The Many-Headed Hydra

Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the

Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic

Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker

[autonomously produced zine-format release in ten volumes]

VOLUME 1

The Many-Headed Hydra

PETER LINEBAUGH & MARCUS REDIKER

Winner of the International Labor History Award

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First electronic reading edition 2002

To Christopher & Bridget Hill

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Introduction

WITH RACHEL CARSON, let us first look from above: "The permanent currents of the ocean are, in a way, the most majestic of her phenomena. Reflecting upon them, our minds are at once taken out from the earth so that we can regard, as from another planet, the spinning of the globe, the winds that deeply trouble its surface or gently encompass it, and the influence of the sun and moon. For all these cosmic forces are closely linked with the great currents of the ocean, earning for them the adjective I like best of all those applied to them—the planetary currents." The planetary currents of the North Atlantic are circular. Europeans pass by Africa to the Caribbean and then to North America. The Gulf Stream then at three knots moves north to the Labrador and Arctic currents, which move eastward, as the North Atlantic Drift, to temper the climates of northwestern Europe.

At Land's End, the westward foot of England, break waves whose origins lie off the stormy coast of Newfoundland. Some of these breakers may even be traced to the coast of Florida and the West Indies. For centuries fishermen on the lonely shores of Ireland have been able to interpret these long Atlantic swells. The power of an ocean wave is directly related to the speed and duration of the wind that sets it in motion, and to the "length of its fetch," or the distance from its point of origin. The longer the fetch, the greater the wave. Nothing can stop these long waves. They become visible only at the end, when they rise and break; for most of their fetch the surface of the ocean is undisturbed. In 1769, Postmaster General Benjamin Franklin noted that packets from Falmouth took about two weeks longer to reach New York than merchant ships took to sail from Rhode Island to London. In talking to Nantucket whalers, he learned about the Gulf Stream: the fishermen and the whales kept out of it, while the English captains stemmed the current, "too wise to be counselled by simple American fishermen." He drew up some "Maritime Observations" in 1786, and with these the chart of the Gulf Stream was published in America.

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The circular transmission of human experience from Europe to Africa to the Americas and back again corresponded to the same cosmic forces that set the Atlantic currents in motion, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the merchants, manufacturers, planters, and royal officials of northwestern Europe followed these currents, building trade routes, colonies, and a new transatlantic economy. They organized workers from Europe, Africa, and the Americas to produce and transport bullion, furs, fish, tobacco, sugar, and manufactures. It was a labor of Herculean proportions, as they themselves repeatedly explained.

The classically educated architects of the Atlantic economy found in Hercules—the mythical hero of the ancients who achieved immortality by performing twelve labors—a symbol of power and order. For inspiration they looked to the Greeks, for whom Hercules was a unifier of the centralized territorial state, and to the Romans, for whom he signified vast imperial ambition. The labors of Hercules symbolized economic development: the clearing of land, the draining of swamps, and the development of agriculture, as well as the domestication of livestock, the establishment of commerce, and the introduction of technology. Rulers placed the image of Hercules on money and seals, in pictures, sculptures, and palaces, and on arches of triumph. Among English royalty, William III, George I, and George II's brother, the "Butcher of Culloden," all fancied themselves Hercules.[1] John Adams, for his part, proposed in 1776 that "The Judgment of Hercules" be the seal for the new United States of America.[2] The hero represented progress: Giambattista Vico, the philosopher of Naples, used Hercules to develop the stadial theory of history, while Francis Bacon, philosopher and politician, cited him to advance modern science and to suggest that capitalism was very nearly divine.

These same rulers found in the many-headed hydra an antithetical symbol of disorder and resistance, a powerful threat to the building of state, empire, and capitalism. The second labor of Hercules was the destruction of the venomous hydra of Lerna. The creature, born of Typhon (a tempest or hurricane) and Echidna (half woman, half snake), was one in a brood of monsters that included Cerberus, the three-headed dog, Chimera, the lion-headed goat with a snake's tail, Geryon, the triple-bodied giant, and Sphinx, the woman with a lion's body. When Hercules

Hercules and Iolaus slaying the Lernean Hydra, Eritrian amphora,
c. 525 B.C. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.

lopped off one of the hydra's heads, two new ones grew in its place. With
the help of his nephew Iolaus, he eventually killed the monster by cutting
off a central head and cauterizing the stump with a flaming branch. He
then dipped his arrows in the gall of the slain beast, which gave his pro-
jectiles fatal power and allowed him to complete his labors.

From the beginning of English colonial expansion in the early seven-
teenth century through the metropolitan industrialization of the early
nineteenth, rulers referred to the Hercules-hydra myth to describe the
difficulty of imposing order on increasingly global systems of labor. They

variously designated dispossessed commoners, transported felons, indentured servants, religious radicals, pirates, urban laborers, soldiers, sailors, and African slaves as the numerous, ever-changing heads of the monster. But the heads, though originally brought into productive combination by their Herculean rulers, soon developed among themselves new forms of cooperation against those rulers, from mutinies and strikes to riots and insurrections and revolution. Like the commodities they produced, their experience circulated with the planetary currents around the Atlantic, often eastward, from American plantations, Irish commons, and deep-sea vessels back to the metropoles of Europe.

In 1751 J. J. Mauricius, an ex-governor of Suriname, returned to Holland, where he would write poetic memoirs recollecting his defeat at the hands of the Saramaka, a group of former slaves who had escaped the plantations and built maroon communities deep in the interior jungle, and who now defended their freedom against endless military expeditions designed to return them to slavery:

> There you must fight blindly an invisible enemy
> Who shoots you down like ducks in the swamps.
> Even if an army of ten thousand men were gathered, with
> The courage and strategy of Caesar and Eugene,
> They'd find their work cut out for them, destroying a Hydra's growth
> Which even Alcides [Hercules] would try to avoid.

Writing to and for other Europeans assumed to be sympathetic with the project of conquest, Mauricius cast himself and other colonizers as Hercules, and the fugitive bondspeople who challenged slavery as the hydra.[3]

Andrew Ure, the Oxford philosopher of manufactures, found the myth to be useful as he surveyed the struggles of industrial England in 1835. After a strike among spinners in Stayleybridge, Lancashire, he employed Hercules and his rescue of Prometheus, with his delivery of fire and technology to mankind, to argue for the implementation of the self-acting mule, a new machine "with the thought, feeling, and tact of the experienced workman." This new "Herculean prodigy" had "strangled the Hydra of misrule"; it was a "creation destined to restore order among the industrious classes, and to confirm to Great Britain the empire of art." Here again, Ure saw himself and other manufacturers as Hercules, and the industrial workers who challenged their authority as the hydra.[4]

Dutch soldiers and guide in a Suriname swamp, c. 1775, by William Blake.
John Gabriel Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years Expedition
against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam *(1796).*

When the Puritan prelate Cotton Mather published his history of
Christianity in America in 1702, he entitled his second chapter, on the
antinomian controversy of 1638, "Hydra Decapita." "The church of
God had not long been in this wilderness, before the dragon cast forth

several floods to devour it," he wrote. The theological struggle of "works" against "grace" subverted "all peaceable order." The controversy raised suspicions against religious and political officials, prevented an expedition against the Pequot Indians, confused the drawing of town lots, and made particular appeals to women. For Mather, the Puritan elders were Hercules, while the hydra consisted of the antinomians who questioned the authority of minister and magistrate, the expansion of empire, the definition of private property, and the subordination of women.[5]

It would be a mistake to see the myth of Hercules and the hydra as merely an ornament of state, a classical trope in speeches, a decoration of ceremonial dress, or a mark of classical learning. Francis Bacon, for example, used it to lay the intellectual basis for the biological doctrine of monstrosity and for the justifications of murder, which themselves have a semantics of Latin euphemism—debellation, extirpation, trucidation, extermination, liquidation, annihilation, extinction. To cite the myth was not simply to employ a figure of speech or even a concept of analytic understanding; it was to impose a curse and a death sentence, as we will show.

If the hydra myth expressed the fear and justified the violence of the ruling classes, helping them to build a new order of conquest and expropriation, of gallows and executioners, of plantations, ships, and factories, it suggested something quite different to us as historians—namely, a hypothesis. The hydra became a means of exploring multiplicity, movement, and connection, the long waves and planetary currents of humanity. The multiplicity was indicated, as it were, in silhouette in the multitudes who gathered at the market, in the fields, on the piers and the ships, on the plantations, upon the battlefields. The power of numbers was expanded by movement, as the hydra journeyed and voyaged or was banished or dispersed in diaspora, carried by the winds and the waves beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Sailors, pilots, felons, lovers, translators, musicians, mobile workers of all kinds made new and unexpected connections, which variously appeared to be accidental, contingent, transient, even miraculous.

Our book looks from below. We have attempted to recover some of the lost history of the multiethnic class that was essential to the rise of capi-

talism and the modern, global economy. The historic invisibility of many of the book's subjects owes much to the repression originally visited upon them: the violence of the stake, the chopping block, the gallows, and the shackles of a ship's dark hold. It also owes much to the violence of abstraction in the writing of history, the severity of history that has long been the captive of the nation-state, which remains in most studies the largely unquestioned framework of analysis. This is a book about connections that have, over the centuries, usually been denied, ignored, or simply not seen, but that nonetheless profoundly shaped the history of the world in which we all of us live and die.

The Wreck of the *Sea-Venture*

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ON JULY 25, 1609, the sailors of the *Sea-Venture* scanned the horizon and spotted danger. Separated from their convoy of eight other vessels sailing from Plymouth westward to Virginia, England's first New World colony, they spied a tempest—or what the Carib Indians called a hurricane—scudding swiftly toward them. With "the clouds gathering thick upon us and the winds singing and whistling most unusually," wrote passenger William Strachey,

> a dreadful storm and hideous began to blow from the northeast, which, swelling and roaring as it were by fits, some hours with more violence than others, at length did beat all light from Heaven; which like an hell of darkness, turned black upon us, so much the fuller of horror and fear use to overrun the troubled and overmastered senses of all, which taken up with amazement, the ears lay so sensible to the terrible cries and murmurs of the winds and distraction of our company as who was most armed and best prepared was not a little shaken.

The approaching fury "startled and turned the blood and took down the braves of the most hardy mariner of them all." The less hardy passengers aboard the ninety-eight-foot, three-hundred-ton vessel cried out in fear, but their words were "drowned in the winds and the winds in the thunder." The shaken seamen recovered and went to work as the ship's timbers began to groan. Six to eight men together struggled to steer the vessel. Others cut down the rigging and sails to lessen resistance to the wind; they threw luggage and ordnance overboard to lighten the load and reduce the risk of capsizing. They crept, candles in hand, along the ribs of the ship, searching and listening for weeping leaks, stoppering as many as they could, using beef when they ran out of oakum. Water nonetheless

gushed into the ship, rising several feet, above two tiers of hogsheads, in the hold. The crew and passengers pumped continuously during "an Egyptian night of three daies perpetuall horror," with the common sort "stripped naked as men in Galleys." Even gentlemen who had never worked took turns pumping, while those who could not pump bailed with kettles and buckets. They had no food and no rest as they pumped an estimated two thousand tons of water out of the leaky vessel.[1]

It was not enough. The waterline did not recede, and the people at the pumps had reached the limits of their strength, endurance, and hope. Now that the exhausted sailors had done all that was humanly possible to resist the apocalyptic force of the hurricane, they took comfort in a ritual of the sea, turning the maritime world upside down as they faced certain death. Defying the strictures of private property and the authority of Captain Christopher Newport, as well as the Virginia Company gentlemen such as Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, they broke open the ship's liquors and in one last expression of solidarity "drunk one to the other, taking their last leave one of the other until their more joyful and happy meeting in a more blessed world."[2]

The *Sea-Venture* was wrecked—miraculously, without loss of life—between two great rocks in the islands of Bermuda on July 28. The 150 wet and terrified crew and passengers, men and women originally intended by the Virginia Company of London as reinforcements for the company's new plantation, straggled onto a strange shore, a place long considered by sailors to be an enchanted "Isle of Devils" infested with demons and monsters, and a ghoulish graveyard for European ships. Charted in 1511 but shunned by seafarers for a century afterward, Bermuda was known mostly through the accounts of a few mariners, renegades, and castaways, such as Job Hortop, who had escaped galley slavery in the Spanish West Indies, passed by the island, and made it to London to tell his tale. Silvester Jourdain, a passenger on the *Sea-Venture,* would later write that Bermuda afforded "nothing but gusts, storms, and foul weather, which made every navigator and mariner to avoid them as Scylla and Charybdis, or as they would shun the Devil himself." The eeriness of the place owed much to the harsh, hollow howling of nocturnal birds called cahows, whose shrieks haunted the crews of passing ships.[3]

The reality of Bermuda, as the shipwrecked soon discovered, was en-

tirely different from its reputation. The island, in their view, turned out to be an Edenic land of perpetual spring and abundant food, "the richest, healthfullest and pleasantest [place] they ever saw." The would-be colonists feasted on black hogs that had swum ashore and multiplied after a Spanish shipwreck years earlier, on fish (grouper, parrot fish, red snapper) that could be caught by hand or with a stick with a bent nail, on fowl that would land on a man's or woman's arms or shoulders, on massive tortoises that would feed fifty, and on an array of delicious fruit. Much to the chagrin of the officers of the Virginia Company, Bermuda "caused many of them vtterly to forget or desire euer to returne from thence, they liued in such plenty, peace and ease." Once the common people found the land of plenty, they began "to settle a foundation of ever inhabiting there." Theirs was "a more joyful and happy meeting in a more blessed world" after all.[4]

It is not surprising that the shipwrecked commoners responded as they did, for they had been told to expect paradise at the end of their journey. In his "Ode to the Virginian Voyage" (1606), Michael Drayton had insisted that Virginia was

> *Earth's only Paradise*
> *Where nature hath in store*
> *Fowle, venison, and Fish;*
>   *And the fruitfull'st Soyle,*
>   *Without your toyle,*
> *Three harvests more,*
> *All greater than you wish.*[5]

In 1610 Robert Rich would conveniently confuse the Bermuda and Virginia experiences in his poetic propaganda for the Virginia Company:

> *There is no feare of hunger here,*
> *for Corne much store here growes,*
> *Much fish the Gallant Rivers yeild [*sic*]*
> *'tis truth, without suppose.*

He concluded that in Virginia, "there is indeed no want at all." Another Virginia Company advocate knew that such reports were false, that some in England had dismissed them as utopian, but he nevertheless main-

The New World as paradise, by Theodore de Bry, 1588. Thomas Hariot,
A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia *(1590).*

tained the lie, promising prospective laborers a six-hour workday in
which the "sappe of their bodies" would not "be spent for other mens
profite."[6] Many colonists had headed toward Virginia, on the *Sea-
Venture* and other vessels, with the "heate and zeale" of a "romain year of
Iubile." The biblical jubilee (Leviticus) authorized the call for an end to

bondage and for the return of the commons to the dispossessed. Bermuda seemed the perfect place to enact this biblical prophecy.[7]

Strachey, a shareholder in and secretary of the Virginia Company, noted that among the shipwrecked there quickly arose "dangerous and secret discontents" that began among the sailors and spread to others. A "disunion of hearts and hands" soon followed: those who wanted to go on with the money-making adventure in Virginia were at odds with those whose hands were supposed to get them there. The chief complaint of the seamen and the other "hands" was that "in Virginia nothing but wretchedness and labor must be expected, with many wants and a churlish entreaty [i.e., poor provision], there being neither that fish, flesh, nor fowl which here . . . at ease and pleasure might be enjoyed." They somehow knew whereof they spoke, for colonists in Virginia were at that moment eating leather boots and serpents, looking "lyke Anotamies [skeletons] Cryinge owtt we are starved We are starved." One man killed his wife, chopped her up, and salted her for food; others dug up corpses from graves and ate them. The Bermuda castaways wanted, meanwhile, "to repose and seat where they should have the least outward wants the while." The comparative demographic facts support their claim. The other eight ships and 350 people originally in convoy with the *Sea-Venture* arrived in Virginia only to encounter a catastrophic mortality rate that over two years reduced 535 settlers to about sixty. The Bermuda settlers, by contrast, experienced over ten months a net loss of three people out of 150: five died—only one of these apparently of natural causes; two others were murdered and two more executed—while two were born. Strachey wondered, "What hath a more adamantine power to draw unto it the consent and attraction of the idle, untoward, and wretched number of the many than liberty and fullness of sensuality?"[8]

To defend their liberty, some of shipwrecked "promised each unto the other not to set their hands to any travail or endeavor" that would take them off the island, and with this vow they withdrew into the woods to form their own settlement. They later planned to settle another island by themselves. A strike and marronage thus stood at the beginning of English colonization. Among the leaders of these actions were sailors and religious radicals, probably antinomians who believed that God's grace had placed them above the law. The effort to establish an autonomous

community failed, but the struggle between heart and hand continued. Stephan Hopkins was a learned Puritan and follower of Robert Browne, who advocated the creation of separate, congregational churches in which governance was based on mutual consent rather than on deference to elder, king, or nation. Hopkins extended the logic of the sailors' ritual in the storm as he argued that the magistrate's authority had ended the moment the *Sea-Venture* was wrecked. He affirmed the importance of "abundance by God's providence of all manner of good food" on the island, and he resisted proceeding to Virginia, where the common people would only slave for the adventurers. Hopkins's mutiny, too, was defeated, but he himself was not, as he survived to make another mutinous speech aboard the *Mayflower* as it approached America in 1620.[9] Other conspirators on Bermuda were likewise unvanquished, for no sooner had the manacles been slapped on Hopkins's wrists than a third plot was afoot, as another band of mutineers plotted to seize the supplies saved from the shipwreck and to attack the governor, Thomas Gates. Although their plan was disclosed to the authorities, resistance continued. Another rebel was soon executed for verbal mutiny against the governor and his authority, in response to which several others took again to the woods as maroons, where they lived, grumbled Gates, like savages.

Eventually the authorities prevailed. They built two vessels, pinnaces named the *Deliverance* and the *Patience,* to continue the voyage to Virginia, and launched them on May 10, 1610. Yet during their forty-two weeks on the island, sailors and others among the "idle, untoward, and wretched" had organized five different conspiracies against the Virginia Company and their leaders, who had responded with two of the earliest capital punishments in English America, hanging one man and executing another by firing squad to quell the resistance and carry on with the task of colonization. As the others sailed off to Virginia, two men, one a seaman, decided to stay and "end their daies" in Bermuda. Joined by another man, they "began to erect their little common wealth . . . with brotherly regency."[10] One sure sign of the wisdom of those who stayed behind came less than a month after the ships' arrival in Virginia, when Sir George Somers was dispatched by Sir Thomas Gates to Bermuda to get food, a six-month provision of meat and fish, for the struggling mainland colony. Sir George himself, however, never made it back to Virginia:

having rediscovered the joys of Bermuda, he expired from "a surfeit in eating a pig." Although we do not know what individual fates befell the sailors and passengers who sailed from Bermuda to Virginia, it is likely that many of them shared in the frightful mortality of the mainland settlement and died soon after they arrived. Collectively, however, they made up what Virginia's swashbuckling leader, John Smith, called the third supply, an infusion of humanity that helped the young plantation to survive.[11]

The wreck of the *Sea-Venture* and the dramas of rebellion that played out among the shipwrecked suggest the major themes of early Atlantic history. These events do not make for a story of English maritime greatness and glory, nor for a tale of the heroic struggle for religious freedom, though sailors and religious radicals both had essential roles. This is, rather, a story about the origins of capitalism and colonization, about world trade and the building of empires. It is also, necessarily, a story about the uprooting and movement of peoples, the making and the transatlantic deployment of "hands." It is a story about exploitation and resistance to exploitation, about how the "sappe of bodies" would be spent. It is a story about cooperation among different kinds of people for contrasting purposes of profit and survival. And it is a story about alternative ways of living, and about the official use of violence and terror to deter or destroy them, to overcome popular attachments to "liberty and the fullness of sensuality."

We are by no means the first to find historic significance in the story of the *Sea-Venture.* One of the first—and certainly the most influential—was William Shakespeare, who drew upon firsthand accounts of the wreck in 1610–11 as he wrote his play *The Tempest.* Shakespeare had long studied the accounts of explorers, traders, and colonizers who were aggressively linking the continents of Europe, Africa, and the Americas through world trade. Moreover, he knew such men personally, and even depended on them for his livelihood. Like many of his patrons and benefactors, such as the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare himself invested in the Virginia Company, the spearhead of English colonization.[12] His play both described and promoted the rising interest of England's ruling class in the settlement and exploitation of the New World. In the pages that follow we will use the wreck of the *Sea-Venture* to set out four major

themes in the origins and development of English Atlantic capitalism in the early seventeenth century: expropriation, the struggle for alternative ways of life, patterns of cooperation and resistance, and the imposition of class discipline. Within the story of the *Sea-Venture* and its people lies a larger story about the rise of capitalism and the beginning of a new epoch in human history.[13]

Expropriation

The wreck of the *Sea-Venture* occurred at a crucial moment of imperial rivalry and capitalist development. Indeed, the formation of the Virginia Company reflected—and accelerated—a fundamental shift of power taking place in the early seventeenth century, as the Atlantic maritime states of northwest Europe (France, the Netherlands, and England) challenged and overtook the Mediterranean kingdoms and city-states of Spain, Portugal, Algiers, Naples, and Venice as the dominant forces in Europe and, increasingly, the world. The faster, better-fortified, less-labor-intensive northern European ship, the most sophisticated engineering feat of the time, eclipsed the Mediterranean galley. The ruling class of England was especially eager to challenge the Iberian countries' grip on the New World and to enrich itself while doing so. A group of English investors thus in 1606 formed the Virginia Company, which according to its leading chronicler, Wesley Frank Craven, was "primarily a business organization with large sums of capital invested by adventurers whose chief interest lay in the returns expected from their investment." Here, in the pooling of capital for a new world-trade organization, lay the origins of the voyage of the *Sea-Venture*.[14]

The advocates of the Virginia Company engaged in a broad public campaign throughout England to rally support for colonization, explaining again and again why their private capitalist initiative was good for the nation. They advanced multiple arguments: All good Protestants in England had an obligation to help convert the savages in America to Christianity and to battle their Catholic enemies abroad; all had a duty to extend English dominion and to embrace beckoning national glory. But the most insistent, and most resonant, argument they made presented colonization as a solution to domestic social problems in England.

The company, its propagandists never tired of repeating, would provide a necessary public service by removing the "swarmes of idle persons" in England and setting them to work in Virginia, as Richard Hakluyt, the main propagandist for English colonization, had been suggesting for twenty years. The New World was the place for "irregular youths of no religion," for persons dispossessed by "ract rents," for anyone suffering "extream poverty"—in short, for all those "who cannot live at home." Although we do not know the names or the individual backgrounds of most of the people aboard the *Sea-Venture,* we know that a number of dispossessed were among them. In 1609 the Virginia Company applied to the mayor, aldermen, and companies of London "to ease the city and suburbs of a swarme of unnecessary inmates, as a contynual cause of death and famine, and the very originall cause of all the plagues that happen in this kingdome." Robert Rich, a gentleman shipwrecked on Bermuda, would write of "those men that *Vagrants* liv'd with us," while an anonymous author close to Sir Thomas Gates (perhaps even Gates himself) would complain of "those wicked Impes that put themselves a shipboard, not knowing otherwise how to live in England."[15]

The Virginia Company, like capitalism more broadly, originated in a series of interrelated social and economic changes in late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century England, changes that propelled the *Sea-Venture* toward Virginia in 1609 and informed the writing of *The Tempest* soon after. We can list these changes as the shift in agriculture from arable subsistence to commercial pasturage; the increase of wage labor; the growth of urban populations; the expansion of the domestic system of handicraft or putting-out; the growth of world trade; the institutionalization of markets; and the establishment of a colonial system. These developments were made possible by a profound and far-reaching cause: the enclosure of land and the removal of thousands of people from the commons, who were then redeployed to the country, town, and sea. Expropriation was the source of the original accumulation of capital, and the force that transformed land and labor into commodities. This is how some of the workers aboard the *Sea-Venture* had become "hands."

Shakespeare recognized the truth of expropriation in *The Tempest* when he had the "savage and deformed slave" Caliban assert his own claim to the land against his aristocratic master, Prospero:

This island's mine by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me.

This was the crux of the epoch. As landlords dispossessed European workers and as European merchants dispossessed native peoples in the Americas, the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius asked, "Can any nation . . . discover what belonged to someone else?" Whose was Bermuda? Whose was America? Whose was Africa? Whose island was England? Since the peoples of the world have, throughout history, clung stubbornly to the economic independence that comes from possessing their own means of subsistence, whether land or other property, European capitalists had to forcibly expropriate masses of them from their ancestral homelands so that their labor-power could be redeployed in new economic projects in new geographic settings. The dispossession and relocation of peoples have been a worldwide process spanning five hundred years. The Virginia Company in general and the *Sea-Venture* in particular helped to organize the middle passage between Old World expropriation and New World exploitation.

How did expropriation happen in England? It was a long, slow, violent operation. Beginning in the Middle Ages, lords privately abolished their armies and dissolved their feudal retinues, while in the early sixteenth century the rulers of England publicly closed the monasteries, rooted out the itinerant friars, pardoners, and beggars, and destroyed the medieval system of charity. Perhaps most important of all were the actions taken by big landowners in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as they responded to new national and international market opportunities. They radically changed agricultural practices by enclosing arable lands, evicting smallholders, and displacing rural tenants, thus throwing thousands of men and women off the land and denying them access to commons. By the end of the sixteenth century there were twelve times as many propertyless people as there had been a hundred years earlier. In the seventeenth century almost a quarter of the land in England was enclosed. Aerial photography and excavations have located more than a thousand deserted villages and hamlets, confirming the colossal dimensions of the expropriation of the peasantry. Thomas More had satirized the process in *Utopia* (1516), but he himself had enclosed land and had to

be restrained. Shakespeare, too, participated in enclosure. He owned a half share in a lease of tithes at Welcombe, whose open fields William Combe proposed to enclose in 1614. Shakespeare did not object since his income would be undiminished, but the would-be dispossessed objected, filling in the ditches newly dug for enclosing hedges. Combe, mounted on horseback, opposed the diggers, calling them "puritan knaves & underlings in their colour," but Thomas Green, the leader of the diggers, returned the next day with women and children to continue the resistance. Green petitioned the lord chief justice and the Privy Council and eventually obtained a warrant to remove the enclosure.[16]

Most agricultural laborers were less fortunate. Unable to find profitable employment, without land, credit, or occupation, these new proletarians were thrust upon the roads and ways, where they were subject to the merciless cruelty of a labor and criminal code as severe and terrifying as any that had yet appeared in modern history. The major statutes against robbery, burglary, and stealing were written during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as crime became a permanent part of urban life. Laws against vagabondage meanwhile promised physical violence against the dispossessed. Under Henry VIII (1509–1547), vagabonds were whipped, had their ears cut off, or were hanged (one chronicler of the age put their number at seventy-five thousand).[17] Under Edward VI (1547–1553) they had their chests branded with the letter *V* and were enslaved for two years; under Elizabeth I (1558–1603) they were whipped and banished to galley service or the house of correction. The criminal code elaborated under Edward VI was scarcely less vicious toward the propertyless. The Statute of Artificers and the Poor Law likewise sought to legislate taking hire, or wage labor.[18]

Masterless men and women were the defining feature of late Tudor and early Stuart England, producing the characteristic turmoil of the era. Vagabonds were, A. L. Beier has written, "a hydra-headed monster poised to destroy the state and social order." This description echoes the argument of philosopher and Solicitor General Francis Bacon, who from personal experience considered such people the "seed of peril and tumult in a state." The combination of expropriation, industrial exploitation (through mining and the putting-out system), and unprecedented military mobilization resulted in the huge Tudor regional rebellions—the

Cornish Rising (1497), the Lavenham Rising (1525), and the Lincolnshire Rebellion (1536)—as well as the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), the Prayer Book Rebellion (1549), and Kett's Rebellion (1549), all of which took place in the countryside. Urban insurrections for their part intensified toward the end of the sixteenth century with the Ludgate Prison Riot (1581), the Beggars' Christmas Riot (1582), the Whitsuntide Riots (1584), the Plaisterers' Insurrection (1586), the Felt-Makers' Riot (1591), the Southwark Candle-Makers' Riot (1592), and the Southwark Butter Riot (1595), whose very names evoke the struggle of handicraft workers to preserve their freedoms and customs. When Oxford commoners sought alliance with London 'prentices in the Enslow Hill Rebellion (1596), Bacon and Attorney General Edward Coke tortured one of the movement's leaders and argued that any attack on enclosure was tantamount to high treason. The largest rebellion of the age was the Midlands Revolt of 1607, which transpired partly in Shakespeare's home county and influenced his writing of *Coriolanus.* Those who took direct action to remove enclosures were now for the first time called Levellers. The exuberant resistance to expropriation slowed the pace of enclosure, delayed the undercutting of wages, and laid the basis for the concession and compromise that we misleadingly term "Tudor paternalism," as if they had been a pure gift of parental goodness.[19]

When it came time to sort out and analyze the dispossessed, Sir John Popham, chief justice of the King's Bench from 1592 to 1607 and a leading organizer of the Virginia Company, listed thirty different types of rogues and beggars and classed them into five main groups. First there were the chapmen, the tinkers and peddlers, the men and women whose little transactions constituted the commerce of the proletarian microeconomy. Second were the discharged or wounded, or the pretended discharged and wounded, soldiers and sailors, whose labors provided the basis of the expansionist macroeconomy. Third were the remnants of the surviving substructure of feudal benevolence: the procurers, the proctors, the pardoners. The entertainers of the day—the jugglers, fencers, minstrels, keepers of dancing bears, athletes, and players of interludes—made up the fourth group. Next, in mentioning those feigning knowledge of a "crafty Scyence" such as palmistry or physiognomy, as well as fortune-tellers and "persons calling themselves Schollers," Popham des-

ignated a fifth group that supplied the intellectual and philosophical wants of the people. Finally, his preamble named "all wandring persons and common Labourers being persons able in bodye using loytering and refusing to worke for such reasonable wages as is taxed or comonly given in such Parts where such persons do or shall happen to dwell or abide, not having lyving otherwyse to maynteyne themselves." Thus falling within the statutory meaning of "sturdy rogue and beggar" were all those outside of organized wage labor, as well as those whose activities comprised the culture, tradition, and autonomous self-understanding of this volatile, questioning, and unsteady proletariat. Marx and Engels called the expropriated a motley crowd.[20]

Expropriation and resistance fueled the process of colonization, peopling the *Sea-Venture* and many other transatlantic vessels during the first half of the seventeenth century. While some went willingly, as the loss of lands made them desperate for a new beginning, many more went *un*willingly, for reasons explained by Bacon in the aftermath of Midlands Revolt: "For the surest way to prevent *Seditions*" was "to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire." Arguments in favor of colonizing Ireland in 1594 or Virginia in 1612 held that the "rank multitude" might thus be exported and the "matter of sedition . . . removed out of the City." An entire policy originated from the Beggars Act of 1597 (39 Eliz. c. 4), whereby vagrants and rogues convicted of crimes (mostly against property) in England would be transported to the colonies and sentenced to work on plantations, within what Hakluyt saw as a "prison without walls." Here was the place for the inmates of London and indeed the whole realm. The first known English felon transported to the Americas was a dyer's apprentice who took his master's goods and absconded from a workhouse before being sent to Virginia in 1607. Thousands more would follow.[21]

ALTERNATIVES

The partisans of the Virginia Company knew that expropriation created "swarmes of idle persons" who had once been sustained by the commons. The merchant, investor, and publicist Robert Gray recalled a time when the

commons of our Country lay free and open for the poore Com-
mon[er]s to injoy, for there was roome enough in the land for every
man, so that no man needed to encroach [on] or inclose from an-
other, whereby it is manifest, that in those dayes we had no great
need to follow strange reports, or to seeke wild adventures, for
seeing we had not onely sufficiencie, but an overflowing measure
proportioned to everie man.

His tendentious view that encroachment and enclosure had been caused
solely by population growth and overcrowding notwithstanding, Gray
understood that many people in England had once lived differently—
more freely, sufficiently, even abundantly. When the commoners of the
Sea-Venture decided that they wished to settle in Bermuda rather than go
on to Virginia, they explained to the Virginia Company officials that
they wanted the ease, pleasure, and freedom of the commons rather than
the wretchedness, labor, and slavery awaiting them in Virginia.[22]

Inspired by the actions of the shipwrecked commoners, Shakespeare
made alternative ways of life a major theme in *The Tempest.* Gonzalo, a
wise old counselor in the play who is cast away with the king and other
aristocrats on Bermuda, muses about the ideal "commonwealth" he
would establish "had I plantation of this isle":

> *I' th' commonwealth I would by contraries*
> *Execute all things; for no kind of traffic*
> *Would I admit; no name of magistrate;*
> *Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,*
> *And use of service, none; contract, succession,*
> *Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;*
> *No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;*
> *No occupation: all men idle, all;*
> *And women too, but innocent and pure:*
> *No sovereignty—*

He continues,

> *All things in common Nature should produce*
> *Without sweat or endeavour: treason, felony,*
> *Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,*

Would I not have; but Nature should bring forth,
Of it own kind, all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.

His commonwealth, he concludes, would "excel the Golden Age."[23]

The people of the *Sea-Venture* shared with Shakespeare numerous sources of knowledge about alternative ways of life, including the classical Golden Age, the Christian Garden of Eden (Gonzalo's "innocent people"), and a broad array of popular traditions: antinomian (no law, or felony, or magistracy); anarchist (no sovereignty or treason); pacifist (no sword, pike, knife, or gun); egalitarian (no riches or poverty); and hunting and gathering (no mining or agriculture). A society without succession was one without aristocracy of birth, while a society without use of service was one without wage labor. These traditions were enacted in pageants of the "world turned upside down," featuring motley-clad jesters such as Shakespeare's Trinculo amid the banners, horses, artwork, and extravagance of courtly carnival, incorporating pagan rites, peasant traditions, and otherworldly utopian settings (*alterae terrae,* like Bermuda) into new, inclusive, spectacular entertainments. George Ferrers, lord of misrule at Edward VI's celebrations of 1552, entered the festivity "vppon one straunge beast," as "the serpente with sevin heddes cauled hidra is the chief beast of myne armes." Comic fables such as the "Land of Cockaigne" deriving from medieval satire kept a type of utopia alive, painting a picture of indolent pleasure and absolute satiation.[24]

The most immediate alternative, of course, was the experience of the commons, with its absence of the private property suggested by words such as *tilth* and *bourn. Tilth* was an ancient Frisian word referring to a plowing or a harrowing—that is, to specific labors, and by implication to the condition of cultivation that stood in contrast to pasture, forest, and waste. It evoked, by association, a return to woodland conditions, which still existed in England and especially in Ireland, where English conquerors had already begun to defoliate the woods to defeat a kin-based society that shared its principal resources. *Bourn* was a more recent term signifying the boundary between fields, much used in the sixteenth century in the south of England and hence associated with enclosure. Those who had been expropriated had not only a grievance but a living memory and lore of open-field agriculture and commoning. Thus for many people the

Open-field farming in Laxton, England, 1632.
Booke of Survaye of the Manor of Laxton *(1635).*

absence of "bourn, bound of land, tilth" was not an ideal dream but a re-
cent, and lost, reality, an actual commons.

When Governor Thomas Gates complained that the mutineers of the
Sea-Venture retired to the woods and lived like savages, what precisely did
he mean? How did savages live? For Gates and his entire generation of

Europeans, the classless, stateless, egalitarian societies of America were powerful examples of alternative ways of life. Virginia Company spokesman Robert Gray sounded an often-repeated note about Native Americans: "There is not *meum* and *tuum* amongst them." They had no conception of private property and precious little notion of work itself, as William Strachey discovered: Virginia's Indians were, he noted, "now for the most parte of the year idle." Idle, perhaps, but not starving: Sir Henry Colt wrote in 1631 that he saw in St. Christopher, in the West Indies, "many naked Indians, & although their bellyes be to great for their proportions, yett itt shewes ye plentye of ye Iland in ye nourishinge of them." Such discoveries inflamed the collective imagination of Europe, inspiring endless discussion—among statesmen, philosophers, and writers, as well as the dispossessed—of peoples who lived without property, work, masters, or kings.[25]

Tales of these alternative societies in America were carried back to Europe by sailors—the hundreds, and soon thousands, of real-life equivalents of Thomas More's Raphael Hythloday, the seafarer who returned from the New World to tell the story of *Utopia.* Members of cultures high and low depended on sailors and their "strange reports" for news of *alterae terrae.* Michel de Montaigne's personal servant was a former seaman who had lived twelve years among the Indians of Brazil; this "plain ignorant fellow" was undoubtedly a "true witness" whose stories influenced his master's conception of human possibility.[26] Through these and other tales that circulated through port cities such as London, Shakespeare had read and heard of the "golden world without toyle," of the places "without lawes, without bookes, and without judges," to be found in America. Centuries later, Rudyard Kipling would visit Bermuda and assert that Shakespeare had gotten many of his ideas for *The Tempest* from "a drunken seaman."[27] Sailors in this way brought together the primitive communism of the New World and the plebeian commonism of the Old, suggesting—at least in part—why they played such a leading and subversive role in the events surrounding the shipwreck of the *Sea-Venture* on Bermuda in 1609.

Commoning was not a single agrarian practice, nor were the commons a uniform ecological place with a fixed human tenure. Both varied from time to time and from place to place, as William Strachey and
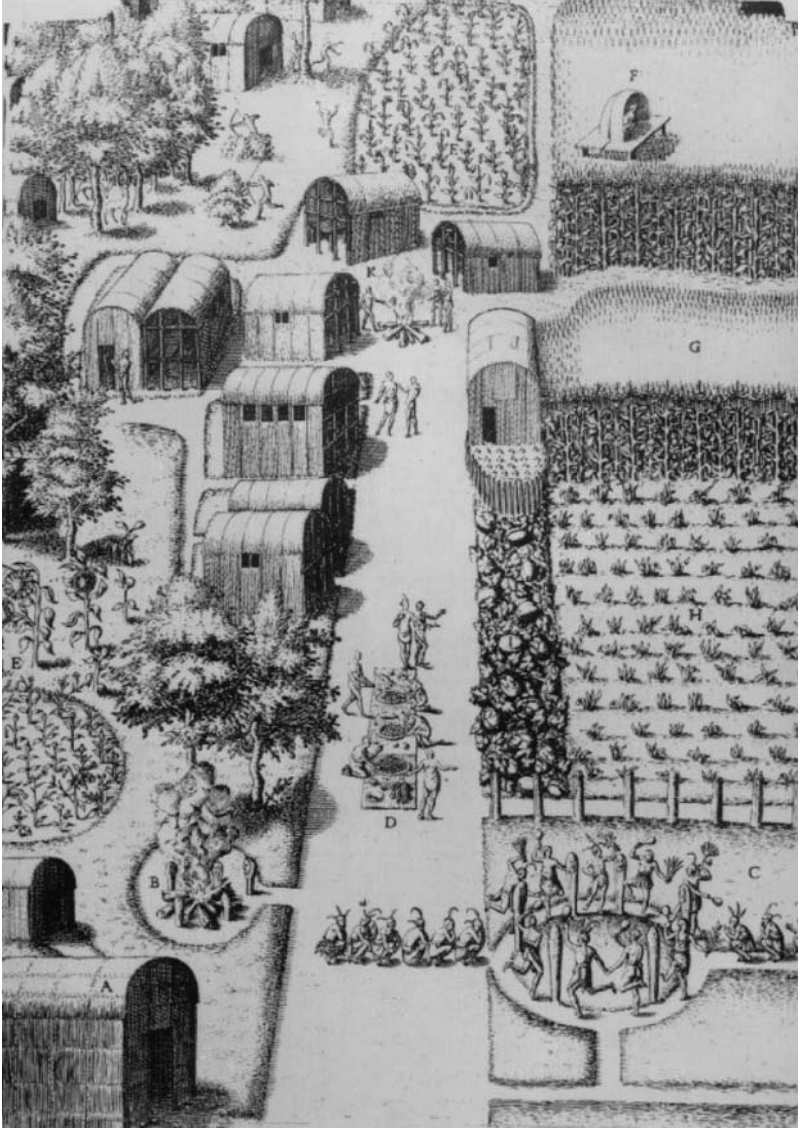
A southern Algonquian village, 1588. Hariot,
A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia.

many others well knew. Strachey explained that "whatsoever God by the ministration of nature hath created on earth, was at the begynning common among men," and that the Native Americans he encountered—whom he called "the naturalls"—were much like his own ancestors, the ancient Picts and Britons who had been subdued by the Romans. There existed a particular English open-field system of agriculture, including provision for common fields, which seems to have been replicated successfully in Sudbury, Massachusetts, until it, too, was overcome by the onslaught of private accumulation.[28] Yet the commons were more than a specific English agrarian practice or its American variants; the same concept underlay the clachan, the sept, the rundale, the West African village, and the indigenous tradition of long-fallow agriculture of Native Americans—in other words, it encompassed all those parts of the Earth that remained unprivatized, unenclosed, a noncommodity, a support for the manifold human values of mutuality. Shakespeare knew the truth of the struggle for an alternative way of life on Bermuda, but he chose to turn a real place into a dreamy, literary "no-place," a utopia. His fellow investors in the Virginia Company did something similar: against those who tried to seize a life of "plenty, peace, and ease," they brutally pursued a utopia of their own.

Cooperation and Resistance

The history of the *Sea-Venture* can be recounted as a microcosm of various forms of human cooperation. The first of these was the cooperation among the sailors, and eventually among everyone on the ship, during the hurricane, as they steered the vessel, struck sails, cleared the decks, and pumped out the water that was seeping into the hull. After the shipwreck, cooperative labor was extended and reorganized among the "hands" ashore, in part by the leaders of the Virginia Company, in part in opposition to them. This work consisted of building huts out of palmetto fronds for shelter and commoning for subsistence—hunting and gathering, fishing and scavenging. Beginning with the challenge to authority aboard ship, the commoners, led by the sailors, cooperated on the island in the planning of five distinct conspiracies, including a strike and marronage. Alongside and against that oppositional cooperation, the

Virginia Company officials organized their own project of cooperative labor: the hewing of cedar trees and the building of vessels to carry the shipwrecked on to Virginia. The tensions between the subversive and official forms of cooperation constituted the drama of William Strachey's account of life on Bermuda in 1609–1610.

Cooperation bound together many different kinds of people, with many different kinds of work experience: sailors, laborers, craftsmen, and commoners of several sorts, including two Native Americans, Namuntack and Matchumps, who were returning to the Powhatans in the Chesapeake after a voyage to England.[29] Such cooperative resistance shaped Shakespeare's conception of the conspiracy waged in *The Tempest* by Caliban the slave, Trinculo the jester, and Stephano the sailor, who combine in a plan to kill Prospero and seize control of the island (Bermuda). Caliban himself embodies African, Native American, Irish, and English cultural elements, while Trinculo and Stephano represent two of the main types of the dispossessed in Judge Popham's England. "Misery acquaints a man with strange bed-fellows," muses Trinculo as he joins Caliban beneath a gaberdine mantle, seeking shelter from a thunderstorm—but not before asking himself, "What have we here? a man or a fish?" When Stephano arrives on the scene, he surveys what he thinks is a many-legged creature and wonders if a new kind of being has been created: "This is some monster of the isle with four legs." It is not a fish, of course, nor is it a monster, nor a hybrid (a word originally used to describe the breeding of pigs and first applied to humans in 1620, when Ben Jonson referred to young Irishwomen); it is, rather, the beginning of cooperation among a motley crew of workers. Caliban promises to use his commoning skills (i.e., hunting and gathering) to show Trinculo and Stephano how to survive in a strange land, how and where to find food, fresh water, salt, and wood. Their cooperation eventually evolves into conspiracy and rebellion of the kind promoted on the island of Bermuda by the commoners of the *Sea-Venture* before they, too, were defeated.[30]

We have said that the meeting of Caliban and Trinculo under the gaberdine is the beginning of the *motley* crew. We should explain the significance of the term. In the habits of royal authority in Renaissance England, the "motley" was a multicolored garment, often a cap, worn by a jester who was permitted by the king to make jokes, even to tell the truth,

to power. As an insignium, the motley brought carnivalesque expectations of disorder and subversion, a little letting-off of steam. By extension, *motley* could also refer to a colorful assemblage, such as a crowd of people whose tatterdemalion dress made it interesting. A motley crowd might very likely be one in rags, or a "*lumpen*"-proletariat (from the German word for "rags"). Although we write about and emphasize the interracial character of the motley crew, we wish that readers would keep these other meanings—the subversion of power and the poverty in appearance—in mind.

Expropriation occurred not only in England but also in Ireland, Africa, the Caribbean, and North America. The proletarians thus created worked as skilled navigators and sailors on early transatlantic ships, as slaves on American plantations, and as entertainers, sex workers, and servants in London. English participation in the slave trade, essential to the rise of capitalism, began in 1563, the year before Shakespeare was born. In 1555 John Lok brought the first Ghanaian slaves to England, where they learned English in order to return to Ghana and act as interpreters for slave traders. John Hawkyns made huge profits selling three hundred slaves in Haiti to the Spanish in 1562–1563. Queen Elizabeth loaned him a ship and crew for his second slave expedition. In Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blacknesse* (1605), Oceanus could innocently ask of the African Niger, "But, what's the end of thy *Herculean* labors,/ Extended to these calme, and blessed shores[?]" Shakespeare, who himself admired Hercules, among other mythic figures, would help to answer that question: in 1607, the crews of the slave ships the *Dragon* and the *Hector* performed *Hamlet* and *Richard II* while anchored off Sierra Leone. Lucas Fernandez, "a converted negro, brother-in-law of the local King Borea," translated the plays for the visiting African merchants.[31] In 1618, soon after the first performance of *The Tempest,* English slave traders, chartered as the Company of Adventurers of London Trading to Gynney and Bynney by James I, built the first permanent English factory in West Africa.[32]

Shakespeare presented the conspiracy of Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano as a comedy of low characters, but their alliance was far from laughable: Drake had depended on the superior knowledge of the cimarrons, escaped Afro-Indian slaves, in his raids on the Spanish Main.[33] And

as we have seen, the actual mutinies on Bermuda, which threw up demo-
cratic, antinomian, and communist ideas from below, were more varied,
complex, sustained, intelligent, and dangerous than Shakespeare al-
lowed. Perhaps he had no choice. A recent law prohibited any mention of
divinity on stage and therefore made it difficult to consider the argu-
ments of dissenters such as Stephan Hopkins, who derived their notion
of freedom from precisely such a source. The canons of 1604 also re-
quired that every English church acknowledge that each of the Thirty-
nine Articles of the Church of England was agreeable to the Word of
God. The thirty-seventh article stated that "the Laws of the Realm may
punish Christian men with death," while the thirty-eighth asserted that
"the Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the
right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely
boast."

Like the rebels of the *Sea-Venture,* the cooperation and combination
of "strange bed-fellows" who rose up in insurrection in *The Tempest* were
represented as monstrous. Here Shakespeare contributed to an evolving
ruling-class view of popular rebellion that would be summarized by the
anonymous author of *The Rebel's Doom,* a later-seventeenth-century his-
tory of uprisings in England. Early tumults in the realm, the writer
claimed, had resulted almost entirely from the "*Disloyalty* and *Disobe-
dience* of the most *Eminent Personages* of the Nation," but after the Peas-
ant's Revolt of 1381, "the rabble"—as Prospero called Caliban, Stephano,
and Trinculo—"like a *Monstrous Hydra,* erecting their shapeless heads,
began to hiss against their Soveraigns *Regal Power* and *Authority.*" The
strikes, mutinies, separations, and defiances against the power and au-
thority of the sovereign Virginia Company after the shipwreck on Ber-
muda would play a major, even determining part in the course of coloni-
zation, as the subsequent histories of Bermuda and Virginia would show.

Class Discipline

Even though the *Sea-Venture* "caried in one bottome all the principall
Commissioners who should successiuelie have gouerned the Colonie" of
Virginia, all of whom were wrecked on Bermuda, and even though Sir
Thomas Gates was invested by the Virginia Company with the power to

The Hydra, supposed to be killed by Hercules.
Edward Topsell, Historie of Serpents *(1608).*

declare martial law at his discretion, the gentlemen had a terrible time establishing their authority, for the hurricane and the shipwreck had leveled class distinctions. Confronted with resistance that proposed an alternative way of life, the officials of the Virginia Company responded by destroying the commoning option and by reasserting class discipline through labor and terror, new ways of life and death. They reorganized work and inflicted capital punishment.[34]

Ever sensitive to the problems faced by his fellow investors in the Virginia Company, Shakespeare considered the issues of authority and class discipline in *The Tempest.* Aboard the ship, Gonzalo faces an uppity sailor who dares to order the aristocrats around during the leveling storm. He observes of the plain-spoken tar:

I have great comfort from this fellow: methinks he hath no drown-
ing mark upon him; his complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast,
good Fate, to his hanging: make the rope of his destiny our cable,
for our own doth little advantage. If he be not born to be hanged,
our case is miserable.

Gonzalo, of course, can do nothing about the verbal mutiny as long as
the ship remains in danger, so he recalls the plebeian proverb "He that's
born to be hanged need fear no drowning" and takes comfort in the pros-
pect of a hanging. Shakespeare thus suggests the importance of deep-sea
sailing ships ("the Jewels of our land," as they were called by a Virginia
Company official) and sailors. Both, he advises, have to be firmly con-
trolled by the rulers overseeing the process of colonization. The ship and
the sailor were necessary to the international accumulation of capital
through the transport of commodities, which included, as we have seen,
the expropriated workers who would create that new capital. One critical
instrument of control was the public hanging.

When Gonzalo prays to fate that the rope of the boatswain's destiny
may become the cable of life for the ruling class, he is making explicit a
real relationship. Sir Walter Raleigh had a similar experience when ex-
ploring the waters of Venezuela: "At the last we determined to hang the
Pilot, and if we had well known the way back again by night, he had
surely gone, but our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety."
Hanging was destiny for part of the proletariat because it was necessary
to the organization and functioning of transatlantic labor markets, mari-
time and otherwise, and to the suppression of radical ideas, as on Ber-
muda. In 1611, the year *The Tempest* was first performed, in Middlesex
alone (which county already contained the most populous parishes of
London) roughly 130 people were sentenced to the gallows and ninety-
eight were actually hanged, considerably more than the annual average
of about seventy. The following year Bartholomew Legate and Edward
Wrightman, both followers of the Puritan separatist Robert Browne and
brethren of Stephan Hopkins, were burned at the stake for heresy. Even
grislier punishments were enacted at sea, where any sailor caught sleep-
ing on watch a third time would be bound to the mainmast with a basket
of bullets tied to his arms; after a fourth offense he would be hanged with
a biscuit and knife from the bowsprit, forced eventually to decide

whether to starve or to cut himself down to drown. A man designing to steal a ship would be hanged by his heels overboard until his brains were beaten out against the ship's sides. Shakespeare evaded such realities in his play, but he and his friends in the Virginia Company knew well that capitalist colonization depended on them.[35]

Gruesome kinds of capital punishment were not the only notions of class discipline aboard the *Sea-Venture,* and one of these would have long-term implications for the colony of Virginia and indeed for all of England's Atlantic empire. The source of it lay in the Netherlands in the late sixteenth century, in the new forms of military discipline developed by Maurice of Orange for Dutch soldiers. In what would prove to be a centerpiece of the "military revolution," Maurice redesigned military work processes, breaking soldiers' movements into component parts and recombining them to create new cooperation, efficiency, and collective power.[36] These ideas and practices were carried by Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale to Virginia in 1610 and 1611, and from there by future Governor Daniel Tucker to Bermuda. This new way of organizing military cooperation relied ultimately on the terror of the gallows and the whipping post (on one occasion Tucker personally whipped forty men before breakfast). Its reality and its necessity can be seen in the social and political dynamics of early Virginia, almost all of whose early leaders—Gates, De La Warr, Dale, Yeardley, and others—were officers "truly bred in that university of warre, the Lowe Countries."[37]

The resistance that first appeared on Bermuda persisted in Virginia as colonists refused to work, mutinied, and often deserted to the Powhatan Indians. Here continued the "tempest of dissention: euery man ouervaluing his own worth, would be a Commander; euery man vnderprising an others value, denied to be commanded." Here were the "license, sedition, and furie [which] are the fruits of a headie, daring, and vnruly multitude." Soldiers, sailors, and Indians conspired to smuggle guns and tools from the Virginia Company's stores and held "night marts" to sell the appropriated goods. Many of Virginia's leaders had faced the same problems in Ireland, where English soldiers and settlers had deserted the plantations to join the Irish. As an anonymous observer wrote of the year 1609 in Virginia, "To eate many our men this starveing Tyme did Runn Away unto the Salvages [*sic*] whom we never heard of after." Some deser-

tions thus began with an urgent question in the native tongue: "*Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher?*" ("I am very hungry, what shall I eat?"). One in every seven settlers at Jamestown deserted during the winter of 1609–10. Henry Spelman, a youth who had lived among the Powhatans in order to learn their language, returned to the tribe in 1609 "by Reason that vitals [i.e., victuals] were scarce with us." Yet hunger was not the only issue, for English colonists regularly fled to the Native Americans, "from the moment of settlement in 1607 until the all but total breakdown in relations between English and natives following the 1622 massacre." Captain John Smith knew that the principal attraction for the deserters was the opportunity "to live idle among the savages." Some of those who had lived like savages on Bermuda apparently would not be denied.[38]

This situation helped to call forth the *Laws Divine, Moral, and Martial,* sanctioned by the Second Charter of the Virginia Company (1609) with the advice of Francis Bacon, who was, according to Strachey, a "most noble fautor [favorer] of the Virginian Plantation, being from the beginning (with other lords and earles) of the principall counsell applyed to propagate and guide yt." The charter, as suggested above, empowered Sir Thomas Gates to declare martial law in order to bring the colony to discipline and thereby to make money for the new stockholders. The first nineteen articles of the new law, imposed by Gates the day after he arrived in Virginia, had likely been drawn up amid the conspiracies that challenged his rule on Bermuda and against that island's backdrop of liberty, plenty, and ease. These mostly martial laws established military discipline for labor and dispensed harsh punishments, including execution, for resistance. In all, the laws contained thirty-seven articles, promising whippings, galley service, and death galore: twenty-five of them prescribed capital punishment. Thomas Dale adapted the latter sections of the *Laws Divine, Moral, and Martial* "from a Dutch army book of ordinances which he had brought with him." One of the main purposes of the laws was to keep English settlers and Native Americans apart.[39]

The people to whom the colonists deserted in defiance of Dale's laws were a *Tsenacommacah,* or loose alliance, of thirty-odd smallish groups of Algonquians. Their paramount chief, Wahunsonacock, a Pamunkey Indian whom the English called Powhatan, was a "tall well proportioned

man, with a sower look," sixty years old and possessed of "a very able and hardy body to endure any labour." The fourteen thousand allied Algonquians inhabited a rich ecological zone made up of mixed forest and Chesapeake waterways, on which they exercised an economy of collecting and horticulture. They hunted (Virginia white-tailed deer, bear, wild turkey, goose, quail, duck); they fished (herring, shad, sturgeon); they captured eels and shellfish (crabs, clams, oysters, mussels); they gathered (fruits, berries, nuts); and they practiced tillage (maize, beans, squash). They were nourished upon a better all-around diet than the Europeans. The confederation consisted of small-scale societies without ownership of land, without classes, without a state, but with all paying tribute to Wahunsonacock, "the subtell owlde foxe." They pursued little economic specialization and attempted little trade; they were self-sufficient. Their society was organized around matrilineal descent, and both men and women enjoyed sexual freedom outside marriage. There existed no political/military bureaucracy for their roughly fifteen hundred warriors. Even Wahunsonacock performed the tasks of an ordinary man and was addressed by all not by his title but by his personal name. All the items Gonzalo "would not have" in his utopia were likewise missing in Powhatan society, except one: corn, or Indian maize. In search of food and a way of life that many apparently found congenial, a steady stream of English settlers opted to become "white Indians," "red Englishmen," or—since racial categories were as yet unformed—Anglo-Powhatans.[40] One such was Robert Markham, a sailor who came to the region with Captain Christopher Newport on the first Virginia voyage (May–June, 1607) and ended up a renegade: he converted to Algonquian culture and took the name Moutapass.[41]

The defections continued, especially among soldiers and laborers compelled by harsh discipline to build fortifications to the west, at Henrico, out of which would grow Richmond. In 1611, a few of those who "did Runne Away unto the Indyans" were retaken by a military expedition. Sir Thomas Dale "in A moste severe mannor caused [them] to be executed." Of these, "Some he apointed to be hanged Some burned Some to be broken upon wheles, others to be staked and some to be shott to death." These "extreme and crewell tortures he used and inflicted upon them" in order "to terrefy the rest for Attemptinge the Lyke."

When he caught a few others pilfering goods from the Virginia Company's supplies, Dale "cawsed them to be bownd faste unto Trees and so sterved them to deathe." Terror created boundaries.[42]

Thus did popular anticapitalist traditions—a world without work, private property, law, felony, treason, or magistrate—find their perfect antithesis in Thomas Dale's Virginia, where drumbeats called settlers to labor and the *Laws Divine, Moral, and Martial* promised terror and death to any who dared to resist. Military men transformed Bermuda and Virginia from places of "liberty and the fullness of sensuality" to places of bondage, war, scarcity, and famine. By 1613 colonists on Bermuda were starving to death as their bodies, bent and blue, spent their vital forces laboring on fortifications that would make of the island a strategic military outpost in the early phase of English colonization. One unnamed man refused to give in to the new reality, preserving the older vision of Bermuda as he "hid himself in the Woods, and lived only on Wilkes [whelks] and land Crabs, fat and lusty many moneths." The destruction of the Bermudian paradise was signaled by a massive rat infestation and an ominous visitation by "a company of Ravens, which continued amongst them all the time of the mortality and then departed."[43]

Notes

Introduction

1. Stephen B. Baxter, "William III as Hercules: The Political Implications of Court Culture," in Lois G. Schwoerer ed., *The Revolution of 1688–1689: Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

2. Frank H. Sommer, "Emblem and Device: The Origin of the Great Seal of the U.S.," *Art Quarterly* 24 (1961): 57–76, esp. 65–67. Also Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Seal of the United States* (Washington D. C., 1909), 9.

3. Mauricius quoted in Richard Price, ed., *To Slay the Hydra: Dutch Colonial Perspectives on the Saramaka Wars* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Karoma, 1983), 15.

4. Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures: Or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral; and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain* (London, 1835), 367.

5. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), book 7.

Chapter One

1. William Strachey, *A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas* (London, 1625), and Silvester Jourdain, *A Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils* (London, 1610), both republished in Louis B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1964), 4–14, 105–7; *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (London, 1610), republished in Peter Force, comp., *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776* (1836; reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), 3:14, 20.

2. Jourdain, *Discovery of the Bermudas,* 106.

3. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others* (Glasgow: MacLehose and Sons, 1906), 16:111–12. The cahow (or cohow or cohoo), which flourished on Bermuda in the early seventeenth century, is now almost extinct.

4. Jourdain, *A Discovery of the Bermudas,* 109; Strachey, *A True Reportory,* 40; John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (1624), in Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580–1631* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1910), 2:633, 637.

5. Quoted in Alexander Brown, ed., *Genesis of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), 1:86–87.

6. Robert Rich, *Newes From Virginia, The Lost Flocke Triumphant* (London, 1610), republished in Wesley F. Craven, ed., *A Good Speed to Virginia (1609) and Newes From Virginia (1610)* (New York: Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, 1937); *True Declaration,* 14, 20.

7. [Richard Johnson], *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent fruites by Planting in Virginia* (London, 1609), republished in Force, *Tracts and Other Papers,* 1:8; "The Relation of Lord De-La-Ware, 1611," in Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606–1625* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 213.

8. Strachey, *A True Reportory,* 41; George Percy, "A Trewe Relacyon of the Procedings and Ocurrentes of Momente wch have hapned in Virginia (1612)," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 3 (1921–22): 260–82 (quotation on 269); Emanuel van Meteren in John Parker, *Van Meteren's Virginia, 1607–1612* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), 67; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 73; J. Frederick Fausz, "An 'Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides': England's First Indian War, 1609–1614," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (1990): 55–56.

9. On the *Mayflower,* Hopkins insisted that the magistrate's powers were limited and that the passengers, once ashore, were entitled to follow "their owne libertie." In this instance his protest led not to a sentence of death but to the formation of the Mayflower Compact, the Pilgrims' constitutional framework of civil self-government. See Captain Thomas Jones, "The Journal of the Ship Mayflower," in Azel Ames, ed., *The "Mayflower" and Her Log* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1907), 254–58; Charles Edward Banks, *The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1968), 61–64.

10. Evidence about the intrigues comes from Strachey, *True Reportory,* and J. Smith, *General Historie,* 638, 640, where it is noted that conflict developed among the three who decided to remain on the island.

11. Investors in England continued to complain of "the revels and perpetuall Christmas kept [by settlers] in their Sommer Islands." See Edmund Howe, *Annals of John Stowe* (London, 1614), 942 (quotation); *True Declaration,* 21; Strachey, *True Reportory,* 87; Henry Wilkinson, *The Adventurers of Bermuda: A History of the Island from its Discovery until the Dissolution of the Somers Island Company in 1684* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 87.

12. Victor Kiernan, *Shakespeare: Poet and Citizen* (London: Verso, 1993); Robert Ralston Cawley, "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in *The Tempest,*" *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 41 (1926): 688–726. Many scholars agree that Shakespeare read Strachey's account in manuscript soon after it was written in 1610. Its publication was delayed until 1625 because the leaders of the Virginia Company feared that the tales of resistance would discourage further investment.

13. Wesley Frank Craven, "An Introduction to the History of Bermuda," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 2d ser., 17 (1937): 182.

14. Wesley Frank Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1932; reprint, 1964), 24.

15. [Johnson], *Nova Britannia,* 10; Raphe Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia and the success of the affaires there till the 18 of Iune 1614* (London, 1615), 19; Brown, *Genesis,* 1:252; Rich, *Newes from Virginia;* [Richard Johnson], *New Life of Virginea: Declaring the Former Success and Present State of that Plantation, Being the Second part of Nova Britannia* (London, 1612), republished in Force, comp., *Tracts and Other Papers,* 1:10.

16. Karl Marx, *Capital,* ed. Dona Torr, vol. 1, chap. 26, "The Secret of Primitive Accumulation." J. R. Wordie has estimated that 2 percent of England's land was enclosed in the sixteenth century; 24 percent in the seventeenth century; 13 percent in the eighteenth century; and 11.6 percent in the nineteenth century. See his "The Chronology of English Enclosure, 1500–1914," *Economic History Review,* 2d ser., 36 (1983): 483–505. See also Roger B. Manning, *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 92; E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1925), 2:144–52.

17. William Harrison, in his *The Description of England* (1587; reprint, ed. Georges Edelen, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1968), reports (page 193) that some seventy-two thousand rogues were hanged during the reign of Henry VIII.

18. A. V. Judges, ed., *The Elizabethan Underworld: A Collection of Tudor and Early Stuart Tracts and Ballads* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1930); Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (London: J. M. Dent, 1977).

19. A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640* (London: Methuen, 1986), 4; Manning, *Village Revolts,* 208.

20. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology" (1845–46), in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1976), 5:69.

21. Christopher Hill, "The Many-Headed Monster," in *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 189; Bacon, "Of Seditions and Troubles," in *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall,* ed. Michael Kiernan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 45; Beier, *Masterless Men,* 161–64; A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 8.

22. Robert Gray, *A Good Speed to Virginia* (London, 1609), republished in Craven, ed., *A Good Speed to Virginia and Newes From Virginia,* 7.

23. In composing Gonzalo's speech, Shakespeare drew heavily on Michel de Montaigne's essay "Of Canibals," which was written in 1579 and translated into English in 1603. The word *cannibal,* many believe, is a corruption of "Carib," the name of

the Indians who fiercely resisted European encroachment in the Americas and who were rewarded for their efforts with a lasting image of flesh-eating monstrosity. Montaigne, however, turned the image on its head, praising the courage, simplicity, and virtue of those routinely called "savage" by many Europeans. See *The Essays of Michel de Montaigne,* ed. Jacob Zeitlin (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934), 1:178–90.

24. Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); A. Feuillerat and G. Feuillerat, eds., *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary* (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1914), 89. See also Sandra Billington, *Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) and Hal Rammel, *Nowhere in America: The Big Rock Candy Mountain and Other Comic Utopias* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990). For a satire of plebeian traditions of the world turned upside down by a contemporary of Shakespeare, see [Joseph Hall], *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605), reprinted as *Another World and Yet the Same,* trans. John Millar Wands (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

25. Gray, *A Good Speed to Virginia,* 19; William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (London, 1612), reprint ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), 92; "The Voyage of Sir Henry Colt" (1631), in V. T. Harlow, ed., *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623–1667,* 2d ser., no. 56 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1925), 93. We are indebted here to William Brandon, *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500–1800* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1986), chap. 1.

26. Montaigne, "Of Canibals," in *Essays,* 1:181. Montaigne drew upon Andre Thevet, *Singularitez de la France Anarctique* (1558), and especially on Jean de Lery, *Histoire d'un Voyage Fait en la Terre du Bresil* (1578).

27. Cawley, "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers," 703–5; Kipling quoted in Charles Mills Gayley, *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 74.

28. Strachey, *Historie of Travell,* 24, 26; Hamor, *A True Discourse,* 16, 23–24; Sumner Chilton Powell, *Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town* (New York: Doubleday, 1963).

29. J. Smith, *General Historie,* 638–39; Parker, *Van Meteren's Virginia,* 67.

30. Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See also Ronald Takaki, "The Tempest in the Wilderness: The Racialization of Savagery," *Journal of American History* 79 (1992): 892–912, and the exchange involving Vaughan, J. R. Pole, and Takaki, letters to the editor, *Journal of American History* 80 (1993): 764–72.

31. Chambers, *William Shakespeare,* 2:334–35.

32. Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto,

1984), 6–7; C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), 7:173; Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* (1596), in Gerald Hammond, ed., *Sir Walter Raleigh: Selected Writings* (London: Fyfield Books, 1984), 98; K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 1, 9; R. Porter, "The Crispe Family and the African Trade in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of African History* 9 (1968): 57–58; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), chap. 1.

33. Kenneth R. Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean: Trade and Plunder, 1530–1630* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 141.

34. *True Declaration,* 9; "Instruccons orders and constitucons . . . issued to Sir Thomas Gates Knight Governor of Virginia" (1609), in Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 3:16.

35. W. G. Perrin, ed., *Boteler's Dialogues* (London: Navy Records Society, 1929), 16; Manning, *Village Revolts,* 199, 207–10. John Cordy Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records* (London, 1887), 2:xvii; Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); John Nichols, ed., *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* (London, 1828), 1:69.

36. Michael Roberts, "The Military Revolution," in *Essays in Swedish History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), 195–225; Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 18–22.

37. Wilkinson, *Adventurers of Bermuda,* 65, 114; John Pory, Secretary of Virginia, to Sir Dudley Carlton, in Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606–1625* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 283 (second quotation); Darrett B. Rutman, "The Historian and the Marshal: A Note on the Background of Sir Thomas Dale," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 68 (1960): 284–94, and "The Virginia Company and Its Military Regime," in *The Old Dominion: Essays for Thomas Perkins Abernathy* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1964), 1–20. See also Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569–1681* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 5–6, 67, 78, 437.

38. *True Declaration,* 15; Percy, "A Trewe Relacyon," 67; John Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter, 1606–1609* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 3:333; Henry Spelman, "Relation of Virginea" (c. 1613), in Arber, ed., *Travels and Works,* 1:ciii; Fausz, "Abundance of Blood Shed," 55–56; Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier: The Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550–1650," in K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair, eds., *The Westward Enterprise: English Ac-*

tivities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480–1650 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 32 (Smith quoted). See also Canny's *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565–1576* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).

39. William Strachey, comp., *For the Colony in Virginea Britania: Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, etc.,* ed. David Flaherty (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1969); Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company,* 32; Wilkinson, *Adventurers of Bermuda,* 65; J. Smith, *Generall Historie,* 654, 666 (quotation); Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom,* 79–81; Rutman, "The Historian and the Marshal," 15; Stephen Greenblatt, "Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne," in *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1988), 129–63.

40. Smith, *A Map of Virginia,* 2:370; Percy, "A Trewe Relacyone," 266; Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), and *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990). See also Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 271, 301; James Axtell, "The White Indians of Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 32 (1975): 55–88. Rountree (*The Powhatan Indians of Virginia,* 87) calls Powhatan society an "incipient class system," but the evidence for this is unpersuasive. What minimal social distinctions there were did not grow out of differentiation of economic function or property holding, but rather were based on hunting ability or capacity for leadership.

41. On Markham (or Marcum), see [Captain Gabriel Archer?], *A relatyon . . . written . . . by a gent. of ye Colony* (1607), in Barbour, ed., *Jamestown Voyages,* 1:82; J. Frederick Fausz, "Middlemen in Peace and War: Virginia's Earliest Indian Interpreters, 1608–1632," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95 (1987): 42.

42. Percy, "A Trewe Relacyon," 280.

43. J. Smith, *General Historie,* 646–48; Craven, "Introduction to the History of Bermuda," 177.

Chapter Two

1. Joyce Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 132.

2. Stephen B. Baxter, "William III as Hercules: The Political Implications of Court Culture," in Lois G. Schwoerer, ed., *The Revolution of 1688–1689: Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 95–106.

3. Francis Bacon, *Of the Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609).

4. Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, "Unnatural Conception: The Study of