant unity and religious toleration for which the younger Durie is famous first began to take shape in this tumultuous period. His childhood experiences and life as an exile on the Continent during the Thirty Years' War loom behind his ideas of spiritual and political unity, concepts that often served as a means to bridge his own cultural in-betweenness. As Mario Caricchio has pointed out, in the sixty years following his family's forced relocation to the Netherlands, Durie developed the ideas that established his reputation as 'the irenic champion, the educational forerunner, and the utopian type of a Puritan'.¹ Like many other Scottish exiles in Europe, Durie would travel extensively, acting as a preacher, advocate, lecturer, and diplomat. This allowed him to consolidate a network of Protestant European preachers, politicians, rulers, migrants, diplomats, and academics, with whom he shared his political and religious ideas and ideals. A true Scottish cosmopolitan who worked for English, Dutch, Swedish, and French religious and secular bodies, Durie travelled throughout these regions as well as Denmark, Switzerland, and Germany. He was also an accomplished linguist, fluent in Dutch, English, French, German, and Latin. Through this transnational career Durie developed some of the most widely celebrated ideas for Protestant reconciliation and unity, operating throughout his life as a cultural and religious intermediary.²

Following his studies at Leiden, the Huguenot academy in Sedan, and at Oxford, he was eventually ordained as a Reformed minister in 1624 and took up his first post as a preacher to Walloon Reformed Church in Cologne. Durie would not remain in this post for long and by 1626 he had returned to Scotland to live with his mother. However, his time in his native Scotland would be short lived. By 1627, Durie was once again traveling to Europe to

1 Mario Caricchio, 'John Dury, reformer of education against the radical challenge', *Les Dossiers du Grihl* (2010) <<http://journals.openedition.org/dossiersgrihl/3787>> [accessed 14 August 2020].

2 Jeremy Fradkin, 'Protestant Unity and Anti-Catholicism: The Irenicism and Philo-Semitism of John Dury in Context', *Journal of British Studies*, 56 (2007), pp. 273–294 (274).

act as secretary for the Scottish nobleman, diplomat, and spy, James Spens, who was at various points both the Scottish and English ambassador to Sweden from James VI and I. Spens, like Durie, highlights the often nebulous place of Scots in the early years of Stuart rule in England, frequently filling official roles that placed them in between England and Scotland. For many like Durie, the shared ‘Protestantism’ between these nations, provided them with a way to merge the two aspects of their identity. The following year, Durie was working as a minister again, preaching to the English Merchant Adventurers in Elbing. It was while he was working as a minister to the Merchant Adventurers that Durie’s concepts of Protestant unity would further develop.³ During his time with the English Merchant Adventurers, Durie petitioned the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, in what was his first public foray into European Protestant politics, launching his career as an irenicist thinker and advocate of Protestant unity.⁴ Supported by Jacob Godemann, Durie believed that the Swedish monarch ‘would [be] glad to advance’ the cause of ‘Ecclesiasticall Unitie amongst Protestants’.⁵ In 1628, Adolphus had encamped his campaigning army in Elbing. A large portion of it was made up of Scots who had been recruited by James Spens, Durie’s former employer and advisor to the Swedish king. Durie’s connection to Spens no doubt provided him with the opportunity to reach out to Adolphus. In his petition, Durie insists that is the monarch’s duty to ‘bring about peace among those who profess his name’ and that he implored the king to embark on a ‘project to unite the Churches’ which were currently only ‘united by the factious ambition of the Clergy’.⁶ The petition became part of a series of negotiations led by Durie, which Steve Murdoch has described as Durie’s own brand of ‘theological diplomacy’.⁷ Acutely aware of the ongoing conflict that surrounded him, Durie’s aim in approaching the Swedish monarch was to attempt to heal some of the wounds between Protestant communities across northern Europe that had been caused by the war, and he called on

3 Scott Mandelbrote, ‘John Dury and the Practice of Irenicism’, in *Religious Changes in Europe 1650–1914: Essays for John McManners*, ed. Nigel Aston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 43.

4 Mandelbrote, ‘John Dury’, p. 43; Samuel Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation of that which hath been lately attempted to procure Ecclesiasticall Peace amongst Protestants* (London, 1641; Wing D2835), p. 1; [John Dury], *The Copy of a Petition, as it was tendered by Mr. Dury, to Gustavus, the late King of Sweden* (London, 1641), p. 43.

5 Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation*, p. 1.

6 John Dury, *Petition to Gustavus Adolphus* (1628).

7 Steve Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years’ War, 1618–1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 43; Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 253–273.

Adolphus to quench ‘the fires of Ecclesiasticall Controversies’.⁸ In his own words, Durie proclaimed it was his ‘constant suit to all Protestants’ that ‘they would live in Communion of Saints one towards another’.⁹ Protestant unity became a lifelong goal for the Scot, who used his position as a respected diplomat, minister, theologian, and academic to attempt to bring to the negotiating table various European leaders.

A capable diplomat, Durie cultivated an extensive network of supporters across Europe and beyond, which was a testament to his ability to move between cultural and social groups. While in Elbing, he established a network of friendships that crossed the cultural divisions of Protestant northern Europe and can be seen to be a very real embodiment of Durie’s own beliefs. This network came to include the noted English diplomat Sir Thomas Roe, the Anglo-German intelligencer Samuel Hartlib, the Swedish advisor to Gustavus Adolphus, Jacob Godemann, and Czech theologian Jan Amos Comenius.¹⁰ All of them would work with him to advance and refine his political and theological views.

Durie had been introduced to Roe soon after he presented his petition to Adolphus. Although Roe had been primarily sent by the English crown as a diplomat to Adolphus, he shared with Durie an interest in bringing about a Protestant unity in Europe against the Catholic nations.¹¹ Following Adolphus’s death, and with Roe’s support, Durie continued to advocate for further Protestant unity amongst the northern European states. In 1642 Durie called for Protestants to ‘concurr and joyne fully with indefatigable paines and diligence’ or they faced ‘ruine, if no common course be thought upon’.¹² Throughout the 1630s and 1640s, he continued to petition, negotiate, and debate matters of unity with political and religious leaders in Denmark, England, Germany, Holland, and Sweden. However, as political and religious conflict erupted in the United Kingdom, Durie’s focus shifted from the whole of northern Europe to Britain, Ireland, and the Netherlands.

In the years surrounding the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, Durie became increasingly involved in British politics. Durie was a keen supporter of Cromwell,

8 Dury, *Petition*.

9 John Dury, *A Memoriall Concerning Peace Ecclesiasticall amongst Protestants* (London, 1641; Wing D2872), pp. 4–5.

10 John T. Young, ‘Durie [Dury], John (1596–1680)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8323>> [accessed 2 January 2020].

11 Mandelbrote, ‘John Dury’, p. 55; Fradkin, ‘Protestant Unity’, p. 275.

12 John Dury, *A Petition to the Honourable House of Commons in England now assembled whereunto are added certaine Considerations shewing the necessity of a Correspondencie in Spirituall matters betwixt all Protestant Churches* (London, 1642; Wing D2879), p. 9.

who he regarded as an agent of God that was challenging Catholic power in Europe.¹³ However, his most notable intervention in British politics centred around the debates surrounding the readmission of the Jews into England that were taking place in Cromwellian Britain. Linked to his ideas about Protestant unity and reconciliation amongst Europe's Protestant communities, Durie's advocacy for the toleration of Judaism 'mirrored his treatment of fellow Protestants victimized and dislocated by Catholic cruelty'.¹⁴

At the most fundamental level, Durie's philo-semitism had a thoroughly Christian imperative driving it. Durie advocated for the readmission of Jews into England in order to convert them to Protestantism, bringing about the end times and the subsequent defeat of the Catholic antichrist. Just as Durie blamed Protestant dissension on southern European Catholic nations, he also blamed 'Catholic idolatry for widening the gap between Jews and Christians'.¹⁵ Durie used colonial efforts in America, as well as what were increasingly popular narratives equating the Lost Tribes Israel with Native Americans, as a means to continue to advance his rhetoric of unity against Catholicism, in particular Iberian Catholics. Durie advocated an alliance between Protestants and Jews against Catholic Spain, writing that in this the Jews 'will finde assistance from all Christians that are not slaves to superstition and tyranny'. It was his hope that those Jews – who had 'been hitherto blinded, by reason of the prejudice which the Idolatry of the Papall Sea, and the Spanish Inquisition hath begotten in him' – would though this alliance be converted to Protestantism.¹⁶

Yet for Durie, Jews and Protestants shared in not only a collective history of persecution and dislocation at the hands of Catholic rulers, but also in a mutual spiritual history. Although always motivated by a one-sided desire for spiritual and commercial superiority, Durie's views on Jews and their readmission into England were also a genuine attempt to bridge the gap between the two faiths and peoples. That mission brought Durie into close contact with the rabbi, kabbalist, diplomat, and author, Menasseh ben Israel, disseminating his writings in Britain, and even supporting Menassah's petitions to parliament and Cromwell.¹⁷ Moreover, Durie not only advocated

13 Fradkin, 'Protestant Unity', p. 275; Mandelbrote, 'John Dury', pp. 49–50.

14 Fradkin, 'Protestant Unity', p. 285.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 289.

16 John Durie, 'An Epistolicall Discourse' in Thomas Thorowgood, *Digitus dei: New Discoveryes with Sure Argument to prove that the Jews (a Nation) or People Lost in the World for the Space of Near 200 Years, Inhabite now in America* (London, 1652; Wing T1066), sig. e3v.

17 Richard Popkin, 'Hartlib, Dury and the Jews' in *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation*, eds. Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, and Timothy Raylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University

for the readmission and toleration of the Jewish community in England, but also argued that Protestants needed to learn about Judaism. He argued that for Christians to advance in their spiritual knowledge they should learn Jewish theology, law, and history. Without this knowledge they would remain only 'half instructed' and unable to advance the Kingdom of God in this world.¹⁸ Durie did note that English commercial expansion had brought them into contact with Jewish traders and merchants, and enabled 'free Commerce and Trade of worldly Commodities', yet this exchange had not advanced into learning.¹⁹ According to Durie, if the English were willing to learn from the Jews on various academic and theological matters, they would have a 'clearer understanding of the things delivered by the spirit in the old Testament'. Furthermore, Durie proclaimed that 'the Mysteries of the New Testament' would be 'opened more fully to us' by the trade in knowledge between Protestants and Jews.²⁰ For Durie, trade, if conducted properly and with the correct intentions, could bring both financial and spiritual benefits to individual traders and the nation as a whole. It was the symbiotic relationship between financial gain and spiritual wellbeing, which could be achieved through commerce, that underpinned Durie's arguments for resettlement of the Jews in England.

Although not completely tolerant himself, Durie represents an individual who, for his own motivations, was willing to blur conventional social, cultural, and theological lines to reach some form of peaceable accommodation. Like so many Scots who migrated to England and Europe in the seventeenth century, Durie lived his life as a cultural in-between. Moving throughout northern Europe, he used the blurred space he inhabited as an exile, ambassador, agent, and minister to engage with various communities to encourage Protestant unity. The upheavals of his youth and his experiences of conflict during the Thirty Years' War had a lasting effect on him, which when combined with his life as a cultural nomad in northern Europe, makes him a unique figure in the world of early modern exchange and diplomacy. At the same time, he embodied a practical Scottish cosmopolitanism that allowed him to shift between parties and powers. Helped by his linguistic fluidity, Durie was able to mix amongst High Church Laudians, Swiss Calvinists, Dutch Lutherans, and Scottish Presbyterians, and was able to advocate with various degrees of success the benefits of each to the

Press, 1994), pp. 118–136.

18 John Dury, *A Seasonable Discourse* (London, 1649; Wing D2886), p. 14.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

20 *Ibid.*

other. However, this same cosmopolitanism was often also considered by many in England, Scotland, and Europe to indicate a political faithlessness. Whether such negative perceptions were a matter of misconception regarding his motivations for propounding Protestant unity, or simply a means to disregard his calls for solidarity through political attack, their characteristic ambivalence also resonate with the reception meted out to many other contemporaneous early modern go-betweens.

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Edward Pococke (1604–1691)

Behind England's commercial expansion abroad in the seventeenth century were a number of individuals who operated as influential agents, facilitating financial, diplomatic, and cultural exchanges with the various peoples they encountered. Whether as travellers, merchants, sailors, diplomats, doctors, or chaplains, these agents were motivated by a variety of financial, academic, and professional factors that often dovetailed with the national and private interest. One such figure was the Edward Pococke: Levant Company chaplain, Middle Eastern scholar, and the first Laudian Chair at Arabic at Oxford, whose tenure as a Levant Company agent was influential in advancing his personal motivations, as well as wider academic, religious, and national agendas.¹

As highly educated figureheads in English merchant and diplomatic communities, chaplains such as Pococke were often at the forefront of English activity abroad. They witnessed and often contributed actively to diplomatic, governmental, and commercial negotiations with foreign powers and courts, as well as acting as active agents of soft diplomacy through spiritual and academic pursuits and interactions with various peoples and faiths across the globe. Travel offered chaplains rare opportunities to pursue intellectual pursuits abroad that would not only influence their own academic and ecclesiastical careers, but those of thousands of others. Whether hunting for early Islamic and biblical manuscripts or penning works on their travels, and the environments and faiths they encountered, figures such as Pococke became key agents in exchanging and translating knowledge across oceans.

Born in Oxford in 1604, Pococke was the eldest son of Edward Pococke, a clergyman and one time fellow at St. Mary Magdalen college. After attending a free school in Thame, Oxfordshire, Pococke entered Magdalen Hall in 1618, following which in 1620 he received a scholar's position at Corpus Christi

1 For more work on chaplains in the Levant Company see Simon Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, c.1600–1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); Simon Mills, 'The Chaplains to the English Levant Company: Exploration and Biblical Scholarship in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century England', in *Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstsein*, eds. Judith Becker and Bettina Braun (Göttingen, 2012), pp. 243–266; Simon Mills, 'The English Chaplains at Aleppo: Exploration and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1620–1760', *Bulletin of the Council of British Research on the Levant*, 6:1 (2011), pp. 13–20; Haig Z. Smith, 'Risky Business: The Seventeenth Century English Company Chaplain and Policing Interaction and Knowledge Exchange', *Journal of Church and State* (2018), pp. 226–247.

College, Oxford.² In 1622, at the age of 18, Pococke was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, where his interest in Middle-Eastern languages was sparked by his tutors, the German exile, mathematician and Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac scholar, Matthias Pasor, and the influential English Arabist and religious minister, William Bedwell.³ Pococke graduated at the age of twenty-six and that same year applied to fill the vacant Levant Company chaplaincy position in Aleppo, Syria, following fellow Oxford graduate, Charles Robson's return to England from the Levant.⁴ The noted polymath John Selden recommended him as 'a diligent and able gent', asserting that his skills as a translator were so much so that 'he himself made Arab his mistress'.⁵ After a long process, the Levant Company finally selected him in March 1630 to fill the vacant role, impressed by his 'ability in learning, Soundness in the Study of divinity, conformity to the constitutions of the Church & integrity of Life and conversation'.⁶ Yet although Pococke was a capable chaplain, it was not in his spiritual role that he achieved recognition, instead receiving acclaim both during his time in the Levant and after for his notable achievements as an agent of knowledge exchange and oriental learning.

By the middle of October 1630, Pococke had arrived in Aleppo. He immediately set to work, not only as the Company's resident chaplain, but amassing a substantial collection of oriental manuscripts, many of which he would famously translate and send back to England to William Laud. Over the next three years, between conducting his clerical duties, Pococke travelled across the Levant, acquiring many manuscripts to send back to England. Pococke's work in collecting and translating manuscripts would shape English intellectual, social, and cultural perceptions of the peoples, faiths, and societies of Asia minor, but was also important in directing diplomatic and governmental agendas in England concerning the Ottoman Empire. Although possibly not the main reasoning behind Pococke's interest, these manuscripts were part of Laud's efforts to mould Anglican Church governance, in particular domestic attempts to reconnect the Church of

2 Leonard Twells, *The Lives of Dr. Edward Pocock*, vol. I (London, 1816), p. 2.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5; for more on Pasor see Jan Van Maan, 'Pasor, Matthias (1599–1658)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21503>> [accessed 1 August 2017]; Alistair Hamilton, 'Bedwell, William (1563–1632)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1942>> [accessed 1 August 2017].

4 Twells, *Lives*, p. 13.

5 MS Selden supra 108, fol. 25.

6 *Ibid.*

England with its eastern counterpart, the Greek Orthodox Church.⁷ As early as 1631, Laud wrote to Pococke requesting that he send back manuscripts to build up a library at Oxford. Several years later, Laud wrote a letter to the Levant Company ordering that every Company boat return home 'one Arab: or Persian Manuscript Booke' to be delivered to him.⁸ Although the Company may have been fairly relaxed at sending material back to England, Pococke was not. The manuscripts Pococke, the Company, and a few other sources, sent back to Laud continue to influence academic governance and pursuits to this very day. Many of the early manuscripts at the Bodleian Library in Oxford were acquisitions made by Pococke: this includes over 400 Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Greek, and Armenian manuscripts that cover a variety of subjects from history to literature and religion to philology.

Pococke returned to Oxford in 1636 when he received the first Laudian chair of Arabic. Though he returned to the Levant on at least one more occasion in the years that followed, he was permanently back in England by 1639/1640. Pococke continued his academic career of translating, annotating, and publishing oriental manuscripts for an English audience that was increasingly interested in learning about the culture, law, and history of the Islamic world. Among the texts Pococke translated were the *Eutychius*, a short account of the origin and manners of the Arabs; the preface to an Arabic version of the *Pentateuch*; a complete Arabic edition of the *Bar Hebraeus*; and what has been described as both his 'masterpiece' and 'magnum opus', the *Specimen historiae arabum*, a text collected for Pococke by his friend, the scholar Ahmad (discussed below).⁹ These texts highlight the transculturality of seventeenth-century learning. As commerce instigated changes in English food, clothing, and everyday life, it also encouraged English intellectuals to learn about the cultures and peoples with whom they were trading.

Not all of the works that Pococke translated were related to theology, history, politics, and science. Some were concerned with more everyday

7 William Laud and John Percy, *A Relation of the Conference Between William Laud Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Fisher The Jesuit* (London, 1686; Wing L595), pp. 314–315. Communications between the Greek and English churches had been established by Laud's predecessor George Abbot, and were continued under him.

8 The National Archives, SP 16.260, fol. 116v.

9 Claire Gallien, 'Orientalist Pococke: Brokering Across Borders, Disciplines, and Genres', in *The Internationalization of Intellectual Exchange in a Globalizing Europe, 1636–1780*, ed. Robert Mankin (Lanham, MD; Bucknell University Press, 2018), p. 25, n.16; G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 159–162, 164; Simon Mills, 'Learning Arabic in the Overseas Factories: The Case of the English' in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 289.

social practices, such as drinking *coffa*, or coffee.¹⁰ Pococke had developed a taste for coffee during his travels, a habit that has since been blamed for the palsy that afflicted him in later life.¹¹ He published a translation of an eleventh-century text as *The Nature of the Drink Kauhi, or Coffe and the Berry of which it is made*, in 1659. At that time, coffee drinking was still a novelty in England. In 1657, a London barber and coffee house owner, James Farrar, was reported to be selling ‘a sort of liquor called coffee’, which city officials deemed ‘great nuisance and prejudice of the neighbourhood’.¹² Pococke’s timely translation played upon these issues by describing the medicinal nature of coffee whilst decrying its negative qualities. Of its many wonderful properties, the text describes coffee as ‘drying rheumes, and flegmatick coughs’, though admitting it ‘causeth vertiginous headheach ... maketh lean and ... much occasioneth waking’.¹³ Pococke’s text would be read by a number of notable contemporaries, including Samuel Hartlib, Robert Boyle, and John Worthington.¹⁴

Pococke’s life illuminates the intricate networks of knowledge exchange that sustained English interactions with the wider world in the early modern period. In his pursuits of acquiring manuscripts and learning languages, Pococke was helped by a substantial network of friendships with European and Ottoman scholars, clergymen, and merchants of varying faiths, and he maintained contact with many of them until the end of his life. Pococke was particularly keen to improve his written and spoken language skills and employed a number of individuals to aid him.¹⁵ Of all his language studies, it was in learning written and spoken Arabic that Pococke dedicated most of his time. While in Aleppo, he employed a native speaker called Hamīd as his personnel attendant, in order to acquire a better knowledge of the spoken language, whilst he also met with a Muslim ‘shaykh’ to improve his reading and writing.¹⁶ Writing from Aleppo in 1671, Robert Huntingdon, then Levant Company chaplain and fellow orientalist, informed Pococke that his ‘old scheich’ had died several years earlier, but that he still fondly

10 Antākī, *The Nature of the Drink Kauhi, or Coffe and the Berry of which it is made*, trans., Edward Pococke (Oxford, 1659; Wing D374).

11 Mills, ‘The English Chaplains at Aleppo’, p. 15.

12 John Richardson, *The Annals of London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 136.

13 Antākī, *The Nature*, sig. A3v.

14 Segments of the letters have been included in Michael Nahas, ‘A Translation of Hayy B. Yaqzān by the Elder Edward Pococke (1601–1691)’, *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 16 (1985), pp. 88–90 (89).

15 Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, p. 121.

16 Simon Mills, ‘Learning Arabic’, p. 280.

remembered him even on his deathbed declaring that 'he did not doubt but to meet you in paradise, under the banner of our Jesus'.¹⁷ Similarly, during his time in Aleppo, Pococke employed a number of Jewish instructors, including a rabbi to teach him Hebrew, although his relationship with them was not as cordial as with those who taught him Arabic in the city. During his time in Constantinople, where Pococke employed a number of Jewish teachers to help him in his academic and personal pursuits, however, he struck up a particularly close working relationship with the scholar Jacob Roman, the author of the *Auctuarium* to Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, whose 'learning' Pococke described as 'second to none, among the Jews'.¹⁸ It is particularly noted that Pococke enjoyed conversing with Roman about the various Christian sects and the theological differences he had observed when reading about their beliefs.¹⁹

Alongside Roman, Hamīd, and his 'old scheich', Pococke also formed intellectual friendships and maintained contacts with a number of Christians, including Dutch Orientalist Jacobus Golius and his brother the Carmelite Friar, Petrus Golius, as well as leaders in the Greek Orthodox church.²⁰ These included the patriarch Cyril Lucaris, who Pococke's eighteenth-century biographer described as having 'a great esteem for Mr. Pococke', and Nathaniel Canopius. Following the death of the former, the latter fled to England and studied at Balliol College, where it is rumoured he was the first person to have introduced coffee drinking to England. A habit he shared with Pococke who would also be famed in Oxford for drinking copious amounts of coffee.²¹ Through these friendships, Pococke engaged in a series of transcultural exchanges that allowed him to pursue his studies in not only Middle Eastern languages, but also history, culture, law, and faith. Moreover, and no less importantly, they also provided him with further avenues to establish and nourish contacts with local merchants and collectors whom he could call upon to acquire the many manuscripts he wished to purchase, both whilst in the Levant and when he returned home.

The nature of Pococke's connection with this latter group was transactional, however, the resulting relationships were often just as deep and as long lasting as others that Pococke had formed whilst in the Levant. As in his

17 Quoted in Twells, *Lives*, pp. 30–31.

18 *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pocock*, ed. Leonard Twells, vol. I (1740), p. 11; Pococke, 'Porta Mosis' in *Theological Works*, p. 160; Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, p. 121.

19 Twells, *Lives*, p. 46.

20 Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom*, pp. 120–122; Twells, *Lives*, pp. 23, 300.

21 Judith Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox: Unity and Subversion 1559–1725* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2003), p. 15.

academic pursuits, such connections too crossed the various ethnic, religious, and cultural divides of the Levantine world, and included Muslims, Greek and Syriac Christians, Jews, and European travellers. One such collector whom Pococke employed to acquire manuscripts was the German itinerant minister and orientalist Christianus Ravius. A transcultural European, Ravius travelled throughout Europe and the Middle East between 1636–1677, studying at Oxford before traveling to the Ottoman empire. There, through his friendship with Pococke, and aided by Pococke's recommendation that he 'be employed in setting forth of books in the Arabic Language', he was able to secure free quarters at the English Embassy.²² Ravius would later return to Oxford to teach Hebrew, before lecturing in Upsala, Kiel, and Frankfort-an-der-oder. In his quest for oriental manuscripts, Pococke also developed close friendships with a Greek surgeon, Giorgio Cergio, a Syrian Christian, Abdel Messiah, and Michael Thaljah, the scribe and brother of a local Greek Bishop.²³ Yet it was his friendship with a Muslim scribe, scholar, and Pococke's teacher from Aleppo, al-Darwish Ahmed, that has become the most enduring representation of transcultural friendships in Pococke's network.²⁴

Although not dated, five letters now established as having been sent between 1636–1640, after Pococke's return to England, are a testament to that friendship.²⁵ Sent from Aleppo and Oxford, Ahmed details the manuscripts that he had collected and purchased for Pococke. These included, amongst many others, a copy of an encyclopaedia produced by a Muslim secret society; the *Kitāb al-filāha*, a twelfth-century work on agricultural practices; an Egyptian encyclopaedia of political history, natural history, zoology and time measurements entitled the *Ṣubh al-a'shā*; alongside countless biographies, commentaries and religious texts.²⁶ Occasionally the letters also highlight the transactional nature of transcultural knowledge exchange, as Ahmad on one occasion requested Pococke send him 'something of the rarities of your homeland' and a 'printed geography'.²⁷ Alongside the detailed notes of the manuscripts exchanging hands, Ahmad's letters also highlight the close bond between Pococke and himself, often addressing the former as 'dear pupil'. He informed Pococke of significant events in

22 Twells, *Lives*, p. 61.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 58; Claire Gallien, 'Orientalist Pococke', p. 22, n.6.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

25 Five letters have been translated in P.M. Holt, *Studies in the history of the Near East* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1973), see Appendix II, pp. 42–45.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

own his life such as his marriage, and praised Pococke's achievements, describing him after he had taken the chair in Arabic as 'the teacher of the English sect, the erudite in Christian sciences, and the researcher into the roots of the Arabic language'.²⁸ Yet it is in his letter following the death of Pococke's father between 1636–1637, that we gain the most touching insight into the bond between these two men. Paternal in tone, the letter consists of several expressions of condolence, and Pococke is affectionately addressed by Ahmad as his 'honoured and dear son'.²⁹ Moreover, he often asked Pococke to inform him of events in his life, requesting on one occasion that he 'send me a letter in the Arabic tongue, and send also without fail to inform me of your condition'.³⁰ While driven by his desire to acquire manuscripts and advance his own language learning, Pococke's network also reveals the ways in which transcultural connections could emerge from otherwise transactional relationships, transcending the cultural, linguistic, and religious divides of the time.

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²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Virginia Ferrar (1627–1688)

Virginia Ferrar, daughter of John Ferrar and Bathsheba (*née* Owen), was born on Christmas Eve 1627, and died on 14 January 1688. The Ferrars were a prosperous merchant gentry family who gained their wealth through their involvement with the Skinners' Company and overseas trade, particularly the Virginia Company. By the time Ferrar was born, the family had left London for Little Gidding outside Cambridge, establishing a godly community led by her uncle Nicholas. The household consisted of an extended family, including her mother and father, brother, and nine cousins from her aunt Susanna's marriage to John Collett. Later, Ferrar spent two years in the Netherlands in the 1640s to escape the conflict of the civil wars and participated in a large and influential network of colonial intelligence-gathering. She helped her father produce books and maps about colonisation in the Atlantic, particularly the Virginia colony, and conducted her own experiments with silkworm cultivation in the 1650s.¹ She corresponded with colonists in the Chesapeake including Lady Berkeley, wife of the governor Sir William Berkeley, and Samuel Hartlib, the Polish-English reformer who settled in London in the late 1620s, and who published her advice on sericulture in 1652 and again in 1655.² Reconstructing Ferrar's colonial interests and experiments helps illuminate what many colonial Atlantic scholars have tended to pin to a later period: women's participation as producers, and not just consumers, in the Atlantic economy, and their role in advancing English overseas interests.

Ferrar spent most of her life at Little Gidding, where her father and uncle created an educational programme for family, friends, and the village community. Although younger than John, Nicholas Ferrar ran the household until his death in 1637. He had travelled widely to Catholic countries in his youth, studied geometry at Padua, and been ordained by William Laud.³ A critique of Little Gidding as an insular and dangerously Catholic-leaning

1 Allison Margaret Bigelow, 'Gendered Language and the Science of Colonial Silk', *Early American Literature*, 49 (2014), pp. 271–325; Sarah Irving-Stonebraker, 'From Little Gidding to Virginia: The Seventeenth Century Ferrar Family in the Atlantic Colonial Context', *The Seventeenth Century*, 33 (2018), pp. 183–194.

2 Samuel Hartlib, *A Rare and New Discovery of a Speedy Way and Easie Means, found out by a Young Lady in England ... For the Feeding of Silk-Worms in the Woods, on the Mulberry-Tree-Leaves in Virginia* (London, 1652; Wing H988); Samuel Hartlib, *The Reformed Common-wealth of Bees. Presented in Severall Letters and Observations to Samuel Hartlib Esq. With The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm* (London, 1655; Wing H997).

3 *A History of the County of Huntingdon*, vol. I, eds. William Page, Granville Proby, and H.E. Norris (London: Victoria County History, 1926), pp. 399–426.

community appeared in *The Arminian Nunnery* (1641). This account was based on a letter by the Gray's Inn lawyer Edward Lenton who had praised, rather than criticised, life on the estate. Despite the polemical accusations of the Ferrars as crypto-Catholics, the pamphlet does give an indication of the kind of domestic environment Virginia Ferrar spent her days in.⁴ Women participated in the 'Little Academy' discussion group, where topics such as the Spanish conquest of the Americas were debated.⁵ The family woke before dawn and congregated to pray six times a day, twice publicly in the chapel, four times in the house, maintaining a rigorous schedule of learning and poor relief. At dinner, they read history books or travel literature, and stories from John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. The women, like the men, learned multiple languages, discussed theology, and were taught to dress wounds.⁶ 'A fond and fantastical *Family of Ferrars*', the publication concluded.

As merchants, the Ferrars had invested heavily in Virginia Company affairs. Ferrar's own identity was linked to her father's commitment to the Jamestown colony through her name. He had so named his daughter, John wrote, 'so that speaking unto her, looking upon her, or hearing others call her by her name, he might think upon both [daughter and colony] at once'.⁷ In 1650, the colonist Edward Johnson wrote to Ferrar, describing life in the Chesapeake and wishing that 'as Virginia gave you its name, you could give Virginia your bookes', suggesting she was widely read, and known to be so.⁸ Ferrar corresponded with a range of colonists in North America, from indentured servants to the governor William Berkeley's wife, Frances Culpepper, Lady Berkeley.⁹ In 1657, Virginia Ferrar and her cousin, Mary Collett, bound copies of Charles I's (purported) spiritual autobiography, *Eikon basilike*, at Little Gidding, intending to sell the publication in America following colonists' appeal for more books. An extant copy of Mercator's 1635 atlas, now at the John Carter Brown Library, reveals marginal annotations that seem to have been written by Ferrar and her father over several

4 *The Arminian Nunnery* (London, 1641; Wing A3699), sig. A2v.

5 *Conversations at Little Gidding: On the Retirement of Charles I and on the Austere Life*, ed. A.M. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

6 *A History of the County of Huntingdon*, vol. I, pp. 399–426.

7 'The Ferrar Papers at Magdalene College, Cambridge (Continued)', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 11 (1903), pp. 41–46 (42).

8 Edward Johnson to Virginia Ferrar, 25 March 1650, Ferrar Papers, Magdalene College, Cambridge, fol. 1159.

9 Warren M. Billings, 'Sir William Berkeley and the Diversification of the Virginia Economy', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 104 (1996), pp. 433–454; Michael Upchurch to Nicholas Ferrar, 4 May 1652, Ferrar Papers, Magdalene College, Cambridge, Virginia Box X, No. 1031.

years.¹⁰ Their comments parallel the information eventually printed by Samuel Hartlib in *The Reformed Virginia Silk-Worm* (1655), suggesting levels of collaboration and knowledge-exchange between daughter and father.¹¹ Ferrar also possessed some land in Bermuda, though she appears to have sold this in 1659.¹²

Ferrar experimented with silkworm cultivation at Little Gidding, where she spent months growing mulberry leaves and nurturing worms. Samuel Hartlib's *A Rare and New Discovery* (1652), like *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm* (1655), described these careful experiments, praising the efforts of 'the Lady' for advancing colonisation. The publications connected Ferrar to Hartlib's circle of reformers and projectors, who endorsed the diversification of colonial industries. Scholars have situated Ferrar's interest in sericulture within seventeenth-century ideas of religious and economic reform, where a transnational network of Protestant reformers sought to transform the natural world for the good of mankind.¹³ At the same time, Ferrar's participation also places her within shifting ideas of consumption and taste in England. These were not antithetical to notions of reform. Alongside the rhetoric of godly improvement and landscape management, the English celebrated the 'silken trade' that might enable them to rival other global empires.¹⁴ On 'Virgin-trees shall [worms] hang in Silken Globes', fantasised one verse, written by Ferrar's brother John, so that the colony 'in Wealth [may] compare with rich Peru'.¹⁵ Hartlib's silkworm texts, drawing on Ferrar's experiments, were dedicated to colonists and colonial promoters, with the aim of 'making you all rich (which is your maine aime in that new World)'.¹⁶ As Jonathan Eacott argued in *Selling Empire*, the 'imperial turn' towards India in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not happen haphazardly; rather, the English had long viewed a connection

10 Janice Neri and Danielle Skeehan, 'The Mystery of the Silk Worm: Conversations in the Reading Room and Beyond', *I Found it at the JCB: Online Journal of the John Carter Brown Library* <http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/exhibitions/foundjcb/pages/2012august.html> [accessed 3 March 2018].

11 *Ibid.*

12 David Ransome, 'Virginia Ferrar (1627?–1688)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/60959>> [accessed 11 March 2018].

13 Irving-Stonebraker, 'From Little Gidding to Virginia: The Seventeenth Century Ferrar Family in the Atlantic Colonial Context', p. 2.

14 Hartlib, *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm*, sig. E3r. See also Thomas Moffat's dedicatory poem to Mary Sidney, countess of Pembroke, in *The Silkwormes, and their Flies* (London, 1599; STC 17994).

15 Hatlib, *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm*, sigs. E4r–v.

16 *Ibid.*, sig. Ar.

between their interests in American industry and Asian trade, cultivating raw materials in Atlantic plantations to sell in the East.¹⁷ As Ferrar's silk experiments suggest, these projects involved women, for 'this Lady' had taken it upon herself to conduct careful experiments in industry and husbandry, something she shared with Lady Berkeley.¹⁸

As a participant in these circles of sociability and reform, Ferrar offers a case study into how English women in the first half of the seventeenth century contributed to imperial knowledge and taste-making more broadly. The daughters, sisters, or wives of colonial promoters were well-placed to gain access to colonial intelligence. Lady Dale, wife of one-time Virginia governor Sir Thomas Dale, for example, made a substantial contribution to the Virginia Company to send workers and livestock to Jamestown in 1622, although her husband had died the previous year.¹⁹ Zara Anishanslin's work on later seventeenth and eighteenth-century women as producers of colonial knowledge can therefore be traced to an earlier period, something Misha Ewen has demonstrated in her study of female investors in the Virginia Company.²⁰ In his 1622 tract about silk, James I's silkworm keeper John de Bonoeil included a woodcut that portrayed women spinning silk, and Bonoeil specifically called for men and women to take part in production.²¹ Ferrar is not the only example: the verses praising transatlantic silkworm cultivation in Hartlib's works also lauded 'what Mistris Mary Ward hath sent' – ten 'rare Bottoms took from her Appell tree / That all England may it beelve and see'.²² Mary Ward had sent Ferrar news from Jamestown in the mid-1650s, thanking her for her counsel on the silk trade and sending tobacco and furs as gifts.²³ Prefatory verses urged readers to 'give those Gentlewomen their full dues / Mistress Garret and Burbage for silk clues'.²⁴ Women's traditionally

17 Jonathan Eacott, *Selling Empire: India in the Making of Britain and America, 1600–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Ben Marsh, *Unravelling Dreams: Silk and the Atlantic World, 1500–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

18 Hartlib, *A Rare and New Discovery*, sig. B2v.

19 'Gifts: Patents granted this year', 1622, in *Records of the Virginia Company, vol. III*, ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 643.

20 Zara Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016). On women and trading company involvement, see Misha Ewen, 'Women Investors and the Virginia Company in the Early Seventeenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 62:4 (2019), pp. 853–874.

21 John Bonoeil, *His Majesties Gracious Letter to the Earle of South-Hampton* (London, 1622; STC 14378).

22 'The Ferrar Papers at Magdalene College, Cambridge', p. 43.

23 Mary Ward to Virginia Ferrar, 4 April 1656, The Ferrar Papers, Box XI, no. 1039.

24 Hartlib, *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm*, sig. Fr.

accepted roles in producing embroidery and other crafts made silk a fitting medium for their participation, but it was not the only arena in which they advanced colonial activity. In England, women petitioned the Crown for their rights to grow and sell tobacco in ways that connected them to a rising tobacco economy. They owned property in America, and also expressed a sense of their own responsibility in advancing colonialism. In a letter addressed to Lady Berkeley in 1650, Ferrar claimed that she owed her 'love of the colony' to her father but also to her grandmother, Mary Woodenoth, and urged Lady Berkeley to use her political authority in the colony to be 'a noble protectress' of plantation.²⁵

Little is known about the latter half of Ferrar's life, and scholars have queried the extent to which she actively took interest in the work she promoted with her father.²⁶ The primary voices through which an understanding of her can be gained rest largely on her father and brother (both John), and Samuel Hartlib, who commended her work in print and verse. Certainly, it is difficult to prove her intent behind endorsements such as those that appear printed in Hartlib's *The Reformed Virginia Silk-Worm*: 'She makes bold to present you with a sample of *Virginia* Silk-grass sent her by a freind [*sic*] ... and she hopes will delight you who have such a publique spirit to rejoice, and further a Common good'.²⁷ At the very least, such statements demonstrate how gentlemen in Ferrar's network, such as Hartlib or her father and brother, praised reformist views of English civil society that involved an acknowledgement of female participation and transnational letter-writing networks. Women, too, might work to promote 'a publique spirit ... [to] further a Common good'. But to dismiss Ferrar's agency is also to do her a disservice. The extant letters in her own hand, letters addressed to her from colonists, marginalia in Mercator's *Atlas*, and her silkworm experiments suggest that she promoted colonial projects over a sustained period of time. This occurred when she was in her twenties and thirties, and perhaps later. Like her female cousins, Ferrar seems to have chosen to remain unmarried. While the reasons for this are unclear, her cousins Mary and Anna, who helped run the Gidding household, specifically stated their unwillingness to relinquish their independence through marriage, and

25 Virginia Ferrar to Lady Berkeley, 10 August 1650, The Hartlib Papers, VII, 692.

26 In his entry for Virginia in ODNB, David Ransome speculates that 'John Ferrar credited his daughter when aged 12 with the creation of the harmony now at Ickworth, but the writing is all his; seemingly she merely passed in the cuttings'. See also David R. Ransome, 'John Ferrar: A Half-Hidden Propagandist for Virginia', *The Seventeenth Century*, 35:5 (2020), pp. 611–624.

27 Introductory letters in Hartlib, *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm*, sig. E2v.

perhaps Ferrar felt the same.²⁸ Given the education she received, and the environment in which she grew up, where women were encouraged to assert views of their own, there is no reason to think she was unduly pressured into supporting the colonial effort. Her working relationship with her father suggests a relational collaboration, one in which her privileged access to colonial intelligence networks assisted her particular interest in nourishing and studying silkworms. This occurred at a time when Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector, sought to advance a godly vision of reform that involved military campaigns in the Spanish West Indies. Ferrar's contribution invites a greater examination of the role that women played in the development of an English Atlantic, not only as colonists or travellers, but as intelligencers and projectors.

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²⁸ 'The Ferrar Papers of Magdalene College, Cambridge', p. 45.

Conversions and Conversations

By the turn of the sixteenth century, the consolidation of Protestantism under Elizabeth I contributed to a perception of England as the leading European Protestant power, as well as the only country in Europe which produced Catholic martyrs. The violent persecution of English Catholics had a profound impact on Catholic Europe. It has been estimated that between 1580 and 1619, around 163 editions of different works dedicated to English Catholic martyrs were published across Europe.¹ In Counter-Reformation thought, England thus emerged as a special mission field, a territory which needed to be reconverted to Catholicism and where, like the mission fields in the Americas or Asia, the prospect of martyrdom was certain. The case of Luisa de Carvajal, the Spanish noblewoman who decided to join the so-called 'misión de Inglaterra' (English mission), is an illuminating example of these Counter-Reformation perceptions of Protestant England. England's religious turmoil was often presented by English Catholic exiles as an opportunity to be explored by hostile Catholic powers such as Spain, in order to undermine the Elizabethan regime and promote the restoration of Catholicism. The case of Robert Parsons, the so-called 'arch-Jesuit', exposes the intricate connections between politics and religion instigated by the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, as well as the troubles faced by English Catholics in the growing association between Protestantism and Englishness.

The rise of the English Protestant regime in Tudor England also coincided with and contributed to the development of a series of projects of commercial and colonial expansion which directly challenged the Portuguese and Spanish overseas empires in the Atlantic and Indian oceans. Following Iberian exploits in the Americas, Africa and Asia, English overseas ventures contributed to an early modern globalization fomented by new trade and maritime routes. This not only facilitated the circulation of goods, information, and people, but was also caught up in the social and political processes resulting from the implementation of colonial structures of coercion.² The activities of the English Jesuit Thomas Stephens in Portuguese India, for example, reveals how European efforts to produce knowledge

¹ Brad S. Gregory, 'Martyrs and Saints' in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 456.

² See, for example, Victoria Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and Universal History of the Things of New Spain* (Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2014); Ângela Barreto Xavier, *A invenção de Goa: poder imperial e conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008); Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate*

about South Asian cultures were deeply embedded in the development of a colonial apparatus and mechanisms of social control of local populations.³ A similar method, though ostensibly for a different purpose, was adopted by Roger Williams in the second half of the seventeenth century. For Stephens and Williams, language learning and the use of the knowledge was crucial to spreading Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, to non-European peoples. Likewise, through his publications and translations, the chaplain Henry Lord sought to use his experiences in the service of the East India Company as a means to encourage English Protestant evangelism in the subcontinent. Lord viewed conversion as a deeply personal and active project, one that might not only secure English spiritual and commercial interests, but also halt the advance of Catholicism in India.

The last essay in this section looks at the influence of conversation and conversion on non-European peoples. Described as the 'India's first fruit', Peter Pope, the Bengali convert to Protestantism, illustrates the methods used in English attempts to evangelize. Moreover, from the brief fragments of texts within the historical records that we can recover about Pope, we are able to highlight the global effects of his conversion and his influence on English ideas of Protestant evangelism. His own voice and perspective, however, remain significantly more elusive, gesturing towards the vast range of non-European actors in such negotiations of whom only traces remain in European archives.

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3 Ines G. Županov and Ângela Barreto Xavier, *Catholic Orientalism. Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th–18th Centuries)* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015); Anna Winterbottom, *Hybrid Knowledge in the Early East India Company World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Robert Parsons (1546–1610)

In his short biography dedicated to Robert Parsons, Thomas James, the first librarian of the Bodleian Library, stated that it was impressive to see so many ‘bad qualities ... compiled together in one English Jesuit’. Among this long list of ‘bad qualities’ and insults James colourfully claimed that Parsons was a ‘hispanized Chameleon’.¹ James was not alone in targeting and insulting Parson. Thomas Bell in his *The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie* (1603), presented the English Jesuit as the ‘most bloody and scurrilous traitor, the monopole of all mischief, and the wickedest man upon the face of the earth’.² Parsons’s reputation as a ‘scurrilous traitor’ and ‘hispanized Chameleon’ reflected English anxieties regarding the geopolitical prominence of a hostile power such as Spain, as well as the problems posed by English Catholics to the increasing connection between Protestantism and political allegiance to the English state. Parsons’s ‘hispaniolization’ also evoked the perils and nefarious consequences of mobility between England and other countries. The English Jesuit is an illuminating example of contemporary perceptions of English Catholic exiles in general – individuals who, by leaving England, were liable to lose their Englishness and become ‘unnatural subjects’. Exposure to foreign cultural practices or the acceptance of life under a ‘strange and forein law’, as Gervase Babington noted, implied that those who opted to live under the protection of a foreign ruler or according to foreign laws were potential traitors, since they rejected or lived outside the legal apparatus that legitimated and supported the English Crown.³

Born on 24 June 1546 to a Protestant family in Nether Stowey, Somerset, Robert Parsons would become a central figure in the story of sixteenth-century English Catholicism. After completing his degree, he became a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, initiating a meteoric ascension to the post of dean of Balliol in 1573. One year later, however, his Catholic leanings forced his resignation, amid accusation of financial irregularities. He entered the Jesuit Collegio Romano on 4 July 1575 and was ordained in 1578. In 1580, he was appointed as the superior of the Jesuit mission in England. The arrest and execution of Edmund Campion in 1581 forced Parsons to return to the Continent. Between 1581 and 1588, Parsons led a mostly peripatetic life,

1 Thomas James, *The Jesuits Downefall Threatned Against them by the Secular Priests for their Wicked Lives, Accursed Manners, Hereticall Doctrine, and more then Matchiavillian Policie. Together with the Life of Father Parsons an English Jesuite* (London, 1612; STC 14459), pp. 50–51.

2 Thomas Bell, *The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie* (London, 1603; STC 1814), p. 174.

3 George Babington, *Certaine Considerations Drawne From the Canons of the Last Sinod* (London, 1605; STC 4585), sig. G3r.

being involved in diplomatic missions to obtain support for the English Jesuit mission, and various projects to overthrow the Protestant regime in England. Parson's activism and rapid ascension in the Society of Jesus made him a notorious figure and one of the main targets of the English Protestant authorities and propaganda.

Parson's 'hispanized' or 'hispaniolized' identity is deeply related to his attempts to gain the support of Philip II. In 1588, the general of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, granted Parsons permission to travel to Spain to placate the pressures of the Inquisition to intervene in local Jesuit structures, and to negotiate the legal privileges enjoyed by the Society of Jesus in Spain with Philip II. During his nine years sojourn in Spain, Parsons successfully lobbied Philip II to support the English Jesuit mission. In 1589, he obtained royal support to set up an English College in Valladolid. Some years later, in 1592, another college for English seminarists was founded in Seville. These new colleges were immediately perceived by the English authorities as a potential threat and instigated a rapid reaction. A proclamation signed by Elizabeth I but probably written by William Cecil, accused Parsons and the exiled English Jesuits of recruiting and manipulating young English Catholics who were sent to the colleges and seminaries of the Society of Jesus in Rome and Spain to prepare a Catholic uprising in England. For the Elizabethan authorities, the colleges run by the exiled English Jesuits were 'pointes of sedition' in the service of the Pope and Philip II of Spain which trained novices and other students to 'stir up, and persuade as many of our Subjects ... to renounce their natural allegiance due to us and our Crown, and upon hope by a Spanish Invasion to bee enriched and endowed with the Possessions and Dignities of our other good Subjects'.⁴

Besides rejecting the Church of England and Protestantism, the decision made by these students to travel to Iberia and live under the protection of the Spanish monarch suggested an act of treason and betrayal of the English sovereign. Their Catholicism and prolonged presence abroad also represented a risk. Even if they were not Jesuit missionaries, critics feared that these Englishmen, educated in the Iberian Peninsula, could cross the Channel and introduce social and cultural novelties that would corrupt English society. One of Parsons's main rivals, Matthew Sutcliffe, noted that those who studied, lived, or visited Italy and Spain, the main centres of

4 *A Declaration of Great Troubles Pretended Against the Realme by a Number of Seminarie Priests and Jesuists, Sent, and Very Secretly Dispersed in the Same, to Worke Great Treasons Under a False Pretence of Religion with a Prouision Very Necessarie for Remedie Thereof* (London, 1591; STC 8208), p.3.

Catholic Europe, had been exposed to social and cultural practices which had the potential to sabotage the English moral fabric and the Protestant establishment. '[T]he proper crime of the Italianated and Hispaniolized Masse-priests and their consorts', he wrote, '[is] that being inspired with the malicious spirit of Antichrist, [they] live like Atheists and Sodomites, & teach rebellion, murder of Princes, perjury, equivocations, and divers other pointes of Doctrine repugnant both to Religion and civil policy'.⁵

Parsons responded to these accusations in a pamphlet entitled *An Advertisement Written to a Secretarie of my L. Treasurers of Inghland* (1592) written with the purpose of refuting *A Declaration of Great Troubles* and William Cecil's 'broken Rhetorique'. Parsons presented himself as a scapegoat or a sort of pantomime villain used by Cecil to vilify English Catholics and attribute the failures of Elizabethan domestic and foreign policies to alleged Catholic conspiracies. Indeed, the English Jesuit accused Cecil and Elizabeth of making England a pariah state, 'breaking so openly and arrogantly with all the old Allies of the crown of England, in provoking so many and so potent Princes abroad to revenge their injuries, in attempting so great and dangerous changes, and innovations, and exasperations at home'.⁶ In other words, Parsons presented the accusations made by Cecil's declaration against him as an attempt to justify the persecutions of Catholics in England and the anti-Hispanic policy adopted by Elizabeth I. However, according to Parsons, it was known to all that the 'King of Spain, not only in this his olde age but in all his life by testimony of the whole world, hath bin ever most desirous and observance of peace, and the English quite contrary'.⁷ Parsons thus presented his Hispanophilia, not as an act of treason, but on the contrary as a justified attitude towards a monarch whose desire to re-establish an alliance with England was rejected by a Protestant regime that was using the religious divisions in England to cement its power. Cecil and the others members of her Privy Council were accused of being 'men of no conscience or religion ... who from the beginning of this Queen's reign [sought] to make matters of the Catholic faith more odious, & punishable, have sought to entangle them ever with matter of estate, and with forged conspiracies with foreign Princes'.⁸ The accusations made by Cecil, Parsons argued, were a good illustration of the ways in which the Elizabethan regime

5 Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Examination and Confutation of a Certaine Scurrilous Treatise Entituled, The Survey of the Newe Religion* (London, 1606; STC 23464), p. 97.

6 Robert Parsons, *An Advertisement Written to a Secretarie of my L. Treasurers of Inghland* (Antwerp, 1592; STC 19885), p. 33.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

'forged conspiracies' to legitimize its policies at home and abroad. Works such as *A Declaration of Great Troubles* were thus a product of a strategy followed by the Elizabethan authorities which sought to manipulate public opinion by exploiting the divisions between Catholics and Protestants (as well as the increasing anti-Spanish feelings) to gain popular support and cement their power.

On the other hand, the proximity between Parsons and the Spanish Crown was also heavily criticised by Catholics themselves. A group of exiled English Catholic priests feared that the increasing association between Catholicism and the support of Philip II's policies would intensify the anti-Catholic policies of the Elizabethan regime. In 1598, a group of English secular priests led by William Bishop and Robert Charnock presented to Pope Clement VIII an appeal to remove the Jesuits from their leading role in the English mission-field and the exiled English Church. One of the most hostile Appellant critics of Parsons, Anthony Copley, accused Parsons of being Spain's 'leud Apostle', forcing English Catholics to embrace the political interests and cultural practices of Spain, 'a mere foreign and Morisco nation'.⁹ Copley's xenophobic and islamophobic rhetoric portrayed Parsons's Hispanophilia as an ambitious personal project which was not shared by the majority of English Catholics who were 'loyal to her Majesty, and respectful to her law, and the civil magistrate under her in whatsoever trial of our faith; and not malapert, saucy, and peremptory, like as many Jesuited Catholics have done'.¹⁰ Parsons's exploits were thus perceived as a serious obstacle to finding a balanced solution in which English Catholics could conciliate both their political allegiance to the English crown and obedience to the Roman Church.

This perception instigated these so-called Appellants to collaborate with the English Protestant authorities in the propaganda attacks against Parsons, often resorting to a virulent language to undermine the reputation of the English Jesuit at home and abroad. Christopher Bagshaw, for example, denounced Parsons as being by 'birth a bastard, begotten upon the body of a very base woman' and related his expulsion from Oxford not to Parson's religious affiliation, but to his 'his Bastardy, factious conversation, libeling, and other misdemeanors'.¹¹ Such accusations of bastardy aimed not only to

9 Anthony Copley, *Another Letter of Mr. A.C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman, Concerning the Appeale, State, Jesuites* (London, 1602; STC 5736), p. 11.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

11 Christopher Bagshaw, *A Sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits, and of Fa. Parsons Proceed-ings Under Pretence of Promoting the Catholike faith in England for a Caveat to all True Catholiks*

insult Parsons and undermine his credibility, but also related his proximity to Spain to his birth and class. If by ‘birth a bastard’, Parsons would have been, according to late-sixteenth-century English common law, a ‘no man’s child’ and thus excluded from his father’s inheritance and family affiliation, the most basic form of social identity. Without an established position within a family, bastards were marginalised figures who lived outside the social and moral order. Bastardy thus was often used to explain evil or disruptive political or social behaviour. Francis Bacon included bastards, together with ‘[D]eformed Persons, and Eunuches, and Old Men’, in a group of ‘Envious’ people who ‘cannot possibly mend his own case, will doe what he can to impaire anothers’.¹² In this way, Parsons’s alleged bastardy offered an immediate explanation for his rejection of the English Protestant state and support of Philip II of Spain. As someone who lacked the family affiliation to be fully integrated into the social fabric, Parsons was – it was suggested – able to act against his countrymen and the commonwealth, as well as embrace the religion, culture, and interests of another country.

In polemical exchanges with the Appellants and his Protestant opponents, Parsons often used his erudition to launch satirical attacks on the English Protestant establishment, in order to dismantle the apparent logic and legitimacy of Elizabethan and Jacobean religious policies, as well as support his own political and intellectual projects. The violence of the Jesuit’s replies to his critics led the poet and cleric John Donne to suggest that Parsons’s polemical writings – or his ‘continual libels, and Incitatorie books’ – were behind the repression faced by English Catholics, having ‘occasioned more afflictions, and drawn more of that blood, which they call Catholic, in this Kingdome, then all our Acts of Parliament have done’.¹³ For sympathetic Protestants like Donne, who had Catholic connections in his family, Parsons’s defences of the Spanish monarchy and his polemical works suggested that Catholics could not be fully integrated into a Protestant polity and incited the repression and marginalisation of English Catholics.

Yet despite his close links to the Spanish crown, Parsons, like many other English Catholic exiles in Iberia, was the object of suspicion and mistrust there too, due to his nationality. Some members of the Spanish ecclesiastical and royal apparatus feared that the English colleges and seminars established

our very Loving Brethren and Friends, how they Embrace such Very Uncatholike, Though Jesuiticall Deseignments (London, 1601; STC 25126), pp. 42–43.

¹² Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsells, Civill and Morall* (London, 1625; STC 1148), p. 43.

¹³ John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr Wherein out of Certaine Propositions and Gradations, this Conclusion is Evicted. That those which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, May and Ought to Take the Oath of Allegiance* (London, 1610; STC 7048), sig. 1v.

in Iberia would host English spies, as well as represent another burden to the Royal Treasury.¹⁴ The activities of Francis Drake and John Norris against Iberian ships and ports stimulated anti-English sentiments.¹⁵ The fact that the majority of English Catholics supported Elizabeth I during the Armada led many in Spain to question the support given by Philip II to the English Jesuits. Another fear was the alleged risk that the English seminarist had been contaminated by Protestantism. To attenuate these fears, Parsons accepted that the English colleges in Spain would be governed by Spanish Jesuits and that all seminarists would attend classes at Spanish colleges among local teachers and students, ensuring that all English seminarists followed Spanish manners.¹⁶

This solution, which seems to be in line with the perception of Parsons as 'hispanized Chameleon', reveals the level of dependence and vulnerability that many exiles had within their host societies.¹⁷ Parsons's 'hispaniolization' was not only the result of his geopolitical vision, but also the need to secure the support of a patron who could provide crucial logistical and financial resources. Yet rather than facilitating an integration into his adopted nation, his 'hispaniolization' confirmed Parsons's liminal status as a peripatetic exile. While in England he was a 'trayterous' Jesuit, and thus unable to return to his home country; while in Spain, he was a Catholic exile, whose nationality rendered the viability of his presence in the Iberian Peninsula fundamentally questionable.

João Vicente Melo

14 Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 170.

15 Freddy Cristóbal Domínguez, *Radicals in Exile: English Catholic Books During the Reign of Philip II* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020), p. 98; Thomas McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 107.

16 Javier Burrieza Sánchez, 'Los misioneros de la restauración católica: La formación en los colegios ingleses' in *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs: xvie–xviii siècle*, eds. Charlotte de Castelnau-l'Estoile, Marie-Lucie Copete, Aliocha Maldavsky, and Ines G. Županov (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011), p. 95; Michael L. Williams, *St Alban's College, Valladolid. Four centuries of English Catholic presence in Spain* (London: C. Hurst Co., 1986), pp. 17–18.

17 Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-century Paris* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2011).

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Thomas Stephens (c.1549–1619)

On 24 October 1579 a group of five Jesuits recently graduated from the Collegio Romano arrived in Goa. Among them was Thomas Stephens, an Englishman from Bushton, Wiltshire who, after some years spent navigating English Catholic secret networks, had escaped to Rome, where he had entered the Society of Jesus in 1575. After some years in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, Thomas Stephens had adopted a Lusitanised version of his name – Tomás Estevão, and sometimes Tomás Esteves. Although he could write in Latin and Italian, two languages commonly used by Jesuits from outside Iberia and Italy, most of his correspondence was written primarily in Portuguese. In their pages, Stephens often chose terms used by Portuguese nationals in colonial territories to refer to their country and monarch, such as *reino* (realm) or *el-rei* (His Majesty). These everyday, individual choices could be interpreted as pragmatic steps towards integration in Stephens's daily life (many foreigners did the same in Iberia), or as a symbolic demonstration of loyalty to the Portuguese Crown. At the same time, however, they are also gestures that suggest both an 'accommodationist' approach and an intention to develop a persona based on 'in-betweenness'.

Historical evidence suggests that Stephens often used his 'in-betweenness' to serve as a mediator between the Portuguese authorities and the English. In 1583, a group of four Englishmen – Ralph Fitch, John Newberry, William Leeds, and John Storey – were arrested at the Portuguese port of Hormuz and sent to Goa.¹ Stephens and a Flemish Jesuit, Marcos Maecht, sought to mediate their release with the Portuguese viceroy. In spite of their sudden escape, Ralph Fitch mentioned in a letter written from Goa in 1584 that if Stephens and Maecht 'had not stuck to us, if we had escaped with our lives yet we had a long imprisonment'.² The Dutch traveller, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, who was at the time in Goa, had a different opinion and believed that the mediation by Stephens and Maecht was nothing more than a typically devious Jesuit scheme to gain money from the Englishmen.³

1 For a brief overview of the arrest of the members of the Fitch-Newberry expedition see Nandini Das, 'Encounter as Process: England and Japan in the Late Sixteenth Century', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69:4 (2016), pp. 1343–1368 (1363–1364).

2 Quoted Jonathan Gil Harris, *The First Firangis: Remarkable Stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans & Other Foreigners Who Became Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2014), p. 50

3 Ian Huyghen van Linschoten, *John Huighen van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies Devided into Foure Books* (London, 1598; STC 15691), pp. 141–142.

If Linschoten had doubts about Stephens's real intentions, depicting him as a Jesuit schemer willing to exploit his countrymen, the Portuguese authorities resented his readiness to help foreigners from hostile countries. After Stephens's death, Viceroy Fernão de Albuquerque evoked the experiences of the English Jesuit in a letter to Philip II of Portugal (III of Spain), where he recommended that the Crown should ban the presence of foreigners in the Estado da Índia, mentioning Thomas Stephens, 'an English clergyman of great sanctity', who one hour before he passed away, 'said that the Portuguese were too lenient for allowing foreigners in this State'.⁴ Albuquerque's anecdote about Stephens suggested that the English Jesuit regretted his role as a mediator between the Portuguese authorities and foreigners from enemy countries, and for his role in facilitating that non-Portuguese influx; perhaps he also regretted the inclusion of a letter he had written to his father in Richard Hakluyt's monumental collection of early English travel accounts, *Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589, the letter was reprinted in the second edition), through which it was widely circulated in England. This supposed regret was used by the viceroy to suggest that even foreigners who were loyal to the Portuguese Crown, like Thomas Stephens, could not be fully trusted because they were unable to control the actions of their interlocutors in other countries.

Stephens's time in India was characterised by such complicated, ambivalent mediation. After finishing his studies at the College of St. Paul in Goa around 1580, he was sent to Salsete, one of the most difficult Jesuit missions in the *Estado da Índia*. Salsete was one of the provinces most affected by the destruction of temples and mosques promoted by Portuguese authorities in the 1540s to 1560s. The implementation of this aggressive strategy led to several confrontations between Portuguese authorities and local populations. In 1567, a rebellion in the largely Hindu village of Cuncolim resulted in the destruction of the local Jesuit churches and residences.⁵ Some years later, some villagers openly collaborated with the invading troops of the Sultanate of Bijapur.⁶ In 1577, the Portuguese authorities launched a series of punitive raids against Cuncolim.⁷ In 1583, another uprising ended with the murder of a group of Jesuit missionaries and local converts. Stephens

4 'Doc. 1, Viceroy Fernão de Albuquerque to Philip III, 14 February 1620', in J.H. Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Histórico de Língua Concani* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1858), p. 204.

5 Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'Power, Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century Goa', *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, 17:18 (2010), pp. 31–32.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

7 *Ibid.*

was deeply affected by the massacre. In one letter to his brother, Richard Stephens, he presents Salsete as a land inhabited by 'a handful of Christians' surrounded by 'pagans' described as 'of a warlike character' and who were 'doing great harm to the Christian republic, partly by their open attacks and partly by their conspiracies'.⁸

The 1583 massacre exposed the failure and limitations of the uniformising policies of the *Estado da Índia* in Salsete. After an initial moment of increasing repression in the region instigated by the Portuguese authorities, the Jesuits re-implemented a strategy of accommodation that sought to manipulate local cultural elements to ensure the conversion of the people. Stephens was one of the instigators of this strategy. The few surviving letters written by him reveal a special concern in promoting the use of local languages in the literature and religious ceremonies of the Salsete Catholics. During his tenure as rector of the Jesuit College, Stephens's correspondence with the General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, the general of the Society of Jesus, repeatedly stressed that the 'best remedy' for Salsete was to ensure 'that everyone posted in the parishes should learn the language'.⁹

Although Stephens developed a genuine interest in the local languages and culture, like other Catholic missionaries working outside Europe, he tended to see the Salsete converts and the non-Christian populations as potentially rebellious individuals who needed to be corrected and guided. In 1601, he complained to Claudio Acquaviva about the 'ignorance and malice' of the local converts.¹⁰ Based on his experience in Salsete, the English Jesuit believed that the solution of this problem required the implementation of 'moderate and customary punishments'. This observation reflects a perception of the religious missions not only as an enterprise to convert new souls, but also as an instrument of social engineering in which catechising, confession, and pastoral visitations could be used as privileged tools of social surveillance and discipline to monitor and correct the behaviour of the local populations.¹¹

Around the same time, however, Stephens enthusiastically reported to the success of a catechism (*doutrina*) written in Konkani-Marathi:

8 'Thomas Stephens to Richard Stephens', in J.L. Saldanha, *The Christian Purāna* (Mangalore, 1907), p. xxxi.

9 Thomas Stephens to Claudio Acquaviva, 18 November 1594, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa 14-I.

10 Thomas Stephens to Claudio Acquaviva, 6 December 1601, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa 15.

11 See for example, Ângela Barreto Xavier, *A Invenção de Goa: Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008).

It is a comfort to see when one superior visits the church and listens to the children reciting a chapter of the catechism with its questions and answers. I have seen children replying to an entire chapter, small boys and girls who could barely speak. And during confessions, one realises that the little knowledge they have from this catechism is very fruitful.¹²

The success of this catechism, which was probably one of the earlier versions of Stephens's own *Doutrina Christam em Lingoa Bramana Canarim* (1622), was at the centre of an intense indoctrination campaign which included a school for Christian Brahmin children, the investment in elaborated religious services, and the construction of chapels which, as Stephens noted, would ensure that 'the memory of the Idols they worshipped disappears in each village'.¹³ These encouraging signs led Stephens in 1608 to ask Acquaviva to give permission and financial support to print works in Marathi and Konkani. Mentioning the 'great benefit' of Henrique Henriques' Tamil works, Stephens believed that the existence of catechisms and other edifying works in the local languages and alphabet would accelerate the conversion and Christianisation of Salsete.¹⁴ Yet in 1616 the *Kristapurana* was finally printed in Roman characters, due to the technical difficulty of producing a Devanagari typeface.

Indeed, the *Kristapurana* was the result of an artful adoption of the literary vocabulary and poetic style of the Marathi and Konkani tradition, especially from the devotional bhakti literature, which favoured an intimate relationship with a personal god.¹⁵ Stephens consciously borrowed and manipulated elements from local poetic and aesthetic models to present Christianity in a 'pleasant' and familiar style to both neophytes and 'gentiles'. The adoption of a local prestigious literary style also allowed Stephens to associate Christianity with native elements which could efficiently persuade the populations of Salsete to consider the Catholic Church as a true local institution and opt for conversion.

The *Kristapurana* sought to fill a void caused by the edicts which prohibited religious and literary works in local languages in the *Estado da Índia*.

12 Thomas Stephens to Claudio Acquaviva, 6 December 1601, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa 15.

13 *Ibid.*

14 Thomas Stephens to Claudio Acquaviva, 5 December 1608, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa 16.

15 Alexander Henn, 'Kristapurāṇa: Translating the Name of God in Early Modern Goa', *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 12 (2015), <<http://journals.openedition.org/samaj/4038/>> [accessed 10 December 2020].

Like the churches and chapels which were built with the stones and woods of the Hindu temples they replaced, the *Kristapurana* used the printed word and local poetic styles to replace gentile manuscripts and palm lead strips (*olai*).¹⁶ By replacing the banned heathen works with an appropriate Catholic alternative, Stephens aimed not only to secure the conversion of new souls, but to promote the colonisation of the imaginary of the populations of Salsete. In other words, both the *Kristapurana* and the two other works written by Stephens (the *Doutrina* and the *Arte*), are good examples of how the study of languages and vehicles of literary expression could be used as medium to transmit concepts and legitimise institutions.¹⁷

Although Stephens's intellectual curiosity, literary sensibility, and appreciation for Marathi-Konkani poetry should never be dismissed, the *Kristapurana* also cannot be disentangled from the 'confessional model of religious and social control' promoted by the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries operating in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*.¹⁸ The transcultural spirit in which the *Kristapurana* was produced was not based on spontaneous, fluid, and balanced exchanges between two cultural and religious systems, but was rather part of a calculated strategy which aimed at the indoctrination and subjugation of native populations into the Portuguese religious and colonial apparatus. Stephens's engagement with both the Marathi and Konkani languages and literary cultures was marked by a deep aesthetic appreciation, but at the same time, it allowed him access and a means to effect the transformation of the very same cultural structures of these local populations.

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Luisa De Carvajal y Mendoza (1566–1614)

‘[I]n my opinion’, wrote Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza from London to her friend Inés de la Asunción, ‘only to please God can one tolerate living here’. Life in Jacobean London was ‘very expensive’ and ‘the plague is ever in the area and nothing can be done about it’. London was not only more expensive than Madrid or Valladolid, but most things available in the English capital were ‘generally of cheaper quality than in Spain’. *Doña* Luisa was particularly frustrated by the quality of English food, ‘which looks good but has no aroma and is almost completely lacking in flavor, stays fresh only for the shortest time, and cannot be stored even in winter for four days without some foul taste’.¹ These complaints written by a nostalgic Spanish *émigrée* could be shared by other continental emigrants who resided in England for various reasons; but in the case of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza, the laments on the cost of living in London, the quality of English food, and the recurrent outbreaks of plague were not anecdotal observations but an important part of the *misión de Inglaterra*, the activities of English Jesuits based in Spain who sought to promote Catholicism in England.

Doña Luisa’s observations on English life were meant to provide relevant information for both the Society of Jesus and the Spanish authorities on the social and political evolution of England during the early years of the reign of James I. They are comparable to the correspondence and accounts written by the Jesuit missionaries stationed in Japan or India which were conscious of their contribution to the production and circulation of important knowledge on the political, religious, and economic structures of their host societies. Carvajal’s letters sought to be a detailed and reliable source of information on the intricately related activities of missionaries, diplomats, recusants, and more or less sympathetic Protestant figures.

The multiple roles developed by Luisa de Carvajal in England as an informal missionary, privileged informer of the Spanish secular and ecclesiastical elites, charismatic religious activist, and cultural/religious mediator between England and Spain make her a fascinating case study of the role of women in the Counter-Reformation. Born in 1566 in Jaraicejo, a small town in the Spanish region of Extremadura, Carvajal was the daughter of Francisco de Carvajal y Vargas, a member of the influential aristocratic House of Vargas, and Maria de Mendoza y Pacheco, the daughter of the count of Monteagudo.

1 ‘Doc. 78, To Inés de la Asunción, London, 21 April 1607’ in *This Tight Embrace: Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza (1566–1614)*, ed. and trans. Elisabeth Rhodes (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press), pp. 200, 253, 255.

She had a rather peripatetic childhood. At the age of five she moved to Leon, following her father's appointment as a *corregidor* of that city. One year later, due to the sudden death of both her parents, Carvajal was sent to Madrid to live with her aunt, Maria Chancón, the governess of Philip II's children.² Her time at the Spanish royal court ended with the death of her aunt in 1576. She was then assigned to the guardianship of her maternal uncle, Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, the marquis of Almazan, an influential courtier who served as an ambassador in Germany and would be appointed to the viceroyalty of Navarre in 1579. After some years at the Almazan estate, Carvajal joined her uncle in Pamplona, the Navarrese capital, where she would continue her private studies in Latin, classical literature, and theology. Historians such as Glyn Redworth, Elisabeth Rhodes, and Anne Cruz have highlighted the profound psychological effects of these years on Carvajal, whose years of studies in Latin and theology were interspersed with the marquis's encouragement of flagellation and late-night acts of penitence, an extreme form of Catholic piety based on the *imitatio Christi* that would shape her desires of martyrdom.³

When the marquis died in 1591, Carvajal spent years disputing her inheritance with her brother while pursuing a religious life outside the formal world of female religious orders. In 1601 she moved to Valladolid to follow her lawsuit against her brother over her inheritance. It was during this period that she came into contact with the English College of St. Alban's. Carvajal was a frequent visitor to the College's chapel, where she usually prayed to the image of *La Vulnerata*, a large statue of the Virgin and Child defaced by English Protestant soldiers during the Anglo-Dutch raid on Cadiz in 1596.⁴ Her interest in the English Catholic exiles living in Spain and on the conditions faced by recusants in England led Carvajal to establish a regular contact with Robert Parsons, the rector, Joseph Cresswell, the vice-rector, and Michael Walpole, the brother of the Jesuit Henry Walpole who had been executed in England in 1595.

Carvajal arrived in London in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, a failed attempt by a group of English Catholics to assassinate James

2 Elizabeth Rhodes, 'Luisa De Carvajal's Counter-Reformation Journey to Selfhood (1566–1614)', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51:3 (1998), pp. 887–911 (889).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 891; Glyn Redworth, *The She-Apostle: The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 26; Rhodes, 'Luisa de Carvajal's Counter-Reformation Journey', pp. 887–911.

4 Redworth, *The She-Apostle*, p. 83; Peter Davidson, 'The Solemnity of the Madonna Vulnerata, Valladolid, 1600', in *The Triumphs of the Defeated: Early Modern Festivals and Messages of Legitimacy*, eds. Jill Bepler and Peter Davidson (Weisbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag for Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 2007), pp. 39–54; Anne J. Cruz, 'Vindicating the Vulnerata: Cádiz and the Circulation of Religious Imagery as Weapons of War', in *Symbolic and Material Circulation between Spain and England, 1554–1604*, ed. Anne J. Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 39–60.

I during the opening session of Parliament on 5 November. The discovery of the plot triggered a series of anti-Catholic measures, including a new act expelling Jesuits and other members of the clergy from the realm, and the imposition of an oath of allegiance that all Catholics were to make to the English Crown. The discovery of the plot also exacerbated Hispanophobic feelings due to rumours of supposed Spanish involvement in the plot.⁵ Carvajal's initial moments in England were thus shaped by a context of profound hostility towards Catholics. Her letters catalogued an escalating sense of religio-political tension and xenophobia. Londoners, she commented, praised their city 'to the skies, and say that it is paradise on earth, without ever ceasing to speak ill of Spain'. Anti-Spanish feelings, as Carvajal explained, seemed to be part of a deep-rooted hostility of the English towards all strangers: 'They do not like foreigners in general, and they themselves admit that this is in their nature'.⁶ Aware of the hostile conditions faced by the recusant community, and the intensification of anti-Spanish feelings, Carvajal sought to operate in a discreet manner and without the interference of the Spanish embassy. To achieve this, she followed a similar approach to the one developed by the Jesuit missionaries stationed outside Europe, based on an accommodation to local cultural elements that would allow proselytising agents to operate according to the different cultural, social, and political scenarios they faced. Indeed, she often explicitly compared the *misión de Inglaterra* with the Jesuit enterprise in India and the Americas. For Carvajal, England was the 'grand India of the spirit', a place that, although a part of Christendom, was socially and morally damaged by the rise of Protestantism, requiring a similar approach to the proselytising activities of the Jesuits in places ranging from Japan to Mexico.⁷

In this way, Carvajal sought to live as an Englishwoman and mix with the local population. As she explained to Rodrigo de Calderón, the influential secretary of the duke of Lerma, her 'desire' was to 'learn the language and pass as an English woman, so that the ambassador or anyone else from my nation would not have any news about me'.⁸ She learned English with

5 Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 60.

6 'Carvajal to the Marchioness of Caracena, 16 April 1611', in *Letters of Luisa de Carvajal*, vol. II, p. 152.

7 Anne J. Cruz, *The Life and Writings of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza* (Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014), p. 70.

8 'Doc. 172, A don Rodrigo Calderón, Londres, 7 de setiembre de 1613', in *Epistolario de Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 1999); *Deseé mucho aprender la lengua, y pasar por inglesa, sin que el embajador ni nadie de mi nación viniese a*

the help of two ‘ladies from the land’ who did not speak Spanish (*no saben una palabra española*), forcing Carvajal to ‘always speak with them, well or badly, in their language, and with this I try to improve my English’.⁹ Her integration into the English recusant community also involved a period of detachment from the London-based Spanish community. In the same letter to Rodrigo de Calderón, Carvajal reveals she made a considerable effort to ‘not reveal myself to other Spaniards, and I wished to pass as an Englishwoman, asking for a piece of bread here and there’.¹⁰ Before reaching an adequate proficiency in English, Carvajal invested in a public image that combined symbols of authority and gravity, aligning herself by turns with English or Spanish fashions as the occasion demanded, developing an austere yet charismatic visual persona.¹¹ Her intention was partly to state her alignment with the subversive world of Catholic London, with its ‘relics and rosaries in people’s sleeves or pockets’, but also with Spanish fashions.¹²

Once she felt comfortable with the new language, after a period of around two years, Carvajal pursued a public activism that inevitably led to serious conflicts with both English and Spanish authorities. Her regular visits to comfort Catholic prisoners in the London jails, her collection of the bodies of executed recusants and Jesuits, and the exportation of their body parts in relics to Spain and other Catholic countries caught the attention of the Protestant authorities. She also became noted for her public preaching and virulent attacks against Protestantism, which was often a cause of concern for the Spanish ambassadors. All three ambassadors who served in the Spanish embassy during Carvajal’s days in England (Pedro de Zuñiga; Alonso de Velasco; and Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, count of Gondomar), despite their discreet support of Carvajal’s exploits, regarded her as a potential source of disruptive diplomatic incidents between England and Spain, and frequently sought to persuade the ‘Jesuitess’ to return to the Iberian Peninsula.

tener noticia de mí, <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/epistolario-de-luisa-de-carvajal-y-mendoza--o/>> [accessed 10 July 2020].

9 ‘Doc. 37, A Inés de la Asunción, Londres, 19 de enero de 1606’, in *Epistolario de Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza: siempre les hablo en su lengua, bien o mal, con que procuro ir deprendiéndola*, <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/epistolario-de-luisa-de-carvajal-y-mendoza--o/>> [accessed 10 July 2020].

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11 ‘Carvajal to Inés de la Asunción, 19 January 1606’, in *Letters of Luisa de Carvajal vol. I*, p. 115.

12 *This Tight Embrace*, p. 273.

In 1608, Carvajal was arrested for preaching publicly at the market in Cheapside, and released after some days thanks to the intervention of the Spanish ambassador, Pedro de Zuñiga. After this arrest, Carvajal decided to set up an unofficial religious order, the Company of the Sovereign Virgin Mary Our Lady. The order was based on a *chiquito monasterio* (a little monastery) or *conventico* (a little convent) in Spitalfields where *soldados doncellas* (warrior maidens) provided spiritual and logistical support to the members of underground Catholic networks. Carvajal's humanist education and erudition also helped her cement her position as a leading figure of the English recusant community. Her activism and logistical support encouraged English Catholics, as Julian Yates noted, 'to maintain both a mental and physical space that lay beyond the realm of the state but within the borders of its authority'.¹³ Indeed, Carvajal's *chiquito monasterio* aimed to provide a discreet and relatively safe space for the religious practices of Catholic recusants, consolidating her charisma and prominent role as an agent of recusant resistance to the Protestant religious and political apparatus.

Luisa de Carvajal 'moved beyond imposed boundaries (social, sexual, and national)'.¹⁴ Although she never professed as a nun, she took monastic vows. She was not a statesperson, but she often acted with the informal support of the Spanish embassy. This ambiguous status made her a difficult figure who seemed to operate outside the limits of the typological classifications that regulated early modern social life. Nonetheless, her aristocratic background, her utility to the interests of the Spanish crown and the English Jesuits, as well as the fact that she had moved to a distant country, allowed Carvajal to create a space of her own and negotiate a unique status which mixed different Iberian and English elements. Her case, assisted by the large variety of writing she left behind, is thus an interesting example of the effects of mobility on the construction of individual identities and social status.

The Protestant controversialist Lewis Owen, in *The Running Register* (1626), included a brief section on Carvajal's life where he suggested that the so-called 'Jesuitess' was actually an outcast and subservient woman who had been seduced and manipulated by the English Jesuit Walpole, who 'could make her tame as a hen'. Walpole, in Owens's words, 'knew how to cast out that ill spirit, insomuch that he made her so quiet that she could

13 Julian Yates, 'Parasitic Geographies: Manifesting Catholic Identity in Early Modern England' in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*. ed. Arthur F. Marotti (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 63–84.

14 Maria J. Pando-Cantelli, 'Tentando Vados: The Martyrdom Politics of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10:1 (2010), pp. 117–141 (120).

not (if she would) have the use of her own, without his consent'.¹⁵ The close association between Jesuits and recusant women was frequently explored by anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit propagandists. Indeed, one of the recurrent themes of Protestant polemicists was the critique of the malicious, abusive, and manipulative behaviour of Jesuits towards Catholic women, whom they seduced and used for their plots and to fund their luxurious excesses.¹⁶ Owen's biography of Carvajal was thus an attempt to discredit the *misión de Inglaterra*, and to justify Carvajal's success in England as a product of the psychological manipulation of the Jesuits, who were able to persuade a Spanish woman that she would be the 'Apostlesse, or the she Apostle of England' if she crossed the channel 'to convert (or pervert) our English Gentlewomen (who it may be were as honest as herself) to the Catholic Religion, and to become Jesuitesses'.¹⁷ Owen's view of why an unmarried wealthy aristocratic Spanish woman would travel to England to aid the Jesuit mission was overly simple. Carvajal was, to English Protestant eyes, a troublesome and subversive figure, not only for her religious activism, but also for her ability to operate outside prescribed social, gender and national boundaries.

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17 Owen, *The Running Register*, p. 63.

Henry Lord (fl.1624–1630)

In 1630, the first in-depth English language analysis of the Hindu and Parsi faiths was printed in London. It was the work of Henry Lord, an East India Company (EIC) chaplain and contemporary of Edward Pococke (who also features in this volume). *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies vizt: the Sect of the Banians the Ancient Natives of India and the Sect of the Persees the Ancient Inhabitants of Persia Together with the Religion and Maners of each Sect Collected into Two Books* (1630) was based on Lord's engagement with the Hindu and Parsi faiths whilst in Surat, India, in EIC service. Unlike other Company chaplains such as Patrick Copland, Edward Terry, or Edward Pococke, who travelled extensively while employed abroad, Lord did not travel outside of Surat whilst in India. Unwilling to travel far from the EIC's factory, Lord's experiences of the culture, people, and customs of India were restricted, and his recollections of his time in the subcontinent are limited to this one text. This did not, however, mean that he and this text were any less influential in shaping English perceptions of Indian religious and cultural practices and identity in the seventeenth century.

Little is known about Henry Lord before he was employed by the EIC.¹ His ODNB entry suggests that he was born 1563 and attended Magdalen Hall, Oxford. However, this would mean that he would have been sixty-one when appointed to the position of chaplain in the EIC in 1624. Although this is possible, it is highly unlikely, as the average age of the ministers that the Company selected to go out to India was thirty. Nora Firby has argued that Lord was even older, suggesting an age of sixty-three when he entered the Company's service, and that the Company had actively sought to employ an older man due to rumours of impropriety amongst the younger ministers that they had sent to India. It is however just as likely that the 'Henry Lorde' who matriculated age 17 on 15 April 1580 at Magdalen, was a different individual.²

Whatever his age may have been at the time of his appointment, Lord came highly recommended. The EIC minutes noted how the 'courte had particular commendation of Mr Lord from Mr Deane White under whome he served as Curate, and likewise from Mr Shute, and others' and from

1 Daniel O' Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company 1601–1858* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), pp. 68–69.

2 'Lord, Henry' in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714*, ed. Joseph Foster (Oxford, 1891) *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp921-955>> [accessed 22 November 2021].



Figure 6 Henry Lord, A Display of Two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies (1630). Exeter College, Oxford. Published with permission of the Rector and Scholars of Exeter College, Oxford.

these testimonies requested he preach before the committee in a trial sermon. From the start of his Company career, Lord had openly expressed an interest in evangelism. His interview sermon, drawing on *Ephesians* 5:11 ('Have no fellowship with the works of darkness but rather reprove them') neatly summarises the rationale behind his later work: both to reprove the intellectual ignorance of the English, and the spiritual lives of the Indians. The ornate frontispiece of his work is also adorned with two biblical verses that explain the missionary reasoning for its publication.³ They expressed two related concerns that his book aimed to tackle, firstly his interests in the religion and governance of the Hindu and Parsi people, and his ambitions to 'reform' their religious governance. The first verse from 1 Corinthians 11:19, 'For there must be heresies even among you, that they which are approved among you, might be known', expressed Lord's wish to inform his readers of Indian religions. The second taken from Isaiah 9:16, 'For the leaders of the people cause them to erre: and they that are led to them are destroyed' reinforced Lord's perception of English spiritual superiority and was intended to encourage the Company and his English audience to support evangelism in India. It is inevitably difficult to quantify exactly how well received his book was by the Company that employed him, but these two verses highlight the fundamental impetus behind Lord's efforts to help the process of establishing the Company's Protestant governance in India.

One of the main objectives of *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects* was to encourage its reader to pass judgement on the religious lives of the Indian people. By offering explanations for the creation myths, holy texts, eating habits, traditions, and social structures of the Hindu and Parsi religions, Lord sought to convince his readers of the need for their religious reform. According to Lord, the two faiths were 'rebelliously and schismatically violating the divine law of the dread Majesty of Heaven' and so he beseeched his readers – in particular the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the book was dedicated – to 'judge of their causes and crimes'.⁴ Throughout the volume, Lord seeks to criticise elements of Hindu and Parsi religious governance through historical comparisons, as well as biblical and Christian teachings. This is most notable in his discussion about Hindu laws forbidding the drinking of alcohol and the eating of meat, which he argues is a 'tradition

3 First verse from 1 *Corinthians* 11:19, 'For there must be heresies even among you, that they which are approved among you, might be known', the second is from *Isaiah* 9:16, 'For the leaders of the people cause them to erre: and they that are led to them are destroyed'. See frontispiece Henry Lord, *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies* (London, 1630; STC 16825).

4 Lord, *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects*, sig. A3r.

voyde of ground or reason'.⁵ For Lord, European classical precedents held more validity than the cultural practices he observed on the ground in India. Not only did the Romans describe ancient Indians as 'vini amatores, lovers of Wine', he argued, but also according to the Bible, such self-denial was deluded and 'against the common end and use of the Creature, which God hath made to comfort the heart of Man'.⁶ Hindu abstinence from alcohol and practice of vegetarianism rejected God's purpose in creating animals, but Lord hoped that the spread of Christian scripture and Protestant reform in India would put this right.

Lord also tried to explain the societal structure of India through its religious governance, discussing caste and how Indian society was ordered, noting particularly the Brahmins who 'instruct people in matters of Religion'.⁷ Lord also recalls his interactions with the local population of North western India, for instance in his description of his first encounter with a Hindu, Lord with stereotypical disdain also noted Indian clothing and appearance, drawing on age old concepts of western masculinity against eastern femininity. In this episode, a Hindu man, who worked for the Company, was the object of Lord's close observation. He notes the man's 'linnen garments' and claims that his 'gesture and garbe [was] as I may say maidenly and well nigh effeminate', a qualification that, despite his close observation, emphasises the gap that remained between Lord and the local Indian people with whom he was surrounded. With other objects of his inquiry, he recorded how they were 'strangely notable, and notably strange'.⁸

According to Lord, the religions of India were fundamentally false, and as such patently did not provide enough strength to structure a government or society upon. He concludes his remarks on the religious governance of India by suggesting that 'all evidence of braines intoxicates with the fumes of Errour and Polytheisme' and that 'their Religion [was] a composed Fiction, rather than anything reall for faith to leane on'.⁹ As such, he argued that the only solution to such weak government and rampant falsehood was the establishment of Christian religious governance in India. Although Lord's vision of an imposed Protestant government in India did not come to pass until the post-Braganza period and the handover of Bombay to the English, *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects* illustrates how in England at least, ideas

5 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 47; For further discussion on the eating of meat in Lord's work see pp. 46–53.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

8 *Ibid.*, sig. B2v.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.

about the identity of Indian peoples, their religion, and culture were already beginning to form through the EIC's earliest interactions.

Although *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects* was not reprinted in Henry Lord's lifetime, it did find many admirers among English writers, influencing the presentation and perceptions of Hindu and Parsi peoples in European literature. In the second edition of *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), fellow East India Company chaplain Edward Terry owed much of his knowledge on Hinduism to Lord.¹⁰ In his *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile into Afrique, the Greater Asia, and Some Parts of the Orientall Indies* first published in 1634, Thomas Herbert wrote that his passages on Hinduism was based on 'the description of their Religion ... [in] a booke late written by Master Lord a Preacher to the Merchants in Surat'.¹¹ When the second edition of his book was published four years later, it included information on the Parsi faith, for which Herbert again acknowledged and thanked Lord.

Meanwhile, Lord's work also attracted its admirers in Europe. Francois Bernier wrote that he was 'no lesse obliged to Monsieur Henry Lord, and to Monsiuer Abrham Roger, they to the Reverend fathers Kircher and Roa. I Had compiled a hundred things relating to Gentiles, which I found in the Bookes of those Gentlemen'.¹² The influence of his work on European perceptions of the religions of the subcontinent continued into the eighteenth century. *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects* was first translated into French in 1667 by Pierre Briot, it would also in a partial form be included by Bernard Picarts in the first edition of the massively influential *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of All the Peoples of the World* (1723).¹³ Lord's work also continued to gain attention and influence in England and was reprinted in several collections into the eighteenth century including Awnsham Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704–1752), and in John Pinkerton's seventeen volume *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*.¹⁴

10 Will Sweetman, *Mapping Hinduism: 'Hinduism' and the Study of Indian Religions, 1600–1776* (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2003), p. 81.

11 Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Tavaie into Afrique, the Greater Asia, and Some Parts of the Orientall Indies* (London, 1634; STC 13190), p. 36.

12 Francois Bernier, *A Continuation of the Historie of Monsieur Bernier, Concerning the Empire of the Great Mogol* (London, 1672; Wing B2042) p. 157.

13 Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de Tous les Peuples du Monde* (Amsterdam, 1723), pp. 1–15; Sweetman, *Mapping Hinduism*, p. 81.

14 Awnsham Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* vol. VI (1733), pp. 299–342; John Pinkerton, *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, vol. VIII (London: Longman & Hurst, 1811), pp. 523–572; Sweetman, *Mapping Hinduism*, p. 81.

A Display of Two Forraigne Sects is considered to have established a new genre of literature that would later include Abraham Roger's *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom* (1651) and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's *Genealogie der Malabarischen Gotter* (1713). Lord's English work was unique as its focus was solely on religion. Although earlier works mentioned religion in sections on the customs and practices of India, religion was only a minor concern to authors such as Edward Terry. Terry in his famous account only briefly describes the 'so many miscarriages of heathens'. Instead, his focus is on shame-praising his English readers by using Indian religious observations as a means to lecture Christians about their own piety. Lord goes much further: both criticising Protestants for not evangelising, whilst rhetorically drawing comparisons between Indian faiths and Roman Catholicism in order to denounce the latter.

It has been argued that Lord was not interested in territorial aims, but was rather writing to encourage the Company or church to evangelise, or just for the novelty of writing. However, evangelism as a form of state conversion had many long-standing advocates in England over this period, who had touted its use across the globe to expand English governmental jurisdiction. Thus, evangelism and successful conversion was not only seen as a spiritual transformation, but also as a political act that involved a shift in national, social, and cultural allegiances. Through the publication of *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects*, Henry Lord wanted not only to draw attention to this mission but also to offer a means to achieving it. Although Lord disappears from the historical record following the publication of *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects*, his legacy was instrumental in shaping English and European conceptions of Indian religion for centuries to come. Moreover, his work was foundational in the development of evangelical imperialism that defined Anglo-Indian encounters in the subcontinent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Haig Z. Smith

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Roger Williams (c.1606–1683)

The religious and political exile, settler, and founder of Rhode Island, and translator of the Narragansett language, Roger Williams, sometimes known as the ‘First rebel’, ‘Prophet of Liberty’, and ‘Father of American Democracy’, is a much lauded figure in the history of early American politics and Anglo-Native American interaction.¹ His role in the drafting of Rhode Island’s charter, and his authorship of works such as *A Bloudy Tenant* (1644), and *A Key into the Language of America* (1643), rightly cement his role in forming a transatlantic political identity and colonial narrative that still exists to this day. This view acknowledges him as a crucial figure in the development of so-called ‘unique American conceptions’ such as ‘religious freedom’, ‘integrity of conscience’, ‘equality, toleration, pluralism, separation of church and state, and non-establishment of churches’.² However, this has often meant that his credentials as a fervent evangelical colonialist have been ignored in favour of his opposition to authoritarianism and Puritan theocracy. Like Thomas Stephens’s *Kristapurana* (1616), discussed elsewhere in this volume, Williams’s *A Key into the Language of America* is seen as a work that embodies an authentic curiosity for Indigenous (Narragansett and Algonquin) languages and cultures. Although Williams’s curiosity cannot be denied, this work was also a shrewd political tract that played upon English colonial rivalry, distorting the territorial claims that the colony of Massachusetts had on land under Rhode Island’s jurisdiction. Furthermore, and more importantly, it laid out Williams’s evangelical agenda in the hope that it would encourage support for the religious conversion and integration of Rhode Island’s Narragansett populations into the Protestant world. Roger Williams’s place in the scholarship of American colonial expansion and political history is complex and consequently so too is recovering his personal and national identity. The ways in which Williams’s encounters and negotiations also profoundly shaped the lives of Native American peoples should also be at the heart of any discussion of Williams’s legacy.³

1 Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co, 1927), vol I, p. 6; Edwin S. Gaustad, *Roger Williams: Prophet of Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); James E. Ernst, *Roger Williams, New England Firebrand* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), p. 278; Donald A. Grindle Jr. and Bruce E. Johansen, *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy* (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Centre, University of California, 1991).

2 Edward J. Eberle, ‘Symposium: Religious Liberty in America and Beyond: Celebrating the Legacy of Roger Williams on the 400th Anniversary of his Birth’, *Roger Williams University of Law Review*, 10 (2005), pp. 279–287 (279).

3 Linford D. Fisher, J. Stanley Lemons, and Lucas Mason-Brown, *Decoding Roger Williams: The Lost Essay of Rhode Island’s Founding Father* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2014), pp. 37–47;

Born in London around 1606, Williams was the third son of Alice Pemberton and James Williams, a member of the Merchant Taylor Company. Little is known about his early life until the great English jurist, Sir Edward Coke, employed him in his teenage years to ‘in short hand, take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber’.⁴ Williams held Coke in great admiration and fondly remembered his time working with Coke in letters to his daughter Anne Sadleir.⁵ In 1628, after graduating from Cambridge and being ordained, Williams married Mary Bernard, the daughter of fellow clergyman Richard Bernard. That same year Williams was present at a meeting at the earl of Lincoln’s estate where notable future migrants to New England, such as Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, and John Winthrop, discussed investing in the Massachusetts Bay Company and moving its government across the Atlantic.⁶ Increasingly conscious of the growing hostility towards ministers who did not conform to the liturgical and sacramental practices of the established Church, Williams and others sought to avoid what they saw as the increasingly authoritarian reach of the Church by escaping to New England.

By early 1631, Williams and his wife had settled in New England: first in Boston, then in Plymouth. Williams quickly became an influential and divisive figure in Massachusetts politics. His own brand of fiery Puritan politics quickly placed him at odds with the heterodox members of the governing elite of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (MBC). Upon arriving in Boston, Williams ruffled feathers by not accepting the invitation to join the church. He would explain later that he ‘durst not officiate to an unseparated people’ and that he did not agree with their refusal to ‘make a public declaration of their repentance for having Communion with the Churches in England while they lived there’.⁷ News of Williams’s very public refusal drew the attention of the governing elite of Boston, and

Teresa M. Bejan, ‘When the Word of the Lord runs freely’: Roger Williams and Evangelical Toleration’ in Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda eds., *The Lively Experiment: Religious Toleration in America from Roger Williams to the Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), pp. 65–81.

4 John Russell Bartlett, ed., *The Letters of Roger Williams*, ed. John Russell Bartlett (Providence, RI: The Narragansett Club, 1874), p. 253.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America’s Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 156.

7 ‘Roger Williams to John Cotton 25 March 1671’, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society vol. III, 1855–1858* (Boston, MA: John Wilson & Son, 1858), p. 316; Richard S. Dun, James Savage, and Laetitia Yeandle, *Journal of John Winthrop, 1630–1649* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996), p. 50.

local magistrates were quick to warn churches in neighbouring towns, including Salem, about Williams. This led Williams to settle in Plymouth plantation, the southern but no less dogmatic neighbour to Massachusetts. After less than a year in Plymouth, Williams was yet again at the centre of several controversies. Most notable among them was his claim that the king of England did not have the legal authority to corral and transfer Native American lands to English settlers. Such an assertion undermined the control of colonial authorities in New England by calling into question their charter rights, in particular their claim to the land that they inhabited. Williams's religious views, attack on the MBC's charter, and his justification of Native American land rights set him apart from many of his contemporaries in New England, and would eventually lead to the General Court in the winter of 1635 sentencing him to be sent back to England. Instead of crossing the Atlantic, however, Williams fled, seeking shelter with a group of Native Americans, and the following spring he set about establishing a new colony based upon his own religious and political beliefs.

Over the next seven years, Williams was joined by his family and friends on Narragansett lands. He would eventually buy the land from local Narragansett *sachems*, Cononicus and Miantonomo, and establish a small community which he called Providence. Over this period, Williams also began his work on the study of local Narragansett language and customs, *A Key into the Language of America*. Over thirty-two chapters, Williams presented his readers 'with a Key' that 'happily may unlocke some Rarities concerning the natives themselves, not yet discovered'.⁸ *A Key* covered a variety of different topics from Narragansett marriage and burial customs, warfare and government, paintings, clothing, and fishing. In each chapter Williams listed several words, terms, or phrases, as well as giving some of his own observations regarding local practices. In many of these observations Williams was very complementary of Narragansett culture, using them as a foil to shame his English and Christian readers for what he saw as their poor moral and social behaviour. For example, in his first chapter on 'Salutation', he noted the various terms of greetings and polite conversation while observing that local peoples were 'remarkable free and courteous, to invite all strangers in', going on to conclude that through these terms the English are able to see 'civility and courtesie even amongst these wild Americans'.⁹ When discussing entertainment and eating habits, Williams

8 Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America* [London, 1643] printed in *Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society*, vol.1 (Providence, RI: John Miller, 1827), p. 17.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 32.

recorded terms such as *Ascúmetesímmis?* (Have you eaten yet?) and *nipéwese* (Give me some water) alongside the words for beans, boiled corn, and kettle (*Msíckquatash*, *Manusquussédash*, and *Aúcuck*), while commenting that ‘it is a strange *truth*, that a man shall generally finde more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these Barbarians, then amongst thousands that call themselves Christian’.¹⁰

When noting their families, Williams not only lists the terms for husband, wife, father, mother, uncle, son, and daughter, but he also notes the terms for wards or pupils, and fatherless children, concluding with what can only be seen as an indirect commentary on the lack of provisions in England, that ‘there are no beggars amongst them, or fatherlesse children unprovided for’.¹¹ In his discussion of local government, Williams again painted a largely positive picture of governing structures and practices. Although framed in negative European terms such as absolute Monarchy and subjection, Williams firmly asserts that he could ‘never discern thatate excesse of scandalous sin amongst them, which Europe aboundeth with’, in particular he highlights the absence of drunkenness and gluttony.¹² He also notes ‘a man shall never heare of such crimes amongst them of robberies, murders, adulteries, &c as amongst the English’.¹³ Indeed, Williams throughout his comparison of the English and local Native Americans sought to chastise his contemporaries by juxtaposing their conduct as civilised Christians with the behaviour of the ‘pagan’ Native American, concluding that ‘Boast not proud English, of thy birth and blood / Thy Brother Indian is by birth as Good ... Make sure thy second birth / else though shalt see / Heaven ope’ to Indians wild, but shut to thee’.¹⁴ Unlike many of his contemporaries Williams shame-praising was not inherently based on the negative views of indigenous customs. Whereas Williams’s contemporaries such as Henry Lord drew parallels between the religious practices of Hindus and Roman Catholics as a means to condemn the latter, Williams sought to genuinely illustrate what he saw as positive customs.

Williams’s moderate outlook on Native American customs and culture was not exhaustive, and it is evident that he shared similar negative, even prejudicial, views towards Native religion and religious practices to many of his English contemporaries. Some three decades earlier, John Smith and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

George Percy recounted witnessing an Algonquin *powwow* in Virginia, which Percy described as involving ‘many diabolical gestures with many irigramantcke [necromantic] spells and incantation’, which led Smith to conclude that he was being ‘near led to hell, amongst the Devils to dwell’.¹⁵ Likewise, Williams uses similar language to describe witnessing a religious ceremony, recounting how after being in ‘their house, and beholding what the Worship was’ he wished he had never seen it, proclaiming ‘I durst never be an eye witsnesse, Spectatour, or looker on, least I should have been partaker of Sathans Inventions and Worships’.¹⁶ In his description of religious feasts, festivals, and gift giving he comments that the ‘Divell drives on their worship pleasantly’.¹⁷ When describing Native American priests, Williams was equally scathing, comparing them to the biblical figure of Simon Magus, accusing them of not only simony, but abusing the sick to ‘get their money’, as well as producing cures ‘by the helpe of the Divell’.¹⁸ Williams’s views on liberty of conscience and Native American land rights in conjunction with his friendly relations with Native American communities have often overshadowed his culturally rooted preconceptions towards their religious practices. As Alfred Cave has argued, the fact that Williams believed that Narragansett religion, and in particular ‘knowledge of their rites’, placed ‘his own soul in jeopardy’, is a strong example of ‘the depth and tenacity of English prejudice’.¹⁹

Williams’s religious concern was not only to protect his own soul but also those of his Narragansett counterparts, and, as with all English settlers in this period, many of his prejudices come from a desire to convert local peoples to Protestant Christianity. As one historian has put it, ‘because Williams came to America with the avowed desire of converting Indians to Christianity, he found it difficult to comment objectively about Narragansett religion’.²⁰ The conversion of the local Narragansett, as well as other Native American people was described by Williams as the ‘Great Point’ of settlement

15 George Percy, *Trewe Relaycon, of Proceedings and Occurences of Moments which have happened in Virginia* (London: 1612), *VirtualJamestown* <<http://www.virtualjamestown.org/exist/cocoon/jamestown/fha/J1063>> [accessed 22 November 2021]; John Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia New England and the Summer Islands* (London: 1626; STC 22790), p. 48.

16 Williams, *A Key*, p. 112.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

19 Alfred A. Cave, ‘New England Puritan Misperceptions of Native American Shamanism’, *International Social Science Review*, 67:1 (1992), pp. 15–27 (18).

20 Jack T. Davis, ‘Roger Williams among the Narragansett Indians’, *The New England Quarterly*, 43:4 (1970), pp. 593–604 (600).

in America.²¹ In *A Key* he writes that the conversion of the Native Americans of New England was ‘to be longed for’, going on to ask ‘what Indians have been converted’ and ‘what have the English done in those parts?’ to achieve this goal.²² Yet in answering these questions, Williams highlights his scepticism as to the overall success and achievability of the ‘Great Point’, noting that the successful conversion of Native Americans had been ‘by all New-English so much pretended’, suggesting that many of the converts were nominal Christians rather than true believers who had undergone wholesale spiritual conversion. In a jab at *New-England’s First Fruits* (1643), a tract defending Massachusetts’ evangelical agendas and practices that had been published the same year as *A Key*, Williams passed his opinion on one of its key figures, a Pequot convert named Wequash, questioning the earnestness of his conversion.²³ He himself could have converted many, he pointed out, but he refused to do so since he was not a missionary and was unable to ‘open matters of salvation to them’.²⁴ Despite this, throughout his life Williams continued to hope for the eventual ‘salvation’ or conversion of Native American peoples. Although not an active evangelist, his actions were part of a concerted plan to encourage Indigenous peoples to come to the Christian, or more precisely Protestant, faith, through personal salvation.

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21 Williams, *A Key*, p. 23.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

23 *Ibid.*; Anonymous, *New England’s First Fruits* (London: 1643; Wing E519), pp. 11–14.

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Peter Pope (fl.1614–1622)

When the East India Company chaplain Patrick Copland returned to England in 1614 after his first voyage to India, he arrived in London with a young Indian boy. The boy, possibly from the Bay of Bengal, was one of ‘two black boys’ given to the East India Company captain, Thomas Best, by a Dutch merchant. Best, in turn, ‘gifted’ the boy to Copland.¹ The chaplain made it his mission to teach the boy ‘to speak, to read and write the English tongue and hand, both Roman and Secretary’ and to convert him to Christianity.² This young man, later named Petrus Papa or Peter Pope, became England’s first recorded convert to Protestantism from the subcontinent. His public baptism involved James VI and I and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and took place before members of the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, as well as the governors and members of the East India and Virginia Companies, making Pope a symbol of an increasingly combined religious, commercial, and imperial agenda that was beginning to take shape in England. Although only fleetingly visible for a mere eight years in historical records of the time, Pope had an enduring effect on how the English framed and conceived the ultimate outcome of encounters with non-European and non-Christian peoples. Pope, his education, and his very public conversion to Protestantism reflected the first English success story, and as such, became the example on which later religious-educational programmes would be modelled.

As the boy’s guardian and spiritual mentor, Copland set about using Pope to establish and promote his own views on evangelical education and Protestant expansion overseas. The chartering of the Virginia and East India Companies over the previous decade had launched English colonial and commercial aspirations beyond the British Isles, bringing with them an ambitious agenda to spread Protestantism abroad. This was not only seen as an imperative in halting the advancement of Catholicism in America and Asia, but also as a means to firmly entrench English rule abroad.³

1 William Foster, ed., *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612–1614* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. 156; Stephen Neil, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginning to AD 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 375.

2 Patrick Copland and Peter Pope, *Virginia’s God Be Thanked, or a Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie Success of the Affayres in Virginia This Last Yeare, Hereunto Are Adjoynd Some Epistles, Written First in Latine, and Now Englished, By Peter Pope, an Indian Youth, Who Was, Baptized, In London, December 22, 1616* (London: 1622; STC 5727).

3 For more information on evangelism and the transferal of sovereignty through education see chapter 4 ‘The Virginia Company and the Foundations of Religious Governance in English

Conversion to Protestantism was both a spiritual transformation and a cultural and social metamorphosis, involving the transferral of sovereignty over an individual and their allegiance from a local power to the English crown. Soon after arriving in London, Copland wrote to the court of the East India Company requesting that the Company release or raise funds for Pope's education. The Company was quick to oblige and ordered that '20 markes' be granted for Pope to remain in England so that he could be 'taught and instructed in religion'.⁴ The Company also ordered that Copland be allowed to stay in London and that the boy be 'permitted to attend him'.⁵ It was the ultimate goal of those in attendance at the Company court that the boy would eventually become an agent of this emerging English imperial evangelism. Declaring that through his English education, Pope 'might upon occasion bee sent into his country', they hoped that 'God may be so pleased to make him and Instrument in rounding some of his nation'.⁶

One year later, Copland reported back to the EIC court, detailing with satisfaction the success of Pope's education, having achieved what the Company set out to do. Copland declared triumphantly that Pope had 'profited in the knowledge of the Christian religion' and that he was able to 'render an account of his faith'.⁷ Moreover, Copland, keen to publicise this event, suggested that it may benefit the Company to hold a baptism 'publicly', as he considered Pope the 'first fruits of India'.⁸ Despite Copland's fervent assertions, the Company reacted cautiously to the chaplain's request. The deputy governor of the Company, Maurice Abbot, should speak with his brother George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, they decided, as they were keen to ensure that such a 'majestic business' was conducted properly.⁹

After some discussion between the two Abbot brothers, the Company agreed to Pope's baptism. On 22 December 1616, Pope was baptised at the Church of St. Dionis in front of a congregation made up of the Privy Council, Lord Mayor, aldermen, and members of the East India Company and the

Commercial Expansion' & 'Apostasy and Debauchery (1601–1660): Behaviour, Passive Evangelism and the East India and Levant Company Chaplains' in Haig Z. Smith, *Religion and Governance in England's Emerging Colonial Empire 1601–1698* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

4 BL IOR B/5 August 19, 1614; Edward D. Neill, *Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland, Rector Elect of the First Projected College in the United States* (New York, 1871), pp. 13–14; Foster. *Thomas Best*, p. xx.

5 BL IOR B/5 August 19, 1614.

6 *Ibid.*

7 BL IOR B/5 July 18, 1615.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

Virginia Company.¹⁰ The king himself chose the boy's name as Peter Pope, in what Copland's biographer described as 'that odd compound of cant, coarseness, and Scottishness', poking fun at his Catholic counterparts.¹¹ James's renaming of Pope was not only an attempt to make a political statement of the boy's conversion, but reflected a longstanding practice of name-changing that marked the individual's conversion not only to Christianity but to European/English civility. In continental Europe, the conversion and renaming of al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi as John Leo Africanus, the writer of the first comprehensive *Description of Africa*, was a matter of relatively recent memory.¹² And as the English would remember, only two years before Peter Pope, the Powhatan woman Pocahontas had been baptised in Virginia, to much celebration on both sides of the Atlantic. Like Pope, Pocahontas had been described as the 'first Christian ever of that Nation' and was expected to be God's 'instrument' in converting her people.¹³ Her baptism had also involved the removal of her name, becoming 'Rebecca' and later Lady Rebecca Rolfe following her marriage. This renaming, despite its longstanding religious tradition arising out of the confirmation ceremony, also marked a moment of imperial claiming, in which the individual's natural identity was forcibly removed and replaced with one given to them by their Christian rulers. Pope's baptism marked an imperial moment for the English, who in comparison to the Catholic Iberians had been slow to spread their religion abroad. The heightened publicity around Pope's conversion and baptism thus served a dual purpose. An act of Christian charity, it was also a useful announcement of English presence, albeit belatedly, in European interventions in global geopolitics.

A few months after his baptism, Pope and Copland were on board the EIC's ship *Royal James* returning to Asia. For some time, Pope continued his education under Copland's supervision, producing a Latin epistle for the Governor of the EIC following from Copland's *Virginia's God Be Thanked* sermon in 1620. In his letter to the governor, Sir Thomas Smith, Pope thanks Smith and the Company for the 'great many benefits bestowed upon me' and promises to write a 'longer, yea, perhaps a more elegant and eloquent

10 Register of St Dionis Backchurch, Guildhall Library 176021; Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 339; Neill, *Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland*, p. 12; Copland and Pope, *Virginia's God Be Thanked*.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: The Search for Leo Africanus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006; London: Faber and Faber, 2007).

13 Kupperman, ed., *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 69–71. See also essay on Pocahontas in this volume.

Letter' to him when his Latin had improved.¹⁴ Pope also provided a letter to Captain Martin Pring, commander of the East India Company's ships. As in his letter to Smith, Pope thanks Pring for his support in his learning and writes that 'I might account you' as a 'special friend'.¹⁵ In both letters Pope concludes by using strong religious language, 'the Lord always guid you with his Spirit, and uphold you with his might power, and every day enrich you with the rich graces of his Spirit', which, although not unusual, helped to emphasise the steadfastness of Popes conversion. Not one to pass up an opportunity to really hammer home the fact, Copland also included alongside these two letters Latin translations by Pope to illustrate the success of his learning in England and what could be achieved if England did more to educate and convert non-European peoples.

That lesson was not limited to English interventions in Asia. Following the publicised EIC success in effecting Pope's education, conversion, and baptism, Copland would use Pope and his experiences with him to encourage the Virginia Company to embrace the aim of converting Native American peoples through education. Between 1618 and 1622, the Virginia Company set about establishing two centres of education. The first was a college at Henrico and the second was the East Indian School at Charles City.¹⁶ Both educational centres at Henrico and Charles City were established through similar fundraising schemes and charitable donations, by way of which both offered 'free' education to children of Native Americans. The latter was the brainchild of Copland, who, in 1621 whilst returning from Japan aboard the *Royal James*, encountered ships bound for Virginia and from the conversations with those aboard heard of the lack of churches and schools in the colony. Appalled by what he heard, he immediately set to raising funds to establish a school in Virginia. Its purpose was to educate Native American children, as Pope had been, 'in the principles of Religion, civility of life, and humane learning'.¹⁷

14 Peter Pope, 'To the most Illustrious Knight, Sir Thomas Smith, the most prudent Governor of the East- India Company, eternal felicity in the Lord' in *Virginia's God Be Thanked*, sig. Ar.

15 Peter Pope, 'To the same', in *Ibid.*, sig. A2r.

16 William and Mary is the second oldest college in the United States, having received its charter in 1693. Despite this, it asserts a precedence over Harvard on the basis that it was originally supposed to establish in 1619, see <<http://www.wm.edu/about/history/index.php>> [accessed 5 May 2015].

17 Patrick Copland, *A Declaration How the Monies (Viz. Seventy Pound Eight Shillings Sixe Pence) Were Disposed Which Was Gathered (by M. Patrick Copland, Preacher in the Royall James) at the Cape of Good Hope (Towards the Building of a Free Schoole in Virginia) of the Gentlemen and Mariners in the Said Ship: A List of Whose Names Are Under Specified, for Gods Glory, Their*

One year later, Copland published an in-depth financial account of this endeavour which highlighted his success in obtaining charitable donations for his cause from EIC employees on board ships. This account detailed every penny of the money he had collected at the Cape of Good Hope, coming to a total of £70 8s 6d; this was then supplemented by a further £30 donated by five unknown persons.¹⁸ Due to the size of the donations, Copland wrote that the ‘Virginia court thought it fit in honour to the said East-India benefactors, the said free School ... set out in Charles City, to be called The East India School’. A popular cause that weighted transcultural exchanges in favour of the English, the Company would receive several donations for these projects and would also gift land and money to the colleges itself.¹⁹ Copland would continue to embark on a vigorous fund-raising campaign from within the EIC, acquiring funds to establish a school for both Amerindian and English children at Henrico. However, despite these moves to formalize the evangelical process in Virginia, Company settlers had in fact been taking and educating Native American children in the Christian faith for some time. For its part, the Company was keen to make it seem as if ‘the Indyans very loving, and willing to parte with their children’, seeing the arrangement as similar to the European practice of warding.²⁰ Yet, the practice did not create a brotherly bond between the Native Americans and the English. Instead, the taking of children, along with the systematic attempts to eradicate local customs and culture through education, did more to cause distance and resentment than cultural and religious harmony.²¹

Following the Massacre at Jamestown and dissolution of the VC in 1624, Copland turned his vision toward Bermuda, moving there in the 1630s and continuing his evangelical educational agenda.²² In 1639, he received ‘12 New-England Indians’ from the Governor of Massachusetts, John Winthrop, who he promised would become ‘Instruments’ who could be sent back to

Comfort, and the Incouragement of Others to the Furthering of the Same, or the Like Pious Worke (London: 1622; STC 5726).

18 *Ibid.*

19 Susan Myra Kingsbury ed., *Records of the Virginia Company* (Washington: Govt. Print. Office, 1906–35), vol. I, pp. 307–308; ‘Instructions to George Yeardley, November 18, 1618’, in Kingsbury ed., *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. II, p. 102; ‘A Note of the Shipping, Men and Provisions Sent and Provided for Virginia ... in the Year 1621’, in Kingsbury ed., *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. II, p. 640.

20 ‘Rolfe to Sir Edwin Sandys, June 8, 1617’, in Kingsbury ed., *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol I, pp. 71, 70–73.

21 Haig Z. Smith, *Religion and Governance in England’s Emerging Colonial Empire 1601–1698* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), chap. 2 & 4.

22 Neill, *Memoir Copland*; Foster, *Thomas Best*, p. xxii.

their communities to do some ‘good upon their Countrymen’.²³ In the same letter, Copland goes on to offer proof of the effectiveness of this policy, citing not Pope, but the Dutch in Asia. According to Copland, Dutch merchants in Amboyna had ‘gained many to God and his Truth’ through education, not only of the local people, but also of Europeans.²⁴ In great detail, Copland describes how a Dutch schoolmaster, who had ‘learned first the Malay tongue’, taught Dutch to the local population and then Malay to the local Dutch children, both ‘being brought up in the same school together’.²⁵ By imbuing the education process with a transcultural exchange of language, Copland argued that ‘many thousands’ had been ‘converted to the Christian faith’.²⁶

For Copland, evangelism was a form of transcultural engagement. Although its eventual aim was to repress the converts’ birth culture, it involved embarking on a process of learning, which – although uneven – required both parties to acknowledge and attempt to understand the social, cultural, religious, and linguistic practises of the other. As for Peter Pope, the ‘first-fruit of India’ and the first recorded English transcultural convert from Asia, no historical record of him survives after 1620. Given a humanist education, his elegantly penned Latin letters are the only oblique traces that remain of his own voice and presence. However, Pope’s legacy continued well into the seventeenth century, remembered as one of the few examples of early English attempts to create ‘transcultural’ missionaries through education, a cause his mentor Patrick Copland would champion for the rest of his life.

Haig Z. Smith

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23 Patrick Copland to John Winthrop, Dec. 4, 1639, in Allyn B Forbes ed., *Winthrop Papers vol. IV* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1944), pp. 4:157–159; See also Edward E. Andrews, ‘Charting the Protestant International in the British Atlantic and Beyond’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 74:1 (2017), pp. 3–34 (9).

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 157–158.

26 *Ibid.*

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Managing Liminality

All of the men and women in this collection were defined in some sense by in-betweenness. Whether through their cultural heritage, their mobility, the language they spoke or the religion they practiced, all skirted around established parameters of belonging. How they managed this liminality differed, and this section offers a more focused engagement with the negotiations involved as these individuals crossed borders and boundaries of all kinds. The subjects of these essays all came from different places for different reasons, and from different walks of life. Corey the Saldanian, who was abducted by East India Company (EIC) merchants from Saldanha Bay and forcibly brought to London, stands out amongst the others in this section for his involuntary presence in England. Roderigo Lopez, on the other hand, a Portuguese *converso* (Jewish convert to Christianity), travelled to England to benefit from an extended community of continental knowledge-gatherers, and soon after embarked on an illustrious career as a physician in the employ of both royalty and nobility. At the same time, however, the lives explored in this section highlight how movement within existing legal, social, and cultural hierarchies was problematised by hidden complexities of birth, heritage, class, and social connections. Despite attending to the Queen, Lopez's reputation would prove an inadequate buffer against spurious accusations of treason, and he was executed following a widely publicised trial in which the prosecution's case relied heavily on anti-Semitic tropes. Corey, on the other hand, is recorded as using the English he acquired in London to serve as a successful mediator between sailors and the local community once he had returned to southern Africa.

The essays in this section also consider how researchers manage the liminality of their subjects. Often sources exist because of the status afforded to these go-betweens. For Teresia Sampsonia Shirley, a Circassian royal who married the English ambassador to Persia, a high-profile life generated swathes of public interest, resulting in ample extant textual and iconographic sources that reveal the remarkable agency of this self-styled Catholic Amazon. Though the everyday physical and legislative violence inflicted on migrants and their children often goes unrecorded, the Italian heritage of the court musician Mark Anthony Bassano held sufficient weight with senior statesmen for his assault by a group of xenophobic English soldiers to survive in official state papers. At the same time, however, those from marginalised groups often leave sparse traces to work with. The life of French Huguenot Esther Gentili, like many women – particularly migrant

women – survives in piecemeal records, and she has often been relegated to a footnote in the biography of her famous husband. However, as this study of Gentili reveals, even sparse records offer glimpses of everyday transculturalisms and the agency that individuals exercised over their self-presentation.

Each essay highlights how it is imperative to consider why these sources exist and whose voice mediates our access to the past. There is no dearth of records pertaining to the life of Pocahontas, described by the English in European terms as an Algonquian ‘princess’. Pocahontas, or Matoaka, was kidnapped by the English and married the planter John Rolfe. However, the familiar story of Pocahontas’s life and experience comes to us via the cultural framework of English sources and their authors’ colonial rationale, often ignoring oral forms of knowledge production and exchange used by Indigenous communities and scholars. None of the essays in this volume offer a definitive model for undertaking historical research into the lives of these transcultural figures, but it is fitting that it closes with an essay on Corey, whose very name comes to readers through a process of textual mediation, serving as a reminder that storytelling is never a neutral practice.

Roderigo Lopez (c.1525–1594)

Probably born in Crato, Portugal, around 1525, Roderigo Lopez (also known as Rodrigo Lopes) was a member of a Portuguese Jewish family forcibly converted to Christianity in 1497. His father, António Lopes, was one of the physicians of João III. After studying medicine in Coimbra and likely Salamanca, the growing Inquisitorial persecution in Portugal forced Lopez to leave the Iberian Peninsula. Following *converso* exile route, Lopez left Portugal and had a brief sojourn in Antwerp, one of the preferred destinations for many *conversos* involved in trading activities.¹ In 1559, Lopez moved to London, escaping from the increasing socio-religious turmoil afflicting Antwerp. Between 1557 and 1562, the local inquisitorial courts executed 103 people accused of heresy, mostly Anabaptists.²

Lopez found Elizabethan London full of opportunities for skilled and learned physicians. English universities were unable to provide an adequate number of medical experts. Foreign universities such as Padua, Bologna, Paris, Montpellier, Leiden, Salamanca, and Coimbra were more advanced in medical studies than Oxford and Cambridge. The fact that the practice of medicine in London was only permitted to Oxbridge graduates – those trained in other universities had to be examined and approved by the Royal College of Physicians – contributed to the scarcity of English licensed medics and surgeons. This scenario encouraged the emigration of highly skilled foreign physicians exiled from Italy, France, and the Low Countries. The 1571 census, for example, registered twelve ‘stranger’ physicians.³ The prestige and popularity enjoyed by foreign medics prompted many English medical practitioners to ‘fain themselves to be of strange country, and ... counterfeit their language’.⁴

The demand for skilled physicians trained at prestigious continental universities was an opportunity for social ascension. Cesare Adelmare,

1 The Portuguese and Spanish term *converso* refers to individuals who converted to Christianity. The term became widely associated to converts from Judaism, who were also referred as ‘New Christian’ or the derogative *marrano*, a Portuguese and Spanish term for ‘pig’. See Christopher Ebert, *Between Empires: Brazilian Sugar in the Early Atlantic Economy, 1550–1630* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 38; Herman Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy: Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968).

2 F.E. Beemon, ‘The Myth of the Spanish Inquisition and the Preconditions for the Dutch Revolt’, *Archiv für Informationsgeschichte*, 85 (1994), pp. 246–264 (255).

3 Deborah E. Harkness, ‘“Strange” Ideas and “English” Knowledge: Natural Science Exchange in Elizabethan London’ in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* eds. Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 137–162 (139).

4 *Ibid.*

the father of the lawyer and politician Sir Julius Caesar, is an illuminating example. A graduate in medicine from the University of Padua, Adelmare migrated to England in 1550 and four years later became a member of the Royal College of Physicians. Around 1554, he was employed by Mary Tudor and continued to serve at the English court under Elizabeth I. As a sign of his prestige, Robert Cecil commissioned him in 1570 to write a set of instructions to avoid outbreaks of plague in London.⁵ Elizabeth also employed the services of Giulio Borgarucci, another Padua graduate, who, after having his medical degree incorporated in the University of Cambridge in 1572, was made physician of the royal household for life by a royal patent of 1573.⁶

In 1581, Lopez succeeded Borgarucci as the queen's physician. This appointment was the zenith of a brilliant career, initiated in 1559 but ending in ignominy and execution. By 1567 Lopez had already become a member of the College of Physicians and served as physician at St Bartholomew's Hospital. One year later, the list of strangers of the parish of Little St Bartholomew's registered Lopez as a 'Portingale borne, and a denyson' who 'goeth to the parishe church', stating his conversion to Anglicanism and obedience to the English Crown.⁷ The list of Little St. Bartholomew's, as well as the other parishes where Lopez resided, highlighted his Portuguese nationality rather than his status as a New Christian or *converso* exile. Indeed, by the 1570s and 1580s Lopez's Iberian background seemed to be more problematic than his Jewish heritage. English incursions in the Gulf of Guinea and the Brazilian coast had led to several diplomatic tensions with the Portuguese crown. The union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns under Philip II in 1580 further aggravated this scenario.

The formalisation of the Iberian Union made the activities of Portuguese nationals in London – and other English port cities like Bristol or Southampton – highly suspicious both in Iberia and England. Portuguese anti-Habsburg exiles and the members of the Portuguese *converso* community were easily perceived as potential double-agents or saboteurs at the service

5 John Henderson, 'Public Health, Pollution and the Problem of Waste Disposal in Early Modern Tuscany', in *Economic and Biological Interactions in Pre-Industrial Europe, from the 13th to the 18th century*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2010), p. 373; Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), p. lxii

6 Mariagrazia Bellorini, 'Un medico italiano alla corte di Elisabetta: Giulio Borgarucci', *English Miscellany* (1968), pp. 251–271.

7 Quoted in Alan Stewart, 'Portingale Women and Politics in Late Elizabethan London', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700* ed. James Daybell (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 84–85.

of one or more interests. Such perceptions surface in William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money* (c.1598), a city comedy based on the frustrated attempts of Pisaro, a Portuguese merchant, to marry his three daughters, born of an English mother, to rich foreign merchants, ignoring the English suitors that the women themselves prefer. Pisaro was a character built around the notion of interchangeable Portuguese and Spanish identities. His name was not Portuguese, but Spanish, and a not very subtle pun on the conqueror of Peru, Francisco Pizarro. Pisaro presents himself as Portuguese by birth, but his political loyalties seem to be ambivalent and dependent on his mercantile activities with 'fertile Spain'.⁸ As he explains in the opening act, 'every Soil to me is natural', a suggestion that his wealth had allowed him to become a denizen.⁹ Albeit settled in England and married to an Englishwoman, Pisaro has no allegiance to his host society, as his determination to marry his daughters to foreigners suggests.¹⁰

Lopez's Jewishness, however, was occasionally evoked to explain his rapid ascension and alleged treason, particularly after his execution. Gabriel Harvey, who knew Lopez personally, noted in his own copy of *In Iudaeorum Medicastroorum* (1570) that 'although descended of Jews, he [Lopez] was himself a Christian and a Portugal'. Harvey considered that the denized Portuguese was not among the 'learnedest, or expertest physicians in the court', instead he speculated that Lopez's rapid ascension was related to a 'a kind of Jewish practise' which allowed him to 'grow much wealth and some reputation as well with the queen herself as well as the greatest Lords and Ladies'.¹¹

Lopez offered Elizabeth I more than his medical knowledge. His marriage to Sara Anes, the daughter of Dunstan Anes, a wealthy Portuguese Jewish merchant based in London since 1540, reinforced the physician's personal connections with the intricate trading networks of Portuguese *conversos*, which facilitated contraband and the exchange of information between English and Iberian ports. Furthermore, his brother Diogo Lopes had married the sister of Álvaro Mendes (alias Solomon Abenaes), a wealthy Portuguese Jewish merchant and Ottoman courtier who at various times worked as a

8 William Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money* (London, 1626; STC 12932), sig. A2r.

9 *Ibid.*, sig. A2r.

10 See, for example, Edmund Valentine Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales: Ambiguous Identities of Portuguese Marranos in Elizabethan England', *English Literary History*, 69:3 (2002), pp. 599–616.

11 Gabriel Harvey's notes on his copy of [Georg Meier], *Iudaeorum Medicastroorum* (1570): BL Shelfmark C.6o.h.18.

diplomatic agent for Portugal, Florence, Venice, France, and England.¹² Lopez also had dealings with Hector Nunes, a Portuguese *converso* physician and merchant who often collaborated with Francis Walsingham's diplomatic and espionage activities.¹³ After treating Walsingham for complaints related to kidney stones, Lopez entered his intricate intelligence network, gathering all sorts of commercial and political intelligence from Portuguese Jewish merchants for English authorities. After Walsingham's death, William Cecil also used Lopez to gather intelligence on Spanish espionage in England.

Lopez's involvement in espionage intensified when he became a supporter of *Dom António* of Crato, the claimant of the Portuguese throne who moved to England in 1585 after a brief period of exile in Paris. Walsingham and Burghley believed that *Dom António's* return to Portugal would damage the Spanish monarchy and enhance emergent English colonial interests. The lobbying of Lopez and other influential Portuguese *conversos* such as Dunstan Anes and Hector Nunes led to the organisation of a failed expedition of May 1589, in which an English fleet commanded by Drake, Norris, and the earl of Essex was defeated outside Lisbon.¹⁴ Walsingham's death in 1590 made Lopez's activities even more complex, as the ascendancy of the anti-Spanish party led by Essex questioned the efforts promoted by Walsingham and Cecil to restore relations with Philip II.

At this time, the Elizabethan intelligence system underwent a confused period of reorganisation shaped by Walsingham's death and the competition between the Essex and Cecil factions. Essex emerged as a potential new chief intelligencer, recruiting many of Walsingham's former collaborators. According to Walsingham's son-in-law, Bishop Godfrey Goodman of Gloucester, Essex invited Lopez to join his espionage network, working as a double agent pretending to work for the Spanish crown.¹⁵ Lopez apparently declined the invitation, fearing to be caught in a delicate situation in which he could be tried for treason.¹⁶ Besides this, his career as an intelligencer, and access to the English court, was promoted by Essex's rivals. Lopez was not only closely attached to the Cecil faction, but also deeply involved with a group of merchants formed by Portuguese *conversos* and Englishmen interested

12 See for example, 'The connected world of intrigues: the disgrace of Murad III's favorite David Passi in 1591', *Leidschrift: Aan Het Hof*, 27 (2012), pp. 75–99.

13 See, for example, Charles Meyers, 'Debt in Elizabethan England: the adventures of Dr Hector Nunez, physician and merchant', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 34 (1994–1996), pp. 125–140.

14 For an overview of the so-called English Armada, see *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589*, ed. R.B. Wernham (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018).

15 Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, vol. I (London, 1839), p. 149.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 150



Figure 7 Roderigo Lopez by F. van Hulsen (1627). Wellcome Collection. Public Domain Mark.

in restoring commercial ties with the Iberian ports. As Goodman noted, Lopez's rejection of the offer to collaborate with Essex, and the fact that he continued to gather and pass intelligence to Elizabeth and the Cecils 'bred very ill blood between the Earl and Dr. Lopez'.¹⁷

Lopez's intricate involvement in these intelligence networks, including his prominent role in promoting the cause of *Dom António*, allowed him to become a double agent. Spanish authorities established contacts with the *converso* physician in order to obtain intelligence on anti-Habsburg Portuguese exiles, and to poison *Dom António*.¹⁸ It was this continuous communication with the Iberian espionage networks that led to his involvement in an alleged Spanish plot to murder Elizabeth I along with *Dom António*. Around October 1593, the arrest of Estevão da Gama and Manuel Luís Tinoco, two Portuguese double agents operating in England within Essex's espionage network, paved the way to Lopez's downfall.¹⁹ During their interrogation, and under torture, the two spies revealed that Elizabeth's physician, following an intense correspondence with Philip II and the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹⁸ Ro. Cecyll, and Arthur Dimock, 'The Conspiracy of Dr. Lopez', *The English Historical Review*, 9:35 (1894), pp. 440–472 (444–447).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 460–463.

Viceroy of Portugal, Cristovão de Moura, had accepted a payment of 50,000 crowns to poison the queen and received a gift of jewels from Philip II as a reward for his good services to Spain.²⁰

Lopez was duly arrested and questioned. Despite his claim to be acting in order 'to deceive the Spaniard', the significance of the accusations made against him required a trial for high treason. The Treason Act of 1570 defined as traitor anyone who 'within the realm or without, compass, imagine, invent, devise, or intend the death or destruction, or any bodily harm tending to death, destruction, maim or wounding of the royal person of the same our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth'.²¹ Although the evidence against Lopez relied only on the statements made by the two spies, the physician was unable to present any proof to contradict the accusations made against him. During the trial, one of Lopez's patrons, Robert Cecil, became convinced of his treason. In a letter to Thomas Windebank, Cecil described Lopez as 'Villain' and a 'Vile Jew' who had confessed his guilt after being enquired 'by the most substantial Jury that I have seen, have found him guilty in the highest degree of all Treasons, & Judgment passed against him with ye applause of all ye world'.²² It is probable that Cecil's words sought to expunge the connections he and his father had with Lopez, following a judicial process with profound symbolic and political implications.

Anti-Semitism, as Robert Cecil's words reveal, contributed to the perception of Lopez's guilt. Edward Coke's notes on Lopez's trial highlighted his Jewishness, mentioning that 'many Portuguese living under the queen's protection were concerned' by a 'Portuguese Jew' serving the English monarch so closely, suggesting that Lopez's countrymen distanced themselves from the potentially deceptive nature of his religious practices.²³ Lopez's execution would revive the antisemitic feelings that had already been sparked by Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* in 1592. Indeed, the publicity surrounding the trial led to the return of the play to London theatres. Jewish characters that resonate with the public interest in Lopez appear in multiple texts of the period, from Zachary in Thomas Nashe's *The*

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 464–465.

21 'An Acte whereby certayne Offences bee made Treason (1570)', in *The Statutes at Large, of England and of Great-Britain: From Magna Carta to the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. IV, ed. John Raithby (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1811), p. 275.

22 'Sir Robert Cecil to Thomas Windebank, 4 p.m., 28 Feb. 1593/4, from the Strand', *Calendar State Papers, Domestic: Elizabeth, vol. III: 1591–4* ed. ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1867), p. 444.

23 David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (London: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 56.

Unfortunate Traveller (1594) and Ropus in Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (1607), to Shakespeare's Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* (c.1605).

The antisemitic elements of these works, as Edmund Valentine Campos has argued, were also rooted in anti-Hispanic feelings instigated by Elizabethan rivalries with Portugal and Spain.²⁴ The presence, and ambivalent religious and political affiliations, of Iberian *converso* refugees settled in England contributed to a fluidity between anti-Jewish and anti-Hispanic prejudices. For example, John Florio's *Queen Anne's New World of Words* defined *marrano*, a Portuguese and Spanish word for 'pig' and used as pejorative term to identify *conversos*, as 'a nickname for Spaniards, that is, one descended of Jews or Infidels, and whose Parents were never Christened, but to save their goods will say they are Christians'.²⁵ During the trial, Lopez was frequently identified as a 'Portingale' (Portuguese) instead of a Jew. The other two accused were also Portuguese men working for the Spanish crown. These Iberian connections both validated the accusations and served the anti-Spanish narrative developed by Elizabethan propaganda. Immediately after Lopez's trial and execution, William Cecil published *A True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies of Late Time*, an account that related Lopez's plot to other schemes promoted by Philip II with the help of English Catholics.²⁶

While Lopez's trial reinforced the association between antisemitism and anti-Hispanic feelings, his career also offers a case study for the limits of denizenship in the integration of foreign migrants. Albeit being a 'deniz'd' Portuguese converted to Anglicanism, and thus a legal and spiritual subject of the English Crown who provided medical aid to the realm's subjects and to the body of the queen herself, Lopez's identity remained essentially that of a 'Portingale' or a 'Spaniard', someone allowed to reside in England for his immediate utility to the Elizabethan regime. Lopez's integration and downfall were a consequence of his ambivalent identity based on a unique and dangerous capacity to establish contacts between different Iberian and English milieux through his various roles as a physician, merchant, and intelligencer.

João Vicente Melo

24 Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales', pp. 599–616

25 John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues, Collected, and newly much Augmented* (London, 1611; STC 11099), p. 300.

26 William Cecil, *A True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies of Late Time Detected* (London, 1594; STC 7603.5).

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Mark Anthony Bassano (c.1546–1599)

Mark Anthony Bassano was born in London around 1546 to the Venetians Elena and Antonio Bassano, a sackbut player who had resettled in England with his brothers Lewes, Jasper, and John between 1529 and 1531. Like the many Italian language tutors, scholars, dance masters, glass makers, perfumers, tailors, merchants, and musicians found within the orbit of the court across the period, the brothers had come to cater to the English appetite for new ideas, materials, smells, sounds, and modes of civility. They soon secured lucrative patronage, and more of the family followed. Within a few short years, a whole generation of Bassanos had established themselves in London, where they set about building a dynasty that would remain at the heart of English court music until the 1660s.

Like his many brothers and cousins, Mark Anthony was brought up to follow in the footsteps of his father and uncles – to speak like a native Italian, to dress and act in an Italian manner, and to play distinctively Italian genres on the sackbut for the Italianate court. At the same time, he grew up in a completely different cultural register to his parents. Born and bred in London, he lived, worked, and thrived in the city, speaking in a local English dialect, making local English friends, and marrying a local English woman, Elena Gambal, at the local parish church, All Hallows Barking, in January 1568.¹ Like all English-born children of strangers in the period, this in-betweenness meant his claim to an English identity was precarious, continually undermined by everyday, street-level acts of anti-stranger aggression, and by legislation that sought to curb the rights and privileges of migrants and their families residing within the City. Unlike many other English-born children of strangers, however, whose marginalised status often excluded them from the records, Bassano's position at court meant his everyday life in the city has left traces. One particularly rich record found in official state papers reveals something of the experience of this liminal demographic, and how the hidden complexities of birth, heritage, class, and social connections permitted the children of strangers to navigate hostility and assert their right to belong.

On a Wednesday evening in August 1585, Bassano was walking beyond Aldgate in the company of the London weaver, Valentine Wood, and two

¹ *Records of English Court Music*, ed. by Andrew Ashbee, 9 vols (Aldershot: A. Ashbee, 1986), VI, p. 14. See also David Lasocki, 'The Anglo-Venetian Bassano Family as Instrument Makers and Repairers', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 38 (1985), pp. 112–132; and Lasocki, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531–1665* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995)

Venetian glassblowers in the employ of Jacob Verzelini, the proprietor of a *cristallo* furnace at the Crutched Friars on nearby Hart Street. As the men wandered beyond the bar, they caught the attention of a group of soldiers drafted to fight the Spanish in the Low Countries. The apparent circumstances of the resulting fray survive in two depositions presented to the Lord Mayor's Court the following day.² According to Wood, 'Mark Antony did speak some words in Italian to the strangers then in his company. One of [the soldiers] said unto him: 'Sir, what say you of soldiers? To whom ... Bassano answered and said, Why, nothing; but God bless you (or God save you)'.³ Apparently, Bassano then turned to the glassblowers and spoke some words in Italian that Wood 'understandeth not'. Affronted, one outraged soldier stepped forward and struck him. Mark Anthony, remembering the scripture, thanked his aggressor, and showed him the other cheek. The deposition of Thomas Norton, who watched the whole affair unfold outside his house, was far less sympathetic to the musician. He reported that, after the initial exchange between the two parties, an unnamed, unknown 'Cytyzen' approached the soldiers to act as an interpreter. Apparently, Bassano had described the men to his fellows as 'a Sorte of Englysshe Tykes', ill-mannered, low-bred boors who 'leapt lustylye' when confronting four unarmed men but would no doubt 'eate the Spaniard Ringe before they returned'.⁴ Despite the best efforts of their Captain to diffuse the situation, the soldiers, justifiably outraged, attacked Bassano. According to Norton, the Italian's response was less pious than Wood had led the court to believe. Incensed at the impertinence of these social inferiors, Mark Anthony threw his hat to the ground and promised the man that 'he wold be even wth him by & by'.⁵ Some of the men drew their swords, and had it not been for the assistance of two soldiers, who manhandled Bassano to safety in the nearby house of the court drummer, Gavin Smith, Norton was certain that he would have 'been slain, for that the soldiers thought him to be a Spaniard'.⁶

Both depositions offer a glimpse of the often-unrecorded violence and intimidation that erupted from the deep-rooted suspicion of non-English strangers in the early modern English capital, where those with a darker complexion speaking in a different tongue were frequently branded as

2 Depositions of Valentine Wood and Tho. Norton, 16 August 1585, The National Archives, Kew, SP 12/181 fol. 174r–v.

3 *Ibid.*, fol. 174r.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

Spaniards in league with the murderously anti-Protestant foreign policy of King Philip II. John Florio, the Italian-born linguist, lexicographer, and translator discussed elsewhere in this volume, complained of the general ignorance of the English in the eleventh dialogue of his Italian-English dual language manual, *Florio his First Fruits* (1578). ‘What do you thinke of the people of England, are they loving?’ asks the first interlocutor.⁷ ‘I wil tel you the truth’, the second responds, ‘the Nobilitie is very curteous, but the commons are discorteous, & especially toward strangers, the which thing doth displease me’.⁸ Florio’s friend, Giordano Bruno, the excommunicate hermetic philosopher and one time London resident, included a first-person account of this hostility to aliens in the second dialogue of *La cena de le ceneri, or The Ash Wednesday Supper* (1584). The pseudonymous narrator ‘il Nolano’ recalls a late-night walk with Florio and the Welsh clergyman Matthew Gwinne from the French Ambassador’s House on Butcher’s Row in Westminster, to Fulke Greville’s residence in Whitehall. The company initially attempted the journey upstream by boat, singing verses from Ludovico Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* at the top of their lungs until the ferryman pulled into a mooring and refused to go any further. After trudging through ankle-deep Thames mud in the pitch black, they found themselves just twenty paces up the street from where they started. Continuing their journey on foot, the three strangers were now at the mercy of the jeering, shoving nightwalkers:

as soon as they realize that you are a stranger, [they] make faces at you, laugh and grin at you ... and in their language call you dog, traitor, stranger, which in their jargon is a serious insult, and means that the subject concerned can be harmed in any way they think fit. It makes no difference if the person is a young man or old, wearing a gown or armed, a nobleman or a gentleman. If by some stroke of bad luck, you happen to touch one of them, or to place your hand on your weapon, you will suddenly become aware of how long the street is.⁹

The City of London, where Bassano was attacked, was a separate entity to Westminster, and encounters with the strange here were not really strange at all. Migrants and their communities were far more prevalent, especially in the eastern wards, where they held a major stake in manufacturing,

7 John Florio, *Florio his Firste Fruites* (London, 1578; STC 11096), sig. C1v.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, trans. by Hilary Gatti (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), p. 75.

international commerce, and peripheral industries. According to the sixteenth century's great chorographer, John Stow, Portsoken, where Bassano was attacked, was particularly diverse, 'pestered with small tenements and homely cottages, having inhabitants, English and strangers, more in number than in some city in England'.¹⁰ Here, two of Mark Anthony's esteemed Venetian colleagues, the viol players Mark Anthony Galliardello and Peter Lupo, resided amongst Walloon crossbow makers, Italian velvet makers, French hempdressers, Dutch Jewellers, African needle makers and over 130 other stranger households speaking a mix of English, Italian, French, Dutch and many other languages and dialects.¹¹ If each London parish, street, and alley had what Bruce Smith termed an 'acoustic community' of familiar noises, voices, and accents, the sound of Bassano's easy bilingualism was usual fare in this area.¹²

Of course, whilst these multicultural communities accommodated diversity, the depositions reveal how they also instigated suspicion of an impenetrable – and therefore threatening – strangeness. Even the more cosmopolitan areas of London were contested spaces, and migrants and their children were forced to navigate the everyday acts of physical and legislative violence that endeavoured to restrict their visibility. The year prior to Mark Anthony's assault, his younger brother, the recorder player Arthur Bassano, was involved in a violent dispute with City authorities as they attempted to implement anti-stranger legislation. The Lord Mayor Thomas Pullyson had ordered the construction of a gate to block off an alley by St Katharine Cree off Fenchurch Street where 'strangers artificers and other foreigners' sold their wares to 'the greate hindrance of cittizens and the poorer sorte'.¹³ As soon as the wall was finished, however, the strangers tore it down. William Massam and John Spencer, both Sheriffs, and William Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, were sent to oversee its subsequent reconstruction and prevent any trouble breaking out. As they approached

10 John Stow, *A Survey of London Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Description of that Citie, Written in the Yeare 1598* (London, 1598; STC 23341), p. 89.

11 *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, ed. by R.E.G Kirk and Ernest Kirk, 4 vols (Aberdeen: The Huguenot Society of London, 1900–1908), ii, pp. 127, 287, 329, 429. Stow gives the number 130, although it is unclear from which City records he obtained this figure. See Stow, p. 89.

12 See Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

13 Declaration by John Spencer, sheriff of London, of the misdemeanors committed by Arthur Bassano and other Her Majesty's musicians, at the muring up of a way and gate at a place called Creechurch, Aldgate, pretended to be privileged, 23 September 1584, The National Archives, Kew, SP 12/173/1 fol. 39.

the site, Spencer saw a crowd gathered who he ‘suspected to devise meanes to distroy the work’. They refused his repeat orders to disperse, and when he threatened them with imprisonment, Arthur stepped out from the crowd to address Spencer directly. ‘This is the Quene’s ground and wee will stande here ... Send us to warde [prison]? Thou were as goode kisse our arse’.¹⁴ Another brother (perhaps Mark Anthony?) shouted over the jeering crowd: ‘Sherife Spencer, we have as good frendes in the court as you hast and better’.¹⁵ In his subsequent report, Spencer claimed that the ensuing scuffle was ‘so violent and outrageous, that ... if their power had been agreeable with their wills, they would have done much mischief’.¹⁶

Though confronted with different forms of aggression, both Mark Anthony and Arthur employed their in-betweenness in similar ways to navigate anti-stranger hostility. They both used their native tongue to either pacify or challenge their antagonists, as demonstrated by Mark Anthony’s fluid transition from English to Italian to initially quell the agitated soldiers, and the earthy, colloquial English used by Arthur and his companions to chastise Spencer’s presumptions. At the same time, they both wielded the status and connections obtained through their Italian cultural heritage to assert their social superiority. Neither the proceedings of the Lord Mayor’s court for 1585 nor the Portsoken Wardmote records for 1584 are extant, yet accounts of both these disturbances still survived. Mark Anthony’s position meant that these depositions made their way into the hands of government officials to be later catalogued in the state papers; whilst the scuffle at St Katharine Cree is found in the grovelling plea of ignorance sent by Spencer to Francis Walsingham the day before he was hauled up in front of the Privy Council for his impertinent imprisonment of the queen’s servants.¹⁷ These records then, although revealing instances of violence against migrant communities, also document resistance, simply by existing in the archives where strangeness is often absent or muted. They are the piecemeal evidence of the diversity within these communities and the myriad ways in which the children of strangers used their liminality to confront infringements on their right to belong.

Tom Roberts

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ John Spencer, Sheriff of London, to Walsyngham, 3 October 1584, The National Archives, Kew, SP 12/173/1 fol. 72.

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Esther Gentili (d.1649)

Much of Esther Gentili's life is archivally mysterious, down to the spelling of her name. Records alternate between Esther and Hester, while her surname varies between her married surname 'Gentili' and her maiden name 'de Peigne', even after her marriage. To history, she has been significant primarily as the wife of Regius Professor of Law at Oxford, Alberico Gentili.¹ This essay, by contrast, will shift critical focus from her role as a wife to examine her identity as a transcultural agent in her own right, studying her movement between France and England, and the ways in which this movement was reflected in the archival traces she left behind.

It is not uncommon for the only such traces of early modern women to be the records of their birth, marriages, and deaths, and this is the case for Gentili. A French Huguenot, the date of her birth, her parentage, and the occasion of her arrival into England are all unknown. Since she outlived her husband by over forty years, it is a viable assumption that her year of birth was later than that of her husband, who was born in 1552. However, even that nominal narrowing of options could still place her birth year anywhere between 1560 and 1570. Her marriage to Alberico, which took place in 1589 in London, provides the first known documentation of her existence within English records.² A year later, her sister Jaél de Peigne married Sir Henry Killigrew at St Peter le Poer, London.³ This latter relationship provides a few more hints as to the de Peigne family's situation. In Killigrew's will, written over a decade later, he would 'geve and bequeathe unto my beloved wife Jaell the Two Thousand crownes her mother promised me in maryage with her, whiche yet remayne in her mothers hand unpaid'.⁴ This instruction reveals several facts about the sisters' circumstances: firstly, that Killigrew had believed the family to be considerably wealthy when he married them, and secondly, that his mother-in-law was still alive in 1603 but his father-in-law apparently was not.⁵ There is no record, however, of a similar issue with the payment of a dowry for Gentili, suggesting that either the debt was

1 Artemis Gause, 'Alberico Gentili (1552–1608)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10522>> [accessed 14 July 2019].

2 *Ibid.*

3 Luke MacMahon, 'Sir Henry Killigrew (1525x8–1603)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15533>> [accessed 13 July 2019].

4 Will of Sir Henry Killigrew of Parish of Saint Christopher near Le Stockes, City of London, The National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/101/273.

5 2000 crowns being equivalent to roughly £85,823 in 2022 <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter>> [accessed 10 January 2022].

settled, or – possibly more likely, considering the lower social status of her husband – that it had been considerably lower.

The sisters' marriages brought them markedly different experiences of English life. Jaél de Peigne married into the gentry, connecting herself to a wide circle of Elizabethan elites. Sir Henry's first wife had been Katherine Cooke, sister-in-law to Lord Burghley, and there was a close family connection between the Killigrews and the Cecils.⁶ He was an Elizabethan diplomat of significant standing, though he largely retired from public service after 1591, and with her marriage, Jaél's French nationality was subsumed within a new English identity as Lady Killigrew. Esther Gentili, by contrast, married a man who, like her, was a religious refugee in England. The growth of his career had been aided by participation in Tudor legal and political networks and through the assistance of settled Italians like Sir Horatio Palavicino. Because of this, there was no need for Esther Gentili to resign her French nationality upon marriage: if anything, it aided her husband's career, connecting him to a wider network of transnational migrant communities.

Her French origins played a significant part in their family life: their first two children were baptised at the French church on Threadneedle Street and Alberico's will would later name a French minister, Abraham Aurelious, as a signatory, suggesting their continued presence at the church after these baptisms.⁷ The names the two sisters gave their children similarly reflect these different approaches to their status as French refugees. Lady Killigrew's three sons were named Robert, Henry, and Joseph, and her daughter's name is usually recorded as Jane: names which reflect their family's English identity.⁸ By contrast, the Gentilis had five children who were each named after a member of the influence network surrounding Alberico: the eldest child Robert was named after the earl of Essex; two of their daughters were both named Anna after Anna Palavicino; another daughter was named Hester, the anglicised form of Esther; and their youngest son was named Matteo after Alberico's father.⁹ These names alternate in the archival records between their original and Anglicised forms, reflecting the family's shifting position between English, Italian, and French communities.

6 Killigrew, for example, wrote a series of Latin verses to his sister-in-law, Mildred, wife of Lord Burghley before her death in 1589: The National Archives, Kew, SP 46/23.

7 London, London Metropolitan Archives, P69/HEL/A/002/MS06831/001; Thomas Erskine Holland, *Studies in International Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), p. 26.

8 MacMahon, 'Sir Henry Killigrew'.

9 Holland, *Studies in International Law*, p. 26.

Both sisters were widowed young. Sir Henry Killigrew died in 1603 and was followed five years later by Alberico Gentili, who made his will only five days before he died at the age of 56.¹⁰ While Killigrew's will is a legal tangle which left money to his wife only under certain conditions, and appointed men to oversee the convoluted process, Alberico Gentili's final wishes were much simpler. He left his wife as the executrix, 'for shee will well knowe howe to dispose boath of hers and myne, which I doe leave her for the benefitt of those my three little ones [excluding Robert, the eldest]' and asked his brother Scipio to have 'a care ... especially of the boye [Matteo, the youngest] because he beares the name of my father'.¹¹ His nephew Joseph Killigrew, son of Jaél, was one of the signatories alongside another very significant name: 'Phillipp Burlamach'. This appears to be Philip Burlamachi, an Italian immigrant who would later become a financier to Charles I.¹² He and his wife Elizabeth had moved to London that April and become members of the Gentilis' old church on Threadneedle Street.¹³ Burlamachi's business partner and brother-in-law Philip Calendrini is also mentioned in Gentili's will, supporting this identification. This overlap between Alberico and the vanguard of the next generation of influential Italians in London may have been brief, but it appears to have been significant for the Gentili family. In Esther Gentili's will, written nearly thirty years later, she wanted a 'Mr Bourlainachi' to receive 'of my goods ... twelve pounds': this may be a misspelling of Burlamachi, which would suggest that Gentili maintained the relationship even after her husband's death.

Surprisingly Esther did not stay in London, even though she was left as executrix of her husband's estate and widowed with four surviving children. Upon Alberico's death, she instead travelled to France and, unusually, left a legal trail. According to Thomas Erskine Holland, she was in Paris in 1608 carrying on 'an unsuccessful lawsuit before Achille D'Arblay, first President of the Parliament', and then again in 1610 on appeal before De Thou.¹⁴ The *Archives Nationales* contain scattered references to her presence: on 28 November 1609 she is recorded as staying in the Rue Saint-Jaques at the

10 The National Archives, PROB/11/207/171.

11 The National Archives, PROB 11/128/695. Matteo Gentili the Elder had been buried at St Helens Bishopsgate in 1601, and Alberico asked to be buried as 'deep and neare' him as possible.

12 Robert Ashton, 'Philip Burlamachi (d.1644)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37246>> [accessed 14 July 2019].

13 Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 107.

14 Holland, *Studies in International Law*, p. 24.

house of Charles Hulpeau, bookseller.¹⁵ She is described here as ‘Esther de Peigne, veuve d’Albedico Gentili ... demeurant ordinairement à Londres’.¹⁶ This sentence typifies the complexities of her transnational movement: she is recorded under her maiden name in its French form, linked with her Italian husband, recorded as ordinarily resident in London but currently returned to France. These references also suggest the existence of another sister, Isabelle, with whom she was attempting to purchase an annuity from a man named Samuel de Curier.

These brief records shed some light on her later years. Holland does not state the context of the lawsuit, but it is clear that she maintained connections in France after her initial move to England. In her will she left Anna ‘all that which belongeth to mee in this country and in France’, indicating that she maintained property in both countries. It may be that it was concerns over her French property which prompted her cross-channel trips, and it is notable that the property was not mentioned in her husband’s will, suggesting either that it was held in her name, or that it did not come into her possession until after his death. In either event, her management of the property, and her decision to leave it in her daughter’s possession, shows her work as an agent moving between national systems of jurisprudence; a transcultural figure in her own right, with a legal status separate from that of her husband.

Both of the de Peigne sisters had been tasked in their spouse’s wills with raising their children virtuously. This seems to have presented Gentili with greater difficulty than her sister: her eldest son Robert had been greatly aided by his father in gaining a position at Oxford, but even by 1608 he was bitterly resented by his father as having had ‘too much’ already. He left England for Europe sometime after his father’s death, in the process abandoning his wife Alice Gentili, who died in 1619 and was buried in St Bride’s Fleet Street.¹⁷ By contrast to Esther, who remained single after Alberico’s death, Lady Killigrew married George Downham, Bishop of Derry, fourteen years after her first husband’s death.¹⁸ Soon after Jaél wrote a will where she left goods to her sister – ‘my second Taffata gowne’, ‘my ruffes’ and ‘five smocks’ – as well as giving her two nieces Anna and Hester ‘my two wedding smocks’ and

15 Minutes et répertoires du notaire Jean I CHARLES, Janvier 1601–21 Juin 1617, Archives Nationales, Paris, MC/ET/XVIII/149, fol. V/C/III/XX/XV.

16 Translation: ‘Esther de Peigne, widow of Alberico Gentili ... normally resident in London’.

17 London Metropolitan Archives, P69/BRI/A/004/MS06538.

18 They married on 22 April 1617 at St Margaret Lothbury in the City of London [LMA, P69/MGT1/A/001/MS04346/001].

‘two wastcots, coyfes, and crossclothes wrought with black silke’.¹⁹ Her will indicates considerable wealth and status: other items include ‘a diamond ring’ and ‘a little picture of Queen Eliz[abeth] in gold’. She also left money to the ‘poore of the French church in London’ and ‘the some of tenne pounds to be paid unto the Preacher and Elders of the same church and to be employed or distributed to and for the use of the ... poore at their discretion’.

When Gentili made her will, with no husband to consider, she was free to distribute her goods and money as she wished.²⁰ As mentioned earlier, a Mr Bourlainachi was referenced as ‘one that shall not bee very little acknowledged ... seeing the many obligations I have’. Hester, her daughter, had died in 1618 and was buried at St Katherine Coleman, a centre for migrant communities earlier in the century, leaving Anna the sole surviving daughter.²¹ Matteo appears to have disappeared at some point before the will was written, as its conditions changed depending on whether he could be ‘found again’ or was ‘no more’.²² Robert was willed a maximum of ten pounds provided he ‘change not religion and come not again into this country’, with a hopeful addendum that ‘good God make him know his faults and amend him’.²³ As it was, he did return after the will was written but before his mother died, and an additional addendum cut his inheritance down to twenty shillings as a consequence. The rest was left to her daughter Anna and her husband Sir John Colt when Gentili died in 1649, with her thanks for ‘having been so longe a time with them soe peaceably and with soe great contentment’.

Esther Gentili’s will is the only currently known document which preserves something of her voice and character. Though much can be gleaned from marriage records and receipts, the details of her will speak to her daily concerns, which were otherwise left unrecorded. It depicts an independently wealthy woman deeply preoccupied with questions of religious identity, protective of her children, and well connected within her community. It was originally written in a language other than English – likely French, though this is not recorded – and was signed ‘Esther de Peigne Gentili’. Unlike her sister, who went by Lady Jaél in her will, Gentili appears to have maintained her maiden name as part of her full legal name long after her marriage. Her will synthesises the legal and cultural concerns of her transnational status

19 The National Archives, PROB 11/161/378.

20 The National Archives, PROB 11/207/171.

21 George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London: Methuen & Co, 1963), pp. 246–247.

22 The National Archives, PROB 11/207/171.

23 *Ibid.*

through the frame of her relatively privileged societal position as a widow with a wealthy son-in-law.

The process followed here of interrogating these scattered archival references raises as many questions as it answers. Gentili is not unusual amongst early modern women, in that the details of her life are primarily recorded in those moments when they intersect with the state's concerns and give us little of her inner life. There are, however, spaces in between these official records through which occasional glimpses of complexities are visible which defy archival preservation: an emotional journey from France to England, a missing son and the loss of two young daughters, ongoing legal battles, and the personal negotiations of a transnational identity. These glimpses, fleeting though they may be, demonstrate the importance of considering Esther de Peigne Gentili as a transcultural figure in her own right, worthy of study for more than her role as simply Alberico Gentili's 'French Huguenot wife'.

Emily Stevenson

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Teresia Sampsonia Shirley (c.1589–1668)

Teresia Sampsonia Shirley, daughter of a Circassian ruler, wife of the English ambassador to Persia, and self-proclaimed Amazon, was born around 1589. Her natal faith is unclear: later writers claim her family were Eastern Orthodox, but other sources refer to them as Muslim, and there is no definitive evidence for either. At some point before February 1608 she was brought to the court of Shah Abbas I (1571–1629) in Persia. One of his wives is thought to have been her aunt, which facilitated this connection.¹ On 2 February 1608 at the age of around eighteen or nineteen, she was baptised into the Roman Catholic church by Carmelite missionaries and married to Robert Shirley, the English Persian ambassador, who features elsewhere in this volume. It was at this point she was given the name ‘Teresa’ or ‘Teresia’ after the founder of the Discalced Carmelite order, St Teresa of Ávila. For the rest of her life she was known by some form of this name but for ease of understanding, she will be referred to here as ‘Teresia’ to distinguish her from the saint.

Her choice of name was undoubtedly influenced by the Carmelite missionaries, and it created a point of connection between the two women through which this essay will explore her identity as a transcultural agent. There were a number of other connections between them. The apparent need to baptise Shirley makes it likely that she was converting to Christianity, and Teresa of Ávila was the granddaughter of a Spanish *converso*, making both women Catholic through an act of conversion.² As well as this shared spiritual history, both women came from families with noble connections. Born a noblewoman in 1515, Teresa of Ávila entered a Carmelite convent at the age of eighteen. After a serious illness she started experiencing instances of religious ecstasy. Following these experiences, she began to disagree with the perceived laxity of her order and in 1562 established a new reformed Carmelite convent following the principles of absolute poverty and discalceation (going without shoes). Over the following two decades Teresa travelled across Spain establishing these new Discalced Carmelite convents, and it was while on one of these

1 Bernadette Andrea, ‘Sherley, Lady Teresa Sampsonia (c.1589–1668)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.112767>> [accessed 23 May 2019].

2 The term *converso* refers to individuals who converted from Judaism to Christianity in Spain or Portugal, usually as a result of the Inquisition. For analysis of the theological implications of Teresa of Ávila’s role as a *converso* and further biographical details, see Rowan Williams, *Teresa of Avila* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 19–36.

journeys that she died at Alba de Tormes in 1582.³ Initially Teresa was buried there, but the convent at Ávila wanted her body returned. She was thus disinterred after nine months and one of her hands cut off to be sent to Ávila, before being reburied at Alba – though one of the Priests there secretly removed one of her fingers and kept it for himself. Her body was exhumed again two years later and finally sent to Ávila, but as compensation an arm was removed and left in Alba. However, this second exhumation had taken place without the approval of the duke of Alba de Tormes, and he successfully petitioned the Pope for the body's return to Alba the following year.⁴ The convent freely sent out relics once they had the body back, which led the nuns in Ávila to bitterly and ineffectually complain that they were 'continually raiding' it.⁵ In this way her body – which, while she was alive, had never left Spain – was dispersed across the country and then the world.

The influence of Teresa of Ávila, already important within the narrative surrounding Teresia Shirley's baptism, would become increasingly significant after the Shirleys left the Persian court to tour Europe. Ten years after their wedding and her baptism, the pair travelled to Spain, where they would stay until March 1622. The Carmelite archives record that, while there, Shirley made frequent journeys to the convent of Santa Ana in Madrid, where Teresa's niece Beatriz de Jesus lived. The sisters reportedly spent hours telling her of the 'many wonders of the Reformed Carmelites, the adventures of their founder, her more than female spirit [and] her heroic virtues'.⁶ Hearing this, she developed an 'ardent desire to own some relic of the blessed mother', but was declined on the grounds that though Teresa had been beatified, she had not yet been canonised. However, Beatriz did already own a relic of her aunt's flesh, which she wore in a 'curious reliquary'. At some point following this request, Beatriz heard her aunt's voice instructing her to '*Dale a la condesa la partícula de carne mía que tienes*' (give the lady the piece of my flesh you have), which she duly did. The undignified clamour for Teresa's relics reflects the widely held contemporary belief in her membership of

3 Philip Schaff and Johann Jakob Herzog, *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1911) <<http://archive.org/details/newschaffherzog12haucgoog>> [accessed 5 September 2019], pp. 414–415.

4 Bernadette Andrea, 'The Global Travels of Teresa Sampsonia Shirley's Carmelite Relic', in *Travel and Travail: Early Modern Women, English Drama, and the Wider World*, eds. Patricia Akhimié and Bernadette Andrea (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019), pp. 102–117.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

6 Del Niño Jesús Florencio, *Biblioteca Carmelitano – Teresiana de Misiones* (Pamplona: Raom de Bengary, 1930), 3: En Perse, p. 29.



Figure 8 Teresia Sampsonia, Lady Shirley by Sir Anthony Van Dyck (c.1622). National Trust Images/
Derrick E. Witty.

the metaphysical body of saints, a belief which had been confirmed by her beatification in 1614, three years before Shirley visited Santa Ana.⁷ The stripping down of her physical body by the communities in Alba and Ávila had enacted a process whereby Teresa was metaphysically re-incorporated into the church: both physically as relics, and spiritually as an intercessory figure. The record of Teresa's words to her niece utilises both senses of this bodily reformation on behalf of her namesake, interceding from within the body of Saints to confirm Teresia Shirley's worthiness.

The Carmelite archives record that the relic was jealously kept and worn by Shirley for the rest of her life. From this point onwards she wore it on her breast at all times, visually proclaiming her acceptance as a *teresiano* and committed Catholic. The two portraits of her painted after her stay in Madrid, one by Anthony van Dyck and one by an unknown painter, both depict her wearing a large and ornate pendant, and it is possible that this is the relic she received from the nuns at Santa Ana. If this is the case, the size and prominence of the reliquary further highlights its importance and focality within her fashioned self-presentation. It can be seen even in the sketches for van Dyck's painting, suggesting that it was a focal point for his conception of the work.⁸

The identity-confirming properties of the relic would later be used by Teresia Shirley during one of the most dangerous moments of her life. While at Qazvin, she and her husband were rewarded by the shah for their service with 'great dignities and gifts of high value'. The 'grandees of the Court' apparently took exception to this and accused Teresia Shirley of apostasy from Islam, claiming that she had been born into a Muslim family and that her conversion to Catholicism indicated her rejection of their faith.⁹ Shortly afterwards Robert Shirley died and Teresia Shirley, still under the capital charge of apostasy, had most of her property confiscated and became a fugitive, hiding in churches and convents.

When eventually interrogated she initially remained silent, refusing to either give up her faith or spiritually condemn those interrogating her. Upon being threatened with being 'burnt alive' or 'thrown from a tower' if she refused to give up her faith, however, she replied that such a death would only bring her to 'glory' faster, and upbraided the chief judge or *Mulla*,

7 Herzog, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*.

8 Anthony Van Dyck, Seated Portrait of Lady Shirley, 1622, The British Museum, ME 1957,1214.207.60v.

9 H. Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 3 vols (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939), I, pp. 290–294 (291).

arguing that this ill-treatment of her was not ‘the reward deserved by [her husband’s] ... service to the Shah’.¹⁰ During this impassioned rejoinder, the relic was ‘observed ... to be wet with tiny spots of blood’, noted in some accounts to be *sangre fresca* (fresh blood).¹¹ This blood confirmed both the relic’s divine properties, and her spiritual connection to the metaphysical body it represented. This miraculous act of a devotional and supernatural object visibly confirming her faith could be understood across cultural registers, and soon after the event she was allowed to leave, eventually returning to Rome where she settled in the Santa Maria della Scala.¹² The relic thus served as both a physical representation of both Teresa’s sainthood and Teresia Shirley’s identity as the Catholic Amazon, able to speak across cultural boundaries to confirm and support her transculturality – and, when needed, her life.

As well as the physical item of the relic and the shared heritage which connected the two women, the representational frameworks which were used to present them in the early seventeenth century shared a common theme. Both before and after Teresa’s beatification in 1614, the Discalced Carmelites were working on promoting her as a patron saint of Spain alongside the well-established figure of Sant Iago. In order to make her a viable candidate, this campaign needed to present her as a saint capable of martial and spiritual protection. A military victory for the Spanish in 1624, fought to defend their colonial expansion, was attributed to her intercession; a significant moment in the development of her *cultus*.¹³ This innovation of Teresa as a military figure drew on classical conceptions to recreate her as a Spanish Minerva. There was an established iconographical connection between Spain and Minerva: Titian’s 1570s painting ‘Religion succoured by Spain’ depicted the personified nation wearing a Minervan sword, shield, and breastplate while coming to the defence of religion, also portrayed as a woman. Many pro-patronage preachers drew on this classical idea of the manly woman, connecting the classical idea to a theological model using popular and renaissance imagery.¹⁴ Jerónimo de Pancorbo used

10 *Ibid.*, p. 294.

11 See Andrea, ‘The Global Travels of Teresa Sampsonia Shirley’s Carmelite Relic’, pp. 110–112 for a detailed description of this event.

12 For more discussion of the work of relics acting as agents across religious boundaries, see Alexandra Walsham, *Relics and Remains* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

13 Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), p. 116.

14 The established popularity of classical sources allowed female Roman Catholic saints to be easily compared to classical figures such as Minerva and the Amazons — for example,

this Minervan model to bolster the *teresiano* claim that invoking Teresa in war was the continuation of an established tradition, while Royal Preacher Diego del Escorial insisted that Teresa 'ought to [be painted] with a sword in her hand, shield on her arm, helmet with a crest and plume on her head ... because she fights our battles, defends our side, and crowns our victories' – a description very similar to Titian's Spain.¹⁵ Another writer, Sebastián de San Agustín, pointed to stories of women leaving behind their 'more proper' arms of distaff and needle to take up swords: he included Amazons, princesses, and the biblical figures of Judith and Deborah as evidence of this.¹⁶

Teresa's self-presentation echoes the Amazonite connections contemporaries were linking to her namesake, and which she must have seen during her time in Spain in the 1620s, the period when many of these pro-patronage sermons were first heard. Thanks to her birth in Circassia she was able to easily describe herself as an 'Amazon', a people connected to the region. The *Biblioteca Carmelitano*, in its description of her youth, emphasised this connection:

She was known as Sampsonia as ... she handled the bow and arrows with such aim that there was no arrow shot from her bow that did not hit the target ... the little fruits of the trees, like birds in their flight, fell to the ground wounded by the arrows of the amazon.¹⁷

The centrality of this connection to Shirley's self-presentation is reinforced by her demonstrations of martial prowess later in life: she would save her husband's life twice, first after they set off on their first journey, and secondly when they encountered hostile Portuguese traders on their way to Goa.¹⁸ Such incidents found their way into pamphlets and bulletins, spreading the tale of Shirley's 'Amazon' wife. That she supported this mode of representation is supported by her depiction in the anonymous portrait, where she was depicted holding a gun, resting her wrist on the back of a red chair to display the barrel clearly. Martial activity was not her only form of rebellion. While living in England, the Archbishop of Canterbury discovered Robert Shirley openly passing around Catholic 'Indulgences, Medals and

Saint Geneviève, the warrior-maid, was often associated with Amazons by her Parisian cult. See Moshe Sluhovskiy, *Patroness of Rituals: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 50 for more detail.

¹⁵ All references from Rowe, *Saint and Nation*, pp. 115–118.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁷ *Biblioteca Carmelitano*, p. 26.

¹⁸ Andrea, 'Sherley, Lady Teresa Sampsonia (c.1589–1668)'.

Agnus Dei ... among them one [with] ... a power to legitimate bastards'. When confronted, Robert Shirley claimed that the 'fautes for dispersing ... [them were] upon his wife'.¹⁹ What his wife made of this blame shifting is, unsurprisingly, unrecorded. Within a Protestant country this would have been a dangerous act: a particularly fitting battle for a Catholic Amazon named after a prime counter-reformist.

Teresia Shirley's rhetorical constructions of her dual identity of 'Catholic Amazon' were continued in the design of her death. Her self-penned epitaph at Santa Maria della Scala reads 'Theresia Sampsonia, native of the region of the Amazons, daughter of Sampsuff, Prince of Circassia'.²⁰ Her property, which assumedly included goods from her travels across Europe and Persia, was sold in order to fund 'masses ... [and] lamps ... [to be] kept burning before the altar of Saint Teresa'.²¹ This act formed the final and lasting link between the two women, dispersing her worldly goods to ensure that the connection to her patroness, so important in life, would continue in death, cementing her as the Carmelite Amazon.

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Pocahontas (c.1595–1617)

Algonquian, English, and American: Pocahontas embodies a nexus of stories and narratives that involve the local, colonial, and imperial, from the oral histories passed down by Indigenous groups, to English accounts printed in Jacobean London. Historians who try to piece together Pocahontas's life are confronted by omissions and absences, including the lack of Pocahontas's own words, except when recounted, occasionally, through others.¹ Passive phrases in English sources reveal unsettling ambiguities. The colonist Ralph Hamor's deceptively straightforward description of Pocahontas's kidnapping in 1613, for example – 'and so to *James* towne she was brought' – framed a significant moment in Pocahontas's life as an almost incidental event that rid the English of any active responsibility in forcibly removing her from her family and community.²

According to the English, who framed her identity in European terms, Pocahontas was an Algonquian 'princess' living in *Tsenacommacah*, the native homelands of the Powhatan in the Chesapeake. She was the daughter of Wahunsenaca, the 'paramount chief' of the Powhatan nation. In John Smith's account, eleven-year-old Pocahontas rescued him from execution when he was her father's prisoner.³ In 1613, having maintained regular contact with the Powhatans since the establishment of Jamestown six years before, the English kidnapped Pocahontas for ransom. By 1614, the story continues, she had converted, changed her name to Rebecca, and married the planter John Rolfe, who developed the strand of tobacco that came to be mass exported to England in the mid-1610s. London society warmly welcomed Pocahontas when she visited England in 1616 with her husband and her son, Thomas. She fell ill and died in Gravesend in 1617, at the age of twenty-one, while preparing to return to Virginia.

Historians, literary scholars, and anthropologists have qualified aspects of this story in recent years, as Indigenous people have been doing for hundreds of years.⁴ Few believe Smith needed 'rescuing'. Rather, while Smith may

1 For scholarly attempts to reconstruct instances of Pocahontas's individual voice, see Karen Robertson, 'Pocahontas at the Masque', *Signs*, 21 (1996), pp. 551–583.

2 Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London, 1615; STC 12736), sig. B3v.

3 John Smith, *The General Historie of Virginia* (London, 1624; STC 22790).

4 Helen Rountree, 'Pocahontas: The Hostage Who Became Famous', in *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives*, ed. Theda Perdue (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Nandini Das, 'Islands of Time: *The Tempest* and Cultural Memory' in *Critical and Cultural Transformations: Shakespeare's The Tempest, 1611 to the Present*, eds. V.M. Vaughan and T. Doering (Tuebingen: Narr Verlag, 2013),

have believed his life in jeopardy, he was likely experiencing a ritual of subordination that served to incorporate him as Wahunsenaca's vassal or subject. According to the oral history of the Mattaponi, one of the six original tribal groups of the Powhatan nation, Wahunsenaca admired and liked Smith, and the ceremony was an initiation rite that put Smith under Powhatan sovereignty while integrating him into the community.⁵

From the earliest meetings between Native Americans and English colonists, conflicting narratives have rendered it difficult to understand Pocahontas in her own right. The Mattaponi oral history provides a corrective to many elements of the favoured colonial or national narrative about Pocahontas, which continues to portray her as an extraordinary individual who brought reconciliation between Native Americans and the English through her love for John Rolfe. While the English reportedly informed Pocahontas that her father refused to ransom her after her kidnapping, Mattaponi oral history maintains that because her father feared for her safety, and that of other regional groups, he decided against an armed raid that might provoke English retaliation.⁶ According to the Mattaponi, the English raped Pocahontas multiple times when they held her captive.⁷ Her son was not John Rolfe's, but the governor and soldier Sir Thomas Dale's.⁸ Devastated and deeply depressed by her captivity, Pocahontas's conversion was willing only insofar as she sought to preserve herself and ensure the protection of her people by complying with the will of her captors. When he found out she had died in England, Wahunsenaca died of a broken heart.

This account offers a counterpoint to the imperial story told by seventeenth-century colonists and colonial promoters including John Smith, Ralph Hamor, and Samuel Purchas. Even within English accounts, the devastation of English colonialism becomes clear to those who look for it. Letters and reports from the time relate the brutality of life in early Jamestown and throw into question the ostensibly civil English treatment of Algonquian prisoners, including high-ranking women. On 9 August 1610, during the

pp. 1–16; Stephanie Pratt, 'Capturing Captivity: Visual Imaginings of the English and Powhatan Encounter Accompanying the Virginia Narratives of John Smith and Ralph Hamor, 1612–1634', in *Native American Adoption, Captivity, and Slavery in Changing Contexts*, eds. Max Carocci and Stephanie Pratt (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 97–115; Lauren Working, 'Book Review: *Pocahontas and the English Boys: Caught Between Cultures in Early Virginia*', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 77:1 (2020), pp. 138–143.

5 Linwood 'Little Bear' Custalow and Angela Daniel 'Silver Star', *The True Story of Pocahontas: The Other Side of History* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2007), pp. 18–21.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 50–52.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 64.



Figure 9 Pocahontas/Matoaka by Simon van de Passe (1616). Reproduced in *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624; STC 22790). Folger Shakespeare Library (CC BY-SA 4.0).

first Anglo-Powhatan war, the colonist George Percy recounted that he had been sent to ‘take Revendge upon the Paspheans [Paspahagh] and Chiconamians [Chickahominy]’.⁹ Percy’s lieutenant captured a ‘queen’ of

9 George Percy, ‘Trew Relacyon’, reproduced in full in Mark Nichols, ‘George Percy’s “Trew Relacyon”: A Primary Source for the Jamestown Settlement’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 113 (2005), pp. 212–275 (253).

Paspahegh and her children, after which the soldiers 'did begin to murmur because the quene and her Children weare spared. So upon the same a Cowncell beinge called itt was agreed upon to putt the children to deathe the w[hi]ch was effected by Throweing them overboard and shoteinge owtt their Braynes in the water. Yett for all this Crewellyty the Sowldiers weare nott well pleased and I had mutche to doe To save the quenes lyfe for thatt Tyme'.¹⁰ When hesitating about whether to marry Pocahontas, Rolfe himself admitted 'the frailty of mankinde, his prones to evill, his indulgencie of wicked thoughts, with many other imperfections wherein man is daily insnared, and oftentimes overthrowne'.¹¹

The English narrative of Pocahontas's 'civil' transformation thus emerged from, and elided, various forms of conflict and aggression. The Jamestown secretary William Strachey had described Pocahontas as mischievous and free-spirited, a playful young woman who enjoyed visiting the fort at Jamestown, and who risked her father's displeasure by helping the English on numerous occasions.¹² A different young woman presented herself to King James and Queen Anna at Whitehall nearly ten years later. An engraving by Simon van de Passe depicted her in high Jacobean fashion, adorned with pearl earrings, a feathered fan, embroidered jacket, and starched lace ruff. Having been made, as John Smith boasted, 'civill after our *English* manner', Wahunsenaca's 'dearest jewell' appeared as dazzling propaganda for English expansion and Native assimilation.¹³ Yet the acceptance of Pocahontas at court, as Smith admitted in his letter to the queen, was largely so that 'this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes'.¹⁴

While non-Indigenous accounts of Pocahontas tend to emphasize her originality and exceptionalism as a mediator, Native groups have pointed out that Pocahontas 'was a reflection of her Powhatan culture, not an exception'.¹⁵ When approaching Pocahontas's life as one 'intertwined with that of her father ... [and] Powhatan culture', other aspects of her life experience come to the fore, beyond those picked out as particularly significant by English

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 253–254.

11 'John Rolfe to Sir Thomas Dale, 1614', in *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606–1625*, ed. Lyon Gardiner Tyler (New York: Charles Scribner, 1907), p. 241.

12 Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 78–80.

13 Smith, *The General Historie of Virginia*, sigs. Rr, L3r.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *A Study of Virginia Indians and Jamestown: The First Century*, ed. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz (Williamsburg, VA: National Park Service, 2005) <https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/jame1/moretti-langholtz/index.htm> [accessed 7 November 2018], 'Introduction'.

writers.¹⁶ Moving to Wahunsenaca's capital, Werowocomoco, and leaving the village where she was raised as a young girl must have brought a transformative change to the rhythms of Pocahontas's life. Living at her father's court placed her in the constant company of the political elite while enabling her to develop a strong relationship with her father, one based on deference as well as love. Wahunsenaca may have made strategic use of his daughter's gender and age when conducting negotiations with the English, when he sought to express peace by putting her at the fore of the diplomatic party.¹⁷ It was at her *huskanasquaw*, the Algonquian coming-of-age ceremony marking her entrance into womanhood, that Pocahontas may have first courted Kocoum, one of Wahunsenaca's elite fighters who had likely undergone the male coming-of-age ritual, the *huskanaw*, to prime himself for a life of service and, if necessary, war.¹⁸ Pocahontas and Kocoum married some time before 1613, and Pocahontas gave birth to a son by Kocoum before Samuel Argall kidnapped her. A consideration of the life-cycles of Algonquian groups, and Pocahontas's upbringing and coming of age in an Indigenous context, are critical to a fuller understanding of how Pocahontas lived and experienced the colonial encounters that marked the second half of her life.

While multiple perspectives and sources offer at times contradictory stories about Pocahontas, convergences also appear. Algonquians possessed multiple names that embodied aspects of their characters and status, and the English recognised some of these. 'Amonute' is untranslatable, but 'Pocahontas' was a childhood name that meant 'laughing and joyous one', conveying a sense of Pocahontas's vivaciousness (though Strachey translated this as 'little wanton', a phrase with more sexual associations).¹⁹ After she took the name 'Rebecca' around the age of eighteen, Pocahontas also revealed her birth name, 'Matoaka', meaning 'flower between two streams'.²⁰ This name aptly reflected the life of an individual who lived in a state of cultural betweenness – not between the Algonquians and the English, but between the Mattaponi, her mother's tribe, and the Pamunkey, her father's.

The multiple perspectives on Pocahontas's life, from her upbringing in the Chesapeake to her death in England, reveal the breadth of narrative transmissions and cultural echoes that informed how English onlookers responded to early colonial relations. The influence of humanism, classical

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 *The True Story of Pocahontas*, p. 43.

19 *The True Story of Pocahontas*, p. 7; Rountree, 'Pocahontas: The Hostage Who Became Famous', p. 19.

20 *The True Story of Pocahontas*, p. 6.

epic, discourses of law, and biblical verse all framed how the English sought to come to terms with their encounters with Pocahontas at various points.²¹ John Rolfe, in his letter to Thomas Dale in 1614, iterated that his feelings for Pocahontas were entangled in ‘so intricate a laborinth’, a phrase that appeared in a knightly romance narrative published in 1600.²² This statement resonated with rhetorical tropes in love poetry and printed religious discourse, perhaps alluding also to the classical labyrinth of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, a text widely used for teaching rhetoric, reading, and writing in Renaissance England.²³ In the *Aeneid*, Jason navigated the labyrinth and ultimately gained the Golden Fleece through the aid of Ariadne, the daughter of the Cretian King Minos. The mythical allure of achieving renown and wealth through the intervention of a royal female may have resonated with Rolfe’s desire, according to Mattaponi oral history, of marrying Pocahontas to gain secret knowledge about tobacco cultivation from the *quiakros* or priests, something that eventually secured a successful colonial economy for the English.²⁴ Rolfe’s letter was heavily influenced by the Old and New Testaments, where continuous references to God, planting, scripture, and conversion impelled Rolfe to pitch his attraction within a providential framework. Rolfe exhibited anxiety about the danger of marrying a non-Christian woman and was aware, he iterated, that God had been displeased when members of the tribes of Israel married ‘strange wives’.²⁵ He cited the Old Testament story in Ezra 10 where the Jewish people, upon returning to the Holy Land after Babylonian captivity, were forced to renounce their associations with ‘idolatrous’ foreigners. Rolfe’s letter provides one example of the variety of influences that framed how the English perceived, and interpreted, Pocahontas’s personhood.

The sources about Pocahontas’s life are more valuable together than separate; they offer insights into colonial relations and the way the English constructed narratives about America while shedding light on the devastations of settler colonialism. Examining how Europeans constructed narratives of encounter can showcase how the English positioned themselves as conquerors and ‘civilizers’, while reading against the grain of sources might

21 See Das, ‘Islands of Time’; Jeffrey Glover, *Paper Sovereigns: Anglo-Native Treaties and the Law of Nations, 1604–1664* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), chap. 2.

22 ‘John Rolfe to Sir Thomas Dale’, in *Narratives of Early Virginia*, p. 240; *The Heroicall Adventures of the Knight of the Sea* (London, 1600; STC 18763); see also Das, ‘Islands of Time’.

23 Andrew Wallace, *Virgil’s Schoolboys: The Poetics of Pedagogy in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

24 *The True Story of Pocahontas*, p. 73.

25 ‘Rolfe to Dale’, in *Narratives of Early Virginia*, p. 241.

raise attention to instances of Pocahontas's agency or mediation.²⁶ Yet an insufficient picture is presented by relying solely on English texts, even when seeking to read between the lines. Indigenous peoples have continually expressed pain at histories that continue to slight Native American voices and perspectives.²⁷ 'The main thing I want the general public to know', writes the Rappahannock chief G. Anne Richardson, 'is that we weren't a historic tribe that the English documented in 1608 and [then] ... died off'.²⁸ Acknowledging the variety of accounts, and the more violent and coercive elements of Pocahontas's experience, can help confront the gulf that exists between those who lament the 'tragedy of Pocahontas' assimilation', and those who continue to frame her life story as 'a great romance'.²⁹

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Corey the Saldanian (d. c.1627)

The man known in English records as 'Corey the Saldanian' first entered English archives in 1613, when Gabriel Towerson, captain of the *Hector*, kidnapped two local men from Saldanha Bay while on a voyage for the East India Company (EIC).¹ The story was recounted over forty years later in Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India*. Here, Terry recorded that one of the men, left unnamed, died during the voyage, but the other 'who call'd himself *Cooree*' was taken to London, where he lived for six months in the house of the EIC governor Sir Thomas Smythe. Corey, desperate to return home, was eventually taken back to Saldanha Bay in June 1614, where 'he had no sooner set footing on his own shore, but presently he threw away his *Clothes*, his *Linnen*, with all other *Covering*, and got his sheeps skins upon his back'.² Over the next decade Corey would appear sporadically in EIC records, assisting Walter Peyton during his voyage to India in 1615 by mediating between the sailors and the local community in Saldanha Bay, and in 1617 doing the same for Nathaniel Salmon during his journey to Surat.³ He appears to have been killed in 1627, according to a record in an anonymous Welsh logbook, after refusing to provide Dutch sailors with 'fresh victuals'.⁴

The apparent simplicity of this biography belies its formation through vast ongoing background processes of knowledge mediation. The 'character' of Corey only emerges through these processes, with each occasion of his appearance within EIC records intended to serve a discursive purpose. It was not Terry, Towerson, Peyton or Salmon's primary intention to write a biography for Corey, and acknowledging this fact necessarily raises the question of how – and whether – it is possible to do so here using their texts. This question of visibility through a paradoxical invisibility has been

1 Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (London, 1655; Wing 2nd ed. T782), pp. 19–21. Saldanha Bay is on the south-western coast of modern-day South Africa.

2 Terry, *A Voyage to East-India*, p. 21.

3 Walter Peyton, 'Voyage of Captain Walter Peyton to India, in 1615' in *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. by Robert Kerr, vol. IX (London: T. Cadell, 1824), pp. 219–222; 'Nathaniel Salmon, master of the New Year's Gift, to the East India Company', 9 July, 1617, in *Letters Received by the East India Company*, ed. by William Foster, vol. VI (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1902), pp. 290–292.

4 Linda Evi Merians, *Envisioning the Worst: Representations of 'Hottentots' in Early-Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001), p. 90. Later editions of Thomas Herbert's *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* (London, 1664; Wing H1533A) recorded that Corey was 'butchered' by his community when he returned home, but there is no evidence of this, and it contradicts extant EIC documents.

explored in great detail in Imtiaz Habib's *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible*. There, Habib posited a recursive linkage between the 'imprints' and 'invisible' elements of his title, 'imprint' working as both noun and verb to 'reveal by its very visibility that which is not'.⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis faced a similar problem in her account of Leo Africanus, finding herself haunted by 'the silences in the contemporary record and the occasional contradictions or mysteries in the texts'.⁶ In attempting to enact analytical processes through these scattered details, Corey's role as a transcultural figure of mobility is interrogated here within the context of such an archival record, asking whether it is possible to extrapolate a version of his history.

Even Corey's name comes to an English reader through such a process of textual mediation. His original language was likely Khoekhoe, so 'Coree' is one of, if not the first, indigenous African names to appear in English records.⁷ Terry records that he 'call'd himself *Cooree*', but the name's spelling is inconsistent in English records. Terry had not been present himself at Corey's abduction – he notes that these events took place 'about three years before I went to *India*' – and his telling of the event is therefore entirely reliant on information provided by others, even down to his phonetic transcription of Corey's name.⁸ Corey's role within Terry's text is inextricably linked to this question of knowledge transmission: he first appears in the text in a brief reference to '*Coorce* one of the Natives (whose story you shall have by and by)'.⁹ The significant detail here is that Corey is considered by Terry to have a 'story'. This structural formula signals to the reader his status as an agent of transcultural interaction between English and native communities, but in a sense paradoxically renders the story itself unnecessary for Terry's readers. What matters is that he is considered by an English writer to have a story worthy of being recorded in English because it concerns English interests: it is this alone which makes the details of Corey's life worthy of note for Terry.

5 Imtiaz Habib, 'Afterword', in *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 261–272 (270); see also Margo Hendricks, 'Feminist Historiography', in *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2008), pp. 361–376.

6 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: The Search for Leo Africanus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006; London: Faber and Faber, 2007), p. 13.

7 His name has been standardised to 'Corey' within this essay, but this is not to imply any degree of prescriptivism as to the spelling.

8 Terry, *A Voyage to East-India*, p. 20.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The formula thus serves as a reminder that the concept of ‘stories’ and their telling are not neutral ones, and further complicates attempts to use such accounts to form a biography. Corey’s name, and its movement from Khoekhoe to English through phonetic transcription, functions as a similar signifier, reminding the reader of the importance of orally transmitted knowledge. The importance of this process is clear from the various spellings of his name: ‘Coorce’ and ‘Cooree’ in Terry, ‘Corey’ by Peyton, ‘Cory’ by Salmon, ‘Cary’ in the anonymous Welsh account, and ‘Choree’ by Nicholas Downton.¹⁰ As long as the name was rendered phonetically similarly, the figure to whom it referred could be recalled by the English reader.

It is also important here to consider the other textual identifiers connected to Corey. English accounts indicate that he came from Saldanha Bay, though this is gleanable only through inference: there is no known account of his life before the abduction. His home was described by Peyton as a ‘town or *craal* of about an [*sic*] hundred houses, five English miles from the landing place’, and Thomas Roe described their houses as being ‘only made of mats, rounded at the top like an oven, and open on one side, which they turn as the wind changes, having no door to keep out the weather’.¹¹ The wider influences of transnational engagement are visible even here: though it would appear from Peyton’s text that ‘*craal*’ is a word taken from Corey’s language, it appears originally to have derived from the Portuguese word *curaal*, a cognate of the Spanish *corral*. Portuguese presence in the area is clear from such territorial designations: Saldanha Bay had been named as such after the Portuguese Antonio de Saldanha, who landed there in 1503.

The majority of the other figures in this collection left records of their writings, such as letters, speeches, prose, or poetry. This is not the case for Corey: there are points where his voice appears within these texts, but these take the form of reported speech, mediating his words through linguistic and generic intermediaries. The first such occasion, in Terry, is the already-discussed formula ‘he called himself *Cooree*’. The second comes later in the account, when Terry describes how ‘when [Corey] had learned a little of our Language, he would daily lye upon the ground, and cry very often thus in broken English, *Cooree home goe, Souldania goe, home goe*’.¹² The third took place after his return, when Terry met him and ‘asked *Cooree*

10 Terry, *A Voyage to East-India*, pp. 16–17; Peyton, ‘Voyage of Captain Walter Peyton’, p. 161; Salmon, ‘Nathaniel Salmon, master of the New Year’s Gift, to the East India Company’, p. 292; *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies, 1614–1615: As Recorded in Contemporary Narratives and Letters*, ed. by William Foster (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1938), p. 2.

11 Peyton, ‘Voyage of Captain Walter Peyton’, pp. 219–222.

12 Terry, *A Voyage to East-India*, p. 21.

who was their God? he lifting up his hands answered thus, in his bad English, *England God, great God, Souldanian God*.¹³ Finally, Walter Peyton describes in his diary visiting Corey's home a few years after his return and meeting his family, recording that 'most of these savages can say *Sir Thomas Smith's English ships*, which they often repeat with much pride'.¹⁴

These moments of speech each served distinct discursive purposes as recorded. The second, where Corey's desire to return home is recorded in broken English by Terry, serves in his text as evidence of the truth of a biblical verse.¹⁵ Terry wrote that:

wee may draw this conclusion, that a continued Custome may make many things that seem strange and loathsom to some, even naturall to others, and that the most brutish life may seem civill, and best to a most brutish man; and he thus pleading for it.¹⁶

For Terry's later readers, the events described may suggest no such conclusion. Rather, they record the violent displacement effected by English sailors and Corey's desperation to return home. The third instance of reported speech serves a similar function: in this case, Corey's apparent acknowledgment of the existence of an omnipotent God proved, for Terry, that it was a 'greater misery, to fall from the loyns of *Civill & Christian Parents*, and after to degenerate into all brutishness' rather than to be born into a non-Christian family and be '[in]sensible of their condition'.¹⁷ Peyton's report served a more straightforwardly nationalistic purpose, with his story of the inhabitants of a *craal* chanting 'Sir Thomas Smith's English ships' demonstrating the reach of English mercantile strength on the other side of the globe. Their refrain, we are left to assume, would have been learnt from Corey.

These incidents of reported speech each speak in turn to English concerns of conversion, mercantilism, and home, while each obscures Corey's own version of his life story in both their linguistic structure and attention to these concerns. The microhistory of Corey as a transcultural and mobile figure offered here is predicated initially on English movement to his home and his abduction. This considered, our view of him as a traveller must necessarily

13 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

14 Peyton, 'Voyage of Captain Walter Peyton', p. 219.

15 2 Peter 2.22 specifically: But it is come unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is returned to his own vomit: and the sow that was washed, to the wallowing in the mire [1599 Geneva Bible].

16 Terry, *A Voyage to East-India*, pp. 21–22.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

consider his mobility differently from most of the other figures within this collection (with the exception of Peter Pope). Unlike diplomats, royalty, or merchants, Corey had no agency in his initial movement. He does appear, however, to have recognised the potential benefits of his transcultural role after his return. Terry wrote despondently that:

it had been well if he had not seen *England*; for as he discovered nothing to us ... when he came home he told his Country-men (having doubtless observed so much here) that *Brass* was but a base and cheap commoditie in *England*.¹⁸

The reciprocal nature of transcultural interaction evidently had not been apparent to the English in this case, and in using Corey to 'discover' information for themselves, they failed to realise that he in turn could make discoveries which would endanger their interests. Thomas Elkington, an EIC merchant, complained bitterly that '[it] would have been much better for us ... if he had never seen England'.¹⁹ The connection between agency and mobility was expected to run one way: one could be made mobile through English agency, but claiming that resultant agency for oneself was a traitorous act.

Such moments suggest an alternate history, silent in the English records, of a man forcibly taken from his home and family to travel to the other side of the world who, once there, used the language of his abductors to express his desperate desire to return home. After having returned, he cast off the trappings which had 'civilised' him in the eyes of the English, reclaiming his native identity. He then used this experience to aid his community, sharing his knowledge of their goods to procure better trades while acting as a mediator between agents of the EIC and his community. He would later suggest that one of his sons go to England on an EIC ship, perhaps hoping that he would be able to take on a similar role.²⁰ Within English historiography, the figure of 'Corey the Saldanian' would become synonymous with that of the now antiquated term 'hottentot', assuming far greater mythic proportions than originally laid out in Terry's narrative.²¹ Any attempt to examine Corey's role as a transcultural figure inevitably comes into contact with both this later history, and the moments of crisis outlined by Habib between the visible

18 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

19 Thomas Elkington, in 1614/1615 wrote that '[it] would have been much better for us as such as shall come hereafter if he had never seen England' [*Letters Received by the East India Company*, ed. by William Foster, 6 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1902), III, p. 2].

20 Peyton, 'Voyage of Captain Walter Peyton', p. 220.

21 See Merians, *Envisioning the Worst*, pp. 91–137 for more detail.

imprints and the invisible person. On the one hand, gleaning the details of a subject's life from 'official' records inevitably risks entrenching those texts further into biographical certainty. On the other, attempts to recreate the undocumented details threaten to bring ahistorical perspectives into analysis. There is no easy way of overcoming this limitation, but Corey's story, fragmentary as it is, still demands to be told.

Emily Stevenson

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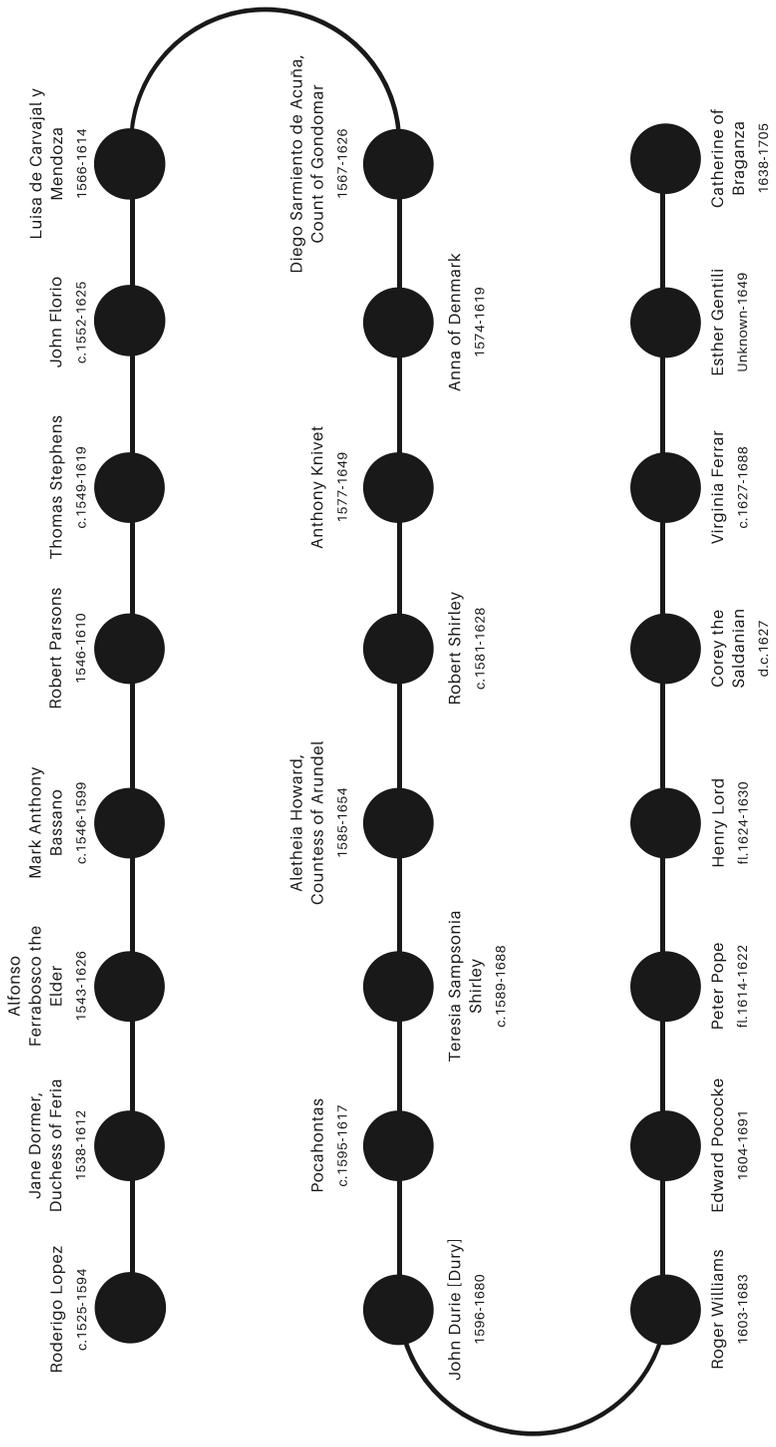


Figure 10 Chronology. Image Emily Stevenson for TIDE (CC BY 4.0).

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