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**REBELS, HEATHEN, AND HERETICS: THE PROBLEM OF SETTLER
IDENTITY IN PRINTED ACCOUNTS OF ENGLISH COLONIAL CRISES,
WITH A PARTICULAR FOCUS ON IRELAND, NEW ENGLAND, AND
VIRGINIA, 1640-1700**

by

Ruth E. B. McClelland-Nugent

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
June 2000

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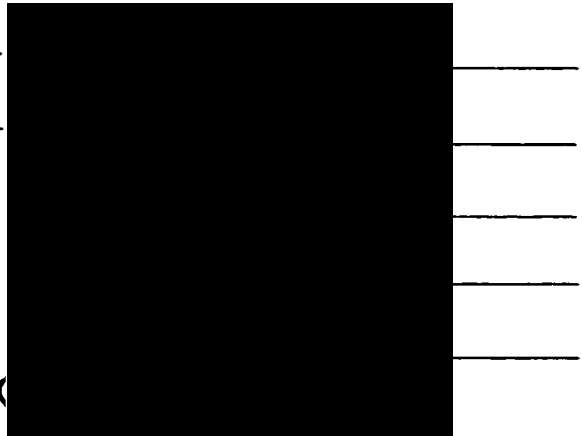
The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled "Rebels, Heathen, and Heretics: the Problem of Settler Identity in Printed Accounts of English Colonial Crises, with a Particular Focus on Ireland, New England, and Virginia, 1640-1700"

by Ruth McClelland-Nugent

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DEDICATION

For my parents.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines accounts of crisis in English colonial regions in the mid- to late-seventeenth-century, including two areas in North America (Virginia and New England) and one in Europe (Ireland). It is particularly concerned with the differences between settler and English writers in describing settler societies during those crises. Far from being portrayed as imperial agents, settlers were often described as untrustworthy and disorderly in English accounts. By contrast, in the early part of the period, settler writers described themselves as very much like those living in England, invoking a shared Protestantism and civility, and contrasting themselves with native peoples. Over the course of the seventeenth century, however, the gulf between these two perspectives widened dramatically, reaching revolutionary proportions as historians in the eighteenth century looked back and recounted tales of these crises once again.

The study begins with an account of the anonymous pamphlets and other works which described atrocities in Ireland during the 1641-42 rebellion. These publications emphasize Irish brutality and settler civility. Descriptions of New England's Antinomian Crisis are considered next, with a particular focus on discussions of Anne Hutchinson's heresy. Accounts of King Philip's War and Bacon's Rebellion are then considered together, looking at the very different ways settlers and English writers envisioned the role of native peoples in those wars. This is followed by an examination of descriptions relating to the Glorious Revolution, primarily in Ireland and secondarily in New England. These considerations of crisis literature are followed by a look at the way historians re-examined the role of settlers and imperium in the past, as settler writers emphasized their own efficacy and British historians lauded Whitehall's rule.

Finally, the study concludes with a consideration of the possible influence of these accounts, examining the surviving records of their purchase and collection by seventeenth- and eighteenth- century readers. Access to accounts of Ireland in particular seems to have been particularly great; surviving records suggest that readers in England had ample opportunities to read at least a little about colonial ventures. These differences in perspective on the role of settlers in colonial ventures, as found in these publications, may well have contributed to the growing discontent of English-speaking societies in both Ireland and North America during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"I can no other answer make but thanks,
And thanks, and ever thanks."

-William Shakespeare, Twelfth Night

"One had rather, on such occasions, do too much than
too little."

-Jane Austen, Sense and Sensibility

This thesis really began nearly twenty years ago, as I followed my mother into the Northrup B. Frye collections in popular culture at Michigan State University. She was working on her own doctoral research, and arranged that I might accompany her. She even assigned me my own research project, studying the history of Wonder Woman comics. Although my more recent research materials have not proved quite as colourful, I am deeply indebted to my mother, Helen Jean M. Nugent, for introducing me to history, her own professional path. Together with my father, Paul T. Nugent, she showed me what it is to be an academic, to unstintingly give of oneself to a university and to a community. My mother has given me unfailing intellectual support, for which I am truly thankful. My father's contribution to this thesis is likewise immeasurable (though as a mathematician he may dispute this in-discrete characterization). His gifts of both mind and spirit have been unselfishly shared with me, as with all his children. His advice and support have been bright lights in the long dark night of the soul that is frequently the experience of writing a doctoral thesis.

The countless debts acquired in writing this thesis can never be repaid, only humbly acknowledged. Like any doctoral candidate, I am profoundly grateful to my advisors, who have spent years guiding me. Daniel Woolf's graduate class in the history of the English book was the inspiration for this topic; his expertise, guidance, and friendship have continued to shape this thesis and make it possible. I owe Jack Crowley similar gratitude. Without his generous kindness in further supervising this work, it could not have been completed. I am deeply, deeply thankful for his freely-given time. His astonishing intellectual breadth has enriched me and my work tremendously.

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One of the strengths of Dalhousie University's history department is that she is not alone in her willingness to give time and assistance to graduate students who are not her own. The faculty in this department are remarkably helpful to graduate students. I am particularly indebted to Stephen Brooke, Tim Stretton, and Shirley Tillotson for generously sharing their expertise with me. Others have also proved consistently patient when answering my questions on topics ranging from Atlantic cod to Zulu gods. John Bingham, Sean Cadigan, Barbara Clow, Michael Cross, Suzanne LeMay-Sheffield, Gordon McOuat, John O'Brien, Jane Parpart, Norman Pereira, Larry Stokes, David Sutherland, and Phil Zachernuk have all made contributions to the references in my stacks and stacks of notecards. That this generosity extends outside the Department of History is evidenced by the interest and consistent help offered to me by Marian Binkley of Social Anthropology, for which I am truly thankful.

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Closer to home, I have enjoyed the friendship and unstinting assistance of Tina Jones and Mary Wyman-Leblanc of the Dalhousie History Department. Both women possess administrative expertise that is exceeded only by their unfailing kindness to students. No words can describe the support they have given to me.

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me to name all the colleagues who have shared their knowledge and inspiration with me, but I can unequivocally state that all this generosity has been much appreciated.

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Introduction

All the World's a Book

There is a curious proportionality between the distances that separate humans and their ability to bridge those gaps via communications. Humanity has invented an astonishing array of methods using physical objects to fix concepts, numbers, and words. Cave paintings, quipu knots, and printed books all have in common their ability to bridge time and distance by supplementing the spoken word with fixed notation.¹ This doctoral thesis is another small strand in a vast network of communication, examining the works of those English-speaking men and women who wove a web of words across the early modern Atlantic. Those writers meant their works primarily for their own era; thanks to the durability of print, however, they have even bridged the gap of time, still speaking many centuries after their deaths.²

On rough broadsheets and in thick folios, the readers of those works learned about Ireland, New England, Virginia, a thousand other places and a million other subjects. Sometimes they read aloud, so even non-literate friends might share in

¹For a grand overview of the history of writing, see Henri-Jean Martin (tr. Lydia G. Cochrane), The History and Power of Writing (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995). For a similar sweeping look at reading, see Alberto Manguel, A History of Reading (New York: Viking Penguin, 1997).

²The astonishing effects of print on modern culture were most famously suggested by Marshall McLuhan in The Gutenberg Galaxy (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1962). Elizabeth Eisenstein's work provided a more solid historical background to this change. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). Other useful works for the era under discussion include Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia Wagonheim, eds. Print and Culture in the Renaissance (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986) and Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-

printed works that were traded, sold, and occasionally given away. The very same words, fixed in print, could be read in a pamphlet published in London and circulated to Londonderry, or from Exeter to Edinburgh, or from Boston, Massachusetts to Boston, England. What visions of England's colonies did those readers absorb? What images and actions were repeated, magnified, and distorted? Whose faces did English readers see reflected in the distant mirror of colonial print?

Not all the colonies that they were read about were new in the early modern era. Ireland as kingdom and as colony had been a part of English writing back in the days of a scribal culture.³ Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales), for example, had introduced Ireland to the readers of his manuscript in the twelfth century, defending the Norman conquest and extolling the economic potential of the country.⁴ In the 1570's and 1580's, the two Richard Hakluyts began exhorting the English to serious colonization. Hakluyt the elder listed a number of inducements for his readers, summarized thus: "1. To plant Christian religion. 2. To Trafficke. 3. To conquer."⁵ His nephew, Richard Hakluyt the Younger, published two works, Divers Voyages Touching the Diversity of America (1582) and The Principall Navigations, Voyages,

1800 (London: N.L.B., 1976).

³On medieval "colonization," see R.R. Davies, Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, 1100-1300 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁴"The island is rich in pastures and meadows, honey and milk, and also in wine, although not in vineyards...Vines it never possessed, nor any cultivators of them. Still, foreign commerce supplies it with wine in such plenty that the want of the growth of vines, and their natural production, is scarcely felt. Poitou, out of its superabundance, exports vast quantities of wine to Ireland, which willingly gives in return its ox-hides and the skins of cattle and wild beasts." Giraldus Cambrensis, trans. T. Forester and T. Wright, Giraldus Cambrensis (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1894), 21.

⁵Richard Hakluyt, "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia in 40. and 42. Degrees," in Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640, ed. Peter C. Mancall (New York: Bedford

and Traffics of the English Nation (1589), which was republished in three volumes between 1598 and 1600. Neither man ever set foot on, or even saw, the shores of the New World. Their tireless promotions and enthusiasm were simply a matter of what they had heard and read. Their faith that print could similarly influence their fellow Englishmen and women is a powerful testament to the place of the printed word in early modern English colonial ventures.

These printed works about exploration shared the book market with a variety of other subjects, as reading became an ever more important skill in early modern England. It was a skill distributed inequitably. Women's literacy lagged behind that of men, and the poor had far less access to reading than the well-off.⁶ But reading was an important part of popular culture, and had been long before the advent of printing; even those who could not read shared in the world of print thanks to printed images and friends who read aloud.⁷

For those who could read, an ever-growing market of books awaited them, of prices and complexity that appealed to many different kinds of readers. Readers in

Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995), 39.

⁶Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, Women in Early Modern England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 90. Kenneth Lockridge argues that female literacy in New England and Philadelphia was around 50 percent during the eighteenth century, compared to an English figure of 35 percent. Lockridge, Literacy in Colonial New England: An Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West (New York: Norton, 1974), 77, 92. For surviving evidence about women's book-owning, see Lorna Weatherill, "A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behaviour in England 1660-1740," Journal of British Studies 25 (1986): 142. For the continuing debate on the spread and acquisition of literacy, see Wyn Ford, "The Problem of Literacy in Early Modern England," History 78, no. 252 (1993): 22-37.

⁷On pre-print literacy and its uses in written propaganda, see Pauline Croft, "Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England," Historical Research 68, no. 167 (1995). On the uses of print by the poor and marginally literate, see Tessa Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

rural areas, or in colonies themselves, were less able to acquire books so easily, but the book trade grew throughout the seventeenth century in every corner of the English-speaking world. By 1700, there were thirty booksellers in Boston alone.⁸ Readers in areas with publishers and book markets were far less limited. London readers had, of course, a wide array of choices.⁹ A bibliophile like Samuel Pepys might spend hours browsing stalls in St. Paul's Churchyard.¹⁰ The title pages of these unbound books enticed readers with detailed descriptions of contents; the rambling titles, so quaint to modern eyes, were in reality part of a powerful marketing strategy. Like a modern-day dust-jacket "blurb," the long title of an early modern book gave the potential buyer

⁸Bruce C. Daniels, Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England (London: Macmillan Press, 1995), 28-30. Margaret Spufford's examination of the chapbook trade in the late seventeenth-century demonstrates the wide range even the humblest print had in England. Margaret Spufford, Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1981). On Ireland and the development of a print culture in the seventeenth century, see Raymond Gillespie, "The Circulation of Print in Seventeenth-Century Ireland," Studia Hibernica 29 (1995-1997): 31-58. For the period before 1640, see also H.S. Bennet, English Readers and the Book Trade 1603-1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); for the mid-seventeenth century across Great Britain see Henry Robert Plomer, A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1968); for the eighteenth century see John Feather, The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁹Robin Meyers and Michael Harris, The Stationer's Company and the Book Trade 1550-1900 (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997).

¹⁰For the location of booksellers, see E. Gordon Duff, A Century of the English Book Trade: Short Notices of All Printers, Stationers, Book-Binders, and Others Connected With it From the Issue of the First Dated Book in 1457 to the Incorporation of the Company of Stationers (London: Folcroft Library Editions, 1972). According to Spufford, cheaper booksellers were located mostly in West Smithfield or London Bridge by the late seventeenth century. Spufford, Small Books and Pleasant Histories, 114. For more on the Elizabethan background to pamphlet marketing, see Alexandra Halasz, The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

many reasons to buy it: to improve his spiritual health, perhaps, or to be titillated by tales of intrigue and violence, or to read about far-away places. He might even be able to do all three at once, as in this title:

A PLOT Discovered in IRELAND And prevented without the shedding of BLOOD. That all Christians may see, the Peace which our Enemis have grounded on the Irish Rebellion, the foundation of these Warres, to be a pretence onely for an opportunitie to Masskre the Protestants, and exalt Poperie in both Kingdomes. ALSO A great Defeat given to the Rebels coming into Scotland, by the Earle of Argile.¹¹
If a Jacobean reader wished to focus on those far-away colonies, his or her

choice might very likely be a piece of promotional literature. Those seeking support in order to help them exploit the resources of the English Atlantic world quickly realized that print was a useful tool. The New World in particular appealed to commercial possibilities. Early descriptions were imprecise: "Virginia" or "New England" might be applied to the entire North American coast. (Little wonder that the Pilgrims in Massachusetts were unprepared for "Virginia's" winter!) In the English imagination, it was all one grand world of opportunity.

"O My America! My new-founde land!/ My kingdom, safest when with one man man'd/ My myne of precious stones! my emperie!/ How blest am I, in thus discoveringe thee!" John Donne wrote to his disrobing mistress. Writers of promotional literature issued similar appeals to their readers, sexualizing the colonies as a potential possession: young, exciting, and eager for conquest.¹² John Smith's History of Virginia, first published in 1624, was re-published seven more times between that time and 1700, and functioned as an appeal for investment as much as a

¹¹ A Plot Discovered in Ireland and Prevented Without the Shedding of Blood (London, 1644).

¹² For more examples and discussion, see Thomas Scanlan, Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

history.¹³ Smith's purpose is illustrated by his method of promoting it. He presented a copy to the Society of Cordwainers, and, in an accompanying letter, encouraged them to support colonial ventures as a matter of economic self-interest. Why? The shores of the New World shores were rough, Smith reported, and oyster shells were certain to cut up shoes, thereby creating a demand for the cordwainer's products! Smith's marketing genius knew no bounds, and his glowing praise of Virginia's limitless possibilities may have been one reason his works remained popular for so long, remaining in print through the seventeenth century.¹⁴

But early enthusiasm soon faced harsh realities. Elizabethan attempts to colonize Virginia ended in disappointment and disaster. During Jamestown's early years, it too seemed destined to fail through disease, hunger, and an amazing English capacity to alienate even the friendliest Native¹⁵ allies. John Smith's tireless publishing about his Virginia exploits was less self-aggrandizement than a necessary promotion. English ineptness when dealing with the Natives --- particularly their eagerness to sense "treachery" --- undoubtedly stemmed in part from the centuries of English involvement in Ireland. As Nicholas Canny has demonstrated, the experiences of the Elizabethan era in both Ireland and North America were crucial in setting up the pattern of early modern English colonization.¹⁶

¹³ Nicholas Canny, " 'To Establish a Common Wealthe': Captain John Smith as New World Colonist," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 96, no. 2 (1988): 213-222.

¹⁴ Smith's letter (now in the Huntington Library) is described in the introduction to the facsimile edition, John Smith, General Historie of Virginia (UMI: Ann Arbor, 1966). For more on colonization appeals and civic sensibilities, see Andrew Fitzmaurice, "The Civic Solution to the Crisis of English Colonization, 1609-1625," Historical Journal 42, no. 2 (1999): 25-51.

¹⁵ On Native/native, Puritan/puritan and other issues relating to terminology and the use of proper nouns, please see pages 28-30 below.

¹⁶Nicholas P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to

As in the failed Roanoke colonies, the English presence in Elizabethan Ireland seemed fraught with uncertainty. Rebellions and feuding wracked the countryside through the 1560's, 70's, and 80's. The Munster plantation, founded in 1585, was ruined during the Nine-Year War.¹⁷ But, as in Virginia, the Jacobean era proved a time of renewed interest in making the experiment work. The "Flight of the Earls" in 1607 spurred revitalization of the Munster settlement. In the same year, Jamestown was founded in Virginia; it would prove the first lasting English settlement in North America. In both places, "newcomers" kept themselves largely apart from native groups. Despite rhetoric like Hakluyt's about converting the natives, the English were more likely to shoot men than save souls.¹⁸

Elites in colonial Ireland and New England shared a deep commitment to Protestantism. The Plymouth settlement consisted of Separatists seeking to both isolate themselves from an impure Church and to preserve the Englishness that had been threatened by previous re-settlement on the Continent. A similar sense of the English church's impurity helped to drive more Puritans to Massachusetts Bay in

America." William and Mary Quarterly 30 (1973): 575-98. Also see Nicholas P.Canny, The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-76 (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1976).

¹⁷See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony (Savage, Md: Rowman and Littlefields, 1984), and Michael McCarthy Murrugh, "The English Presence in Early Seventeenth Century Munster," in Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society 1534-1641 ed. Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (Bungay, Suffolk: Irish Academic Press, 1986), 171-90. See also Stephen Ellis, Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community, and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470-1603 (London and New York: Longman, 1985).

¹⁸For an overview of English attitudes toward conversion, contrasted with those of the French, see James Axtell, The Invasion Within (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). See also Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Settling With the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in North America (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980). For New England specifically, see Neal Salisbury, Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England 1500-1643 (Oxford:

1630. Unlike the Plymouth Separatists, Massachusetts's leaders felt no need to hide their light under a bushel basket; in John Winthrop's memorable phrase, they would become a "City on a Hill" for Old England.¹⁹ This task required communication across an ocean in order to save and to illuminate from such a distance. This kind of promotion using print was, however, very different from those mentioned previously. Settler societies were the attraction here, not the natural bounty of the land, nor the godly benefit to the native peoples. This kind of writing co-existed with the other kinds of colonial descriptions, of course: as the last chapter of this thesis points out, maps, promotional tracts, statutes, fiction of all kinds, and many other genres provided information about England's colonies. The bulk of this work, however, focuses on the writing that developed between 1640 and 1700, in which settlers became both the describers of their worlds and the objects of description.

Let us return for a moment to the St. Paul's bookstalls, sometime between 1640 and 1700. A book buyer strolls there, scanning title pages, looking for works that will satisfy his curiosity about England's colonies. What kinds of titles might he have been able to acquire? Using the Wing Short Title Catalogue, we can look for title words that might have caught the eye of a seventeenth-century reader curious about colonies. While this is not a perfect measure of the numbers of books available about particular colonies, such a measurement makes the proportions of titles fairly clear. Table One indicates which words the casual eye was most likely to see in colonial titles: something about Ireland.

Oxford University Press, 1982).

¹⁹John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity"(1630) in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, (Boston, 1838), 3rd series 7:31-48. Also see Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "Migrants and Motives: Religion and the Settlement of New England, 1630-1640" New England Quarterly 58 (1985): 339-83.

Table 1. Frequency of colonial title words in Wing STC

Title Words	Number of appearances 1641-1700
"Ireland" or "Irish"	1244
"New England" or "Massachusetts"	155
"Virginia" or "Virginian"	37

Here it may be legitimately objected that Ireland was not "just" a colony. Ireland's relation to England defies simple borderland/colony/kingdom/county descriptions. Even in 1609, Bacon was not entirely certain how to frame a "new" colonial perspective in a very old kingdom.²⁰ But dwelling too much on Ireland's multifaceted nature is perhaps counterproductive. Whatever else Ireland was, it was a colony that shared numerous commonalities with New England and Virginia.

Indeed, we might equally wonder about what the latter two colonial areas had in common, other than eventually becoming part of the United States. New England, settled largely in town patterns with a fairly large number of family groups, boasted a leadership determined to build an ideal church-community of the godly. Virginia's planners sought order as well, but faced with large numbers of single men (and not a few single women) in scattered settlements, their tools were harsh civil punishments, rather than family governance and congregational church discipline. We could go on listing differences, but the similarities are important. Virginia and New England, as we have said, shared a continent, moving them far from English view and control. Ireland and Virginia both had legacies of Elizabethan colonial efforts, while Ireland and New England shared an influx of colonists with views that were strongly anti Catholic (and

²⁰Willy Maley. "'Another Britain?' Bacon's Certain Construction. Touching the

strongly "anti-popery" as found in Laudian practice).²¹

The tradition of nationally-focused historiographies works against understanding the early modern English colonial world in a comparative sense.²² But there are many other works, most recently David Armitage's, that suggest that understanding an Atlantic "Greater Britain" is a helpful way of reconciling a world too long divided by the labels "early modern Britain" or "colonial."²³ Ian K. Steele's work on the communications in the Atlantic world between 1675 and 1740 shows that English people throughout this large region were well aware of the links that bound them together.²⁴ Generally speaking, historians of colonial America have been more interested in pursuing these linkages than historians of Great Britain or Ireland, although David Cressy's Coming Over was a valuable contribution from the perspective of a historian of early modern Britain. Canadian historians have also explored the influences of this "early modern Atlantic world" on the development of their country.²⁵ Jack Greene and many of his students have extensively explored

Plantation in Ireland," Prose Studies 18, no. 1 (1995): 1-18.

²¹See Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in The English Civil War, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Arnold Publishing, 1997).

²²Andrew Murphy has argued strongly that Ireland's proximity to England makes it illogical to consider it as a colony. Andrew Murphy, "Reviewing the Paradigm: A New Look at Early Modern Ireland," Eire/Ireland 31, no. 3/4 (1996): 13-40.

²³David Armitage, "'Greater Britain': A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?" American Historical Review 104, no. 2 (1999): 427-445.

²⁴Ian K. Steele, The English Atlantic World, 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community (New York : Oxford University Press, 1986).

²⁵David Cressy, Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1987. For Canadian historical perspectives, see, for example, John G. Reid, Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland : Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) and Elizabeth Mancke, "Another British America: A Canadian Model for the Early Modern British Empire,"

commercial, mercantile, and material links in this world, and are adept at bringing the early modern Caribbean into the analysis.²⁶ Others have explored the spiritual linkages of transatlantic Puritanism, while yet another set of historians and literary scholars have explored the effects of the New World on the Old.²⁷

Nicholas Canny, as mentioned previously, has exhaustively argued for conceptualizing Ireland as both a kingdom and a colony, while others have noted the parallel political developments of settlers in Ireland and America during the eighteenth centuries. Canny, together with John Elliot and Anthony Pagden, has also been instrumental in re-conceptualizing the issue of settler identities across the Atlantic world, and suggesting commonalities between settler identity formation in Spanish, French, and English colonial regions.²⁸ The focus of their 1987 collection, Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800, was on what Elliot identified as “the collective process of self-definition.”²⁹ The problematic duality of settler identity in

Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 25, no. 1 (1997):1-36.

²⁶See Jack Greene and Jack Pole, eds., Colonial British America : Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984); John Phillip Reid, In a Defiant Stance : The Conditions of Law in Massachusetts Bay, the Irish Comparison; and the Coming of the American Revolution (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977).

²⁷Stephen Foster, The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570-1700 (Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991); Francis J. Bremer, ed., Puritanism : Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, distributed by Northeastern University Press, 1993); Anthony Grafton with April Shelford and Nancy G. Sirasai, New Worlds, Ancient Texts : The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed. America in European Consciousness 1493-1750 (Chapel Hill: Institute for Early American History and Culture, 1995).

²⁸ Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds. Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

²⁹John Elliot, Introduction, Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800, ed. Canny and Pagden, 3-14 at 7.

British North America was further defined in this volume by Michael Zuckerman, who notes the irony that British settlers in America always “strove to be Britons” even while pursuing independence.³⁰ Jack Greene further breaks down four aspects of settler self-identification in his “case study” of British identity in Barbados: their relation to the physical attributes of the place they settled; their sense of goals achieved in colonization; a sense of standards and civilization that makes them British; and a sense of shared history among the settler-inhabitants of the colony.³¹ All these writers concern themselves with a variety of social, economic, political, and literary expressions of settler identity; I am in good company in suggesting that we can usefully compare the writing published in England about these three Atlantic colonial regions.

But while these discussions of settler identity are certainly important intellectual grounding for this thesis, I part company from them in focusing exclusively on the printed expression of these identities, and stride even further away in trying to suggest how those expressions may have been understood in England as well as within settler societies. Zuckerman, for example, says that “the settlers emphasized the roughness of the Indians in order to convince themselves of their own refinement.”³² But there are clearly times and places when settlers are speaking, not to themselves, but to audiences in England and other parts of the wider world. Do these expressions differ from the ones written for settler audiences? Are settlers really trying to convince themselves of their own refinement, or are they speaking to stay-at-

³⁰Michael Zuckerman, “Identity in British North America,” Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, ed. Canny and Pagden, 115-157 at 115.

³¹Jack P. Greene, “Changing Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800,” Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, ed. Canny and Pagden, 213-266 at 214.

³²Zuckerman, “Identity in British North America,” 153.

homes? And what about expressions written in England? Do these in turn influence what settler writers are trying to do?

In short, I am interested not in the formation of self-identity (so ably examined by Canny, Pagden, et al), but in the ways that both settlers and stay-at-homes thought to publicize settler identity. There are discernable “settler” and “imperial” ideologies expressed in the accounts of Irish, Virginian, and New England crises written between 1640 and 1750. In this I am influenced by those who have worked more specifically with empire and the written word, most frequently in the colonial models found in writing from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are problems, of course, in trying to grapple with questions posed by these later models of “colonialism” and “empire.” In his comparison of French, Spanish, and British early modern empires, Anthony Pagden argues that the period 1500-1800 has been unfairly treated as mere prelude to the “real” era of empire, and deserves serious consideration on its own terms.³³ The theories of “colonialism” and “postcolonialism” devised by historians and literary scholars in the last decades have not focused on the seventeenth century, nor on colonies in the Western world. When they are applied by New Historicist and other scholars, the results can be jarringly ahistorical.³⁴ Even a theorist as thoughtful as Edward Said is deeply unsatisfactory in his consideration of colonialism in the West. In his Field Day pamphlet “Yeats and Decolonization,” Said states that Ireland (along with Egypt, Ghana, India, and Indonesia) developed an independence movement “in the period from the First World War and concluding in the 1950s.”³⁵ Julian Moynahan

³³Anthony Pagden, Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500- c.1800 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 5-7.

³⁴ Please see the discussion of New Historicism beginning on p. 26 below.

³⁵Edward W. Said “Yeats and Decolonization,” in Nationalism, Colonialism,

points out that this claim is nonsensical, since “movements for Irish independence, to mention only comparatively modern times, go back to the United Irish insurrections of 1798 and to Daniel O’Connell’s Union Repeal movement of the 1840s, while by 1950 Ireland’s nationhood, despite the Partition of the northern six counties, had been secured for all of twenty-nine years.”³⁶

Moynahan makes another insightful observation upon the problem of Said and Ireland: “He assumes that colonials, except for rare individuals, are everlasting tools of the power that sent them over to occupy, settle, and dominate.”³⁷ Moynahan is interested in demolishing this theory as applied to nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish writers; I would like to argue against its applicability to the writing produced in an earlier period of Irish colonization, and to extend that analysis to the American colonies. The works examined in this thesis make it very clear that, far from being uniformly accepted and understood as “English” rulers of their domains, settlers were frequently portrayed by British writers as suspect and disorderly. The Antinomian Crisis, as debated in English print, cast deep doubt on the appropriateness of New England models of governance. In Aphra Behn’s fictional portrayal of Bacon’s rebellion, Virginia is misgoverned by a motley crew of drunkards and criminals. In the pamphlets that described the Williamite Wars for English readers, Irish settlers of English descent are helpless victims at best, while the so-called “Old English” settlers are made “Irish” by their Catholicism.

and Literature, ed. Seamus Deane (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1990), 75.

³⁶Julian Moynahan, Anglo-Irish: The Literary Imagination in a Hyphenated Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), xii.

³⁷Moynahan, xi. For another look at these issues, see Colin Graham and Willy Maley, “Irish Studies and Postcolonial Theory,” Irish Studies Review 7, no. 2 (1999), 149-152.

Settler writers, however, portrayed themselves and their societies as legitimate and orderly, contrasting themselves with native groups and appealing to similarities between themselves and their English reading audience. Settler writers were at pains to promote their own civility, linking it to the civility of their English readers—a connection which again reminds us that these publications were not always written for settlers themselves. Appeals to shared similarity might rest upon ethnicity (“Englishness”), but were just as likely to be linked to godly Protestantism. Even when settler writers put themselves in a dependent position, as when asking for aid in the 1640’s after the Ulster Rising, they do so as brethren, not as children or servants.

Out of all the print available in England about colonial regions, this study specifically focuses on the printed works concerning times of colonial crisis. At these times, order and identity were strained in reality, and thus needed to be expressed precisely—often exaggeratedly—in print. I term this body of works “crisis literature,” a formulation which is less a description of literary genre than an acknowledgement of subject and medium. “Crisis publications” might be another term to use, but it is specifically printed publications rather than manuscript publications with which I am concerned. Certainly, manuscript descriptions of crises were circulated simultaneously with the works examined here, but such a mode of publication was intentionally and inherently limited.³⁸ Print designed for sale, in all forms (books, pamphlets, broadsides), had the potential to spread a uniform message most widely.

The other half of this terminology, “crisis,” also deserves brief definition, since, as delineated below, I encompass writing about a wide variety of events under

³⁸ As noted in Chapter Two, for example, when letters discussing the Antinomian crisis and other theological concerns circulated privately in England rather than risk the wrath of Laudian censor.

this term, including times of physical, spiritual, and political danger—indeed, separating these kind of dangers is difficult in an era when spirit intrudes so closely into the political realm, and when fears of physical danger may easily erupt from political crisis, as in the English panic resulting from the Popish Plot. What all situations have in common is a sense of momentous times, when either disaster or glory is possible, and when important change seems guaranteed. This definition is related to the most basic medical understanding of crisis, wherein the illness reaches a crucial point at which the body will either die or begin to recover, and where often dramatic symptoms are recorded. It also seems viable in relation to the way the seventeenth and eighteenth century world understood the term, as used in works like Steele's 1714 work The Crisis. Concerned with the question of the Hanoverian succession, Steele is painfully aware that the issue must be resolved, and that its resolution will deeply affect the English political situation for good or ill.

It is also significant to note that the writings regarding crisis analyzed herein are written within a decade of the end of the crisis, and often a great deal sooner, although they may not be published until somewhat later. Some are therefore "news," reporting a very current event, while others are somewhat more reflective, being written slightly later. All works, however, reflect an immediate concern relating to this crisis, whether that be with the crisis itself or its continuing recent implications. In Chapter Five I also consider another kind of writing about these crisis which does not fit this definition of crisis literature: histories. These works consider the same events, but in an explicitly historical context, considering crises in their long-term, rather than short-term context. All of the descriptions I am considering relate to events in three particular colonial areas: Ireland, Virginia, and New England.

The following chapters explore these printed descriptions of colonial crises, or crisis literature, at three points. The first comes in the 1640's, when Ireland and New England were part of the wave of print which flooded a suddenly-uncensored market. The next period comes during the 1670's and 1680's, when Bacon's Rebellion and King Phillip's War were described in English print. Finally, in the period 1689-91, we will look at how English readers were engaged by the colonial effects of the Glorious Revolution, particularly in Ireland and to a lesser extent in New England.

Those same colonial crises became a part of the colonial histories written in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which in turn further refined the role of crisis in shaping who and what colonists were. These histories, which are the focus of the sixth chapter, provide some measure of how crisis literature continued to influence understandings of settler societies, long after the crises had passed. Surviving records of collecting and readership also suggest how crisis literature might have been used and received, and are examined in Chapter Six. Focused primarily in clerical readers, that study points us toward understanding some specific ways in which readers might have used the information found in printed books.

Although I do want to be suggestive of the ways that later writers and readers might have used these accounts of colonial crisis, the bulk of the analysis in this work is textual. In doing this, I hope to provide an analysis of the settler identities expressed in the crisis writing of those in Britain and those in the colonies that is useful to the historian. There are limits to this kind of understanding. I cannot prove, for example, how widely Cotton Mather's understandings were shared by other New Englanders. Suggesting how much his English readers believed his arguments is likewise at best tentative. Another problem in determining usage is the fragility of some materials:

ephemeral pamphlets about Irish crises have not survived the years very well, and, not surprisingly, it is difficult to find them in extant archival materials. A ten-year intensive survey might perhaps turn up all the relevant references to colonial writing in English sources, but that will have to wait. I am simply interested in analyzing what a contemporary reader might have learned about settler identity and colonial order by reading the print produced during times of crisis.

Colonial senses of “sameness” and “difference” are absolutely central to this work. I am at pains to avoid the overuse of theoretical jargon in this thesis, preferring to focus on describing the observable trends in seventeenth and eighteenth-century print. The Foucauldian concept of “othering,” for example, is of limited use in understanding the way colonies were discussed in early modern print, although differences between natives and settlers are certainly emphasized in the crisis literature. In the 1640’s pamphlets, for example, the “Irish” are clearly defined as the enemy, though who the “Irish” are is not always clear. But sometimes settler writers equally emphasized the differences between themselves and *other settlers*. New England writers in the 1640’s were at pains to define Anne Hutchinson and her followers as different from the mainstream of the New England Way, while anti-New-England writers in Britain tarred all settlers with the same brush. Who is the “other” in that writing? Sometimes divisions follow the expected class, race and gender lines of “othering,” but when English historian John Oldmixon sneers at powerful Boston minister Cotton Mather, can we really talk about that member of the Puritan elite as being “othered”? Is differentiating the same as othering?

As Moynahan notes, if we think of colonialism as always being about a divide between “imperial” settlers and natives, we miss clear indications that there was a

deepening divide between “English” settlers and the English in England. Settlers could be a kind of “other” as well, and not necessarily because they were somehow contaminated by contact with natives.³⁹ This is not a difficult or surprising conclusion to reach if we think about Swift’s famous complaint about losing his rights upon crossing the Irish sea, or even the appeals of American Revolutionaries to the rights of Englishmen. These are indications that settlers were well aware of the problem of “otherness” and were attempting to answer it.

This focus on settler identity and “otherness” is not intended to minimize the terrible effects of colonialism on native peoples everywhere. The opposite is rather true. Clearly, settler writers emphasized the “otherness” of native groups, as well as of disorderly settlers like Anne Hutchinson, in order to shore up their own claims to exercise legitimate authority. But simple preconstructions of “otherness” collapse when looking at colonial crisis publications. Where do we place the Old English (English by descent but Catholic by religion) or the “praying Indians” (Native Americans converted to Congregational Protestantism) in a simple “us”/ “other” classification?

The purpose of this thesis is not to deny the inherent validity of Said’s work, or that of his fellow theorists of imperialism and colonialism; indeed, without it, I would not ask the questions I do. But theories of colonialism and imperialism based on nineteenth- and twentieth-century empires are simply not applicable to all times and places. Early modern Ireland, New England, and Virginia can and should be usefully

³⁹ The one group to whom that characterization might apply is the Old English, as discussed below, but their problematic position is only seldom put in terms of “going native” as opposed to “staying Catholic.” See Chapters Two and Four, as well as Aidan Clarke, “Alternative Allegiances In Early Modern Ireland,” Journal of Historical Sociology 5 no. 3 (1992): 253-266.

considered together, even though their fates after 1800 were very different. Certain models of settler identity and specific notions of colonial societies were being promulgated in England between 1640 and 1700; all these understandings were dependent on clearly defining those inside and those outside the boundaries of colonial order and civilization. Rather than talk about “the other,” we can think about ever-shifting gradations of “us” and “them.” Every writer had a point to make about the place of his/her own group in that mental territory. They defined it in a variety of appeals to the reader, contrasting civility with barbarism, humanity with beastliness, education with ignorance, and so forth. There were levels to all of these distinctions: few were absolute, and all were susceptible to change over time. After 1700, as historians of colonial events looked back at the seventeenth century, they in turn re-shaped those interpretations of crisis in line with their own ever-deepening sense of settler and imperial identities. English writers emphasized the importance of imperial power; meanwhile, settler writers began to abandon appeals to Englishness and instead began articulating a sense of their own distinct authority and identities.

There are limits in focusing on settler identity. Although settlers both described themselves and were described by others, some of the groups discussed in this work were never able to reply in pamphlets or other print. Obviously, this applies most glaringly to Natives in North America and to Gaelic-speakers in Ireland.⁴⁰ Anne

⁴⁰There are numerous studies on the impact of colonization on Native Americans, on their response to it, and on their ability to act as agents and work with Europeans to their own advantage when possible. A few that seem relevant to cite (and here I exclude those works used extensively in later chapters) are Colin G. Calloway, New Worlds For All: Indians, Europeans and the Making of North America (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); Ian K. Steele, Warpaths (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); William W. Fitzhugh, Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American

Hutchinson was at the centre of the Antinomian Crisis as examined in Chapter Three, but she never published her own perspective on the crisis. These people remain subjects, not authors. This presentation is no reflection on their actual importance to colonial life, but simply a cold reminder of who controlled print and the limits that printed information held. A reader in seventeenth-century England was unlikely ever to hear the story as told by a Native American, and definitely did not get that perspective from reading books. In order to reflect this harsh reality, I too have to exclude their thoughts, save as reported by often-hostile European writers. This skewed perspective was, unfortunately, exactly the skewed perspective that the readers of early modern print received. Other groups effectively silenced in this study but who occasionally appear as subjects in colonial narratives include French-speaking Europeans and African slaves. In New England and in Ireland, the spectre of French Catholicism raised its head, but English readers had limited access to published accounts of a French or French colonial perspective on these particular crises.⁴¹ African slaves very rarely appear in these particular crisis narratives, although they were a crucial part of the survival of both New England and Virginia, and, as Kathleen

Cultural Institutions (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1988); J. C. H. King, First Peoples, First Contacts: Native Peoples of North America (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999).

⁴¹See "René de Laudonnière's Views in the Prospects for French Overseas Colonization" for a translation that was available in English in 1576, and "Champlain on Motives for French Colonization in Canada" for another English translation of early French explorers. Both can be found in David Beers Quinn and Alison O. Quinn, ed., New American World (New York and London: Macmillan, 1979), 301-2 and 302-3. On the importance of differentiating Native and settler in the North American French context, see Olive Dickason, The Myth of the Savage (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984). For interactions amongst France, Ireland, and England in the eighteenth century, see Michael O'Dea and Kevin Whelan, Nations and Nationalisms: France, Britain, Ireland and the Eighteenth-Century Context (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1995).

M. Brown has argued, were certainly part of the changing realities of settler identity.⁴² Had it been possible to include Caribbean crisis material in this study, they would be much more prominent in the seventeenth-century material.⁴³ Such comparisons will undoubtedly prove fruitful in the future.

Again, these limits remind us that print is necessarily a distorted vision. But I am not seeking to draw an accurate picture of settler identity, only what it was expressed to be and what it might have been perceived to be by readers. This is the information and mis-information from which readers drew their impressions of colonies, and, in part at least, on which they based decisions about those places. As noted before, individuals might also have access to other sources of information, but print had the power to reach such large numbers, in such a uniform fashion, that a close examination of its contents is certainly necessary.

⁴²Kathleen M. Brown, Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia (Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996). For Virginia see also T.H. Breen, "Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) and Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). In New England, see William Dillon Pierson, Black Yankees: The Making of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

⁴³See Jan Carew, Fulcrums of Change (Trenton, N.J.: African World Press, 1988). Space does not permit me to consider English colonies in South America and the Caribbean, although these areas had generated English interest since the Elizabethan era, and would make a logical comparison to the colonial regions described in this thesis, as the comparison of migration in Alison Games, Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999) demonstrates. For South America see Joyce Lorimer, English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550-1646 (London: Hakluyt Society and Cambridge University Press, 1990; for the Caribbean region see Cyril Hemshere, The British in the Caribbean (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1972).

The ubiquitous nature of print reminds us that there is a great deal of room for historians to use “literature” (using the term in its widest possible sense) in order to illuminate the mental worlds of the past. The boundaries between all the humanities and social sciences are somewhat fluid, (often profitably so) and history and literary studies are no exception to this. For example, Susan Staves’ Players’ Sceptres: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration admirably demonstrates just how helpful printed literature can be in understanding seventeenth-century England, and in some ways I hope to emulate her example, albeit in a very different context.⁴⁴ I am interested in all the kinds of print that a potential buyer might pick up at the market, not simply the works which later conformed to notions of “good” and “bad” writing. Literary scholars have worked fairly extensively on the colonial contexts of writers like Milton and Spenser and these are cited in the appropriate chapters. The largely anonymous pamphlet writers who churned out reams of print about Ireland have not been as extensively examined, even though their influence may have been as great or (considering the very limited printed editions of some “canonical” writers) even greater. Conversely, I have not excluded better-known writers whose work was potentially widespread and influential. Increase and Cotton Mather, for example, earn a large place in this study through their sheer productivity. Both “canonical” and “non-canonical” (in the old-fashioned literary sense) authors are considered together, in the context of their times and the debates in which they were engaged.

The last point may seem obvious, but the lack of such historical sensibility is the biggest frustration of any historian who reads New Historicist literary scholars. Tristan Marshall has considered the problem of ahistorical literary theories of empire

⁴⁴Susan Staves, Players’ Sceptres: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration

in his much-needed look at The Tempest. He argues strongly against literary scholarship which puts Shakespeare's play in an inappropriately confident British Empire. Instead Marshall places the comedy in its proper historical perspective: that of an England only marginally established in the New World, hardly yet a great imperial power in America.⁴⁵ As he points out, the historian does not have the luxury of the literary scholar when applying theories and perspectives from other eras. We must find a mode of analysis suitable to the material at hand, in the era under examination, that recognizes the processes of change and continuity over time in a meaningful fashion. Said's colonial theory, as noted above, makes little sense when applied to eras before the nineteenth- and twentieth-century context from which he drew it. Such mis-application seriously weakens, for example, the historical usefulness of a work like Moira Ferguson's study of British women writers' response to slavery between 1670 and 1830. By expecting to find the sensibilities of nineteenth-century slavery and empire in Aphra Behn's 1688 novel Oroonoko, she may achieve great literary criticism, but little that is useful to the historian.⁴⁶ I hope to avoid such practices in my discussion of Behn's play The Widdow Ranter by placing it firmly in its context. Hopefully this comparison, particularly to Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative from King Philip's War, truly illuminates something about the era, if not about the genres as a literary critic might prefer. This point is not made in order to minimize those literary scholars who have contributed to our understandings of colonial writing.

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

⁴⁵Tristan Marshall, "The Tempest and the British Imperium in 1611." Historical Journal 41, no. 2 (1998): 375-400.

⁴⁶Moira Ferguson, Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670-1834 (New York: Routledge, 1992). Similar problems bedevil the discussion of Behn in Patricia A. Parker and Margo Phillips, Women, "Race," and

nor to deny that comparisons and models from outside the period under study can be very useful indeed. (I have cited both literary critics and historical works from far outside the early modern era where appropriate.) The key lies in finding an appropriate use for such work; I hope that I have done so. In this I try to follow Susan Staves, as well as those working specifically in the Atlantic context, like Jeffrey Richards and David Shields, who have successfully drawn on literary content to produce truly useful studies.⁴⁷

Before launching into the body of this material, some notes on terminology are appropriate. In a thesis that draws upon American, English, and Irish historiographies, and that is written at a Canadian university, there are bound to be differences in usage. I have had to compromise upon some issues. The essence of such a trade-off is that all parties are somewhat unsatisfied; in this point, at least, I have probably achieved true compromise.

The term “puritan” is an excellent example of the problem that American and British historiographies have in understanding each other. Some historians of seventeenth-century England have abandoned the term altogether, favouring formulations like “the hotter sort of Protestant,” or at the least prefer to spell it with an uncapitalized “p” in recognition that the group was not a cohesive group or faction.⁴⁸ While recognizing the multifaceted nature of the term, and the fact that many (perhaps most) New England settlers were not “Puritans,” American colonialists retain the term

Writing in the Early Modern Period (London and New York : Routledge, 1994).

⁴⁷Jeffrey H. Richards, Theater Enough : American Culture and the Metaphor of the World Stage, 1607-1789 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991) and David S. Shields, Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America, 1690-1750 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

⁴⁸See Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford: Oxford

as a meaningful description. Indeed, in North America, the lower-case "puritan" now tends to be understood as a general term for contemporary kill-joys, while the upper-case "Puritan" delineates a historical group. I have retained the American usage, since it reflects the kind of godly unity that New England apologists liked to conjure with their words, even when it did not necessarily exist. Following Stephen Foster in The Long Argument, I understand the "Puritan" movement as retaining a cohesion and ascendancy in New England long after like-minded Christians in England became "Dissenters." New Englanders were not Dissenters; in New England, those Christians observing the rites of the Church of England were truly the ones in dissent! This is far from a perfect solution to the problem of terminology, but it is the one I employ.

However, in order to keep from pleasing American historians too much, I do not follow the common American terminology of talking about "Indians," nor about "Native Americans." I use the former only where contemporary writers do, in order to follow their understanding of who the aboriginal persons of North America were. "Native Americans" implies a national allegiance which is not helpful for groups whose own polity did not conform to the boundaries set up by the Europeans around them. "Aboriginal persons" and "First Nations" are both awkward; referring to Mohegans, Naragansetts, and so forth is most preferable but not always possible. Therefore I have chosen to follow one common Canadian usage and talk about Natives, as a proper noun. This is (I hope) both dignified and simple. When using the term as a common noun, I try to talk consistently about "native peoples" as a general description of the indigenous inhabitants of the various lands that the English were colonizing.

University Press, 1982) and Godly People (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Finally, I have also managed to make historians of Ireland unhappy. The question of who is “Irish”, and what “Irishness” means, was not simple in the seventeenth century, much as it is not simple now. As the discussion in the following chapters demonstrates, it is clear that in early modern Ireland the word “Irish” this did not simply mean “Catholics,” nor “Gaelic-speakers,” nor “Gaelic-descended persons.” As with the Puritan/“godly” problem, to use a then-contemporary term for the pre-English inhabitants of Ireland is to beg confusion. “Milesian” is a hopelessly antiquated term, and “Irish,” as the following chapters prove, was itself a variable term. Thus I choose to use “Gaelic-speakers” in most of the places that I want to talk about people who are recognizably Gaelic, and “Old English” for the descendants of Norman settlers. Both groups were largely, but not completely, Catholic. “Irish,” like “Indian,” is used solely in the sense(s) that the writers of the era used it.

That sense of “Irishness” was always somewhat confusing, and never more so than in late 1641, when pamphlets describing the October Ulster Rising began to appear in the streets of London. The next chapter begins with an exploration of the ways that pamphleteers drew distinctions between themselves and the uncivil, un-human “Irish.” According to the pamphleteers, beasts lurked within the rebels’ hearts, as surely as the Devil lived in the souls of New England’s Antinomians. For New England’s elites found themselves in need of similar devices to draw the lines of order for readers in the 1640’s. As Satan inspired unrest in both Ireland and New England, English readers must surely have wondered if godly order could ever be established in any corner of the earth.

Chapter One

“Antichristian, Bloody, Unjust, Filthy, Barbarous Irish Rebels”: The 1641 Rebellion in English Print

“If there were ever found deadly enemies to true Christian religion, they are now found out in Ireland, that mother to all treachery, and Nurse of treason.”¹

First in a trickle, then in droves. The print flowed into the streets of London in a mad rush, spilling over the confines of each bookseller’s shop like the blood it described in Ulster. “Ireland’s Tragical Tyrannie.”² one pamphlet’s title proclaimed. Another announced that “the bestiall familie is risen up to destroy the heire”³ and still another warned of “the ravenous intent of these bloody canibals”⁴ wherein “young children and infants, they will tear from a quarter, as hounds would do a wilde-cat, or the like vermine.”⁵ Countless gruesome descriptions told the English reading public a tale of unprecedented violence. Beginning on October 23, 1641, Catholic groups had led a series of attacks against Protestant settler strongholds. The rising began in Ulster but gradually spread throughout the island, resulting in a state of bloody civil war. Ireland would not be pacified until 1649, when Cromwell’s ruthlessly thorough invasion re-established English order. In the meantime, Protestant pamphleteers began a piteous appeal for aid from their English brethren. It was not clear to contemporaries exactly who had been

¹From tp, A Wild-fire Plot out of Ireland (London, 1642).

²Ireland’s Tragical Tryannie (London, 1642).

³The Clergies Lamentation Deploring the Sad Condition of the Kingdome of Ireland (London, 1644).

⁴The English and Scottish Protestants Happy Triumph Over the Rebels in Ireland (London, 1644).

⁵The Manifold Examples and Miseries of a Civil Warre and Discorde in a Kingdom (London, 1642).

responsible for the various disturbances, nor have contemporary historians fully settled this issue.⁶ But the pamphleteers who described the upheaval hoped to lay the blame very clearly on Catholic elements in Ireland.

As the news broke in England during late 1641, readers found themselves knee-deep in gory descriptions of murder, rapine, and other shocking acts of rebellion. The largely anonymous writers of the early 1640's had a particular goal they hoped to achieve with this brutal verbiage: to arouse sympathy among English readers in order to provoke English action on behalf of Protestant planters. To that end, they attempted to express a clear sense of those "within" the English system of godly, Protestant colonial order (and therefore worthy of sympathy) and those "without" (and therefore responsible for the rising). In these short works of propaganda, there was no space for finer distinctions.

But the pamphleteers in Ireland faced difficulties in describing exactly who was responsible for all this carnage of the Rebellion. The aggressors were "Irish," but the layers of settlement in Ireland left precise colonial identities vague for English readers. Should the Old English, English by heritage but Catholic by

⁶The question of "what really happened" in 1641 is not one I address here, and it is not one which will probably be easily settled any time in the foreseeable future. Almost undoubtedly, there was an incredible amount of bloodshed and death in the early 1640's. Almost equally undoubtedly, the pamphlet writers exaggerated the numbers of victims, (not to mention the unity and organization of the rebels) by a long shot. As an example, John Cook's Monarchy No Creature of God's Making gave the dead Protestants at 154,000 --"more," as Christopher Hill notes, "than the total of English and Scots settlers." Hill, A Nation of Change and Novelty (Routledge: London and New York, 1999), 138. Some helpful essays are Aidan Clarke "The Genesis of the Ulster Rising" in Plantation to Partition ed. Peter Roebuck (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1981); 39-40; Jane H. Ohlmeyer, "The 'Antrim Plot' of 1641—a Myth?" Communications (1992): 905-931; and Jane Ohlmeyer, "A Failed Revolution? The Irish Confederate War in its European Context," History Ireland 3, no.1 (1995): 24-28.

religion, be considered “Irish”? For the pamphleteers made this term the essence of everything not-English: rebellious, bestial and Catholic. Suspected as being complicit in the rebellion, the Old English became “Irish” in the pamphlets because of their “incivility” and their religion, despite their language and ethnic derivation.

This confirmed and expanded the English reader’s understanding regarding the particularly savage and particularly “Irish” nature of violence in England’s oldest colony.⁷ Atrocity literature was not new to the English in the early seventeenth century, nor were its associations with Catholicism. Foxe’s Book of Martyrs was always close at hand to remind English Protestants of the horrors of Catholic tyranny.⁸ In the Elizabethan era, French Protestants had made their own pleas for help in the face of Catholic tyranny and atrocity (a theme that appears in the Irish literature) while English playwright Thomas Kyd used the theme in his play The Spanish Tragedy.⁹ By the time that the Ulster Rising became a matter of pamphlet propaganda, English readers were well accustomed to associating Catholic violence with atrocity, tyranny, and an international menace to Protestant order.¹⁰ In the atrocity literature of Ireland in the 1640’s, these associations were

⁷Patricia Coughlin, “‘Cheap and Common Animals’: The English Anatomy of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century,” in Literature and the English Civil War, ed. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 189-223.

⁸Andrew Esobedo, “The Book of Martyrs: Apocalyptic Times in the Narrative of the Nation,” Prose Studies 20, no. 2 (1997): 1-17.

⁹Frank Ardoliono, “‘In Paris? Mass, and Well remembered!’ Kyd’s The Spanish Tragedy and the English Reaction to the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre,” Sixteenth Century Journal 21, no. 3 (1990): 401-409. Lisa Ferraro Parmalee, “Printers, Patrons, Readers and Spies: Importation of French Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England,” Sixteenth Century Journal 25, no. 4 (1994): 853-872.

¹⁰Ole Peter Grell argues that Protestant pleas for help in Ireland should be

combined with a contrast between civility and incivility. In examining Milton and Spenser's perspectives on Ireland, literary historians like Paul Stevens have noted an increasing need to define the difference between that which was "civil" and that which was "uncivil." As he points out, the irony of Renaissance humanism lay in the fact that even as they came to pay tribute to humanity and its potential, humanists "increasingly began to see themselves as other than the uneducated, as being almost a different kind of human being from the poor, the superstitious, the rude, the mad and the savage—all routinely characterized as unclean."¹¹

These ideas regarding the divisions between colonial order and disorder become especially important when we consider that if readers of more modest means read about any seventeenth-century English colony, they were most likely to read something about Ireland, as noted in the previous chapter. The sheer volume of the atrocity literature published in the 1640's guaranteed it a significant role in shaping perceptions of Ireland for the rest of the seventeenth century. As Table II

understood as part of an appeal to an "international" Calvinist" community. This does not, I think, hold true for materials addressed to the English: Ireland was not a foreign country, like France, and English intervention was not foreign war but colonial intervention. Ole Peter Grell, "Godly Charity or Political Aid? Irish Protestants and International Calvinism, 1641-1645." Historical Journal 9 no. 3 (1996): 743-753.

¹¹Paul Stevens, "Spenser and Milton on Ireland: Civility, Exclusion, and the Politics of Wisdom," A Review of International English Literature 26 no. 4 (October 1995): 151-163, at 153. There are a multitude of works regarding fact and rhetoric in Milton, Spenser and other colonialists. A few relevant references: Ciaran Brady "Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590's." Past & Present 111 (1986): 17-49; Nicholas Canny, "Debate: Spenser's Irish Crisis," Past & Present 120 (1988) 201-15; Thomas N. Corns, "Milton's Observations upon the Articles of Peace: Ireland under English Eyes," in Loewenstein and Turner, eds., Politics, Poetics, and Hermeneutics in Milton's Prose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Willy Maley, "How Milton and some contemporaries read Spenser's View." Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

indicates, fully one-third of the titles which would have been easily identified as concerning Ireland in the seventeenth century were printed in the violent 1640's. Despite its humble nature and the near-impossibility of identifying most of these authors, this bulk of print deserves careful attention if we are to understand English writing about Ireland in the later seventeenth century Ireland.

Table II. Titles in the Wing STC with words "Ireland or Irish," by decades 1640-1700

Years	Titles with 'Ireland' or 'Irish'	Total Number of Titles	% of Titles with 'Ireland' or 'Irish'
1641-1649	451	18260	2.5%
1650-1659	81	13,130	0.6%
1660-1669	85	11,978	0.7%
1670-1679	63	12,651	0.5%
1680-1687	67	15,171	0.4%
1690-1699	329	18,208	1.8%

In these lurid works, English readers found a carefully-presented sense of order: a particularly English, Protestant godliness in a world turned upside down. The pamphlet authors varied widely in their approaches and sensibilities, but Protestantism was clearly presumed to be the connecting thread between English readers and the victims begging for aid in the pamphlets. Any legitimate order to be found within the colony is equated with Protestantism, disorder with "Irishness." And herein lay the problem: one is a religion, the other is, presumably, an ethnic, linguistic, and/or cultural designation. As a mathematician might say, the two are not parallel values.

This confusion resulted in part from the divisions in Irish polity on the eve of the Rebellion, which separated "Old English" settler descendants from "New English" settler stock, as well as Gaelic Irish from anglicized Irish.¹² By choosing

¹²See M. Perceval-Maxwell, The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641

to define Protestant as a synonym for “English” (or occasionally, “British.”) and always meaning the members of early modern settler communities, the writers of the atrocity literature divided Irish society in quite another fashion. The challenge lay in defining “Englishness” in such a way as to exclude those with claim to the term and the civility it implied, especially the so-called Old English.¹³ This problem was intensified in cheap print, where atrocity authors had little space to make their point and so reverted more and more to a sort of rhetorical shorthand.¹⁴

As noted in the previous chapter, writers in the 1640’s could draw on a long line of writing about Ireland to form their images. The contrast between wildness/wilderness and civility, for example, had been central to the English in older English written justifications of their role in Ireland.¹⁵ For Tudors like Barnaby Rich, the Irish were “Uncleanly” and “unciville.” more barbarous “than any other parte of the worlde that is known.” The Elizabethan-Jacobean essay on Ireland demonstrated clear patterns: rejection of Irish culture, a sense of bafflement over the failure of previous English attempts to subdue Ireland, and proposals for a “new method” of planting in Ireland. Early Jacobean like Sir John Davis, writing

(Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994).

¹³In her essay “Britishness and Otherness,” Linda Colley focuses on the eighteenth century as a key period in defining “Britishness” in the face of imperial expansion. But these processes were not new in the eighteenth century. As the atrocity literature clearly demonstrates, “Britishness” was becoming a part of the Protestant identity contrasted with “Irishness.” Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument” *Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 3 (July 1992): 309-329, at 325.

¹⁴In the seventeenth century, as much as 75% of a book’s cost came from its paper. The shorter the work and the less paper it used, the more affordable. See Phillip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 177.

¹⁵Joep Leerssen, “Wildness, Wilderness and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*

as policy moved from acculturation to isolated, plantation-style colonies, were concerned with the blurred lines between “natives” and “newcomer” that centuries of settlement brought.¹⁶ If the Anglo-Norman descended “Old English” were not entirely “English” any more, would other colonists be likewise corrupted? These questions were even further complicated by the potential “incivility” of poor, rough, Protestant settlers of the early seventeenth century, whose poverty made them look suspiciously like the Gaelic Irish.¹⁷ On the other end of things, the leaders of the 1641 uprising proved that many of the “uncivil” Irish were perfectly capable of drawing upon English models of political discourse, citing obedience to patriarchal authority as their motivation¹⁸

Spenser’s View of the Present State of Ireland, published in 1633 but written some forty years previously, may have been known to the pamphlet writers of the 1640’s, and is worth a brief mention in that context.¹⁹ Although the innocent Eudoxus has a generally positive disposition towards the Irish, he is always immediately contrasted with the authoritative voice of the anti-Irish Irenius. Irenius’ assertions are quite similar to those made in the pamphlets in many

(1995): 25-39.

¹⁶ James P. Myers, “Early English Colonial Experiences in Ireland: Captain Thomas Lee and Sir John Davies,” Eire/Ireland 23 (1988): 8-21 at 9.

¹⁷Nicholas Canny, “The Permissive Frontier: the Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia 1550-1650,” in The Westward Enterprise, ed. Canny et al (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978) 17- 27, at 21-24, and Canny, Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World 1560-1800 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988) particularly Chapter Two, “Theory and Practice of Acculturation: Ireland in a Colonial Context,” 31-68.

¹⁸Linda Levy Peck, “‘Beyond the Pale’: John Cusacke and the Language of Absolutism in Early Modern Stuart Britain.” Historical Journal 41, no. 1 (1998): 121-149.

¹⁹Willy Maley, “How Milton and Some Contemporaries read Spenser’s

respects, targeting Catholicism as a non-Christian religion, asserting the beastly nature of the Irish, and comparing their dress and manners to various barbaric groups. The Catholic religion of Ireland was so debased, according to Spenser, that “yow would rather thincke them Atheists or Infydells” than Christians. The Irish mantle is no mere quaint item of dress, but a visible source of colonial disorder, hiding rebellious weapons for men, and illegitimate pregnancies for women.²⁰ As James Axtell quotes Charles Inglis, “In order to make them Christians, they must first be made Men.”²¹ Inglis was speaking of Natives in North America, and Spenser of the Irish, but both men shared a similar belief by both men that the Irish would have to become civil before they could be made Protestant. Inhabited by the descendants of Scythians and Africans, Spenser’s Ireland was as much in need of a new planting by uncorrupted English as any Virginian wilderness.²²

Whether or not they had read Spenser’s work, the pamphlet authors of the 1640’s took ideas much like these and re-formulated them according to their urgent need to provoke immediate sympathy and action in England. Their limited space left no room for fine distinctions or lengthy histories, but necessitated an approach which emphasized simple, short, and graphic descriptions that would appeal to a relatively wide audience. Although the sheer volume of the atrocity literature precludes simple point-counterpoint comparisons, there are discernable trends

View,” 33.

²⁰ Edmund Spenser in A View of the Present State of Ireland, ed. W. L. Renwick, (London: Eric Partridge Ltd., 1934), 109 and 68-69.

²¹ James Axtell, The Invasion Within (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) 131. See particularly Chapter Seven, “Reduce Them To Civility,” esp. 135-150. Axtell contrasts this attitude with that of the French in North America, who emphasized conversion on Native terms before attempting to encourage/impose a European lifestyle. Spenser, A View of the Present State, 112.

regarding order, disorder and identity in the 1640's pamphlets. Their effect on later, more expensive works like the 1646 publication of Sir John Temple is remarkable; as we shall see, some of the patterns laid down in the 1640's in Ireland remained in force through the Glorious Revolution. The enemy was defined, over and over, as everything the writer and presumed reader was not: "Antichristian. Bloody, Unjust, Filthy, Barbarous Irish Rebels"; or, more briefly, "Irish."

"Bloody...Filthy...Barbarous": The Un-human and Un-Civil Irish

As the pamphlets reached London, their message was consistent: the rebels lacked all the characteristics that commonly made up "civility":

...of a bloody, barbarous, and revengefull spirit: all mercie, pittie, and compassion, yea humanitie it selfe is hid from their eyes: there is neither age, nor sex, neither young-men or Maids, neither old-men, or Babes, but all are one before the rage of their cruelty. They have shut up all the bowells of their compassions as it were with barres of yron, that neither cries nor teares, nor misries, nor extremities, nor Law of God, nor the Lawes of men, nor the Lawes of Nature or humanities it selfe, can doe anything to open them.²³

The purpose of the "atrocities" literature was rhetorically simple: to provoke a response. After more than 350 years, it still serves its purpose. It evokes images reminiscent of the late twentieth century's greatest horrors in Eastern Europe and Africa. Marauding rebels are described attacking peaceful settlements and making death a merciful release compared to the other tortures they inflicted on their victims:

...a Towne full of rich Marchants, both English and Scottish, whom they murdered in a most cruell and bloody manner, with their wives and children: first deflowering many of the women, then cruelly murdering them, and pulling them about the street by the haire of the head, and dashing their childrens brains out against the posts and stones in the street.

²²On the Scythian origins, see Spenser, *A View*, 49; on the African, 51.

²³*Irelands Advocate* [sic] (London, 1642), 28.

and tossing their children upon their pikes, and so running with them from place to place, saying, that those were the pigs of the English sowes.²⁴

In this case, not only are the rebels themselves unbelievably beastly, they also use references to beasts in order to humiliate and to torment their victims. Later in the same pamphlet the author describes the rebels threatening the Bishop of Kildare and his clergy as “puritan Dogs.”²⁵

But the language of “beastliness” worked both ways, with authors generally associating the rebels very closely with this lower order of beings. The rebels are “beastly houndes” in league with “woolves.”²⁶ Their ravages of wolves worked in suspicious concert with the enemies of the English; in one case, the author speaks of the “Irish” as “wolves,” but also uses the literal example of a wolf attack as an instance of the cruelty of the Irish humans.²⁷ The author of That Great Expedition suggests that the Irish had been long waiting an opportunity to rise up: “A woolfe whether he be fearful or rebellious is still a woolfe.”²⁸ The “ravenous intent of those bloody cannibals” was clearly an inhuman as well as an inhumane one.²⁹

“Unjust Rebels”: Usurpation of Authority and Misgovernance

Agressors against Protestant settlers were “rebels,” a description evocative of social disruption for readers fearing the possible consequences of civil war in England, and closely tied to other crimes against patriarchal order:

²⁴The Earle of Corkes Victorie, and Tyrones Overthrow (London, 1641), n.p.

²⁵The Earle of Corkes Victorie, n.p.

²⁶The Manifold Miseries of a Civil Warre and Discord in a Kingdom (London, 1642), 7.

²⁷John Robinson, Ireland's Tragical Tyrannie (London, 1642), n.p.

²⁸That Great Expedition, A.

²⁹The English and Scottish Protestants Happy Tryumph over the Rebels in

Rebellion is as the sinne of witchcraft, and witches by the law were not to be suffered to live, by which we may gather, that the Rebels in Ireland are not to have the hope of mercy shown to them but being ceazed upon to be all put to death.³⁰

Ignoring claims of loyalty to the Crown by Irish leaders, the authors of the cheap print were almost universal in characterizing their subjects as usurpers of the rightful order, acting with “tyrannical insolencie.”³¹ Tales of “Ireland’s Tragicall Tyrannie” appealed to the current powerful anti-tyrannical trope in English political discourse, especially in its relation to the loss of property.³² The language of tyranny might implicate an allegedly lawful authority who ruled badly. An example of this was included in “A True Relation of the Lamentable Sufferings of Mr. John Trewman, who by the cruelty of that late Tyrant, the earle of Strafford, late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was hang’d drawn and quaterer’d for his expression of love and good will to the SCOTS in these late times of troubles.”³³ In the atrocity literature, this trope of tyranny was also used to invalidate rebel claims to legitimate authority, both past and present. If “the Irish” had ever held sway over the land, that rule could be discounted, and considered tyrannous due to its inherent barbarity. On one basis or another, the rebels could be accounted

Ireland (London, 1642), 4.

³⁰The Earle of Corkes Victorie and Tyrones Overthrow, 1. For an overview of notions of order and disorder in England at this time, see J.S. Morrill and J.D. Walter, “Order and Disorder in the English Revolution,” in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds. Order and Disorder in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 137-166.

³¹The Truest, Most Happie, and Joyfull Newes, That Ever Came from Ireland (London, 1641), 2.

³²Irelands Tragicall Tyrannie: Sent Over in two Letters, By a Speechlesse Damzel (London, 1641), t.p. For a discussion of the propertied view of tyranny, see Christopher Hill, “Customary Liberties and Legal Rights” in Liberty Against the Law, (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1996), 19-46.

“tyrannous.”

“Antichristian”: Roman Catholicism and Non-Englishness

Tyranny was also closely linked to Roman Catholicism, since “Papists” were both tyrannous and barbarous, “putting men to the sword [and] devouring Women.”³⁴ “Papists” were seldom described with that sole adjective, but were further identified as “Irish” in most of the materials, and the pamphlets link these words with all of the negative characteristics discussed previously, especially blaming Catholicism for violence and desecration. Patricia Coughlin has traced the possible symbolic meanings of such violence as described in a 1642 work by Henry Jones and in the 1646 History of the Irish Rebellion by Sir John Temple. She notes that these images of excessive cruelty to humans and ritual mockery of Protestant spaces became a permanent part of seventeenth-century English stereotypes of the Irish.³⁵

Like animals and pagans, Roman Catholics menaced their innocent victims. In one pamphlet, “The Bloody faction of Rome” is gathered “like an Army of chased Beares, and fierce Lyons amongst them.” and led by “that great roaring Lyon the Devill.” They are “anti-Christian hornets.”³⁶ No act was too base for a Catholic, according to one pamphleteer:

To relate all the cruel murthers and base villainies of these base villaines, would astonish and terrifie the hardest and most inhumane heart (I am

³³The Irish Martyr (London, 1641), t.p.

³⁴Bloody Newes from Ireland, or the Barbarous Crueltie By the Papists Used in That Kingdome (London, 1641), t.p.

³⁵Coughlin, “Cheap and Common Animals,” 210. Paul Stevens has noted that Milton actually supports such actions when performed by the hand of the English and their agents in a “Levitical” fashion. Stevens, “Spenser and Milton,” 162-163.

³⁶John Gere, Ireland's Advocate (London, 1642), 26-28.

perswaded) of the veriest Turke or Jew in the world. neither can any beastly villainy be thought whatsoever, but it is committed among them. and these forsooth must be accounted the best of your Roman Catholikes...”³⁷

In these pamphlets, as in Spenser, Irish Roman Catholicism was not Christian.³⁸

Again and again the pamphleteers placed the Irish outside Christian order. This order might have garnered the rebels some claim to the civility, human-ness, and other characteristics which the writers needed to deny them. Their “Idolotrous Masses” profaned Protestant Churches.³⁹ Drawing on the tropes of tyranny as well as incivility, one author noted that “the Tyrannical power they exercise upon the Protestants, not to be parralel’d, amongst pagans or Infidels, so farre does these bloody miscreants degenerate from the name of Christians.”⁴⁰ When associated with other faith groups, Roman Catholics are generally accounted worse or less Christian. One pamphlet does describe a plot between the Catholics and the “Brownists,” but generally the literature of the 1640’s shys away from linking any Protestant group with the “rebels.”⁴¹ Indeed, the writing of English religious radicals generally supported brutal repression and revenge in Ireland against Catholics, although Roger Williams, Congregationalist “antinomian” of Rhode Island, argued that persecution had caused the rebellion in his 1644 The Bloody

³⁷The Manifold Miseries of a Civil Warre, 7-8. Keith Thomas notes a few early modern accounts linking the Irish to beast-like traits as part of the discursive strategy of linking opponents to animals, in Man and the Natural World (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 43 and 47.

³⁸ For a discussion of English denials that Irish Catholics were Christian, see Ned Lebow, “British Historians and Irish History,” Eire/Ireland 8, no.3 (1973): 3-38. As he points out, Irish claims to Christianity were still being dismissed in the nineteenth century.

³⁹Irelands Misery Since the Late Cessation (London, 1642), n.p.

⁴⁰The Last News From Ireland (London, 1641/2), n.p.

⁴¹A Gun Powder Plot in Ireland (London, 1641), t.p.

Tenent of Persecution. But his was a voice crying in the wilderness.⁴²

Most religious descriptions emphasized not only the evils of Catholicism, but the affinities of the colonists and the reading audience. One brief tract stressed the “sad and deplorable condition of our Brethren, professors of the same Faith and Religion with us...”⁴³ Cruelties to Protestant clergyman struck a particularly appalling note:

I mentioned to you the most inhumane cruelty and bloody practices that the Rebels have inflicted upon poor Protestants here; how they have dealt with our Ministers, worse than the Turks does by their eunuchs and Mutes....⁴⁴

These appeals to shared Protestantism helped blur the differences between English and Scottish settler origins. A few pamphlets noted these national distinctions, but others used the terms “English” and “Protestant” interchangeably.

The English and Protestants Happy Triumph Over the Rebels in Ireland, for example, carefully delineates between the groups in its title, but uses the terms

⁴²Roger Williams The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution (London, 1644), 278. This reference and a thoughtful discussion of the radical response to Ireland can be found in Christopher Hill, “Seventeenth-Century English Radicals and Ireland.” A Nation of Change and Novelty (Routledge: London and New York, 1990), 133-151.

⁴³Geree, Ireland's Advocate, 26.

⁴⁴Newes from London=Derry in Ireland [sic](London: 1642), n.p. This use of “Turks” and occasionally “Jews” in contrast with the Irish is not uncommon in the 1640’s documents; usually, the Irish Catholic rebels are described as more cruel or barbaric than the former. I have yet to find like comparisons to Amerindians in the cheap print of the 1640’s, although comparisons between Amerindians and Irish are noted in various kinds of print describing America, and in some of the more elevated discourses that Canny discusses in Kingdom and Colony. With caution, I would suggest that the Turk particularly may have been a more familiar “cruel” character for the authors and/or readers of this cheap print. On the problem of references to “Moors,” see Greg Bak, “Different Differences: Locating Moorishness in Early Modern English Culture,” Dalhousie Review 76, no.2 (1996): 197-216.

“English” and “Protestant” interchangeably in the body of the pamphlet.⁴⁵ In at least one pamphlet, a man described as “Irish” was also “Protestant,” but this is rare.⁴⁶ Generally, “Irish” is used in conjunction with the words “Rebel,” or sometimes “Papist,” and in opposition to the word “Protestants.” The latter may be described as “in Ireland” but almost never as *Irish*. References to an “Irish” Protestant are so few and far between in this literature as to be nearly non-existent.⁴⁷

Them and Us: Defining In, Defining Out

Even terms like “native” and “planter” were ambiguous, as in the case of John Andrewes, described as a “Native” of Ireland. These “Natives,” the pamphleteer explained,

...have bin the greatest oppressors of our peace. who like the unparalleled Tyrant Nero, desire to rip up that wombe, which gave them birth and being, or like the ungrateful Snake, whose unkind disposition shoots the venome of his malicious nature against that breast which first did give him warmth, and meanes of preservation.⁴⁸

“Native” is clearly not a simple descriptive term for place of birth or ethnicity. Andrewes, who led an assassination attempt against the Chief Justice of Ireland was *also* described as a native of the English nation “but now an adherent

⁴⁵The English and Protestants Happy Triumph Over the Rebels in Ireland (London 1645), n.p.

⁴⁶The Irish Martyr, or, a True Relation of the Lamentable Sufferings (London, 1641), n.p.

⁴⁷In addition to the one above, I found only one other clear reference to non-English, non-Scottish Protestants as Irish, in An Irish Declaration From Ireland [sic](London 1642) 6. I am not so arrogant as to suppose I may not have missed more but they are certainly difficult to find, and not a regular feature of the pamphlet landscape.

⁴⁸More News from Ireland (London, 1641), n.p.

to the See of Rome.”⁴⁹ In other words, Andrewes had given up his Englishness in becoming Roman Catholic, although a “Native” of both Ireland and the English nation.

Instead of relying on ethnicity or “native-ness,” those writing the atrocity literature were appealing to a Protestant identity and a sense of order they could hope their audience shared. They were eager to portray Protestant colonists as being “on the right side,” as very much like the English, and as very, *very* different from the rebels. Yet how could this be accomplished when Protestant settlers in Ireland were not uniformly English? And how, when language and ethnicity were often held in common between groups, could the pamphleteers effectively exclude the “Old English” from their concepts of colonial order?

One method was contrast. This was easiest when using animal metaphors. If the aggressors are “wolves,” the unhappy victims are as “sheep led to the slaughter.”⁵⁰ Ethnic derivations were trickier. Although the planters lived in Ireland, they are almost never described as “Irish”; they are “British in Ireland” or, more likely, “Protestants in Ireland.” Frequently, “Protestant” is made interchangeable with “English.” Even in a pamphlet in which the English and Scottish are differentiated, as in the title of The English and Scottish Protestants Happy Tryumph over the Rebels in Ireland, the word “English” is used synonymously with Protestant. To be English is to be Protestant; to be Protestant in Ireland is to be English, or upon occasion, “British.”

How could authors differentiate by “civility” and still justify Protestant

⁴⁹More News from Ireland.

⁵⁰Ireland's Misery Since the Late Cessation, (London, 1643/44), n.p.

violence? If one of the characteristics of the “Irish” is their bloodthirsty brutality and mercilessness, how can retaliation in kind be justified? This problem was acute in many descriptions of colonial crises, and, as the next chapter details, became even more acute in North America when the English settlers made alliance with “barbarous” Natives. Paul Stevens addresses this problem in regards to the way Milton and Spenser wrote about Ireland, noting that when these authors advocate violence on behalf of Protestants, they define it in Biblical terms rather than barbaric ones. Exclusion and violence are related to the Book of Wisdom. Stevens notes the widespread use of such rhetoric from writers ranging from Lord Deputy Grey to “relatively minor colonists like Spenser.”⁵¹

The pamphleteers shared this sense of the ways godliness might authorize violence. Explicit appeals to Biblical justifications like the ones Stevens discusses are most often found in the many sermons printed in the early 1640’s regarding the Irish situation. With their violent language and calls to action, these colourful orations called on the English to become involved in the colonial conflict. An excellent example of this language is found in Ireland’s Advocate, by John Gere, which features a call to action based on Judges 5. 23: “Curse ye Meroz (said the Angel of the Lord) curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord.” The sermon continues with its appeals to Protestant action against the Irish, “many of whome have deserved an hundred deaths.”⁵² (So much for turning the other cheek!)

Religion might also justify violence in other ways, particularly as

⁵¹Stevens, “Spenser and Milton on Ireland,” 160.

⁵²Ireland’s Advocate, 1 and 14.

punishment for idolatry. The Protestants Wonderment reprinted the text of a prayer to the Virgin Mary for protection, found in “a Rebels pocket that I killed, one James Rauler, a Captaine of the Rebels, who cryed for quarter, when I sheathed my sword in his bowels, fearing I should bee too troublesome.”⁵³ Lack of mercy was a defining characteristic of “Irishness,” but a similar attitude could be justified, in this case, by the religion of the dead man and his “idolotrous” trust in a figure that Protestants viewed as a very false goddess indeed.

Who lives in “Ireland”? The Problem of “Irish” Nationality

In the atrocity literature, it is strikingly obvious that when pamphleteers talk about “Ireland,” it is almost never as a place where the “Irish” live. Rather, the term refers to *Protestant* Ireland, where the “Irish” are in fact inconvenient interlopers. Ireland’s Tragicall Tyrannie, for example, referred to the tyranny of the rebels over the Protestants. Ireland’s Misery was an account of the misery of the victims of the “barbarous Irish.”⁵⁴ Ireland’s Advocate, as previously noted, begged the support of English Protestants for their Protestant brethren. Meanwhile, from his vantage in New England, William Hooke expressed New England’s Sence of Old-England and Ireland’s Sorrows, published in London in 1645, which drew Biblical parallels to the “Sorrows” of Protestants in both countries.⁵⁵

⁵³Edmond Hippiisley, The Protestants Wonderment, Or a Strange and Unheard of Oration (London, 1642), n.p. This pamphlet has about it the air of authenticity, since the aforementioned prayer seems to be a fairly standard Catholic prayer asking for the intercession of the Virgin Mary, rather than using the more exaggeratedly “idolotrous” language one might expect a Protestant propagandist to invent.

⁵⁴Ireland’s Misery Since the Late Cessation (London, 1643/44), n.p.

⁵⁵William Hooke, New-England’s Sence, of Old-England and Irelands

In the early 1640's, Ireland as a symbolic personification was emphatically Protestant and English. That this view persisted is perhaps best exemplified by 1659 pamphlet lamenting Oliver Cromwell's death, and titled Ireland's lament for her Josiah.⁵⁶ "Ireland" might indeed lament Oliver's passing, but one doubts those defined as "Irish" did. The contrasting use of the terms "Ireland" and the "Irish" is most striking about the separation of "us" from "them", of "order" from "disorder" in the atrocity literature. English Protestants are called to the aid of "Ireland," but "Ireland" is not made up of the "Irish." If the Protestants in Ireland were denied a rhetorical nationality, then the Irish Catholics were denied a rhetorical nation.

A Wall of Separation: Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion

It seems appropriate to consider Sir John Temple's Irish Rebellion as the final piece of the atrocity literature of the early 1640's, although it was not published until 1646. At nearly 200 pages, his book is a considerably more complex and lengthy work than most of the anonymous letters, sermons, and other pamphlets which have been considered thus far, but it has much in common with them.

Temple's work mobilizes both his own observations and a lengthy series of reports based on other documents and testimony regarding the rebellion. In this careful documentation, at least, Temple appears an endearingly "modern" historian.

(Temple, a former Privy Councillor in Ireland, had himself previously authored one

Sorrowes (London, 1645). The connection between New England Puritans and Irish Protestants in the 1640's, as expressed in New England writing, deserves fuller attention than I can give it here. Although her work was not published until the 1650's, it is worth noting that New England poet Anne Bradstreet described a similarly Protestant "poor Ireland bleeding out her last" in her poem "A Dialogue Between Old England and New." Anne Bradstreet, The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America (London, 1651), 65.

of these pamphlets: The Copie of a Letter from Dublin.)⁵⁷ Precisely because his work is so much more extensive and learned, it is interesting to find Temple conforming to most of the “shorthand” set out in the briefer works on the massacres in Ireland. The cheaper, briefer atrocity pamphlets had been aimed at a very broad reading audience, while Temple’s more expensive and erudite volume was clearly aimed at a more limited and elite group of readers. Yet all authors seemed to expect that their readers would hold certain assumptions in common.

Temple’s work is certainly as bloody and full of atrocities as any briefer work. The effect of reproducing his sources’ testimony in his footnotes is to add evidence of cruelty and barbarity. Not only does Temple share the “animal” metaphors of the pamphlet writers, in some cases he elaborates on them. For example, he describes rebels saying that killing a Protestant clergyman was as lawful as killing a sheep, a dog, or a pig.⁵⁸ According to Temple, the rebels “killed *English Cows and Sheep* meerly because they were *English*.”⁵⁹ Similarly, he reports that the rebels gave their victim’s children to swine and dogs to eat.⁶⁰ These cruelties to children and to women earn the rebels the epithet “inhuman monsters” from Temple.⁶¹ Irish Catholicism, in Temple’s formulation, is also a key element in this barbarity. He discusses the role of Catholic clergymen in inciting such cruelties, quoting “fryers” as saying:

⁵⁶Ireland’s Lament for her Josiah (London, 1659), t.p.

⁵⁷The Copie of a Letter from Dublin in Ireland (London, 1642). The letter detailed the death of Sir Simon Harcourt in an unsuccessful assault on the rebels.

⁵⁸Temple, History, 77.

⁵⁹Temple, History, 76.

⁶⁰Temple, History, 89.

⁶¹Temple, History, 88.

....spare none of the English; that the Irish were resolved to destroy them out of the Kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the seed of the English out of Ireland, and when they had rid them there. they would go over into England, and leave no memorial of the English Name under Heaven.⁶²

Temple locates “the first conceptions of this monstrous birth” of the rebellion firmly in the desire for freedom for Roman Catholicism in Ireland, linking Roman Catholic identity very firmly to his notion of “Irishness.”

In Temple’s preface, he contrasts “British” and “Irish” throughout as the rebels and their victims, respectively. Yet in the same work he sometimes separates out “Catholic subjects in Ireland” and the “Rebellious party in Ireland.” designations which presumably might include some non-“Irish;” perhaps he meant the Old English.⁶³ This pattern continues throughout Temple’s work, though time and again he does separate out the “Scottish” from the English.” He even notes the existence of an English-descended group of non-Gaelic Catholics in the colony, calling them “Ould English” at least once, contrasting with “meer Irish.” Yet he consistently returns to the shorthand contrast of “British,” “English,” or “Protestant” with “Irish.” The opening paragraph of his history proper demonstrates this most strikingly:

The Kingdom of Ireland...planted with English Colonies, long since worn out, or for the most part become Irish. And therefore it hath again in this last Age been supplied with great numbers of people drawn out of England and Scotland, to settle their habitations in that Country.

This separation of various groups is immediately followed in the very next sentence by Temple’s shorthand: “Now the most execrable plot [was] laid by the

⁶²Temple, History, 77.

⁶³Temple, History, preface, n.p.

Irish, for the universal extirpation of all these British and Protestants..."⁶⁴

What conclusions are we to draw from Temple's usage? Temple's clear association of the "rebels" in Ireland with the same qualities assigned to them by the pamphleteers speaks to a widely shared understanding in the English reading public about what was going on in Ireland. Again and again, Temple and other writers quote stories of Protestants in Ireland who went to neighbours hoping for shelter only to be betrayed. Even for those living there, it was apparently not so clear in colonial Ireland who was on the side of order. This confusion provided all the more reason for the writers to draw clear distinctions for the readers in England. Separating "us" (the victims and the readers) from "them" (the rebels) was conveniently achieved by using the terms "Protestant" and "Irish." This shorthand reveals the attitude which would continue to frustrate the attempts of the "Irish" to appear loyal. "Ireland," as a place, was emphatically not for the Irish.

The Past in Future: Persistence of the Images of the 1640's

How durable were the discursive identities defined by the 1640's atrocity literature? The "British" identity, convenient in the early 1640's, was certainly strained as the Scots moved away from the cozy alliance they had previously enjoyed with English Parliament's Presbyterian faction. Milton's well-known Observations Upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels provides us with one example of this phenomenon. Milton's disgust with the "Scotch Presbytery" is that they make alliance with the "Irish Rebels."⁶⁵ The trope against the "inhumane

⁶⁴Temple, History, 1.

⁶⁵John Milton, Observations Upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels (London 1649), in Complete Prose Works of John Milton (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), 300.

Rebels and Papists” is much the same, but Milton’s rage is exclusively aimed at their “massacre of so many thousand English” rather than a shared Protestant/British identity with the Scots.⁶⁶ Yet although the “us” has changed slightly, the “them” is still emphatically the “Irish,” so identified by religion as much as language and ethnicity. And despite the disgust with the Scottish interest, they are never treated like the Irish. Nowhere are they called inhuman or unchristian.

With Ireland “subdued” and being colonized by a new generation of Protestant settlers after the Cromwellian conquest, its affairs were apparently no longer worthy of such intense discussion in English print, although the problem of Ireland and Irish identity continued under Cromwell.⁶⁷ When the 1652 Act of Settlement for Ireland asserted the guilt of the “Irish” nation as a whole in the previous decade, it specified that the “Irish” so guilty were Roman Catholic.⁶⁸ Centuries of English involvement in Ireland meant that those boundaries had to be drawn in terms that referred to more than planter and native. The “meer Irish,” the “Old English”, and the “New English” planters all had claims to civility: pamphleteers writing on behalf of the latest wave of settlers had to be very definite about why Protestant claims outranked those of any other group. Other colonial situations required even finer distinctions between “us” and “them.” Contrary to

⁶⁶Milton, Observations Upon the Articles of Peace, 31.

⁶⁷The Wing STC lists eighty-one titles containing the word Ireland or Irish between 1650 and 1659. This is a significant number, but considerably fewer than the 451 between 1640 and 1649. Again, these are not representative of all works on Ireland, but does indicate what our imaginary book-buyer might have seen when quickly looking over title pages.

⁶⁸According to Nicholas Canny, surveyor Sir William Petty was aware of the problem of this Cromwellian formulation, but others did not explicitly address

received wisdom about “colonialism,” race and ethnicity were not always the most important defining questions when representing colonial crisis. As we shall see in the case of New England, writers sometimes had to define away the enemy within.

Chapter Two

“American Jesabel” and the “Nursing Fathers”: Anne Hutchinson in English Print

They have been so long Nursing-Fathers to Satans brood...[that] the Synod of New England maketh not only the fraternity, but as they speak, the sorority also to be the subject of the private power of the Keyes of the Kingdom of heaven...they have permitted women to be Leaders to their whole Church....¹

While the fires of rebellion smoldered in Ireland, an old New England wound was being re-opened on London's presses. In 1640, readers were treated to the announcement of “A Most Strange and Prodigious Birth.” Under ten pages, this pamphlet featured two woodcut illustrations of mis-shapen persons, five tales of “prodigious births” from various foreign locations, and the “title story”: Newes From New-England of a Most Strange and Prodigious Birth. Of all the literature produced in the 1640's about New England, this was probably the most “popular” and widely accessible. Unlike the pamphlets written regarding Ireland, the number of works published in London about a New England crisis did not spring from a bloody rebellion or conflict. Both bodies of work did, however, share roots in sectarian conflict. Anne Hutchinson's challenge to Massachusetts Bay's order had come to a head in the mid-1630's, as she organized meetings in her home to explain and expand upon John Cotton's sermons. Her firm commitment to the power of God's grace led her to conclude that all of New England's ministers, save

¹Robert Baylie [Baillie], A Dissuasive From the Errours of the Times

for Cotton and John Wheelwright, were preaching a covenant of works. By 1637, her detractors managed to have her condemned in both a civil trial and in church excommunication proceedings. Her fall from grace and subsequent banishment to Rhode Island was probably the most spectacular conflagration during the Antinomian Crisis of the 1630's.² By 1640, Massachusetts' godly magistrates surely hoped that they could put Hutchinson's challenges behind them, but English events provoked renewed interest in Hutchinson and other troublers of the Puritan Zion.

With episcopacy abolished in England, the "godly" faction of Parliament was free to pursue its dreams for England's reformed religion; contemporaneously,

(London, 1645), preface, 110-111.

²It is surely not necessary to fully re-hash the events of the "Antinomian Crisis" here. After the Salem witchcraft trials, it is probably the most-studied event of early New England. I am focusing on the descriptions of the Hutchinson crisis in particular, but the entire series of challenges of the 1630's have been given a fair amount of consideration. Of recent narratives, I think Mary Beth Norton's account in Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 358-399, is the best. Her consideration of notions of authority and gendered spaces goes a long way towards explaining why Hutchinson thought she could preach, and why Winthrop believed she could not. Emory Battis, Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1962) remains a very complete documentation with impressive efforts to flush out elusive sources. His portrait of Hutchinson as menopausal mystic has not worn well, due more to advances in the understanding of menopause than to fresh new evidence regarding Hutchinson. See also Francis J. Bremer, ed. Anne Hutchinson: Troubler of the Puritan Zion (Huntington, N.Y. : Krieger, 1981) and Carol V. R. George, "Anne Hutchinson and the 'Revolution Which Never Happened,'" in Carol V. R. George and Ray A. Billington, eds. "Remember the Ladies": New Perspectives on Women in American History

they were faced with the realities of dissent within. Although New England ministers John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and John Davenport did not accept their invitations to join the Westminster Assembly, they and other members of New England's elite turned their energy to print in order to advocate their Way and to support the congregational cause.³

Winthrop, Cotton, and other New Englanders needed to prove the rightness of their Way. For them, the routing of Hutchinson and other Antinomians provided a shining example of God's favour, one which would surely sway doubters at home. David Paul Nord has cited discussions of the Antinomian crisis and Anne Hutchinson's miscarriage as "news" in Old England; we might understand the debate better if we are willing to use the less-orthodox label "public relations."⁴ For New England's detractors, and for those advocating Presbyterianism instead of Congregationalism, Anne Hutchinson provided a particularly troubling example of the ramifications of New England-style Congregationalism, one of "branches of the

(Syracuse : Syracuse University Press, 1975), 13-37.

³For a description of the general responses to the Westminster debate by New England clergy, as well as the more general bonds of New England clergy with their reform-minded brethren at home, see Francis Bremer, Congregational Communion (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994) as well as Stephen Foster, The Long Argument (Chapel Hill and London: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991). Although Foster and Bremer construct the relations differently (Bremer emphasizing fellowship and Foster debate) both are in agreement about the essentially Anglo-American nature of intellectual discussions of congregational Puritanism in the seventeenth century.

⁴David Paul Nord, "Teleology and News: The Religious Roots of American Journalism," The Journal of American History (June 1990): 9-38.

same root” that New England Congregationalists “ so stoutly stand upon.”⁵ To hostile eyes, the disorder seemed to spring from within, from the contradictions inherent in the New England brand of Puritanism and godly Commonwealth.

The apologists were eager to prove otherwise. Hutchinson and her spiritual kindred were not New England’s *inner* demons, but Job-like trials from the Devil, as allowed by God. The lasting nature of the image of Hutchinson as rebellious deviant (even for sympathizers) confirms Winthrop’s paper victory over the “American Jesabel.” Unlike the authors of the Irish pamphlets, the writers discussing New England were, for the most part, writing longer works, aimed exclusively at a more economically prosperous audience. Although they had plenty of paper to draw fine distinctions about identity and order, New England writers faced the same problem of presenting the settler community as a laudable cause.

⁵Newes From New-England Of A Most Strange and Prodigious Birth (London, 1642), title page. Marilyn J. Westerkamp argues that American historians have been too quick to accept the Puritan elite’s view of Hutchinson as outsider: “Hutchinson was not part of a fringe group but the leading representative of a religiosity that was common among men and especially women in Puritan England and New England.” Westerkamp focuses on commonalities of practice to demonstrate that Hutchinson was in fact representative of a long-standing, widespread strand of religious expression and practice, as her popularity in Boston testified. Marilyn J Westerkamp, “Anne Hutchinson, Sectarian Mysticism and the Puritan Order,” Church History 59, no.4 (1990): 483-485 at 484. James F. Cooper also cites the traditionalism of Hutchinson’s practices and argues that the so-called “lay rebellion” was less a rebellion than one facet of the English Puritan experience, a facet which was suppressed and modified for reasons of New English necessity. James F. Cooper, “Hutchinson and the ‘Lay rebellion’ Against the Clergy,” New England Quarterly 61, no.3 (1988): 381-397 As my discussion below argues, all of this was well understood in the seventeenth century by New

**“The sorest tryall that ever befell us since we left our Native soyle”:⁶
Explaining New England’s Antinomian Controversy**

Why the need to explain, and re-explain the Hutchinson crisis in print several years after the events had passed? Hutchinson’s controversial gatherings of men and women, her interpretations of John Cotton’s covenant of free-grace, the political questions attendant on her association with then-governor Henry Vane—all these had passed. John Cotton was now safely back in the fold of mainstream New England. Henry Vane was back in England attending to Parliamentary concerns. Hutchinson was banished and dead; her former neighbour and detractor Winthrop was again safely ensconced as Massachusetts’s governor. Hutchinson’s challenge to the “covenant of works” had been answered; other, like-minded individuals had been safely contained by 1639.⁷ Unlike the Irish situation, the New England debate was about past controversy, not current horror.

Yet there was definitely urgency in this debate. New England needed to be presented in the best possible light to the Westminster Assembly, a group not uniformly well-disposed toward New England clergy. (Thomas Hooker underlined this spiritual distance in declining his invitation to Westminster Assembly. He did

England's detractors.

⁶Thomas Welde, preface to John Winthrop, A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines (1644 edition), reprinted in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History, ed. David D. Hall (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 201.

⁷Phillip F. Gura, "The Radical Ideology of Samuel Gorton: New Light On the Relation of English to American Radicalism," William and Mary Quarterly 36,

not need, he said, “to go 3,000 miles to agree with three men.”⁸ Private correspondence from the 1630’s, too controversial to published under Charles I’s personal rule, was printed in the 1640’s. Uncensored, men like Richard Mather, John Cotton, Roger Williams, and others presented their thoughts on the New England Way to English readers. In this atmosphere of spiritual exploration, New Englanders joined forces with a variety of anti-Presbyterians. As Stephen Foster ironically notes, New England writers lined up with “English allies who would very quickly have wound up in Rhode Island if they had ever set foot in Massachusetts or Connecticut.”⁹

Further, the public activities of men such as Hugh Peters and Henry Vane the Younger made New England’s philosophies more prominent in the world of ideas than the numbers of immigrants could perhaps justify. As Baillie wrote in his Dissuasive From the Errors of the Time, “Of all the by-paths wherein the wanderers of our time are pleased to walk, this is the most considerable: not for the number, but for the quality of the erring persons within...this Way, what it wants in number, supplies by the weight of its followers.”¹⁰ But the quantity as well as quality of returnees also impressed the English. David Cressy estimates that the

no. 1 (1979): 78-100.

⁸Winthrop’s History, quoted in Stephen Foster, The Long Argument, 169.

⁹Foster, The Long Argument, 168.

¹⁰Baillie, A Dissuasive, 53.

“early 1640’s may have been the only time in New England history when immigrants were outnumbered by people returning in the opposite direction.”¹¹

New England offered a kind of religious laboratory for the its more godly-minded settlers; it was an experiment whose results were being discussed among colleagues. The divines of New England might not be in attendance at the Westminster Assembly, but their correspondence and personal connections with various English brethren had continued through the 1640’s. When John Cotton’s Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven was sent to England for publication in 1644, for example, his friends Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye oversaw its London printing. Common Cambridge backgrounds and shared anti-episcopal feelings united many in the 1630’s, but in the 1640’s the prospect of imminent godly triumph threw theological differences into sharper focus. The lessening of censorship in the 1640’s allowed publication for a wider audience the advice and theology which had been restricted to private correspondence in the 1630’s.¹²

The information about Hutchinson that had passed through private information networks in the 1630’s collided with concerns over the activities of radical groups in the 1640’s. The Westminster divines presented a petition on

¹¹David Cressy, Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 197-203.

¹²Francis J. Bremer extensively considers the networks uniting New England and Old England’s clergy in Congregational Communion. See 4, 54-63, 110-120, and 144-147.

“Antinomianism” to the House of Commons in August 1643. Further inquiries that year embroiled the Assembly investigations of Anabaptists well into 1644. Anti-trinitarians in 1645, and numbers of questionable books.¹³ Little wonder that New England clergymen found themselves on the defensive, for by this time, the Hutchinson case had already been introduced to readers, in a sensational form.

“A Most Strange and Prodigious Birth”: New England in Cheap Print

Newes From New-England of a Most Strange and Prodigious Birth

is probably the most “popular” and widely accessible of all the literature produced in the 1640’s about New England. Further, the title page troubled to identify the source of this information: “a true and exact relation, brought over April 19. 1642. by a Gentleman of good worth, now resident in London.” The “gentleman” was probably Thomas Welde, who was to oversee the publication of John Winthrop’s account of the Antinomian Crisis two years later. Yet the 1642 account seems a strange form for Welde to willingly publish an account which probably did little to improve the reputation of New England as a godly community. Its particulars and vocabulary agreed with Winthrop’s account as later published, but the pamphlet offered no connection between the parent’s adherence to Anne Hutchinson and the “monstrous” birth. Other than labelling the birth “prodigious,” the pamphlet’s account made no connection between God’s will and the miscarriage:

¹³S.W. Carruthers, The Everyday Work of the Westminster Assembly (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Assembly, 1943), 85-104.

A Monstrous Birth brought to Boston in New-England, October the 17. 1637. One Mary wife of William Dier, sometimes a Citisen and Milliner in the New-Exchange near the city of London, and being both yong, very comely and proper, both, was delivered of a woman child still-born having life a few hours before, two months before the due time, yet large as ordinary children are....

The author then elaborated the child's deformities, including "Apes ears." "Foure perfect horns." "Talons like a fowl" and so forth, but offered no explanation nor context for these deformities. After this description, the author simply continues with the next case.¹⁴

How should this type of report be understood? David Paul Nord suggests it is primarily as a piece of journalism, pointing out that the New England Puritan concept of "prodigies" (the visible intervention of God in earthly events) was central to the development of journalistic tradition in America.¹⁵ In a similar vein, David D. Hall suggests that the printer of this pamphlet "happily co-operated" in the "politicizing" of Mary Dyer's malformed fetus.¹⁶ Both of these analyses have a flaw: News from New England contains no politicizing, nor any overt discussion of prodigies. Both of these contexts may have been implicitly understood by some readers, but this pamphlet could equally well have been enjoyed voyeuristically.¹⁷

¹⁴Newes From New-England, first page of narration.

¹⁵Nord, "Teleology and News," 9-13.

¹⁶David D. Hall, Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 102.

¹⁷If anything, the author's careful identification of William Dyer's former place of business in London suggests interest in neighbourly gossip. William and Mary Dyer's social status was high enough to warrant the titles "Mr." and "Mrs." in some accounts; perhaps they were known to a literate community of former

While the pamphlet contributed to the number of descriptions available, it never connects the event with any incidents of heresy or community unrest. If the event was thereby politicized, it was through preconceived notions regarding prodigies, oral or private additions to the account, or later, in other publications regarding the subject. It seems the printer intended this work primarily as a commercial item that tempted readers with a variety of possible appeals.

Whatever its intended meaning, the pamphlet certainly painted a picture of New England as a strange land of monstrosity and deformity, very far from the glowing reports of its clergy. This pamphlet and other descriptions of the Antinomian crisis, must have presented a problem for New England's defenders in the 1640's. It is difficult to gauge what gossip flew regarding this event, and what reactions were to the publication of this pamphlet. A record of one garbled version of the Hutchinson tale suggests the kind of rumour that might have become current: "Sir Henry Vane in 1637 went over as Governor to N. England with 2 women, Mrs. Dier and Mrs. Hutchinson...where he debauched both, & both were delivered of monsters."¹⁸ With such incredible rumours flying, the need for clarification (or, to use inelegant but appropriate modern jargon, "spin") becomes understandable.

neighbours and associates.

¹⁸Quoted in Norton, Founding Mothers and Fathers, 394.

As in the material describing Ireland in the 1640's, sympathy was elicited from the reader on the basis of a presumably shared identity, focused on a sense of what English order should be in the colony. The confusing rhetorical clash of Filmerian and Lockean perspectives on authority in North American colonial societies has been substantively quantified and substantiated by Mary Beth Norton, putting Susan Amussen's thesis about seventeenth-century gender and political order into a New England context.¹⁹ The 1640's print war over New England reminds us that on both sides of the Atlantic, English-speaking peoples were bound by anxiety and uncertainty as much as by language and culture.

“Nursing Fathers of the Church”: Refashioning the Language of Authority

We do not need not rehash the ironies of Puritanism in order to note that combining the patriarchal communion of hearth and state with a perfect godly brotherhood was problematic at best. As John Cotton summed it up:

It is no Babell, or Babilonish confusion to punish corporall, or civill offences, with Spirituall or Church-censures. What if a Brother be a striker, an oppressor, a murderer, a fornicator, or Adulterer? All these are corporall, and civill offences. But shall the Church therefore not punish these with spirituall and Church censures?...If offences to the Church doe provoke

¹⁹Norton, Founding Mothers and Fathers. Norton's approach is less discursive and more statistically-based; her impressive databases cataloguing incidents of concern for gender, community, and political order address a sore need in this historiography. Susan Dwyer Amussen, An Ordered Society (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988). Carole Pateman's The Sexual Contract (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988) is also useful from a theoretical perspective. Helena Wall's Fierce Communion (London and Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990) provides an excellent, succinct look at family governance and community order in seventeenth-century English colonies.

wrath against Civill State, it is no confusion to a civill State to punish such.²⁰

But Cotton's position might have sounded uncomfortably like the "persecuting hands of episcopal prelacie" to those considering the merits of the New England Way. Even the reviled ex-Archbishop of Canterbury might have found Cotton's statement laudable, except that the New England's claim for authority over church and state was justified by Christian brotherhood rather than episcopacy. Removing the kingly patriarchy did not mean removing gender order in the household...or did it? The language of the feminized soul had long provided difficulties for Christian metaphors in general and seventeenth-century Puritans in particular.²¹ Men and women were to be brides to Christ, and brothers to each other, as Richard Mather explained:

They promise unto Christ duties unto him, and duties unto one another according to him, and so their Covenant is a marriage-Covenant with Christ: They promise also to one another, duties to one another, and so it is an brotherly Covenant.²²

²⁰John Cotton, The Bloudy Tenent Washed (London, 1647), 70.

²¹See the discussion and citations in Elizabeth Reis, "Women's Sinful Natures and Men's Natural Sins" (12-54) "The Devil, the Body, and the Feminine Soul" (93-120) for a full discussion of the seventeenth-century context of gendering and ungendering the soul. Reis, Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997).

²²Richard Mather, An Apologie of the Churches in New-England for Church-Covenant (London, 1643), 12. This work was printed together with Church-Government and Church-Covenant Discussed, and was supposed to have originally arrived in England in 1639, according to the title-page. A homoerotic interpretation of this language of Christian brotherhood is possible if one follows the discussion of John Boswell regarding the romantic and sexual uses of sibling terms, especially in Latin. (The Song of Songs provides a familiar example of the

The most interesting example of this flexible familial metaphor is the Puritan's consistent use of the term "nursing fathers" to describe the men who were the authoritative cornerstones of the godly community. Authors using it in the 1640's accept its triumphant ring but conveniently divorce it from its full Biblical context, which includes the companion phrase "nursing mothers."²³ John Winthrop quotes humbler Antinomians appealing to this image, putting it in the mouths of the supporters of John Wheelwright: "we beseech you to consider, how you should stand in relation to us, as nursing fathers which gives us encouragement to promote our humble requests to you."²⁴ John Cotton concurs, calling "Christian

use of brother/sister for erotic relationships.) See John Boswell, Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe (New York: Villard Books 1994), 17-21. However, explicit eroticism seems unlikely and it is more useful to put these images into the "masculine friend" mentality as explored by Alan Bray in "Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England," Queering the Renaissance ed. Jonathan Goldberg (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994) 40-62. See also Alan Bray, Homosexuality in Renaissance England (New York: Columbia Press, 1995).

²³"Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set my standard to the people: and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet. " Isaiah 49:22-23, Authorized Version ["King James Version"]. The New England Puritans inevitably spoke of themselves as equivalent to the Israelites; little wonder, then, that this passage appealed to them. According to Christopher Hill, the Authorized Version was Winthrop's Bible; the Geneva was Hutchinson's. Hill, The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution (London: Penguin, 1994), 64.

²⁴John Winthrop, Antinomians And Familists Condemned (London, 1644), 23.

Magistrates” the “nursing Fathers of the Church.”²⁵ These gender inversions were not, of course, unique to Puritans in New England.²⁶ Likewise, questions regarding women’s preaching and authority were neither new, nor unique to New England.²⁷ Because the Civil Wars forced English society to confront issues that had been prominent in the Antinomian crisis, there is little wonder that returnees were pressed to disseminate more widely their reports of the Way in action.

Many of these seemed willing to rate the experiment a failure. Thomas Lechford’s Plain Dealing; or, News From New England (1642) cast the colony in a sharply critical light. Lechford, a supporter of presbyterianism, clearly saw the

²⁵John Cotton, The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England (London 1645), 7.

²⁶David Leverenz’s study of sermon literature in both England and America suggests that this strange androgyny often featured in ministers’ description of the milk of God’ salvation. David Leverenz, The Language of Puritan Feeling (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 138-153. But gender inversion in religious discussion could also indicate radicalism well outside the English Puritan mainstream. See Clement Hawes, “A Huge loud voice’: Levelling and the Gendered Body Politic,” Mania and Literary Style: the Rhetoric of Enthusiasm from the Ranters to Christopher Smart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 50-76.

²⁷Perhaps one of the greatest ironies of the Hutchinson controversy and those faced by other female preachers in the seventeenth-century is how closely they mimicked discussions of the third and fourth centuries C.E., as well as in various early modern Protestant movements. See Karen Jo Torjeson, When Women Were Priests (New York: Harper San Francisco, 1993). For a fuller discussion of female prophecy in a seventeenth-century English context see Phyllis Mack, Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), and Patricia Crawford, Women and Religion in Early Modern England 1500-1720 (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

Hutchinsonian crisis and similar disturbances as the inevitable result of the disorder inherent in the Way:

Nay, say some, we will keep out those that have not true grace. But how can they certainly discern that true grace, and what measure God requireth?...by such a course continued, what is like to become of it, but that either they may go among their fellow-heathens to the Indians. or rise up against the Church. and break forth into many grievous distempers among themselves? which God, and the King forbid, I pray.²⁸

Another critique, published by William Rathbone in 1643 and apparently derived from a collection of letters from New Englanders, claimed that “a great number” of those following the Way were “Anabaptists, Familists, and Antinomians.”²⁹ These works were timely in their appearance, considering the concerns of the Westminster Assembly and the rising prominence of erstwhile gubernatorial rival Vane the younger. Combined with various private discourse concerning the Hutchinson affair, and the lingering effects of the sensational 1640 pamphlet, they may have helped prompt Winthrop and Welde to publish the governor’s version of events in New England.

“The root of all these troubles”: John Winthrop Places the Blame

²⁸Thomas Lechford, Plaine Dealing: or, Newes From New-England (London, 1642), preface.

²⁹William Rathbone, A Brief Narration of Some Church Courses (London, 1643), 54.

In 1644, John Winthrop's Antinomians and Familists Condemned was published in London. Two more editions followed in that year, the second with a forward by Thomas Welde, and entitled A Short Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines. Winthrop's narrative stands as the most complete account of the Antinomian Crisis and the Hutchinson affair available to the reading public. Its three printings in the 1640's suggest a fairly high level of interest in the story. But far from settling the argument, in the eyes of detractors Winthrop's several accounts only added fuel to the hellfire surrounding New England.

Of all the troubles and troublers that Winthrop discussed, he saved his harshest criticism for Hutchinson, "the breeder and nourisher of all these distempers."³⁰ He characterized her as inappropriate in her gender; she was "more bold than a man, though in undertaking and judgement, inferiour to many women."³¹ She was the source of all dissent and disorder:

shee had not failed in her ayme, to the utter subversion of both Churches and civill state, if the most wise and merciful providence of the Lord had not prevented it by keeping so many of the Magistrates and Elders free from infection....³²

Although his intent was to justify New England's governance, Winthrop's account left New England vulnerable to detractors. How could such a terrible woman ever

³⁰Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists Condemned, 31.

³¹Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists Condemned, 31.

³²Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 32.

have become so powerful if there were not something wrong with the New England Way? Winthrop, of course, clearly believed that his description showed that the forces of order and authority were fully able to handle this challenge:

Blessed be the Lord, this snare is broken, and wee are delivered, and this woman who was the root of all these troubles, stands now before the seat of Justice, to bee rooted out of her station, by the hand of authority, guided by the angel of Divine Providence....³³

Yet Winthrop's account of Hutchinson's trial and excommunication might have led his readers to wonder how much Divine Wisdom was guiding the leaders of New England, and how far her theology diverged from that of the godly magistrates. Again and again, Winthrop and Hutchinson debated the nature of authority, and, again and again, she suggested that the Scripture could be as flexible for her as for these "nursing fathers." After all, Scripture itself could be used to deny the authority of patriarchs:

Hutch: Put case, I do feare the Lord, and my Parent doe not, may not I entertain one that feares the Lord, because my Father will not let me, I may put honour upon him as on a child of God.³⁴

Hutchinson's confidence and the closeness of the arguments weakened the effect of Winthrop's propaganda, although the drama of the tale certainly shone through.

³³Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 32.

³⁴Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 34. "Court: Yes you are a woman of the most note and the best abilities, and if some or other take upon them the like, it is by your teaching and example, but you shew not in all this, by what authority you take upon you to be a publick instructor. (after shee had stood a short time, the Court gave her leave to sit downe, for her countenance discovered her bodily infirmity.)"

When the General Court asked Hutchinson to defend her right as to preach publicly, her intelligent, soundly Biblical answers gave the Court little room for any response other than browbeating her and admitting her abilities.³⁵ Hutchinson was able to recover and continue her case with the example of Aquila and Priscilla teaching Paul. The court again dismissed her example with the curious logic that her followers were too numerous for this to apply:

Hutch: I call them not, but if they come to me, I may instruct them.

Court: Yet you show us not a rule.

Hutch: I have given you two places of Scripture.

Court: But neither of them will suit your practice.

Hutch: Must I show my name written therein?³⁶

It becomes clear reading Winthrop's account that the issue was not truly one of whether Hutchinson exercised ministry or prophecy, but that her meetings were *popular*. Hutchinson might be a threat to order, but if all were well in New England, would so many be attending her meetings? The heart of her threat was her popularity: "This American Jesabel kept her strength and reputation, even among the people of God, until the hand of civill justce laid upon her...."³⁷

³⁵Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 34

³⁶Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 34.

³⁷Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 66. Specifically, Winthrop reported the court being concerned with the disruption of familial governance: "It is your exercise which draws them, and by occasion thereof, many families are neglected, and much time lost, and a great damage comes to the Common-wealth thereby, which wee that are betruusted with, as the Fathers of the Common-wealth, are not to suffer." Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 36.

How could such a heretic be listened to by the “people of God?” Winthrop shored up his account of the defeat of this “master-peice of the old Serpent” and her “brood” with an account of Mary Dyer’s miscarriage in an effort to help prove that Hutchinson and her followers were very much outsiders from the New England community. Although it is almost word-for word the same as the account published in the 1642 pamphlet, even to the “sharp prickles, like a Thornback.” Winthrop’s account assigned an explicit meaning to the birth. Associating “monstrous” miscarriages and other congenital defects with the will of God had a long history by 1644, but this practice was beginning to raise doubts for some thinkers.³⁸ Winthrop, however, was clearly not among the doubters, and listed a number of points to shore up his case. These included such items as the adherence of the parents to Hutchinson’s doctrines; Midwife Hawkins’ long “familiarity with the devill” and being a “prime Familist”; the fact that several women attending the birth were nauseated and had to leave; the shaking of the birthing bed; the deformity of the afterbirth; and the very fact of the birth’s concealment. Finally, Winthrop considered it significant that the birth was discovered on the day Hutchinson was excommunicated (due to some whispering in the church), and that shortly thereafter William Dyer was made to answer for his adherence to the Hutchinson cause. The last two cases seem hardly miraculous, but Winthrop

³⁸Kathryn Brammall, "Discussions of Abnormality and Deformity in Early Modern England, With Particular Reference to the Notion of Monstrosity," Ph.D.

included them in his list of “things observable” in order to shore up his point about the meaning of the birth.³⁹

“Loud-speaking Providence” or “Defects of Nature”? Welde, Wheelwright,

Winslow and Gorton

The weakness of the case against Hutchinson left both civil and church authorities open to charges of arbitrary governance, and left the larger question of how far Hutchinson lay outside the norm unanswered.⁴⁰ Despite Winthrop’s probable doctoring of the record to disguise suspicious testimony by New England clerics, he left enough of the Court’s confusion and Hutchinson’s intelligent debate in the record to leave the possibility open that her theology of free grace was merely another facet of New England orthodoxy.⁴¹ Thomas Welde was the first to attempt clarification on this point, through an extended preface to the Short Story version, spelling out the importance of Mary Dyer’s miscarriage to the case, and

diss., Dalhousie University, 1995. See particularly 124-126 and 344-364.

³⁹Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 45.

⁴⁰Although the court banished her on the grounds that she said her revelations came from God, the church was finally forced to use the grounds of lying in order to excommunicate Hutchinson. Winthrop, Antinomians and Familists, 59-64.

⁴¹Even a biographer as sympathetic to Winthrop as cannot avoid the conflicting textual evidence that suggests the governor altered his reports in order to disguise the New England clergy’s prevarication regarding anti-Hutchinsonian evidence. In short, the clergy seem to have lied, and refused to take oaths to prove their points. Winthrop probably altered his record in order to disguise the connection. John Winthrop (Wilmington: University of North Carolina, 1990), 58-60. See also Norton, 384-387.

adding information relating to a miscarriage suffered by Mrs. Hutchinson. He said that God had allowed

the two fomenting women in the height of the Opinions to produce out of their wombes, as before they had out of their braines, such monstrous births as no chronicle (I thinke) hardly ever recorded the like...And see how the wisdom of God fitted this judgement to her sinne ever way, for looke as she had vented mishapen opinions, so she must bring forth misformed monsters; and as about 30. Opinion in number, so many monsters...This loud-speaking Providence from Heaven in the monsters, did much awaken many of their followers....⁴²

Welde, living in London, was in a better position than Winthrop to be aware of the concerns that these miscarriages were a sign of New England's general degeneracy. It is therefore hardly surprising that he included the recent news of Hutchinson's death at the hands of Native Americans as yet another providence displaying God's will: "Gods hand is the more apparently seene herein, to pick out this wofull woman, to make her and those belonging to her, an unheard of heavy example of their cruelty above all others."⁴³

Welde's defence of Winthrop's account was not enough to save New England from attack; indeed, his attempt to make God's hand more clear seemed an indication of the weakness of the Massachusetts General Court's case to John Wheelwright the younger. His Mercurius Americanus: Mr Welds his Antitype, or Massachusetts Great Apologie Examined savaged Welde's outline:

⁴²Welde, preface to A Short Story, in Hall, ed., The Antinomian Controversy, 214-215.

⁴³Welde, A Short Story, 218.

What have we here? a mythologie? Real Histories used to carry their own sense, matters of fact need no comment, fictions have their senses, Fables their Morals...did the man lay down his own sense, when he resolved to lay down the sense of the story?⁴⁴

Wheelwright went on to criticize both Welde and Winthrop for their organization of material, which he found more disorderly than Hutchinson's activities.⁴⁵ In doing so, he provided an alternate explanation for Welde and Winthrop's prodigies. They were not indicators of God's pleasure or displeasure, but mere acts of nature. He questioned the viability of Welde's ability to judge such matters: "Did the man obstetricate?"⁴⁶ Then he suggested that the real monsters lay in Welde's evil imagination, not in God's will.⁴⁷ After noting an embarrassingly sloppy flaw in Welde's reasoning (the number of errors he attributed to Hutchinson numbered twenty-nine, not thirty), Wheelwright attacked the very basis of prodigies: "his Notion is impertinent, for he brings in defects of Nature, among defects of

⁴⁴John Wheelwright Jr., Mercurius Americanus: Mr. Welde's Antitype, or, Massachusetts Great Apologie Examined (London, 1645), 1.

⁴⁵John Wheelwright Jr., Mercurius Americanus, 1-2.

⁴⁶John Wheelwright Jr., Mercurius Americanus, 6.

⁴⁷"As for his Analogy, which he observes betwixt her productions and opinions, That as she held thirty of the one, so she brought forth thirty of the other: Gods wisdom (he saith) fitting those to these: It is a monstrous conception of his brain, a spurious issue of his intellect, acted upon by a sweatish and feverish zeal, which indeed beats almost every line; and resolves his in themselves imperfect sometimes, if not feigned facts and meditations." John Wheelwright Jr., Mercurius Americanus, 6.

Manners,” and went on to argue that neither man could credibly raise cholera and birth defects to the level of supernatural occurrence.⁴⁸

But if Wheelwright was willing to grant his uncle freedom of conscience, and cast doubt upon the evidential value of prodigious miscarriages, he was not willing to let all the New England dissidents stand guiltless. Wheelwright’s real objection to the Winthrop-Welde faction was that they usurped the rights of their peer group, their “fraternity.” But he affirmed that New England should not be a place where women could challenge clerical authority. In Wheelwright’s account, Hutchinson’s strong mind and weak female body combined to betray her. Because she was extraordinarily intellectually gifted, she was tempted; meanwhile, her pregnancy made her vulnerable to “the advantage the devil took of her condition attended with melancholy.”⁴⁹

Others who had suffered along with the Hutchinsonians kept Wheelwright’s critique alive in New England society and in English print. The arrival of Samuel Gorton and his followers in Boston in 1637 had proved so disruptive that he and his family were banished to Rhode Island the next year. By 1644, he had come into

⁴⁸John Wheelwright Jr., Mercurius Americanus, 6-7.

⁴⁹John Wheelwright Jr., Mercurius Americanus, 7. Meanwhile, claimed Welde, midwife Jane Hawkins was Hutchinson's follower merely because Hutchinson fed her: "By which means she got, through Mrs. Hutchinson's affection to her, some good victuals, insomuch that some said she followed Christ for her loaves." Wheelwright Jr., Mercurius Americanus, 7.

armed conflict with the forces of Massachusetts Bay.⁵⁰ In 1645, he returned to England in order to publish his account of the Bay's persecutions: Simplicite's Defence Against Seven-Headed Policy. In 1646, Edward Winslow returned to England on the Bay's behalf to counteract the damage. Winslow's reply, printed in 1646, was Hypocrisie Unmasked: A True Relation. This book was reprinted in 1649, with its relevance to the current English situation carefully emphasized via a new title: The Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civil State.

Winslow's attempt at counter-propaganda was not entirely successful, despite his rhetorical flair. He reproduced Gorton's letters, which included new perspective on the lessons of Hutchinson's death. Far from being evidence of God's displeasure, it amounted to little more than murder:

For wee aske you who was the cause of Mistresse Hutchinson her departure from amongst you, was it voluntarie? No shee changed her phrases according to the dictates of your tutors, and confessed her mistakes, that so shee might give you content to abide amongst you, yet you did expell her and cast her away...Do not therefore beguile yourselves in crying out against the errors of those so miserably false, for they are no other things which they held but branches of the same root your selves so stoutly stand upon, but know this that now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, whereof you are a part....⁵¹

⁵⁰Gorton held tenets similar to Hutchinson's and questioned the authority of church-officers. See Gura, "The Radical Ideology of Samuel Gorton," 79-83.

⁵¹Samuel Gorton quoted in Edward Winslow, Hypocrisie Unmasked: A True Relation Of the Proceedings of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts against Samuel Gorton of Rhode Island (London, 1646), reprint edition (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 35.

The fate of Anne Hutchinson and her followers was not central to the arguments of either Gorton or Winslow. Both were interested, for different reasons, in connecting her to Gorton. Gorton viewed her, like himself, as a martyr to tyranny. Winslow viewed them both as troublemakers and as outlaws from legitimate godly authority. By introducing Gorton's accusations regarding her death into the printed debate, Winslow inadvertently gave the anti-New England forces another citation, one which insisted that the "miserably false" were part and parcel of the Way.⁵²

"Master Cottons seduction": Robert Baillie and John Cotton

From at least one Presbyterian's perspective, even the limits Wheelwright put on Congregational freedom appeared unsatisfactory. In language that drew on notions of bastardy, Scottish minister Robert Baillie questioned the legitimacy of New England's theological lineage. In A Dissuasive From the Errours of Our Time he thundered: "Yea, so much are these children ashamed of their fathers, that they usually take it for a columeny to be called after their name. No Independent will take it well...to be called a Brownist either in whole, or in the smallest part."⁵³ Baillie had become increasingly concerned about what he perceived as clear connections amongst Independents Separatists, and Antinomian assaults on the

⁵²Winslow, Hypocrisie Unmasked, 69. His rebuttal on this point was a little half-hearted. Since she had moved from Rhode Island, and not directly from Massachusetts, into the Dutch territory, her death could not be blamed on her banishment from the Bay.

church. His Dissuasive was one of three tracts that he prepared while he was in London as part of the Westminster Assembly. Influential and deeply respected for his intellect and passion, Baillie typified the Presbyterian concerns of both English and Scottish clergy who, with the spectre of episcopacy effectively exorcised, now found themselves deeply dismayed by erstwhile allies.⁵⁴ Far from viewing the Hutchinsonians as an aberrant threat (as Winthrop did) or as a product of individual weakness (like Wheelwright), Baillie's discussion located them on the Protestant family tree as the by-blows of a corrupted family.

Baillie placed much of the blame on John Cotton, his innocence as proclaimed by Winthrop and Welde notwithstanding:

...with all care and study they endeavour to save Master Cottons credit, yet let the truth of Master Cottons seduction falls from their Pens in so clear terms as cannot be avoided.⁵⁵

Not only was Cotton "seduced," many, reported Baillie, were "exceedingly scandalized with Master Cottons carriage in Mistresse Hutchinsons processe...."⁵⁶

Baillie used the powerful language of sexual transgression to underline the closeness of Hutchinson's views to those of Cotton. After all, she always claimed she was merely expounding and clarifying his views, and he had waited to

⁵³Baillie, A Dissuasive From the Errours of the Time, 17-18.

⁵⁴F.N. McCoy, Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 94-111.

⁵⁵Baillie, A Dissuasive, 57-58.

⁵⁶Baillie, A Dissuasive, 58.

disassociate himself from her doctrines until the last possible moment.⁵⁷ None of the New Englanders, suggested Baillie, deserved sympathy or support.

Baillie's indictment was particularly stinging in light of Cotton's admonishment to Hutchinson at her excommunication: "though I have not herd, nayther do I thinke you have bine unfaythfull to your Husband in his Marriage Covenant, yet that will follow upon it...and soe more dayngerous Evells and filthie Unclenes and other sines will followe than you doe now Imagine or conceive."⁵⁸ Baillie took the link Cotton made between Hutchinson's heresy and sexual transgression, and turned it back on the New England Divine. According to Baillie, if Hutchinson was a spiritual bastard-bearer, burdening the spiritual realm of England with the support of her heretic offspring, then Cotton was just as much the cuckolding father of these disorders. Baillie's view of the colony tarred every settler with the same brush, and suggested that New England's congregationalist government was an invitation to disaster.

Baillie was especially damning in linking New England's Hutchinsonians with Henry Vane the younger, whose quiet betrayal of the Presbyterian cause in favour of tolerance for Independents he blamed on Vane's time in the wilds of the

⁵⁷Of course, linking sexual transgression to disorder was not new in either New England nor in Old England; Baillie's language is reminiscent of the language of bastardy accusations. See Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, 110-113.

⁵⁸Norton, *Founding Mothers*, 391-392. For linkages between sexual disorder in women and other kinds of disorder, see Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, 95-133; Walls, *Fierce Communion*, 71-80, as well as Norton's discussion.

New World. Baillie suggests that Vane *remained* an adherent of Hutchinson's, saying that:

...such is the stoutness of many, especially of that late Governor, whose hand in all that business was chief, that to this day if you will confer with them, they will assure, That Mistress Hutchinson was most mistaken and wronged; that she was a most pious woman, and that her Tenets if well understood, were all true, at least very tolerable.⁵⁹

Baillie even suggests to his readers that they should be wary of sympathizing with John Winthrop's government, suggesting its inability to banish Hutchinson on the basis of her heresy (rather than her perjury) reflected hidden similarities.⁶⁰ Baillie criticized the fact that Winthrop reported the devil-worship of Hawkins, yet described no censure of it.⁶¹ He concluded that heresy was perhaps the norm in New England:

All this and more we read of the Independents in New-England. in one short Narration of two or three years accidents among them; what if we had their full History from any faithful hand? it seems that many more mysteries would be brought to light, which now are hid in darknesse.⁶²

⁵⁹"when the sentence was pronounced against her, they tell us, That the great cause of it was none of her Heresies or Errours, but her other practises especially, her grosse lying." Baillie, A Dissuasive, 63-64.

⁶⁰Baillie, A Dissuasive, 60.

⁶¹Carol F. Karlsen suggests that Winthrop understood the heresy of not only Hawkins but also Hutchinson and Dyer as witchcraft. She suggests that the reason they were not prosecuted as such, despite Winthrop's using the term in connection with all three, was that the rest of the New England community did not share his feeling. This puts the Hutchinson "witchcraft" connection in firm line with English witchcraft prosecutions which generally required a high level of community assent. Carol F. Karlsen, The Devil in the Shape of a Woman, (London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1987)14-19.

⁶²Baillie, A Dissuasive, 64-65.

Far from exculpating New England and making it attractive, Winthrop's account only raised the suspicion of more heresy in Baillie's mind and proved the danger of Congregationalism.⁶³ The colonial situation left no clear heroes and villains, but a disturbing number of similarities between Antinomians and their detractors.⁶⁴ He felt that the New England Way invited gender disorder, in which women might even lead congregations.⁶⁵ The private New England meetings were a prelude to disaster, and Baillie's opinion of their potential in England was clear: "their fruits have been very bitter; these meetings of a middle sort betwixt Congregational and Domestick, were the occasion very neere to ruine both that Church and State."⁶⁶ Baillie clearly connected the New Englanders' resistance to royal charter authority with their fears of internal rebellion, and concluded that "Few Magistrates will hereafter confide in these principles which saved not the Governour and generall Court of New England, from extreme danger by the members of Mr. Cottons Congregations at New Boston."⁶⁷

John Cotton had published extensively on the virtues of the Way throughout the 1630's and 40's, and, not surprisingly, had little desire to be known

⁶³Baillie, A Dissuasive, 94.

⁶⁴Baillie, A Dissuasive, 110.

⁶⁵Baillie, A Dissuasive, 110-111.

⁶⁶Baillie, A Dissuasive, 123.

⁶⁷Baillie, A Dissuasive, 126. Clearly, Baillie lays New-England's troubles at the feet of its disorderly authority, hardly surprising for a man who in another work declared that "The Lord is the God of Order." Robert Baylie [Baillie], Anabaptism, the True Fountaine of Independency, Brownisme, Antinomy, Familisme (London,

as the father of spiritual bastards.⁶⁸ Far from being a land of untrustworthy settlers, Cotton painted New England as a model of English society: "The common disorder ordinary and obvious in other Plantations are here either not found, or soone Reformed."⁶⁹ In 1648 he specifically responded to Baillie's charges in The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared.⁷⁰

Cotton did not deny his early friendship with Hutchinson, but emphasized his care to know Hutchinson's "Reputations."⁷¹ This, along with his denial of responsibility for Hutchinsonian tenets have the sharp ring of a man falsely accused of bastardy:

I therefore dealt with Mrs.[sic] Hutchinson and others of them, declaring the erroneusnesse of those tenents and the injury done to my self in

1647), 185.

⁶⁸Sargent Bush Jr., "Epistolary Counseling and the Puritan Movement," in Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith, ed. Bremer, 127-146.

⁶⁹John Cotton, The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared (London, 1648), 23.

⁷⁰In it, he denied the connections between Independency, Separatism and the New England Way, saying it was "...Not a Sect, for we professe the Orthodox Doctrine of Faith, the same with other Protestant Churches." John Cotton, The Way of Congregational Churches, 11. Cotton is demonstrating exactly the kind of disingenuity Stephen Foster discusses in The Long Argument: New England Puritans continued to define themselves against 16th century notions of Separatism, and congratulate themselves for proving that they were no such animal. Foster, 166.

⁷¹"I sent some Sisters of the Church on purpose to her Reputations, that I might know the truth: but when shee discerned any such present, no speech fell from her, that could be much excepted against.... The truth is, I did intend to remove, but not to Separate, much lesse with Mrs. Hutchinsons, and least of all from all the Churches of New-England." John Cotton, The Way of Congregational Churches, 52.

fathering them on me. Both shee, and they, utterly denyed, that they held such Tenents, or that they had fathered them upon me.⁷²

Cotton's choice of language is more than mere discursive technique. By demonstrating his distance from Antinomianism, he affirmed for English readers the viability of the Way in the face of possible connections with undesirable elements. He confirmed the stable hegemony of the New England clergy, his "brethren (the Elders)."⁷³ This extended even to ex-governor Henry Vane, who, like Cotton, had enjoyed a close enough relationship to Hutchinson to come under suspicion:

I must needs professe, that cannot be made good by any witness of truth, Mistris Hutchinson seldome resorted to mee: and when she did, she did seldome or never entered into any private speech between the former Governour and my self, And when she did come to me, it was seldome or never (that I can tell of) that she tarried long. I rather think, she was loath to resort much to me, or, to conferre long with me, lest she might seeme to learne somewhat from me. And withall I know (by good proof) she was very carefull to prevent any jealousie in mee, that she should harbour any private opinions, differing from the course of my publick Ministry.⁷⁴

"Good News from New-England": Histories of God and the Devil in Massachusetts

The war between Baillie and Cotton was being fought over territory that fewer and fewer of the godly in England held any hopes for winning. As William Lamont has argued, the year 1645 marked a turning point for the hopes of those in

⁷²John Cotton, The Way of Congregational Churches, 39.

⁷³John Cotton, The Way of Congregational Churches, 59.

⁷⁴John Cotton, The Way of Congregational Churches, 88.

England seeking godly rule under Parliament. An “Erastian” spirit of toleration was in the air, produced by the inability of Presbyterians and Independents to come to terms.⁷⁵ The English were becoming just as likely to see the intolerance of man as the power of the Devil in the Hutchinson tale. As The Moderate Intelligencer wondered, “whence is it that Devils should choose to be conversant with silly Women who know not their right hands from their left?...If the Devill be so wise...why should he not choose to deale with wise Men and great Men?”⁷⁶

But even as English skeptics turned away from the Devil as a causative agent of disorder, his place in New England’s historical myth was being confirmed in English print. Good News From New-England, a relatively short work which appeared in 1648, marked Hutchinson’s entry into New England’s demonology. A paean to the success and holiness of the Way, it combined a fairly straightforward account of New England’s history and current events with a rhymed re-telling of the events of the 1630’s and 40’s. In this account, sober prose was interspersed with metaphoric poetry to mark the division between current event and remembered past. Hutchinson’s place in this pamphlet is substantial, and yet almost purely metaphoric. She and other “troubles” were the works of Satan:

Now Satan seeing God had crost, his minde in making way
For’s people and his Patro(n)s too, in wildernesse to stay....

⁷⁵ William Lamont, Godly Rule (London: MacMillan and Company, 1969), 108-131.

⁷⁶The Moderate Intelligencer, No. 28 (4-11 September 1645), quoted in Lamont, Godly Rule, 108.

Up starts another from the crowd, of women, her admiring,
 An able tongue in Scripture learn'd, to preach forsooth desiring.
 With revelations strange, yet true, as Scripture them accounting.⁷⁷

With this passage, the author locates Hutchinson in God's plan, thereby reducing her threat. Satan is behind her actions; her gifts are his doing. Linking Hutchinson with Satan allowed the anonymous author of the pamphlet to literally "demonize" her, and to draw the lines conveniently between legitimate settlers and "outsiders."⁷⁸ The disorderly conspiracy of women both indicated and disguised Satan's involvement:

The second onset was given by greater troops of Sexs, not marshal'd under the command of any one in chief: but those that could best use their battering Engine, were leaders of the rest: and verily, they handled the matter so, that they came to handy gripes undiscovered: their new Engine was called *Populatri aure Captator*, somewhat like the Trojan horse for rarity, it was covered with womens aprons, and bolstered out with the judgement and deep discerning of the godly and reverent....⁷⁹

The author closed his account with a sunny summation of the harmonious state of New England religion and polity, surely meant to reassure English audiences as to the feasibility of the New England Way:

...No Prelate, no King: that's not so, for see
 Here Churches power and command agree
 Of civill power to which these Churches yeeld
 Humble obedience, as their duty held.⁸⁰

⁷⁷Good News From New-England (London, 1648), 3.

⁷⁸By comparison, when dealing with the activities of Samuel Gorton, the author named him and gave a fairly straightforward account of his dealings with the Bay. Good News From New-England, 13.

⁷⁹Good News From New-England, 12-13.

⁸⁰Good News From New-England, 24.

The lines between order and disorder as laid down in the Hutchinson debate, like those in the publications discussing Ireland in the 1640's, remained important in later discussions of the meaning of colonial.⁸¹ In the 1660's and 70's, for example, as the Quakers launched a print war against Massachusetts Bay in response to their persecution, Hutchinson became a powerful symbol of the injustices of New England history: "They may remember, that themselves here were accounted Dissenters from the Episcopal worshipper...But when they came to New-England, they...fell to Banish their Fellows, which could not now to their gilded calf of Will-worship...."⁸² This image of colonist against colonist remained an uneasy and telling one in English descriptions of the American colonies. Even in 1676, as reports trickled in about new crises in Virginia and New England, the picture of colonial identity remained one wracked with internal divisions and disorder.

⁸¹As David D. Hall says, "A list of the treatises in which the Antinomian Controversy figures as an echo would, in effect, be a complete bibliography of the writings of the first generation of ministers [of New England]...." Hall, The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History, 440.

⁸²Samuel Groome, A Glass For the People of New-England (London, 1676), 3.

Chapter Three

“Visible Distinctions” and “Larger Worlds”: King Philip's War and Bacon's Rebellion

...you may see the great Care our Authority hath, as well to make a distinction visible, betwixt our Friends the Christian Indians, and our Enemies the Heathens....¹

Was 1676 the end of American independence? It must have seemed like the end of the world for English settlers living in New England and in Virginia. In that year, war and death haunted the eastern coast of North America, as conflicts between Natives and newcomers flared into King Philip's War and Bacon's Rebellion. In the north, long-running tensions over land and English authority broke into a war that stretched from Connecticut to New Hampshire, pitting Metacomet of the Wampanoag (known as "King Philip" to the English) against New England forces. The bloody conflict formally ended with Philip's death in 1676, but in that year violence erupted in Virginia. Leading a coalition of colonists unhappy with William Berkeley's land grants, trade restrictions and conciliatory Native policy, Nathaniel Bacon attacked a group of Susquehanna-- a group neither hostile to the English nor responsible for the raids on frontier farms that Bacon claimed to be avenging. The colony was quickly embroiled in a multifaceted war amongst Baconites, Berkeley loyalists, and various Native groups, resolved only after Bacon's wretched death from lice and "bloody flux" in 1677.

¹A Continuation of the State of New England (London, 1676), n.p.

That this year brought the *end* of American independence was historian Stephen Saunders Webb's startling formulation. He argued that the wars of 1676 forced Whitehall to pay closer attention to the American colonies, ending decades of "benign neglect" and instituting garrison rule.² But if we consider the publications that described this time of crisis, then it is clear that the years after 1676 did foster a sort of "American" independence: an independence of settler identity. This body of writing demonstrates a marked difference in the ways that the English-at-home and the English-as-settlers delineated identities in the North American colonies, even as both drew upon the images and ideas laid down in the 1640's.

For the New Englanders explaining their troubles, the sources of disorder were defined as residing outside both their ethnicity and their godly order. In language reminiscent of Irish pamphlets from the 1640's, they pinpointed the Natives as the source and basis of their problem. From an English perspective, the quarrelsome colonists themselves were the ones outside the boundaries of order, just as they had been perceived to be in the Antinomian Crisis. This pattern was especially applied to Virginia, where most of the accounts available in print were written by English visitors rather than by settlers. In New England, most published accounts came from colonists,

²Stephen Saunders Webb, 1676: The End of American Independence (New York: Knopf, 1984). As Jack Crowley has pointed out to me, the term "benign neglect" is properly an 18th century term used by Edmund Burke. It seems an appropriate characterization, per Webb's argument and in light of later Virginian interpretations of their own history, as discussed in Chapter 5 below. For more on Webb's view of garrison government, see The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of Empire 1569-1681(Chapel Hill: The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979).

thanks to its high population density, early establishment of an institution of higher learning, and printing press. This region began to produce far more print than Virginia quite early in the century. In Virginia, the first printing press was not set up until 1693, as part of the founding of William and Mary College. It is for this reason that Virginia is almost invisible in the entries of seventeenth-century English print: Between 1640-1700, one finds a paltry 37 entries for "Virginia" in the Wing Short Title Catalogue, but 108 for "New England."³

This seems odd, since Virginia was England's oldest continuing North American colonial venture. John Smith's enthusiastic promotions for settling the area had been printed numerous times in the 1620's and 1630's.⁴ As well, Virginia's prominence in early seventeenth century literary references suggests more popular awareness than its printing history might lead us to believe. Otherwise, how can we account for Moll Cutpurse's wisecracks about hasty marriages on the way to Virginia in Middleton and Dekker's The Roaring Girl "Think you upon this in cold blood sir, you make as much hast as if you were going upon a sturghion voyage, take deliberation, sir, never chuse a wife

³This is discounting obviously inapplicable entries (such as Appius and Virginia), but including works which describe "Virginia" as a larger portion of North America than the colony actually contained. Similarly, the "New England" number discounts titles like A New English Grammar that clearly do not refer to the colonial area. These numbers are generated using the Chadwyck-Healy electronic Wing STC database. And taking a longer view, using the English Short Title Catalogue, from the early era to 1750, the total number of titles including "Virginia" is only 216.

⁴Smith's "Generall Historie," for example, was reprinted five times between 1624 and 1632.

as if you were going to Virginia."⁵ Or for Ben Jonson's repeated references to the colony?⁶ Fears of Virginia's murderous system of indenture appeared as late as 1685 in the ballad of The Welsh-Man Trappan'd to Virginia. Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 marked a peak in printed works concerning a particular incident, and allows us to compare the discussions of Virginia's crisis with the near-simultaneous crisis of King Philip's War in New England.

A Glass for the People of New England: Quaker Controversies

The availability of printing presses in Cambridge and in Boston allowed New England writers to write for a home-grown audience interested in reading about itself. It also allowed prescriptive literature such as sermons to be published by clergy and other members of the ruling elite. The need for apologetic publishing in Old England continued, however, as the Restoration called into question the loyalty of the Commonwealth-sympathizing New England Puritans. Massachusetts' prosecution of Quakers in particular embroiled that colony in a legal and print battle. In 1660, Quaker writers in London called attention to their cause in a series of pamphlets: John Norton's The Heart of New England Rent, Joseph Nicholson's The Standard of the Lord Lifted in

⁵The Roaring Girl (1610/1611), II. 11, 65-67, from the 1611 quarto, reprinted in The Roaring Girl, ed. Paul A. Mullholland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987). This can be compared to Middleton's Women Beware Women: "Stop upon't, and not be joined in haste, as if they went to stock a new found land," I. 11, 68-69, from the 1657 edition reprinted in Women Beware Women, ed. Charles Bauer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). No successful playwright makes jokes that he or she believes the audience will not understand.

⁶ Rebecca Anne Bach, "Ben Jonson's 'Civil Savages,'" Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 37, no. 2(1997): 277-293.

New England and Humphrey Smith's To New England's Pretended Christians, to name only a few.⁷ The Friends wrote in protest against the sentences of death and banishment dealt out at Boston against co-religionists like Mary Dyer. This former follower of Anne Hutchinson had returned to "spread the light," which in the minds of the civil authorities was another way of saying "stir up trouble all over again."⁸ However, these attacks hardly required much New England response; although Whitehall might not care for the illegality of New England's death sentences, the Quakers found few allies in an English populace increasingly suspicious of disorderly religious radicals.⁹ Instead, New England's religious leaders and commentators turned more and more to home-grown presses in Cambridge or Boston, speaking primarily to New Englanders, rather than (as in the 1640's) to an English audience. By the early 1670's, titles such as Eleazar Mather's A Serious Exhortation to the Present and Succeeding Generation in New England, specifically addressed to fellow colonists, were commonplace.

There was, however, definite interest in Old England in New England's colonial crises, as the pattern of printing during King Philip's War made clear. Richard Chiswell's correspondence with Increase Mather indicated that by 1677, printers

⁷See also such titles as George Bishop, New England Judged Not By Man's But the spirit of the Lord (London, 1661), New England Judged the Second Part (London, 1667), and George Fox, Epistle to All Professors in New England (London? 1676).

⁸See David Lovejoy, Religious Enthusiasm in the New World (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 117-134. The last public whipping of Quakers in Boston took place in 1677.

⁹See Richard T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press 1969), 87-96.

expected to sell a minimum of five hundred copies of works about King Philip's War: Jill Lepore suggests that a bare minimum of fifteen thousand copies of accounts of King Philip's War were produced for the Anglo-American market from 1675-1682.¹⁰ But Chiswell's letter to Mather also made it clear that there was an unforeseen divergence in English and American tastes. Mather's Brief History of the War was, frankly, a flop: "some people here made it too much their business to cry it down & sayd a better narrative was comeing."¹¹ But at home in Boston, Mather published at least two more narratives about the war in 1677, and re-printed the Brief History again, this time with an appended Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of that Land.¹²

Mather and Chiswell might be forgiven for thinking that demand would have been higher for this book. After all, the year 1675 had seen the publication in London of the anonymous Brief and True Narration, Nathaniel Saltonstall's Present State of New England, and at least two editions of Edward Wharton's New England's Present Sufferings. In 1676 the pattern continued. Three more anonymous accounts were published in London, as well as two more editions of Saltonstall's Present State, and a version of Benjamin Tompson's narrative (published in London as New England's Tears

¹⁰Richard Chiswell to Increase Mather, 1677, quoted in Jill Lepore, The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 50-52.

¹¹Richard Chiswell to Increase Mather, 1677, quoted in Lepore, The Name of War, 51.

¹²Increase Mather A Relation of the Troubles Which Have Hapned in New-England(sic) (London, 1677); Increase Mather, An Historical Discourse(Boston, 1677).

and Boston as New England's Crisis).¹³ The "better narrative" for which Chiswell's customers were waiting came in 1677 with William Hubbard's The Present State of New England, Being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians (published both in Boston and London), while timelier updates came in Richard Hutchinson's The Warr in New-England Visibly Ended.¹⁴ Finally, in 1682 Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative was published at Boston, Cambridge, and London, earning its title of first American best-seller.¹⁵ The authors of these books and pamphlets came from a variety of lay and clerical perspectives. Most belonged to merchant or clerical elites. Nathaniel Saltonstall was a merchant with a secular perspective and a gift for gore. Lepore suggests his vivid descriptions helped sell his works.¹⁶ Richard Hutchinson (nephew of Anne Hutchinson) was similarly employed.¹⁷ Mather and Hubbard were clergymen, Rowlandson a clergyman's wife.

Stephen Saunders Webb suggests that there was a great difference amongst these writers, depending on their profession, and that merchant writers were highly favorable to tighter English control. This claim rests on Webb's misinterpretation of the language of settler identity. In merchant writings, Webb says, "the greed, inefficiency, and

¹³ Benjamin Tompson, New Englands Crisis and New Englands Tears in An Edition of the Poetry of Benjamin Tompson, ed. Peter White (London: The University of Pennsylvania State Press, 1980) 82 and 104.

¹⁴Jill Lepore suggests that Hubbard's manuscript was the one in question, and delineates a rivalry between Mather and Hubbard. Lepore, Name of War, 51-52.

¹⁵See discussion below for details. Rowlandson's narrative was also reprinted throughout the eighteenth century.

¹⁶Lepore, Name of War, 55-56.

¹⁷Charles H. Lincoln, commentary, Narratives of the Indian Wars (New York:

defiance of ‘the Bostoners’ was contrasted with “the tribulations and trials of ‘the English.’”¹⁸ But the “English” under discussion are not resident in England; a reading of the entire work demonstrates that this term clearly refers to New Englanders. No-one is asking for more imperial control, although those unhappy with the Boston government may be hoping for more power for themselves. In the pamphlets’ language, there is no clear separation of English-at-home from English-in-New-England. In reality, the pamphlets written by both lay and clerical New Englanders have much in common, and none of the New England authors seem especially keen to promote greater imperial English control.

Why were some of these accounts in more demand than others? Was Mather’s work, for example, less popular than the others solely because of its highly apocalyptic nature? Mather did not find his concern “to relate things truly and impartially” inconsistent with the purpose of finding God’s hand in New England’s troubles. In this framework, he could lay blame equally upon dishonest trade practices and the fashion tastes of New England: “What shall we say when men are seen in the streets with monstrous horrid Perriwigs, and women with their Borders and False Locks, and such like whorish fashions?”¹⁹ As we have seen, this kind of rhetoric, along with such items

Charles Scribner, 1913), 23.

¹⁸Stephen Saunders Webb, 1676, 221-222. Further, Webb misidentifies Increase Mather as talking about all earlier pamphlets when he says they are full of “worse than mistakes.” Mather is actually very specific in singling out a report “written by a Quaker in Road Island.” Webb, 1676, 221; Mather, A Brief History, 81.

¹⁹Increase Mather, An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of That Land, reprinted in So Dreadfull a Judgement, ed. Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom, (Middleton, Conn:

as Mather's description of "solemn providences," those "Monstrous births which have at sundry times hapned"[sic], had been out of style in England since the 1640's.²⁰

But Mary Rowlandson's work was equally full of godly interpretations for each step of her doleful captivity: "Of thirty seven persons who were in this one house, none escaped either present death, or a bitter captivity, save only one, who might say as he, Job 1.15, *And I only am escaped alone to tel the News.*"²¹ And what of William Hubbard? If his was truly the account which rang the death-knell for Mather's sales in England, then should we expect it to be noticeably more secular? If we do, then we expect in vain. Hubbard's primary explanation for the Native attack was "the instigation of Satan."²² He even elaborates upon the "passages of Divine Providence" that indicate God's presence in one town:

...as a Brand plucked out of the Fire, that they did just taste of this bitter Cup, which others drank deeper of therewith: under God, the Courage of the Inhabitants was a great Means of their Preservation...God was eminently seen upholding the Spirits of all sorts, Men and Women, as no Consternation of Mind was seen upon any of them.²³

The presence of godly interpretations alone cannot explain the differences in the popularity of these accounts. Besides, focusing on the degree of religiosity in these

University Press, 1978), 177.

²⁰ Increase Mather, A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England (Boston, 1676), reprinted in Slotkin and Folsom, So Dreadfull a Judgement, 125.

²¹ Mary Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God (Cambridge, Mass., 1682) in Narratives of the Indian Wars 1675-1699 ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Scriber and Sons, 1913), 120.

²² William Hubbard, The History of the Indian Wars in New-England, annotated by Samuel Drake (Burt Franklin, New York, 1971), 52.

²³ Hubbard, History, 192.

books and pamphlets may blind us to their shared consistency: all locate the source of disorder outside the realm of settler Puritan English culture in New England.

"Worse than brute and savage Beasts": Drawing the Line

As noted, the authors describing the events of 1675-77 were New Englanders. but each one referred to the settlers as "English." Ethnic lines were simpler in New England than in Ireland, and no one felt the need to differentiate between themselves and their "Christian Friends in Old England."²⁴ On the other side of the fence, the line between "English" and "Indian" seemed clear-cut too. Or was it? Certainly, the authors of the King Philip's War accounts made every effort to distance themselves from their foes. Their strong language is highly reminiscent of the descriptions of the "Irish" from 1642-45. The "Treacherous" and "Cruel blood-thirsty Heathen," or the "perfidious Indians" of Thomas Wheeler's A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy might easily change rhetorical functions with the Catholic Irish.²⁵ Like the Irish, the Natives are "bloody," a "rabble," and resemble animals "like wolves and other beasts of prey."²⁶ Hubbard also calls Native attackers "Wolves continually yelling and gaping for their Prey," while Benjamin Tompson says that "ranging wolves find here and there a prey."²⁷ Predictably, they are accused of "exquisite Torments" and strikingly familiar

²⁴The Present State of New England With Respect to the Indian War (London 1675), n.p.

²⁵Thomas Wheeler, A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy. (Cambridge, 1676) reprinted in Slotkin and Folsom, So Dreadfull a Judgement, 244.

²⁶A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England, Being a Continued Account of the Bloody Indian-War (London, 1676), A2 , 3 and 8.

²⁷Hubbard, History, 101 and Tompson, New Englands Crisis, 89.

accounts of mutilation:

...the Heathen rarely giving quarter to those that they take, but if they were women, they first forced them to satisfie their filthie lust and then murdered them either cutting off the head, ripping open the Belly. or skulping the head of skin and hair and hanging them up as trophees....²⁸

Like the Irish rebels, Phillip's forces apparently bear a special grudge against English livestock: "Nor have our Cattle escaped the Cruelty of those worse than brute and savage beasts; For what cattle they took they seldom killed outright; or if they did would eat but little of the flesh, but rather cut their bellies...."²⁹

Although they clearly conform to previously-held notions of atrocity, these accounts are not necessarily false. As in Ireland of the 1640's, horrifying events undoubtedly actually occurred during the course of the war. There is plenty of evidence, for example, that ritual torture played an important role in condolence and mourning among several Eastern Woodland Native groups.³⁰ Perhaps there were even similarities between these and Irish rebels' symbolic acts of revenge during the 1641 Rising. But whatever the reality was, the presentation of King Philip's War clearly appealed to a long sense of English ideas about atrocity and rebellion which stretched beyond the particular American situation. New England Puritans were natural heirs to the legacy of

²⁸A New and Further Narrative, 14.

²⁹A New and Further Narrative, 14.

³⁰See Matthew Dennis, Cultivating a Landscape of Peace (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 76-118. The allegations of rape are more difficult to understand than the allegations of torture. According to James Axtell, sexual assaults on captives seem to have been very rare. Since the purpose of ritual torture, like ritual adoption, involved a spiritual exchange with a dead relative, rape raised the ugly possibility of symbolic incest---an overwhelming taboo. Axtell, The Invasion Within, 308-311.

the “hotter sort of Protestants” and their Catholic-bashing language.³¹ Especially for readers in England, comparisons to Ireland made the landscape and situation more understandable. Occasionally the similarities were made explicitly, as when the introduction to A New and Further Narrative explained that a swamp was like an “Irish bogg, over which horse cannot pass at all, nor English Foot (without great difficulty) pass.”³² Benjamin Tompson’s victims of an Indian raid fled “into the Irish bogs of misery.”³³

Although Richard Drinnon suggests that the English/American attitude towards Natives was always one of “Indian-hating,” based in large part on their skin colour, the vocabulary of these accounts weakens his thesis.³⁴ Skin colour is barely noticeable in the 1676 accounts: the Natives are given a variety of unflattering epithets, but the reader is hard-pressed to find much note of their colour. One of the few mentions comes in Benjamin Tompson’s poem, where “Chequer’d Bands of Whites and Tawnies joyn’d”: yet this is a positive description of an alliance between Natives and English against Phillip’s forces.³⁵

³¹See Stephen Foster, The Long Argument.

³²A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England, Being a Continued Account of the Bloody Indian War (London, 1676).

³³Tompson, New Englands Crisis, 97, line 550. Tompson’s edition was apparently specifically changed for his English readers: the New England version of the piece speaks of “Neighbouring swamps”; “Irish bogs” was apparently a clearer reference in the London edition. See New England’s Tears, 108.

³⁴Richard Drinnon, Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1980).

³⁵Tompson, New Englands Crisis, 113, line 360.

Tompson's discussion of the "praying beads" of the Natives also reminds us that at least some of the Native groups allied with Metacomet may have been Roman Catholic, converted by missionaries of New France. This discussion of the Catholic "heathens" probably rang familiarly with English readers in the 1670's and 1680's, when publishing about Ireland also enjoyed a small upturn. Rumours regarding the Popish Plot continued to bubble, and eventually welled up in Ireland. This hysteria, which peaked with the execution of the gentle Catholic archbishop Oliver Plunkett in July 1681, encouraged inflated language reminiscent of the descriptions of the Ulster Rising. In a return to the purple prose of the 1640's, A True and Perfect Narrative of the Manner and Circumstance of Apprehending that Notorious Irish Priest (London, 1681) not only identified the Irish as "Catholic," but as "Hellish Bloodhounds."³⁶

"Indian-hating," "Irish-hating," or "Catholic-hating"? In all of these prejudices, it is clear that it was difficult for writers to separate the sheep from the goats. In New England, it might seem obvious that the "Indians" were the external enemy, but the network of conversion in which the New Englanders had been engaged (albeit with mixed results) meant that not all Natives could be categorized as "Heathen."³⁷ An early

³⁶A True and Perfect Narrative of the Manner and Circumstance of Apprehending that Notorious Irish Priest (London 1681), t.p. See also Alan Marshall, "To Make a Martyr: The Popish Plot and Protestant Propaganda," History Today 47, no. 3 (1997): 39-45.

³⁷ For a fuller account of the mixed results of New England conversions, see Axtell, The Invasion Within, section II. As works like William Thorogood's Iewes in America [sic](London, 1650) attest, some of the fervour for New England conversions centred around millenarian beliefs regarding the conversion of the Jews and the Second Coming. Such enthusiasm had certainly waned by 1676.

report to London audiences suggested that Christianity was the dividing line the English could use in order to distinguish “Our Friends the Christian Indians” from “our enemies the Heathen.”³⁸ Even then the Bostonians required friendly Natives to surrender “because they cannot know a Heathen from a Christian by his Visage, nor Apparel.”³⁹

But the difficulty in the war came in distinguishing the “praying” Indians from the “preying” Indians.⁴⁰ Some of the Christianized Natives warred against the English settlers, even turning their knowledge of Christianity into psychological warfare that horrified the New England commentators:

I am credibly informed that in that fight at Sudbury, and elderly English man endeavouring an escape from the Indians [was captured]...the Indians insulted him with that Blasphemous Expression {Come Lord Jesus, save this poor Englishman if thou canst. whom I am now about to kill. }... We hope the Lord is arisen to avenge those Blasphemies.⁴¹

In another report, captured “Praying Indians” faced the special wrath of a Boston lynch mob, despite the pleas of missionary John Elliot: “Thus with the Dog-like death (good enough) of one poor Heathen, was the Peoples rage laid in some measure.”⁴² Even as Increase Mather lauded the success of the English in converting the Natives, the question remained: had this been wise? Had this conversion simply let the “Heathen”

³⁸A Continuation of the State of New England (London, 1676), forward.

³⁹The Present State of New England.

⁴⁰The “Praying”/“Preying” dichotomy is found in The Present State of New England, 18-19.

⁴¹A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences, 2. This kind of confusion is not limited to colonial New England. For the problems of Native allies treated as enemies, see Michael J. Puglisi, “‘Whether They Be Friends or Foes’: The Roles and Reactions of Tributary Native Groups Caught in Colonial Conflicts,” International Social Science Review 3/4 (1995): 76-86.

inside the gates of the City on the Hill?⁴³

Yet such considerations paled beside the cold hard fact that the New Englanders were forced to make alliances with some of the "Heathen." One of the "two Potent Sagamores in Amity with us" was Christianized, while the other as not, according to The Present State of New England.⁴⁴ Metacomet himself, every account emphasized, had been presumed to be an ally, although he was not amenable to New Englander's attempts at conversion.⁴⁵ More than that, how could the violent behaviour of "heathen allies," even toward other Natives, be justified? For some Indians "proved faithfull and Eminently serviceable."⁴⁶ Consider this account of English-allied Mohegans and their Narragansett prisoner:

They first cut one of his Fingers round in the Joynt, at the Trunck of his Hand, with a sharp Knife, and then brake it off...then they cut off another and another, till they had dismembered one Hand of all its Digits, the Blood sometimes spurting out in Streams a Yard form his hand...At last they brake the Bones of his Legs, after which he was forced to sit down, which 'tis said he silently did, till they had knocked out his Brains.⁴⁷

⁴²The Present State of New England.

⁴³Mather, A Brief History, 82-83.

⁴⁴The Present State of New England.

⁴⁵Cotton Mather, writing later in Magnalia, relates the following story which tells us much regarding New Englanders' beliefs about Metacomet and Christianity, if not about the reality thereof: "When Mr. (John) Eliot tried to engage Philip's attention to religion, the Sachem, taking hold of a button on the good man's coat, said, he cared no more for religion than for that button." Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana London, 1702. Reprint edition, ed. Kenneth B. Murdock (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1977). 182.

⁴⁶A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurences, 2.

⁴⁷Hubbard, Narrative, 2: 63-64. This is also quoted in Lepore and analyzed there along the lines which I am using it, but Lepore is concerned primarily with the Native example and does not draw connections to other colonial crises. Lepore, The Name of War, 3.

These were *allies*! How uncomfortable this association must have been in an English culture that emphasized barbaric behaviour as typifying their enemies. As in Ireland, the line demarcating “barbaric” behaviour might blur when the English took actions which were decried in their enemies:

The English Souldiers played the men wonderfully...there were hundreds of Wigwams...which our Souldiers set on fire, in the which Men, women and children (no man knows how many hundreds of them) were burnt to death...⁴⁸

As in Protestant settler descriptions of Ireland in the 1640's, the New England commentators did not see their own behaviour as “barbarous,” even when the same actions pursued by Natives marked the “most barbarous manner” of the “bruits.”⁴⁹ As in Ireland, the enemy was dehumanized to the point that English actions were not atrocities. The Reverend William Hubbard contemplated the slaughter of even Native women and children with godly satisfaction: “being all young Serpents of the same Brood, the subduing or taking of so many ought to be acknowledged as another signal Victory, and a Pledg [sic] of Divine Favour to the English.”⁵⁰

Although New England writers might not see any contradictions between these behaviours and the claim to civility, the question of culpability for the war blurred the

⁴⁸Increase Mather, A Brief History, 108. The author of A Continuation of the State of New-England gives a similar account of the same incident, marking with satisfaction that “Our Men, as near as they can judge, may have killed about 600 Indian men, besides Women and children....” 6. A closer look at the problem of atrocity in the war can be found in James Drake, “Restraining Atrocity; The Conduct of King Philip's War,” New England Quarterly 70, no. 1 (1997): 33-56.

⁴⁹The Present State of New England.

lines of order and disorder even further. The Quaker Samuel Groome, a writer hostile to New England's elites, did not hesitate to blame the war on English treatment of both Quakers and Natives.⁵¹ Nor was Increase Mather alone in blaming the war (in part at least) on the sinfulness of New Englanders. The author of The Present State discusses the settlers' "unthankfulness" for peace.⁵² Others suggested, hesitatingly, that better treatment of Natives might have prevented so many deaths. In the same work that characterizes the Natives as "Heathens being like wolves and other beasts [of] prey, that commonly do their mischiefs at night," it is suggested that Roger Williams escaped harm because he had "been kind to them formerly and [they] would not hurt him."⁵³ These are not "wolves," killing indiscriminately, but reasonable creatures reacting to bad treatment.

Increase Mather's narration best sums up the problems for the New England presentation of the war.⁵⁴ Although eager to put the colonists in the best light, he did not hold them blameless. He was, he told his audience, concerned with veracity:

⁵⁰Hubbard, History, 244.

⁵¹ Whether this is direct causation or godly punishment remains unclear. Samuel Groome, A Glass for the People of New England (London, 1676), 16.

⁵²The Present State of New-England.

⁵³A New and Further Narration of the State of New England, 7-8.

⁵⁴Mather says he is concerned about an account "fraught with worse things than meer mistakes." It seems this account, "Written by a Quaker in Road Island," is that of John Easton, whose "Relacion of the Indyan Warre" survives only in manuscript form. It may or may not have been printed. Mather's concern that it was widespread is in favour of this, but it could also have been circulating in manuscript or orally. This account puts much of the blame for the outbreak of war on the mismanagement of New England government. I have not included it in this study because of the doubt over its printing, but Mather's concern demonstrates his apologetic purpose.

I have performed the part of an Historian, viz., in endeavouring to relate things truly and impartially, and doing the best I could that I might not lead the Reader into a mistake. History is indeed in itself a profitable study.⁵⁵

Mather's religious outlook prompts him to see New England's many sins as the general cause of the wars, but he also notes the immediate effects of such practices as the free trade of liquor to the Natives, and generally the problem of "Indian trading-houses. whereby the Heathen have been debauched and scandalized against religion."⁵⁶ On the other hand, he is also concerned that too much contact with the Natives may have had a deleterious effect on the *colonists*, blurring the line between "English" and "Heathen". In the Eastern Plantations, people "lived themselves too like unto the Heathen...also the Indians thereabouts were more numerous than in other places. They began their Outrages at the House of one Mr. Purchase, who had been a great trader with the Indians."⁵⁷ Mather is even clearer when he speaks directly to Bostonians in his

Exhortation:

How many are no better than Heathens in heart and in conversation?
How many Families, that live like Profane Indians without any Family Prayer...If we learn the way of the Heathen and live like them, God will punish us like them.⁵⁸

Mather advocates neither total war nor total avoidance as policy towards Natives, noting that Connecticut has been spared the worst of war because of its friendliness towards

⁵⁵Mather, Brief History, 81.

⁵⁶Mather, Brief Narrative, 100 and 105.

⁵⁷Mather, Brief Narrative, 99.

⁵⁸Mather, Exhortation, 174 and 181.

“the Indians who lived among them.”⁵⁹ Instead, Mather urges a separate-but-amicable status. The lines between English and heathen must be kept distinct; he is troubled that some “Praying English” are “as perfidious, as hypocritical, as profane in heart as some Praying Indians.”⁶⁰

Whatever the collective sins of the English, and however capable Mather is of distinguishing between friend and foe, he still tries to blame the Natives as much as possible for the war:

It is evident that the Indians did most unrighteously begin a Quarrel, and take up the sword...(whatever may be said of some private persons, of whose injurious dealings no complaint was made & proved) the Government...is innocent as to any wrongs that have been done to the Heathen.⁶¹

His protests seem a little unconvincing, however, especially after pages of bewailing New England's sins. Readers in London might be forgiven for wondering how civilized the “English” of New England really were. Considering the amount of time and money that someone like Robert Boyle were planning to invest in funding missionary efforts, we might expect to find some concern in England over these accounts that cast the Natives in a such a bad light.⁶²

For unlike their view of the Catholic Gaelic Irish, there was certainly a strong concern remaining in England for the conversion of Native Americans. Indeed, New

⁵⁹Brief Relation, 141.

⁶⁰Mather, Exhortation, 187.

⁶¹Mather, Brief Narration, 144.

⁶² On the wildly unsuccessful Boyles scholarship for Indian missionaries at Harvard, see John D. Burton, “Crimson Missionaries: The Robert Boyle Legacy and Harvard College,” New England Quarterly 67, no. 1 (1994): 132-140.

England clergymen Daniel Gookin and John Eliot continued to support conversion efforts. In letters to the Corporation, he expressed anxiety about the effect of all the published histories on English opinion:

Forasmuch as sundry persons have taken pains to write and publish historical narratives of the war, between the English and Indians in New England, but very little hath been hitherto declared (that I have seen) concerning the Christian Indians, who, in reality, may be judged to have no small share in the effects and consequences of this war; I thought it might have a tendency to God's glory, and to give satisfaction to such worthy and good persons as have been benefactors and well-willers to that pious work...to give them right information how these Christian Natives have demeaned themselves in this hour of tribulation.⁶³

Gookin's account for the Corporation could not avoid relating numerous hostilities toward friendly, Christian Natives, surely provoking as much concern about the civility of the settlers as about the threat from Philip. English readers might become even more concerned as they read accounts of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in which the settlers appeared at least as "savage" as the Natives.

"Strange News from Virginia": Bacon's Rebellion Comes to England

In April of 1676, word reached Whitehall of a Native uprising in Virginia. By August, news came that "the Natives are not so troublesome as the English planters are, who raise mutinies and deny sending in such soldiers as required by the Governor."⁶⁴

⁶³ Daniel Gookin, "History of the Christian Indians", 1677 MS, published as An Historical Account of the Doings and Suffering of the Christian Indians in New England (New York: Arno Press, Research Library of Colonial Americana Series, 1972), 55.

⁶⁴Public Record Office, "Nathaniel Osborne to Williamson," April 15, 1676, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles II, March 1st, 1676, to February 28th, 1677 S.P. Dom., Car II., (London: HMSO, 1909), 380, No. 185, and "Richard Watts to Williamson," August 10, 1676, in the same volume, 384, No. 123.

Accounts rolled in slowly during the following months. Even then, as Whitehall sorted through multitudes of complaints, petitions, and reports, the picture remained confusing. Were Nathaniel Bacon and his followers rebelling against all royal authority? Or did they have particular, legitimate complaints against the rapacious land practices of Governor William Berkeley and his friends? The meaning of Bacon's Rebellion in American historiography remains controversial, and historians seem unlikely to answer these questions fully.⁶⁵

News of Virginia's troubles was less readily available in print than that of New England's, although a brief report in the Gazette discussed frontier squabbling in early 1676.⁶⁶ For those not privy to the ever-increasing volume of Whitehall paperwork relating to the rebellion, Strange News From Virginia was the first opportunity to read a full account of the frontier disturbance. It appeared early in 1677, and was followed shortly by More News From Virginia, apparently by the same hand. The author of the first pamphlet remains anonymous, but the second was derived in part from the report of Sir John Berrey, the English admiral of the fleet sent to Virginia to quell the rebellion. Berry's role was attested in another printed source, Charles II's Proclamation For the

⁶⁵The story of the early historiography of Bacon's Rebellion can be found most succinctly in the first chapter of Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel (New York: Norton Library for University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 1-16. The early articulation of Bacon as precursor to American Revolution was found in the now-dated Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker's Torchbearer of the Revolution: The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader (Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith Publishing, 1940). Stephen Saunders Webb's 1676: The End of American Independence, makes invaluable connections between Bacon's Rebellion and King Phillip's War, and restores the Iroquois Confederation as a key political player in both disputes.

Suppressing a Rebellion Lately Raised Within the Plantation of Virginia. The

government in London also printed in London Articles of Peace between the king and the Native groups.⁶⁷

Unlike the New England reports, the perspectives of these works were written from an outsider's point of view. Virginia's scattered settlement pattern and relatively weak central government meant that direct intervention from England was a military necessity; it had not been in New England, due both the relative strength of the New England militia and the use of forces from New York. Charles II's government believed the cost of the Virginia intervention was perceived as both important and expensive, for the king used the rebellion as a reason to request additional money from Parliament.⁶⁸ None of these pamphlets could be printed in Virginia, nor could their printers rely on Virginian readership alone to purchase them.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Gazette reference is found in Webb, 1676, 200.

⁶⁷By the King a Proclamation for the Suppressing of a Rebellion Lately Raised Within the Plantation of Virginia (London, 1676), reproduced in Transaction and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society B(V12) "British Proclamations Relating to America 1603-1783" ed. Clarence Bingham (Worcester, Mass, 1913), 130.

⁶⁸"And in this and in other provisions, for better securing both my foreign plantations, and the Islands nearer home, I have expended a great deal more than the two hundred thousand pounds you enabled Me to Borrow upon the Excise...I have born the Charge both of a rebellion in Virginia, and a new War with Algiers...." His Majesties Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, On Munday the 28th of January, 1677/8 (London, 1677/78), 6.

⁶⁹For more on Virginia's early book trade and readership, see A.G. Roeber, "Lawyers and Print Culture in Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 91, no. 4 (1983): 388-417, and Stephen Botein, "The Anglo-American Book Trade before 1776" in Printing and Society in Early America, ed. William Joyce et al (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983).

Strange News From Virginia emphasized Bacon's role, portraying him as a man of genteel background misled by ambition.⁷⁰ The author did not want to "rob him of those Commendations which his Birth and Acquisitions claim as due nor to smother any thing which would render him to blame."⁷¹ Like the New Englanders, this author called the Virginian settlers "English" and gave his readers a positive account of Bacon's war against the "Susque-hannan Indians (a known Enemy of the English)" and his subsequent confrontation with the Governor.⁷² Despite his stated virtues, Bacon remains a villain in the account. What turns Bacon from aggrieved gentleman defending his property rights to rebel is his "ambitious Mind."⁷³ The author ended his account with a denial of an apparently popular rumour concerning Bacon's death: "Providence was pleased to let him dye a Natural death in his bed...." rather than by his own hard drinking.⁷⁴

More News From Virginia, published later in 1677, continued the story, reassuring its readers that peace and order had been restored in Virginia.⁷⁵ The account

⁷⁰Strange News From Virginia; Being a Full and True Account of the Life and Death of Nathaniel Bacon, Esquire.... (London, 1677), 2.

⁷¹Strange News From Virginia, 2.

⁷²Strange News From Virginia, 3-4.

⁷³"...alas, when men have been once flusht or entred with Vice, how hard it is for them to leave it, especially if it tends toward ambition or greatness, which is the general lust of a large Soul. He...continued his opposition against that prudent and established Government, ordered by his Majesty of Great Britain to be duly observed in that Continent." Strange News From Virginia, 6-7.

⁷⁴Strange News From Virginia, 8.

⁷⁵More News From Virginia, Being a True and Full Relation of all Occurrences in that Country since the Death of Nath. Bacon (London: 1677), facsimile in Bacon's Rebellion: The Contemporary News Sheets, ed. Harry Finestone (Charlottesville Va:

gave the fates of Bacon's lieutenants, describing them with such epithets as "a stirrer up of the People...a chip of the old block of Rebellion, one of Cromwell's Souldiers...from Servant was preferr'd to the honourable Title of Captain."⁷⁶ Another rebel, "one Hall," receives the lengthiest description. A former county clerk whose learning and status were both impugned, he is singled out for his final repentance: "he wisely retracted his rebellious Principles, and ingeniously acknowledged his Obligations to His Majesty...."⁷⁷ In Berry's account, Virginia is a nest of disorder, where servants may rise above themselves and rebellion seems inevitable.

The act of rebellion seems to have canceled out any sympathy the English writers (and, possibly, readers?) had for the Virginian settlers; the Natives are described in far more sympathetic terms. This was emphasized in the Articles of Peace...Between Charles II...and Several Indian Kings and Queens, which was published in London later the same year. This work detailed for the interested reader the official government position in relation to the Natives disturbed by Bacon's Rebellion. Strange News had painted Bacon's "Indian Wars" as justified, if unauthorized. More News mentioned only briefly the dishonesty of Bacon's *followers* toward the "Queen of the Pomonkes." The reprint of the official treaty with several Native leaders made it clear that there were "Wrongs and Injuries" suffered by these allies. These "friendly neighbour Indians" are

University of Virginia Press in collaboration with the Tracy W. McGregor Library, 1943), 21-27. The only extant copy of More News reported by Wing is in the collections of the University of Virginia.

⁷⁶More News From Virginia, at 23 and 27.

⁷⁷More News From Virginia, 26.

carefully distinguished from “Foreign Indians,” and the “Persons Goods and Properties” of the former are all to be carefully respected.⁷⁸

Works about Bacon’s Rebellion and King Philip’s War continued to be published in England as the wars themselves wound down in the 1680’s. Two popular books deserve special attention: Mary Rowlandson’s narrative of her captivity by hostile Natives (1682) and Aphra Behn’s play about the history of Bacon’s rebellion (1689/1690). These two accounts provide an interesting contrast in visions of the American colonies, one by a settler, one by an Englishwoman living in London. In Behn’s play, the Natives are noble and the colonists are savage. But in Mary Rowlandson’s view, order was closely tied to godliness and Englishness; outside that boundary lurked the heathen, devilish, savages.

Popular Facts: Mary Rowlandson’s New England Captivity

Mary Rowlandson, wife of Lancaster minister Joseph Rowlandson, witnessed a brutal attack on her New England village early in the war with King Philip. After being taken captive and enduring an exhausting and frightening trek through the wilderness, she worked in the household of Wetamoo, a prominent female chieftain (“squaw-sachem” in New Englanders’ terms). In 1682 her account of her captivity and eventual redemption was published in Boston and in London, probably with the assistance of

⁷⁸ Articles of Peace Between the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Charles II,...And Several Indian Kings and Queens,&c. Concluded the 29th Day of May, 1677 (London: 1677), facsimile edition (Berkeley: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1940).

Increase Mather, who wrote the book's preface under a pseudonym.⁷⁹

The difference in how the book was marketed and titled for audiences in both England and America, respectively, speaks volumes about the differences in readers' attitudes toward the material. In England, Rowlandson's work was titled A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, a Minister's Wife from New-England. This secular title is quite different from the title of the three 1682 editions printed in America as The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together With the Faithfulness of his Promises Displayed, Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. Kathryn Zabelle Derounian's exploration of the work's marketing also notes that in England the book was advertised in the Michaelmas term catalogue under "history"; Samuel Green in Boston, meanwhile, advertised the work in his edition of Pilgrim's Progress.⁸⁰ What was sold as "history" in one land was marketed as an improving religious narrative in the other. Perhaps the book was more in demand in Boston (there were three American printings as opposed to just one in London in 1682) precisely because of these differences. Rowlandson calls herself "English" throughout, but her definition of that word is a very New England one, and her interpretations of the boundaries defined by "English" identity derive from a Puritan notion of communal godliness forever splintered in Old England.

⁷⁹Kathryn Zabelle Derounian "The Publication, Promotion, and Distribution of Mary Rowlandson's Indian Captivity Narrative in the Seventeenth Century," Early American Literature 23, no.3 (1988): 239-240.

⁸⁰Derounian, "The Publication, Promotion, and Distribution," 241.

Every point in Rowlandson's gory narrative relates back to the nature of God. More importantly, all events fit into her remarkably consistent framework wherein godliness and Englishness are intimately connected, and the "heathen" Natives are always evil and untrustworthy. Her descriptions, like that of other New Englanders writing about the wars, are strongly reminiscent of descriptions of the "Irish" from the 1640's. The Natives are "Pagans" and "roaring Lyons and Salvage Bears, that feared neither God, nor Man, nor the Devil."⁸¹ It is not surprising that Rowlandson cast her Native captors in a negative light. She endured a frightening captivity during which she saw her home razed, most of her family slaughtered, and her dying six-year old "Babe" seized from her arms and murdered. But even when she was treated well, Rowlandson was almost never able to credit her captors with any positive characteristics whatsoever. Good treatment she credited to God. When she is hungry and a Native feeds her, it is due to the "Good Providence of God."⁸² Other examples of God's mercy (but not Native decency) include being given the gift of a Bible, being allowed to cross a river in a canoe so her feet do not get wet, and enjoying the personal hospitality of Metacomet ("King Philip") himself.⁸³

Not only does Rowlandson not only ascribe good treatment to God's power, she credits the lack of bad treatment to God. It was "a great mercy of God" during the

⁸¹Mary Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God (Cambridge, Mass., 1682) in Narratives of the Indian Wars 1675-1699, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1913), 161.

⁸²Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness, 140.

⁸³Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness, 127, 130, 134.

negotiations for her redemption, for example, that the English were not killed and robbed: "God shewed his Power over the Heathen in this."⁸⁴ Rowlandson never allows her captors any of the qualities which she sees as English: Christianity, goodness, kindness, mercy, a sense of order. That Rowlandson is unable to blur these lines is not surprising in light of her experiences. But she does have problems when she faces the "praying Indians," both allies and foes. Her heathen/Christian dichotomy here breaks down, although she attributes hostility towards the English to apostasy.⁸⁵

Even when the Natives are friendly, Rowlandson's categorization still leaves them outside the boundary of "Christian-English." The visit to her captors by two Christianized Natives brings her great joy because they are allied with the English, and are bringing news of the negotiation for her redemption. She writes that "Though they were Indians, I gat them by the hand, and burst into tears."⁸⁶ Even more troubling to her mind is when she mistakenly identifies Natives as English because of their dress, despite there being "a vast difference between the lovely faces of Christians and the foul looks of Heathens."⁸⁷ This expectation that she could physically delineate spiritual complexion was tested even more by the many "Praying Indians" she found among Philip's followers.⁸⁸

Rowlandson's inability to reconcile the differences between "civilized" English

⁸⁴Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness, 156.

⁸⁵Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness, 151.

⁸⁶Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness, 151

⁸⁷Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness, 148.

⁸⁸Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness, 152-153.

and “cruel” Savage were particularly tested in this instance of good treatment:

About that time there came an Indian to me and bid me come to his Wigwam, at night, and he would give me some Pork and Ground-nuts. Which I did, and as I was eating, another Indian said to me, he seems to be your good Friend, but he killed two Englishmen at Sudbury, and there ly their Cloaths behind you; I looked about me, and there I saw bloody Cloaths, with Bullet-holes in them; yet the Lord suffered not this wretch to do me any hurt; Yet instead of that, he many times refresht me: five or six times did he and his Squaw refresh my feeble carcass. If I went to their Wigwam at any time. they would alwayes give me something, and yet they were strangers that I never saw before.⁸⁹

Rowlandson’s unrelenting inability to credit Natives themselves for their kindness has been noted before, and explained by literary scholars as resulting from a variety of causes, including her personal psychology of grief due to the death of her child and the liminality of her position within her captor’s community.⁹⁰ But Rowlandson’s descriptions owe as much to a set of social assumptions as to these internal, individual experiences. Rowlandson’s particular experiences were probably not personally shared by many of her readers, but the popularity of her writings suggests that these assumptions may have been. In her writing, Rowlandson makes it clear that she believes her readers shared her belief that their Native “neighbours” were definitively different, outside the bounds of “English” and “Christian” order. Behaviours which blurred that boundary had to be explained otherwise, as part of God’s

⁸⁹Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness*, 154.

⁹⁰Mitchell Robert Breitweiser, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning: Religion Grief and Ethnology in Mary White Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1991). Michelle Burnham, "The Journey Between: Liminality and Dialogism In Mary White Rowlanson's Captivity Narrative," *Early American Literature* 28, no. 1 (1993), 60-75.

mercy or the Devil's action.

It is tempting to interpret these attitudes as "English racism", but there are two important problems with such an understanding. First, this prejudice seems less centred around notions of physical or even ethnic race than around a notion of "savagery" that closely related to attitude about Irish and Catholics. Drawing on a familiar tradition of atrocity literature, the English-in-America simply re-cast the old roles they had learned throughout the early modern period. Secondly, the English-in-England did not always share the same belief that the Natives were always outside the realms of orderliness.⁹¹ As the New Englanders were re-writing the drama of "civil English" and "savage Natives" to their own locale, at least one writer in England preferred to cast the (safely distant) Native Americans as "civil savages," and the settlers as "wild English."

Popular Fiction: Aphra Behn's "Wider Worlds" of Settler Disorder

Aphra Behn's The Widdow Ranter, Or, A History of Bacon in Virginia was the most florid and romanticized account of Bacon's Rebellion available to London's play-going and reading public. The play presents a world in which nothing is quite as it should be: incompetents rule government, lines of allegiance are murky, and rightful

⁹¹Carroll Smith-Rosenberg makes a somewhat similar argument in her article "Captured Subjects/Savage Others: Violently Engendering the New American." Gender and History 5 no. 2 (Summer 1993): 177-195. She argues that the settlers "had to imagine themselves American, and in the imagining, constitute a radical new imperial category---white Americans," 177. Although I agree that there is a discernible difference in English and English-American descriptions from this era, I part company with Smith-Rosenberg when it comes to the roots of this difference. I do not think the discourse is "distinctly American," but is an adaptation of the anti-Catholic, anti-Irish one which formed an important part of the transatlantic English Calvinist heritage.

authority is difficult to determine.⁹² Viewed in this context, the play seems to be as much about post-Glorious Revolution England as about far away Virginia. Rebellions and revolutions strained English allegiances to the breaking point, as large numbers of Tories joined their Whig opponents in adhering to the government of William and Mary against all traditional English notions of authority.⁹³

Did Aphra Behn, like other London readers, see the pamphlets discussed above? She had personal reason to be interested in colonial affairs, thanks to a youthful expedition to Surinam which led her to write Oroonoko. This novel of an enslaved African prince remains her best-known and most-examined work.⁹⁴ The colonial settings and political context of The Widdow Ranter suggest Behn may have written it in the late 1680's, as she prepared Oroonoko, perhaps intending it in part as a comment

⁹²Douglas Chambers discusses other examples of colonial narratives, specifically travel narratives, being used to illuminate English politics; see Chambers, The Reinvention of the World: English Writing 1650-1750 (London: Arnold Publishing, 1996), 48-77. He cites Joseph Addison's amusing story of Iroquois chiefs presented to Queen Anne who describe for their countrymen the horrible "monsters" of England, the Whigs and the Tories.

⁹³Behn's play certainly could be seen as relevant to the questions of the Glorious Revolution era in which it was published. Considering that the out-of-favour former Laureate Dryden seems to have been involved in staging the script after Behn's death, perhaps the play was performed as a kind of Tory protest. Whatever Behn's intentions, the play's mixed messages on rebellion leave neither Whig nor Tory audience members in totally comfortable positions.

⁹⁴The Widdow Ranter has primarily been examined in relation to Oroonoko. See, for example, Margaret Ferguson's "News From the New World: Miscegenous Romance in Aphra Behn's Oroonoko and The Widow Ranter," in The Production of English Renaissance Culture ed. Janet Miller et al, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 151-189, and Margo Hendricks, "Civility, Barbarism, and Aphra Behn's The Widow Ranter," in Women "Race" and Writing in the Early Modern Period, ed. Hendricks (London: Routledge, 1994), 225-239.

on the political atmosphere of the Exclusion Crisis.⁹⁵ Behn had made such covert comment before. The *roman à clef* Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister, the tragic novel Oroonoko, and the tragicomedy The Widdow Ranter all concerned rebels and rebellions, reflected in the distant mirrors of topsy-turvy foreign locales.⁹⁶ But even if Behn intended the play as commentary for home, its contents (the rebels holding planters' wives hostage, a showdown between Bacon and the governor, trade disputes with the Natives) show some genuine knowledge of Bacon's Rebellion.

As Susan Staves has demonstrated, late seventeenth-century English drama and other fictions consistently sought justification for the shift from patriarchal to contract authority, frequently citing "tradition" in support of innovation. Restoration drama often wrestled with the problem of establishing legitimate authority, while the accession of William and Mary helped make "true king" dramas unfashionable.⁹⁷ In The Widdow Ranter, Aphra Behn laid bare the uncomfortable contradictions of that search: the

⁹⁵Behn learned the danger of direct political comment after being arrested for her 1682 prologue and epilogue to Romulus and Hersilia, in which she condemned James Scott, Duke of Monmouth for disloyalty to his father. Despite his faithlessness, Monmouth was Charles II's favourite son. In addition to Janet Todd's biography, it is useful to consult Sara Heller Mendelson, The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 116-184, for good background on Behn's political fortunes and misfortunes.

⁹⁶Of course, all of these works also provide rich contexts beyond the political meanings I examine here. Love Letters is also a brilliant commentary on sexual politics and gender inequities. Oroonoko's commentary on "race," subjection, and empire have been extensively debated. (See footnote 99 below for a relevant summation.) My intention is not to diminish the importance of these themes, but to explore another context in which The Widdow Ranter would have been understood by contemporaries.

⁹⁷Susan Staves, Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration, 103-110.

colonial situation afforded her a setting where the line between order and disorder was perilously thin.⁹⁸

Although The Widdow Ranter has often been compared to Oroonoko, the moral dilemmas of the play are more confusing than those in the novel.⁹⁹ The ambiguity of the lines of order and disorder in Behn's play become clearest when we ask who are the villains in The Widdow Ranter? Certainly not the Natives. Despite the fact that they are clearly fighting the English settlers, the Native characters are hardly reprehensible. In fact, King Cavernio and Queen Semernia are arguably the most honourable characters in the play (just as the African Prince Oroonoko is arguably far more worthy to rule than any of the Englishmen who enslave him). In Behn's Virginia, it is the English settlers who sparked the bad relations though "ill Management of Trade."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸A former practitioner of the theatre of integration propaganda (wherein she supported established order in the person of the conservative Tory monarch), Behn hereby became for the first time, a practitioner of the theatre of agitation propaganda. See George Szantso, "The Three Theatres of Propaganda," in Szantso, Theatre and Propaganda. (Austin and London: The University of Texas, 1978), 71-93.

⁹⁹Oroonoko is a royal prince unjustly kidnapped. Both he and the female narrator are trapped in a situation not of their own making, like the characters in The Widdow Ranter. The novel, however, presents us with a very clear line of patriarchal authority. Oroonoko is a ruler, and will not stand to be ruled over for very long. His tragedy is not that of an ambiguously ambitious man; it is of royalty denied proper recognition. Important articles on the significance of the book include, among many, many others: Janet Athey and Daniel Cooper Alarcon, "Oroonoko's Gendered Economies of Honor/Horror: Reframing Colonial Discourse in the Americas," American Literature 65 no. 3 (September 1993): 415-441; Moira Ferguson, "Oroonoko: Birth of a Paradigm," New Literary History 23 (1992):339-359; and Jürgen von Stackelberg, "Oroonoko et l'Abolition de l'Esclavage: le Role du Traducteur," Revue de Litterature Comparée 2 (1989): 237-248.

¹⁰⁰Aphra Behn, The Widdow Ranter, (London, 1690), 3.

Behn's take on Bacon made him less genteel than Strange News had insisted, but of a natural nobility, and well-aware of his gifts.¹⁰¹ Bacon's thirst for glory was also encouraged by popular acclaim and his desire for the "Indian Queen":

This Thirst of Glory cherisht by Sullen Melancholly, I believe was the Motive that made him in Love with the young Indian Queen. fancying no hero ought to be without his princess. And this was the Reason why he so earnestly pressed a commission, to be made General against the Indians, which was long promis'd him, but they fearing his Ambition, still put him off, till the Grievances grew so high, that the whole Country flock'd to him, and beg'd he would redress them...¹⁰²

Behn also complicated the question of Bacon's opposing forces. The fictional colonists await the arrival of a governor; in his absence, a deputy governor and a council rule rather incompetently. The descriptions of the council members sound remarkably like those of Bacon's followers in More News: drunkards, former servants, transported criminals, and Cromwellian escapees. In an early scene, members of the council are so piebald and mercantile as to be unable (or unwilling) to recognize a challenge to a duel: they mistake the phrase "expecting satisfaction" for a request to settle a debt.¹⁰³ Even "Deputy Governor Wellman," a gentleman and the legitimate representative of royal authority, is not entirely an honourable figure, and his assistant "Downright" is similarly genteel but foolish. Behn had experienced colonial governance first-hand in Surinam,

¹⁰¹ Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 4.

¹⁰² Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 4. This theme was, of course, entirely absent from the news sheets, and for good reason: Bacon was already married to an Englishwoman named Elizabeth. No hint of romance occurs in any account other than Behn's, although the "Indian Queen" might have been inspired by the mention of the "Queen of the Pomonkes" in More News, or by the signatures of various "Queens" on the published treaty.

and perhaps she drew on that in writing these characters. The portrait of the governor she recorded in Oroonoko was certainly an unflattering one, but it was not nearly as elaborate as that of the Virginian governing council in The Widdow Ranter.

The contradictory “Wellman” seems to be a disguised caricature of Sir William Berkeley, the royally-appointed governor who was himself remiss in obeying direct royal orders. As Secretary Coventry noted sharply in an exasperated memo to Berkeley. “The King has very little hopes that the people of Virginia shall be brought to a right sense of their duty to obey their Governors when the Governors themselves will not obey the King.”¹⁰⁴ Behn’s presentation suggests that confusion over legitimacy is no excuse for either rebellion (by such as Bacon) or for poor governance (by those such as Wellman). Seen in the light of questions of honour, duty, and promise-keeping, the stories in The Widdow Ranter take on a dark, almost bitter tone. Even the characters of the comic sub-plot reveal a scheming duplicity at odds with their paeans to true love.¹⁰⁵

The only character who unambiguously acts dutifully and honourably is not English at all: Semernia, the Indian Queen. She remains a faithful wife and queen, despite her passion for Bacon. Trapped in a wood after the Indian King’s death, dressed in male clothing to avoid capture, she remains true to duty, denying her feelings and

¹⁰³Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 6-7.

¹⁰⁴Secretary Coventry to Sir William Berkeley, May 15, 1677, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1677-1680 Col. Entry Book, Vol XCV (London: HMSO, 1896), 194-198.

¹⁰⁵Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 4.

refusing to stay with Bacon: “Not fly—not fly the Murderer of my Lord?”¹⁰⁶ Only as she dies (from a wound accidentally inflicted by Bacon) does she allow herself the pleasure of loving the Englishman “without Infamy.”¹⁰⁷

Bacon’s own death a half-page later emphasizes the contradictions in his character and his rebellion. He has variously claimed to fight for glory, for Semernia, and, in a dramatic confrontation with Wellman, for the sake of his fellow settlers:

Should I stand by and see my Country ruin’d., my King dishonour’d, and his Subjects murder’d, hear the sad Crys of the Widows and of Orphans? you heard it loud, but gave no pitying care to’t, and till the War and Massacre was brought to my own door, my Flocks and Herds surprized, I bore it with patience. Is it unlawful to defend my self against a Thief that breaks into my Doors?¹⁰⁸

Bacon’s claim that “the height of my Ambition is to be an honest Subject.” is a sympathetic one, but Behn cast doubt on this statement by making his faults as visible as his virtues. Both his love for Semernia and his impatience of lawful authority complicate Bacon’s character; neither are completely dishonourable, but both have terrible consequences. Bacon’s dying reaction to the news that the rebels have won the day provides both revelation and heavy handed-lesson. Embracing Daring and his other lieutenant, Fearless, he responds to the news of victory:

...now while you are Victors make a Peace--with the English Council--and never let Ambition--Love--or Interest make you forget as I have done---your Duty--and Allegiance--farewel--a long farewell--¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 50.

¹⁰⁷Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 51-53.

¹⁰⁸Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 24.

¹⁰⁹Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 54

If Bacon's lover Semernia is the most dutiful character in this play, then the leading lady of the title is the most outrageous. The women are faced with an unappealing array of lovers. Women's rebellion and disorder in colonial situations is not as disruptive as men's, at least in Behn's formulation; they are all rewarded and win the men of their own choice. Even the tavern-owner, "Mrs." Flirt, gets her wish in the final scene.¹¹⁰ Supported by the other women, she asks the governor to require the duplicitous Parson Duncie to marry her, for "on promise of marriage" he had "been a little familiar with (her) Person...."¹¹¹

The Widow is the most powerful and decisive of all the female characters. Like the men of the council, she is a former servant (who married her elderly master and inherited his fortune in short order); unlike them, she is not ridiculed for her social climbing. She smokes tobacco and drinks heavily. At the same time, she shows incredible courage and faithfulness, something her male counterparts are sadly lacking. The low-born councillors avoid battle at all costs, at one point even playing dead on the battlefield in order to avoid harm. In contrast, Ranter dresses as a man and proposes to fight her own love: "Pox on't no, why should I sigh and whine and make my self an

¹¹⁰In the seventeenth century, "Mrs." referred to social status, rather than marital status. Chrisante, unmarried, and Surelove, married, are both called "Mrs." throughout the play. There is even a joke on this point in the first scene as the alehouse proprietor, Mrs. Flirt, is referred to as "Madam," a ridiculously inflated social title for a woman running a tavern. When Hazard expresses surprise at this use of titles, Friendly tells him even the genteel title "Mrs." is not enough for Virginia's social climbers: " ..'tis the greatest affront imaginable to call a woman Mistris, 'though but a Brandy-monger," 4. There is a good discussion of this in Mary Beth Norton, Founding Mothers and Fathers, 18-19.

¹¹¹Behn, Widdow Ranter, 55.

Ass, and him conceited, no, instead of sniveling I'm resolve'd...to beat the Rascal...."¹¹²

In fact, the enemy is in the English camp, personified by the incompetent and dishonourable Council members and the farrier-turned-Parson Dunce (who, as we have noted, is guilty of fornication with the tavernkeeper). The councilors switch allegiance to Bacon when it is convenient, making it even more difficult to distinguish which is the "right" side, Bacon's or the governor's. Even those characters who should govern well are not entirely trustworthy. The supposedly honourable Wellman seriously considers (but rejects) Parson Dunce's scheme to lure Bacon back through false promises of pardon.¹¹³ Behn made a similar point in Oroonoko, where Surinam's governor was evil and his Council "consisted of such notorious villains as Newgate never transported."¹¹⁴ Like a seventeenth-century Pogo, Behn tells her English audience that they have found their enemy, and it seems to be themselves.

Or is it? Behn's villains and clowns are those most at home in the colony, not those most like her London audience. The characters arrived most recently from England are presented sympathetically. A new governor from England promises to solve the problem of disorder in the colony. English order leads to a happy ending. Wellman calls for reconciliation and grants Bacon's former lieutenants commissions from the council. Marriages unite opposing sides, and Wellman states with relief that the Governor will be pleased to find the country in such an unexpectedly peaceful

¹¹²Behn, Widdow Ranter, 42-43.

¹¹³ Behn, Widdow Ranter, 8.

¹¹⁴Aphra Behn, Oroonoko; or, the Royal Slave (New York and London: W.W.

state.¹¹⁵

Behn does not seem to be entirely opposed to the colonial enterprise. Behn skirted the issue of the morality of colonial conquest in an exchange between the Indian King and Bacon:

King:...(I) have oft heard my Grandsire say--That we were Monarchs
once of all this spacious World; Till you an unknown People landing here,
Distres'd and min'd by destructive storms, Abusing all our Charitable
Hospitality, Usurp'd our Right, and made your friends your slaves.

Bac: I will not justify the Ingratitude of my fore-fathers, but finding here
my Inheritance, I am resolv'd to maintain it so, And by my sword which first cut
out my Portion, Defend each inch of land with my last drop of Bloud.¹¹⁶

This ironic juxtaposition of the language of usurpation and birthright could hardly have been missed in post-Glorious Revolution England. Behn's relatively sympathetic portrayal of the Natives, however, reflects the growing differences between settlers and English-in-England. While the English-at-home could continue to justify colonial expansion, without personally risking such horrors as Mary Rowlandson's captivity. Native Americans were farther removed than the Irish Catholics, and somewhat easier to romanticize. Further, they could be viewed from London as useful allies. Stephen Saunders Webb's general argument in 1676 makes sense from this perspective: the centralizing tendencies of London resulted in a marked difference between the way American colonists thought things should be run and the way they actually were.

On the other hand, the publications regarding King Philip's War and Bacon's

Norton, 1973), 69.

¹¹⁵Behn, Widdow Ranter, 55.

¹¹⁶Behn, Widdow Ranter, 13-14.

Rebellion indicate awareness of a kind of nascent “independence” that is not so easily erased by imperial control. Settler society was described as clearly different from English society. Increase Mather, for example, was not concerned with describing a “City on the Hill” that could be set an example for England, as the writers of the 1640’s had been. Even in a manuscript written for publication in London, Mather was addressing New Englanders. The works of 1676 are devoid of the kind of pleas for assistance found in the works from Ireland in the 1640’s, or the sense of connectedness with the Puritan revolutionaries in the same era. The rise of publishing in Boston meant that it was quite possible to not be concerned with the perspective of London readers at all. Virginia would not have this same luxury for two more decades, but the establishment of a press at Williamsburg in 1693 was a beginning. Meanwhile, the government of Charles II and Aphra Behn shared a sense that some Natives were allies, not enemies. Both the published treaty and Behn’s play suggest that from a London perspective, the enemies of colonial order came from within English settler society. The Natives are noble savages; Nathaniel Bacon is a particularly savage noble.

These differences in perspective about Natives would increase in the eighteenth century, as James Axtell points out when discussing the Church of England’s increasingly enthusiastic conversion policy. The founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts came in 1702, just as interest among settlers for such enterprises generally waned. Eleazar Wheelock noted in the mid-eighteenth century that colonial legislatures and churches “breath forth nothing towards {the

Indians} nothing but Slaughter & destruction.” Perhaps most telling of all is the story Axtell reports of a Connecticut congregation which took a collection for the conversion of the Natives in 1763. The collection plate returned to the minister empty, but for “a Bullet & Flynt.”¹¹⁷

But there was some optimism in English perspectives on the American colonies at the end of the seventeenth century-- more optimism than on Ireland, as we shall see in the next chapter. Webb argues that the English believed that colonies like Virginia only needed a little judicious application of central authority. Aphra Behn’s formulations suggest a popular attitude reflective of this government policy. Bacon’s settler lieutenants “Daring” and “Fearless” are in the end united with, and tempered by, the traditional English authority “Downright” and “Wellman.” But Behn also suggests that even the disorderly colonist may have had his or her uses. If the criminals of the council are examples of the worst of social climbing, then the wildly unconventional Ranter is its best. Her natural courage and honesty make her a fit partner for one of the gentry. Virginian society is portrayed at the beginning of the play in disturbing contrast to traditional English order. The last scene, however, suggests an appealing, and hopeful, vision of colonial society:

Come my brave Youths, let all our forces meet
To make this Country Happy, Rich and great!
Let scanted Europe see that we enjoy
Safer Repose, and larger Worlds, than they.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷Wheelock quoted in Axtell, The Invasion Within, 210.

¹¹⁸Behn, The Widdow Ranter, 56.

But even if Behn's readers shared this optimism over colonial ventures in 1690, they might equally have shared her suggestion that it could not be achieved without the kind of tragic struggle and settler incompetence she described. Perhaps her tragicomedy could even have been understood as a comment on colonial venture closer to home, in Ireland. For in the years 1689-91, there came another flood of anonymous pamphlets and other works about Ireland into the English reading market which turned the Williamite Wars into both serious drama and bloody farce.

Chapter Four

"The Conquest of Ireland: A New Farce": "Glorious" Revolutions in Late Seventeenth Century Print

Teague: By my Shoule...if no Enemy appears before the Town--if I meet with no Molestashions of Bombs and Granadoes, and such other Diabolocial Instruments of Death--I will hold out your Majesties Town as long as Nestor liv'd....¹

As students of folklore, literature, and Jungian psychology are well aware, the figure of power and danger may also be a figure of fun.² The Coyote figure of American myth is a resourceful demigod who is, nevertheless, completely unable to remember even the simplest song.³ The devil in Scottish tales seduces witches, but can be easily outwitted by the village blacksmith; B'rer Rabbit usually escapes the clutches of B'rer Fox, but not without considerable embarrassment along the way. The Norse god Loki maliciously plots the demise of the gentle god Baldur, but simultaneously amuses and protects the inhabitants of Asgard with his shapeshifting.⁴

¹The Royal Flight (London, 1690).

²D. S. Brewer, ed. The Fool and the Trickster: Studies in Honour of Enid Welsford (Cambridge, Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1979); C. G. Jung, Four Archetypes: Mother, Rebirth, Spirit, Trickster (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970).

³Dell H. Hymes, "Coyote, The Thinking (Wo)Man's Trickster" in Monsters, Tricksters, and Sacred Cows: Animal Tales and American Identities, ed. A. James Arnold (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 108-137.

⁴For these and further trickster references, see Stephen L. Kaplan, Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth

In the late seventeenth century, accounts of the Williamite Wars presented Ireland as full of these ambivalent tricksters, both foes and fools. Even when their tone is completely serious, pamphlet accounts show little of the demonization of Irishness present in the 1640's. Writers in England seemed to be distinctly more disdainful than fearful of the Irish. James II had established a stronghold in Ireland after fleeing England in the face of William and Mary's invasion, but was dependant upon French aid to bolster both his finances and armies. William's decisive triumph at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 contained the threat of civil unrest in Ireland in a way that English forces had not been able to do after the Ulster Rising. This security must have contributed to the restrained language adopted by most English writers when describing the Williamite Wars.

But even if the tone of presentation changed from the 1640's, the lines drawn by writers when discussing colonial order remained similar, and in many cases hardened. In their works, Catholicism is still a defining characteristic of "Irishness." Distinctions between Old English and Gaelic Irish almost disappear, mitigated by common religion and Jacobitism. Class is more important than ethnicity; the Old English and Gaelic aristocracy are together "the better sort" of Irish. By the end of the seventeenth century, writers seemed to expect that English

Century (Berlin and New York : Mouton, 1984); Robert D. Pelton, The Trickster in West Africa: A Study of Mythic Irony and Sacred Delight (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1980), and Susan Niditch, Underdogs and Tricksters : A

readers understood the boundaries between “Irish” and non-Irish; they could be expected to recognize signs of “Irishness” in works presented as fiction as well as fact.

Meanwhile, Protestant colonists in Ireland were not “Irish,” but were not “English” or “British” either. Their religion put them firmly on the side of order and “the English interest,” but they are different again from the English in England. Like colonists in Massachusetts, who also faced some suspicion for their role in the revolution, they are no longer “English.” What, then, could they be? Although the New England settlers and the Protestant settlers in Ireland were by no means discussed as harshly as the “Irish,” their presentation in print matched their increasing separation from English society and polity.

“The Present Affairs of That Kingdom”: From Restoration to Revolution

As noted in Table Two, above, the numbers of published works about Ireland declined considerably after the peak in the 1640’s, not to rise again until the post-Glorious Revolution era. If we look at the two periods by precise years included in this study of publication, we can see that the percentage of “Irish” titles is almost as high for the Glorious Revolution era as for the Ulster Rebellion.

Table III Titles in Wing STC with ‘Ireland’ or ‘Irish’, Civil War and Glorious Revolution eras compared

Years	Titles with ‘Ireland’ or ‘Irish’	Total Number of Titles	% of Titles with ‘Ireland’ or ‘Irish’
1641-1652	479	21,839	2.2%

Prelude to Biblical Folklore (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987).

1688-1699	464	22,965	2.0%
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In her examination the course of English print about Ireland from the 1640's forward, Patricia Coughlin suggests that the later seventeenth century marked an attempt to build a discourse founded on increasingly "dispassionate" and "rational" notions of Ireland. She ends her examination with Sir William Petty's 1672 work, however, and proposes a jump from Petty to Swift.⁵ A closer examination of the Glorious Revolution era confirms an increasing pattern of defining the "Irish" as less threatening, but this was no simple progressive process. As noted in the previous chapter, there had been some return to anti-Catholic hysteria in the pamphlets of the 1670's and 1680's. This marked a change from the 1660's, when the Restoration compromises and censorship of Charles II seem to have succeeded in quieting printed protest over Irish affairs. Peaceable times meant a decline in the numbers of works written about colonial places, although the "Peace and union" of Ireland, England Wales and Scotland was celebrated in 1660's History of the Union of the Four Famous Kingdoms. (The source of this alleged unity? The "prowess and prudence of the English," of course.)⁶ Hardened anti-Catholic Puritan zeal did not translate into reams of publications about Ireland in the Restoration; possibly this was due to the relatively peaceful sorting out by

⁵Patricia Coughlin, "'Cheap and Common Animals,'" 218-220.

⁶The History of the Four Famous Kingdoms of England, Wales, Scotland

the new administration of the tensions between “Natives...deeply guilt of Rebellion” and “the Protestant Interest.”⁷ These rhetorical divides between “Protestant” settlers and “Natives” were further complicated by tensions between the Presbyterians in Ireland and the Restoration Anglicans.⁸ The tensions which remained simmering produced some writing that repeated this formula of “the Protestant Interest” in Ireland. 1668’s Quaeries Touching the Present Condition of His Majesties Kingdom in Ireland questioned the Duke of Ormond’s commitment to the “English and Protestant Interest” considering that he is “As much Irish as any can be.”⁹

Yet these formulations, and the anti-Catholicism of the 1670’s and 1680’s, developed alongside a newer figure in English fictions about Ireland: a comic “stage-Irishman.”¹⁰ Robert Howard’s wildly popular 1663 comedy, The Committee,

and Ireland (London, 1660), t.p.

⁷By the King A Proclamation Against the Rebels in Ireland (London, 1660). There had been some return to that style by settler writers in Ireland during the Commonwealth; A Faithfull Representation of Ireland Whose Bleeding Eye is On England For Help (London, 1660) echoed the rhetorical style of the 1640’s. Written on behalf of Cromwellian settlers, it addressed Parliament decrying the pro-royalist faction of “Irish Papists.” (One cannot help but wonder if these “Constant and Cordial Adheres to the Parliament and Common-wealth” found themselves somewhat embarrassed as, in short order, monarchy once again became the order of the day.)

⁸John D. Neville, “Irish Presbyterians Under the Restored Stuart Monarchy,” Eire-Ireland 16, no.2 (1981): 29-42.

⁹Quaeries Touching the Present Condition of his Majesties Kingdom of Ireland (London 1668), 4.

¹⁰For a full, if somewhat dated, account of Irish characters in dramatic form

or the Faithful Irishman, contrasted the loyalty of the bumbling servant Teague with the evil plotting of the Puritan committee-members of the title. This High Tory comedy may have meant the contrast as a great piece of irony. In the anti-popish hysteria of the 1640's, writers had promoted the fear of Irish servants just like Teague; in Howard's play he was a far more faithful and honourable fellow than any of the Cromwellian Puritans. The play was so popular that it remained a stock-piece in London theatres until 1800 and was re-printed many times during that era.¹¹ This kind of comic interpretation of Irishness could even be sustained during the height of revived anti-Irish publishing in the 1679-1682 period. Thomas Shadwell featured a comic Irish Jesuit in the subtitle of his Lancashire Witches, or Teague O'Divelly the Irish Priest of 1681. Cunning yet simple, deceptive and easily deceived, the Jesuit priest "Teague" fled from punishment for his role in the Popish Plot. In Shadwell's formulation, the English conception of Irish "danger" was increasingly tempered by a sense of superiority. As we shall see below, the

before 1800, see G.C. Duggan, The Stage Irishman (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1937 and 1969). See also J. O. Bartley, Teague, Shenkin and Sawney (Cork: Cork University Press, 1954) and Annelise Trüninger, Paddy and the Paycock (Bern: Francke, 1976).

¹¹Both Pepys and Evelyn noted the importance of Teague to the play's appeal. Evelyn saw the play on November 29, 1662 and called it "a ridiculous play of Sir R. Howard, where ye mimic Lacy acted the Irish footman to admiration." In his diary for June 12, 1663, Pepys called The Committee "a merry but indifferent play, only Lacey's part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination." Pepys mentions seeing the play four more times. John Evelyn, Diary of John Evelyn, ed. William Bray (London: Wheatley, 1906), II, 155. Samuel Pepys, Pepys on the Restoration

spirit of the 1690's posited Irish Catholicism as superstition, to be answered not by religious fervour but by erudition and "moderate" religion. The cheap print of 1689-91 seems to confirm that some cheap print authors shared some of what Coughlin calls Petty's "rationality." But there were inconsistencies; authors like Bishop King were far from "dispassionate," while the continuing use of the fictions of the "stage Irishman" provided a less negative but hardly "rational" view of Irishness.

"A Letter of Advice": 1689-90 Appeals and News in London

James II arrived on Irish shores in March 1689. Although he convened the so-called "Patriot Parliament" of his Catholic supporters in Ireland, his ultimate goal remained the throne of England. To this end, James refused to revoke Poyning's Law, or to establish Roman Catholicism, agreeing only to full liberty of conscience. Nevertheless, his Protestant subjects in Ireland were less than enthusiastic about his presence; Derry closed its doors, beginning the long Siege of Derry. James was far from an Irish nationalist saviour; his most important backing came from Louis XIV, rather than his Irish supporters. But whether Irish Catholic icon or French Catholic puppet, his time in Ireland was short-lived. William's forces relieved Derry in July 1689 and, by 1691, had ejected James and a number

of his supporters from Ireland.¹² As in the 1640's, pamphlets kept English readers fully informed of these and other developments in Ireland, part of a larger propaganda campaign in support of William and Mary.¹³

But important differences in tone between the two eras are immediately apparent. The presence of French troops added a new level of "outsider" in describing colonial identities; James' supporters were arguably foreign by association. As well, the internal political situation in England was considerably more stable in 1689 than in 1642. The latter factor, rather than any new-found affection for things "Irish," is perhaps most important in explaining the noticeably less passionate tone assumed by the pamphlets and other works of 1689-91.¹⁴ Also as in the 1640's, there were appeals by Protestant settlers for aid from England, but these struck a different tone than their 1640's predecessors. A Letter of Advice from a Protestant out of Ireland to the Masters of Apprentices appeals to the

¹²There are a number of accounts of the Williamite Wars in Ireland, but one which effectively discusses the divides within James' Catholic supporters is Brendan Fitzpatrick, Seventeenth Century Ireland: The War of the Religions (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1989), especially Chapter 10, "Ideologies in Conflict." See also John Childs, The Army, James II, and the Glorious Revolution (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1980).

¹³For a fuller discussion of Williamite Protestant propaganda in England, see Tony Clayton, William III and the Godly Revolution (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹⁴There were fears in England about James' Irish soldiers, spread via word of mouth, but these are not particularly visible in the works discussing Ireland. George Hilton Jones, "The Irish Fright of 1688: Real Violence and Imagined Massacre," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 55, no.132 (1982): 148-

“Brethren” and the “Protestant Cause,” but does not emphasize commonalities of religion, or the difference of the enemy. Rather, it appeals to a shared relationship that is primarily commercial, suggesting that masters of apprentices in Ireland would gladly release their charges for military service were the situation reversed. It argues that English masters would do the same “if Scotland also, as well as we, should stand in need of your Assistance,” suggesting an appeal to a sense of British identity based on these commercial concerns.¹⁵ A personal mercenary appeal might also be made, as in the “Motives of Encouragement for the Officers and Souldiers who will serve in the Present war of Ireland” in Great News from Ireland. Two of its four pages concern the pay and land available in Ireland. The rest feature historical arguments for the subjugation of Ireland to England, and discussed the false teaching of Rome and its weight in the Irish antipathy for the English, a theme which is further explored below.¹⁶

“The French were not unmindful of them”: The Enemy's Religion

“Irishness” is defined by Catholicism and opposition in the works of 1689-91 as it had been in the 1640's. “Irish” forces are described as almost invariably Catholic and pro-James. Only occasionally are there references to “Irish” Protestants; A Letter from Ireland Giving an Account of a Bloody

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¹⁵A Letter of Advice from a Protestant Out of Ireland to the Masters of Apprentices in the Cities of London and Westminster (London, 1689), broadside.

Engagement discusses “Irish Protestant Gentlemen.” Elsewhere in this same one-page broadside, however, the “Irish companies” are clearly Catholic.¹⁷ It would seem that “Irish” was still synonymous with Catholic even when the existence of “Irish Protestant Gentlemen” could be admitted.

What measure did Catholicism play in separating civil from uncivil? The discussion of the French and other European Catholic forces present in Ireland provides a helpful contrast. Although they “insult” an English Squadron in one pamphlet, the French are never uncivil. Their king is called “antichristian” and full of “pride,” but nowhere do the French seem ridiculously stupid, nor barbaric.¹⁸ In fact, the French forces are often presented as the *éminences grises* even when a pamphlet apparently details a battle against the “Irish.” For example, a broadsheet detailing The Protestants Success Against the Late K. James and the French in Ireland spends about four-fifths of its two columns discussing battles with the “Irish.” These Irish troops are “villains,” whose success is due to luck, cunning, and the unsatisfactory state of preparedness of their victims. By contrast, the strength of the French is generally emphasized in this pamphlet and in others; they are a superior foe, able to out-gun the Protestants and to “poyson” with their gold.

¹⁶Great News from Ireland (London, 1689), broadside.

¹⁷A Letter From Ireland, giving an Account of a Bloody Engagement Between the Protestants at London-Derry (London, 1689), broadside.

¹⁸A Brief Account of a Great Engagement (London, 1689), broadside.

No apologies are necessary in the face of defeat by the French.¹⁹ Other enemies are even more gently treated; one pamphlet says that Protestant “Switz and Germans” fighting with James are practically pro-English, as they “applaud the conduct of King William, which makes all the Gentlemen question their Fidelity.” According to this pamphlet, “the first Day they came to Dublin, 500 of them went to the Protestant Churches to the great dissatisfaction of the Irish.”²⁰ This separation between the “Irish” and their European allies is a feature in many of the pamphlets from 1690. Not only did quarrels between the “French and Irish factions” give hope to their readers that James would be defeated, they underlined the difference between the “Irish” and other European Catholics and Jacobites.²¹

“The Misery they feared”²²: The Muted Language of Brutality

For writers in the 1690's, the “Irish” are clearly not English, and not Protestant, but one notices a striking lack of verbiage about their monstrosity, their barbarity, or their animal-like characteristics in the era's pamphlets. Appeals are made on behalf of the “distressed Protestants,” but there little elaboration is given about their distress or its source. Freed Protestant prisoners tell their liberators that

¹⁹A True and Full Narrative of the Protestants Success (London, 1689), broadside.

²⁰Great News from Ireland, Being a Full and True Relation of the Several Great and Successful Defeats which the Danish and Inniskilling Forces (London, 1690), broadside.

²¹Great News from Scotland and Ireland (London, 1690), broadside.

²²Great and Good News from Ireland Being a True and Full Account, n.d.

they feared much, but, compared to the 1640's, few instances of atrocities are named.²³ One 1690 account asserted that "the Irish do commit great Barbarities in the West," but did not further elaborate those actions.²⁴ William King's vitriolic State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James' Government spared little in its portrayal of James' Irish colleagues, the "Scum and Rascality of the World."²⁵ Yet even in his 400-odd pages there is little to compare with the animalistic and brutal tales regarding the Irish that so characterize the 1640's. Instead, there are references to ritual desecration:

In some Churches in the Diocese of Dublin they hung up a black sheep in the pulpit, and put some part of the Bible before it. In some places the Creaghs, a sort of wild Irish, that chose to fly out of the North ...turn'd the Protestant Churches into lodging places; defacing and burning whatever was combustible in them.²⁶

The association between the Irish and animals, and with both "wild" men and ritual impurity, is present but muted. King is more likely to elaborate and appeal to verbal and psychological cruelty on the part of the Irish than to emphasize physicality. For example, the "Papists of Ireland" are "fond" of Louis XIV and their affection "increased in proportion to his barbarity; and they could

broadside.

²³Great and Good News from Ireland.

²⁴Great News from Limerick, Giving an Account of the Successful Victory Over the Irish Rebels (London, 1690), 2.

²⁵William King, The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James' Government (London, 1691), 22.

²⁶King, State of the Protestants, 209.

never speak of it without Passion and transport....” Further they taunt King and other Protestants with the prospect of a Catholic kingdom in which Protestants would become “hewers of wood and drawers of water... as for the English, they would make them as poor devils as when they first came into Ireland....”²⁷ In a few places, there are echoes of the mutual barbarism of the 1640’s, such as the tale of Protestant women and children stripped naked by the Irish after being delivered to their co-religionists. In retaliation, the English soldiers strip Irish Jacobite prisoners.²⁸ More typically, pamphlet writers simply associate the Irish with lying, usually with the suggestion that the Roman Catholic church encourages this trait: “said clergy...have most Zealously imposed and infused such principles as are most sutable...to the ignorance and barbarity of the deluded Natives...an oath taken on a Protestant Bible is no more obliging than if taken on Aesop’s Fables.”²⁹ The Irish are referred to as “Rebels” in almost every broadside, but without any elaborations equating rebellion with witchcraft. In fact, explicitly religious rhetoric is noticeably absent: the Irish (and occasionally the French) rail about “Hereticks,” but the broadsides and pamphlets have little to say about Catholicism from a “Protestant” perspective. A broadside describing a skirmish put the language of divisive religion in the mouth of the member of the “Irish Army”: their enemies in the “English

²⁷King, State of the Protestants, 17-18.

²⁸A Letter from Dublin in Ireland.

²⁹Great News from Ireland Being Motives of Encouragement (London

Army” were “hereticks,” but the author noted ironically that “...the Hereticks were not so easily overcome as had before been vainly promised.”³⁰ This pamphlet, like the others, does make it clear that the “Irish” were defined as the non-Protestant residents of the country, and notes that the “Irish Rabble”

...were now employed by Publick authority to plunder and destroy the Lives and Fortunes of the protestants, which they performed with such Cruelty, that the Insolencies of the Standing army seemed favours, when compared with the bloody Outrages of those barbarous Cannibals; and now the publick cries of such as had escaped the Irish Fury for the loss of their dearest Friends...cast the whole Countrey under such a general: consternation that it was impossible to revive the hearts of the dejected Protestants....³¹

While strong words indeed, this description is nothing like the graphic horrors of the 1640's. In 1689-91, the authors of the cheapest print did not find it necessary to elaborate on the barbarism of the Irish to express the point to their readers. Instead, humour at their primitivism and foolishness might even appear; instead of being downtrodden at the news that King William had arrived in Ireland, the Irish Catholics “rejoyced as if they had got King William in a Pound.”³² And works written slightly later, such as George Story’s Continuation of the Impartial History (1693) might take an even more “detached” tone, criticizing the very language of barbarity:

1689), 2.

³⁰A True and Faithful Account of the Late Engagement (London 1689), 2.

³¹A Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland (London, 1690), 40.

³²A True and Perfect Journal of the Affairs in Ireland Since His Majesties

It has been an Observation before my time, That all people generally have a good opinion of themselves, and magnifie their own Country-men either as to Courage or Customs, though it be often without the least shew of Reason. The Turks you see contemn us, and we them as much... We call the Irish Wild and Rude, and they think to be even with us in calling us English Churles, and other Names of Reproach; and notwithstanding they were worsted, yet their Officers would confidently affirm, That their men had as much courage as those that beat them...³³

“When the religion...was the same with that of the Irish, yet their Hatred was the same”¹: Race, Religion and Irishness

If the “Irish” and the Roman Catholic church were less likely to be denounced as devilish in the 1689-91 period, they were still clearly not on the side of the angels. Instead, the political associations of Catholicism were emphasized: one book denounces King James’ “darling Twins, Popery and Slavery.”³⁴ Irish Roman Catholics were “naturally Slaves to the Yoke of Rome” and therefore “could not but welcome the Chains of a Popish Tyrant.” But the relationship between Irish rebellion and the Roman Catholic church in English writings was complex. Great News from Ireland is notable, not only for its several printings, but for attempting a careful consideration of both the war and the general venture of colonization in Ireland. In one double-sided broadsheet, it summarizes more expansive works, and proposes that although religion played a role in the attitudes

Arrival in that Kingdom (London, 1690), 1.

³³George Story, A Continuation of the Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland (London, 1693), preface.

³⁴A Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland from the Late K. James Accession to the Crown (London, 1690), 3.

of the “Irish,” their incivility preceded the Reformation:

...when the Religion of the Crown and People of England was the same with that of the Native Irish, yet their hatred was the same than as now, as appears by G. Cambrensis, by Spencer, by Paccata Hibernia, and in divers Acts of Parliaments before the time of K. Henry the 8th....Both before the Reformation of Religion, and since, it appears, that whatever was the perswasion of the Crown of England in matters of Religion, they still found it to their Interest to lessen and discourage the Irish Interest, and to enlarge and encourage the British Interest in that Kingdom.³⁵

The author further suggests that the “Romish clergy” have only “improved” the innate hatred of the Irish to the British to a “higher elevation than before.”³⁶

The author of this tract also specifically names the “Rebellion of 1641” as an example of both “Irish” (innate) and “Catholic” (encouraged by the Church) hatred of the English, and as evidence that the “Irish” are not fit to govern.

Yet although the author suggests again and again that the “Irish” are completely incapable of governing and have been enriched entirely by the labour of the “British,” he does state that there are in fact “Sober, Industrious, Men of Estates” who are “Irish.” How can these sorts of Irish be recognized? Easily enough: they prefer British rule.³⁷ The author gives reasons of economy and prosperity as well as order in his summing up of the justification for “English” and “British” involvement in Ireland:

Ireland which hath been hitherto a charge and Burthen to England,

³⁵Great News from Ireland, n.p.

³⁶Great News from Ireland, n.p.

³⁷Great News from Ireland, n.p.

may for the future be made a place of great advantage to the British Crown and to the British people, and afford better encouragements to industrious and sober Persons, than any of our Forreign Plantations....³⁸

This articulation seems to be directed especially towards those of a somewhat humble estate. It is brief (and therefore affordable), and it is addressed specifically to both officers and the rank-and-file of the military. It draws on reasons of religion for the conquest of Ireland, but they are reasons based on imposing order and control rather than on the need to save souls. The possible conversion of the Irish Papists appears nowhere in this tract. Like Petty and other authors of “high” discourse, the author appeals to the economic benefits of colonies, but this is benefit for Britain rather than Ireland, and for *future* colonists, not the Protestant settlers already present. And despite its often dispassionate tone, this tract also suggests that the nature of Irish “hatred” is historically constant and immutable. Yet these same “Irish” are defined by religion; the Old English are lumped in with the Gaelic Irish in this immutably Catholic lot.

William King’s work provides a particularly important analysis of the interplay between acquired Roman Catholic traits and inherent Irish barbarity. Unlike the pamphlet writers of 1689, King had substantial space in which to expound his theories. On the one hand, he clearly linked Catholicism to the traits of an uncivilized lifestyle, particularly a “lack of compassion.” This was remarkable

³⁸Great News from Ireland, n.p.

in “Converts and others,” apparently making it an acquired characteristic, along with Catholicism.³⁹ But in other places he accredited an inherent characteristic of the “Natives, who were always known to design and ready to execute their malice on their Conquerors.”⁴⁰

“The end of this play is to expose the Perfidious, Base, Cowardly, Bloody Nature of the Irish”⁴¹: Fictions of Teague

Where does fact end and fiction begin? The events of the Williamite wars inspired at least two dramas which, if made into modern-day television series would undoubtedly be labeled “reality-based.” In combination with Thomas Shadwell’s Teague comedies, these closet dramas distilled many of the pamphlets’ “Irish” into the quintessential seventeenth-century Irishman. “Teague.” The “stage Irishman” is hardly the invention of the nineteenth century; Shakespeare’s Captain MacMorris in Henry V demonstrates the verbal extravagance and “by Chrish’s” that would identify a character as Irish for at least four centuries.⁴²

A caricature must be recognized in order to be effective. The fictional “Teagues” of the drama of the 1689-91 period provide a valuable snapshot of what English readers and audiences expected to recognize as Irish: Catholicism.

³⁹King, State of the Protestants, 30.

⁴⁰King, State of the Protestants, 106.

⁴¹The Royal Voyage (London, 1690), preface.

⁴²Duggan, The Stage Irishman, 27.

superstition, verbal violence and physical cowardice. When presented as an account of contemporary events, as in the closet dramas The Royal Voyage and The Royal Flight, we may compile a powerful picture of an English person's casual view of the "Irish."

The Royal Voyage, or the Irish Expedition and its sequel, The Royal Flight: or, the Conquest of Ireland, were published in 1690 as closet dramas, plays meant to be read rather than performed.⁴³ The possibility of political commentary in closet drama was obvious: title pages could pun at will on the events being "acted" in the way that stageplays were acted at theatres. For example, another closet drama of the Glorious Revolution era, The Abdicated Prince, purported to show events "lately acted at the Court at Alba Regalis, by several persons of Great Quality."⁴⁴ Puns such as this, or labelling a play "The Irish Expedition, a Tragicomedy acted in the Years 1689 and 90" underlined the authors' opinions of the events therein.

In the preface the author pledges to reveal for the reader "the Perfidious,

⁴³Macaulay assumed that The Royal Voyage (he does not mention The Royal Flight) was in fact performed at Bartholemew Fair, and some commentators, including Duggan, follow his assumption that it was performed. There is no evidence of its performance, although the theatre historian is well aware that negative evidence in this respect means little. I am interested in plays primarily for readers, not audiences, so the point is somewhat moot. In structure, detail of stage direction, style and description of being acted "by Their Majesties Servants" (as discussed in text above), the plays most closely fit the mold of closet drama. For Duggan's discussion of Macaulay and these plays, see The Stage Irishman, 74-84.

⁴⁴The Abdicated Prince, or, the Adventures of Four Years, a Tragi-Comedy (London, 1690), t.p.

Base, Cowardly, Bloody Nature of the Irish.” The events of the Williamite Wars, he says, were “so far of the worse than Heathenish Barbarities committed by them on their peaceable Protestant Neighbours in that last Bloody and Detestable Massacre and Rebellion of Forty One, which will make that Nation stink as long as there’s one Bog or Bog-trotter left in it.”⁴⁵ Despite these promises, Irish villainy in these two plays comes across as distinctly weak and comic, rather than “barbaric.”

Both plays purport to describe the events of 1688-90 in Ireland, with the first ending with the arrival of James II, and the second detailing his time in Ireland and ending with the “royal flight” of the title. Named characters are primarily the Old English Jacobite lords, who are presented alongside unnamed “Irish Lords,” “Priests and Papists,” “English Soldiers” and so forth. Religion is identified as a driving force of rebellion, and is allied specifically with Irishness. Catholicism is the faith that “Each Irish-Man sucks with his first-drawn Milk.”⁴⁶ But there is also present an equally distinct element of “racial” hatred, related not solely to religion, but to rage against a history of English conquest. Here the elision of Old English and mere Irish identity becomes even more clear. Early on these lords plot “Delicious Murthers, and sweet Massacres” in England, where they shall “*Hang, Drown, Stab, Burn, Boil, Eat, Damn* our proud Conquerors.”⁴⁷ Yet which character

⁴⁵Royal Voyage, preface.

⁴⁶Royal Voyage, 3.

⁴⁷Royal Voyage, 3-4.

speaks of this desire? “Nugent,” who is apparently Thomas Nugent, James II’s Chief Justice and no “meer” Irishman, but bearer of an Old English name and member of a family recognizable for its descent from the Norman aristocracy.

In fact, the only difference between the way the Old English aristocrats and the “Irish” Lords and their lesser compatriots is in sophistication of speech. They are equally capable of verbal violence, one group of peasants reveling in memories of the violence of the 1640’s and “Dancing round a fat English Ox”(how one is to discern the nationality of the ox is left somewhat unclear). These “Teagues,” as they call themselves, repeat their verbal violence, and the English who scare them away repeat it, calling them “Wolves.”⁴⁸ Despite this verbal promise of aggression, however, much humour in the play derives from the inability of the Irish to follow up on their fierce words, as evidenced in scenes where Irish soldiers run from a small company of Englishmen.⁴⁹ An Irish funeral provides the reader with more humour, as singing priests assure that “a meritorious Fall” has forgiven all “Little spots” of sin such as murder, perjury and rape.⁵⁰ Despite these assurances, the Irish are more likely to run than risk death. This behaviour is presented in stark contrast to the English soldiers who, in the final scene, bravely give their lives in order to

⁴⁸Royal Voyage, 9-10.

⁴⁹Royal Voyage, 28.

⁵⁰Royal Voyage, 38.

have the chance to take a shot at their enemy.⁵¹

These themes are continued in the sequel, which focuses even more on the comic aspects of “Irishness.” The Irish brogue appears more prominently in this play, which results in many a “by my Shoule,” “Dear Joy,” and assorted long “a” sounds. This brogue, incredible loquacity, unbelievable exaggeration and comical cowardice seem to be the essential elements of the stage Irishman in 1690. All are present in the following speech by one “Teague,” who pledges his devotion to defending King James:

I must confess, Dear Joy, that some Considerashions at som time may mortifie my Courash, so that if I meet a party of the Enemie three times less than my own, I may be perswaded to run for't: not out of any fear of my Shoule, Dear Joy, but because the best Governour i' the World may sometimes have a Qualm come over his Stomack, a jay ne say quoy, that will daunt the spirit of Ajax himself....⁵²

Humour is also derived from the contrast between James' French allies and his Irish ones; even the Catholic French are unimpressed with the Irish. However, the sequel, with a more assorted mix of Jacobites, provides a wider range of targets and is less unrelentingly anti-Irish. Many aspects of anti-Catholicism are explored, some of which (such as James' use of priests to pursue a prospective mistress) are not explicitly connected to Irishness. The further foolishness of the Irish at allying themselves with the superior but perfidious French is exposed when one general

⁵¹Royal Voyage, 55.

⁵²The Royal Flight (London, 1690), 15.

confides to another Louis XIV's plans for Ireland: "transport all the Cowardly Irish to his Plantations in America, and People the Kingdom with his own Subjects."⁵³

The Irish brand of Catholicism is more closely associated with superstition and ignorance than that of other nations; when a priest (again) assures soldiers that to die for their cause is assurance of heaven, one anxiously inquires: "But suppose our pockets are rif'd, and our Pardons taken out of our Pockets?"⁵⁴

The "English," "Irish," and "Protestants" in these plays are of course easily distinguished because of their dramatic labeling, but clearly their behaviour sets them apart from each other and from other groups like the French. Distinctions between "Old English" and "meer irish" do not exist; there is a difference between the "Lords" associated with leadership in the rebellion and the conversation of the "Teagues" (presumably lower-status Irish), but this is all. On the other side, those labelled "English" in the play are clearly soldiers, governors, and the like from England, who will return to England. Protestant inhabitants of Ireland are certainly positively portrayed overall. They can be distinguished from the "Irish" in large part by their industry. When James complains that the "fowl nest of hereticks" in Dublin should have been transported, Tyrconnel responds:

⁵³Royal Flight, 22. In light of the actual immigration restrictions of seventeenth-century French colonial policy, this suggestion is unintentionally humorous. See Dale Miquelon, "Jean-Baptiste Colbert's 'Compact Policy' Revisited: The Tenacity of an Idea," Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the French Historical Society, 17:12-23.

You know, Sir, that was debated in Council at the beginning--But then it was found that all the Butchers, Brewers, Clothiers, Weavers, Taylors, sho-makers, Hat-makers, Smiths, Carpenters, and other Artizans were Hereticks, so that had they bin remov'd, your Souldiers could have had neither Meat, Bread, nor Drink, nor Cloaths to wear, nor Carts to carry their Provisions and Ammunition into the Field; nor would your Majesty have had a Mint and Workmen to Coyn your Brass and Copper--⁵⁵

Yet the uncertain identity of the "Protestants" in the play is clear when they are released, and "the Papists fawn upon 'em," explaining their secret kindnesses -- or lack thereof---to their "Neighbours." One claims he would have done more for the prisoners, but "was forc'd to pull in my Horns, for fear of being taken for one of you."⁵⁶ The loyalty of the Protestants to their "Deliverer" William is undeniable, but the uncomfortable impression remains that they are not so different from their Catholic neighbours. To the English eye, they all look alike.

In addition to these two dramas based on the immediate actions of the Williamite Wars, Shadwell's old Irish-themed play received a boost from the interest in current Irish affairs. In 1690, he re-published and re-staged The Lancashire Witches, restoring the sections censored under Charles II, and also produced a sequel, Teague O'Divelley the Irish priest, or The Amorous Bigotte. Shadwell's appointment as Poet Laureate marked the sweeping away of James' legacy in the arts, as well as in government. In the first play, Shadwell restored

⁵⁴Royal Flight, 39.

⁵⁵Royal Flight, 39.

⁵⁶Royal Flight, 49.

considerable amounts of material, censored at the play's first performance in 1682. These sections were intensely hostile to the High Church, and castigated those who doubted the existence of the Popish Plot but believed in the Rye House Plot.⁵⁷ Although the work of a decade before, Shadwell's full text was still timely in 1691, and is indicative of the later seventeenth-century shift towards defining "Irishness" with the negatives of the 1640's, muted by comedy and valour. The new print edition describes "Tegue O Divalley" as "The Irish Priest, an equal mixture of Fool and Knave."⁵⁸ Divalley is notable in the print edition for a brogue much thicker than that recorded in the anonymous author's closet dramas. But equally prominent are the interjections and the exaggeration, presented with an excess of affection. In a scene censored in the 1680's, Divalley embraces the High Anglican clergyman for his denial of the Popish Plot:

Abbo, boo, boo, By my Shalvaation I will embraash dy Father Child, and I will put a great kish upon dy cheek, now for dat, say dear ish, a damn'd Presbyterian Plot to put out de Papist, and de Priests, and de good Men, and if I would have made my minde, de Devil taak me. I would shee 'em all broyle and fry in de plaash they call Smithfield, Joy.⁵⁹

One wonders how O'Divalley's oath-breaking read to the post-Glorious Revolution audience. It illustrated both flexible Catholic morality and Irish simple-

⁵⁷His rather sophisticated criticism of plots real and imagined is mirrored primarily in a plot regarding (apparently imaginary) witches; in this use of "witch-hunting" Shadwell beats Arthur Miller's The Crucible by several centuries.

⁵⁸Thomas Shadwell, The Lancashire Witches and Tegue O Divalley The Irish Priest (London, 1691).

⁵⁹Shadwell, Lancashire Witches, 42.

minded exaggeration:

Aboo, boo, boo, a Priest! I will taak de Oades Fait and trot; I did never taake Holy Orders since I was bore. (Aside) In Jamaica. Dere is another mental reservation too; and it is Lawfull....I speak it in de Presence of all de Saints, daat I did never see Rome in all my Life. (Aside) Vid de Eyes of a Lyon, Dere was another by my shoule.⁶⁰

Shadwell's audiences must have enjoyed the older play, spurring him to write a sequel in 1690 entitled The Amorous Bigotte. O'Divelly, the only carry-over character, is described as "an Irish Fryer" in the later text.⁶¹ Shadwell made the political aspects of his play clear in its dedication to Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, whose family tradition marked him as a "firm Friend to the English, and a just Enemy to the French."⁶²

There is little commentary on contemporary events in the second play, but the character of Teague continues to be nefarious and comic all at once. As in the other dramatic presentations of Irishmen, he avoids any uncomfortable brushes with death despite his insistence on his own courage:

I converted sho many Hereticks dogs and was sho deep in our braave Plot, and had like to have bin after being slain upon a Gibbet and been a great martyr for the Plott...but I do not care for being hang'd, it dosh maake a Prest look sho like a Beasht and a Dogue indeed, and besides I would not be hang'd but vid a witch, as our Forefathers in Ireland us'd to be Hang'd.⁶³

⁶⁰Shadwell, Lancashire Witches, 76.

⁶¹Thomas Shadwell, The Amorous Bigotte: With the Second Part of Teague O'Divelly (London, 1690).

⁶²Shadwell, Amorous Bigotte, dedication.

⁶³Shadwell, Amorous Bigotte, 3.

Teague does comment on the numbers and conditions of persons he had converted in England: pregnant chambermaids, embezzlers, thieves, Knights of the Post, and, of course, academics: “Three Masters of Colleges, and shix Fellows.”⁶⁴ Presumably it was safe for Shadwell’s audience to laugh and agree that these were likely Papists. But for the most part Teague’s speeches are not explicitly political. His activities revolve mainly around attempts to seduce or even rape the attractive young ladies he is supposed to be counselling. In his cowardice, he is easily beaten off by two women in a scene that probably afforded much amusement to its audience.⁶⁵ O’Dively’s attempt at sexual assault is presented in the tradition of “comic” Restoration near-rapes by rakish characters (as in the three attempts on Florinda’s virtue in Aphra Behn’s The Rover), rather than as a serious crime. In the end, O’Dively is a threat to no-one and all ends well despite his scheming alliances with the local whore. He is even called upon in the end to unite the happy lovers in marriage. His perfidy ends on a comic note, as he assures himself final revenge in a piece of “Irish Papist” logic:

BY [sic] my shoul I will pronounce the words of de marriage without intention, and den it is no marriaghe, and all their posterity vill be aafter being Bashtards, as all de Schoolmen say, and by my shoulwaation dere is a trick for dem.⁶⁶

⁶⁴Shadwell, Amorous Bigotte, 14.

⁶⁵Shadwell, Amorous Bigotte, 21-22 and 33-34.

⁶⁶Shadwell, Amorous Bigotte, 50.

“Meer Irish,” “Old English,” And Protestants: Religion as Ethnicity

A circular association defined the enemy in the Williamite conflicts:

Jacobites were Catholics were Irish. The “Old English” were seldom differentiated. and “Irish” forces meant those composed of Catholic residents of Ireland. The “Old” English, according to Story, were the “degenerate” English whose “Family had not been in Ireland above three generations, ” after which it was possible to “turn meer Irish, for put a drop of Wine into a pint of Water, and it presently so far incorporates, as you can by no means discern it.”⁶⁷ By this account, the descendants of Tudor and Jacobean settlers might well be considered “degenerate” Irish. English dissatisfaction with the showing of the Protestants, even when their loyalty was beyond question, underlined the growing difference between “Protestant” and “English” in Ireland. Englishness was to be reserved to those in England, while Irishness was a function of religion and political loyalty as well as “race.” “Protestant” was the term consistently used in reference to those in Ireland who are on the side of William III. However, these were not “Irish Protestants,” but “Protestants in Ireland,” as Letter of Advice from a Protestant Out of Ireland to the Masters of Apprentices makes clear.⁶⁸ The “Protestants had always had an exceeding slender opinion of the Irish Army,” one pamphlet explains, separating

⁶⁷George Story, An Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland (London, 1691), 141-142.

⁶⁸A Letter of Advice from a Protestant out of in the Cities of London and

“Protestant” from “Irish.”⁶⁹ George Savile’s The Character of the Protestants of Ireland claims to set out “impartially” the nature of the people of the title. Savile notes that it is inappropriate to call these people “British” Protestants, for they include “Dutch, French, Germans, Scotch, Welsh, and with as many born in our foreign Plantations, New-England, Virginia, Barbadoes, &c.”⁷⁰ Apparently, none of these people were “British.” But the “Gentlemen of Ireland” whom Savile discussed were not “Irish” either. Yet if they were not “British,” the “English” were still “of the same country,” and “they are our Bone and Flesh.”⁷¹

Savile declines to label his subjects in terms other than “Protestants” or even the inaccurate “British Protestants,” but he delineates three factions amongst them: post-1660 settlers, Cromwellian settlers, and those “of the Old Interest.”

These last were:

more affected to Ireland, than either of the former, and think it the Paradise of the Earth....I find that the old English of Ireland have always ben jealous of new Comers, which makes a division among the People.⁷²

The anonymous author of A Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland, like Savile, did not give the Protestant inhabitants of that country any ethnic or

Westminster, broadside.

⁶⁹A True and Perfect Journal of the Affairs in Ireland Since His Majesties Arrival (London, 1690), 2.

⁷⁰George Savile, 1st Marquis of Halifax, The Character of the Protestants of Ireland (London, 1689), 2.

⁷¹Savile, The Character of the Protestants, at 2 and 8.

⁷²Savile, The Character of the Protestants, 20-21.

national designation of their own. The “Protestants” (and sometimes “Protestant Interest”) were however contrasted with the Irish, who “being naturally Slaves to the Yoke of Rome, could not but welcome the Chains of a Popish Tyrant.”⁷³

Not all portrayals of the Protestant colonists were entirely favourable. One work places the blame for the inability of northern colonists to repel the Jacobite forces upon “Degeneracy of Spirit in the Commonalty” and “base Villainy of some of their Commanders (who preferr’d the French Gold before heroick Virtue).”⁷⁴

An Impartial History criticizes the Protestants of Ireland for making the endeavour in their land cost more money and time than it needed to.⁷⁵ This sense of separation between the English and “the Protestant interest” was emphasized in the difference between those writing about the Williamite wars from the perspective of Protestant colonists and the perspective of English soldiers. One writer, presumably an inhabitant of Ireland, claimed that “Our Protestants” were “generally much better temper’d toward their Enemies, than those that come over, and especially the Army is very furious.”⁷⁶ But examining two longer works quoted extensively in this chapter, William King’s State of the Protestants and George Story’s Continuation of the Impartial History, suggests the opposite. As noted, King’s tone is less purple than the pamphlets of the 1640’s, but his anger is no less present. His credibility is

⁷³ A Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland, 3.

⁷⁴ A True and Full Narrative of the Protestant Success, broadside.

⁷⁵ Story, An Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland, 5.

presumed to rest on his experiences. King had lived in Ireland, worked there, and found that work frustrated by the rebellion and the actions of James. He expected his audience to respond to his experience and to share his indignation.

Story presents his credibility as resting on an entirely different basis. In his preface, he lays claim to a vital “objectivity”:

I have done our Enemies all the Justice in ever point, that the Merit of their Cause would bear, and that too from several of their own mouths, upon whose Credit I have related my circumstances.⁷⁷

Story even criticizes those commentators who do not take his detached tone when confronted with apparent acts of “barbarism,” such as the killing of prisoners, which he notes is analogous to English actions after Agincourt.⁷⁸ Similarly the anonymous author of The Royal Flight and The Royal Voyage holds up the “Chasteness of an Historian” in his or her work, claiming an ability to remain detached despite the barbarity of the Irish and to “have herein done ‘em Justice.”⁷⁹ Typical of news pamphlets is the claim to be “An Impartial Relation.”⁸⁰ This “objectivity,” however, seems always to mean an imperial perspective, which celebrated the triumphs of neither native nor newcomer, but rather the authority of England.

⁷⁶A True and Perfect Journal, 13.

⁷⁷Story, A Continuation, preface.

⁷⁸Story, A Continuation, 135.

⁷⁹The Royal Voyage, preface.

⁸⁰Great and Good News from Ireland Being a Full and True Account of the

English No More? New England's Suspect Revolution

Ireland was not the only area to face questions regarding settler identity and capability. Although the Glorious Revolution's effects in the New World did not create as large a flurry of print as the Irish wars did, there were some accounts of New England's precipitous reaction that suggest increasing English suspicions of settler actions, even when those were firmly Protestant and anti-Jacobite.⁸¹ Upon receiving news of the accession of William and Mary, the inhabitants of Boston reacted promptly and decisively, tossing Edmund Andros (James' appointed governor of the Dominion of New England) onto a prison ship. Expecting to be rewarded for their firm anti-poper, Massachusetts' Puritan elites were in fact disappointed that their re-establishment of the 1629 charter met instead with opposition from William's government, and with suspicion that their actions had not been prompted by news of the Glorious Revolution but by untrustworthy rebelliousness.⁸²

Besieging and Taking of the Famous Town of Drogedah (London, 1690), t.p.

⁸¹There were colonial rebellions in New York (against William Joseph) and in Maryland (against Francis Nicholson) as well as in New England. For full accounts, see D.W. Jordan, Maryland's Revolution in Government, 1689-1692 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974); Robert C. Ritchie The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), and D.S. Lovejoy, "Two American Revolutions, 1689 and 1776" in Three British Revolutions, 1641, 1688, 1776, ed. J.G.A. Pocock (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), 244-262.

⁸²Ian K. Steele explores the question of how the timing of American rebellions compared to the rate of news transmission to the colonies. He suggests

In the small body of New England imprints about the Glorious Revolution, it is usually possible to distinguish clearly between documents prepared for New England readers and those prepared for English consumption. The most notable of the latter was surely The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the County Adjacent April 18, 1689. This decried the suspension of the charter as devastating to the sense of special order enjoyed by New Englanders: "the hedge which kept us from the wild beasts of the field, effectually broken down."⁸³ Yet at the same time it noted that the settlers were in increasing danger during James' reign of losing their English identity, and with it, the privileges they assumed to be theirs:

It was now plainly affirmed, both by some in open Council, and the same in private Converse, that the people in New-England were all Slaves, and the only difference between them and Slaves is their not being bought and sold; and it was a maxim delivered in open Court unto us by one of the Council, *that we must not think the Priviledges of English men would follow us to the end of the World.*⁸⁴

Other pamphlets printed in Boston at the behest of the revolutionaries assured inhabitants that all was well in England with the charter negotiations. A version of

that Boston, as a centre of the book trade, probably was in fact well-informed about the facts of the revolution, as was New York, while the Maryland rebellion was probably related more closely to a lack of good information; Ian K. Steele, "Communicating an English Revolution to the Colonies, 1688-1689," Journal of British Studies 24, no. 3 (July 1985): 333-357.

⁸³The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston and the Country Adjacent (Cambridge, 1689), 1.

⁸⁴The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants and Inhabitants, 2.

Increase Mather's September 3, 1689, letter was printed stating that the old Charter had been practically passed through parliament already.⁸⁵ But there was a divide over the revolutionary Boston government, undermining any one party's claim to effective and legitimate governance. Some of this discussion was printed in Boston, such as the Further Queries on the State of New England Affairs (1690), which strenuously defended the legitimacy of the revolution government.

A more poetic turn was taken by the anonymous author of The Plain Case Stated Of Old—But Especially of New-England, in an Address to His Highness the Prince of Orange. This little broadsheet celebrated in verse the Revolution, blaming "Papistick wiles" for Andros' appointment and linking William's reign with New England's prosperity. It joins English complaints against James to New England's own dissatisfaction ("reform'd *America* must suffer too") and blames the ambiguous state of New England settlers (were they English or not?) on James' government:

We were not treated by th'insulting Knaves
As free-born *English*, but as poor *Foreign* slaves...
...To MAGNA CHARTA, we cou'd claim no Right,
Neither our own, nor *English* Laws would fit.⁸⁶

The poem's author went on to detail the "Plot" that sought to destroy "our Her'tick Nation/Here, and in our beloved Native Isle." Like those writing about

⁸⁵The Present State of New English Affairs (Boston, 1689).

⁸⁶The Plain Case Stated of Old - But Especially of New-England (Boston,

Catholic forces in Ireland, this author put the language of heresy into the mouths of the Catholic forces. But this writer was far more heated in his descriptions of James' Catholic plot, which, as we might expect from a New England writer, is the product of the Devil:

From Jesuits a brood, hatch't by the Devil
To be the Propagators of all evil
Incarnate Fiends, to Lucifer ally'd,
And heire to all his cruelty and pride.⁸⁷

Although the poem emphasized the English-ness of the New English in terms of their rights, it also justified and defended settlers' independent action in favour of William:

This hearing, by Your great Example sway'd,
A *just* Attempt *opprest* New England made
Not to revenge our wrongs but set us free
From *arbitrary Power* and *Slavery*.⁸⁸

Other pamphlets were printed in London, sometimes publicizing a fraction of the larger body of private correspondence that flew during the Charter negotiations.⁸⁹ Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charters belonging to Several Corporations in New England, for example, printed in London in 1691, presented

n.d.), broadside.

⁸⁷The Plain Case Stated of Old.

⁸⁸The Plain Case Stated of Old.

⁸⁹Many of these documents are conveniently collected in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, v. 64 The Glorious Revolution in Massachusetts, 1689-1692, ed. Robert Earle Moody and Robert Clive Simmons (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1988).

the charters as helpful to English interests and English liberty. But a counter-proposal, heavily undersigned by merchants begged the opposite, pleading that the revolutionary government had so botched affairs, including a war with the French colonies which interfered with trade, that the only answer was direct royal control: “Dread Sovereigne. We your poor, Loyall distressed subjects...humbly supplicate...that you will be graciously pleased to take us, into your Immediate Care and protection...”⁹⁰

As in Ireland, mercantile fraternity was becoming more important than religious brotherhood. Such arguments seemed to find favour in England, as the Whig oligarchy increasingly hoped to profit in colonial markets. A surviving manuscript reflection on one of the pro-Charter pamphlets suggests that this understanding had the potential to increase further the distance between settler and “English” interests. Since the colonists were unable to control the Natives, they were themselves no more fit to rule than savages: “they are unfitt for Government either in affairs of military or civil...few or none amongst them being qualified for either, which is demonstrable by their management of the Indian war.” Indeed, the author did not even think of the settlers as “English”, a key point in accepting a mercantilist colonial model: “the English Nation Robbed of their great advantage

⁹⁰To The King's Most Excellent Majesty The Humble Address of the Publicans (London, 1691). For more on the merchant faction and these negotiations, see T.H. Breen, Puritans and Adventurers (New York: Oxford

by the consumption soe much of their own manufactures as are yearly exported to America..."⁹¹ The author concludes with suspicions that the overthrow of Andros, far from being an act of loyalty to the new government, had been plotted long before and that the revolution merely provided a convenient cover. Edmund Andros may have been hated in New England, but his defenders in London were successful in painting New England participation in the rebellion as "factionalism" rather than sincere support for William and Mary.⁹² We must wonder what course of action would have avoided such accusations: obedience to James' appointees, risking another Ireland, perhaps?

There is a sense of separation from both Ireland and New England in the works published in England about these crises, mirroring actions taken by William's government in response to both groups of settlers. In New England, the greatest blow came when the Charter of Massachusetts Bay was finally revoked in 1691. Historian Thomas Bartlett argues that in Ireland, English policies post-1690 preferred English-born applicants for higher-up positions in government and the

University Press, 1980).

⁹¹"Reflections on a Pamphlet Lately Come Abroad, Entituled Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charters Belonging to the Severall Colonies of New England," (n.d., c. June 1, 1691), m.s., printed in Moody and Simmons, The Glorious Revolution in Massachusetts, 508.

⁹²C. D., New England's Faction Discovered (London, 1690). For more on the pro-Andros faction and their success in defending Andros while simultaneously damaging New England rebels, see Steele, "Communicating an English Revolution," 334-335.

church. Protestants in Ireland might see themselves as the natural leaders of the Irish nation, but the English policies in the period after 1690 confirmed that the English viewed Ireland as a colony to be governed and used by the English nation, not as an equal part of the British polity.⁹³ This way of thinking is confirmed by the presentations by English authors in writing about 1689-91. English intervention was necessary in Ireland, not to aid brother Protestants in the face of Catholic repression, as in 1641-42, but to restore order and maintain English interests. Unlike the pamphlets printed in England about Ireland, most of the small number of New England pamphlets were written by settlers, but they are equally illustrative of the increasing stresses in the settlers' dual outlook both as New Englanders and "English." If New Englanders were not to be allowed to share in William and Mary's triumph active participants; how much longer would they continue to describe themselves as English? But non-Englishness, as we have seen, was indicative of disorder. In writing about colonial crises in Ireland, English authors conjured order by specifying that disorder arose from without, in the non-English realm of the "Irish." Even when "Irishness" was no longer demonic (as it had been in the 1640's), it was still linked with disorder.

⁹³Thomas Bartlett, "The Rise and Fall of the Protestant Nation, 1690-1800," Eire/Ireland 26, no.1 (1991): 8-9.

But since Protestant settlers in Ireland and New England were also separated from the English, indeed were somehow "non-English," could they be relied upon to maintain and restore order on their own? This deepening difference of perspective between settler and English writers became even more acute in the early eighteenth century, as popular and learned historians from around the English Atlantic world considered the meaning of colonial crises in the century past. As we shall see in the next chapter, the increasing appeal to "objectivity" by eighteenth-century English historians masked a very subjective perspective on settler agency and efficacy.

Chapter Five

"reader! I have done the part of an Impartial Historian"¹: Settler Identities in the Histories of Colonial Crises

The history books which enjoyed the largest circulation, though they are now forgotten, were...simpleminded enough to accept the Norman Conquest. for example, as what it said it was.²

Nathaniel Crouch was a busy man. An author of some volume (if not repute), the English printer filled a growing demand for history in a less-than-learned vein. writing and publishing on a surprising variety of subjects. His English Empire in America appeared in 1685, The History of the Kingdom of Ireland in 1693, and he boasted over a dozen other histories besides. This was history with just the "good bits," full of thrilling episodes from the past, enlivened with poems, pictures, and easily-digested morality tales. England's Monarchs, for example, promised "A compendious relation of the most remarkable Transactions and Observable Passages...Adorned with Poems, and Pictures of every monarch."³ Crouch's generous use of dramatic frontispieces and other illustrations increased the appeal of his works, and readers did not seem to mind his thrifty recycling in this respect: Elizabeth I

¹Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, ed. Kenneth B. Murdock (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1977), 97.

²John Kenyon, The History Men (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1983), 24.

³R.B. (Nathaniel Crouch), England's Monarchs (London, 1685), t.p.

remarkably resembles Queen Clotilda of France, Mary Tudor, Angeona of Spain.⁴

Despite his own limited education, the highly successful (and in his own day, famous) Crouch taught and entertained with his histories.⁵ We can have faith in Crouch's ability to market history, if not in the accuracy of his illustrating portraits. And in Crouch's estimation, colonial histories would sell. The appeal of English Empire in America, according to Crouch, lays in its "Variety and Novelty," for "nothing can be more diversive than Relations of this New World."⁶ The beauty of America for Crouch's money-making ventures was ingenious: although writing history, he could still promise novelty.

History of all sorts was popular with readers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but, as Kenyon's remark quoted above reminds us, much of what was once widely read as "history" is now little remembered. As the reports of seventeenth-century colonial crises that we have been exploring became the part of colonial history narratives, writers were differentiated from each other not only by their relative intellectual appeal, but also their different perspectives as writers of either English or settler origin. All were affected by changing ideas of "history" as discipline and as art, especially in regards to the use of evidence and the secularization of historical

⁴See pictures of Mary Tudor on 93 and Elizabeth I on 206 of England's Monarchs; see "Clotilda," 156, and "Andeona, Princess of Spain," 167, in Female Excellency (London, 1688).

⁵For biographical information on Crouch, see Robert Mayer, "Nathaniel Crouch, Bookseller and Historian: Popular Historiography and Cultural Power in Late Seventeenth-Century England," Eighteenth Century Studies 1994 27(3): 391-413.

interpretation. Settler historians also differed, not only from their English counterparts, but from each other. The New England historians examined in the first part of this chapter, for example, seem closest to the early Stuart sense of history that Daniel Woolf describes, finding God's hand in every turn of their history.⁷ As we shall see in the latter section of this chapter, however, Virginian Robert Beverley puts settlers, not God, at the centre of his history. And while religion plays a leading part in the tales related by historians of Ireland related their tales, God is relegated to the role of occasional spear-carrier.

Despite their differences, what settler historians have in common is a lack of the "objectivity" that historians in England claimed to possess. Even middle-brow writers like Daniel Neal and John Oldmixon asserted that their authority rested upon impartiality. But for settler historians, an un-"objective" view of their own past was as necessary as the allegedly "detached" perspective of imperial writers. Indeed, in terms of colonial histories, the claim of impartiality seems to have been little more than another word for imperialist perspectives. Of necessity, settler historians were partial; as they looked around their worlds and found themselves separated from both natives and fellow English subjects in England, they re-shaped their narratives of the past to reflect the rightness, the importance, and the success of their present. Settler heroism and coherence were emphasized; disagreement and dissent among settlers

⁶ John Oldmixon, The English Empire in America, A2.

⁷ Daniel Woolf, The Idea of History in Early Stuart England (Toronto: The

downplayed. English historians, meanwhile, took an "objective" view that glorified the empire-building of the English, rather than the achievements of settlers. When viewed in this light, the "march of progress" towards a detached perspective in history-writing, which Joseph Levine lauds in his conclusion to The Battle of the Books, takes on a very different cast.⁸

As David Armitage has argued, empire-building had a demonstrable effect on English notions of history. By the time William Robertson's best-selling History of America was published in 1777, for example, many colonies in the Americas had become a comfortable example of Whiggish notions of progress from the savage to the civil---something an imperial perspective on American history neatly demonstrated.⁹ Even Irish history could be used to confirm this vision, by simply re-writing pre-Tudor history as "savage," and then crediting wise imperial policy with the gradual "taming" of Ireland (if not its natives).¹⁰ When giving an account of the crises discussed in previous chapters, English historians of both Ireland and America emphasized the

University of Toronto Press, 1990).

⁸ Joseph M. Levine, The Battle of the Books (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). See also Levine, Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

⁹ David Armitage, "The New World and British Historical Thought From Richard Hakluyt to William Robertson," in America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Williamsburg and Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and Culture and University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 52-75.

¹⁰ For an overview of trends in British historians' treatment of Ireland from the late Middle Ages through the nineteenth century, see Ned Lebow, "British Historians and Irish History" Eire/Ireland 8, no. 3 (1973): 12-24.

triumph of imperial policy. In these histories, settlers sometimes aided, but sometimes hindered, imperial progress. From the comfortable vantage of the centre of empire, English historians assured their readers that theirs was an impartial perspective, in which colonial crises represented evolving imperial order.

The early eighteenth-century settler historians who wrote about Ireland, Virginia and New England viewed their pasts rather differently. Rather than a clear march of progress, settler historians presented a cyclical narrative of settler triumphs over both natives and incompetent English interference. Far from viewing their histories as the success of the English Whig order, settler writers adopted and adapted formulae which gave their pasts a value quite independent of imperial power. In Ireland, this story was the triumph of Protestantism over Catholic tyranny; in Virginia, the triumph of self-interested settlers over poor governance; in New England, the triumph of God's Saints over Satan's minions.

The English Empire in America: Popular English Colonial Histories

The histories of Nathaniel Crouch and his colleagues John Oldmixon and Daniel Neal probably represent the lowest common denominator of the English readership's understanding of colonial histories at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Crouch's account of Ireland is one of Irish ingratitude and English attempts to bring the gifts of civilization to an unruly people: "Ireland hath long continued a true

Aceldama, or Field of Blood, and a dismal Sepulchre for the English Nation."¹¹

Against the barbarity of "the Irish," (defined as all Catholics, including the Old English) Crouch poses the might of "the English Nation." Settlers appear primarily as victims in 1641/2 and in 1689, while English intervention from England saves the day. He ends with an assurance of the progress of English governance in Ireland, a very politic assertion to make in 1693!

In telling the story of English colonies in New England, Crouch speeds over the early era of colonization. He ignores internal settler conflicts like the Antinomian crisis in favour of more recent conflicts with "Indians" like King Philip, who was "plotting a General Insurrection in all the English Colonies, all the Indians being to rise as one man against the Plantations which were next them."¹² Crouch's inclusion of the settler perspective consists mainly of a captivity narrative taken from "one Stonewall or Deerfield."

Crouch casts the "Indians" primarily as villains in his history, but they are also clearly the main attraction. He devotes time not only to the captivity narrative, but to further descriptions by "one J.J. an Englishman," (apparently John Josselyn), who informs his readers of the "barbarity" and cannibalism of the natives and their similarity to "the Heathen Irish, who use to feed upon the Buttocks of Boys and the

¹¹Crouch, History of the Kingdom of Ireland (London, 1693), 10.

¹²Crouch, English Empire in America, 70- 73.

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on the title page of England's Monarchs. The English Empire in America and The History of the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland are promoted in the back of Female Excellency or the Ladies Glory. Crouch's catalogue of titles also reveals that, at this level of readership, religion, prodigies and history were still tightly linked. In Surprising Miracles of Nature and Art he promised "an Account of the most famous Comets, and other prodigies, from the Birth of Christ to this time."¹⁷ Other delights awaited Crouch's history-lovers in Wonderful Prodigies of Judgement and Mercy: "above 300 memorable Histories, containing 1. Dreadful Judgements upon Atheists, Blasphemers, and perjured Villains 2. The miserable ends of many Magicians, Witches, Conjuerers &c." There are even a few happy endings, such as the "Admirable Deliverances from Imminent Dangers, and Deplorable Distresses at Sea and Land." As we might expect in a work by Nathaniel Crouch, all were "Imbellished with divers Pictures."¹⁸

It is easy to smile at Crouch's promotional rhetoric. Yet it also reminds us that those historians who ascribed historical change in the colonies to God's will were not entirely outside the mainstream market in history. Likewise, the use of racy fables, horrible captivities, and monstrous prodigies seems to have been quite acceptable to popular readers. As Crouch's marketing demonstrates, readers might enjoy colonial history because of intellectual curiosity, because it told them tales of strange places,

¹⁷Crouch, Female Excellency, endpapers.

¹⁸Crouch, Female Excellency, endpapers.

because it illustrated important morals, or even simply because they enjoyed the voyeuristic thrill of tales of violence, sex, and heresy (especially when safely packaged in a morally uplifting framework). Whatever the case, his histories sold well: The History of the Kingdom of Ireland was re-printed four times in the eighteenth century, three times in London and once in Dublin.¹⁹

John Oldmixon's more middlebrow compilation histories were firmly Whiggish and appealed to those with economic interests in the colonies. The 1708 edition of The British Empire in America states: "We hope the Reader is by this time satisfy'd that our American Plantations are an advantage, and a very great one, to this Kingdom; and the arguments brought up from Antiquity will be of no use to Enemies of the Colonies."²⁰ The British Empire in America, promising to discuss both the "history" and "present state" of colonies, is proudly advertised on the title page as including "curious Maps" which are "drawn from the Newest Surveys." Unlike Crouch, Oldmixon assures his reader that his sources are *inhabitants* of the regions he describes, rather than visitors; he is careful to emphasize that his history is reliable and present-day material is recent. Surely this is a settler's viewpoint of history.

Or is it? Oldmixon states quite clearly that the promoters of colonial expansion

¹⁹The Dublin reprint came in 1731; in London 1737, 1740, and 1746.

²⁰John Oldmixon, The British Empire in America Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress, and Present State of all the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America (London, 1708), ix-xii.

for the economic benefits that colonies bring to the mother country.²¹ He is not particularly flattering in his portrait of settlers, especially New Englanders. They are, he says, backward-looking, “more formal, precise, morose, and not so sincere as the English Dissenters,” and their society not worthy of much note except for its educational institutions.²² Its leading intellectual light, Cotton Mather, doesn’t even know how to write history. Oldmixon says he has used Mather’s work as a source (because it was recent), but only sparingly. Oldmixon finds much in Mather’s work that is not to his taste as an historian:

...there’s no considerable Action concerning the Governours or Government, which is Mr. Mather’s but this Historian has included in his History, leaving his Puns, Anagrams Acrosticks, Miracles, Prodigies, Witches, Speeches, Epistles, and other incumbrances, to the Original Author, and his Admirers; among whom, as an Historian, this Writer is not so happy as to be rank’d.²³

Daniel Neal was more charitable in his assessment. Neal’s work appealed to continuing interest in explicitly religiously-themed history; his History of the Puritans was essentially a history of England from a Dissenting perspective. It went through eight printings between 1732 and 1793, three of which occurred in Dublin in the 1750’s. Neal’s History of New England was not quite as successful, but went through two respectable printings, one in 1720 and the other in 1747.²⁴ Neal also published an

²¹Oldmixon, The British Empire in America, xxxv.

²²Oldmixon, The British Empire in America, 39—109 at 106.

²³Oldmixon, The British Empire in America, ix.

²⁴From the ESTC listings. Unlike Crouch and Oldmixon, Neal did not make his living primarily by writing. The Dissenter preacher’s writings were primarily religious

account of Cotton Mather's successful sponsorship of smallpox inoculation in Boston; indeed, Neal and Mather carried on an extensive correspondence with Mather and relied heavily on Magnalia in preparing his History of New England.²⁵

"The More Satan Rageth"²⁶: Cotton Mather and New England's Godly

Historians

As the interest of Neal's readers demonstrated, Mather was hardly alone in his attention to the matters which Oldmixon so despised. Presumably, English Dissenters provided a significant reading audience for his perspectives. But New Englanders wrote histories for themselves much as they had written about crisis: with an eye on the unseen workings of Spirit. From this perspective, Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana was intended as a great work, full of the lives of New English heroes (including large numbers of Mather's own relatives). Regarding Mather's style, Oldmixon sniffed: "it rather resembles School Boys Exercises Forty Years ago, and Romish Legends, than the collections of Historians bred up in a Protestant

and apologetic in nature. However, his histories were his most reprinted writings, and remind us that religiously-interpreted history still had an important place in popular reading tastes.

²⁵ Although Mather had broken with Harvard by that time, he probably helped arrange for the granting of Neal's honorary degree from Harvard in 1721. Laird Okie, Augustan Historical Writing: Histories of England in the English Enlightenment (New York: University Press of America, 1991), 86.

²⁶"The elder the world waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nearer it hasteneth to its end, the more Satan rageth; giving still new matter of writing books and volumes," John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, (London, 1563), Chap. VIII, 754.

Academy."²⁷

"Romish"? The last epithet must have rung harshly in Cotton Mather's firmly Puritan ears.²⁸ The grandson of John Cotton and Richard Mather, he and his father Increase dominated Boston's intellectual and spiritual life, although the family's political fortunes were dealt a serious blow in the early 1690's, after the charter crisis and the Salem witchcraft trials.²⁹ Their writings on spiritual warfare in New England

²⁷Oldmixon, The British Empire in America, ix.

²⁸The association of radical Dissenters/Congregationalists with the "superstitions" of Roman Catholicism was not limited to John Oldmixon, and concern over their potential radical irrationality made both a suspicious pair in the eighteenth century English world. For religious enthusiasm and radicalism, see John Mee, Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). William Hogarth's print Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism (1762) provides an excellent illustration of the suspicion increasingly aimed at all sorts of enthusiasm. A Dissenting preacher dangles figures of a witch and the Devil before a hysterical audience. His excitement, however, has caused his wig to fall off, revealing a monk-like tonsure. A hymnal bearing the name of "G. Whitefield" is being used to lead hymns--Whitefield, of course, was the charismatic preacher notably associated with the Great Awakening. Whitefield's Journal and King James' Demonology are also present, firmly establishing the enthusiastic Protestant fervour of the congregation. Yet a winged cherub floats before the preacher, bearing a message "To ST. [sic] Money trap," while images of saints lurk in the carvings. A man and woman grasp an image of the Virgin and a lit candle--all suggesting the "superstitious" Catholicism lurking beneath the surface of enthusiastic Protestantism with its emphasis on the battle between God's forces and Satan's witches and other minions. The tension between evangelical "liberty" and such enthusiasm in America is explained in both Patricia U. Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) and David S. Lovejoy, Religious Enthusiasm in the New World (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985).

²⁹Footnoting works on the Salem witchcraft trials is remarkably like downsizing an elephant. Important works include Paul Boyer and Steven Nissbaum, Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974); John Demos, Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and Culture of Early New England (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), as well as

were viewed in a harsh light by detractors in New England and in England, but these writings were neither the superstitious pennings of uneducated men, nor unthinking repetitions of outdated lore.

Rather, Cotton Mather's work represented an intelligent (if idiosyncratic) development of the old, providential themes found in reports of New England crises, but adapted to form a history which spoke primarily to concerns which were explicitly those of settlers rather than imperial commentators. Further, Mather was perfectly capable of using science to bolster his religious beliefs; God's work could be seen in the ordinary workings of nature as well as in prodigies and miracles.³⁰ As David Paul Nord says: "The purpose of these writers was not to build or to test theory. The theory was given...The occurrences, despite their surface strangeness, were intelligible because they represented types of events that had occurred before in an intelligible pattern, a pattern drawn by God."³¹ Far from being a credulous fool, Mather combined an appeal to his "empirical" use of observed evidence with a fervent dedication to his theory that any number of postmodern scholars might envy. But the puzzlement in

previously-cited Carol Karlsen, The Devil in the Shape of a Woman and Elizabeth Reis, Damned Women. Richard Godbeer's The Devil's Dominion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), though flawed in some respects, gives a good perspective on pervasive beliefs about magic and the omnipresence of Satan in early New England. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

³⁰ According to Joseph Levine, Mather tended towards the "Ancients" side in the early Augustan science and history debates. Joseph M. Levine, Dr. Woodward's Shield: History Science and Satire in Augustan England (Ithaca: Cornell, 1991), particularly 100-104.

³¹ David Paul Nord, "Teleology and News," The Journal of American History

London over his witchcraft writings damaged Mather's intellectual reputation, despite his ability to consider various interpretations of his evidence; indeed, he sets aside many of the witchcraft histories he encounters as lacking in substance.³² Robert Calef's skeptical More Wonders of the Invisible World was published in 1700 but continued to harm Mather's reputation for at least a century thereafter.³³

Cotton Mather lays out some of these providential themes in Wonders of the Invisible World, the account of the Salem trials that met such ambivalence.³⁴ He

(June 1990): 30.

³²Albert Cook argues that Mather's revisions to the Boston edition of the Wonders is the result of skepticism in London about settler credulity. "Damaging the Mathers: London Receives the News From Salem," The New England Quarterly 65 (1992): 302-308. If one accepts the proposition that Devil-worshipping witches are possible and even likely, then Mather's use of evidence is really rather cautious. That we do not share his world view makes him no less capable of clear thought.

³³For an examination of the long-lasting effects of Calef's attack, see Mark L. Sargent. "The Witches of Salem, the Angel of Hadley, and the Friends of Philadelphia," American Studies 34, no. 1 (1993): 106-118. Mather was not without his defenders. Samuel Willard, under a pen-name, authored a lengthy debate regarding the conduct of justice in the trials. Although the fictional debaters in the piece take different positions on spectral evidence and so forth, both agree that "there are Witches in NEW ENGLAND, which no rational man will deny." P.E. and J.A., Some Miscellany OBSERVATIONS On our Present Debates respecting Witchcrafts (Philadelphia, 1692), 2. For more print and the Salem trials, see Mary Rhinelander McCarl, "Spreading the News of Satan's Malignity in Salem: Benjamin Harris, Printer and Publisher of the Witchcraft Narratives," Essex Institute Historical Collections 129, no. 1 (1993): 39-61.

³⁴ Perhaps there is room to revisit the reception of Mather's work. James Sharpe's Instruments of Darkness (London: Penguin, 1996), represents a significant improvement on some former historiography regarding English witchcraft for its willingness to consider the spectrum of opinion regarding witchcraft; he concludes that by the eighteenth century, however, such beliefs were confined mainly to the lower orders. Owen Davies, in Witchcraft, Magic, and Culture 1736-1951 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), makes a very strong argument that

intended it as a history of the Devil's activities in New England, and as further "good News of the Shortness of the Devil's Time." Although Mather received the endorsement of Governor William Phipps for its factual reports, he expected his theology to stand on its own: "For the Dogmatical part of my Discourse, I want no Defence..."³⁵ Mather's framework explicitly allowed for New England's misfortunes in history while retaining its saintly qualities: New England is tormented by the Devil precisely because of its purity.³⁶ Yet, although Mather laments the fall of New England from its original homogeneity, he praises its progress to a state of diversity:

Whosoever travels over this Wilderness, will see it richly bespangled with Evangelical Churches, whose Pastors are holy, able and painful Overseers of their flocks...Churches, which are shy of using any things in the Worship of God; but with whom yet the Names of Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or Antipaedobaptist, are swallowed up in that of Christians; Persons of all those perswasions being taken into our Fellowship, when visible Goodliness has recommended them...³⁷

This state of tolerance makes the Devil within even more ubiquitous. With diversity comes "prodigious Witch-Meetings," where impure New Englanders plot the "Rooting out the Christian Religion in this Country, and setting up instead of it, perhaps a more

many educated persons in England continued to share the kind of firm but cautious belief in witchcraft that Mather held, well into the nineteenth century. Further, Mark L. Sargent suggests that the extent of negative contemporary opinions on Mather were exaggerated in the nineteenth century. "The Witches of Salem, the Angel of Hadley, and the Friends of Philadelphia," 107-111.

³⁵Cotton Mather, The Wonders of the Invisible World (Boston, 1692) reprinted in Cotton Mather on Witchcraft (New York: Bell Publishing Company, 1972), 6.

³⁶Cotton Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World, 13.

³⁷Cotton Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World, 12.

gross Diabolism, than ever the World saw before." ³⁸ Mather's concerns are firmly those of the late seventeenth century (although such expressions remind us of the aptness of Arthur Miller's comparison between Puritans and McCarthyites).³⁹ But are they of late seventeenth-century New England, or Old England?

Mather appeals to English authority and precedent in his work. The Salem judges, he says, used the "wholesome Statutes of the English Nation for the Detection of Witchcraft," and Mather uses examples of English prodigies (such as a talking raven) to bolster his theological points.⁴⁰ But it is the spiritual health and holiness of the settlers which are Mather's primary interest. When he says, "'Tis necessary that we unite in every thing: but there are two things in which our Union must carry us along together," it is not an audience in England that is part of the "we," but an audience in New England, called to this "New Experiment."⁴¹ It is to New England that Mather refers when he says that his understanding of witchcraft "will not be fully understood, until the day when there shall not be one Witch in the World."⁴²

³⁸Cotton Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World, 15.

³⁹Nor should we feel too comfortable that the search for hidden devils and the desire for ideological conformity has been made unacceptable in contemporary politics. In the years 1999/2000, the U.S. politics of 1999/2000 various presidential candidates have found it necessary to affirm their allegiance to particular schools of evangelical Protestantism, have promised to post a particular version of the Ten Commandments in public schools, and even supported the efforts of Rep. Bob Barr to oust Neopagans and Wiccans from the U.S. military -- the last action a witch hunt indeed.

⁴⁰Cotton Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World, 24-25, at 24.

⁴¹Cotton Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World, 24-25, at 25.

⁴²Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World, 131.

Far from having a simplistic view of "us" and "other," Mather recognizes that in New England's past the ultimate "Other"--the Devil--has appeared in many guises, blurring the lines between Saint and sinner, English and non-English, order and disorder.⁴³ Englishness by itself is no guarantee of being a friend of New England: Mather does not neglect the "many Adversaries of our own Language" in his account. Yet he is also keenly aware of the spiritual threat posed by Natives, the "Indian Powawes" with all their "Sorceries"; he has no hint of spiritual hope for the "Tawnies among whom we came, [who] have watered our Soil with the Blood of many hundreds of our Inhabitants."⁴⁴ In fact, he thinks the witches at Salem have rites directly connected to Mexican Natives: what hope can there be for such Devil-worshippers?⁴⁵

One of Mather's most telling descriptions of Satan's appearance emphasizes the many faces of Satan:

...the Figure of a Short and a Black Man...hee was a wretch no taller than an ordinary Walking-Staff; hee was not of a Negro, but of a Tawney, or an Indian colour; hee wore a high-crowned Hat with Strait Hair; and had one Cloven Foot.⁴⁶

⁴³Using the Devil to brand a person or group as the "Other" was not, of course, unique to New England history, although both John Winthrop and Mather proved themselves particularly adept at such devices. For discussion of the origins of this practice in the Christian community, see Elaine Pagels, The Origins of Satan (New York: Random House, 1995). Her section on the use of "the Satan card" against heretics in the early Roman church is particularly illuminating: "The Enemy Within: Demonizing the Heretics," 149-178.

⁴⁴Cotton Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World, 62-63.

⁴⁵Cotton Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World, 129-130.

⁴⁶Cotton Mather, "A Brand Pluck'd Out of the Burning," in Charles Lincoln Burr, ed. Narratives of Witchcraft Cases (New York: Scribner and Sons, 1914), 261.

Goat-like, Native-like, but clothed in English garb, this sinister apparition menaced Mercy Short, the possessed girl whom Mather attempted to cure in 1692. In Mather's vision, this hideous hybrid Devil had menaced New Englanders throughout their history.

This sense of demonic menace and godly intervention guided Mather's work on Magnalia Christi Americana. By 1694, Mather had begun work on the book and was clearly thinking of this guiding framework when he laid out The Short History of New England at the June General Assembly. This sermon ranged from the Antinomian Crisis ("What a Day [shall I say, or Night] of Temptation was it") to New England's charter woes. Mather laid out exactly why it was of such grave importance to understand this part of settler history, more than understanding the progress of conversions among the Natives: "The Devil is more desirous to Regain poor New England than any one American spot of Ground, whose Inhabitants have not yet heard the Silver Trumpets of the Gospel!"⁴⁷ Although written as history, Magnalia's tone is close to Mather's 1694 sermon.⁴⁸ This jeremiad focuses on his neighbours and fellow countrymen, as his long "Boston Ebenezer" chapter confirms with its constant use of the first person plural.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Cotton Mather The Short History of New England (Boston, 1694), 37.

⁴⁸As Peter Gay wrote: "The Jeremiads were implicit histories, the histories were implicit Jeremiads." Peter Gay, A Loss of Mastery Puritan Historians in Colonial America (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966).

⁴⁹Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 180-196.

But like a Puritan Janus, Mather also looked to the English side of the Atlantic while composing Magnalia. The book's stated purpose is "That the Generations to come in new-England may know the God of their Fathers, " but also that "European Churches" might consider the "Golden Candlesticks" in America.⁵⁰ Mather apparently had plans to publish the book in England as early as 1697, when John Dunton, the London bookseller, was advertising the work in William Turner's Compleat History of the Most Remarkable Providences... Which Have Hapned in This Present Age. Yet when Dunton received the manuscript in 1700, he declined to print it. His 1705 comment on Mather gives a clue as to why: "His Library is very large and numerous; but had his Books been fewer when he wrote his History, it would have pleased us better."⁵¹ Even for an audience interested in the providential workings of history, as Turner's readers may have been, the Magnalia was deemed unsuitable. Why? There was, apparently, an audience for his godly meditations, and also an audience for his history; but were they the same audience? No matter how much Mather craved English intellectual approval, he either did not grasp the style that such readers would have preferred, or he was unable to imitate it. An otherwise sympathetic Daniel Neal thought the book's main fault was that it was simply not organized according to the tastes of "this part of the world." It was good enough for New England, but not for

⁵⁰Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 93.

⁵¹John Dunton, Life and Errors (London, 1705), quoted in Kenneth B. Murdock, "The Magnalia," in Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 26-27 at 27.

Old.⁵²

Perhaps this problem owed something to Mather's framing of New Englanders as special, and as separate from the English. Although New Englanders are "English planters,"⁵³ the very fact that they have to "assert their Title to the Common Rights of Englishmen" suggests that Mather is aware of the problem of finding a distinctive identity for his subjects.⁵⁴ They are not "white," nor "English." His description of Eliot sums up the ideal settler identity: "a true New-English one; he was a Protestant and a Puritan, and one very full of that spirit which actuated the first planters of this country...."⁵⁵ The problem of expressing settler identity, for Mather, mirrors his personal problem in gaining intellectual recognition. He is too sophisticated and intelligent to be an "American," a word still associated with Natives, but his Englishness is also in doubt. His terms of reference throughout the book distinguish "The People of New England" from "the whole English nation," whether discussing the Gunpowder Plot or the mercantilist possibilities inherent in New England prosperity.⁵⁶ But this is a distinction free of negative images. (Those are reserved for enemies of New England. Unpopular crown officials like Governor Andros are termed

⁵²Daniel Neal, The History of New-England, Containing an Impartial Account of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Country to the Year of Our Lord, 1700 (London, 1720). Neal had good reason to say nice things about Mather; his own history is highly dependent upon Mather's work.

⁵³Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 298

⁵⁴Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 294.

⁵⁵Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (Hartford, 1855), 552. This edition quoted here only.

'Harpies" and other classical beasts.)⁵⁷ Neither settlers nor Natives are "Americans;" Natives are consistently "Indians" or "Tawnies," the latter a term that had been used only occasionally in the 1676 accounts. Mather also re-shaped the figures of Mother England and New England laid down by writers like Winthrop and Anne Bradstreet, but modified the notions of relations with the English "brethren."

There is sense of spiritual, rather than literal, distance from England present in his account of settler differences with the Church of England: "our New England exiles called. Their Mother; though their Mother had been so harsh to them, as to turn them out of Doors... it was not so much their Mother, but some of their angry brethren: abusing the name of their Mother, who so harshly treated them."⁵⁸ While emphasizing this separation from "Angry Brethren" in England, Mather minimizes schisms within the New English church.⁵⁹

Instead, Mather focuses on the constant unity of the separated brethren in the face of external threats: illness, hunger, and "Fear of the Indians."⁶⁰ In the "Antiquities" section, which chronicles settlement through the 1640's, Mather leaves out accounts of the Antinomian Crisis, Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson

⁵⁶Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 337.

⁵⁷Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 289-292 at 291.

⁵⁸Including the colony's founding, put into rather sad familial terms. Magnalia Christi Americana, 159.

⁵⁹John Higginson, Attestation, in Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 69-70.

⁶⁰Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 160-162, at 160 and 162.

altogether.⁶¹ It is not until Book II, and his biography of John Winthrop, that he discusses to any internal difficulties among the English colonists. Here he mentions a "sectarian part of the Country" and "an Antinomian and Familistical Faction, which extremely threatened the Ruin of the Country."⁶² In his discussion of John Cotton, Mather more fully admits the extent of the Antinomian Crisis. His explanation for the presence of "Antinomian and Familistical sectaries" acknowledges that they should never have been amongst such a company of saints; they were "strangely crowded in among our more orthodox planters."⁶³ Who could have helped such undesirables arrive in God's own colony? Satan, of course.

This theological interpretation of New England history was necessary to make the Antinomian crisis a triumph of Saint over sinner rather than of a tyrannous church over courageous free speakers. Using this framework, Mather can deny any connection between these troublemakers and more orthodox teaching, particularly that of John Cotton. If anything, Mather protests too much, leaving the reader quite puzzled as to why John Cotton might have been connected with the Hutchinsonians at all. Mather cannot even allow their words to be a perversion of Cotton's teachings, as both Cotton and Winthrop had argued in the 1640's. Mather claims that any association between Cotton and the Antinomians is entirely owing to bad press:

⁶¹He discusses the other colonies that are, "like an Hive, overstock'd with bees" and planted new settlements but among these does not mention any motivated by religious or other distress. Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 165-172 at 165.

⁶²Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, 220.

...the disingenuity of those pamphleteers, who took advantage hence to catch these tears in their venomous ink horns, and employ them for so many blots upon the memory of a righteous man, 'worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance.'⁶⁴

According to Mather, King Philip's War was also devil-driven.⁶⁵ Even the presence of Quakers is due to "a very sensible possession of the devil."⁶⁶ Satan continues to work through the Natives as much in Magnalia as in Mather's witchcraft writings; shortcomings in converting the Natives are therefore the fault of the Devil, not to any failing on the part of John Eliot or other settlers.⁶⁷ Indeed, Satan actually put the Native Americans in Massachusetts in the first place, apparently to vex the English. The Natives in his account are "Barbarbous," "abominably slothful," "beastly," "stupid and senseless." These are no Israelites, lost in the wilderness. The old idea of Indians as Jews is incomprehensible to Mather's generation; he cannot understand why John Eliot ever believed it.⁶⁸ Even the praying Indians are only uncomfortably integrated into Mather's polity. He is not sure that they are "real, and through, and holy" Christians.⁶⁹ Satan's rule of America justifies the legitimacy of settler claim, where Devil is merely the "old usurping landlord".⁷⁰ This tenancy from

⁶³Mather, Magnalia, 266.

⁶⁴Cotton Mather Magnalia, 267-268.

⁶⁵Increase Mather in Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 566.

⁶⁶Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 493.

⁶⁷Increase Mather in Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 565.

⁶⁸Apparently Mather was satisfied that Dr. John Woodward's researches settled the matter for once and for all. Levine, Dr. Woodward's Shield, 73.

⁶⁹Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 577.

⁷⁰Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 556.

Satan renders the Native Americans subjects, dispossessed (like the Gaelic Irish) from any prior claim to the land. Further, the devil is a "hard master to the most devoted of his vassals"; settler rule over Natives must surely be an improvement.⁷¹ As for Catholic Natives, the conversion of these "horrid pagans" is as necessary as that of the "unhappy blacks" in plantations in America, the "Welch" and the Irish. Indeed, Mather has an interesting perspective on what the history of the relations with the Irish should teach the English: "may the nefarious massacres of the English by the Irish awaken the English to consider whether they have done enough to reclaim the Irish from the Popish bigotries and abominations with which they have been intoxicated!"⁷²

Cotton Mather was the foremost, but not the only man who turned to New England's history in order to make sense of its present. John Williams' s The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion was actually another piece of crisis literature, but one with a keen awareness of how the continuing history of New England played out in the tale of a family's captivity and redemption from Catholic Natives and French Canadians.⁷³ As Williams states on the first page:

⁷¹Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 558.

⁷²Cotton Mather, Magnalia, 580-581.

⁷³The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion is of particular interest, in part because of John Demos' intensive microhistory, The Unredeemed Captive (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1994), which examines the experiences of John Williams and his family, particularly his youngest daughter Eunice, who were kidnapped during the course of French-English battles in 1704. This Deerfield family lost several of its members to death, but eventually, all survivors were redeemed from their captivity; all, that is, save one, Eunice, who died an Algonquin-speaking convert to Catholicism and who is the "Unredeemed Captive" of Demos' title.

The history I am going to write, proves, that days of fasting and prayer, without reformation, will not avail to turn away the anger of God from a professing people; and yet witnesseth, how very advantageous, gracious supplications are, to particular Christians, patiently to suffer the will of God, in very trying publick calamities⁷⁴

As Williams' relation of his story and its meaning in the longer New England narrative continues, the main threat to New Englanders is Catholicism. For the captives, conversion is even more threatening than death. It is hard to say if Williams saw much difference between the Mohawk and the French. He seems to view the French as slightly preferable captors; they are never called "heathen" like the Native groups. But he constantly emphasizes the "crafty" measures the French employed to lure their captives to Catholicism.⁷⁵ There was a fundamental difference between the New Englanders and both the French and the Natives:

It is certain, that the charity of the whole country of Canada, though moved with the doctrine of merit, does not come up to the charity of Boston alone, where notions of merit are rejected; but acts of charity performed out of a right Christian spirit, and a spirit of thankfulness to God, out of obedience to God's command, and unfeigned love and charity to them that are of the same family and household of faith.⁷⁶

⁷⁴John Williams, The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion (sixth. ed. Boston: 1795), 7, in March of America Facsimile Series edition (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1966).

⁷⁵"We...pray to God for a door of escape for the great number yet left behind, not much short of an hundred, many of whom are children, and of these not a few among the savages; and having lost the English tongue will be lost, and turn savages in a little time, unless something extraordinary prevent." Williams, Redeemed Captive, 90. Demos speculates that it was little Eunice, Williams' daughter, of whom he was thinking in writing this passages.

⁷⁶Williams, Redeemed Captive, 91-92.

Mather and Williams were not the only authors to feed the New England hunger for history, a history increasingly defined as the story of external strife rather than internal religious argument. Narratives of King Philip's War, like Mary Rowlandson's, became more and more popular in the eighteenth century, enjoying a sharp rise particularly at the time of the American Revolution.⁷⁷ Nor were earlier conflicts like the Pequot War neglected. Indeed, some older manuscripts relating tales of colonial crisis were published for the first time in the eighteenth century. John Mason's Brief History of the Pequot War, written in 1656, finally saw publication in 1723. Thomas Church published his father's account of King Philip's War in 1716, part of a younger generation as interested as Mather in the exploits of their forebears.⁷⁸ These lay-authored works shared a viewpoint with those written by clergyman: for both, God is a major figure in both personal and colonial history.

The title of Church's memoir related its dual purpose. It was both "Entertaining Passages relating to King's Philip's War," but also "Some Account of the Divine

⁷⁷Mary Rowlandson has been treated most extensively by literary critics as beginning the taste for Indian captivity narratives; see for example, Gary L. Ebersole Captured By Texts: Puritan to Postmodern Images of Indian Captivity (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995). But the taste for all sorts of histories of King Philip's War appears to have increased in the eighteenth century, at least judging by reprints in the ESTC. For a consideration of modern captivity narratives and their relation to Rowlandson's account, see Christopher Castiglia, Bound and Determined: Captivity, Cross-Dressing, and White Womanhood From Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁷⁸On the continued importance of Church in shaping views of the past in the Early Republic, see Philip Gould, "Reinventing Benjamin Church: Virtue, Citizenship, and the History of King Philip's War in Early National America," Journal of the Early

Providence Towards Benjamin Church Esq."⁷⁹ Unlike most New England commentators, Church had enjoyed fairly close and friendly relations with the Natives before the commencement of hostilities, and credited one Awashonks, a "squaw-sachem," with warning him of Philip's intentions. Church's account of his initial interview with Awashonk's war-council includes no negative or Satanic comments on Natives, even when describing hostile "Mount Hope Men." Yet Church has as much trouble as any other New England commentator differentiating between different groups of Natives, even when they are his close friends and allies, Awashonk's men.⁸⁰ And, like Mather and Williams, Church views God's "remarkable and wonderful providence" as the heart of his story.⁸¹ Thomas Prince's introduction to John Mason's story of the Pequot War confirmed this continued providential reading of New England's past:

The Judicious reader know the New English History, cannot think these Scripture Phrases or religious Turns unsuitable on this Occasion: For these Colonies were chiefly, if not entirely Settled by a Religious people, and for those Religious Purposes; It is impossible to write an impartial or true History of them, as of the ancient Israelites...without observing that Religious Spirit and intention which evidently run thro' and animate their Historical Transactions.⁸²

Republic 16, no. 4 (1996): 645-657.

⁷⁹Thomas Church, Entertaining Passages Relating to King Philip's War (Boston, 1716), t.p., in So Dreadfull a Judgement, 426.

⁸⁰Church, Entertaining Passages, 430-34, at 431.

⁸¹Church, Entertaining Passages, 408.

⁸²Thomas Prince, Introduction, in John Mason, A Brief History of the Pequot War (Boston: 1736), iii.

But such a providential vision was not shared by either settlers nor Englishmen when they considered the long history of Virginia. Yet even though neither group saw God's hand at work in Virginia's history, interpretations still differed markedly.

"The uninhabited vacant lands of America"⁸³: Virginia's Ever-Virgin Land

Virginia, as we have seen, was the screen upon which Englishmen projected their fantasies to little contradiction. Lacking a printing press until the late seventeenth century, the colony produced few native-born chroniclers, and English print was similarly reticent. No wonder that when the first history by a settler appeared in London, in 1705, it was expressly in order to correct the common English view of Virginia:

...so misrepresented to the common people of England as to make them believe that the servants in Virginia are made to draw in cart and plow, as horses and oxen do in England, and that the country turns all people black who live there, with many other prodigious phantasms.⁸⁴

⁸³Sir William Keith, The History of the British Plantations in America (London, 1738), 10.

⁸⁴Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), xvii. One could argue that Virginia's early history still suffers in popular historical imagination because of its paucity of early historians; nineteenth-century mythmakers had little printed material from which to draw. Only John Smith's Pocahontas survives as a common point of modern imagination. New England's stern-faced Pilgrims and witch-burning Puritans are so well known in popular culture as to be immediate caricatures in black hats and silver buckles. For the treatment of these myths in the nineteenth century United States, see Ann Uhry Abrams, The Pilgrims and Pocahontas: Rival Myths of American Origins (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999). A lack of basic chronology of early Virginia is still so strong that the Oscar-winning Shakespeare in Love (1998) features a nobleman and his wife embarking for his thriving plantations in Virginia in 1592!

Robert Beverley proudly proclaimed himself "gent." on the title page of his work. Schooled in England and a sometime clerk in the colonial government, Beverley was indeed a gentleman, and had been elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1699. He was closely related to several great Virginia families; William Byrd III, who began his own secret history of Virginia near this time, was Beverley's brother-in-law. Beverley began the work after a trip to England in 1703. Asked to correct a copy of John Oldmixon's British Empire in America, he found it so full of errors that he determined to rectify the English picture of Virginia.⁸⁵ Unlike his colleagues in Massachusetts, his stated intent was primarily to correct the views of an English audience; presumably Virginians themselves needed no further knowledge of their own history. His history is certainly written from a perspective that is not English; but is it "self-consciously American" as Louis B. Wright claimed in his introduction to the 1947 reprint?⁸⁶ Perhaps it is better described as self-consciously "Virginian." This is a settler identity, but one quite unlike its New England counterpart. In Virginian history, God and Satan are conspicuous by their absence, but Mammon is everywhere.

Virginia in this portrayal is simply a fantasy "newfoundland," much as it was in the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries for English readers.

⁸⁵Louis B. Wright, "Introduction," in Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, xi. Oldmixon seems to have collaborated with William Byrd in his work, and the tensions between the brothers-in-law may have added to Beverley's determination to see his own work printed.

⁸⁶Wright, "Introduction" in Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, xxi.

Beverley immediately distinguishes himself from his English readers, using explicitly North American imagery. Asking for a merciful critique of his style, he asserts "I am an Indian, and don't pretend to be exact in my language."⁸⁷ (We would certainly not expect this from any of the New England writers, particularly Cotton Mather!) By adopting in part the identity of the native inhabitants of his land, Beverley invokes veracity and simplicity: "I hope the Plainness of my Dress, will give him the kinder Impressions of my Honesty, which is what I pretend to."⁸⁸ Beverley's strategy at once lends him the credibility of simplicity and an exotic appeal, marking him as very much "not-English."

Of course, Beverley does draw sharp distinctions between the "Way of Living of the Natives" and "the English Form of Government in that Country."⁸⁹ Neither the Devil's tenants, nor God's testing agents, Beverley's Natives are drawn as dimly-seen figures from the romantic past. Beverley even suggested that marital diplomacy between settler and Native would have been a good policy, specifically lauding the example of French Canada in this matter:

Intermarriage had been indeed the Method proposed very often by the Indians in the beginning, urging it frequently as a certain Rule, that the English were not their friends, if they refused it. And I can't think but it would have been happy for that Country, had they embraced this Proposal: For the Jealousie of the Indians, which I take to be the Cause of most of the Rapines and Murders they committed, wou'd by this Means have been altogether prevented, and consequently the Abundance of Blood that was shed on both

⁸⁷Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 9.

⁸⁸Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 9.

⁸⁹Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 11.

sides wou'd have been saved; the great Extremitities they were so often reduced to, by which so many died, wou'd not have happened...in all likelihood, many, if not most, of the Indians would have been converted to Christianity by this kind Method...⁹⁰

Of course Beverley is quite safe in making this statement: it is about the past, not the present. (Beverley's security is underscored in the next paragraph, when he explains that this policy would also have provided "a continuance of all those Nations of Indians that are now dwindled away to nothing by their frequent Removals. or are fled to other parts.")⁹¹

Still, his comments call into question the notion that strong anti-"miscegenation" feelings are inherently English in some way. Beverley clearly expected that his English audience would not be utterly scandalized by this suggestion (at least from the safe confines of their reading chairs). His cousin, William Byrd, had a similar idea. In A History of the Dividing Line between Virginia and North Carolina, written intended for publication, Byrd disparaged the conversion attempts of Robert Boyle, sourly noting that "almost all of the Indians have attended William and Mary college." Byrd generally despairs of ever "civilizing" them in that way, advocating marriage as an alternate strategy:

For my Part, I must be of Opinion, as I had hinted before, that there is but one way of Converting these poor Infidels, and reclaiming them from barbarity, and that is, Charitably to intermarry with them according to the Modern Policy of the most Christian King in Canada and Louisiana.⁹²

⁹⁰Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 38.

⁹¹Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 38-39.

⁹² Byrd continues: "Had the English done this at the first Settlement of the

Despite his willingness to play “what-if” in his history, Beverley’s account of actual alliances with Natives was deeply ambivalent. He actually blames closeness with the Natives for the attack of 1622: “all Men were lull'd into a fatal Security, and became every where familiar with the Indians, Eating, drinking, and Sleeping amongst them; by which Means they became perfectly acquainted with all our English Strength, and the Use of our Arms: Knowing at all Times, when and where to find our People; whether at Home, or in the Woods; in Bodies, or disperst...”⁹³ Despite his hostility, Beverley does not demonize or animalize these foes, and is perfectly capable of ascribing to them a fairly human motivation for the attack: the death of the war-chief’s brother, apparently at English hands.⁹⁴

Although his view is always that of the settler, Beverley presented Natives as central to the narrative of Virginian history. Book II of his work was dedicated entirely to “the Indians, their Religion, Laws, and Customs, in War and Peace.” This appealed to English tastes for the exotic, the romantic, and the past: Beverley’s descriptions

Colony, the Infidelity of the Indian had been won out at this Day, with their Dusk Complexions, and the Country had swarm'd with People more than it does with Insects. It was certainly an unreasonable Nicety, that prevented their entering into so good-Natur'd an Alliance. All Nations of men have the same Natural Dignity, and we all know the very bright Talents may be lodg'd under a very dark Skin. The principal Difference between one People and another proceeds only from Different Opportunities of Improvement...” William Byrd, History of the Dividing Line, reprinted in William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, ed. William Kenneth Boyd (New York: Dover Publications, New York, 1967), 120.

⁹³ Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 50.

always make the Native firmly part of history, not current events. For example, he is complimentary about the "Indian's" physical appearance and even specifically included plates to illustrate this point. The plates used, however, are engravings after de Bry's plates made from John White's drawings more than one hundred years previously. Beverley assures his readers in the text that the facial features and clothings "are exactly represented, being all drawn by the Life."⁹⁵ De Bry's engravings had indeed been made from real-life late sixteenth-century watercolours; but these third-generation copies hardly merit Beverley's approbation, and his description as being "from Life" is misleading. Regardless of his intent, the use of old illustrations certainly gave his readers the impression that the Natives belong to a romanticized past which no longer existed.

Unlike these portraits, the descriptions of the settlers' government and husbandry in Book IV are quite up to date. The Natives in Beverley's description belong to the romantic past, while the settler's improvements and accomplishments belong to the future. Again and again Beverley differentiates the settlers from the mother country, perhaps most notably when describing the prowess of the militia: "They fear no other Enemy, but only now and then, an insolent and oppressive Governor, who is pleas'd to abuse the Queen's Authority, by perverting it into

⁹⁴ Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 52-53.

⁹⁵ Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 164. Did Beverley know which plates were to be used? This question merits further investigation.

Arbitrary Power, and to exasperate the People by their barbarous Treatment."⁹⁶

Although addressing himself explicitly to an English audience, Beverley made a strong case for settler self-determination when describing the crises of Virginia's past. In addressing the notorious reputation of Virginia as a colonial money-sink, Beverley made certain that the fault was not laid at the feet of his fellow colonists. In fact, he credited self-interested capitalism with improving the colony's fortunes:

Then also they apportion'd and laid out Lands in several allotments, viz., to the Company in several Places, to the Governour, to a College, to Glebes, and to several particular Persons...The People now knew their own Property, and having the Encouragements of Working for their own Advantage, many became very industrious, and began to vie with one another, in Planting, Building, and other Improvements.⁹⁷

Not only are Beverley's Virginians politically mature, they are deeply loyal and reliable subjects, hardly the drunk and disorderly Cromwellians of Aphra Behn's imagination. Beverley notes with pride Virginia's adherence to the Stuarts during the Commonwealth: "it was the last of all the King's Dominions that submitted to the Usurpation, and afterwards the first that cast it off."⁹⁸ In speaking directly of Bacon's Rebellion, Beverley sorts out a number of causes, and suggests, fairly, that it is unreasonable to think that Virginians turned against Berkeley, "so long, and so deservedly the Darling of the People," for slight or frivolous causes.⁹⁹

⁹⁶Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 268.

⁹⁷Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 48.

⁹⁸Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 64.

⁹⁹Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 64.

Beverley's description of Bacon's Rebellion is particularly interesting when compared to that published in 1716 in an anonymous English biography of Sir Thomas Grantham, which promised in its title An Historical Account of Some Memorable Actions, Particularly in Virginia. In relating Grantham's heroism in restoring order to Virginia, the account emphasizes Bacon's appeal to Virginians: "inciting...them to open Insurrection."¹⁰⁰ Berkeley's possible corruption is left unexplored; his only problem (which Grantham solves through "Care and Interest") is an angry temperment. The best method of gaining peace, in Grantham's imperial estimation, was "to perswade the Governor to Meekness, and the People to Submission."¹⁰¹ The emphasis is first and foremost on Grantham's "detached" wisdom, on Beverley's relative innocence, and on the unreasoning rebellion of the settlers in general and Bacon in particular (who "died of the Lousy Evil").¹⁰²

That Beverley's perspective differed is less surprising, since he was from the very class of planters whom Bacon had represented. Unlike Grantham's biographer, he focused, not on settler character, but upon settler grievances:

four Things may be reckon'd to have been the main Ingredients towards this intestine Commotion, viz. First, The extream low Price of Tobacco, and the ill Usage of the Planters in the Exchange of Goods for it, which the Country, with all their earnest Endeavours, could not remedy. Secondly, The Splitting the Colony into Properties, contrary to the original Charters: and the extravagant Taxes they were forced to undergo, to relieve themselves from

¹⁰⁰ An Historical Account of some Memorable Actions, Particularly in Virginia (London, 1716), 12.

¹⁰¹ An Historical Account of Some Memorable Actions, 19.

¹⁰² An Historical Account of Some Memorable Actions, 22.

those Grants. Thirdly, The heavy Restraints and Burdens laid upon their Trade by Act of Parliament in England. Fourthly, The Disturbance given by the Indians.¹⁰³

In other words, the originating problems were neatly divorced from the settlers and foisted onto consumers, English lawmakers, and Indians; the remedy is allowing settlers more self-government, not less. This is a complete reversal of Behn's imaginary Virginia; it also differs significantly from Sir William Keith, whose history lays the blame for the rebellion on Virginians' ignorance. In his version, the simple-minded settlers simply could not comprehend the larger economic difficulties which caused the mid-century slump and resulting trade problems; they "supposed it to proceed from some Neglect or Mismanagement in Administration of their own Government; and therefore imagin'd, that the Governor's intended Expedition...would be hurtful to their Interest."¹⁰⁴

But in Beverley's formulation, the settlers were not imagining anything. In his history, there was a significant difference between the "English Interest" and settler interest. When he does lay blame on Bacon, the rebel's faults are those of an Englishman, not a Virginian. Greedy like the governor, he is drawn as an outsider, not a settler.¹⁰⁵ Bacon's goal is not to rectify the legitimate grievances of the planters but to "secure a Monopoly of the Indian Trade to himself and his Friends."¹⁰⁶ In this he is not

¹⁰³ Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 75.

¹⁰⁴ Keith, The History of the British Plantations in America, 156.

¹⁰⁵ Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 90-91.

¹⁰⁶ Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 83.

so different from Governor Culpepper, Berkeley's successor, whom Beverley blames for "arbitrary" and "despotick" government, lamenting the increased regulation of trade from English sources after the rebellion.¹⁰⁷ This version could not be more different from Keith's, which emphasizes Bacon's appeal to the "mobs," the "unthinking Multitude," or just "the People."¹⁰⁸ Berkeley is Keith's hero, doughtily defending English power against the settler rabble.¹⁰⁹

Although Virginia continued to be a significant part of the *imagined* English empire (as in Defoe's Moll Flanders and Captain Jack), there was little progress in its factual historical narratives by the time Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia was published in 1785. Lamenting this state of affairs, Jefferson included an extensive catalogue of printed pamphlets and other historical sources regarding the area's history from 1496 to 1768, hoping someone would rise to the challenge.¹¹⁰ In particular, Jefferson singled out Keith's work as lacking the depth that Virginia interest

¹⁰⁷Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 90-91.

¹⁰⁸Keith, The History of the British Plantations in America, 156, 157, 160.

¹⁰⁹Keith's account is in fact devoid of any suggestion that Berkeley's leadership was ever questioned in Whitehall; his recall to England is glossed over as a matter of medicine: "but the good Sir William Berkeley was in so bad a state of Health, that he was obliged to go for England, where, soon after his Arrival, he died, before he had seen the King, who sent daily to inquire how he did, and expres'd himself with great Tenderness and Concern for the Loss of so dutiful and loyal a Subject." Keith, The History of the British Plantations in America, 162.

¹¹⁰Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, 1785 edition with additional appendices, ed. Thomas Abernathy (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), 169-180.

demanded, although "Of course he is short, and would be preferred by a foreigner."¹¹¹ Perhaps Jefferson's real objection to Keith was his unrelentingly imperialist vision of the colony's history. Surely Jefferson, the William and Mary alumnus and American intellectual, could not have looked kindly on Keith's low opinion of the value of educating settlers in Virginia:

And as to the College erected in Virginia, and other Designs of the like Nature, which have been proposed for the Encouragement of Learning, it is only to be observed in general, That altho' great Advantages may accrue to the Mother state, both from the Labour and Luxury of its plantations, yet they will probably be mistaken. who imagine, that the Advancement of Literature, and the Improvement of Arts and Sciences in our American colonies, can ever be of any Service to the British State.¹¹²

But English disdain for the intellectual and political abilities of settlers was not limited to eighteenth century Virginia, as the so-called Protestant Ascendancy of Ireland discovered. to its dismay.

"Englishmen in Ireland and ... Irish in England"¹¹³: The Amphibious History of Ireland

The period just after the Glorious Revolution was an uneasy one for Protestants in Ireland. Dissenters and adherents to the Church of Ireland endured relations which were strained at best.¹¹⁴ And as the dust from the Williamite Wars settled, Protestant

¹¹¹Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, 167.

¹¹²Keith, The History of the British Plantations in America, 11.

¹¹³ Samuel Maddon, quoted in Jim Smyth, "'Like Amphibious Animals': Irish Protestants, Ancient Britons, 1691-1707," Eighteenth Century Studies 30, no.4, (1993): 785-797 at 787.

¹¹⁴Smyth, "'Like Amphibious Animals,'" 785-790.

settlers in Ireland found themselves at the receiving end of imperialist policies that severely limited their rights as "Englishmen." All of these realities collided with the vision of settler identity developed in the crisis writings from the seventeenth century. In Augustan Ireland, the interpretation of history mattered deeply, for it separated the "Irish" from the "English," and the true rulers from both usurpers and tyrants. Yet both settler writers and English historians found themselves reformulating their visions of Ireland's past, with both sides thereby laying claim to political legitimacy.

William Molyneux laid out this territory in 1698, arguing for the right of the Irish parliament to govern itself. His pamphlet, The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, asserted that the history of Ireland was primarily the story of "the progeny of the English." In the face of contrary evidence, he even asserted that the "ancient Irish" had "dwindled to a "mere handful...not one in a thousand."¹¹⁵ In the same year, Richard Cox asked for more attention to the conversion of Catholics in Ireland, stating that most people living in Ireland were "beyond controversie of English extraction."¹¹⁶ Jim Smyth calls these statements "an intriguing glimpse of who, some of least, the post-Boyne Protestant elite thought they were."¹¹⁷ Like North American writers, Cox and Molyneux seemed to suggest that years of Irish-English marriage had done in Ireland exactly what Beverley advocated for

¹¹⁵William Molyneux, The Case of Ireland Being Bound by Parliament in England (London, 1698), 20.

¹¹⁶Richard Cox An Essay for the Conversion of the Irish (London, 1698), 10.

¹¹⁷Smyth, "Like Amphibious Animals," 788.

Virginia: produce a successful population of culturally English settlers.

David Hayton suggests that Molyneux was trying "to write Gaelic Ireland out of existence, so to speak," but in light of the descriptions in seventeenth-century crisis literature, this was adaptation, not innovation. As in the seventeenth century, "Ireland" meant Protestant Ireland.¹¹⁸ But there were also shifts in attitudes towards the "old English." Far from being primarily viewed as Catholic, both writers (especially Cox) emphasized their potential as "English" settlers.

But no matter how much settler pamphleteers emphasized their Englishness, and the numeric superiority of such settlers in Ireland, their protests against the "sixth of George I" and its assertion of English parliamentary primacy were in vain. John Hovell's plea to London readers sounds very much like those of the 1640's: "we are the same people, parents and children, brothers and sisters, sometimes dwelling here, sometimes there...."¹¹⁹

English lawmakers were not inclined to give much weight to claims of kinship by the so-called Anglo-Irish.¹²⁰ Comparing some views of history produced by settlers in Ireland with those of English writers supports Hayton's assertion that, in fits and

¹¹⁸David Hayton, "Anglo-Irish Attitudes: Changing Perceptions of National Identity Among the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, ca. 1690-1750," Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture 17 (1987): 145-157, at 153.

¹¹⁹James Hovell, A Discourse on the Woollen Manufactures of Ireland (London, 1698) 8.

¹²⁰S. J. Connolly, "Varieties of Britishness: Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the Hanoverian State," in Uniting the Kingdom: The Making of British History, ed. Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 193-

starts and with no clear "progression," settler identities became very much separated from "Englishness" in this period.¹²¹ While Irish history as viewed from England was written as the story of an English "problem," settler writers re-shaped the myths and labels from seventeenth-century crisis writing to make sense of their current state. Eventually, settler rhetoric even went so far as to embrace Gaelic imagery for themselves, in much the same way that Beverley pleaded his "Indian"-ness.

For English writers, interest in Irish history was tied to interest in English history, interpreted as the story of Protestant struggle against the papist foe. Memoirs of Ireland from the Restoration to the Present Times (1716) describes the struggle:

Having in my Secret Histories of Europe, the Memoirs of Scotland and Aracana Gallica, endeavour'd to shew what have been the Ill Designs of the Papists and their Abettors in England, Scotland and France, against the Religion and Liberty of Great Britain, I shall now take a View of Ireland; and we shall there find Popery triumphant, even under Protestant Princes...¹²²

For English readers, such histories of Ireland continued to be meaningful as long as James Stuart and his progeny pretended to the throne, as the full title of one anonymous 1718 work suggests: Popish Cruelty Display'd: Being a Short, but Impartial History of Some of the Assassination, Murder, and Inhumane Slaughters,

207.

¹²¹Hayton suggests that these legislative rebuffs promoted a variety of changes in self-perceptions among the "Anglo-Irish" after the end of the Williamite Wars through the mid-eighteenth century. I differ from Hayton, in his belief about the newness of Protestant rhetoric claiming to represent the whole of the "Irish" nation; although the seventeenth-century crisis writers did not call themselves Irish, they consistently presented "Ireland" as meaning the body of Protestant settlers.

¹²²(Author of the Secret History of Europe), Memoirs of Ireland, From the

Committed by Papists upon Protestants; with a Particular Account of the Massacres of Ireland and Paris...Designed as a Caveat against the Pretender.¹²³ That these histories found their intended readers is richly suggested by the marginalia in a copy of the Memoirs, where a reader has nearly obliterated the word "Irishman" and written in its place "Innate Imp of Hell."¹²⁴

Other perspectives on the Irish past were emerging, however, both in England and in by settler writers in Ireland. Geoffrey Keating's Gaelic manuscript work Foras Feasa ar Éirinn (c. 1634), with its strong anti-settler tone and pro-Gaelic/Old English alliance was translated as The History of Ireland and reprinted several times in the mid-eighteenth century.¹²⁵ Keating's work was elaborated and debated by antiquaries like "the Learned Dr. Anthony Raymond of Trim" who promised his readers a geographical guide to Keating's history that would include "a Direction to every Page and Line...whereby the Reader, with an abundance of Ease, may see the Beauties therein contain'd."¹²⁶ Irish writers like Thomas O'Sullivan published extensive

Restoration, to the Present Times (London, 1716), 1.

¹²³Popish cruelty display'd (London, 1718).

¹²⁴Marginalia in Memoirs of Ireland, 88, on microform reel 67, no. 2 (Woodbridge, Conn.:Research Publications Incorporated, 1982-).

¹²⁵For a discussion of this work, see Brendan Bradshaw, "Geoffrey Keating: Apologist of Irish Ireland." in Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660, ed. Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 166-190.

¹²⁶Anthony Raymond, An Appendix to Dr. Keating's History of Ireland (Dublin, 1726).

commentaries and textual criticisms on it for the Irish reading audience.¹²⁷ Remarkably like Beverley and the Virginia writers, they were comfortable celebrating the natives peoples once those groups had been consigned to the distant past. Many Protestant gentleman subscribed to the antiquarian works of William Nicolson and Francis Hutchinson, who argued that ancient Gaelic society was comparable to that of ancient Greece.¹²⁸ Such discoveries were useful even to so committed an anti-papist as the Dublin apothecary Charles Lucas, who claimed to be moved by the plight of the native Irish; he compared it, predictably, to the political state of Protestants in Ireland. While continuing to blame the horrors of the seventeenth-century on "Irish" barbarity, however, Lucas also introduced a familiar settler perspective: that "the oppressions, instigations, evil influences, and connivance of the English" had interfered with the wise self-interest of Protestant settlers.¹²⁹ Interest in the sources of Irish history was attested by the publication of William Nicolson's Irish Historical Library. This work helpfully attempted to catalogue print and manuscript sources "which might be serviceable to the compilers of a general history of Ireland."¹³⁰ By the later eighteenth

¹²⁷The ESTC lists seven reprints for Keating's work between 1713 and 1738, including Thomas O' Sullivan's An Account of Dr. Keting's [sic] History of Ireland, and the Translation of it by Dermod O' Connow (Dublin, 1723). O'Sullivan has a long commentary on the errors which crept into Keating's text during the late seventeenth century when it was extensively circulated in manuscript.

¹²⁸Hayton, "Anglo-Irish Attitudes," 153.

¹²⁹S. Murphy, "Charles Lucas and the Dublin College Election of 1748-1749," Parliamentary History 2 (1983): 96.

¹³⁰William Nicolson The Irish Historical Library (Dublin, 1724), t.p. This was also printed in London that same year, and re-printed in Dublin in 1736.

century, writers like John Trusler in The Historians Guide offered a convenient outline of "every remarkable Occurance in our history" for those more interested in information than style.¹³¹

By mid-century, some English historians increasingly took positions which were neither pro-settler nor pro-native, but which emphasized their imperial perspective, supposedly above the fray.¹³² This was an important selling point, even in titles, as in Cornelius Nary's The Impartial History of Ireland (emphasis mine).¹³³ It was an appeal found in works on the New World colonies as well, as in A Modest Inquiry into...the State of New England, allegedly by "a Disinterested Hand."¹³⁴ This trend is elaborated in Fernando Warner's introduction to his 1768 History of Ireland. He identifies three separate groups who might write histories of Irish events. The first are "Native Irish writers," examples of whom he gives as Keating, O'Flaherty, and O'Connor. The latter were of Gaelic extraction, but Keating was Old English¹³⁵ Apparently this did not qualify Keating to be part of his second group, "Irish writers of

¹³¹ John Trusler, The Historians Guide (Dublin, 1773).

¹³² As with any generalization about trends, this one has its notable exceptions. Irish history continued to be used in anti-Catholic interpretations of history like A Warning-piece for English Protestants, on Occasion of the Present More than Ordinary Growth of Popery, Containing, A True History of the Massacres of Ireland, Piedmont and France (London, 1740). But the trend towards "impartial" histories of Ireland is particularly significant because it occurred even in the midst of such potential triggers of anti-Catholicism as the Jacobite Risings of 1744-45, and the Seven Years War with France. Instead, the "impartial" tone seems more likely to devastate Irish Protestant parliamentarians like Flood and Lucas.

¹³³ Cornelius Nary, The Impartial History of Ireland (London, 1735).

¹³⁴ A Modest Inquiry into...the State of New England (London, 1707).

English extract, who must be distinguished from the natives." These he describes as Sir James Ware and Archbishop John Ussher. Finally, he lists "English writers who have attempted to give any part of the History of Ireland-- such as Cambrensis, Campion, Hamner, Stanthurst, Spenser, Morrison, Cox-- it is difficult to determine whether they shew more inaccuracy and ignorance, or malevolence and partiality."¹³⁶ Warner blames both passion and dispassion for the sad state of Irish history-writing. Passion is fatal to history when coming from Gaelic writers who were interested only in proving the glories of pre-Conquest of Ireland. Yet a lack of passion or even interest has inhibited English-descended inhabitants of Ireland, "though their ancestors have been in possession of it almost six hundred years, yet by a strange kind of reasoning, don't look upon Ireland as their country."¹³⁷ Neither settler nor native could write history; it was up to the "detached" English historian to do it.

Warner's assumption of being more "civilized" and above the fray was a good justification for imperialism. In London, readers viewed Irish history simply as the story of a problem, the narrative of a place eternally in need of conquest and subjection. Re-issues of old books like the early Jacobean Discoverie of the True Causes Why Ireland was Neuer Entirely Subdued, nor Brought under Obedience of the Crowne of England, reprinted in London 1748, reinforced this. Indeed, older histories of Ireland were in constant re-print (or published with new material) throughout the

¹³⁵Bradshaw, "Geoffrey Keating: Apologist of Irish Ireland," 186.

¹³⁶Fernando Warner, The History of Ireland (London, 1768), 1-2.

eighteenth century in Ireland: Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, with its graphic description of the Protestant massacres, for example, had gone through three editions by 1740, and Sir John Temple's Irish Rebellion was also reprinted numerous times.¹³⁸

But settlers in Ireland had to interpret their past rather differently, emphasizing their own interests, which diverged from this "dispassionate" English imperialist view. The rising success of the press in Dublin allowed printers there to re-package older histories, but they did so specifically for English-speaking readers in Ireland. Patrick Campbell's Dublin print shop, for example, had available Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, printed together with Henry Tichbourne's History of the Siege of Drogheda and The State of the Protestants of Ireland.¹³⁹ Some settler historians cherished the very Protestant Whig myths that Warner found distasteful and false. In using the images drawn directly from seventeenth-century atrocity literature, settler historians, like the New Englanders, re-invented the crises of the seventeenth century as the triumph of settler interests, not of English imperialism.

¹³⁷Warner, The History of Ireland, preface.

¹³⁸Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland (London, 1740). The subtitle of Temple's work as published in 1746 is an excellent reminder that the trend towards "objectivity" was by no means an overwhelming sudden change which erased the appeal of anti-Catholic, anti-Irish propaganda: Sir John Temple, The Irish rebellion, or, an History of the Attempts of the Irish Papists to Extirpate the Protestants in the Kingdom of Ireland, Together with the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Masscarce [sic] which Ensued Thereupon (London, 1746). That such a title would sell in the aftermath of Culloden is not surprising; indeed, what is more surprising is that any other view of Irish history would be possible.

¹³⁹The Irish Rebellion...Also, Sir Henry Tichburne's History of the Siege of

" J.C.," for example, reacted strongly to Warner's suggestion that Catholic atrocities against Protestants had been exaggerated.¹⁴⁰ Warner had attempted "to demonstrate the falsehood of the relation of every Protestant historian." Using methods of "positive evidence," Warner had calculated 4, 028 deaths outright by massacre, with perhaps another 8,000 by "ill usage."¹⁴¹ Warner's appeal to "impartiality" (and, not incidentally, to a mode of history which relied more on archival primary evidence than on the authority of past writers) was impossible when one's own identity was bound up in the story. Warner's separation from the Protestant cause reinforced the fact that Protestant settlers in Ireland were not "English," and could therefore no longer lay claim to the close bonds they had invoked in the 1640's.

J.C., on the other hand, invoked older English historians to confirm the religious righteousness of the Protestant settlers and their persecution by Catholics. He affirmed his faith in Petty's "cool calculations" that thirty thousand British had been killed in the first year of this insurrection; Clarendon's "pathetic lamentation" that forty to fifty thousand had been killed in the first two or three days of the rising; and Temple's "horrible affirmation," that one hundred-fifty thousand Protestants were massacred in cold blood. J.C. thunders on against Warner: "What shame for the noble historian, thus to have exceeded the very regicides, in calumny and

Drogheda...To Which is Added, the State of the Protestants of Ireland (Dublin, 1716).

¹⁴⁰J.C., M.D., An Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland. (Dublin, 1775).

¹⁴¹Warner in An Historical Review, 120.

misrepresentation!"¹⁴²

But J.C. was not merely regurgitating old wisdom; he actively re-shaped his understanding of the past to make sense of eighteenth-century realities such as the alliance between "Old English" and other Protestant settlers. So problematically "Irish" in the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century this group was affirmed as one with Protestant settlers. J.C. attacked David Hume's contention that the "English Catholics of the pale" were rebels in the 1640's, complaining that Hume's reputation gives credibility to this belief:

Thus the grossest and most palpable fictions, which, when stupidly retailed by a noted and malicious libeller, have little or no chance to be believed by any, may yet be afterwards dressed out by a more artful writer, in such plausible colours, and with such resemblance of trust, as will render them credible and affecting, even to some readers, of a moderate share of understanding. What a pity it is....¹⁴³

J.C.'s contentions, coming as they do within a few pages of each other, seem contradictory; he chooses to believe older writers over new evidence in the case of Protestant massacres when it suits him, but is anxious to deny other equally valid authorities when they contradict his thesis. J.C. did not reject British historians because he is ignorant, backward, or hopelessly incapable of understanding their advanced logic. Rather, imperialist interpretations of colonial crises violated J.C.'s sense of what he already knew to be true about Irish settler identities: that Irish Gaelic Catholics are the source of disorder in Ireland, and that the English-descended settlers,

¹⁴²J.C., An Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, 122.

old and new, are natural rulers of Ireland.

Masters of their Pasts? Settler Self-Determination and Colonial Histories

In writing of Cotton Mather and other Puritan historians in New England, John Gay suggested:

Much as the American Puritans enjoyed their history, they experienced the revolutionary developments in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historiography as victims, not actors, let alone as pioneers. In Europe, historians were inventing new techniques, broadening their conceptions, and rushing forward into secularism; in America, Puritans continue to write history as though nothing had changed. This was the tragedy of Puritan historiography: it had no history of its own.¹⁴⁴

Gay's interpretation of Puritan history reflects a very English viewpoint of both settler history and settler historians. Unable to survive seventeenth-century crises without wise guidance from England, settler historians were similarly unable to appreciate the "revolutionary" development of secular objectivity. But in eighteenth-century politics, a "detached" English attitude, assuming superior judgement in government, in fact helped to breed revolution, both in Ireland and America. Perhaps we should reconsider historiographic revolutions as well. True, settler historians, especially in New England and Ireland, used many of the theories and perspectives that had informed earlier generations when writing about colonial crisis. But those perspectives were also questioned, re-informed and then re-formed, all with a deep sense of the separateness of English and colonial histories. It was not that "nothing had changed."

¹⁴³J.C., An Historical and Critical Review, 123.

as Gay viewed it; in fact, their perspective had changed considerably. No longer writing an "English" narrative, settler historians used older material to demonstrate their own worth and achievements, as well as their spiritual and political independence. Meanwhile, the English writers both popular and learned, who led the "rush forward" into secularism and a sense of objectivity neatly served a very un-objective, imperialist perspective. In the space of a single page, Sir William Keith could assert that the "Inhabitants of the Colonies...enjoyed the Advantage of the same Laws and the sweet comfort of English Liberty in all respects," and then speak of the constant need to "restrain the People of the respective Colonies."¹⁴⁵ For Keith, there was no differentiating "inhabitants" and "People" of the colonies; perhaps he really only meant to speak of settlers, or perhaps he lumped all colonial persons together. Gaelic or Old English, Protestant or Catholic, Native American or New Englander: all were equally unfit to rule themselves. This interpretation of colonial history represents the true "loss of mastery" in the understanding of colonial history, one which interpreted neither settler nor native as fit for rule. In the eighteenth century, accounts of seventeenth-century crises became potent weapons both for and against the cause of settler societies. Who might have held those weapons, and how they might have been used, is the topic of the next chapter.

¹⁴⁴Peter Gay, A Loss of Mastery: Puritan Historians in Colonial America, 25.

¹⁴⁵Keith, The History of the British Plantations, 11.

Chapter Six

“Worse than no knowledge”: Evidence Regarding the Use of Colonial Books

...from the histories of Ireland which had been published here, it appeared to me that the people of England of all ranks, generally speaking, had either no other knowledge of that kingdom, than that it was an island subject to Great Britain; or, what is worse than no knowledge, they had got the falsest notions, and conceived the strongest contempt and most groundless prejudices, that ever filled the heads, or entered the hearts of one civilized people about another.¹

Who knew about the colonies? Who read about the colonies? Who *cared* about the colonies?

Answering these questions left Fernando Warner distressed. Surveying his fellow Englishmen and considering published works on Ireland, he found the state of knowledge on the topic a great concern: "How very shameful and absurd it is to take pains to know as much as we can of the history of every other nation, and at the same time to be utter strangers to that which belongs to ourselves, and which may not improperly be called our own."² How could this be, when the previous century's publishing of titles about Ireland far outstripped that regarding other locations?

The information in printed books and pamphlets, as explored in the previous chapters, formed a common body of reference for seventeenth-century Englishmen and women to use when they considered their “larger worlds.” We can build a fairly

¹Fernando Warner, The History of Ireland, Preface.

²Fernando Warner, The History of Ireland, Preface.

coherent picture of what those works said about settler and native identity, about threats to colonial order, and about the nature of authority in colonies. But did anyone ever buy or read these books? And if so, what did they make of them?

One thesis chapter cannot answer all these questions, nor tell us who cared about the colonies. In an attempt to answer the latter question, Jacob M. Price has explored the interests of mid-eighteenth-century parliamentary lobbies and committees, and examined the subscription lists for The American Negotiator (1761-1765), a reference book aimed at those trading in colonial markets. He concluded that lots of people knew a little about the American colonies, but that their understandings were usually limited by their professional interests.³ This chapter fleshes out that understanding by using some different methods to approach a similar end. Surveying records of some surviving book collections and considering various records of readership, we can begin to see how the books and pamphlets discussed in the previous chapters might have been used, and re-used, by readers of the early modern English world.

One way to consider influence is through a literary method of considering one book's influence upon a later work. Authors like Warner and Robert Beverley decried their readers' lack of knowledge, giving us a clue that it might be out of date. However, we must also be open to the possibility that such formulations were

³Jacob M. Price, "Who Cared about the Colonies?" in Strangers in the Realm: The Cultural Margins of the First British Empire, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Williamsburg and Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and

simply a marketing strategy. The author who can present his or her work as filling an important gap in knowledge is a good marketer, but not necessarily a truthful historian. The inhabitants of Lambeth Palace who owned Warner's history may well have been grateful for its contents, but considering that their collections also included histories by Cox, Petty's Political Anatomy, and Ware's History of Ireland, they were not particularly lacking in information on the subject.⁴

Another helpful method of researching the history of books is to consider the contents of libraries, book inventories, and other collection records.⁵ These suggest the extent book ownership, but carry their own frustrations. Some inventories may not be made until much later than the period in which we are interested, and may have goals at cross-purposes with those of a historian's survey. Beriah Botfield's Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England, for example, lists earlier holdings, but Botfield's antiquarian purposes caused him to focus on larger, more impressive-appearing volumes, and particularly old books, often leaving his inventories

Culture and the University of North Carolina 1996), 408-412.

⁴Beriah Botfield, Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England (London, 1849), 229-230.

⁵This chapter provides only a modest and limited study using cathedral records, but numerous sources are available to historians of the book wishing to further understand reading patterns on this and other topics. For example, like Price, one may examine records from the book trade, if one is so fortunate as to find a particular book with subscriptions. For examples of this technique and for using records from the book trade generally, see for example John Feather, The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth Century England (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985) and Marjorie Plant, The English Book Trade (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974). On subscription lists, see E. F.G. Robinson and P.J. Wallis, Book Subscription Lists: A Revised Guide (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Project for Historical

incomplete in regards to cheaper works.⁶ Even contemporary inventories may list cheaper books in bulk, focusing on the monetary value of a book (determined by its size and binding) rather than on its contents.

Even grand and important collections may be broken up, sold, burned or otherwise dissolved in the years between the early modern period and present day. An excellent example in this study is the Exeter Cathedral Chapter's library, which once contained an even richer collection of titles than it now retains. Dungeon, fire and sword (not to mention bookworms) took their toll on the chapter's collection, as did the financial incentives of a twentieth-century bookseller who in 1929 purchased several seventeenth-century colonial titles from this collection. The records tell us that Levett's Voyage to New England and Increase Mather's treatise on comets were once part of the collection, but their sale prevents the modern researcher from examining the volumes themselves.⁷

Even when records of book collecting are fairly complete, simply knowing that a book is in a collection does not necessarily tell us how it was read, or even that it was read.⁸ Camden's Britannia, for example, which can be found in many book

Bibliography, 1996).

⁶Botfield, Notes on the Cathedral Libraries.

⁷J. Brindley of Bernard Quaritch bookdealers, London, to Exeter Cathedral Librarian, 4 February 1930, in Book Transactions Records Box, Exeter Cathedral Library. Increase Mather's 1683 work, a Boston imprint, sold for 20 £. and the rare copy of Voyage to New England (London, 1628) sold for 400 £.

⁸Understanding how any one particular reader looks at books is a project in and of itself; see for example Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," Past and Present 129 (1990): 30-78.

collections, was potentially an important source of geographical information about Ireland, but its luxurious and pristine state in many surviving collections also suggests that buying it was more a mark of social status than quest for information. This was, after all, an era in which it was becoming fashionable in private homes to make a book-display in the hall or parlour window.⁹ Buying and binding a book could be as much an act of conspicuous consumption as of research. Most illuminating in this respect, and most elusive, are the kind of marginalia and diary records which suggest what a particular reader may have thought of a book, and what he or she may have done with that information. This, too, is a search for needles in haystacks, but, upon occasion, the needles do turn out to be pure gold.

The first part of this chapter reviews the kinds of colonial books that were common in some inventories and records of book collections from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These are drawn in large part from archival materials in the West Country, which are particularly helpful because of their richness. Parish libraries from Totnes and Crediton, founded in the seventeenth century, survive complete with marginalia in the Exeter University collection, while the cathedral library of Exeter itself is relatively complete from the seventeenth century forward. Where there have been ravages, there are some records at least. Other materials related to clergyman and other parish officials in this study include the surviving

⁹Raymond R. Irwin, The English Library: Sources and History (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), 221-222. On book-buying and conspicuous consumption, see Laura Weatherhill, Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-

collections of Richard, Increase, and Cotton Mather of New England, as well as inventories from Lambeth Palace and other English cathedrals. The kind of books found in this sample, drawn largely from clerical collections, probably has a much stronger religious bent than those in the collections of the general populace. Records from clerical book collections, in parish libraries and in cathedrals, necessarily focus on religious questions, but they are relatively well preserved and documented. By the eighteenth century their readership included not only clergymen and their families, but other literate members of the community.¹⁰ There are also some examples included from some other relevant contemporary book collections and inventories, including some noted literary men from England and New England (and one woman, Anne Bradstreet) whose libraries have been inventoried. In addition, incidental archival finds like the inventories of Governor Francis Nicholson of Virginia and Lord Chief Justice Henry Pollexfen have been included to provide some contrast with the clerical collections.¹¹ In all these collections, a surprising breadth of

1760 (London and New York: Routledge, 1988).

¹⁰Cathedral towns were also quite likely to have booksellers. H.R. Plomer et al., A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1726 to 1775 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932). My study is archivally centred around the records in the Cathedral town of Exeter, and from collections in the surrounding parishes, as well as some records from Lambeth Palace and some other British locations. This complements Price's work, since his methodology did not allow him to examine the West Country.

¹¹This study focuses particularly on "private" libraries (which might well be shared). Public and semi-public libraries, especially later in the period, would be a fruitful path for a future scholar to consider. See particularly Thomas Kelly, Early Public Libraries: A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850 (London: Library Association, 1966) and P. Sturges, "The Place of Libraries in the English

types of books becomes apparent, but it is also clear that--just as the print record suggests--books about Ireland far outnumber those regarding American colonies.

The second part of this chapter's analysis deciphers some possible uses of those books, and provides some specific examples of how books and the information they contained were used in the period, in marginalia, diaries, inscriptions and in literary evidence. This kind of exploration requires caution, but it does suggest certain patterns. For example, print not only spread information far and wide, it tended to freeze knowledge.¹² While newspapers and other "current" pieces of information were available from Dublin, Boston, and New York, books and pamphlets simultaneously perpetuated older images alongside the new. Readers may have most often focused on the information which seemed most relevant to themselves, their interest in older books perhaps piqued by current events. Yet the stability of print also afforded readers the chance to compare information from older and newer sources, potentially becoming more aware of change in the colonies.

Urban Renaissance of the Eighteenth Century," Libraries and Culture 24 (1989): 57-68.

¹²The social effects of both print and literacy are certainly up for dispute. See the debate between David Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) and Keith Thomas, "The Meaning of Literacy" in The Written Word, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). The debate about print and its effects on the social stratification of readers and non-readers is relevant here, but, as I argue, I think it is also profitable to consider the possible stratification books caused between reader and subject. Irish Catholics, for example, were not necessarily better off simply because English people could potentially read a lot about them.

"A Choice Variety of Books"¹³: Categorizing Colonial Books

What kind of books appear and where? It is somewhat artificial to force seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books into a twentieth-century classification scheme. But such a breakdown helps us understand how varied pieces of information about colonies made their way into libraries of persons and institutions with no apparent interest in New England, but a great deal of interest in questions of "divinity" (a common eighteenth-century term for theological topics).¹⁴

Considerations of description of the New World in particular have often focussed fairly narrowly on "promotional" literature and travelogues.¹⁵ This is convenient for the researcher, but it is not necessarily reflective of the kinds of information actually available to the reader. An English reader interested in the evils of Catholicism might buy a number of books about atrocities in Ireland, while another, anxiously pondering the future of religion in England, might wish to read John Winthrop's account describing the consequences of religious freedom in New England. The reader is ostensibly buying books on the topic of "religion" or "theology," but along

¹³From the catalogue description of Samuel Lee, sold by Duncan Campbell in Boston, 1693, reprinted in Bert B. Winans, A Descriptive Checklist of Book Catalogues Separately Printed in America, 1693-1800 (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1981), 3.

¹⁴Richard Beale Davis' comments on this subject are particularly helpful. Davis, A Southern Colonial Bookshelf (Athens:University of Georgia Press, 1979), 16-19. See also J.W. Kraus, "Private Libraries in Colonial America," Journal of Library History 9 (1974): 31-53.

¹⁵See some typical examples in Cressy, Coming Over, Chapter One; and William C. Sprenemann, "Discovering the Literature of North America," Early American Literature 18 (Spring 1983): 254-267.

the way he/she could absorb a considerable amount of information about a colony of England.¹⁶

“Towards the Promoting of Natural Knowledge”:¹⁷Maps, Geography and Natural Philosophy

Books in this category described locales both near and far, mapped physical landscapes, described local flora and fauna, and discussed human cultures. Both Thomas Gage’s Survey of the West Indies, part of the Exeter Cathedral collection until the early twentieth century, and Richard Blome’s Description of the Island of Jamaica, found in both the Crediton parish library and in the cathedrals of Westminster and Windsor, might be considered works of “geography” and anthropology.¹⁸ The Farnham catalogue’s “Geography and Maps” section contains

¹⁶Perhaps a valuable parallel may be drawn with a modern television viewer who sits down to watch a documentary about musician John Mellencamp and incidentally learns a good deal about the singer’s native town in southern Indiana. If that viewer is also a basketball fan, then he or she watches with great excitement a televised game between the University of Illinois and Indiana University, incidentally learning about Bloomington. Yet another viewer is in fact fascinated by all things Hoosier. In that case, we must consider that he or she scans television listings carefully in order to find programs with some relation to the state of Indiana. We might expect that person to watch programs with titles like “A Trip to Indiana,” but he or she might also watch a political analysis of the politics of Dan Quayle, a fictional sitcom set in Indianapolis, a documentary on hog farming, as well as the two programs listed above. Both of our viewers absorb images and messages about Indiana; one intentionally, one incidentally.

¹⁷Category in Thomas Bray, An Essay Towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge (London, 1697), 21.

¹⁸The former book was one of a number sold to the Bernard Quatrach Company of London in 1930 (at a price of £2.10.) Bernard Quatrach firm letter, 14 February 1930, Book Transactions Record Box, Exeter Cathedral Library. The latter is part of the Crediton Library collection in the Exeter University Library. Also see Botfield, Cathedral Libraries, 476 and 488.

some works which are primarily written descriptions, and some which are pictorial map representations.¹⁹ John Speed's 1627 England Wales Scotland and Ireland Described, found in the Crediton parish library, is a work with more "maps" than "description" by any modern definition.²⁰ John Smith's 1612 Map of Virginia, owned first by Robert Burton and then donated to the Bodleian, contains a lovely map and a considerable amount of description.²¹ The 1648 copy of The English American His Travail...a New Survey of the West Indies, found in Lambeth Palace (apparently the property of a later-seventeenth-century Bishop of London), falls more into the category of general geographic and ethnic description.

As noted previously, Camden's Britannia, which featured maps of Ireland as well as England and Scotland, is perhaps the most ubiquitous book relating to Ireland in the collections studied.²² It appears in the 1699 sale catalogue of the books of John Saunders, Tiverton school-master, in a folio edition.²³ The Exeter Cathedral and

¹⁹"A catalogue of books in the case in the Middle Parlour and the Play Room at Farnham: signed J. Trevelyan [?c.1755]," Somerset Record Office.

²⁰Crediton parish library collection, Exeter University Library. Also significant, and listed in the Farnham estate under this category are "Ogilby's American Land 1671" and "Muller's Voyages from Asia to America," Farnham Catalogue, Somerset Record Office.

²¹David Rogers, The Bodleian Library and its Treasures (Oxon: Aidan Ellis, 1986), 161.

²²Britannia provides an excellent illustration of the happenstance nature of book collecting and the information they contained. Although Britannia contains information about all of Britain, and may have been purchased more out of interest in one area than another, it simultaneously was potential source of information about Ireland.

²³A Catalogue of Choice & Valuable Books...Being the Library of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. John Saunders, (Exon, 1699), 1. Crediton collection, Exeter

Carlisle Cathedral Library also boasted a copy of the 1695 English-language edition.²⁴ Indeed, numerous cathedral libraries held copies of this book.²⁵ Thomas Morrison, the Exeter prebend who died in 1736, owned a folio edition.²⁶ This volume also appears in the Pollexfen Estate library inventory of 1691, the Farnham catalogue, the library of Thomas Plume (vicar of Greenwich, 1658-1704), and in various editions in the libraries of writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as Thomas Baker, Henry Fielding, John Milton and Samuel Johnson.²⁷

According to Richard Beale Davis, it appeared on a number of colonial American bookshelves in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁸ The work first appeared in 1584 and was reprinted a number of times throughout the seventeenth century, so it is not surprising that it is seen so frequently and in such a number of places. The

University Library.

²⁴Exeter Cathedral archives catalogue and Botfield, Cathedral Libraries, 52.

²⁵Notes upon the Cathedral Libraries of England lists the following Cathedrals as owning copies: Bristol (the copy had disappeared by 1849 but records showed it had been owned) 2; Durham (102); Gloucester(164); Lichfield (264); Norwich (337); Salisbury (413); Wells ("the first edition as well as that by Gibson") 423; and Worcester (498).

²⁶Catalogue of Thomas Morrison, Lambeth Palace.

²⁷"Inventories of Lord Chief Justice Pollexfen's Books 1691," Devon County Record Office; Farnham Library catalogue; Catalogue of the Plume Library at Maldon, Essex (Maldon:Plume Library Trustees, 1959), 32; A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker, ed. Frans Korsent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 83; Fielding's Library: An Annotated Catalogue, ed. Frederick G. Ribble and Ann Ribble (Charlottesville: The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1996), 59; J.D. Fleeman, A Preliminary Handlist of Copies of Books associated with Dr. Samuel Johnson, (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1984), 11; Jackson Campbell Boswell, Milton's Library: A Catalogue of the Remains of John Milton's Library (London: Garland Publishing, 1975), 48.

²⁸Davis, A Colonial Southern Bookshelf, 35.

folio edition of this (and other) books may well have been purchased for reasons of status; it was a large, handsome tome. Even if it was purchased primarily for show, its ownership suggested that a decent map of Ireland was far closer at hand for many than a map of New England.²⁹

The New World, however, appears to have been singled out in collections with works of botanical interest. William Hughes' 1672 The American Physitian, concerned mainly with the exotic cures available in the Caribbean, found its way into the Exeter Cathedral Library,³⁰ while users of the Crediton parish library had available to them The Natural History of Coffee Thee, Chocolate and Tobacco (London 1682).³¹ Ireland's natural wonders receive their fair share of attention as well: "Boates's Natural history of Ireland" appears as an entry (in a two volume folio edition) in the Farnham catalogue.³²

"The Several Parts of polite literature:"³³ Law, Fiction, and History

Legal works and published legislation relating to various colonies were not frequently part of clerical libraries. But it is not surprisingly that a Lord Chief Justice like Henry Pollexfen of Devonshire owned such works. The Whig jurist who had

²⁹"Acts, laws and charters of New England, 1724," "Acts passed in province of Maryland 1723," "Acts passed in province of New York, 1729," "Acts passed on the Island of Barbadoes, 1724," Farnham Library Catalogue. All listed as being in folio editions.

³⁰William Hughes, The American Physitian (London, 1672), Exeter Cathedral Library.

³¹Crediton collection, University of Exeter Library.

³²Farnham Library Catalogue.

³³From items in a sale catalogue of Noel Garrat, New-York bookseller, 1755, in

earned his legal reputation by serving as defense counsel for William Russell during the Rye House Plot trial listed “States of Ireland, 2 of them” under the folio section of his 1691 library catalogue, along with other common books such as “Dalton’s Office of Sherrif” and “Women’s Lawyer.”³⁴ Some clergy collections included such works; the Crediton parish library contains some statutes from “the Irish Parliament.” And in light of Increase Mather’s involvement with Massachusetts’ charter negotiations, it is not surprising that his collection contained a number of “Acts, laws and charters” for various colonial locales, and even some Cromwellian statutes on Ireland.³⁵

Works with “history” in the title might or might not conform to modern notions of the word. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the line between history and “fiction” could be thin. Aphra Behn’s play, History of Bacon In Virginia, or, The Widdow-Ranter, appeared both in Lambeth Palace and, according to Beale, in Virginian and Carolina libraries. This play and Behn’s semi-

Winans, A Descriptive Checklist, 21.

³⁴LCJ Pollexfen’s inventory. On his involvement with Russell, see Lois G. Schworer, Lady Rachel Russell: One of the Best of Women (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 108-115.

³⁵The Crediton parish library boasted An Account of the Sessions of Parliament (London: 1692), as well as the comparatively rarer 1641 Sixteen Queries. The Farnham catalogue lists Molyneux’s Case of Ireland Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated (Dublin 1698). Lambeth palace holds a number of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century published legislative works, mostly anti-Roman Catholic penal statutes. The Mathers’ collection of books included a copy of some Cromwellian statutes regarding Scotland, England, and Ireland (Mather Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts). More curious are the “Acts, laws and charters” of New England, Maryland, New York, and

autobiographical novel Oroonoko blurred the line between history and fiction.³⁶

Defoe's Moll Flanders, another "history" with a section on Virginia, appears to have been widely distributed across England in illegal chapbook form.³⁷

Often works labeled "history" concerned both recent past and near-current events; the former helped explain the latter. The eighteenth-century Farnham Catalogue provides a useful example of how "history" might be broken down in an inventory. It includes a fairly large "history" section, further separated into geographical subsections. "Irish" receives its own heading, where works regarding the lineage of Irish nobles, "antiquities," "natural history," as well as other works of "current events," such as a 1689 "history" focusing on the events leading up to 1688 in Ireland. Although written as "current event," by the time the inventory was drawn up, this pamphlet was a work of historical interest.³⁸ Similarly, a pamphlet like Mephibosheth and Ziba, or, the Appeal of the Protestants of Ireland, appealed to a interest in a "current" situation but relied heavily on historical evidence to make its case. Rather than split hairs over what was read as "news" and what was read as "old news," it is perhaps most useful to put these kinds of book together, since during the course of their useful lifetimes they may have been regarded as both.

Not surprisingly, Ireland is heavily represented as both the subject of "news"

Barbados from the early eighteenth century, listed in the Farnham Catalogue

³⁶Lambeth Palace Collections; Beale, Southern Colonial Bookshelf, 97.

³⁷Pat Rogers, "Classics and Chapbooks," in Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England, ed. Isabel Rivers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 40-41.

³⁸Farnham Catalogue.

and “old news/history.” Pamphlets regarding the Glorious Revolution of 1688-91 have survived more readily than those from the 1640's in the libraries of the West Country, both in clerical and lay collections. The 1699 auction catalogue of John Saunders, “school-master of Tiverton,” lists The State of the Protestants in Ireland under the late King James.³⁹ This was probably William King's popular piece of ultra-Protestant thunder, which also appeared in the library of the Mathers of New England.⁴⁰ This volume is also found in the Crediton library, which appears to have been enriched by at least some of the books auctioned from Saunders' collection. Possibly this was even the same volume.

Other works about Irish conflicts appear frequently in surviving book lists. Colonel Francis Nicholson, governor of Virginia, was also interested enough in Ireland to list “A History of ye late wars in Ireland” in his inventory.⁴¹ It appears also in an eighteenth-century Somerset inventory, along with a book titled “Irish Rebellion” that may quite possibly be of the same era.⁴² The Plume Library of Essex contains a number of works about Ireland that are event-focused, including some surviving examples of ephemeral literature regarding the 1670's and 80's as well as

³⁹A Catalogue of Choice and Valuable Books (Exon, 1699), 9. Crediton library collection, Exeter University Library.

⁴⁰The Mather Collection, American Antiquarian Society.

⁴¹“A Catalogue of my Books (Coll Nichollson taken May 30th 1695 and which I design to leave after my Death to the College of William and Mary in Virginia.” Virginia Section Vol IX No. 3, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace.

⁴²“An inventory of the books in the Closet at Benley July 5th 1766, by J. Harewell,” Somerset Record Office.

the Williamite Wars.⁴³

The Crediton parish library provided its users with at least five pamphlets and other works relating to Ireland 1689-92.⁴⁴ Alongside King's State of the Protestants there were Sir Roger Manley's 1691 History of the Rebellions in England, Scotland and Ireland, "H.B."s The Mantle Thrown off and Mephibosheth and Ziba, Whitehall's The State of the Irish Protestants and the Account of the Irish Protestants.⁴⁵ Histories by Cox and Ware appear frequently in various cathedral collections, including Christ Church, Peterborough, Norwich, and Exeter.⁴⁶

The Lambeth collection includes a number of short works on Ireland, bound together and listed as "Irish tracts" in what is apparently an eighteenth-century collation. About five works regarding the 1688-91 events survive in this volume, some very brief, such as the three-page Letter from a Gentleman in Ireland⁴⁷ But we should not expect that cathedral and chapter collections were limited to strictly religious material. Botfield tells us that Carlisle Cathedral owned "A very nice copy in calf" of Nicholson's antiquarian survey The Irish Historical Library and it could also be found Christ Church, Oxford. The Bristol Cathedral owned both of the late

⁴³See for example some cheap "news"-type pamphlets such as the Collection of Certain Horrid Murthers in Ireland (1679) and Prophecys Concerning the Return of Popery into England Scotland and Ireland (1682), found in the Plume Library; few of these ephemera survive intact in seventeenth-century collections. Plume Catalogue, 42 and 140.

⁴⁴Crediton collection.

⁴⁵Crediton collection.

⁴⁶Botfield, Cathedral Libraries, 355 and 357; 376; 339; 152.

⁴⁷A Letter from a Gentleman in Ireland to His Friend in London, (London, 1688).

eighteenth century works Leland's History of Ireland and Robertson's History of America.⁴⁸

The number of works regarding Ireland also demonstrates the difficulty of placing out the books of colonial discourse into tidy categories like “history,” “current affairs,” or “divinity.” Large numbers of works focus on both the spiritual and political state of order in places like Ireland, New England, and England itself. The minds of the early and mid-seventeenth century made little distinction between God’s plan and His people’s politics. Even after the Restoration, religious and political order were closely intertwined, as the Popish Plot, Exclusion Crisis, Glorious Revolution, Act of Succession, and Jacobite Rebellions all attest. What, for example, are we to make of the pamphlet in Cambridge academic Thomas Baker’s collection which is A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving...for the Preservation of His Majesties Person and his Good Success Towards the Reducing of Ireland (1690).⁴⁹ This is a work both explicitly religious and concerned with “current events.” Most often these works touch upon some current problem, and relate history and current event to divine order.

“Controversie:”⁵⁰ Religious Dissent and Colonies

Sometimes the diversity of book-owners on a single topic is truly remarkable.

The price is recorded as two pence.

⁴⁸Botfield, Cathedral Libraries, 52, 346 and 32.

⁴⁹F. J. M. Korsten, A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 250.

⁵⁰Category in Bray, Necessary and Useful Knowledge, 20.

Royalist clergyman Richard Newte left England in order to travel with the exiled Stuart Court. After his return, he was deprived of his living by Cromwell's Triers and Ejectors. We might not expect him to have much in common with John Milton. Both men, however, owned Robert Baillie's Dissuasive from the Errors of Our Times with its stinging condemnation of John Cotton and the New England Way.⁵¹ Both also considered the print debate between John Cotton and Hugh Peters.⁵²

Not surprisingly, considering the clerical focus of this research, New England controversy makes a strong appearance in the sampled libraries of this study. Just as the writers of the 1640's had argued, the influence of the literate New England settlers made them more prominent in English mental worlds than mere numbers suggest.⁵³ Thomas Baker, for example, had no known interest in colonies, but he owned Winthrop's Antinomians and Familists Unmasked, Increase Mather's Essay for Recording of Illustrious Providences, and Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi

⁵¹Biographical information on Richard and John Newte is available in Anne Welsford, "Mr. Newte's Library in St. Peter's Church Tiverton," The Devonshire Association of the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art Report and Transactions 106 (1976):17-25; Jackson Campbell Boswell, Milton's Library: A Catalogue of the Remains of John Milton's Library (London: Garland Publishing, 1975) 22-23. Thomas Plume also owned Winthrop's book. Catalogue of the Plume Library at Maldon, Essex (Plume Library Trustees, 1959), 10.

⁵²Robert Baillie, A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time (London, 1646); John Cotton The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven (London, 1644); Hugh Peters God's Doings and Man's Duties (London, 1645) in the Catalogue of Tracts 1603-1709 in the Newte Library in St. Peter's Church, Tiverton, Devon. I am indebted to Mr. John Trott for these references.

⁵³It is worth noting, however, that Governor Francis Nicholson of Virginia apparently owned not a whit of print about New England's heterodoxy; his sole book on New England is listed as "History of Ye Wars in New England." Francis Nicholson

Americana.⁵⁴

The inhabitants of Lambeth Palace did have reason to be interested in colonies, thanks to men like Thomas Secker. As bishop of London he had been heavily involved in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and brought his books to Lambeth when he became the Archbishop of Canterbury. As archbishop, he was concerned with colonists in more than a strictly spiritual context; his interest in the material well-being of colonists was evidenced by his key role in persuading ecclesiastics to vote for the repeal of the hated Stamp Acts.⁵⁵ He and his successors needed to be informed about New England's Congregationalists and other Dissenting colonists, as well as about the Native and African inhabitants of the New World. Not surprisingly, we find the library owned works like Neal's History of New-England, Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana and John Whiting's broadside A Just Reprehension of Cotton Mather.⁵⁶ More explicit missionary concerns take up considerable space in the Lambeth Palace collections, considerably more so than in

Catalogue.

⁵⁴Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker, 146, 207 and 288.

⁵⁵William C. Lowe, "Archbishop Secker, the Bench of Bishops, and the Repeal of the Stamp Act," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 46, no. 1 (1977): 429-442.

⁵⁶England's spiritual state and that of her monarchs were also on the minds of at least one New England clerical family. Eikon Basilike Eikonoklastes, Milton's rebuttal to the former, and The Pourtraiture of His Sacred Majesty King Charles II With His reasons for Turning Roman Catholick both appear in the Mather collection. Increase Mather's name appears on the fly-leaf of the last work (with the notation, "50 cents"); Samuel Mather and the date "1745" appear on the fly-leaf of Eikonoklastes, The Mather Collection, AAS.

any other collections considered.⁵⁷

As might be expected in light of the lacklustre attention given to missionary work in the American colonies, there are few works which precede the eighteenth century. Most of the seventeenth-century works which are included concern the spiritual health of the settlers, not the natives. For example, Virginia's Cure or, An Advisive Narrative Concerning Virginia Discovering the True Ground of That Church's Unhappiness is a 1661 work, published from reports prepared for the Bishop of London. It is mainly concerned with the spiritual health of the English settlers of Virginia and, as an afterthought, the "Heathen" natives.⁵⁸ The publications in the Fulham collection are similarly concerned with the spiritual health of British settlers in the American colonies, and the Protestant settlers in Ireland. Works concerning the conversion of the "natives," be they Irish Catholics or Chickahominy animists, make up a negligible number of the works.⁵⁹

⁵⁷In the West Country collections, there are a few works specifically concerned with the spiritual health of colonies, suggesting, perhaps, missionary interests there. The Eliot Bible, discussed below, is particularly interesting. Of the copy in the Exeter Cathedral Library, Audrey Erskine noted "we shall never know who gave [it] to the library." Audrey Erskine, "Exeter Cathedral and Archives," Devon Historian 16 (April 1974): 18. From the inscription of the fly-leaf, it seems that John Rowe of Crediton, whose biography was published in 1673, may have been the original owner in the seventeenth century. Possibly his heirs passed the book on. The Life and Death of Mr. John Rowe of Crediton in Devon appears in the Crediton parish library.

⁵⁸R.G., Virginia's Cure or, An Advisive Narrative Concerning Virginia Discovering the True Ground of that Church's Unhappiness and the only True Remedy (London, 1661).

⁵⁹Works regarding Natives include Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, and Nehemiah Walters, A Letter About the Present State of Christianizing among the Christianized Indians of New-England (Boston, 1705); John Eliot, The Indian Grammar Begun, or,

This concern with settler souls translates into a number of works regarding the troublesome Puritans of New England.⁶⁰ There are also a number of items regarding the missionary battles between George Keith and the Quakers and, later, the excitement surrounding the missionaries of the Great Awakening.⁶¹ Addition a number of publications relating to missionary schemes in Ireland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are present.⁶² The collections of some other clergymen also suggest some interest in missionary matters as well. John Lewis, Vicar of Minster at Kent, owned a number of "oractical Tracts," one of which

An Essay to Bring the Indian Language into Rules (London, 1666); T. Rundle, A Sermon... To Recommend the Charity for Establishing the New Colony of Georgia (London 1733/4). The last book is almost equally concerned with charity towards the Natives and the English settlers.

⁶⁰In addition to those mentioned previously, these include John Cotton, A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline, Wherein the Way of the Congregationall Churches of Christ in New-England Wanted and Cleared (London, 1648); Cotton Mather, Winthropi Justi: A Sermon at the Funeral of the Humble John Winthrop, Esq.,(London, 1709) This reprint of the Boston-printed original was dedicated to the Lady Rachel Russell, which suggests the New England's continuing connections to the Whigs, since Russell(widow of William Russell, the Whig Rye House "martyr") was at this point just ending a period of great political influence. See Schwoerer, One of the Best of Women, 140-170.

⁶¹George Keith, A Journal of Travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck, on the Continent of North-America (London, 1706); A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal (London, 1740); A Letter from the Rev. Mr. George Whitfield (London, 1740).

⁶²Ralph Lambert, D.D., A Friendly Admonition to the Roman Catholics of Ireland (Dublin, 1705); A Sermon Preached in Christ Church Dublin...Before the Incorporated Society For Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland (Dublin, 1736). The latter work is dedicated on the flyleaf to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the author, "Thomas, Lord Bishop of Derry." Some political/missionary works in the collection include Thomas Secker's bound volume of anti-Catholic tracts of the 1740-1765 (listed in the catalogue as A Volume of Tracts, 1749-1762 Regarding Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland). Lambeth Palace Library.

was concerned with the "Instruction of Negroes for Masters and Mistresses" and was intended for a colonial audience.⁶³ Thomas Plume seems to have shared some of this increasing missionary interest, as his copies of the Negro's and Indian's Advocate (as well as the sequel Supplement), Thorowgood's Jewes in America, [sic] and White's Planter's Plea suggests.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, Exeter Cathedral boasted the 1654 History of New England, as well as Levett's 1628 Voyage to New England, and two works by Increase Mather.

One book was surprisingly widespread, considering it was written in a language that most Englishmen had little hope of reading: the Eliot Bible. This Cambridge, Massachusetts-printed edition of the Bible had been translated by John Eliot into a New England Native language. It was a part of the Exeter collection, which, when considered together with the other works previously mentioned, suggests that some person at the Cathedral was rather interested in the spiritual prospects of New England. A copy of this same edition of the Bible was also part of the Carew Pole estate in Cornwall, and in the York Cathedral Library.⁶⁵ This Bible is also found in the Bodleian, and marginalia tell its tale: donated by Harvard College to an English benefactor, it was passed along to the Bodleian in 1668. Another was

⁶³"Book Inventory of John Lewis, Vicar of Minster at Kent," Fulham Papers, Vol. I No. 45, Lambeth Palace Archives.

⁶⁴Plume Library, 102, 173, and 186.

⁶⁵Catalogue of the Carew Pole Muniments, Volume III, Pole Records, Devon Record Office. The Bible was sold at Sotheby's in May, 1956, along with a copy of the 1669 New England's Memoriall; Botfield, Cathedral Libraries, 519. Botfield describes the York library as owning a number of "French and Indian Bibles," 509.

presented to Charles II by Robert Boyle, with the apparent hope of support for missions. Possibly the Exeter copy of this Bible was presented for similar reasons.⁶⁶

What conclusions does this preponderance of religiously-oriented works about the New World and Ireland in clerical collections suggest? As in Price's study of the merchants who were interested in American matters mainly as they related to their own commerce, professional interest seems to have prompted many purchases. Those contributing to clerical collections were particularly interested in colonial information that related to theological disputes and to missionary matters. Of course, some lay people collected spiritual books, and some clergy apparently enjoyed fiction about the New World like Aphra Behn's Widdow Ranter. Then as now, book-owning was obviously not determined solely by professional interest. Fortunately other sorts of evidence do exist to suggest how books, once purchased, might have been used and re-used.

“The Usefulness of it”⁶⁷: Evidence of Reading and Usage

There is an element of speculation in determining why someone might own a book about the colonies, or any book for that matter. As David Cressy reminds us that books might be used for a number of purposes, some of which were completely extra-literary.⁶⁸ But diaries and marginalia both offer the researcher some important clues as to the use of books about colonies. Both kinds of sources obviously offer

⁶⁶Rogers, The Bodleian Library and its Treasures, 101.

⁶⁷Bray, Necessary and Useful Knowledge, preface.

⁶⁸David Cressy, “Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New

problems to the researcher, including the needle-in-a-haystack issue noted above. Marginalia offer a variety of evidence suggesting who owned the book, when and where it was owned, and sometimes, which passages a reader might have thought were important or notable.⁶⁹ Easiest to find in marginalia are names and signatures which suggest a minimum of use. Enough such inscriptions survive to suggest that many colonial books were opened at least once.

Even off-topic marginalia can be helpful, however. Where names appear in shared collections, it can give an indication of where and when the book entered a shared collection, as the Reverend Thomas Ley's portion of the Crediton parish library, or Thomas Secker's section of the Lambeth collection.⁷⁰ Sometimes such markers have been frustratingly destroyed, as when new bookplates were glued over old, or a name has been carefully clipped out of a book, as in A New Voyage Round the World in the Crediton parish collection.⁷¹

The Eliot Bible in the Exeter Cathedral Library provides a good example of various kinds of marginalia, and the frustrations inherent in determining what those

England" Journal of Library History 21 no. 1 (1986):92-106.

⁶⁹For information on marginalia and reading strategies, see W. Slights, "The Edifying Margins of English Books," Renaissance Quarterly 52 (1989): 682-716.

⁷⁰Ley, vicar of Crediton 1689-1721, donated his books to the library; D. Wyn Evans "Devon Parish Libraries at Exeter University," The Devon Historian, 24 (April 1982): 18-21 at 20. His name appears on such books as King's The State of the Protestants of Ireland. Archbishop Secker's bookplates are extensively preserved in Lambeth Palace.

⁷¹A number of bookplates have been pasted over old ones in both the Exeter Cathedral collection and the Lambeth Palace collection. The cut name of the Crediton collection was unique in this study.

marginalia mean. On the first page is written “John Worth” in a fine eighteenth-century hand, while an Exeter Cathedral bookplate dating from 1749 suggests that the book was in the cathedral collection by at least that date. So, we know that a man named John Worth probably owned the book, and that by 1749 at the latest it had passed into the collections of Exeter Cathedral. Who else might have owned or written in it? The name “John Rowe” appears on the fly-leaf in a seventeenth-century hand. Other names appear in margins throughout the book, perhaps the names of owner but more likely idle scribbling. “Edward Cooke” and “Thomas Ford.” for example, did not leave us any clues as to how they may have used the book in which their names are so inscribed. It is clear, however, that this Bible was not simply a showpiece to be carefully preserved and never opened. It is hand-paginated for the first fifty-one pages. There are imitative scribbles throughout which suggest an attempt at copying the symbols Eliot used. More than once there are verses in English scribbled alongside their Native counterparts. “A man born of woman hath but short time and opportunity,” someone wrote on page 15. In the New Testament, sideways crammed in next to the appropriate verse is “our father wch art in heaven hallowed by thi nam...”⁷² Curio, shelf-filler, or book of genuine interest? The Eliot Bible seems to have been all three.

Sometimes marginalia make it clear that they have little to do with the topic of the book; the book is merely scrap paper or a convenient notebook. This may be

⁷²All references from the John Eliot Bible in the Exeter Cathedral Library.

the case with any book, and there is no particular pattern in the marginalia of books about the New World or Ireland to suggest they were used any differently than other books in a collection. Ussher's Answer to a Challenge Made By a Jesuite in Ireland found in the Dodderidge collection, is full of gossipy marginalia which bear little relation to the text itself. "His Grace Arch Bp William davves [sic] said of Broil'd meat I will make angry," wrote the user of the book. "I thought him deluded in it but now I think it might be with ye tongue of Gule or Spaken in Banter....He said R Ann was satisfied about the succession of the House of Hanover." The comment about Queen Anne, as well as the reference to Sir William Dawes (archibishop of York 1714-1724) help suggest a date in the early eighteenth century for these scribbles. But these notes bear little relation to the topic of the book. Was it so out of date that it was useful only as a place to record government gossip? Or was the author of the above words merely following in the steps of an earlier, seventeenth-century hand which used the flypapers of the book to muse over various kinds of penalties for sexual sins and offences?⁷³

⁷³“....for you to know her tho' you spill your seed both of you because the parts are put to a right use, tho' the seed is not; and it is better to use ye one a right than neither; and therefore this is preferable to self pleasing. And yet to this it may be objected that the shame of the world generally cast upon such as know without marriage wil turn ye scale in favour of self pleasing: and tho' this be done in private yet their fears not that tis a sin in themselves but its being thought so by others, it may be said, will take away their reputatio(n). Tho to this it will be answered tis the shame of the wife rather ye many yt ought to be dreaded: yt ye shame of ye many wch may bring in pain (illegible) of (illegible) of women, and prevent Good Wives they yt are without The Inconveniency (it may be said) and the Temptation or greater Trial, and consequently greater Danger of sinning was the Parte (?) of our Saviour's

But plenty of other notations make it clear that books were of interest for their subject matter. Sometimes that interest is both topical and personal. Colonial book collections often suggest self-interest simply through their titles. At William Brewster's death, his collection of four hundred books included John Smith's Description of New England, Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, and Rich's Newes from Virginia --useful items for someone founding a colony in a far-off and largely unexplored world.⁷⁴ The controversial works discussed in previous chapters on New England can be found in several records of colonial libraries. Governor William Bradford of Plymouth, for example, owned both Robert Baillie's Dissuasive and John Cotton's response.⁷⁵ Other collections indicate a potential knowledge of Ireland and of England: William Tyng, the Boston merchant, and Anne Bradstreet, the poet, both owned copies of Speed and Camden.⁷⁶

The Mathers owned what may have been the most extensive collection of books in New England.⁷⁷ Titles included, of course, works which the Mathers were

Confessions of ye Reasonableness and Expediency of His Disciples words, and of his commendance and Allowance of men making themselves Eunuchs." The author of this fragment also pens musings about "A man in very good Circumstances may not force a woman, or at least promising her and gaining of Her a Promise take forcible Possession of Her; but this not ordinarily but only extraordinary cases," and regarding "a man of Great Fortune" who may "keep a mistress."

⁷⁴Thomas Goddard Wright, Literary Culture in Early New England (New York: Russell and Russell, 1929), 25-26.

⁷⁵Wright, Literary Culture, 58.

⁷⁶Wright, Literary Culture, 37 and 60.

⁷⁷A visitor to Cotton Mather's library in 1686 called it the Bodleian of New England, saying "Mr. Mathers' Library is the Glory of all New-England, if not all of America. I am sure it was the best sight that I had in Boston," quoted in Wright, Literary

debating in print, as discussed in the previous chapters. Other works about both America and Ireland also appear.⁷⁸ In these books, marginalia suggest that books about other colonies might have been of interest primarily because of what they had to say about one's own experiences. Increase Mather's copy of King's State of the Protestants in Ireland is marked with page numbers on the fly-leaf. Upon looking up the references, one finds that Mather was particularly interested in a proposed scheme to relocate Irish Catholics to New England, as well as the story of his alma mater, Trinity College, during the Williamite wars.⁷⁹ Mather's interest in these topics certainly related to the book, but they were also personal; he was interested in something which might affect his own colony (not surprising for the man chosen to represent New England at Court during Charter negotiations) and in his university. Sadly, most notations are not so detailed; they tend to be more like those of Richard Mather (Increase's father), who seldom made notes relating to the subject of his books but meticulously corrected errata by hand in books throughout his collection.⁸⁰ Marks like this give indication of books being read, but sadly little notion of the relative importance of the material in these works.⁸¹

Culture, 126.

⁷⁸Wright, Literary Culture, 238-291.

⁷⁹Marginalia in William King, The State of the Protestants of Ireland Under the Late King James (London, 1691), Mather Collection, AAS.

⁸⁰The distinctive handwriting of Richard, Increase, and Cotton Mather is of particular help to the researcher when deciphering the use made of this shared collection.

⁸¹For example, see marginalia in A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland (London, 1648). There are no particular comments regarding Ireland in this work; The Mather Collection.

Like the marginalia above, diaries have the potential to reveal much about the reasons people had for owning various books, and about their possible reactions to books. Henry Prescott was a Chester resident, deputy registrar of the parish, and diarist. He left many notations about his interest in Irish law, in visiting Irish clergyman, and even Irish wine (perhaps especially Irish wine, considering the frequent pub visits recorded by the well-oiled Mr. Prescott).⁸² It is not surprising to see that Mr. Prescott borrowed books about Ireland, and read reports about Irish crises, particularly the 1713 "disloyal and violent parliament of Ireland." Mr. Prescott's reaction suggests that he, like Increase Mather, read about Ireland in part because of concerns regarding the potential effects of Irish crises on his own life⁸³

But even diaries belonging to people with an interest in the colonies may not yield much useful information about any kind of reading, let alone specific reaction to colonial books. Henry Prescott's son left for Virginia in 1717, but the elder man's diary provides no clues about his knowledge of Virginia, and mentions no helpful books he might have read to learn about his son's new home. Another frustrating diary is that of the Reverend Dr. Thomas Wilson, son of the more famous Bishop Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man. The younger clergyman had a deep and profound interest in colonial missions. In 1732, he carefully considered an offer to travel to

⁸² The Diary of Henry Prescott, LL.B., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese Volume I 28 March 1704-m24 March 1711, ed. John Addy (Gloucester: The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1987), 62-67, 102-103, and 79.

⁸³ Diary of Henry Prescott, 487.

Georgia on a mission, giving up the idea only because of his father's failing health.⁸⁴

Dr. Wilson debated with Dr. Thomas Secker the wisdom of appointing American bishops, and went to see "Indian chiefs" visiting London at the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.⁸⁵ He collects subscription money for Irish schools, and discusses letters from Jamaica in his diary.⁸⁶ Clearly, Thomas Wilson was interested in colonies. He occasionally noted his discussions regarding books which contained at least some information about New England and Ireland: Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans and Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellions.⁸⁷ He even gives a clue that intellectuals read (and were concerned about) hack-historians like Oldmixon, though not necessarily regarding his colonial works, as when, on Monday, January 31, 1731/2, "Dr. Felton preached before the university and rescued Lord Clarendon's Hist. from the Abusive Invectives raised against it by Oldmixon and others." The occasion was a commemoration of the martyrdom of King Charles I (celebrated on the 31st because the 30th had fallen on a Sunday).⁸⁸ The date tells us much about how books could be important in shaping public opinion, and perhaps Irish affairs were a part of the sermon. But we cannot say this for certain, and despite his obvious interest in colonies, Wilson wrote very little in his diary about the

⁸⁴Thomas Wilson to Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K, 15 November 1732, reproduced in. The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, D. D, 1731-1737 and 1750, ed. C.L.S. Lunnell (London: S.P.C.K, 1964) 80.

⁸⁵The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, 92, 117.

⁸⁶The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, 257 and 142.

⁸⁷The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, 140.

⁸⁸The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, 48, and fn, 41, p. 48.

sources of his colonial information, and almost nothing about books he read.

Returning to the issue of books and special dates, sometimes inscriptions in books give clues as to how English celebrations affected colonial information. London printer, antiquarian, and literary editor John Nichols, for example, seems to have seized upon the American revolution as a convenient way to give some politically relevant gifts to Frederick Cornwallis, the archbishop of Canterbury, who eventually baptized one of Nichols's children.⁸⁹ In December of 1776, he presented Cornwallis with a packet of "Political Tracts" relating to American affairs from the years 1682 to 1733. Unfortunately the exact inventory of these pamphlets, as separate from the rest of the collection, has been lost.⁹⁰ An inscription in a longer work, however, A Tryall of the New-Church Way in New-England and in Old, remains. It tells us that this book was presented to the Lambeth collection by "Mr. J. Nicholls, Printer in Fleet Street" on "November the 5th, 1777." This is an interesting inscription in many ways. The date tells us that the book, like the earlier gift of pamphlets, was presented after relations with American colonies had irretrievably broken down; the interest in New-England is therefore fairly clear. The tract is an anti-New-England one, written in the 1630's and printed in the 1640's in the midst of the controversies over church structure which prompted such discussion of New

⁸⁹The Dictionary of National Biography Vol. 46, 2-4. The entry notes Nichols' social climbing, but not his habit of giving books.

⁹⁰Fortunately, the pamphlets, bound in three folio volumes (piquing the antiquarian Botfield's interest) still contained this inscription in Botfield's day, so we at least have this description of the donation. They have since been broken up and re-bound.

England. The book was officially presented on November 5, Gunpowder Treason Day, the most assertively Protestant day in the English national calendar, but also a day to celebrate royal preservation. By the late eighteenth century this had become a day for popular protest, not only against Catholicism and Guy Fawkes, but against all unpopular politics and politicians. In fact, Ronald Hutton suggests that in some places the day was one of concern over social tensions between rowdy celebrants and disapproving officialdom.⁹¹ All in all, this was an interesting entry for the socially-climbing Mr. Nichols. We may not be able to determine precisely the reason for Nicholl's gift (was he in sympathy with the rebels? or was he intending this as a commentary on the kind of people who defied royal authority?) but the date of the book suggests a connection between its use as gift and its subject. The gift of this book also gives us a clue as to the mental world of an era when information did not "go stale" as quickly as it does today. By the late eighteenth century, the English were acquainted with an idea of "news" not dissimilar to ours today: current, recent information about people, places, and events.⁹² Yet while print certainly offered the

Botfield, Cathedral Libraries, 254.

⁹¹Ronald Hutton, Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 396-401. See also David Cressy, Bonfires and Bells (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989) and Ronald Hutton, The Rise and Fall of Merry England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁹²For a good history of the idea of "news" in newsbooks, and corantos, see Harold Weber, Paper Bullets (Lexington, Ky: University of Kentucky Press, 1996) as well as chapters two and three in Christopher Small, The Printed Word: An Instrument of Popularity (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1982). Bindings and bookplates also give indications of what date the book was bound, giving indications that many of the Lambeth books were in the collection already by the eighteenth century.

opportunity for new pieces of information to be transmitted, the colonial context suggests that it also allowed older information, opinions, and discussions to be perpetuated.

“It may well wait a century for a reader”:⁹³ Continuing Use of Old Print

Had the religious and social situation in New England changed significantly between 1637 and 1777? Most certainly, but the anti-New England book was still an appropriate one for the times in the mind of Nichols. More positively, this use of the book reminds us that, once printed, older books continued to have their uses. Simply because a book had outgrown its original context, this does not mean it was discarded and its information lost. For example, Thomas Gage's 1648 book The English American, part of the Lambeth Palace collection, includes notations in a number of hands, some seventeenth-, some late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century. The book's reports of the West Indies were still, apparently, considered valuable, and the careful late eighteenth or early nineteenth century writer who noted “the uncastrated edition,” on the title page wished to make certain that readers knew this book contained the full amount of text. This and a number of other books bear the bookplates of Thomas Secker (archbishop between 1758-1768). Frederick Cornwallis' bookplates (1768-1783) are also found in many of these books.⁹⁴

Other kinds of usage evidence also suggest that print had the effect of

⁹³“It may well wait a century for a reader, as God has waited six thousand years for an observer.” Johannes Kepler (1571-1630).

⁹⁴Thomas Gage, The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land (London, 1648)

“freezing” information about the colonies (and presumably other topics as well). Books reproduced descriptions, from other works, often verbatim, perpetuating information that might be ten, twenty, fifty or more years out of date. As previously noted, old Irish material that freely admitted to being many years out of date was often used. A particularly salient example of this process is Laurence Echard’s Exact Description of Ireland; the title page proclaims it “Very Useful for the Right understanding of the present Affairs of that Kingdom.” Its maps are proudly “done according to the latest surveys.” Clearly, a work of great relevance to the battles being fought in Ireland. But if it is important to have recent maps, it is not so for cultural geography. “If there be any fault in the description of the Wild Irish, it must be attributed to my Authors, who were not altogether so Modern as I could have wished.”⁹⁵ Indeed, his descriptions are directly from Tudor discussions of the “wild Irish,” painting an interesting picture for readers attempting to understand Irish politics under James II.

Other writers were aware of the tensions between news and history and promised the best (meaning the most up to date) of both. John Oldmixon’s The British Empire in America promises to discuss both the “history” and “present state” of colonies and, like Echard’s work, proudly advertises on the title page its “curious Maps” which are “drawn from the Newest Surveys.” Furthermore, Oldmixon carefully cites his various sources of information as men from the various locales he

in Lambeth Palace.

describes; he is careful to emphasize that his history is reliable and present-day material is recent. Even if, as the previous chapter suggests, this was not always the case, Oldmixon apparently thought this as valuable selling-point.⁹⁶ Of course, Oldmixon, like Echard describing the Irish, did not think his subjects had changed much from earlier descriptions. Perhaps it is ironic that the English notion of colonial settlers as “backward” may have stemmed in part from the colonists’ supposed reliance on outmoded forms of expression and insufficient literacy. The comic justices of Aphra Behn’s Widdow Ranter have read no legal works since Dalton (and that only briefly, it seems); it is in large part their backwardness which makes them amusing.⁹⁷

We have previously considered some of the collections in Devon and Cornwall which contained descriptions of New England; literary evidence suggests those books were still being used in eighteenth-century Exeter. Neale’s History of New England (1723), is quoted as current by both the sober Andrew Brice in his 1774 work about the New World, and the rather more colourful Bampfylde-Moore Carew, the inimitable “King of Beggars and Dog-Merchant General.”⁹⁸

Carew’s book purports to be the story of his journeys in the world, including

⁹⁵Laurence Echard, An Exact Description of Ireland (London, 1691), introduction.

⁹⁶John Oldmixon, The British Empire in America Containing the History of the Discovery, settlement, Progress, and present State of all the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America.(London, 1708) ix-xii.

⁹⁷Widdow Ranter, III, 1.

⁹⁸Andrew Brice, Topographical Description of the New World (Exeter, 1774); Bampfylde-Moore Carew, An Apology for the Life of Bampfyle-Moore Carew

his “Travels twice through the great part of America, his manner of living with the wild Indians, his bold attempt in swimming the River Delaware, and many other extraordinary Incidents.”⁹⁹ The book claims to be autobiographical; whatever the truth of his travels, the author has certainly consulted other books about the New World and quotes them verbatim. This was a time-honoured practice, and does not necessarily mean he never travelled there. Aphra Behn’s colonial memoir/novella Oroonoko featured descriptions from other works for both Coramantien (which she most certainly did not visit) and Surinam(which she likely did).¹⁰⁰ Carew’s veracity as a colonial traveller is less interesting in the present context than his descriptions of the settings for his purported adventures. His description of Rhode Island is straight out of Neale:

They live in great amity with their neighbours, and tho’ every man does what he thinks right in his own Eyes, it is rare that any notorious Crimes are committed by them, which may be attributed, in some measure, to their great Veneration for the Holy Scriptures which they all read, from the least to the greatest, tho they have neither Ministers nor Magistrates to re-commend to them¹⁰¹.

This description is not claimed as anything other than Carew’s own observations; when Brice quotes the same passage he at least gives credit to “Mr. Neale’s

(London, 1749).

⁹⁹Carew, An Apology t.p.

¹⁰⁰See Chapter 6, Janet Todd, The Secret Life of Aphra Behn (London: Andre Deutsch, 1996). Francis Nicholson of Virginia apparently owned the same description that Behn did; Nicholson Catalogue.

¹⁰¹Carew, An Apology, 126.

history.”¹⁰² Their entries for Boston are similarly identical:

The Exchange is surrounded with Booksellers Shops which have a good Trade. There are five Printing-houses, at one of which the Boston Gazette is printed, and comes out twice a week. The Presses here are generally full of Work, which is in great measure owing to the colleges and schools for useful Learning in New-England; whereas at New-York there is but one little Bookseller’s Shop, and none at all in Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Barbadoes, and the Sugar Islands.¹⁰³

Brice notes that his descriptions and calculations may be a little out of date, claiming they are from 1741.¹⁰⁴ But he presents them nonetheless, alongside his quotations from Cotton Mather and a discussion of the witchcraft trials of New England.¹⁰⁵

What are the consequences of such repetition of history as “current” event, opinion and fact? It is all very well for American historians to comment on the changing New England intellectual climate between Cotton Mather and Samuel Adams, but the picture of progress may have been less clear to the English reading public of the eighteenth century. The eighteenth-century inhabitants of Lambeth palace and the members of the newly-formed S.P.G. had numerous letters and reports to give them pictures of colonial spiritual health, but they still relied on seventeenth-

¹⁰² Brice, Topographical Description, 1088.

¹⁰³ Carew, An Apology, 130; Brice, Topographical Description, 203.

¹⁰⁴ The calculations seem low for 1741, by which point there were certainly more universities and booksellers throughout the colonies than those of New England; moreover, it ignores papers like James Franklin’s New-England Courant. See B. Franklin, Boston Printers, Publishers and Booksellers, 1640-1800, (Boston, Mass: G.K. Hall, 1980).

¹⁰⁵ Brice, Topographical Description, 935.

century books for some information.¹⁰⁶

But using old books had practical consequences, even in the new American republic. For example, Edmund Pendleton, President of the Virginia court of appeals, found himself commenting on a dispute over the size and extent of Virginia. Joseph Jones, a Virginian congressional representative, asked the justice to help him reply to Thomas Paine's Public Good, a pamphlet which denied Virginia's claim to the Northwest Territory. Pendleton's letter to Jones makes it clear that, instead of relying on charter measurements for Virginia, he believes that Paine is relying on old books which describe Virginia as "a name common to all North America, and divided by the Chesapeake (I rather think the Delaware) Bay into North and South Virginia."¹⁰⁷ Whether or not Paine was really only using old books and descriptions for his argument, Pendleton apparently felt justified in blaming their enduring air of authority for the dispute. Perhaps the Revolution provoked a particular interest for

¹⁰⁶As the Fulham papers and the S.P.G. papers in Lambeth Palace testify. The inhabitants had access to a range of reports from New World parishes, which were supposed to include numbers of communicants, frequency of communicants, books in the parish library and so forth. The bishops of London and the archbishops of Canterbury alternated the position of President of the College of William and Mary in Virginia from its founding in 1693 to 1762, and again from 1764-1789. This also generated a large number of letters and reports, most of them depressing tales of graft, incompetence, and fraud. (Perhaps the printed sources offered more comfort!) For more on changing attitudes and interest in North American missionary work, see James Axtell, The Invasion Within (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). For letters from Irish missionaries, see Robert S. Matheson, "Francis le Jau in Ireland," South Carolina Historical Magazine 78, no. 2 (1977): 83-97.

¹⁰⁷Edmund Pendleton to Joseph Jones, February 10, 1781, The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton, Volume I, ed. David John Mays (Charlottesville: The Virginia Historical Society and The University Press of Virginia, 1967), 331.

Americans in keeping information about a very young country up to date. Jedidiah Morse's American Gazeteer, published in 1799, lists its sources in the preface; those listed seem to be less than thirty years old.¹⁰⁸

This concern also forces us to consider whether this tension between "history" and "news" resulted in part simply from physical circumstance. The same ephemerality that makes it difficult for a modern historian to trace down news-sheets is exactly what made it so difficult for historians and gazetteers to use news pamphlets and other recent updates. A book from one hundred years previously might be more carefully preserved than a newsheet from five years before, or at least be closer at hand. Ephemeral materials were more likely to disappear from one year to the next in a collection, unless carefully preserved. Although he does not specify titles, Jedidiah Morse credits "The Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, both printed and manuscript" in preparing his American Gazeteer.¹⁰⁹ The development of such historical societies, like the impulse of private ephemera collectors such as George Thomason in England, surely had an important effect on the growing ability of readers and researcher to check, and cross-check the interplay between new information and old. Print provided a powerful sense of the changing perspective on events over time. Fernando Warner compared print accounts of the Irish rebellion to other archival resources, found them lacking, and made a judgement about the hysteria of Protestant settlers. Thomas Paine, to Edmund Pendleton's

¹⁰⁸Jedidiah Morse, The American Gazeteer (Boston, 1799), iv.

dismay, used old print to make judgements about the historicity (and therefore validity) of current land claims. When John Nichols presented his gift of a book about New England from the 1640's in 1777, did he intend it to be understood as still-current information? Or was he perhaps hoping to provide a historical perspective which might shed light on the roots of the conflict between Old and New England? The survival and use of older colonial information was, potentially, part of a sense of interplay between past conflict and current crisis.

Can we conclude that English readers were “interested” in colonies as such? It only seems safe to conclude that many literate Englishmen interacted with some kind of mass-produced, printed information about England’s colonies in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and that they were more likely to have read something about Ireland than about any other colony. Although these people certainly had access to other sources of written and verbal information, print enabled readers to share a common body of knowledge about the colonies. Did increasing amounts of print about the colonies necessarily give people “better” or “fresher” information about colonial possessions? Possibly, but it equally had the potential to perpetuate old, outdated information. And the date of publication was, at any rate, no guarantee of the accuracy of information. The images published in the 1640's of Irish massacres were indeed fresh, but readers of eighteenth-century histories probably had, in some ways, a better picture of the actual extent of Irish massacres than did

¹⁰⁹Morse, Gazetteer, iv.

contemporary readers.

Simply put, the readers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had *more* information available, of all kinds: good, bad, and even ugly. Old and new interacted in interesting ways, as print perpetuated out-of-date images, like those of the wild Irish, or untamed Virginian frontiers, while simultaneously allowing interested readers more and more freedom to read critically, and to cross-reference their reading material with other books and pamphlets. Whether or not they particularly cared about them, literate English were quite likely to be reading about the colonies.

Conclusion

“These are the Times that Try Men’s Souls”:¹ Crisis and the Expression of Settler Identity

Guy Fawkes, Anne Hutchinson, Thomas Jefferson. The threads of language and culture that tied these three very different troublemakers together also bound the audiences who heard about them, read about them, and responded to their actions. Each person contributed something to the meaning of John Nichols’ gift to Frederick Cornwallis. Each played a role in provoking crises, times that tried not only the souls of English men and women, but their polity as well. A book about the Antinomian Crisis, given as a gift on Gunpowder Treason Day during the early years of the American Revolution could only be understood in an English Atlantic world full of the shared symbols of a common history. Yet, as we have seen, those histories could be interpreted very differently.

The conflict with Catholicism that wracked Elizabethan and Jacobean England was perhaps nowhere so thoroughly crystallized as in the Gunpowder Plot, and in was in a world of anti-Catholic anxiety that English colonial horizons expanded so widely. In that world, both Catholicism and extreme Protestantism were potential threats to order. In that world, the dividing line between John Winthrop and Anne Hutchinson, between Old English and New English, was potentially quite thin. Yet settlers might

¹Thomas Paine, The American Crisis No.1 (Philadelphia, December 1776), 1.

manipulate the same set of cultural icons and historical events that an Englishman like Nichols could also call upon, and to very different results.

In a curious 1775 pamphlet, American radicals call upon the ghost of Oliver Cromwell, who thunders to their aid: "Awake and rouse my faithful Fairfax, Lambert and the rest of my brave warriors." As Alfred Young points out when discussing this pamphlet, such an interpretation of Cromwell's place in history was certainly not one that appealed to a shared sense of political power between colonial and imperial elites.² The Cromwell pamphlet demonstrated an important change in the definition of settler identity, one which accepted the difference between colonial and English culture, even while drawing on the personages and events of a shared past.

In the seventeenth century, settler writers were not able to assume that their English readers had any particular predisposition to sympathy. Settler authors therefore worked hard to invoke a shared identity, as we saw in the pamphlets of the 1640's from both Ireland and New England. Theirs was not a world in which the sun never set on Englishness, where settler and stay-at-home were united in imperial mission. Settlers were likely to be presented with suspicion in English writing, as religiously-intolerant hypocrites, or as rebellious incompetents, or criminal villains. Did these presentations result from fears regarding "going native?" Perhaps. The case of the Old

²Alfred F. Young, "English Plebeian Culture and Eighteenth-Century American Radicalism," in The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and James R. Jacobs (Newark, N.J. and London: Humanities Press, 1991), 185-212.

English suggested that contamination might be part of the problems (although their crime might be better described as “staying Catholic.”) Settlers themselves sometimes wrote as if they feared such contamination, as when the Devil, landlord of American forests, intruded upon New England settlements in Cotton Mather's writing. But from the perspective of English writers, “going native” was a small part of colonial crises. Colonists were problematic simply because they were colonists. Perhaps the kind of people who went to tame the wilds of Ireland and the New World were simply the kind of people that the home country was better off without. Sir William Keith thought there was little point in educating Virginians; Fernando Warner despaired of settlers ever being able to write history. For a variety of reasons and in a variety of ways, English writers dismissed settler perspectives as invalid, immature, and incomplete.

Crisis literature is not the be-all and end-all of colonial presentation, but it is particularly revealing precisely because of its limitations. When all sides are at their worst, they are at pains to present themselves at their best. In presenting their side of the story, settler writers constantly appealed to their orderliness, civility, godliness, and Englishness, although not necessarily in that order. But, as we have seen, this strategy ultimately failed.

In the 1640's, Protestants in Ireland and Puritans in New England both invoked their unity with English Protestant order in writing about colonial crises. As discussed

The First Book of the American Times (Boston, Mass, 1775), quoted in Young, "English Plebeian Culture," 186.

in Chapter One, Protestants in Ireland contrasted themselves with the "Irish" in order to do this, using almost every negative label at their disposal to describe the latter. While their propaganda was quite effective in evoking scenes of unthinkable horror, it could not entirely settle who was on which side in Ireland, admitting to the ambiguities and fluid lines of definition that imperfectly separated "Old English" from "New English," and both from ethnically Gaelic peoples. By the era of the Glorious Revolution, negative portrayals of "the Irish" persisted, but the identification of Old English groups as "Irish" in this formulation boded ill for more recent settler groups. "English in England and Irish in Ireland," eighteenth-century Protestants of English descent worked hard to interpret their past in a way which empowered them and confirmed their right to rule Ireland. For some historians, this meant re-evaluating their alliances, interpreting Old English as friend to New, a formulation quite unlike those in the seventeenth century. Historians in England, meanwhile, interpreted Irish history as the story of conquest by an imperial power, not as a tale of success by struggling Protestant settlers. Developments in American colonies were similarly described by popular historians, as we saw in Chapter Five. This interpretation differed from those put forth by writers in both New England and Virginia.

New Englanders had been explaining their crises as proof of God's favour since the earliest days of settlement. Even a woman as inconvenient as Anne Hutchinson could be re-interpreted as a sign of the colony's godliness, for had divine order not triumphed over her? But the need to differentiate among settler groups was damning

for New England in some English opinion. That settlers in the American colonies were not entirely trustworthy was emphatically confirmed in 1676, as noted in Chapter Three. New England writers emphasized the distance between themselves and the Natives, using the harsh language of demonology to characterize the latter. But the settler's extensive alliances with various tribal groups, as well as conversion attempts (however limited) undermined this attempt to place such a clear rhetorical distance between themselves and the original inhabitants of their land. Such tropes may not have been well-received in England anyway, for in Virginia the settlers rather than the Natives were portrayed as the source of colonial disorder. Descriptions of Bacon's rebellion, as written by English men and women, emphasized the incivility inherent in settler society, not the barbarity of the Natives. Bacon and Berkeley are both disobedient and unruly; this seems to be an inherent characteristic of settlers rather than the product of any "contamination" by native groups. Indeed, in Aphra Behn's highly romanticized account, it is the Native "king" and "queen" who are truly honourable, as befits aristocrats. Settlers, according to her, are mere drunkards and servants. This kind of viewpoint would seem to have influenced English interpretations of the Glorious Revolution in New England, and indeed of all North American colonial history. For Cotton Mather and other New England historians, as discussed in Chapter Six, the history of crises again proved God's favour to settlers; for Robert Beverley, such conflicts proved the settler's own power. But as the British historians of Chapter Six looked back at colonial crises, in North America as in Ireland

they saw a story of settler incompetence, or at best impotence. If there was glory to be had, it was imperial glory, and settlers played little or no part in that.

Is it too much to find in this attitude a set of conceptions regarding settler identity that was to manifest itself at a later date in revolution in Ireland and America? This is not offered as a conclusion proven by this thesis, but rather as a speculative coda. My mind continues to return to that inscription in John Nichols' gift, connecting Anne Hutchinson to the rebels led by Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, and all of these to the day commemorating the discovery of Fawke's treason. Those people were connected for Nichols; is it too much to suggest that the connecting thread was one spun from fears of incipient rebellion, of treason, of un-Englishness?

Definitive and incontrovertible proof of such mental connections, of course, lies beyond the scope of this work. This stretch forward is offered only a possibility to be considered when thinking about what the literature of past crises meant for Nichols and his ilk as they used books from the past to bring meaning to the present. Further investigations into the scope and spread of colonial books in British collections (for example, investigating the records of book collections of eighteenth-century politicians) is work for another day. And such speculation is offered in the spirit of considering the slow-burning fires that made long-term contributions to later events in the early modern English colonies, much as Jack Greene has recently done in a recent article discussing the fundamental tensions between settler self-empowerment and

“incorporation into a larger system of national identity that guaranteed their Englishness.”³

But if we can learn anything from the rhetoric of colonial crises as expressed in this literature, it is the clear picture of an ever-deepening gulf between elites at home and in the colonies. Settlers and Stay-at-homes expressed very different beliefs about the meaning of the colonial venture. American independence and the repeal of Poyning’s Law were distant consequences of that mental gulf, the high-water marks of settler self-determination. The Act of Union and the War of 1812, however, marked a distinct turning back towards assertion of imperial power.

If there is a link between the imperialism identified by postmodernists and the colonial ethos of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, then perhaps it is here, in a discernable historical change, rather than in an ahistorical model. The weakness of the way colonial identities were constructed, as expressed in the literature of crisis, was that they drove settler and empire apart. Although English plantations were in fact dependent on private enterprise--and private monies--the way settlers were treated in rhetoric demonstrated an underlying mentality of contempt, of difference, even (if we must use the term) of “otherness.” But those worlds were still connected; settlers continued to share many of the same discourses of order and civility that the English

³ Jack Greene’s article “The American Revolution,” American Historical Review 105 no.1 (February 2000), 93-103 at 96. Although I was not able to consult it until writing the very final revisions to this chapter, Greene’s article can be very helpfully read

did, and continued to be dismayed when those ideas turned against them. Two responses to this situation were possible: rebellion or continued, ever-more-strident loyalism in hopes of eventual legitimization. The former eventually emerged in both eighteenth century America and in Ireland, most spectacularly in the Sons of Liberty and the United Irishmen. But the latter attitude was also always present in settler populations, and continued to be present even when rebellion won the day in America. The American Loyalists who founded Canada based their claim not on their difference from, but upon continued insistence upon their unity with the British polity.⁴ Ireland's political elites likewise turned away from the self-rule so hard fought for by Henry Grattan in an effort to retain ascendancy after the Act of Union. On both continents, the seeds of nineteenth-century imperialism had been well-sown.

In this colonialism, born of the collapse of the older model, colonists were more firmly also imperialists, agents of the superior power that gave them birth. The power of that vision continues to inspire critiques in the twentieth century long after empire has effectively faded. In the opening scene of her 1979 comedy Cloud Nine, British playwright Caryl Churchill presents the audience with a family of British colonists in Africa, who pose for the audience as for a tintype portrait, cheerfully singing about their unity with Englishmen around a world where the sun never sets:

along with my speculations about the significance of the expressions in crisis literature of the political realities and identities that he discusses.

Come gather sons of England, come gather in your pride
 Now meet the world united, now face it side by side...
 O'er countless numbers she, our queen,
 Victoria reigns supreme...
 O'er Afric's sunny plain and o'er
 Canadian frozen stream
 The forge of war shall weld the chain
 Of brotherhood secure
 So to all time in every clime
 Our empire shall endure!
 Then gather round for England
 Come rally to the flag!
 From North and South and East and West
 Come one and all for England!⁵

This picture of imperial brotherhood cannot be applied to earlier expressions of settler identity. The "forge of war," as described in crisis literature, seems to have shattered rather than welded English brotherhood in the early modern Atlantic world. But such speculation about the attitudes revealed in crisis literature and the meaning in the longer range of history is, as stated before, merely interesting conjecture and not intended to be understood as a conclusion.

It is, however, very clear that crisis forced colonists to draw distinctions about themselves, separating them from both imperial brotherhood and from native peoples. By the eighteenth century, these differing patterns of interpreting colonial crises were woven into histories. For the author of Thomas Grantham's biography, it was the

⁴See Wallace Brown, The Good Americans (New York: Morrow, 1969) and George Rawlyk, Timothy Barnes, and Robert Colhoon, Loyalists and Community in North America (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994).

⁵Caryl Churchill, Cloud Nine (London, New York, and Toronto: Samuel French, 1979), 6-7.

settlers who were ineffective in halting Bacon's Rebellion; for Robert Beverley the entire crisis was the direct result of *imperial* mismanagement. Was a reconciliation between these two points of view possible?

But it is equally important to note that the separation of colonial elites from imperial power did not result in a positive vision of native groups, in either Ireland or the New World. There is a certain romantic viewpoint that supposes disenfranchised groups will work together, or at least have sympathy for those even more disadvantaged. As I learned growing up in the south side of Indianapolis with an Irish surname, some Irish-Americans like to invoke a common identity with other historically-downtrodden groups of people, suggesting that experiences of prejudice always produce a natural fraternity among the oppressed. While this may be true in some cases, it has also been demonstrated by historians that the Irish in America and elsewhere were perfectly capable of oppressing others for their own gain.⁶ A colonial example in seventeenth-century Montserrat, in fact, suggests that Irish colonists were no more merciful in their treatment of enslaved peoples than were any other masters.⁷

So it is no surprise to discover that settlers did not necessarily discuss native groups in positive terms, simply because the settlers themselves were disempowered. Indeed, it seems that crisis writers did their best to differentiate themselves from

⁶Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), and David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* (London: Verso, 1991).

⁷Donald H. Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1997).

powerful natives who threatened their sense of order. Only when the threat had passed, as when Beverley was writing his history, was it possible to blur those lines. In these cases, an “imperial” perspective on native groups had the potential to be more positive than a settler one. Distance from threat works wonders for romanticism. Aphra Behn imagined Virginia’s natives as more civil than the settlers. No English author seemed quite able to go that far in imagining the Irish, although Howard’s The Committee, or The Faithful Irishman, hinted that the Irish Catholics might be more reliable than radical Dissenting Englishmen. As an interesting aside, by the eighteenth century stage Irishmen were assigned indisputably positive characteristics. The preponderance of Irish-born playwrights working in England was probably significant in forging this change. George Farquhar’s Teg in The Twin Rivals (1702) is an even more loyal servant than Howard’s Teague; Thomas Sheridan’s Colonel O’Blunder (1738) is a lover both faithful and dashing.

Even more interesting, Irish-born (and Gaelic-speaking) playwright Charles Macklin suggested that settler and Gael could together share “Irishness.” In The True-Born Irishman, or The Fine Irish Lady (1753) those of Scottish settler and Gaelic native descent combine to make fun of Dublin society’s rampant anglophilia.⁸ The comic title characters, the well-born Gaelic Irishman O’Dogherly and his wife Nancy (*née* Hamilton), are reconciled to each other through the offices of the latter’s brother.

One of the conditions for their future happiness is that Nancy whole-heartedly embrace and "Irishness" which is defined in part by the use of English language:

O'Dogherty:--I say, let all those French kickshaws be banished from my table, and let these good old Irish dishes be put in their places....And as to yourself, my dear Nancy, I hope I shall never hear anymore of your London English; none of your this here's, your that there's, your winegars, your weals, your vindors, your toastesses and your stone postesses; but let me have your good, plain, old Irish English, which I insist is better than all the English English that ever coquets and coxcombs brought into this land.⁹

In Ireland, (returning for a moment to speculations about the wider meaning of settler and native writing), it seems that it was possible to imagine a mutually beneficial bond (at least on an elite level) between Catholic and Protestant in the late eighteenth century, as Grattan and others worked hard to do in real-life politics.¹⁰ The situation in America did not lend itself to such blending of Native and newcomer, although alliances for various purposes could and did occur.¹¹ The American Revolution, however, did require re-imagining identity in order to paper over the differences amongst settlers that earlier writers had emphasized. For Natives were not

⁸On the assumption of "Irishness" by Anglo-Irish writers, see Mary M. F. Massoud, "Creativity and the Question of Identity in the Anglo-Irish Literature of the Eighteenth Century," Pennsylvania English 19, no. 2 (1995): 20-37.

⁹Charles Macklin, The True Born Irishman, in Four Comedies by Charles Macklin, ed. J. O. Bartley (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1968), 111.

¹⁰On eighteenth-century power negotiations, see Sean J. Connolly, Religion, Law and Power : The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), and Charles Chevenix Trench, Grace's Card: Irish Catholic Landlords 1690-1800 (Cork: Mercier Press, 1997).

¹¹See for example Colin G. Calloway, New Worlds For All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997),

the only ones disadvantaged by the colonial discourse of elites in New England and Virginia. Those who, like Anne Hutchinson, transgressed social and religious boundaries were likewise banished, both literally and figuratively, from colonial order. Rhode Island, founded as a refuge for New England's dissenters, had to make common cause with Massachusetts for the Revolution to succeed. In that particular context, acts of rebellion by women, servants, and other inferiors, were necessary and good.¹² But the dangerous implications of militancy were immediately understood by those in the post-Revolutionary world who sought to limit the independence of such individuals.¹³ Anglo-Irish elites in nineteenth century similarly retreated from the common "Irish" cause made in the eighteenth century, emphasizing the thorough Englishness of their culture.¹⁴

Such speculations go well beyond the bounds of my research. In throwing these ideas out for consideration, I merely want to emphasize the real importance of historicizing "colonialism" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, agreeing with historians like Anthony Pagden that it is useful and practical to think about a distinct early modern model of colonialism. The mentalities of the early modern English

and Brian J. Given, *A Most Pernicious Thing: Gun Trading and Native Warfare* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994).

¹²See Joan R. Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World : Women in Revolutionary America*, (New York: Twayne, 1996), Alfred F. Young, *The American Revolution* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976).

¹³See Christopher Tomlins, *Law, Labour, and Ideology in the Early Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Atlantic world were not those of the nineteenth-century British Empire. However, a certain “colonial” mentality did exist among settler writers who tried to connect themselves to English social order, while distancing themselves from both natives and disorderly settlers. The utter rebuff they faced can be found in many places, like Fernando Warner’s questioning of Protestant settler’s dedication to their own history, or John Oldmixon’s condescension towards Cotton Mather.

But the most vivid image in my mind is still John Nichols’ spindly eighteenth-century handwriting, viewed in the pleasant reading room at Lambeth Palace. Like the light falling on the pages from the large windows along the wall, the inscription on John Nicholl’s gift illuminates the connections an eighteenth-century reader might make amongst settler crises, past and present. It is not a picture which is particularly flattering for the settlers, for it suggests that they have been, and still are, disorderly, dissenting troublemakers, not worthy of power in the imperial world. But the choice of day for the gift also confirms that they are firmly within the mental bounds of English cultural reference, albeit a negative one. For only within a very English world is it possible to connect such disparate figures into a meaningful whole: Guy Fawkes, Anne Hutchinson, and Thomas Jefferson.

¹⁴See W. J. McCormack, Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History 1789-1900 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

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