

From Middle Temple to Manoa

*Global Networks at the
Early Modern Inns of Court*



2021 exhibition catalogue

Text copyright © Lauren Working and Emily Stevenson

Artworks © Loraine Rutt

Images of Loraine Rutt's artworks © Rebecca Maynes

Front cover image and detail from Johann Neander, *Tabacologia* (1622), Middle Temple Library. Image © Lauren Working

From Middle Temple to Manoa: Global Networks at the Early Modern Inns of Court is available for use and circulation under a Creative Commons licence (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You are free to reuse this material without modification for non-commercial purposes. Please see the Creative Commons website for full licence terms. Please include appropriate attribution on any page which links to or embeds material from this publication.

Although this is not a requirement of the licence, we would be grateful if you could send us an email at tide@ell.ox.ac.uk to let us know of any such re-use

Publisher: TIDE Publications

Publication date: 10/09/2021

ISBN: 978-1-7399732-1-6

Authors: Lauren Working and Emily Stevenson

The TIDE project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 681884). More information can be found at tideproject.uk/.

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
I. The world encompassed	5
<i>From Middle Temple to Manoa</i>	7
<i>'Thou silver Thames, O dearest crystal flood!'</i>	8
<i>New realms of knowledge</i>	9
<i>Mapping global networks</i>	10
<i>'cast the Globe of it into a new mould': Molyneux's globes</i>	11
II. Sugar, spice, and sociability	13
<i>'Th'Indias of spice and mine...'</i>	14
<i>'Suger, figges [and] almond mylke': Consumption at the Inns</i>	16
<i>Pearls: desire and death</i>	17
<i>Diamonds and De Missione</i>	19
<i>Flights of power and fancy</i>	20
<i>'the sublime speculation of ambassadors'</i>	21
<i>The Anglo-Ottoman trade</i>	22
III. Inns literature and colonialism	23
<i>Sherbert, coffee, & Ovid</i>	25
<i>Staging America</i>	27
<i>Purses and souls</i>	28
<i>Quodlibets</i>	29
<i>'I call not thee, / But thou great God of Indian melodie'</i>	30
<i>Coming of age with empire</i>	31
Further reading	32

From Middle Temple to Manoa is an exhibition curated by Lauren Working and Emily Stevenson as part of the TIDE project (Travel, Transculturality, and Identity in England, 1550 – 1700) at the University of Oxford, with the generous support of Renae Satterley, Middle Temple Librarian.

The exhibition contains a series of artworks from the artist and globemaker Loraine Rutt. Some of the pieces feature in the following pages, but more information and an online version of the exhibition can be found here:

<http://thelittleglobeco.com/from-middle-temple-to-manoa>.

This catalogue includes a selection of the printed books and manuscripts from the Middle Temple Library and Archives that appeared in the exhibition, as well as additional material on Elizabethan and Jacobean global exchanges.

The TIDE project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 681884). More information can be found at tideproject.uk/.



From Middle Temple to Manoa

Global Networks at the Early Modern Inns of Court

This exhibition links global networks of trade and exploration to social and literary networks at the Elizabethan and Jacobean Inns of Court, particularly the Middle Temple. The demand for commodities and knowledge about the world that emerged from European trade and exploration in the sixteenth century quickly became part of the literary and social milieu of the Inns. Gentlemen commissioned globes that charted recent voyages. They celebrated Francis Drake's return from his raids on the Spanish West Indies, and collected parts of the Golden Hind, the ship Drake captained when he circumnavigated the globe. Sugar, tobacco, spices, feathers, and pearls were increasingly used to celebrate imperial intervention abroad and to fuel sociability at home. The access to, and consumption of, global goods often relied on the mass exploitation of human lives and natural resources in other parts of the world.

While Elizabethans hoped colonization might usher 'a golden world in this our iron age', whose golden age was it?

This exhibition encourages visitors to think about the influence of global interests on the social lives and self-fashioning of Inns gentlemen, but also to consider the geopolitics of production and exploitation that became ingrained in elite notions of civil refinement.



‘And then they met – the offspring of Skywoman and the children of Eve –
and the land around us bears the scars of that meeting, the echoes of our
stories.’

Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass* (2013)

*

‘This world [during the Renaissance] emerges into view not through divine
revelation but by dint of human effort. It is the outcome of a long quest to
make visible the global whole [...] a fusion of the earth and the heavens.’

Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers* (2015)



I. The world encompassed



'Encompass'd: Circumnavigation Vessels '. Soft slab-built cylinders, breath inflated forms. Each scribed with detail from Molyneux's Terrestrial Globe via a Middle Temple archival survey photograph depicting Drake's circumnavigation. Verso scribed with corresponding text from the anonymous diary account of the voyage published in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589) © Loraine Rutt [photo credit Rebecca Maynes].

Ornamental plume from Peru, demonstrating the long goldworking tradition of Andean societies. The plume may have been worn as a headdress ornament, and depicts anthropomorphic designs of humans and animals.



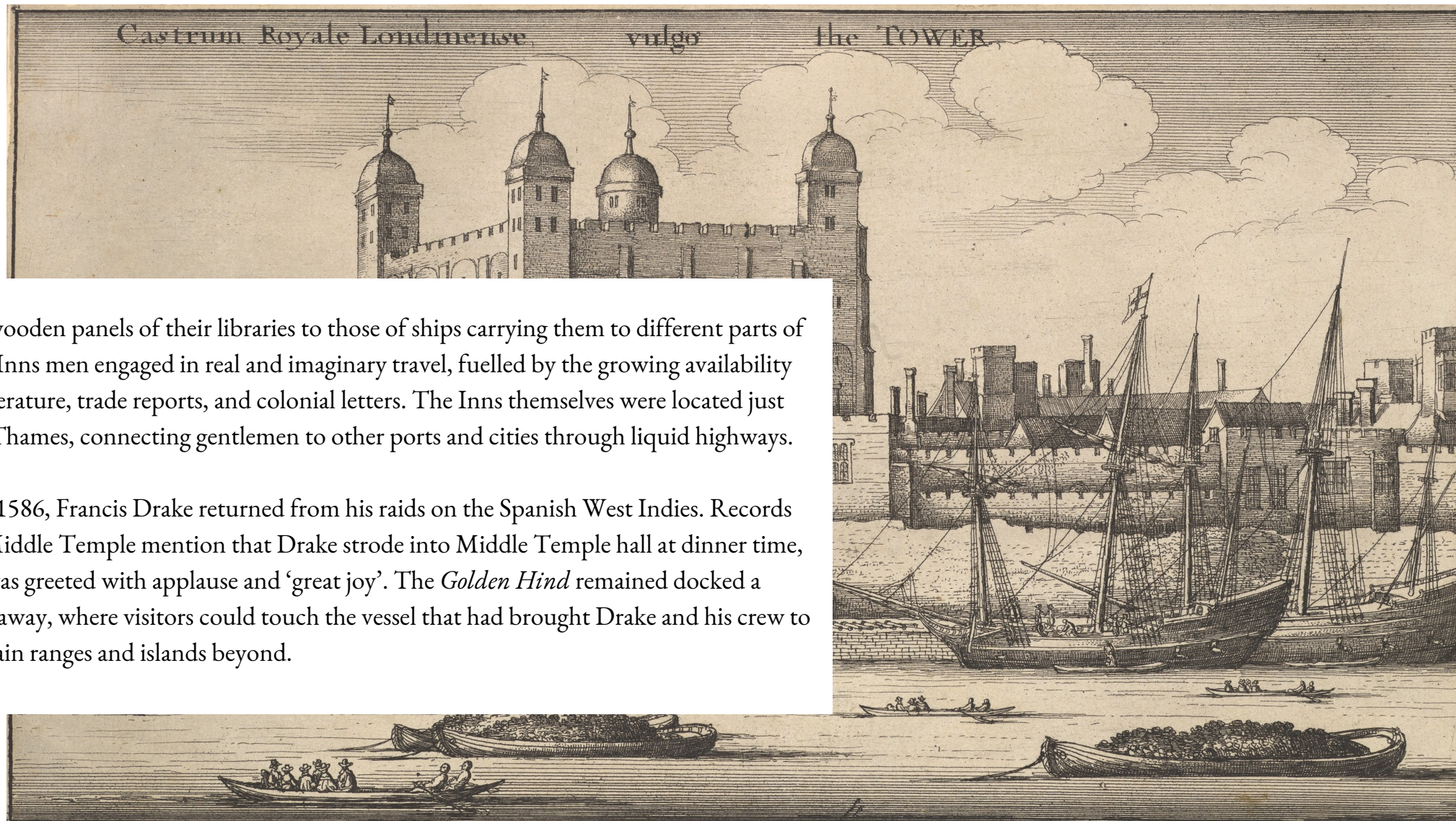
From Middle Temple to Manoa

‘Many years since, I had knowledge by relation of that mighty, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana, and of that great and Golden City, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals [call] Manoa, which City was conquered, re-edified, and enlarged by a younger son of Guainacapa, Emperor of Peru.’

Walter Raleigh, *The discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana* (1596)

The reference to ‘Manoa’ in the exhibition title, rather than the better-known ‘El Dorado’, shifts the perspective to Indigenous knowledge and language.

'Thou silver Thames, O dearest crystal flood!'



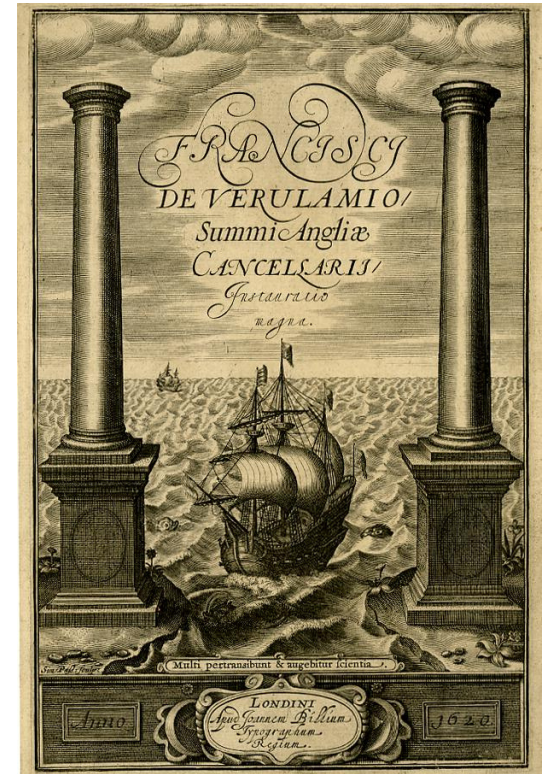
From the wooden panels of their libraries to those of ships carrying them to different parts of the world, Inns men engaged in real and imaginary travel, fuelled by the growing availability of travel literature, trade reports, and colonial letters. The Inns themselves were located just above the Thames, connecting gentlemen to other ports and cities through liquid highways.

In August 1586, Francis Drake returned from his raids on the Spanish West Indies. Records from the Middle Temple mention that Drake strode into Middle Temple hall at dinner time, where he was greeted with applause and 'great joy'. The *Golden Hind* remained docked a short walk away, where visitors could touch the vessel that had brought Drake and his crew to the mountain ranges and islands beyond.

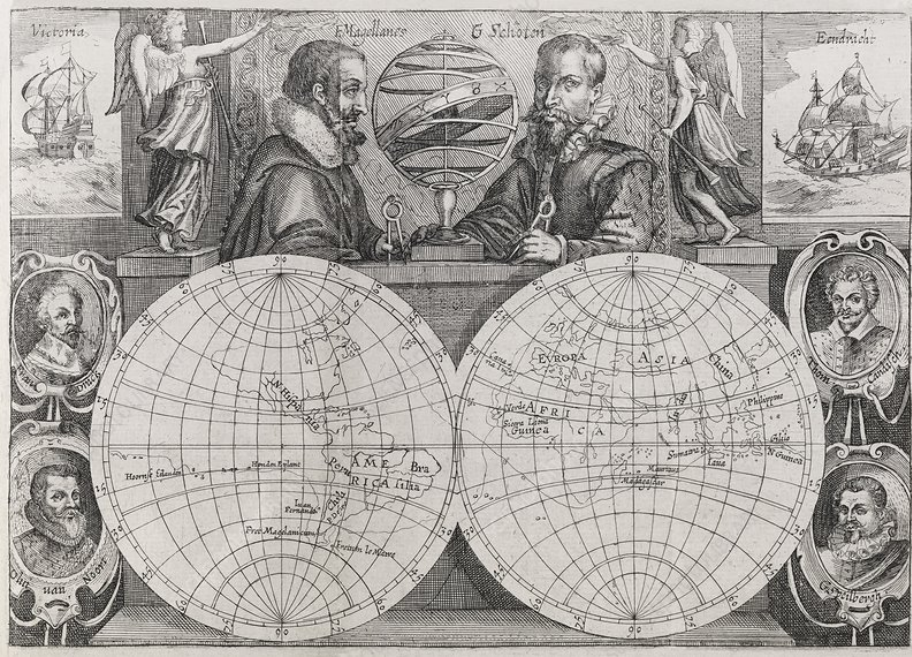


New realms of knowledge

The frontispiece to Francis Bacon's *The Great Instauration* (1620), pictured right, depicts a ship passing the known frontiers of ancient, classical knowledge and into a new realm of possibility for human learning. The detail from the Inca feather tunic on the left dates from around the same time as Raleigh wrote about Manoa. This finely-knotted object signals alternate forms of authority, technology, and meaning-making than those left in written European records or celebrated in printed books. Gentlemen in London knew about such feather cloaks, which appeared in accounts about Central and South America, and were materially present in cabinets of curiosity and in costumes for courtly entertainments.



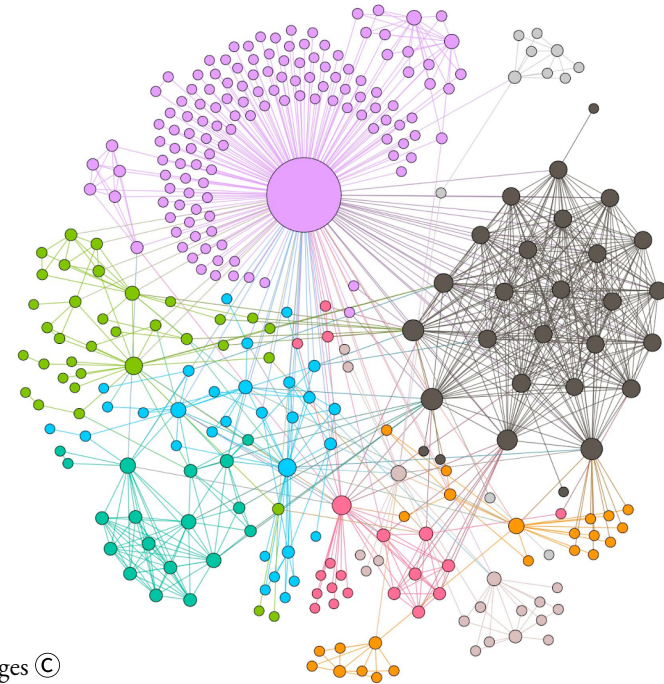
Mapping global networks



This early seventeenth-century engraving, based on the travels of the Dutch navigator Willem Schouten, celebrated famed European circumnavigators. Two English men, Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish, share the glory with the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan and the Dutch Schouten, Olivier van Noort, and Joris van Spilbergen. Visuals such as these created a false sense of secure knowledge, with Europeans literally framing the bounds of the known world.

Left: 'Circumnavigators, 16th to 17th century', artwork from a 1619 French edition of Schouten's account of his voyages © Middle Temple Library/Science Photo Library, C011/1877. Right: Newfoundland social network map © Emily Stevenson.

Cartography is not the only map form which is useful for studying the history of travel. Social network maps, such as the one below, demonstrate the complex web of social connections which enabled travel, marking connections through funds, patronage, or kinship (such as marriage ties). This map represents the social group surrounding the English communities associated with Newfoundland in the sixteenth century, with each person represented by a circle and each relationship a line. This community was one of the first examples of an English presence in America, and featured the involvement of several figures associated with the Inns, including Walter Raleigh, Richard Hakluyt the elder, and Humphrey Gilbert.

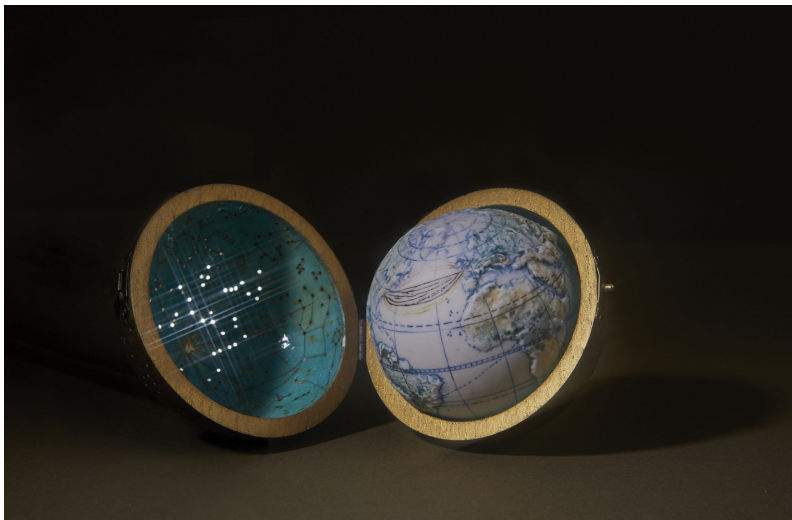


‘cast the Globe of it into a new mould’: Molyneux’s globes



Currently on display on the upper floor of the library of the Middle Temple, the celestial and terrestrial Molyneux globes are the first such known globes to have been made in England. They are the only surviving pair made by Emery Molyneux, a mathematician and craftsman referred to by Richard Hakluyt as ‘a rare Gentleman in his profession’. Constructed using flour paste, designed to leave them unaffected by humidity at sea, each globe measures 2 feet wide and originally cost around £20 each. How the Molyneux globes were acquired by the Middle Temple is unclear, as no records exist accounting for their provenance. The earliest record of them in the Inn accounts dates to April 1717, leaving an unaccounted 114 years after their creation.

They are almost totemic items, displaying Elizabethan mastery over the globe. This was recognised by Molyneux’s patron, William Sanderson, a wealthy London merchant who dedicated them to Elizabeth I, as seen on the terrestrial globe. They displayed the most geographically up-to-date knowledge, with Molyneux consulting Hakluyt, Raleigh, and the cartographer Edward Wright to get the details precisely right. The globes particularly highlight Elizabethan exploits, with Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish’s circumnavigations displayed, as well as John Cabot’s American explorations and the failed English colony in Roanoke (off the coast of South Carolina). Sanderson was no stranger to colonial promotion: he regularly stood bond for his uncle-in-law Raleigh for sums said to exceed £100,000, and indemnified his exploits to Virginia between 1584 and 1590. His investment in such matters stretched to the personal, with three of his sons named Raleigh, Cavendish, and Drake. This pair of globes thus represents a direct link between the Inns and the personal and financial networks which surrounded American colonization in early modern London, displaying the world as the Elizabethans believed — or wished — it to be.



From top, clockwise : 'Feathers', 'Palladian Stars', 'Networks Globe', all © Loraine Rutt [photo credit Rebecca Maynes].

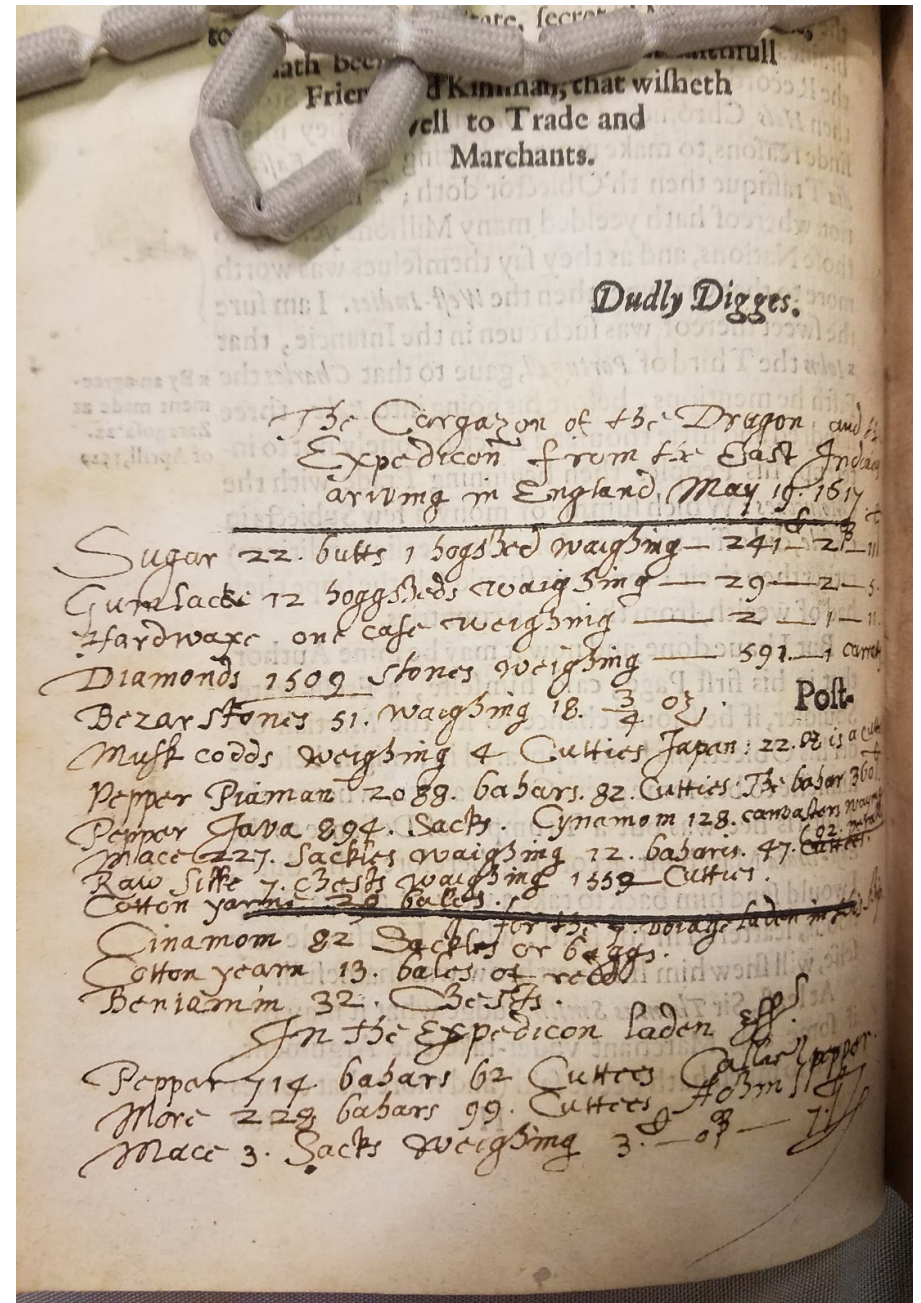
II. Sugar, spice, and sociability

'Th'Indias of spice and mine...'

The language of merchant trade infused Inns of Court poetry, plays, satires, and diary entries. 'Look, and tomorrow late, tell me, / Whether both th'Indias of spice and mine / Be where thou lefst them, or lie here with me', John Donne wrote in 'The Sunne Rising', comparing his mistress' body to luxurious global treasures.

Overseas voyages were largely undertaken by joint stock companies such as the Levant Company, the East India Company, and the Virginia Company. These were chartered by the Crown but relied on lotteries, investors, and merchant capital to raise funds. Investing in voyages to India or Bermuda was risky but could be immensely profitable. It is 'an adventure and a chance at hazarde', wrote the Inner Temple lawyer John Hayward to his friend Nicholas Carew in 1617, urging him to invest in Raleigh's journey in search of South American gold.

The image to the right shows notes taken by the Middle Temple gentleman, Robert Ashley, at the end of Dudley Digges' *The defence of trade* (1615). Ashley copied out some of the commodities brought into England by the Dragon, 'an old worne ship bought by the [East India] Companie, but by their cost made so strong, that shee is now gone her fifth voyage to the Indies'. These goods included sugar, diamonds, pepper, raw silk, cotton, cinnamon, and cotton. Ashley's marginalia offers a glimpse into how gentlemen took an interest in the global goods brought into the realm, relying on letters but also printed treatises to help them make investments and gain useful practical knowledge.

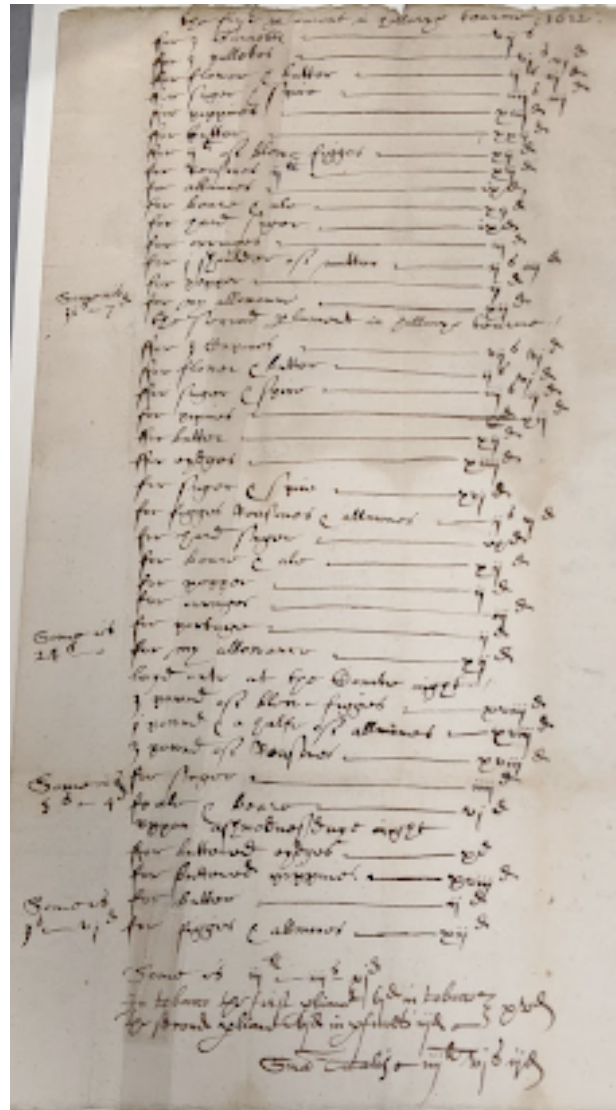




'Supper Plate'. Scribed map after Molyneux of West African coast, modelled from the cast of a seventeenth-century London pewter trencher © Loraine Rutt [photo credit Rebecca Maynes].

'Suger, figges [and] almond mylke': Consumption at the Inns

Meals at the Middle Temple were a prime opportunity to display the conspicuous consumption of expensive goods. This supper bill in the centre of this page from 1612 lists sugar, spices, tobacco and 'blew figges' for the consumption of benchers, amongst more quotidian supplies such as 'mutton', 'butter' and 'flouer'. Such expensive goods came from destinations that ranged from the Levant to the Caribbean, shipped to England in the holds of trading ships. Their value did not only reside in their associations to the rare and far away, as many were considered to have positive medicinal properties, with 'suger, figges, almond mylke' and 'suger candye' considered excellent treatment for a 'hoarse voyce' in dark winter months.



The image below is taken from Willem Piso's *De Medicina Barsiliensi/Historia naturalis Brasiliae* (1648), and demonstrates the human labour which lay behind the access to and consumption of such high status goods. Enslaved Africans, alongside captured Native Americans brought from the South American interior, produced sugar in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Brazil. In this image, enslaved peoples extract and boil the juice of sugar cane while a white overseer looks on. The use of such goods in creating displays of English wealth and health was inextricable from these processes of human labour and exploitation.



Pearls: desire and death

Reporting on the shipwreck off the coast of Bermuda in 1609 – an account that likely influenced Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* – the Gray’s Inn gentleman William Strachey wrote: ‘Well may the Spaniards [...] with all their traders into the Indies, pass by these islands [...] and leave the fishing for pearl (which some say, and I believe well, is as good there as in any of their other Indian islands, and whereof we had some trial)’. As gems sourced in the sea, pearls evoked the lore of ocean voyages, but they were also tied to specific circumstances of acquisition. In 1590, Thomas Hariot recounted how a colonist in Roanoke ‘had gathered together from among the savage people about five thousand [pearls][...] verie fayre and rare’, intended for ‘her Majestie’ but lost them in a storm on the journey home. Their bright luminescence invited comparisons to other symbols of purity at the court of the Virgin Queen, such as the ermine.

The English were aware that pearl fisheries in the Caribbean relied on enslaved workers who operated in perilous conditions. A 1586 watercolour from the ‘Drake Manuscript’, an anonymous collection of drawings by a Huguenot artist who likely accompanied Drake on his travels, depicts an African pearl diver fleeing from a manta ray. In 1616, several years before the first recorded arrival of Africans in Jamestown, the Earl of Warwick sent enslaved Africans to Bermuda to source pearls and cultivate tobacco, responding to the demands and tastes of fashionable Londoners.



Anonymous painting of Queen Elizabeth, c. late sixteenth century, Rijksmuseum, accession number AKG5004875 [Public Domain].



'Imperial Currency'. Globe inscribed with hot and cold ocean currents (January), red English nappa cushion with vintage faux pearls © Loraine Rutt [photo credit Rebecca Maynes].

Diamonds and *De Missione*



De Missione Legatorum Japonensium was one of the first books to be printed in Macau. It described the journey undertaken by the Tenshō shōnen shisetsu, or the Tenshō-era boys' embassy to Europe, a trip taken by four Japanese boys and their companions between 1582 and 1590. *De Missione* described the events of the eight-year voyage and offered its readers information on European cities, modes of dress, architecture, governance, and military practice.

A copy of *De Missione* currently resides in the Middle Temple Library, containing annotations by Robert Ashley, the Library's founder. There were very few copies of the work available in England at this time, and it is possible that this copy had previously belonged to Richard Hakluyt. Hakluyt's copy, in turn, had been found on board the captured Portuguese carrack the *Madre de Dios*, where it had been 'inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and [wrapped] up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut [calico] cloth, as though it had been some incomparable jewell'.

There were other treasures plundered from the ship: bags of diamonds, rubies, pearls, and incense were all recovered. However, most of the jewellery carried by the ship — including the chief prize, a large diamond — disappeared before it could be claimed by the Crown. This diamond later ended up in the possession of Robert Ashley's brother-in-law, prompting a convoluted series of discussions and attempted heists as Elizabeth's secretary of state, Robert Cecil, attempted to track it down and claim it.



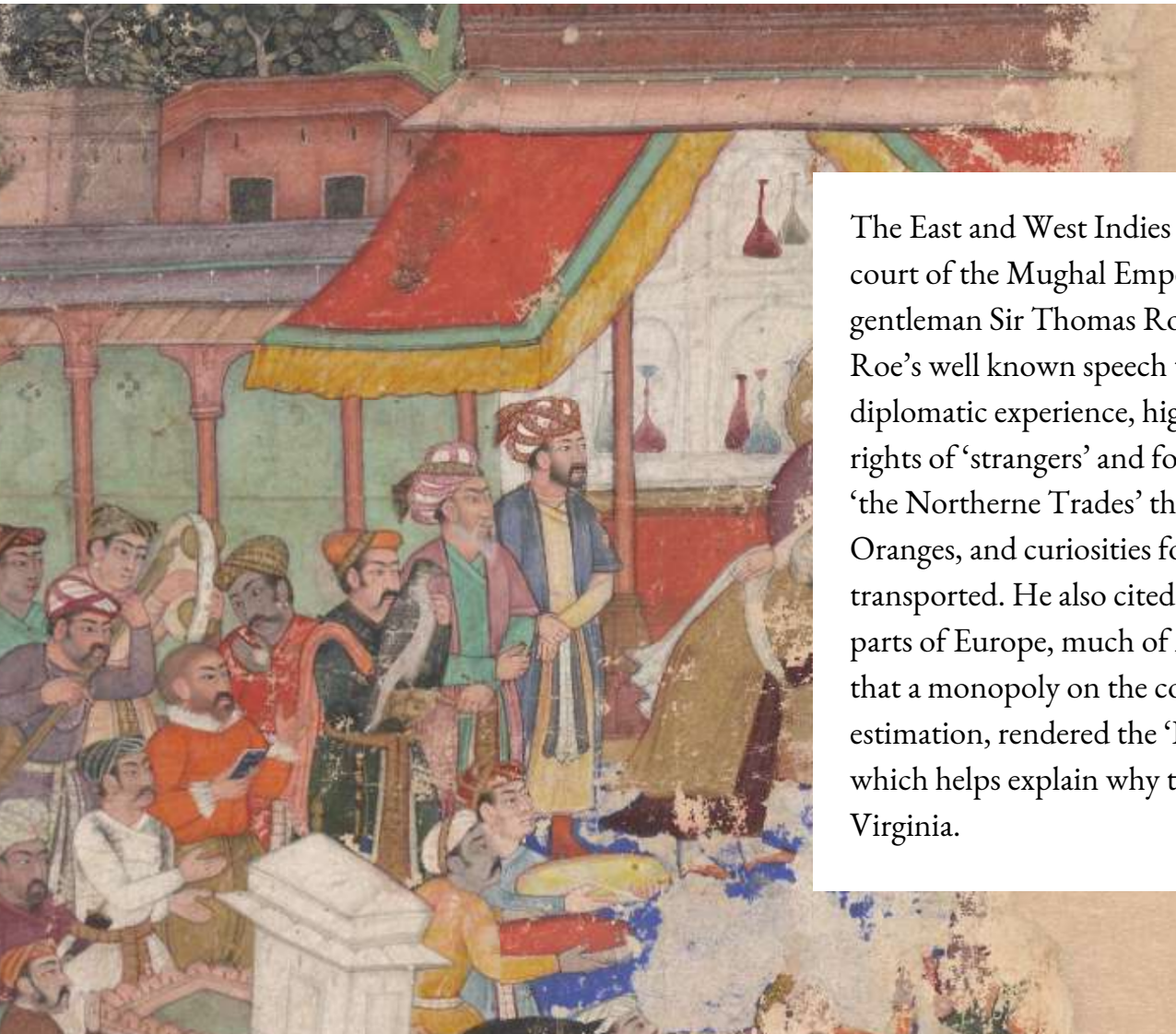
Flights of power and fancy



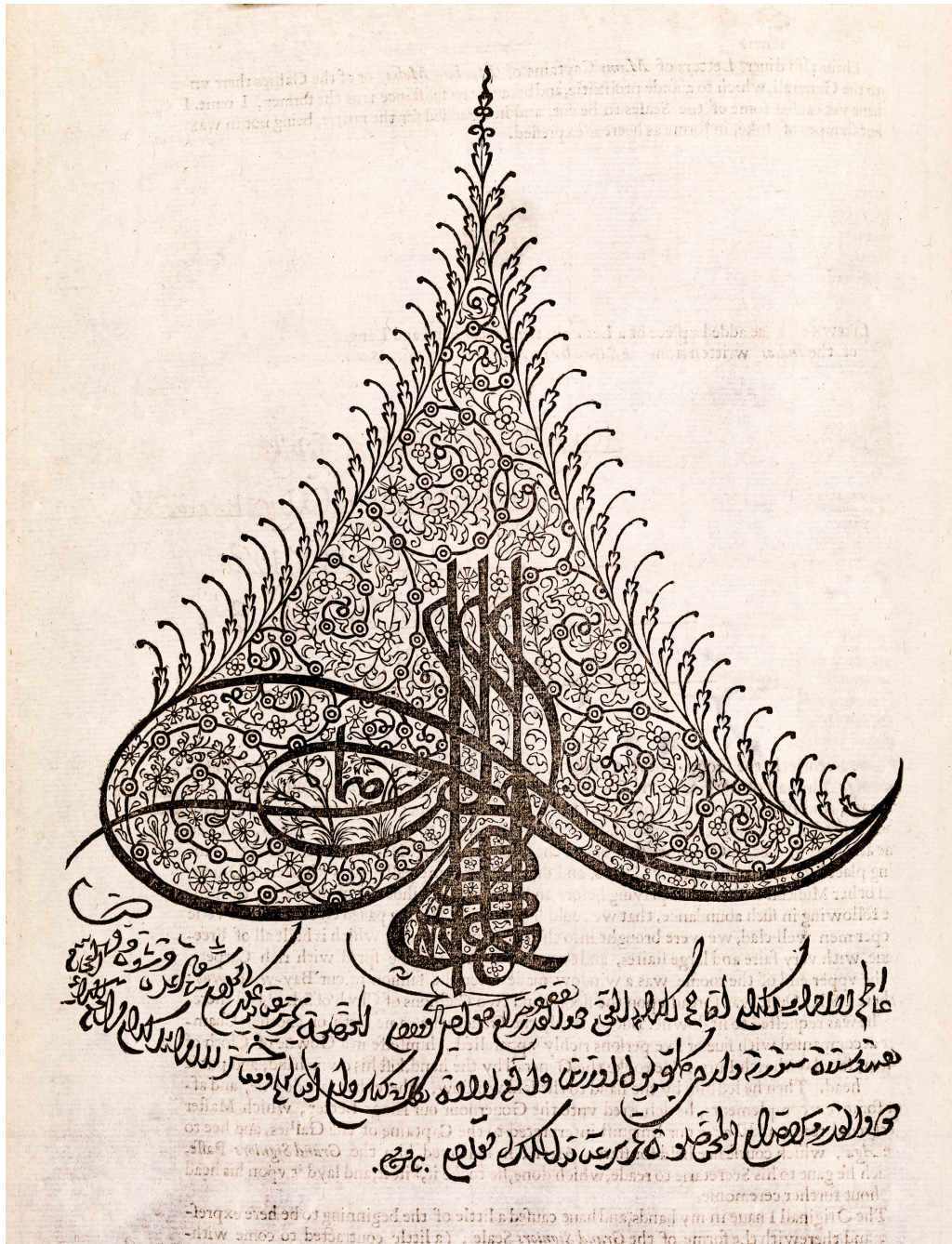
Feathers were, and remain, important manifestations of Indigenous power, identity, and sovereignty. The brightness and lustre of feathers embodied metaphysical concepts about the natural world, spirituality, and authority while connecting individuals and communities to the non-human worlds around them.

The English were aware of the value of feathers and their role in the ways in which Indigenous groups conveyed spiritual and political authority: travelling to the Amazon in 1597, William Davies noted that '[t]he King of every River [...] weares upon his head a Crowne of Parats feathers, or severall colours'. Gentlemen at the Inns encountered featherwork in images and print, from maps and emblem books to geographies such as George Abbot's *A briefe description of the whole worlde* (1599). Yet the English fascination with feathers' vibrant colours was not just a reflection of their curiosity towards other people and places. When a country gentleman wrote to James I's secretary of state to report spotting a 'rare and rich [...] Indian hat' in the hands of a country pedlar, he guessed that it had been 'taken from some Indian king' during Drake's voyages. For some Brazilian groups, the word for nudity translated as 'without feathers' or 'without earrings'. To be stripped of such objects was to be socially incomplete, as one Tupi man iterated in 1613 when he mourned his enslaved body as one 'without paint and with no feathers fastened to my head or on my arms or wrists'. That same year, Inns gentlemen dressed up as Native American 'princes' and 'priests' for *The memorable masque*, a performance intended to promote colonization, and therefore Indigenous dispossession, at court.

'the sublime speculation of ambassadors'



The East and West Indies were connected worlds. Pictured in orange in this image from the court of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (painted around 1616) is the Middle Temple gentleman Sir Thomas Roe, who served as ambassador to the Mughal court from 1615. Roe's well known speech to parliament in 1640 would draw on his on decades of diplomatic experience, highlighting the interconnection of global trade and questioning the rights of 'strangers' and foreign merchants in the realm. Roe discussed the importance of 'the Northerne Trades' that provided timber for ships and allowed for the '[w]ine, Fruit, Oranges, and curiosities for Sauces [...] [for which] we sayle to the East-Indies' to be transported. He also cited the success of Mughal calico production, which 'clothed all Asia, parts of Europe, much of Africa, and islands as far as Sumatra' as an example of the benefits that a monopoly on the cotton trade would bring to the English state. Textiles, in Roe's estimation, rendered the 'Prince without Mines the richest Prince in the World' — a belief which helps explain why the English contemporarily sought to establish silk cultivation in Virginia.



The Anglo-Ottoman trade

Rulers of the Ottoman empire were considerably more powerful than sixteenth-century English monarchs, and their wealth was a source of great envy. English merchants travelled along well-established routes to Ottoman cities from the latter half of the sixteenth century, bringing back vast quantities of cloth, spices, and jewels to trade and consume, with many making their fortunes in the process. Careful diplomacy was used to safeguard these vital mercantile links, necessitating the exchange of highly formalised letters between Ottoman sultans and English monarchs which navigated the different ruling styles and customs of the two nations.

Such formality is evident in this image of an imperial Ottoman seal, printed in Samuel Purchas' *Purchas his pilgrimes* (1625) and originally taken from the manuscripts of either Thomas Roe or Richard Hakluyt. The detail of the seal highlights the wealth expressed in something as simple as a letter: by reproducing it, Purchas aimed to impress upon his reader the luxurious material possibilities enabled by trade. This had been a key aim of Hakluyt's earlier *Principal Navigations* (1589), which textually impressed the wealth of the Ottoman empire on its reader with descriptions of rich fabrics such as 'yellow velvet', 'violet silk', 'white velvet', 'cloth of golde', and 'cloth of silver [...] embroidered and garnished all over with precious stones'. The English-Ottoman trade contributed to the ways in which fashionable Inns men displayed their wealth and connections, while remaining a key pressure point for English concerns of wealth and global standing.

III. Inns literature and colonialism

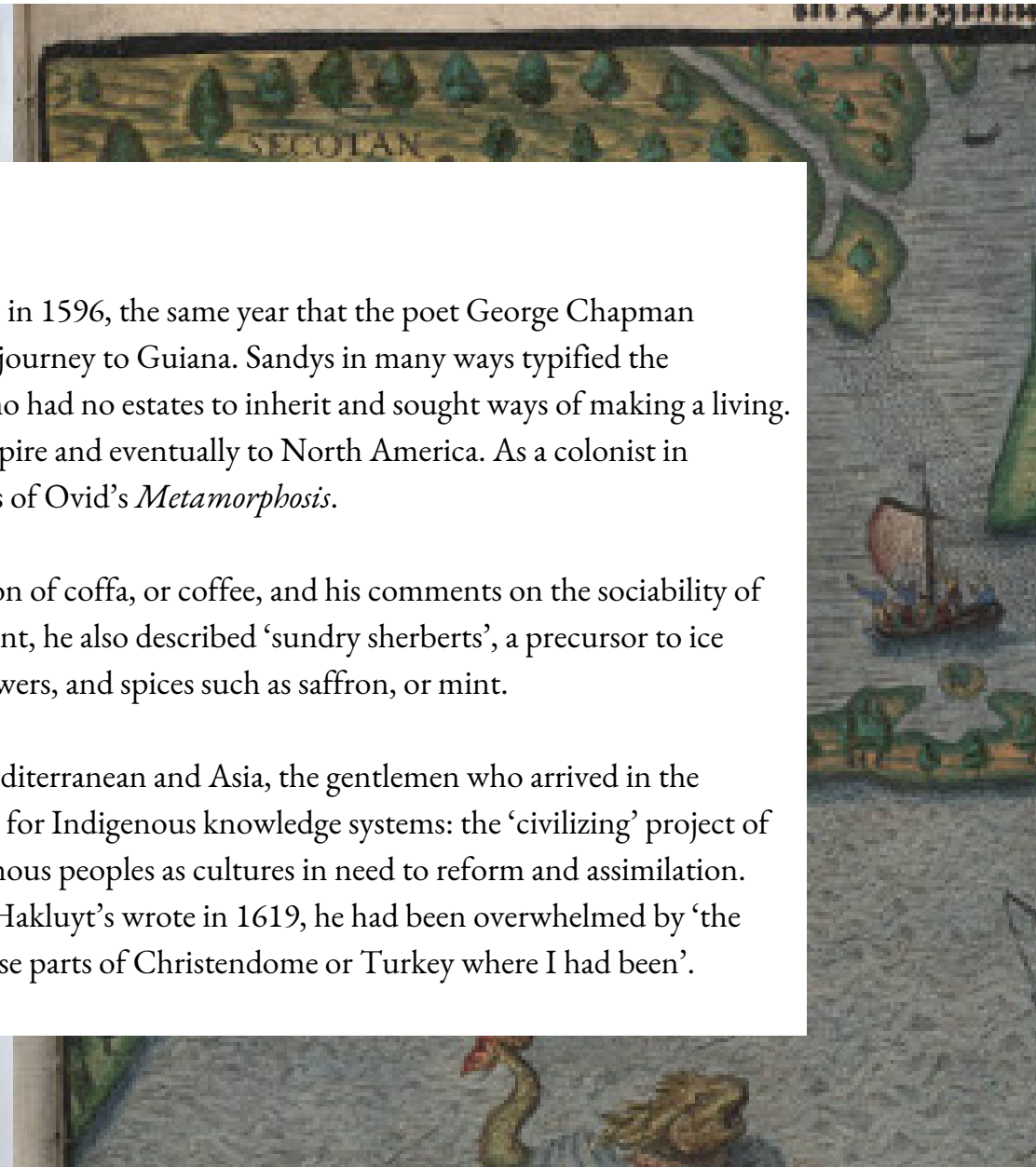
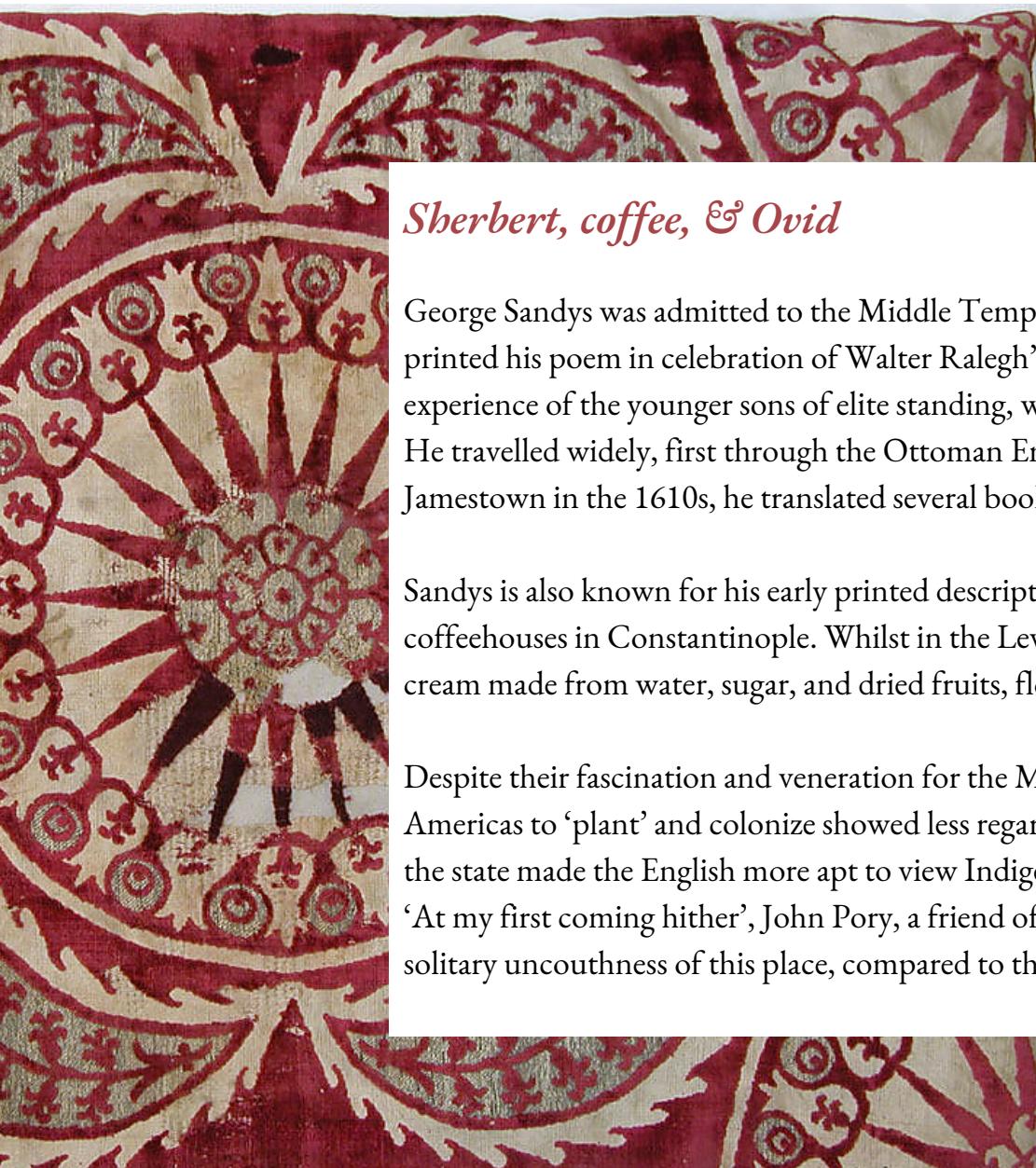
From the *Middle Temple*.

14 December 1610

To the worthy my very loving friend,
William Strachey, *Esq.* in Virginia.

...the care that I have of this Plantation, the travail that I have taken therein...[is a] Fire that doth not only burn in me, but flames out in the view of every one, for the furtherance & advancement of this honourable enterprise. You are made partakers of this promise...[you] shall shine as the stars in the firmament.

Your ever loving friend to command
Richard Martin



Sherbert, coffee, & Ovid

George Sandys was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1596, the same year that the poet George Chapman printed his poem in celebration of Walter Raleigh's journey to Guiana. Sandys in many ways typified the experience of the younger sons of elite standing, who had no estates to inherit and sought ways of making a living. He travelled widely, first through the Ottoman Empire and eventually to North America. As a colonist in Jamestown in the 1610s, he translated several books of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.

Sandys is also known for his early printed description of coffa, or coffee, and his comments on the sociability of coffeehouses in Constantinople. Whilst in the Levant, he also described 'sundry sherberts', a precursor to ice cream made from water, sugar, and dried fruits, flowers, and spices such as saffron, or mint.

Despite their fascination and veneration for the Mediterranean and Asia, the gentlemen who arrived in the Americas to 'plant' and colonize showed less regard for Indigenous knowledge systems: the 'civilizing' project of the state made the English more apt to view Indigenous peoples as cultures in need to reform and assimilation. 'At my first coming hither', John Pory, a friend of Hakluyt's wrote in 1619, he had been overwhelmed by 'the solitary uncouthness of this place, compared to those parts of Christendome or Turkey where I had been'.

Left: Detail of an Ottoman velvet cushion cover, c. 17th century, Met Museum, accession number 1970.65.14 [Public Domain].

Right: detail of a map taken from a German edition of Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report* (1590), in the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, call number FVCC970.1 H28w [Public Domain].



Left: 'Lady Rolfe's Travel Box'. Lid interior lined with an extract of facsimile copy John Smith, *A map of Virginia* (1616), base interior lined with an extract of facsimile copy of Claes Visscher, *Panorama of London* (1616), both coloured with tobacco extract pigment.



Right: 'Mulberry Globe Box'. Globe inscribed with contemporary commodity code for silk, box made of rare English mulberry wood, interior hemispheres lined with linocut print of constellations, printed on silk paper. Both © Loraine Rutt [photo credit Rebecca Maynes].

Staging America

The Inns of Court were spaces of play as well as study. The performances penned and staged at the Inns were socially and politically significant, allowing gentlemen to convey ideas about the political nation to audiences including the king and his closest councillors.

In 1613, gentlemen from the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn presented *The memorable masque*, a performance for the royal family which included an ensemble of fifty 'Virginians'. Their hair 'blacke & lardge, waving downe to their shoulders', they moved in a swirl of sun-embroidered cloth and 'high sprig'd feathers'. The lavish, expensive masque — over £100,000 in today's currency — allowed gentlemen to present their colonial interests to the king at a moment when the survival of English America was insecure, presenting a fantasy of harmony in which Indigenous assimilation and submission to English civility, religion, and rule would be a peaceful process:

Virginian Princes, ye must now renounce
Your superstitious worship of these Sunnes,
Subject to cloudy darknings and descents,
And of your sweet devotions, turne the events
To this our Britain Phoebus, whose bright skie
(Enlightned with a Christian Piety)
Is never subject to black Errors night,
And hath already offer'd heauens true light,
To your darke Region, which acknowledge now;
Descend, and to him all your homage vow.

This element of fantasy is apparent in this map of Virginia, which includes Algonquian figures but also the royal arms topped with an imperial crown. In reality, Native Americans regularly resisted English claims to sovereignty in the Americas.



Purses and souls

Sermons preached at the Inns regularly extolled the virtues of trade and settlement abroad. William Crashaw, appointed preacher to the Inner and Middle Temple in 1605, described the Inns as ‘the most comfortable and delightfull company for a scholler, that (out of the Universities) this kingdome yeelds’. Whilst occupying this post, Crashaw invested in and worked closely with the Virginia Company. In 1610 he delivered a funeral sermon for Lord de la Warr, governor of the Jamestown colony, using it as an opportunity to promote investment in Bermuda.

Crashaw owned what he termed ‘one of the most complete libraries in Europe’, containing many works devoted to travel and trade. This library was housed in an extension built over part of Temple Church and likely included the Molyneux globes, now held in Middle Temple Library. Participation was not limited to those who travelled in person: ‘I will press none to go in person’, Crashaw wrote, and those swayed by his work were encouraged to finance voyages and support those preachers who did feel called to convert ‘pagans’ and ‘heathens’. Crashaw believed it was the religious duty of the English to spread Protestantism to the rest of the world, and his position at the Middle Temple enabled him to encourage this.

Title-page to John Donne's 'LXXX Sermons' (1640) © Trustees of the British Museum, accession number 1858,0417.258 [Creative Commons 4.0 License].

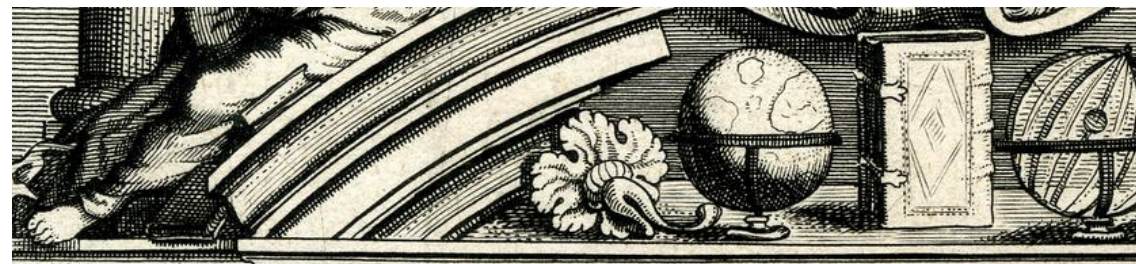


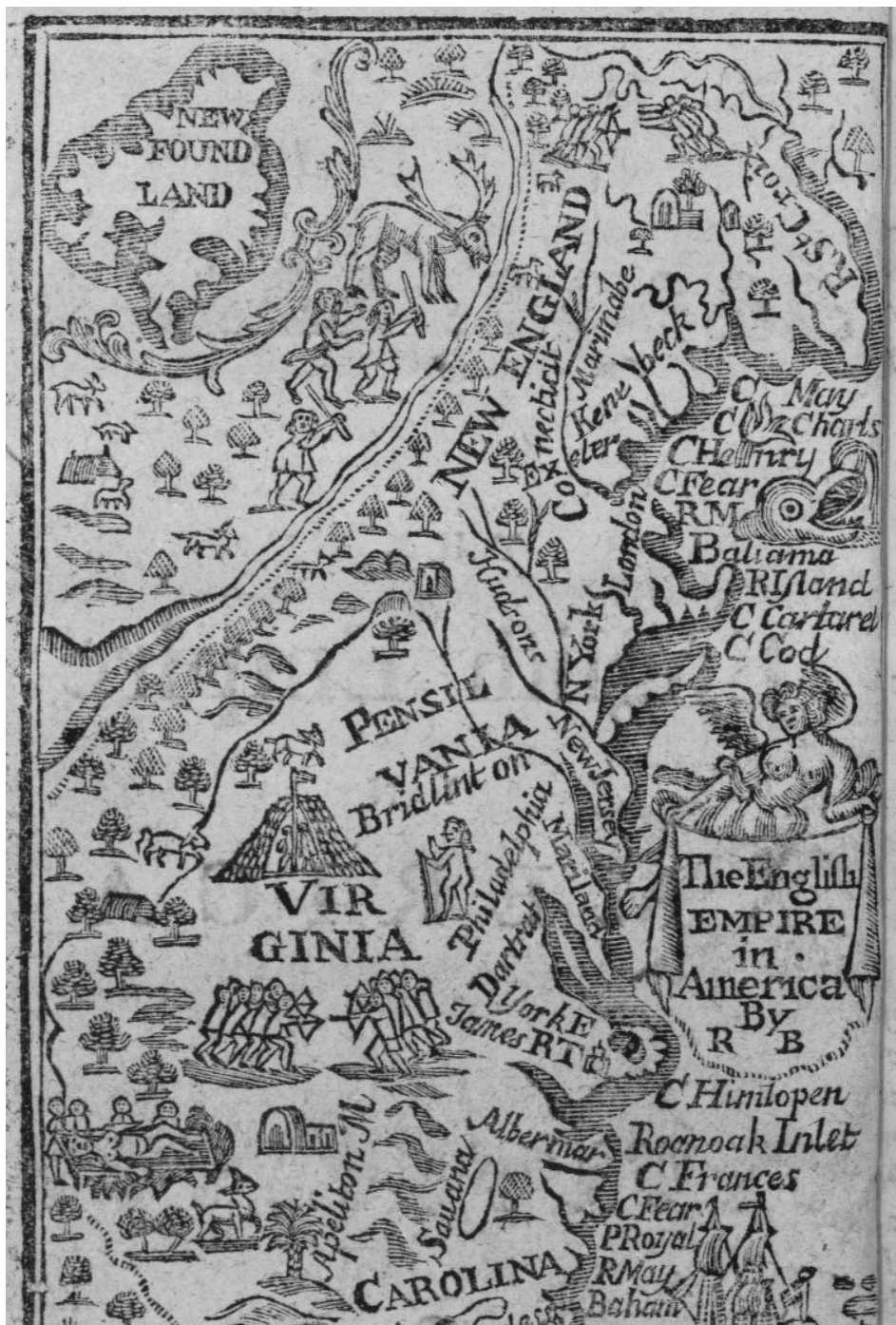
For Crashaw and other preachers, imperial expansion, travel literature, and Protestantism were inextricably linked. William Symonds, who preached the first sermon to the Virginia Company in 1609, used the opportunity to set out the material need for colonization, encouraging ‘good honest labourers’ to ‘swarm and hive themselves elsewhere’ as bees did. Symonds considered it the mark of true religious zeal to preach the Gospel throughout the world: gaining souls abroad was the highest good, and served as evidence of God’s favour towards the English nation.

Crashaw and Symonds worked within the culture and networks of the Inns to promote the Virginia Company, a task they viewed as divinely ordained. Their work and participation in these networks would prove a strong influence on the Lincoln’s Inn poet and preacher John Donne, who preached a sermon in favour of the Virginia plantation as dean of St Paul’s in 1622.

O my America! my new-found-land [...] Then where my hand is set, my seal shall be.

John Donne, 'Elegy XIX: To His Mistress Going to Bed'





Quodlibets

The Middle Temple attracted a high number of gentlemen from the West Country who went on to become navigators, explorers, and colonists, including Walter Raleigh and Martin Frobisher. This connection to the West Country and Elizabethan seafaring may help explain the high levels of colonial interests at the Middle Temple.

Nonetheless, colonial enthusiasms were shared between affiliates and friends across the four Inns. In 1628, Robert Hayman of Lincoln's Inn explained how his own interest in colonizing Newfoundland could be traced to his encounter with Francis Drake in his boyhood, when Drake offered him 'a faire red orange' and blessed him with a kiss. *Quodlibets*, the title of Hayman's publication about plantation, referred to the academic exercises and disputations that gentlemen partook as students, placing the intellectual culture of university and the Inns within his vision for a transatlantic English society. Hayman's tract was full of references to those friendships he had made at the Inns, and to the parallels between the 'fruitfulness' of new plantations and literary industry. From thousands of miles away, Hayman dedicated poems to London lawyers and fondly remembered his life 'when I was at Lincoln's Inn', evoking the close-knit community of life near Chancery Lane.

'I call not thee, / But thou great God of Indian melodie'

Unlike early seventeenth-century trade in other parts of the globe, English intervention in the Americas involved settler colonialism and the establishment of large-scale plantation crops, starting with tobacco.

Tobacco became the first non-European intoxicant of mass consumption in England. The pleasures of this 'new muse' gripped gentlemen at the Inns, who began writing poetry in praise of tobacco and the flights of fancy this drug induced. In 1602, the Inner Temple gentleman John Beaumont, brother to the playwright Francis, wrote *A metamorphosis to tobacco*, in which he revered tobacco as a divine gift.

Tobacco in his work was seen as a reward for English expansion:

Me let the sound of great Tabaccoes praise...
The Cornucopia of all earthly pleasure,
Where bankrupt Nature hath consum'd her treasure,
A worthie plant springing from Floraes hand,
The blessed offspring of an uncouth land.

The English could now spread 'Over Virginia, and the New-found-land, / And spread the Colours of our English Rose / In the farre countries, where Tobacco growes'.

The proliferation of smoking in England, and the literary sociability that Inns gentlemen helped build around this new practice, fostered a sense of connection between English and colonial spaces while downplaying the Indigenous knowledge that the English had relied on to successfully cultivate the plant in the first place. The image to the top right of this page shows a small sample of the white clay tobacco pipes found in Jamestown, while the bottom image shows Powhatan arrowheads, a reminder of the presence and influence of Native societies on English tastes.



Coming of age with empire

Sir William Berkeley (1605–1677) was very much the product of the pro-imperial culture forged among many members of the elite in late Elizabethan and Jacobean London. Berkeley attended Oxford before entering the Middle Temple in 1627. He travelled to the Continent, became a member of Charles I's privy chamber, and basked in the literary sociability of 1630s London. When the civil wars broke out, Berkeley considered seeking appointment in Constantinople before turning to Virginia. He became its governor in 1642, acquiring vast tracts of land in the Chesapeake where Berkeley and his wife, Frances, experimented with crops on their plantation. With the assistance of enslaved Africans, Berkeley learned to cultivate rice.

Emerging research will continue to shed light on the role that men and women played in colonization, from financing ships, connecting colonial families together through marriage, and managing plantation labour. What is clear is that by the 1630s many gentlemen at the Inns of Court had both embraced and directly contributed to colonial expansion. Members had travelled to the Amazon in canoes, and translated classical authors in the Chesapeake. Their outlook was often global: they had tasted coffee and sherbert in the Ottoman empire, and come to see colonization in the west as part of a larger imperial project that would enhance their wealth and reputation in other parts of the world. Their interest in political affairs and literary pursuits had significantly contributed to a rising form of sociability that linked plantation estates to those in England. 'What might Princes, poet are', wrote the Gray's Inn wit, John Suckling. 'they venter on; and with great ease, / Discover, conquer, what, and where they please'. Many subsequent English projects and articulations of empire were indebted to this early moment of expansion, where gentlemen first pored over cosmographies in their studies and met their friends to smoke tobacco and hear the news lately come from Virginia. The afterlives of those desires continue to haunt communities across the world. 'No man is an Iland, entire of itself', Donne had written in 1624. 'Any mans death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde'.



Detail of Anthony van Dyck's portrait of Lucas von Uffel, 1622, Met Museum, accession number 14.40.619 [Public Domain].

Further reading

Christopher Brooks, *Law, Politics and Society in Early Modern England* (2009)

Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England, ed. by Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (2000)

The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (2011)

Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England, ed. Nandini Das, João Melo, Haig Smith, Lauren Working (2021) [available for free at: <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/50188>]

Law, Lawyers, and Litigants in Early Modern England: Essays in Memory of Christopher W. Brooks, ed. Joanne Begiato, Adrian Green, and Michael Lobban (2019)

Ben Marsh, *Unravelling Dreams: Silk and the Atlantic World, 1500 – 1840* (2020)

Michelle O’Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (2007)

The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, ed. Lorna Hutson (2017)

Jessica Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court* (2016)

Lauren Working, *The Making of an Imperial Polity: Civility and America in the Jacobean Metropolis* (2020) [available for free at: <http://bit.ly/35X7dHj>]

Portrait of Thomas Cavendish by Jodocus Hondius, c. 1590s, Rijksmuseum, accession number RP-P-1882-A-6507 [Public Domain].



*With warm thanks to Renae Satterley, Barnaby
Bryan, Nandini Das, and Emma-Louise
Whitehead for their help and support in putting
the exhibition material together*

From Middle Temple to Manoa is an exhibition at the Middle Temple curated by Lauren Working and Emily Stevenson as part of the TIDE project (Travel, Transculturality, and Identity in England, 1550–1700) at the University of Oxford, with the generous support of Renae Satterley, Middle Temple Librarian.

The exhibition involved a collaboration with the artist and globemaker Loraine Rutt. This catalogue contains images of some of the printed books and manuscripts from the Middle Temple Library and Archives that appeared in the exhibition, additional material on Elizabethan and Jacobean global exchanges, and images of the artworks. Visit <http://thelittleglobeco.com/from-middle-temple-to-manoa> and tideproject.uk/ for more information.



European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

