America in the British Imagination

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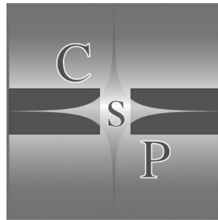
Edited by

Catherine Armstrong, Roger Fagge and Tim Lockley



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INTRODUCTION

CATHERINE ARMSTRONG, ROGER FAGGE AND TIM LOCKLEY

America has been a place of fascination for Britons for more than 500 years. The geographical location of the British Isles on the Atlantic fringe of Europe, and the disengagement from continental territorial conflict following defeat in the Hundred Years War in 1453, combined to turn British eyes westwards very quickly after 1492. Just five years after Columbus made landfall in the Caribbean, Henry VII sponsored John Cabot's voyage west to discover new lands and routes to Asia. News of his landfall somewhere on the Atlantic coast of Canada circulated widely amongst the literate and educated in England but much of the earliest information about North America was a mixture of fact and fantastical stories. Over the following century other explorers from Britain, Spain and France visited much of the coast and some of the interior of North America. As information about the continent gradually trickled into Britain and was translated, published, and re-published, myth gave way to slightly more credible facts, though still often embellished. As Britons learned of the freely available game in the dense woodlands, and the abundant off-shore fisheries, increasing numbers began to conceive of North America as a good place for overseas voyages and, ultimately, colonisation. It was not, however, until the 1580s that the first British attempt at colonisation in North America was made, at Roanoke Island in what is now North Carolina. The widespread circulation of drawings by artist John White and the accompanying descriptions of naturalist Thomas Hariot, made while the pair were in North Carolina, brought North America to life for those who had not gone to Roanoke. For the first time it was possible to read accurate descriptions of the flora and fauna of this part of North America and to see watercolours of the native inhabitants. However, the loss of the Roanoke colony after 1587, combined with the increased Spanish threat, deterred further attempts at colonisation until 1607 when a small band of adventurers settled on the James River in Virginia.

With the settlement of Jamestown, the amount of information about America flowing back to Britain increased dramatically. Not only were numerous promotional pamphlets published by the Virginia Company, which often needed

to be taken with more than a pinch of salt, for the first time negative images of America began to appear in England complaining of the harsh climate, the unfriendly Indians, and the brutal discipline regime of the colony's leaders. The four hundred years following the settlement of Jamestown have continued to see the British assailed with two quite distinct images of America. On the one hand America is a land of personal freedom and individualism, of boundless economic opportunity, and broad social equality. On the other hand America has been perceived as having a self-confidence bordering on arrogance where higher culture is usually subsumed by materialism, where the poor can be easily left to fend for themselves, and where foreign policy can be dogmatic and aggressive. One theme of this book is that Britons do not know whether to envy America or revile it, but one thing is certain—they do still think about it. No other nation on earth is quite so prominent in the minds of the British. In part this is because America offers to the British a number of "alternate universes" where the effect of social experiments can be observed. The British migrants to the American colonies brought with them the English language, Protestantism, democracy, the rule of law, the separation of powers, and economic liberalism which led to an underlying similarity with the mother country. However, no American colony was identical to Britain. Nowhere in Britain were religious leaders so socially and politically prominent as they were in seventeenth-century New England, Pennsylvania or Maryland; slavery, which came to define the southern colonies during the eighteenth century, had no counterpart in Britain; and, since land was far more readily available to migrants in America than back home, franchise requirements were more easily met meaning that in most colonies a far higher proportion of adult white males were permitted to vote. These differences meant that Britons back home could gauge the effect of each of these changes on an essentially British society. If they wanted to see what a British society with slaves would look like, for instance, they needed to look no further than South Carolina. Following the American Revolution, Britons were also able to see how a "British" society would look like without a monarchy or an aristocracy.

The popular democracy and perceived social mobility of post-Revolutionary America was deeply attractive to many Britons, and the rekindling of cultural and personal ties between America and Britain in the nineteenth century ensured that both continued to exert an influence over the other. The causes of abolition and social reform, for example, were fought on both sides of the Atlantic. Britons continued to visit America, and were fascinated and repelled by the young nation. Did it offer solutions to the social problems experienced in the world's first industrialised nation? Could it offer alternative modes of government and social organisation to put an end to poverty, criminality, and conflict? The answers, such as they were, varied from the impractical to the implausible.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century America began to take its place as an imperial power with new colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific, but just as America's world influence was growing Britain faced Armageddon. The First World War irrevocably changed the respective positions of Britain and America. Instead of being a great imperial power, Britain was about to embark on the long retreat from an empire it could now ill-afford. America, flushed with the success of its decisive entry into the war in 1917 emerged as a great power in its own right. British views of America also changed as self-confidence in the British way of life gave way to self-doubt. Perhaps America really did offer a better alternative.

World War II confirmed America as the world's leading industrial and military power, and the post-war period has seen no diminution of British interest in America. American popular culture, especially film, music and television, became almost universally known in Britain, even if reviled in some quarters, but it is American foreign policy during the Cold War and afterwards that has attracted the most British interest and criticism. As the sole western superpower America launched itself into overseas ventures in Korea, Vietnam and most recently the Middle East. Undoubtedly, British perceptions of America have been coloured by these conflicts.

This volume emerged from a one-day conference co-sponsored by the United States Embassy in London and the University of Warwick, and was conceived as an opportunity for a number of scholars from a variety of different disciplines (History, English, Theatre Studies, Music and History of Art) to explore the ways in which Britons have imagined America. The time frame runs from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century, and should enable the reader the see how British perceptions and understandings of America have evolved over those 400 years. Many essays build on recent scholarship by David Armitage and others around the concept of the "Atlantic World." Rather than seeing the relationship between former colony and mother-country as based on simple bi-directional power-relations, this collection aims to foster a sense that these links were complex and multi-faceted. It also acknowledges that events in Europe, Africa and the rest of the Americas influenced the ways that the British imagined the United States. Connections between these two countries must be explored by looking at literature, theatre and music as well as the political and economic connections, here placed into a more flexible context, not presented as deterministic drivers of, say independence, or the Cold War.

Catherine Armstrong's essay starts the volume by highlighting the breadth and sheer pervasiveness of printed representations about America before 1630. The print media was not simply confined to travel narratives and descriptions, which were often lengthy and required higher-level literacy skills, but also much shorter ballads, plays, poems and sermons. These items sometimes required only

basic literacy, and could be transmitted orally. Armstrong shows that the Virginia Company deliberately used these informal methods of communication to ensure that news of the settlement at Jamestown reached the widest possible audience, and especially those among the lower orders who were potential colonists. Since the Virginia Company were responsible for many of these printed representations they were normally very positive about the new colony but gradually they lost their monopoly on the flow of information from Virginia. Negative reports were widely circulated, especially following the starving time of 1609-10 and the 1622 Indian massacre, and these were extremely influential in shaping the future image of America in the British mind.

Sarah Irving's study of the Royal Society demonstrates how information about America was deeply intertwined with ideas of empire, dominion and control. Natural scientists who were members of the Royal Society tried to place America within existing schemes of classification whilst also making the conceptual leap that "conquering" the New World in these terms helped to "conquer" it in reality as well. Since man's natural sovereignty had been divinely ordained before the fall from Eden, understanding, labelling and classifying new flora and fauna, helped Britain simultaneously to claim sovereignty over new territory. In this sense, only by knowing about the new world could the British truly conquer it. Ian Chambers takes up this theme of the power of words and naming in the eighteenth century in the first essay in this volume to explore how the British imagined the native inhabitants of the New World. He demonstrates, using Scotsman Alexander Cumming as an example, how British and Native American understandings of the same events were radically different: British travellers thought they were securing the loyalty and submissions of southern Native Americans but tribes such as the Cherokee saw it far differently. However, far from returning back to Britain with a corrected understanding of tribal diplomacy, cultural misunderstandings were often perpetuated and reinforced because of the ignorance and closed-mindedness of travellers. Popular British understanding of Native Americans can perhaps best be described as muddled and inaccurate.

John Barrington's study of the mentality of British settlers in South Carolina is the subject of chapter four. Barrington suggests that these "British Americans" viewed themselves as an integral part of the British Empire, not just in political terms but also because of a shared determination to prevent French/Catholic hegemony in the New World. "British Americans" in South Carolina saw America as vital for British imperial strength partly because of the raw materials that eased reliance on important European goods, but more particularly because in the eighteenth century the war between France and Britain was actually being fought in America. In a pre-cursor of the cold-war ideology of the late twentieth century, a strong America meant a strong Britain.

Moving into the nineteenth century, Robert Grant uses the visual representations of a newly independent America and compares them with those of Canada, New Zealand and Australia to show how the British conceived of their current and former colonies as new worlds, or "tabula rasas," that were simply waiting to be moulded into a proper form by colonists. All new lands had both positive and negative features: the ability to create order from chaos and fashion a new civilization was balanced by the hard work involved and sometimes harsh natural environments. But America, and all the new British colonies, formed part of a larger, Anglo-centric, mentality of superiority and dominance over others.

Max Stites uses the work of novelist Charles Dickens to explore British views of post-Revolutionary independent America. Dickens, like many of his contemporaries, perceived America as a place of opportunity and freedom, but ultimately he was forced to accept that the reality was somewhat different. His personal experience of America complicated rather than confirmed his preconceived ideas and the harsh and competitive nature of existence in the New World became a theme of several of his fictional works. Stites argues that Dickens ultimately conceived of America as "amputated" from Britain, with the underlying suggestion that perhaps America would have been better served by remaining part of the British Empire instead of striking out alone.

David Brown and David Waller use the reports of British Consuls based in southern ports to contradict long-held views about British sympathy for the confederacy. Whilst the political elite in Great Britain was increasingly suspicious of American ambition, especially in the west, and some recommended support for southern independence simply to weaken the USA, ultimately the issue of slavery got in the way. The South was seen to be a deviation from the Anglo-American norm, and indeed many believed that the attachment of southerners to the institution of slavery was a failure of popular democracy. The shared political ethos with northern states, and a recognition that the North, more than the South, had grown from British racial stock, ultimately meant that Britain increasingly turned against the confederacy as the war progressed.

As the United States grew economically in the latter half of the nineteenth century it increasingly clashed with the world's dominant economic power—Great Britain. Stefan Schwarzkopf's essay explores the ways in which the commercialism, entrepreneurship and showmanship of American advertisers won them increased market share ahead of their more reserved British counterparts. In Britain this was often perceived as an example of the shallow and degraded nature of American society, with British advertisers preferring to stress the quality of their products and to establish trusting relationships with consumers. While some in Britain believed that since American techniques were

clearly successful they should be emulated, many others thought they had little, if anything, to learn from America. The different approaches adopted by American and British advertisers therefore acted to accentuate and highlight trans-Atlantic differences between these two economic superpowers.

By the late nineteenth century some British authors were acutely aware that America was catching-up to Britain economically, and would inevitably overtake her. Brook Miller uses the travel writings of three British visitors to the United States to show how cultural critiques of America were, in large part, more about the defence of British culture than about a denigration of America per se. Authors shored up British self-esteem in two distinct ways: firstly they emphasised the close ties between Britain and America, suggesting that American dynamism was mainly because of the nation's British origins; but secondly they argued that regardless of the pre-eminent economic position that America would ultimately take, the absence of a collective history or identity, and the homogeneous nature of America's "classless" society which lacked any real "refinement" meant that it could never supplant Britain culturally. This smug sense of cultural superiority was to become a central theme in British feelings towards America in the twentieth century.

Cultural superiority was not totally absent from the radical British critique of America either and, as Roger Fagge shows focussing on the 1930s, the left were unsure how to deal with the industrial-capitalist giant across the Atlantic. On one hand they dismissed it on ideological terms, but on the other their personal connections with the country, and the progressive politics of the New deal, encouraged a more subtle response. This was particularly true of the cultural radicals H.G. Wells, J.B. Priestley and W.H. Auden who all embraced elements of the American experience. Even for these radicals however, America remained something of an enigma, which they tended to re-imagine to fit their worldview.

Allen McLaurin turns to the turbulent decade of the 1940s, where the pre-war admiration for America in some quarters gave way first to the close alliance of the Second World War and then to the post-war world that seemed to confirm British global decline and American pre-eminence. Some writers of the later 1940s indulged in a resurgent anti-Americanism and a re-assertion of British cultural superiority where Britain played the part of Greece to America's Rome, while others continued to praise American inventiveness and energy. McLaurin ultimately suggests that writers of the 1940s had a highly ambiguous view of America.

Novelist Kingsley Amis, as Tammy Grimshaw explains, was one of the first writers to cast a satirical eye on American self-perception. Amis's works of 1960s often use comedy to puncture the notion that American foreign policy was distinctive from that of European powers. In fact nineteenth-century

territorial growth, both on the mainland and overseas, was deeply imperialistic and, unlike Britain, America was still engaged in imperialism in Asia in the twentieth century. Amis was sharply critical of the Vietnam War for instance, and much of his work has an anti-American tinge. Yet, as with so many Britons who feature in this collection, Amis denied that he was anti-American. His satires of American morality and racial attitudes therefore reflect a typically British confused and enigmatic attitude towards the United States.

During the early 1970s American playwright Sam Shepard took up residence in London and wrote and produced a series of works on American themes. Tim Rogers' essay examines the techniques used to promote Shepard's work to British audiences, and in particular the way in which Shepard's own disillusionment with America led to his depiction of his native land as a foreign, alien environment verging on the grotesque full of strange people. Building on this sense of disappointment with America is Joseph Tate's essay on the band Radiohead. Tate brings us into the twenty-first century by using the song lyrics, as well as the public statements of the band members, to show how Radiohead have consistently attacked American foreign policy. These musicians imagine an America that is a threat to world peace, and no longer the force for morality and right that it had once been.

The widely differing essays in this book cannot hope to be comprehensive. At most they can only provide a number of intriguing snapshots of the ways in which Britons have imagined America from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century. A common thread is the confused nature of British imaginings. America is both "the land of the free" and "the great Satan" and British people can love America both as a concept and as a place to visit, while reviling the American government and especially its foreign policy. We hope that these essays will stimulate future scholars to continue to reflect on the ways in which Britons have thought about their most significant external influence—the United States of America.

CHAPTER ONE

CONTESTING THE MEANING OF AMERICA: PRINTED REPRESENTATIONS BEFORE 1630

CATHERINE ARMSTRONG

In the first hesitant years of exploration and settlement how did English men and women acquire and interpret knowledge of the American colonies? This chapter will focus mainly on Virginia, which, before 1630, featured predominantly in both positive and negative reports, although during the 1620s some news was beginning to emerge from the Plymouth colony to the north. In the early years, English readers were intrigued with Virginia and the Caribbean colonies and as a result popular demand dictated that most of the news coming from America concerned these areas. However it is not my intention to try to interpret the views of the first white settlers in the region, those early colonists who remained in America, but to look at the transatlantic view: the understanding of America from the shores of Britain. Many of the authors were colonists disillusioned with the New World who wanted to share their experiences with others on their return to England. Some were explorers who had only intended to spend a few months or years travelling, surveying and claiming new territory. Others who wrote about America never left England's shores, indicative of the pervasiveness of knowledge about America, that it was firmly entrenched in the hearts and minds of many people, inspiring them to put pen to paper to spread news about the colonies. Many of these men intended simply to tell a story, to place themselves in an heroic or tragic narrative, while others wanted to use tales from America as a sounding board for the creation of hopes of a new English empire. The two great editors of travel narratives, Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, both believed that by encouraging information about English exploits overseas to seep into the English consciousness it would ferment a desire among their countrymen to see the colonies succeed.[1] They believed, Purchas especially, that the success of Virginia depended not only on meeting the financial imperative of creating a self-sustaining colony, but also on Protestant evangelising. When Purchas described Englishmen travelling overseas as "pilgrims," he was not harking

back to the days of Medieval spiritual journeys, nor was he referring to the exiled, separatist Englishmen who ended up at Plymouth Rock in the 1620s, but rather extolling his readers to become Protestant messengers, by investing in Virginia as well as migrating there. The complexities of pursuing material and spiritual gain simultaneously caused problems for the ministers who wrote about America. The literary ways in which they extricated themselves from this philosophical dilemma gave rise to the earliest expressions of manifest destiny, the belief that God intended the land of North America to belong to the English. This had a profound effect on the relationship between colonist and native. It negated the role played by native inhabitants in supporting the colonists in the first years of settlement and deprived the natives of control over their own destiny.

Introduction: Printing and Adventuring

This chapter not only encompasses the printed representations of America but also examines the media through which these representations were defused. Some books about America were distributed during Elizabeth's reign, many in Spanish, being derived from the explorations of that nation in Central and South America. These works aroused the interests of a few English traders who were involved in the supply of slaves and purchase of goods in that region. But most readers only really showed an interest when the English became involved in exploration and settlement in that hemisphere. The stories of the earliest English explorations in North America were crafted as logs and diaries by the sailors on the voyages of great captains such as Drake, Frobisher and Gilbert.[2] However, when these narratives were gathered together and published by Richard Hakluyt in printed form, knowledge of America began to spread much faster, firstly at court, then among other members of the elite.[3] At that time the poorer members of society had little access to this information because Hakluyt's volumes were very expensive, even when sold unbound, so they were affordable only to the wealthier reader. By looking at the practicalities and technicalities of production and distribution of news in London and the provinces, it is possible to say a little more about the role of the authors, playwrights, printers and booksellers in creating an awareness of America.

It is also important to consider why authors and producers of books and pamphlets about early America chose the medium of print. Perhaps they were answering John Donne's exhortation in a sermon of 1622 that "every man that prints, adventures." Donne was a keen supporter of the Virginia Company and was its secretary for a few years. He gave sermons to the gathered Company on several occasions and was certainly aware of the importance of employing the medium of print to promote the colony. However, the picture is more

complicated than that. Much of the information from the colonies reached England in manuscript form, with the author unaware that his work was to be turned into a printed tract. The Virginia Company, led by Sir Thomas Smith encouraged this enterprise, just as it attempted to suppress those letters and diaries containing bad news about America. Even John Smith, the most successful author to write about the New World in English during this period, had his first tract published without his knowledge, the anonymous editor apologising in print in the second edition for not acknowledging Smith as author in the first.

The distribution of printed material about America centred on London, as did most of the printing trade. The presses of Oxford and Cambridge were active by this time, however all but one work on America was published in London. John Smith's *Map of Virginia* was the exception, being published in Oxford in 1612; some have argued this was because William Symonds, a doctor of Divinity at Magdalen College, contributed a prefatory section, while others argue that the book was suppressed by the Stationers' Company and was forced out of London. Whatever the truth, the fact remains that most works at this time were being produced in London. The printing and bookselling trades were centred on St. Paul's Churchyard, with the more successful tradesmen having shops in the area, and other smaller traders selling from stalls or even wandering the streets. These pedlars often took the smaller books outside London to market towns in the provinces where interested parties read broadsides and small pamphlets to gathered crowds, thus bringing information about America to more than those previously defined as truly literate.[4] Members of the wealthier classes in the countryside bought books from the London shops through dealers, or attended specialised book fairs held around the country.[5] Sadly, catalogues from these early seventeenth century fairs and book agents do not survive, although examples from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reveal a strong interest in books on travel, geography and history.

However, not all authors and tracts were seeking to encourage migration to, and investment in, Virginia. From the earliest days of settlement in Elizabeth's reign, when the inhabitants of the small English colony at Roanoke vanished, presumed massacred by the natives, rumours spread of the terrible conditions faced in the New World and a counter-narrative of fear and disappointment was born. In the early seventeenth century, this negative response was often the result of cynicism caused by the over-enthusiastic lauding of the enterprise. Playwrights such as Ben Jonson were cutting in their satirical portrayals of the supposed wealth and security of the New World. The interaction of these two narrative strands allowed print culture to affect the ways in which the English thought about North America.

Part 1. Positive Reports

To those who spent a very short time in America, it inevitably seemed like a second paradise. This was partly because of the traditional sailing times of ships from England; they would arrive off the coast of Virginia and New England in late summer and early Autumn, with their sailors and passengers seeing the abundance of flora and fauna without experiencing the extremes of heat and cold that were present in the region in high summer and the depths of winter. John Brereton recorded the voyage captained by Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602, which was sponsored by Walter Raleigh who vainly hoped to discover his lost colonists from Roanoke. Its other stated aim was also unsuccessful, that of revealing a naval passage to the South Seas through which the English might access the lucrative spices and silk trades of South Asia. However, these failures did not prevent the expedition from exploring the coast of North America and engaging with the natives who Brereton described as "of a perfect constitution of body, active, strong, healthfull and very wittie," primarily because of the "holsomenesse and temperature of this climat."[6] Brereton thought the prospect for an English colony if settled there proved good, "our habitations will be made a staple of all vendible commodities of the world," especially as "no nation of Christendom is so fit for this action as England." The natives, though healthy, provided no threat, for they were 'simple, naked and unarmed."[7] Although written later, when the colony of Virginia had been established, the report from Christopher Levett's voyage of exploration sounded a similar note to that of Brereton's twenty years earlier. Levett also explored the area known for many years as Northern Virginia, but by the time of his journey named New England, and reported that "a good plantation may be settled, for there is a good harbour, good ground and much already cleared for plantinge of corn and other fruits."[8] Even the early report of John Smith from Virginia portrayed a peaceful existence, despite the tensions that were already building up among different factions of settlers. Smith concluded his 1608 tract on Virginia with the words "we now remaining in good health all men well contended and in love one with another…to set our Nation to enioy a country not onely exceeding pleasant for habitation but also very profitable for commerce in generall."[9] However, this enthusiastic trumpeting of the virtues of the New World aroused the suspicion of writers such as Jonson who thought it too good to be true, and it also encouraged migrants to travel to America unprepared for hard work and harsh weather, because they had been led to believe that no work was needed to till the soil and produce food.

Between 1609 and 1620 the most consistent publicist of the Virginian colony was the Virginia Company itself.[10] This should be of no surprise, as its members, already men of wealth and influence, hoped for further financial gain

by using the medium of print to persuade their countrymen to invest or migrate, thus ensuring a self-sufficient and independent colony. The Company knew their audience well; sermons were preached to gathered members of the Court and Company in London to encourage them to keep up hope and maintain their financial interest. These sermons were then published. Migrants were also needed from the middle and lower orders of the society who could not be reached through grand sermons in London. Their attention was attracted through the medium of the broadside, a one-page news sheet, easily and cheaply distributed around the country by pedlars and booksellers. The first of these broadsides in 1609 advertised for "Artificers, Smiths, Carpenters, Coopers, Shipwrights, Turners, Planters, Vinears, Fowlers, Fishermen, Mettel-men of all sorts, Brickmakers, Brcklayers, Plowmen, Weavers, Shoomakers, Sawyers, Spinsters, and all other labouring men and women that are willing to goe to the said plantation."[11] Later, because many migrants had arrived in Virginia totally unprepared to support themselves until the next harvest, the Company issued another broadside, again encouraging migration, but this time listing the belongings that such a person should bring with them, including "Apparell … Victuall … Armes … Tooles … Houshold Implements."[12] Other broadsides were issued in connection with the Virginia lottery, probably only the third public lottery in English history. The company was granted this privilege by the king when it became clear that the colony was struggling to finance itself. Before the lottery was drawn, several broadsides were issued promising investors that their money would go towards the stocking of supply ships, which would relieve the "adventurers to Virginia [working] for the establishing of the Gospell there and the honour of our King and country."[13] The Virginia Company also showed awareness of another form of print culture: the ballad. Ballads were often thought to be an ephemeral form, but have recently been shown to be a valid expression of the political culture. The Virginia Company used a ballad to raise awareness of their lottery, targeting not only the middling orders of society who might have been interested in investing in the colony, but also the probable migrant labourers from the poorer classes. The ballad, entitled *Londons Lotterie*, was released in 1612 in two parts, each with three rough woodcut illustrations. It emphasises the honourable nature of the enterprise, that the colony would be of benefit to the Christian world, and to the converted "savages," and would bring honour to the King and Queen and Prince Henry. But the ballad also unashamedly appeals to those hoping to win the lottery, even to women:

> "You maydes that have but portions small
> to gain your marriage friend,
> Cast in your Lottes with willing hand,
> God may good fortune send.

You widdowes, and you wedded wives,
One little substance try:
You may advance both you and yours,
With wealth that comes thereby."[14]

The ballad also speaks to "farmers and countrymen," extolling them to remember the times of Queen Elizabeth under whom the colony was originally founded and given the name of "Virginia." It concludes by arguing that Englishmen would do well to remember that England, too, had been "a wildernesse and savage place" once and so it was possible to predict a transformation of Virginia into a flourishing and lively settlement.[15]

A more sober form of printed medium, derived from the sermons preached by ministers in London, was also employed by the Company to target those who had invested in the colony or who might want to invest in the future. Some work has been done on the significance of these sermons and their encouragement to listeners to fulfil the values of Humanism as well as of the Protestant Church.[16] But sermons should not be seen as an individual genre, rather they complemented other Company publications and other printed artefacts such as laudatory poems, economic tracts of encouragement to merchants and the output of so-called "armchair travellers." Sermons had the double impact of being powerful oratory, influential to those who heard the delivery, and to the reader later when they were preserved in print, usually by printer William Welby, who worked for the Company for several years. The sermons form two distinct groups: from the earlier period, around 1609, when the colony was founded and the company hoped to encourage more financial support, and then in the 1620s, when the settlement's future looked a little more secure, but was still threatened by instability. William Crashaw, speaking in 1609, in a sermon published, according to the title page, "without his consent," argued that the sole purpose for settling Virginia was to convert the natives to Christianity. He was speaking to the gathered throng of the Company including its governor, Thomas West, Lord De La Ware, who was about to embark on his first voyage to Virginia. His was to be the ill-fated voyage shipwrecked in the West Indies that influenced Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*. In a reversal of the reality in America, Crashaw naively suggested that the English settlers could assist the natives and teach them how to cultivate the ground for profit.[17] Even as early as 1609, Crashaw was able to identify the true enemies of Virginia: "the divell, Papists and Players," revealing that negative rumours about America were already being spread, with the theatre as a hub. William Symonds, speaking to the same audience, also in 1609, also chose to focus on the fear of Papist intrigue in the New World. He argued that the English must send as many men as possible to the region because otherwise the Jesuit missionaries would impose their doctrines on the Natives. As Symonds put it "it is a shame that the Jesuits and

Friars that accompany every ship should be so diligent to destroy souls and wee not feed the tender lambs, nor bind up that which is broken."[18]

The tone of the sermons in the 1620s was very different. They were preached in the context of increasing wealth and profit for colonists and Company, but this had come at a price of worsening relations with the Natives. Patrick Copland, whose involvement with Virginia led him to raise money for a school to educate the natives, preached a sermon before the Company in April 1622, just a matter of weeks before the news of the Virginia massacre reached London. One third of the English settlers were killed in the massacre, which was a co-ordinated attack by natives, many of whom had breakfasted with their victims a few minutes earlier. Copland, unaware of this tragedy, but obviously keen to contradict rumours of unrest, argued that there was "no danger after their landing, either through warres or famine or want of convenient lodging."[19] By the time John Donne preached his famous sermon, on the eighth verse of the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles to the Company in November, the sad truth had reached London, and the recriminations and acts of revenge had already started. However, Donne preached that it was still possible to live alongside the Indians, converting and not killing them. He encouraged patience saying "you cannot beget a sonne and tell the mother I will have this sonne born within five months."[20] He concluded with what could be read as a subtle attack on the way the Company operated, arguing that they must not create an elite and that merchants and gentleman of the colony must not be at odds with one another.[21]

It would be a mistake to think that promotional material emerged only from the Company itself. The supporters of the Company's enterprise included some other illustrious poets apart from Donne. Around 1619 Michael Drayton wrote a famous ode "To the Virginian Voyage," in which he lauded the settlers who had gone to the New World as English heroes, encouraging others to follow their example:

> "Britons, you stay too long
> Quickly aboard bestow you…"[22]

Interestingly Drayton, like Donne, understood the importance of print culture to the Virginian enterprise, acknowledging in his last verse the role played by men such as Richard Hakluyt who championed the funding and migration central to the enterprise:

> "They Voyages attend
> Industrious Hakluyt
> Whose reading shall inflame
> Men to seek fame

And much commend
To after-times thy wit."[23]

No less laudatory, but written in the aftermath of the Virginia massacre, Christopher Brooke's tragic poem lists the fallen heroes of the enterprise, especially the captains who had led the colony. Brooke takes a different approach in verse to that of Donne in prose, recommending, not that the English might still live alongside the natives, but that the natives must be exterminated as they were "rooted in evill and opposed in good, errors of nature, or inhumane birth."[24] Brooke's tragic poem had an optimistic note however, praising the virtues of the new governor Francis Wyatt and exhorting him to wield the "sword and the pen" and govern the colony well to ensure its strong future.

Brooke's predictions seemed to come true in the following few years. The relations between the Europeans and the Natives in the region were permanently soured by the violent reprisals and a withdrawal of the English from communal to isolated living. But the colony was not abandoned and it continued to flourish, in the most part because of the burgeoning tobacco trade. This led to a new genre of literature praising the virtues of Virginia: the economic tract, written to encourage merchant activity in the region. The authors of these tracts, such as John Hagthorpe, who wrote *England's Exchequer* in 1625, had never been to the New World. Hagthorpe saw his book as a noble endeavour to encourage the English to emulate their European neighbours, especially Spain, and bring wealth to the nation through overseas trade. He also employed classical metaphors to emphasise the point, arguing that the flourishing civilisations of the Carthaginians, Romans and Greeks travelled to seek out new lands and goods to trade. However, the English mercantile endeavour would benefit not only those who sought to invest in the scheme, but also would be a relief to poverty by employing the poorest men in worthwhile labour. Hagthorpe recommended that this trade "seems rather a worke for the Prince and Commonwealth than for private men." In this, he was ahead of his time, as England's first monarch to take a direct approach to the colonial enterprise was Charles II. With no fear from Spanish attack, Hagthorpe saw the potential for trade with New England and Newfoundland, especially praising the latter whose climate he optimistically claimed to be ideal for the English temperament. He wrongly believed that Newfoundland would be protected from the threat of pirates because of the presence of the English fishing vessels.[25] This was not the case; Newfoundland was constantly plagued with pirates, some of whom kidnapped settlers and fisherman who were standing on the shore. Factual errors of this sort were frequent in tracts written by those who had never been to America. They wished to sound positive about the opportunities and benefits, but sometimes, in their enthusiasm, made false claims about the climate, the flora and fauna or the native populations. These enthusiasts, who might be

termed "armchair travellers" were men who felt it was their duty to encourage others to invest in the enterprise or to migrate to America while they themselves could not go.

Richard Eburne, the vicar of Henstridge in Somerset, is a good example of an armchair traveller. He was fascinated by the colonisation of Virginia, but the benefits of Newfoundland really aroused his interest following the publication of Richard Whitbourne's 1620 tract *A Discovery and Discourse of Newfoundland*, which the Privy Council instructed to be promoted from every parish pulpit. The ministers of the church were often less interested in the financial benefits that America had to offer, but instead focussed on the curing of society's ills. As Eburne argued, America could provide "room for our overswarming multitudes of people."[26] The fear of over-population, and especially of large numbers of poor people was ever-present in Elizabethan and Stuart England and the colonies were seen as a double benefit because they might relieve some of the population pressures while putting the poor to work. However, Eburne accused the English of "wanting industry" and having an "immoderate love of their country," intending his tract to be part of the effort to encourage people to participate in the colonial enterprise. Like Hagthorpe, he argued that the King should take a more direct role and declare himself to be King of the entire region to be settled.[27]

Supporters of the colonies like Eburne usually favoured one region of North America over the others and their arguments are thus biased towards one colony to the detriment of the rest. Eburne felt that Newfoundland would be the best site for a socially improving colony such as the one he envisaged, although he did acknowledge that a purely money-making venture would probably be better located somewhere with mineral wealth such as Guiana. Another minister, the Reverend John White of Dorchester was involved in financing and publicising the voyages to Massachusetts in 1629 and 1630, and wrote a tract defending the enterprise, although he modestly claimed in the epistle to the reader that the work "has been wrested out of the authours hand, hardly overlooked, much lesse filed and smoothed for the presse was never intended to be presented to publicke view."[28] White was a godly Puritan, and concurred with John Winthrop's aim of creating a "city upon a hill" that would act as an example and a beacon to England to lead her through those godless times. White emphasised the redeeming nature of the overseas settlements; putting the unemployed to work and spreading the reformed word of God, and he reiterated the idea of manifest destiny, that God ordained New England as fit and right for English settlement because "the Lord affords void ground enough to receive more people than this state can spare," and that this had been achieved by "a defoliation" which killed all the natives. White was also aware of more earthly matters, and defended New England against accusations that its winters were too cold ("the cold of

winter is tolerable…and is remedied by an abundance of fuell") and that it is infested with mosquitoes, but not as badly as Essex or Lincolnshire. [29]

After the flurry of interest caused by the massacre in 1622 had subsided, the works of Eburne and White reflect the movement away from Virginia in the literature on America. However, one armchair traveller, who probably did more than anyone in the 1620s to awaken interest in English exploits abroad, always saw Virginia as the jewel in the English colonial crown. Samuel Purchas gathered together many letters and journals recounting England's expeditions around the world and published them in his twenty volume collection *Purchas, His Pilgrims*. He also included much of his own opinion as in the tract entitled "Virginias Verger" in which Purchas passionately pleads with his readers to keep faith with the colony, which he argues is even more justifiably English following the "perfidiousnesse" of the Indians during the massacre.[30] He admits that Virginia has been a victim of malicious gossip, but he reiterates the reasons why Virginia should be considered a suitable venue for "evacuation" of the excess population of England. The potential for trade is also highlighted, with, according to Purchas, iron ore, timber, sugar and tobacco being the most fruitful. He also keeps alive the hope of finding a North-West passage to the South Seas, thus opening up a route to the East Indies for the English. However, Purchas also foresaw a great age of seafaring in which Virginia would be a friendly, safe haven for English shipping in peacetime and a useful base from which attacks against the enemy could be launched during wartime.

Part 2: Negative Reports

Purchas, writing in the mid-1620s, was fully aware that it was not only the damage caused by the massacre, but also other negative reports that had sullied Virginia's reputation. The first disaster to strike the colony was the difficult winter of 1609-10, known as the "starving time." Having failed to become self-sufficient and still unable to provide all their own food, the English settlers demanded and stole food from the natives causing them to withdraw the friendship that was helping to sustain the colony. Since many of the letters containing information about this difficult winter were sent to Company officials, most of them were not published. However, their circulation in manuscript and rumours spread by word of mouth proved enough to turn some English people against the enterprise. On 7 July 1610 a letter was written by Lord De La Ware, governor of Virginia, to the Earl of Salisbury in which he described Jamestown as a "verie noisome and unholsome place, occationed much bie the mortallitie and idlenesse of owure people." He thought the colony "never so weake and farr out of order as nowe," but even then sounded an optimistic note that given time the situation could improve, and if God would

grant his good health he would undertake that change himself.[31] Samuel Purchas elaborated on the problems faced by the Virginians during this period, but he wrote with hindsight, emphasising that this phase had now passed. He wrote that "life was now preserved by roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries and now and then a little fish. A report was that one slew his wife and had eaten part of her: this is by others denied." Purchas emphasised that the problem was caused by the settlers rather than anything lacking in the country itself: "The occasion of these miseries was onely our owne for want of providence, industrie and government and not the barrennesse and defect of the country."[32]

The colony managed to survive that difficult winter but its future was still uncertain until John Rolfe's cultivation of tobacco and its establishment as the staple crop ensured the survival, if not the stability of the colony. Tobacco was a controversial crop in the seventeenth century, as it is today, and many of Virginia's early critics were opposed to the choice of tobacco as its staple crop. Richard Eburne, although a loyal supporter of the colonial enterprise, railed against the "tobacco shops that now stink the land all over."[33] James I's own objections to tobacco smoking are well documented, but in 1616, John Deacon went even further, arguing that smoking had caused the treachery of the gunpowder plotters.[34] Its detractors regarded the practice of smoking, derived from the Native Americans, as "paganish and heathenish." In an era when many medical tracts claimed that tobacco was a panacea, Deacon sounds surprisingly like a twenty-first century commentator, arguing that "such excellent personages have not onely been sodainly surprised by unnaturall death but their dead bodies being opened had all their entrails as blacke as a coale." [35] Tobacco was thought to encourage men to drink wine and beer to excess and was an extra drain on their resources, with users "falling first from tobacco to tipling, from tipling to whoring."[36] Deacon drew a portrait of a tobacco smoker who neglected his wife and children and spent their maintenance on his filthy habit. In his conclusion, Deacon remarks that in sailing across the ocean to do business, the English beg God to look after them, which he does. But they are putting themselves "in the way of the devil," he claims, by trafficking in tobacco. "Let us not…for private gaine to our proper purses, procure the cause of a publick bane to our owne countrey people."[37]

Surprisingly, opposition to the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia also came from the very group who profited from its success: the Virginia Company itself. In 1620 a broadside was published in the form of a letter from the Company based in London to the leaders of the colony residing in Virginia. The broadside reports that "a great mortality due to disease" has happened in the colony and this is evidence that God was chastising them for misbehaving. The cause of God's displeasure was obvious, "the planting of tobacco and the neglect of other more solid commodities have not only redounded to the great disgrace of the

countrey and detriment of the colony, but also in point of profit greatly deceive them which have trusted to it."[38] Various alternatives to tobacco were recommended that would benefit the colony and the English nation as a whole, including iron, cordage, pitch and tar, timber, silk, vines and salt. Provisions had been sent for the building of sawmills, as had experts in vine growing. None of these projects prospered, and despite opposition from England, tobacco remained Virginia's staple crop, thus defining the demographic development of the colony.

The lottery mentioned above, which was devised to raise awareness and money for the colony, was managed inefficiently and brought the Company's efforts into disrepute. Apparently many towns were slow to return their books, thus delaying the drawing of the lottery. In July 1615 in a letter to the city fathers of Exeter, Richard Martyn passed on the gratitude of the Virginia Company that Exeter had returned their lottery book completed and on time. In 1620 King James eventually became annoyed, because although funds were collected, the lotteries were hardly ever drawn. He rescinded the Company's right to hold the lottery, saying that it had caused "the hinderance of multitudes of our subjects." This debacle, caused by the disorganisation and corruption in the Company itself, must have angered many investors and ruined the reputation of the Virginia enterprise, leaving observers to think that this was just one more in a long list of schemes of unsuccessful and perhaps fraudulent schemes.

However, Virginia and her supporters were not the only targets who were lambasted by their opponents. New Englanders, too, were criticised from the earliest days of their emigration. There was a long tradition of ridiculing Puritans and their beliefs, typified by Shakespeare's portrayal of the humiliated Malvolio in "Twelfth Night." One of the most important mediums for satirising was the ballad, and this was the genre chosen by the anonymous author of "My brethren all attend me," a ballad poking fun at the Puritan migrants who went to Massachusetts in 1629-30. This ballad purportedly spoken by a Puritan trying to encourage his family to go to New England with him satirises the Puritan belief in the brotherhood of the chosen elect and criticises them for abandoning England. The chorus of the ballad is as follows:

> Come Along
> Leave this place of superstition
> Were it not for me ye Brethren be
> You'd sink into perdition. [39]

The inclusion of America as a topic in ballads and plays shows how significant news of these colonies was in English society in the early seventeenth century, and also shows how far this information had infiltrated the mindset of early modern Englishmen. Printed news from America continued to be of interest, but

it had also become an integral part of fictional representations designed to entertain rather than inform. As an institution the theatre appealed to all classes and therefore if information about America was introduced into plays, then it reached all levels of society. Logically the audience must have understood the references to America in order to find amusing the subversive twisting of hope and plenty in the narratives. The most elite theatrical productions also made mention of England's colonies, without being overtly critical for fear of offending those watching the court masques who probably also invested in the colonial companies. George Chapman's masque of 1613, performed at Middle Temple, did parody the excessive ambitions of some of the adventurers to seek gold, by portraying Native Americans sitting on mountains of gold paying homage at Princess Elizabeth's wedding.[40] This portrayal came at a time when most people realised that the dreams of finding mineral wealth to rival that of the Spanish colonies were fruitless, as settler Ralph Hamor confirmed in his tract of 1615, saying that those in Virginia now hoped to find only the lesser minerals such as iron and alum.[41] So, Chapman's representation was not intended to be inspirational but rather parodied the failed ambitions of the colonists.

However, it was the popular London theatres that spread the word on the New World to a more diverse audience than any other medium apart from perhaps the broadsides. Plays performed in public in venues all over London and then in the provinces by travelling players, reached audiences that the printed medium could not achieve until the spread of literacy during the eighteenth century encouraged mass distribution of the newspaper and the magazine. Many of the Jacobean playwrights who fleetingly included America in their stories did not portray her favourably, or at least poked fun at those who went there. William Crashaw, the minister who spoke out in support of the Virginia enterprise was keenly aware that alongside the traditional enemies, the "papists and the devil," Virginia had a third category of opponent: the "players." Crashaw dismissed the slanderous words of the actors "they abuse Virginea but they are but players, they disgrace it true but they are but players."[42] Ben Jonson was probably the most famous satirical playwright of his day, so it is no surprise that he chose a subject as topical as the New World to target in the scenes of several of his plays. *Eastward Hoe*! was printed for the first time in 1605, but prior to that was performed in the Blackfriars Theatre. Like Chapman's masque, *Eastward Hoe*! parodied the assumption that gold would be found everywhere in North America. Jonson described Virginia as a country in which "all their dripping pans and chamber pottes are pure gold and…all the prisoners they take are fettered in Gould." He also closely mimicked the language of the promotional tracts, with a humorous on-stage delivery designed to cause hilarity although the words could have been lifted from a travel narrative. He said that

the land was "temperate and full of all sorts of excellent viands." In an echo of Thomas More's *Utopia*, which would have been recognised by the more educated members of the audience, Jonson claimed that "you may be an alderman there and never be a scavenger, you may be a nobleman and never be a slave."[43] In another play, Jonson is even more blunt with his satire against America. *The Staple of News* depicted a group of English cooks migrating to America to try to convert the natives and make them "good eating Christians"![44] Thomas Middleton was another famous playwright of the early Stuart period who seemed to have nothing good to say about America. In his play of 1612, *No Wit, No Help like a Woman's*, the character Mistress Low-Water describes an eclipse in "Mexicana and California" but says that "we have no business there."[45]

Later on in the period, Phillip Massinger's *A City Madam*, performed from 1632 onwards, although not published until 1658, attacked the English men and women who chose to migrate to Virginia. He drew on standard criticism of early Virginia (and indeed the Caribbean Islands) that only the most unsavoury of men and women migrated there. One of the main characters, Luke, suggests sending his daughters to Virginia to marry planters and to help convert the natives. His suggestion is answered with howls of disapproval from the other characters on stage:

> *Lady Frugal*: How Virginia! High Heaven Forbid. Remember Sir I beseech you, what creatures are shipp'd thither.
> *Anne*: Condemned wretches, forfeited to the law.
> *Mary:* Strumpets and bawds, for the abomination of their life, spew'd out of their own country.[46]

Interestingly, Philip Massinger's interest in Virginia was aroused by reading of John Smith's *Map of Virginia* of 1612, one of the most popular of the travel narratives throughout the seventeenth century.[47] The travel narratives reinforced Massinger's fears about the dissolute nature of Virginia society. Although in the Civil War era men such as William Bullock (who incidentally never went to Virginia) claimed that the colony was a very prosperous and safe place for gentlemen to send their daughters, many other authors railed against the disorderly society there.[48] As early as 1609, William Crashaw complained that men had gone to Jamestown "for ease or idleness," and from many accounts, during the "starving time" law and order did break down completely.[49] As well as satirising the contemporary news from America, these playwrights were hostile to the colonial enterprise for another reason. A number of projects plagued seventeenth century society, and while not all these schemes were corrupt or unscrupulous many failed, despite proclaiming lofty ideals, leaving many commentators very cynical. These projects were promoted with similar

language to that of colonial supporters, hence the association of America with other failed schemes. All claimed that they would provide the poor with work and the investor with profit.[50]

Part 3: Interpretation

It is impossible to take the early modern understanding of America in isolation from other cultural phenomena of the time. It is also not valid to separately interpret the promotional and critical literatures about the New World. These two strands of commentary were inextricably linked. An analysis of the way America was interpreted based on print culture, manuscript and word of mouth, and the cultural forms such as the theatre, is inevitably complex and multi-faceted. However, the emphasis within this relationship changed over time too. The ways in which the regions of North America were perceived were very different. This is not to return to a historical interpretation that sees Virginia or New England as the typically American example, the true forerunner of the United States. Rather, it is important to acknowledge that these regions were very different, both in their physical geographies, climate, flora and fauna, and also in the settlement that emerged. This meant that people who had never been to Virginia, New England or Newfoundland formed a distinct impression of each based on the literature written by those who had explored or settled those areas. It must also be remembered that the English Caribbean colonies created their own identity based on their own physical realities and economic development.

The reactions to American settlement found in print culture did not act independently from one another and they were not isolated from the world of oral communication. Especially in London and the port towns of the south coast, word of mouth was the most significant communicator of news about the New World during this period, as sailors and returning colonists told exciting and exotic tales. No doubt the most popular and lasting of these stories were those of extreme heroism in the face of adversity. A storyteller would know that his or her audience did not want to hear mundane accounts of the colony's survival. They wanted tales of extraordinary creatures, savage natives and intense weather. The interaction of these stories and those told in printed artefacts is very complex and it is almost impossible to ascertain which parts of an individual's knowledge came from oral and which from written sources. Certainly the authors of promotional literature were aware that the rumours spread by sailors and disgruntled company servants were very powerful in turning investors and potential migrants away from the colonial enterprise. The content of the promotional pamphlets was aimed at quashing the negative rumours that had begun to spread orally, thus positive and negative

understandings of America interacted. Some of the over-enthusiastic early reports later caused a backlash when settlers found that America was not the land flowing with milk and honey that had been predicted. This readjustment led to a changed tone in the reports from Virginia from about 1612 onwards.

A further complication is that the opinions of individuals did not remain static, but rather evolved as the colonies themselves developed. The classic example is John Smith, probably the most famous and successful of the commentators on America. Smith's descriptions of Virginia mirror his own turbulent relationship with the Virginia Company. His first tract in 1608 is mostly positive about the opportunities in the new colony, but by 1612, when *A Map of Virginia* was published and Smith had already left Virginia in disgrace, he showed more awareness of the potential dangers in Virginia and especially of the power of the native tribes.[51] Finally, in 1622, Smith specifically addressed the weaknesses of the Virginia colony in his tract, *New Englands Trials*, laying the blame squarely at the feet of the Virginia Company. He wrote that "the honourable Company have been humble suiters to his Maiestie to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither…so much scorned was the name of Virginia some did chuse to be hanged ere they would go thither."[52] This extract also shows the power of rumour in affecting the reputation of the colony, which after the massacre, was at its lowest point.

Throughout the period between 1607 and 1630, perceptions of Virginia ebbed and flowed. The two crisis points were 1610 and 1622: in 1610, when ships reached England bearing news of the horrific "starving time," the reputation of the colony was such that few people dared invest or travel there. The Company mobilised its preachers and authors to inspire the English to take heart and support the project again, arguing that the famine had been caused by errors in judgement of its leaders who had now been replaced. However, it was not until the tobacco boom of the mid 1610s that the good name of the colony was restored. The massacre of 1622 caused the reputation of Virginia in England to sink once more. The Company again employed its supporters to issue reassurances in print, but it took a long time for confidence to be restored. After 1630, although Virginia had achieved a modicum of economic stability, attention in England increasingly focused on new colonial ventures further north.

In conclusion then, what was the significance of print culture in creating an understanding of North America? By acting in concert with news spread orally and through manuscript distribution, print culture did affect the ways in which the English reader perceived America. In an era before printed newspapers, different artefacts such as the broadside and the pamphlet were used to spread information. Although literacy was still low amongst all but the elite of society, printed matter was consumed communally, giving illiterate individuals access to

printed materials and to their revelations about the New World. While the contents of these books mirrored the events in the colonies, they also revealed a more complex intertextuality, reacting to other printed works to create an overall impression of the colonies. A single book often answered criticisms spread orally or by representations on the stage, showing the extent to which knowledge on America was entrenched in English culture.

What was the significance of these representations? They give the historian an access point into the *mentalité* of seventeenth century England, not just at the level of James' court, but throughout society. These printed artefacts also influenced the development of the colonies across the Atlantic. Although it is often imagined that the communication between the two hemispheres was limited, people carrying news regularly travelled across the Atlantic during this early colonial period. The way that England perceived the colonies was always incredibly important to the settlers. Even though they were far away from home, they maintained that they were still Englishmen. They were keenly aware of criticisms from England and they did their best to contradict rumours that early Virginia was full of idlers and criminals. The colonists also put pen to paper in order to defend their reputations, thus contributing to the growing printed knowledge about their new home. There were exceptions to this rule but, for the most part, the flow of interpretations and representations between London and the colonies was truly two-way.

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[1] R. Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589); S. Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrims*, XX vols, (Glasgow, 1957). See D. Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), 68-85.

[2] See W. Sherman, "Stirrings and Searchings," in P. Hulme & T. Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2002).

[3] The premise that print culture had a gradual not a revolutionary impact on changing the English epistemology is derived from E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1979), 227.

[4] T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991). This concurs with Louis B. Wright's earlier assessment in *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 508.

[5] The authorities on this are still H.G. Aldis, *The Book Trade 1557-1625* (Cambridge, 1909) and H.S.Bennett, *English Books and Their Readers 1558-1603* (Cambridge, 1965).

[6] J. Brereton, *A Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia* (London, 1602), 11.

[7] ibid, 18-20.

[8] C.Levett, *A Voyage into New England Begin on 1623 and Ended in 1624* (London, 1628), 1.

[9] J. Smith, *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Note*...(London, 1608), 35.