Justification: How the Elizabethans Explained their Invasions of Ireland and Virginia

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Justification: How the Elizabethans Explained Their Invasions of Ireland and Virginia

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
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In Partial Fulfilment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Christopher Ludden McDaid

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Approval Sheet

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Abstract:

The Elizabethans who attempted to conquer Ireland and Virginia needed to know that their actions were just. Regarding Ireland, the English easily justified their actions by believing that the Norman conquest of the twelfth century had secured the right to rule all Ireland for the English crown. The English had to work harder to justify their invasion of Virginia since it had no historic precedent.

Ireland had been invaded by Norman subjects of Henry II, king of England. Although that conquest was at best incomplete, it gave the English a basis for a claim to control Ireland. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Ireland became a hotbed of Yorkist activity. This convinced Henry VIII that Ireland needed to be pacified. Henry and his Tudor heirs attempted to pacify Ireland and bring it in line with the rest of the crown's land. English activity in Ireland through this period, while brutal, was basically political. It was the Irish themselves who began to use religion as a tool to motivate themselves and possible allies against the English.

In Virginia the English faced a more difficult situation. With no Henry II to follow, the English needed to find reasons for going to a strange land and occupying it. The answer was religion. The English believed it their duty as good Christians to deliver the Indians of Virginia from the Devil and the Pope. Thus the English knew they brought to the Indians all the benefits of civilization, which helped legitimate the whole endeavor.

While the English discussed why and how they should colonize Virginia, the Powhatan Indians attempted to defend their land. Although the attack of 1622 failed to destroy the English colony, it did give the English an extremely powerful and easily justifiable motive to destroy Powhatan resistance, as they had previously destroyed Irish resistance.
Justification: How the Elizabethans Explained Their Invasions of Ireland and Virginia
Introduction:

The Elizabethans who conquered Ireland concerned themselves more with hows than with whys. Many of the Elizabethans who thought about expanding into Virginia concerned themselves with whys. In Ireland, the Elizabethans believed they had clear legal right to the entire island. Questions arose about the legality of their occupying Indian-held Virginia.

Elizabeth I believed herself entitled to rule all of Ireland. Her father, Henry VIII, had been crowned king of Ireland by the Irish parliament in 1541 and all the major Irish chieftains held noble titles granted them by the crown. Even Shane the O'Neill's father, Con Bacach, had been the earl of Tyrone, and Shane was the queen's most dangerous enemy in Ireland. In fact, Shane himself had come to London to explain to the queen why he and not his brother Matthew should be the second earl of Tyrone.

The queen and her advisors knew they had unquestionable legal rights to the whole of Ireland. This led to little discussion about motive or justification during the attempts
to subdue the Irish. The English viewed those who resisted as rebels and any means needed to pacify them as acceptable.

The opposite proved the case as the English moved into Virginia. In Virginia, the question of land title still vexed European legal minds. The English were not sure they had legal rights to occupy the native's land. For the first several decades of the English expansion into Virginia, those English who thought about expansion in Virginia went to great lengths to justify it, a difficulty that had not been faced in Ireland.

The question of justifying English expansion into Virginia became moot in 1622. That year the Powhatan tribes of Virginia launched a surprise attack on the English colony, hoping to drive the English into the sea. This event gave the English all the reason they needed to subdue the Powhatans.

The English in the late sixteenth century had started to view themselves as God's chosen people. When they entered a new land they began to see it as their promised land. They had tempered the role of God's chosen people with the teachings of the New Testament. Rather than
swarm into the "promised land" and start destroying the inhabitants, the English hoped to convert the natives to their brand of Christianity. Only if the natives rejected this offer would the English resort to violence. The Powhatans' attack altered their standing from New Testament Gentiles whom Christ hoped to save to Old Testament Canaanites who stood in the way of God's Nation.

After the uprising of 1622 the English felt no qualms about using violence in dealing with the Indians. It was after this point that the lessons learned in Ireland came in most handy. Many of the "extra-legal," actually terrorist, techniques used to crush the Irish were used against the Indians. Destroying crops, taking hostages, and building a pale or palisade - all had been tried in Ireland. The English practiced what would later be called "total warfare" against the Indians and the Irish.

One major reason many of the same techniques were used both in Ireland and in Virginia was that many of the same men were involved in both endeavors. Many of Elizabeth's courtiers who were interested in acquiring estates in Ireland were also interested in America. The great wealth the Spanish had brought back from their plundering of the Aztec and Inca kingdoms had aroused
great interest in England. Many subjects of Elizabeth hoped to find similar wealth and glory in America. Unfortunately for the English, they began to exploit America after both the Spanish and French had a crack at it. This meant they had to settle for the middle part of the American coast, well away from the wealth of Mexico or Peru or even the fishing wealth of the Grand Banks.

The English attempted to found a colony on Roanoke Island in 1584 which failed and then one on Jamestown Island which did not. In the course of establishing these colonies the English found themselves faced again with the question of how to treat the local populations they encountered. The English hoped to change the natives, Irish or American, into people more like themselves. This called for modifying many aspects of native culture, the most significant of which was religion. In Ireland, the English saw the need to reform the Irish Church on an English model. In Virginia they saw the need to introduce Protestant Christianity altogether.

Due to the legalistic nature of the English Reformation, the English could not reform the Irish Church until the crown controlled the entire island. The English Reformation had been based on royal authority. The crown
could not dictate politics or religion to those areas not under its control. The reform of the Irish Church would have to wait until the English crown actually controlled all of Ireland. However, by that time the connection between Irish patriotism and the Roman Catholic Church had been forged.\textsuperscript{3}

In Virginia the hope was to simply introduce Christianity, not reform it. Missionaries, in fact all educated Englishmen, could begin to show the Virginia Indians the basics of Christianity. It was hoped that the Indians would then actively seek more knowledge of Christianity. English adventurers and ministers alike believed that the Virginia Indians had potential. Many English were persuaded that with just a little help the Indians would become Christian.

Like the Irish before them, the Indians, confused and angered the English by adopting only some of the offered culture. The Indians took those aspects of English culture they wanted and tried to ignore the rest, maintaining much of their own culture. The continuing pressure placed on the Indians to adopt English ways came to a head in April 1622.
In 1622 the leader of the Powhatan Indians, Opechancanough, attacked the English settlements, hoping to drive the English out of his domain. His eventual fate was much like that of Irish leader Brian MacPhelim O'Neill, whom the English captured and killed. Many English colonists survived and, as in Ireland, used the uprising to claim more land and to justify the removal of the Indians from the areas of English settlement.4

While no longer hoping to include the Indians in the English nation, Englishmen still hoped to include the Indians in the house of God. In November 1622 the Quarter Court of the Virginia Colony learned that George Ruggle had left a bequest of 100 pounds to educate Indian children.5 This gift continued the hope that the Indians could be converted to Christianity. However, many English now believed that Indians should be kept separate from themselves. This belief manifested itself in the construction of a large wooden palisade running from the York River to the James River.

In Virginia, the English had hoped that contact would convince the Indians to adopt English religion and manners. In Ireland they had reached the conclusion that only force could reform the Irish. After 1622 the English began
to treat the Indians more like the Irish. The hopefulness of early contact had been replaced by distrust and fear. The English began to see the Indians as possible sources of corruption of white society and so kept them at arm's length. That type of separation had not been possible in Ireland. Even though legislation and a physical barrier attempted to keep English and Irish separated, Irish laborers were needed on most English plantations.

The Tudor plantations in Ireland were not the beginning of English involvement in Ireland. In the twelfth century subjects of Henry II invaded Ireland, nominally to aid the Irish chieftain Dermot Mac Murrough in his fight with a rival clan. Dermot had asked Henry for aid and received permission to recruit for his cause. Dermot brought many of Henry's subjects with him to Ireland.⁶

The Norman invaders were able to establish control over large portions of Ireland. Traditionally, Ireland is divided into four provinces: Ulster (the northern), Leinster (the eastern), Munster (the southern) and Connaught (the western). By the end of the thirteenth century the Norman invaders had taken Leinster, much of Munster, portions of Connaught, and a few secluded strongholds in Ulster.⁷ In those area where the Normans established
a strong presence an Anglo-Norman community developed throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In those parts of Ireland where the Normans lived near and with the Irish, they found themselves adopting many Irish ways of life. This cultural transformation, the "Gaelicization" of the Normans, led to the creation of a distinct cultural group in Ireland that was neither English nor Gaelic Irish. This group came to be called the "Old English" in order to distinguish them from the Elizabethan invaders of Ireland, the "New English."

In Ireland at the opening of the fifteenth century there were four distinct groups of people: the Gaelic or native Irish, the Old English, the New English, and a settlement of Scots in Ulster. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Old English had controlled the occupied portions of Ireland, while the Gaelic Irish chiefs continued to rule the Irish portions of Ireland.

The English portions of Ireland were pulled into the "Wars of the Roses" in the fifteenth century because the Old English were Yorkists. The use of Ireland as a Yorkist base caused Henry VII to begin a policy of bringing Ireland and her powerful Old English and Irish leaders to heel. The fear that enemies of the House of Tudor, like Philip
II of Spain, could use Ireland as a base continued through the reign of Elizabeth I. This fear, combined with the crown's desire to centralize its authority in Ireland, led to increased attention being paid to Irish affairs throughout the sixteenth century.⁹

While the English were attempting to pacify Ireland, they also started thinking about overseas exploration and colonies. On June 11, 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert received from Elizabeth I the privilege of establishing an English settlement between Maine and Florida, provided that he intruded upon no Christian prince or people.¹⁰ Sir Humphrey and his ship, The Squirrel, went down off the American coast on September 9, 1583.¹¹ While Gilbert's death was unfortunate for himself and his crew, it may have been extremely lucky for the native populations. Gilbert had received his knighthood for serving Elizabeth in Ireland, where his reputation for cruelty was unrivaled. The most frequently cited example of his tactics was when he lined the path to his tent with human heads and made those surrendering crawl between the heads of their friends and family to grovel at his feet.¹²

Upon the death of the murderous Sir Humphrey, his patent for colonizing North America went to his
half-brother, Sir Walter Ralegh. Ralegh could be as ruthless as Gilbert. Ralegh had supervised the massacre of the papal garrison at Smerwick during a period of Old English rebellion in Munster.\textsuperscript{13}

After receiving Sir Humphrey's patent, Sir Walter sent several missions to explore his vast New World domain. In the 1570s century there had been an attempt to found a colony on Baffin Island. There Martin Frobisher and John Davis found only bitter cold, hostile natives, and abject failure.\textsuperscript{14} Sir Walter hoped to avoid that fate. The Spanish and French were already fighting over Florida so Ralegh's men tried to stay out of the fracas. This decision left only the middle portion of the Atlantic coast for reconnaissance.\textsuperscript{15}

After several exploratory trips, Ralegh attempted to establish a colony on the southern rim of the Chesapeake Bay. Instead that colony was founded on the Outer Banks and became the fabled "Lost Colony." During the closing decade of the sixteenth century little attention was paid to Virginia by the English. As the seventeenth century opened, the English had for the moment crushed native power in Ireland and begun to look overseas again. In 1607 the colony at Jamestown was founded, which placed the English
once more in close contact with people radically different from themselves.
Notes for Introduction


7) Ibid., 143.


Chapter One:

The house of Tudor believed that it had the legal right to rule Ireland. That simple fact explains why the Elizabethans rarely bothered to justify their conquest of Ireland. The English based their claims to Ireland on two points: the first was the success of the twelfth-century invasion of Ireland by the subjects of the king of England; the second was a policy called surrender and regrant.

The Tudor dynasty owed its existence to curbing the other powerful families in England. By subduing challengers to the crown, the Tudors brought peace and more importantly order to England and Wales. They hoped to do the same in Ireland, where the crown faced not only over-mighty subjects but powerful Irish chieftains, who considered themselves subject to no one. The Irish chieftains lived primarily in the North and the West of Ireland. The most powerful of these was the O'Neill of Ulster. (Irish used their clan name as their leader's title, thus the leader of the O'Neill clan was the O'Neill and the leader of the O'Donnells was the O'Donnell.)
All the Tudors until Elizabeth had pressing matters in England that precluded any serious action in Ireland. Henry VIII had tried to take control of Ireland cheaply and easily. In order to do so, Sir Anthony St. Ledger, Lord Deputy of Ireland, developed the policy of surrender and regrant in 1541. This policy offered an English noble title to any chieftain who would surrender his land to the crown. The crown would then grant the land back to the chieftain, thus making him an English nobleman. Along with the title came the duty to adopt the English language, take an English name, support the king with arms, and generally support the transformation of Ireland into England.

The surrender and regrant system appealed to Irish chieftains because they thought they could use it to their own advantage. The Irish leaders were not naive savages; they weighed the possible advantages and disadvantages of an agreement with Dublin Castle, the seat of the English government in Ireland. One advantage the chieftains saw was the adoption of English inheritance principles. Traditional Irish practice, a political system called tanistry, tended to result in succession disputes that often led to armed combat. The term tanistry comes from the Irish tanaiste, meaning second or successor. According
to Irish law, a clan selected only the best and most able man as chieftain. This leader was decided upon at a meeting of the clan. Often several clan members believed themselves to be most worthy and were willing to prove it. A dispute could be settled by force of arms or by the splitting of the clan. This habit of splitting clans explains the number of clans with the same surname, for example, the O'Neill and the O'Neill of Clandeboy.

An English title was subject to English inheritance laws based on primogeniture. This gave a ruling chieftain the ability to determine his successor since he could adopt whomever he wished. The English-recognized heir could then gain aid from the Dublin government to suppress his rivals; this strategy ensured the continuation of the dead chieftain's lineage in power. The basic problem with surrender and regrant was that it violated the laws of Gaelic Ireland.

Under Brehon law, the legal code of Gaelic Ireland, a chieftain did not own land. Clans corporately controlled land. The chieftain controlled people, their labor, and their goods. He mainly ensured the clan's defense and attempted to increase its holdings through warfare. This system did not allow a chieftain to alienate land from
the rest of the clan and then receive it back as a feudal grant to which he held sole title.\(^5\)

The difference between English and Irish law regarding surrender and regrant came to an explosive head under Shane the O'Neill. When Shane's father, Con Bacach, had been the O'Neill, he surrendered the O'Neill lands and the crown titled him the first earl of Tyrone in 1542. After Con died, Brehon law and English law recognized different successors. The clan O'Neill selected Shane to be the O'Neill while English law recognized Con's young son Matthew as the Baron Dungannon and the next earl of Tyrone.\(^6\)

Shane resorted to force of arms to secure his claim. The queen asked Shane to travel to London to explain the situation. When asked to defend his actions, he responded, "But I am the true heir by the law of God and man, being the first son of my father born in lawful wedlock and called O'Neill by the common consent of chiefs and people according to the laws of our ancestors called tanistry, by which the man grown is to be preferred before the boy...."\(^7\) Shane never became the earl of Tyrone, nor did his successor Turlough. The second earl of Tyrone became the last great leader of the Gaelic world, Hugh the O'Neill.
The English attempted to alter the Irish leadership in Ulster by taking young Hugh O'Neill, Matthew's son, to England for protection from Shane. After Shane's death at the hand of the MacDonalds, who sent his head to decorate Dublin Castle, Turlough became the O'Neill. For his own reasons Turlough seemed to be less concerned with the English than Shane and spent most of his tenure in disputes with his Irish rivals instead of with the crown. The lull in the North allowed the Dublin government to concentrate its forces on the powerful Old English lords in Munster.

The surrender and regrant policy placed any who agreed to it under the crown's authority. In English eyes it made the Irish chieftain subject to English law. Elizabeth and her administrators considered Irish chieftains who defended their freedom not as hostile foreigners, but as rebellious subjects. By enforcing surrender and regrant agreements, which the crown received from every major chieftain, the Elizabethan government believed that it legally controlled all of Gaelic Ireland.

The surrender and regrant agreements provided the English with the legal justification for their armed incursions into Gaelic Ireland. The queen's men used
force to rein in the powerful Irish leaders. The equally powerful Old English lords also had to be dealt with before the English crown could be the sole political power in Ireland. Regarding the Old English lords, the crown hoped only to remind them that they were already subjects of the English crown and that they should act accordingly.

The fate of the Old English leaders showed the crown's desire to bring Ireland into line with the rest of the queen's possessions. Eliminating the traditional Irish lifestyle, while a part of the plan, was not the only objective. Destroying the power of the Old English lords was a major policy goal of the Dublin government. Some Old English families had become powers in their own right and, to further annoy the English, had adapted to Irish culture. Many had made marriage alliances with the Irish and some heads of families had started to see themselves as chieftains rather than noblemen.

In his View of the Present State of Ireland, Edmund Spenser described areas of Irish life he believed needed to be eliminated. Some were minor (Irish hair and clothes) and some major (Irish religion and leaders). Yet none of these were more important to Spenser than the Irish freedom of movement. Only after their freedom had been
taken away could they be reformed.

The Irish kept cattle and moved them seasonally to new grazing land, setting up temporary camps here and there across the countryside. This way of life could not be accepted by the English. According to Spenser, these camps or booleys (buaile in Irish), allowed thieves and "loose people" a place to hide and "finde reliefe, ... being vppon the wast places, wheras els they should be driven shortly to starve or to come down to the towne to steal reliefe where by one meanes or other they would sone be Caughte: besides such stealthes of Cattell as they make they bring comunlye to thes Bollyes wheare they are receaved readilye and the theif Harbored from danger of lawe or such officers as might light vppon him". 11

As well as a gathering place for outlaws, booleys existed "beyond the pale" of civility (a phase derived from the pale or palisade which protected the northern portions the English colony from the Irish in Ulster). In a booley it was thought men could behave however they wanted. They could and, according to Spenser, did fall prey to their basest nature. "Moreover the people that live in these Bollies growe theare by the more Barbarous and live more licentiously then they could in towns vsinge
what meanes they will either against private men whom they maligne by stealing theire goods or murderinge themselves; for theare they thinke themselves haulfe exemted from lawe and obedience and having once tasted freedome doe like a steare that hath beene long out of his yoke grudge and repine ever after to come under rule again". Spenser and his countrymen believed that any man would revert to a barbarous state if the yoke of civility were removed.

While the English feared that any man could easily toss off the yoke of civilization, they also knew that even the wildest of the Irish could be yoked. The English hoped that if the Irish leaders could be removed, their followers would adopt English ways. Spenser blamed the trouble in Ireland on the leaders: "all the Rebellions which youe see from time to tyme happen in Ireland are not begone by the common people but by the lorde and Captines of Countries uppon pride or willful obstynacie against the government." Like the English government, Spenser was sure that all of Ireland already legally belonged to the English and that only a few rebellious subjects stood between violence and peace.

Spenser saw no difference between an Irish chieftain resisting English attacks against his clan and an Old
English noble resisting governmental attempts to curb his power. The government agreed with Spenser. The Dublin government's quest was to eliminate any power in Ireland that could stand against Dublin Castle; it did not care whether that power was Gaelic like the O'Neill and O'Donnell or Old English like the Butlers and Fitzgeralds.

The Fitzgeralds and Butlers had come to Ireland during the Norman invasion. By the fourteenth century the head of those families were the earls of Desmond and Ormond respectively and between them they controlled most of southern Ireland. By the 1560s, the Desmonds and Ormonds had become bitter rivals. Warfare between the two houses broke out in 1565.

Enraged that two of her noble families were warring on each other with private armies, the queen demanded that the heads of both families appear in London. Private warring had ended in England a century earlier, with the rise of the centralized Tudor monarchy. When the Old English leaders arrived, the queen received 20,000 pounds from each as a bond of good behavior. While the earl of Ormond, Black Tom Butler, stayed at court for years helping himself and his house, the earl of Desmond, Gerald Fitzgerald, spent his time in London "under virtual house
arrest" until his release in 1573. Black Tom received this light treatment because he had been more politically active than Desmond and had friends at court.

The instability caused by this dispute presented an opening for English adventurers. Both the adventurers and the English government in Dublin believed that the queen would be better served by replacing the troublesome and powerful Old English lords of Munster with stable and loyal Englishmen. The major drawback of this plan was that it placed the Butlers and Fitzgerlds in a position where their best option was to join together against those trying to take their land.

Peter Carew, an English knight, saw in the unstable Munster countryside an opportunity for land and wealth. Carew claimed to have rights to land in Munster by an ancient Norman connection, so he hired a lawyer to prove his claim. When Edmund Butler fought Carew in the English-controlled courts of Dublin, Butler lost. Butler could only defend his ancestral lands with force of arms.

Edmund Butler of the House of Ormond stressed that he rose in defense of his land and not against the queen. His rising fused together the rival houses when James
Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald joined his cause. Fitzmaurice fought to protect his family and its interests, but he also fought for his faith. This religious factor would change the complexion of war in Ireland forever. Not until the rebellion of Fitzmaurice did the religious issue become important to the Irish.

In *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, Spenser broached the question of religious reform in Ireland. He concluded that the time was not right. "Instruction in religion nedethe quiett times and ere we seke to settle a sound dicipline in the clergie we must purchase peace unto the loyalty for it is ill time to preach amongst swordes...." Spenser likened Ireland to an ill man, "for if youe should knowe a wicked persone dangerously sicke havige now bothe soule and bodye sore diseased, yeat both recoverable, woulde ye not think it ill advizement to bringe the preacher before the phisicion". He believed that Ireland's political and social ills needed to be solved before her religion could be reformed.

Spenser saw only one real problem with Irish religion: "they are all Papistes." Besides that they were poorly informed, "but in the same so blindly and brutishly enformed for the most part as that ye would rather think them
Atheists or infidells but not one amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of religion anie article of his faith but can saie his peter noster or his Ave Maria."22

Spenser hoped that the reformation of the Irish Church would follow the precedent set by the English Church under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. During that reformation the crown utilized its power, with the aid of parliament, to legislate the Catholic Church underground or out of existence.23 The crown could only hope that Ireland would go through the same process. Political control would lead to the crown's ability to peacefully yet completely remove the Catholic Church from Ireland at a later date.

While Spenser planned to wait until the civil problems had been solved by Elizabeth's victory, the Catholics hoped to rally support for their defense against a heretical queen. In 1570 Elizabeth officially became a heretic when Pope Pious V issued the bull Regnans in Excelsis, ordering Elizabeth's Catholic subjects to rebel against her. Those Catholics already fighting in Ireland hoped to gain support from the Mother Church and her continental allies.24

Philip II of Spain was a good son of the Church.
The Irish desperately hoped to gain his aid, while the English desperately feared they would. The English worried that Ireland or Scotland would be used as a route of invasion. During the late sixteenth century the Irish lords courted aid from Spain, and Mary Queen of Scots played her connections to the French court to the hilt. Hugh, the last O'Neill wrote to Philip in 1595, "Our only hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion rests on your assistance. Now or never our Church must be succoured." Philip showed interest in helping the Irish, but only a minor interest; the needs of his vast empire kept his attention away from Ireland.

The fear of Spanish intervention in Ireland explains some of the ferocity the English exhibited during the sixteenth century. The English used brutal, so called "extra-legal", tactics designed to terrorize and starve the Irish populace into living in more orderly and "civil" ways. The English believed that Irish lifeways, portions of which had been adopted by the Old English, were as great a threat to English-style living as a Spanish invasion. If the English could not reform Irish customs, they feared that they themselves might adopt those customs, degenerate and end up like the Irish. This fear showed how thin a veneer the English believed their civility to be. Some
English were well aware that their ancestors painted themselves blue. Sir Thomas Smith wrote in 1572 that he was aware "how England was as uncivil as Ireland until colonies of Romans brought their laws and orders, whose moulds no nation, not even the Italians and Romans, have more straitly and truly kept".  

While the English believed that the Irish needed both political and religious reform, they also believed that a proper education would do the trick. Spenser claimed that political warfare in Ireland was caused by disgruntled, unruly, and over-mighty leaders. The solution to such a problem was clear: raise a generation of Irish leaders to be loyal to the crown. Humphrey Gilbert at one point suggested taking the children of Irish leaders and raising them in the English court in order to train them and, if necessary, to use them as hostages for their families' good behavior.  

This idea was tried out with an heir of the earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, the Baron Dungannon. Hugh received the supposed benefits of an English upbringing, mainly because the English hoped someday he would be able to counter the power of his uncle, Shane the O'Neill. The English took Hugh to England to educate him and to protect
him from his powerful uncle. Shane did not have the boy's interests at heart since the boy's father had been Matthew, the brother Shane contested for the title of Earl of Tyrone. The need to protect the younger O'Neill became obvious when Turlough killed Matthew in a power struggle.\(^\text{29}\) At court Hugh would be safe from his political rivals and could be trained in proper and loyal English style-living.

The hope was that Hugh would be able to take his place as the leader of the clan O'Neill. Behaving as an English nobleman, Hugh would be able to introduce English-style living into Ulster. For a while it looked as if the plan was working. Hugh helped the English put down some of his rivals in the North for which he was elevated to the earldom of Tyrone.\(^\text{30}\) English hopes were dashed when Hugh rebelled in 1596, starting what has come to be called the "Nine Years War" or Tyrone's Rebellion.

Hugh O'Neill used his position vis-à-vis the Dublin government to aid the planning of his rebellion. He suggested that in order to ensure peace in the North he be allowed to maintain a small garrison. Since this force would stand between the pale and the "Wylde" Irish, the government agreed. This force served as the core of
Tyrone's army, and they were armed with weapons provided by the English, purchased from Scotland, and later given by the Spanish king. This force received training from English officers, Irishmen who had deserted the queen's service, and later Spaniards sent by Philip II and after his death in 1598 his son, Philip III.

Tyrone's uprising did the two things the English most feared. First, it made common cause with other powerful Irish leaders, like the O'Donnell and the Macarthy More. Second, it finally involved the king of Spain. The king's observers convinced Philip that O'Neill's uprising was truly a religious war and started to believe that the O'Neill would prove a serious problem to the English. The king agreed to aid the rebels by sending an expeditionary force to Ireland to help the O'Neill.

The size of the expeditionary force and the location of its landing were subject to much thought by the Irish and their Spanish allies. The first attempt at a landing failed when the Spanish fleet ran into foul weather -"a Protestant Wind"- and had to return to Spain. The second attempt in 1601 succeeded in landing a force of some 3,400 men at the Irish town of Kinsale. This landing location in the southeast of Ireland was not only easier for the
fleet to reach but also would force O'Neill to take his uprising out of Ulster. O'Neill knew that he could not win by merely defending Ulster; instead he would have to expand his area of operations. Linking up with Spanish forces in Munster seemed a good plan. Munster, which had been devastated by the Butler and Desmond revolts, had felt the harshness of English occupation for many years. O'Neill and his men hoped that the presence of the rebels and their Spanish allies would enlist the countryside to the Irish cause. By this time the O'Neill's cause was not just familial but nationalistic. He hoped to establish a Gaelic Free State with the help of the Spanish. As is widely known, the formation of the Irish free state did not occur in 1601. It was declared in 1916 and accepted by the British in 1922. What happened at Kinsale was a disaster for the Irish. After traveling the length of the country, they were forced to engage the English in a pitched battle, never their strong suit. They attempted to use the very complex infantry strategy of their Spanish allies. The battle turned quickly for the English, the Spanish never sallied forth from their fortified positions, and the Irish were routed. The O'Neill kept his rebellion up for another two years, but in 1603 he surrendered and agreed to live under English law.
After four years of living under English rule the O'Neill left Ireland forever. Traveling to the continent, he kept trying to raise support for his cause. Thus 1607 marks the end of the English crown's problem with one native chief and the beginning of its problems with another.
Notes for Chapter One


2) Ibid., 138.


4) Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, 41.

5) Ibid., 42.

6) Ibid., 238.


10) Ibid., 337.


12) Ibid.

13) Ibid., 205.


15) Ibid., 45.

16) Ibid., 46.


18) Ibid., 20-22.


21) Ibid., 139.

22) Ibid., 136.


25) Ibid., 127.

26) Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, 300.


30) Ibid., 285.

31) Ibid., 125.

32) Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, 300-301.

33) Ibid., 309.

34) Ibid., 304.

35) Ibid., 307.

Chapter Two:

During their attempt to subdue Ireland, the Elizabethans also encountered the native inhabitants of Virginia. While the English felt animosity towards the Irish that only several hundred years of close contact could bring, they were more hopeful regarding their relations with the Indians. Unknown to the English, Virginia held leaders that rivaled the O'Neill or Fitzmaurice - Wahunsenacawh or Powhatan and Opechancanough. Both Indians would hold the title mamanatowick and defend their domains to the best of their considerable abilities.

Elizabethan adventurers attempted to colonize two different areas of Virginia. The first area was Roanoke Island on the Outer Banks of what is now North Carolina; the second was the tidewater region of the present state of Virginia. The area around Roanoke Island the English believed to be called Winginadoca by the natives, although that was most likely not the case. The tidewater region of Virginia was called Tsencommacah or "the densely-peopled land" by its inhabitants. In the area of Roanoke Island the English encountered several different groups of
Algonquian speakers, who spent most of their time fighting among themselves. In Tsencommacah the majority of the population by 1607 had already fallen under the control of Powhatan, who held the title of mamanatowick or great king.

After failing in their attempts to establish a colony in the vicinity of Roanoke Island, the Elizabethans paid little attention to Virginia until Ireland had been subdued and relations with the Spanish had normalized under James I. Then the English established a colony in Tsencommacah.

In Virginia the early English adventurers, working for both Walter Ralegh and the Virginia Company, tried to grasp the nuances of Indian politics. The English at Roanoke and Jamestown tried to mimic a technique of Spanish conquistadors by using native political disputes to their advantage. However, instead of fragmenting the native population of Virginia, the English presence allowed Opechancanough to consolidate his control and to launch an attack of unprecedented size against the English colony.

Like the Irish, the Indians of Virginia lived in chiefdoms when the English arrived. How long this had been the case is difficult to determine. There is little
archaeological evidence for the rise of the Powhatan chiefdom, due to its short existence. Although similar, the Indians of coastal North Carolina and coastal Virginia were not identical. The chief of Tsencommacah had more power over a larger area than any chief on the Outer Banks. Within his lifetime, Powhatan had taken the position of chief to a new level of meaning in Tsencommacah. The arrival and later actions of the English allowed him and his successor, Opechancanough, to consolidate political control of Tsencommacah to a level that archaeological evidence indicates was new to aboriginal Virginia.

Southern Algonquian political organization had some similarities to the system practiced by the Gaelic Irish. In Ireland a chieftain demanded goods and services from his clan as tribute. Chiefs among the Virginia Indians also controlled peoples' labor and the results of that labor, ranging from farming to hunting. Another similarity between the Irish and the Indians was the basic role for the ruling caste as warriors. Whether Indian or Irish, the chiefs viewed their reason for being to raid, battle, and increase the number of people from whom they could demand tribute.

When Arthur Barlowe arrived at Roanoke he could not
meet with the local chief, Wingina, due to a wound Wingina had received while in combat with a rival leader. When the English landed at Jamestown, Powhatan was attempting to establish hegemony over the Chickahominy Indians, who resisted at every turn.

The Chickahominy Indians, unlike all of their neighbors, had managed to maintain their independence from Powhatan. Besides not having to pay tribute to Powhatan unless they felt like it, the Chickahominies lived under a different political system from the rest of the Powhatans. The Chickahominies were ruled by a council of eight elders rather than a chief. Unlike the rest of the Powhatan tribes, the Chickahominies did not rank themselves or have caste distinctions.

The English quickly were able to find out that not all of Powhatan's subjects were equally loyal. Those who had only recently come under his control often turned to the English as potential allies. This possibility allowed the English to believe they were helping to liberate the Indians from Powhatan's tyranny.

Based on their contact with Ireland and their dealings with Spain, the Elizabethans believed their form of
government to be the most enlightened. They knew that it protected the "ancient rights of the people" more than either the Spanish monarchy or the chiefdoms they encountered in Ireland and Virginia. Native systems of government were thought to be despotic and arbitrary.

The English believed that it was the Irish political system and its leaders that held the Gaelic Irish populace in thraldom. After the destruction of that system, many English believed that the Irish would be able emulate English living. English adventurers in Virginia thought that the local political leaders were tyrants. Captain John Smith described Powhatan as "very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offended him". Ralph Hamor referred "that subtill old reuengefull Powhatan and all the people vnder his subiection." 

Where the basis for Irish life was the clan, Southern Algonquian life had at its basis the district, which was an area occupied by a village or two. There were two kinds of villages, the open village and the palisaded or walled village. Archaeological evidence indicates that the palisaded village developed as a result of the rise of horticulture and increasing political complexity. Only after there is a commodity worth protecting do people
develop the means to protect it. Archaeological evidence indicates that there were no palisaded villages during the Middle Woodland period (500 B.C.- A.D. 900). They appeared after A.D. 1000, which coincided with the introduction of maize horticulture. Each district had a leader or werowance, who tried gain power at the expense of his neighbors.

When Thomas Harriot described the political situation on the Outer Banks, he showed that the various chiefs ranged from controlling two districts to the eighteen under the powerful Okisko. Okisko controlled much of the area around the Outer Banks, but his control of eighteen districts pales when compared to Powhatan's control over the Virginia Tidewater. At the beginning of his career (ca. A.D. 1580) Powhatan had inherited control over six to nine districts on the middle York river and upper James river in the vicinity of modern Richmond. At the time of the English arrival in 1607, he had gained control over thirty-one districts, some as far away from his birth place as the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay.

Powhatan's inheritance of political power indicated that the Southern Algonquians had a society based on ascribed rank. Only a limited number could become politically
powerful. One could gain access to power by being born into a "noble" family.\textsuperscript{19} As Powhatan attempted to alter the traditional role of chief, he introduced more merit-based positions of power. A position of achieved status, the "cockarouses" or \textit{cawcawwasoughs}, had been created for men who had not been born to the "better sort" but through personal ability had been rewarded with powerful positions in Powhatan's hierarchy.\textsuperscript{20} Since Powhatan's rise to power was a threat to the traditionally powerful, he may have wanted a core of men of ability whose loyalty was to him and the new social order.

That certain Algonquians had more power and authority than others was obvious to the English from their first meeting. In 1584 Arthur Barlowe met Granganimeo, the local chief's brother, and his entourage. In the course of presenting gifts to the Indians, Granganimeo "arose, and tooke all from [the other Indians], and put it in his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to be deliuered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruents, and followers."\textsuperscript{21} The English referred to the Indians of high rank as the "better sort."\textsuperscript{22}

The English could easily identify the "better sort" of Indians. In Southern Algonquian society only persons
of high rank and status wore copper and pearls. On the Outer Banks, Arthur Barlowe recognized high-status individuals by their decorations, as his description of Granganieo's wife and her associates showed:

She had on her backe a long cloke of leather, with the furre side next to her bodie, and before her a peece of the same: about her forehead she had a broad bande of white Corrall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares she had bracelets of pearles, hanging downe to her middle ... The rest of her women of the better sorte had pendants of copper, hanging in every eare.

Besides being allowed to wear special items, the "better sort" of Indians enjoyed other rewards. Only chiefs and councilors went to the afterlife, according to the Powhatans. Thomas Harriot described the religion in Winginadoca, but did not indicate that only high-status individuals had an afterlife. According to Harriot, "they belieeve also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the bodie" a person would be judged and rewarded or punished according to his life. This observation implies that the society on the Outer Banks was not as strictly stratified as that of the Powhatans.

Concepts of status and rank were not alien to the English. The Elizabethans who landed in Virginia came from a socially-ranked society. While the English did
not restrict the afterlife to the elite, being well born had its prerogatives. Sir Richard Grenville received his appointment as leader of the 1585 Roanoke colony due to his social rank. As with the Southern Algonquians, Elizabethans could distinguish high and low status individuals by their attire. In every colony the English founded, they passed statutes called sumptuary laws which forbade individuals from wearing the clothes of their "betters." While only certain Algonquians could wear copper, only certain English were supposed to wear slashed sleeves and silk.

The English and the Algonquians shared a belief that status should be clearly marked on a person, including priests and ministers. In both cultures, religious men wore special costumes. In Tsencommacah, priests wore their hair differently from the rest of the male population, fewer earrings than other men, a medium-length feather cloak, and a special headdress made of snake skin, weasel skin, and feathers. Thomas Harriot described the outfit in his *Briefe and true Relation of the New Found land of Virginia*: "They weare their heare cutt like a creste, on the topps of thier heads as others doe, but the rest are cutt shorte, sauinge those which growe aboue their foreheads in manner of a perriwigge. They also haue somwhat hanginge
in their ears. They weare a short clocke made of fine hares skinnes quilted with the hayre outwarde. The rest of their body is naked. An Anglican minister or Catholic priest also wore clothing that not only marked him as a cleric, but indicated how important a cleric he might be.

In both Virginia and London, those men who had dedicated their lives to their god or gods affected not only the spiritual realm but the secular. English monarchs often were aided in their decision-making by clerics. One of Elizabeth's most important advisors on overseas expansion was the Reverend Richard Hakluyt. Native tradition demanded that Powhatan consult priests before making major decisions. Powhatan took the advice of a shaman when he attacked the Chesapeake Indians. The priest told Powhatan that a nation would rise from the east to destroy him, so he attacked those Indians who lived to his east. That the "lost colonists" from Roanoke may have been living with the Chesapeakes may also have angered Powhatan. The plan for the "lost colony" was not to settle at Roanoke Island, but rather on the southern rim of Chesapeake Bay. The sponsors of the colony believed that the agricultural colony they planned and the horticultural practices of the Indians would come into
conflict in the small confines of the Outer Banks. So they hoped to move in with the Chesapeakes where land was more plentiful. But the idea that an English colony based on agriculture would come into conflict with the Indians also proved tragically true in 1622.

When the English contacted the Southern Algonquians, they hoped that the Indians, unlike the Irish, would willingly submit to English culture. Unfortunately for the Algonquians, the precedent of trying to force those who would not yield to the crown's will had been set in England and Ireland. Some, like Harriot and Hakluyt, hoped that force would not be needed; others resorted to force only after attempts to convert the Indians into Christian subjects of the English crown.
Notes for Chapter Two


6) Rountree, The Powhatan Indians of Virginia, 110.

7) Ibid., 85-87,

Ellis, Tudor Ireland, 43.

8) Quinn (ed.), The Roanoke Voyages, 100.


10) Ibid., 100.


13) Ibid..


18) Turner, "The Virginia Coastal Plain," 115.

19) Rountree, The Powhatan Indians of Virginia, 16.

20) Ibid., 101.

21) Quinn (ed.), The Roanoke Voyages, 100.

22) Rountree, The Powhatan Indians of Virginia, 100.


25) Rountree, The Powhatan Indians of Virginia, 139.

26) Quinn (ed.), The Roanoke Voyages, 373.


29) Kupperman, Settling with the Indians, 3.


31) Rountree, The Powhatan Indians of Virginia, 100.
32) Quinn (ed.), *The Roanoke Voyages*, 431.


34) Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia*, 120.


36) Ibid., 252.
Chapter Three:

In his 1584 *Discourse on Western Planting*, the Reverend Richard Hakluyt clearly spelled out the various reasons England needed to begin colonization of the Americas. In this document he prepared for Queen Elizabeth, Hakluyt listed twenty-one reasons for expansion. His primary reason was "that this western discoverie will be greatly for thinlargement of the gospell of Christie."\(^1\) The next twenty reasons dealt with the political and economic advantages of expansion. A minister would be expected to place the Gospel before worldly concerns; a lawyer would not. Yet, the Reverend Hakluyt's older cousin and namesake did just that.

In his pamphlet entitled *Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intending Towards Virginia* written in 1585, Richard Hakluyt the elder stated as the primary reason for going to Virginia "the glory of God by planting of Religion among the infidels." The second of his thirty-one reasons was "the increase of the force of the Christians"; the third, "the possibilite of the inlarging of the dominions of the Queenes most excellant Maiestie."\(^2\)
Religion and the conversion of the natives acted as a major motivating force in Elizabethan attempts at colonization as religion played some part in almost every aspect of life. These mentions of religion were not the thin veneer of justification a modern reader might assume. They reflect the importance of religion for these men. The welfare of England came second to doing God's work.

Religion did more than motivate the Elizabethans; it justified and legitimized their actions. Doing God's work was good and right. Traveling to the New World and saving souls was a good and easily defended action; traveling there and simply taking over land could not as easily be defended. This is not to say that the Elizabethans were not sincere in their religious beliefs. Heaven and Hell were not abstractions for these men; they were real and tangible places, and saving the native population of the Americas from the Devil and the Pope were duties that needed to be performed.

Interest in and intense dislike of native religion was not unique to the English. In 1493 Christopher Columbus wrote that the Indians he encountered did "not hold any creed nor [were] they idolaters; but they all believe that power and good are in the heaven." Interest in Indian
beliefs continued with Vespucci who wrote in 1505 of the Brazilians he encountered, "they have no church, no religion, and are not idolaters."^5

By the late sixteenth century the misconception that the Indians had no religion had been modified. The English knew that Indians had religion; however, they believed that Indian religion was devil worship. Henry Hawks, adventurer and slaver, wrote in a 1572 letter to Richard Hakluyt the elder describing what he saw in Mexico: they "use[d] divers time to talke to the Devill to whome they do certaine sacrifices and oblations....and certaine daies in the yeare they did sacrificie, certaine olde men and young children."^6

The English believed that they had to save the Indians not only from the Devil but also from the Pope. Roman Catholicism represented as great a threat to the Indians' souls as did Devil worship, perhaps more. The Reverend Hakluyt related to the queen a conversation he had with a Spanish Jesuit. When the padre bragged of converting millions of Indians to Roman Catholicism, Hakluyt shot back, "as for the boastinge of your conversion of such multitudes of Infidells, yt may just be coumpted rather a perversion, seeinge you have drawen them as yt were oute
of Sylla into Charibdis, that is to say from one error into another."  

Hakluyt knew that the English had to start converting the Indians to Protestant Christianity. In order to do that, they first needed a colony.

Nowe the meanes to sende suche as shall labour effectually in this business ys by plantinge one or twoo Colonies of our nation uppon that fyrme, where they may remain in saftie, and first learne the language of the people nere adjoining (the gifte of tongues beinge nowe taken awaye), and by little and little acquainte themselves with their manner and so w'th discrecion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospell.

Hakluyt hoped that his countrymen would learn Indian languages while in America. Some Elizabethans did, but most did not. Early in their exploration, the English explorers in America tended to kidnap Indians and bring them back to England. During the 1570s Martin Frobisher brought back several Inuits from his unsuccessful journeys in search of the Northwest passage. The Inuits were brought back in order for either the English to learn Inuit languages or so the Inuits could learn English. The Inuits died before either outcome could happen.

The Indians who traveled to England from Roanoke fared
better; both Manteo and Wanchese lived to return home. By the time of the settlement at Jamestown, the Elizabethans were leaving English boys to learn the Powhatan dialects of Algonquian. John Smith left Henry Spelman with the Powhatans in order to learn the language. Spelman always believed that Smith had sold him to the Indians. While more Elizabethans than Spelman learned Indian languages, Hakluyt's goal was never achieved, although some explorers were able to communicate without knowing the language. Arthur Barlowe mentioned how at Roanoke Granganimeo had explained that the English should trade with him and not his escort by "making signes and tokens".

In 1584 Barlowe, who spoke no Algonquian, found himself on the Outer Banks, where he concluded that the people he met were ripe for conversion to Christianity. He described the natives as respectful of their own rulers and betters, true to their word, hospitable, and possessed of a religion although it entailed worshiping the Devil. The Indians Barlowe met were, in a word, "civil." Barlowe described Granganimeo and his retinue as "in their behauior as mannerly, and ciuill as any of Europe". To Barlowe's mind, only civil people could understand the complexities of Christianity and hope to be saved.
Barlowe's description held much hope for future contact between the Algonquians and the English, for two reasons: first, a basic belief was civility was a prerequisite of Christianity; second, civil people make better trading partners. The Elizabethans believed that commerce indicated a basic degree of civility. While noting his hosts' civility, Barlowe also noted their desire and ability to trade with his crew: "A daye or two after this (first meeting) we fell to trading with them...." Barlowe's account held much hope for the conversion of the Roanoke natives to Christianity.

Barlowe intentionally stressed hope and goodwill. Sir Walter Ralegh had Barlowe's report published as an advertisement for his venture in Virginia. There exists the possibility all did not go as well as Barlowe claimed. "An English castaway from the Lane expedition, interrogated by the Spanish in Jamaica, told a garbled version of the 1584 voyage in which he said the English made one landing where they were confronted by 'wild' Indians who ate thirty-eight Englishmen". If this attack actually happened, it apparently transpired after the English had left the Outer Banks and were exploring Chesapeake Bay.

Elizabethans had different ideas about the Indians,
but they all agreed on one point: the Indians had to be converted to Christianity and English-style living. Those who traveled to Virginia believed that both tasks could be achieved with little difficulty because of the Indians' intelligence. Thomas Harriot, Ralph Lane, John Smith, and Alexander Whitaker described the Indians as intelligent humans of great potential.

Lane, military commander at Roanoke, concerned himself with understanding the political and military situation in which he found himself, most likely a habit he picked up in Ireland to help him stay alive. He described his mentor on the subject, the Indian chief Menatonon, as-

for a savage, a very graue and wise man, and of very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men but also of his neighbors, ... He gave mee more understanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the searches and saluages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with....18

Thomas Harriot studied many aspects of Indian life and also reached the conclusion that the Indians were intelligent.

In respect of us they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before thinges of greater value: Notwithstanding,
in their proper maner considering the want of such meanes as wee have, they seeme ingenious. For although they have no such tooles, nor any such craftes, Sciences, and artes as wee, yet in those thinges they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit.19

Roughly twenty years later, John Smith described the Powhatan Indians as "craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenuous."20 The English missionary Alexander Whitaker clearly believed that the Indians were intellectually capable of understanding Christianity.

...if any of us should misdoubt that this barbarous people is uncapable of such heavenly mysteries, let such men know they are farre mistaken in the nature of these men ... let us not thinke that these men are so simple as some have supposed them; for they are of bodie lusty, strong and very nimble: they are a very understanding generation, quick of apprehension, fuddiance in their dispatches, subtile in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in the labour.21

Elizabethans who had not traveled to Virginia also believed that the conversion of the natives would be a simple process, although for different reasons. Those reasons were grounded on an intense national pride, a belief that England existed as God's chosen nation, and a belief in the supremacy of the English way of life.22 Throughout the reigns of Elizabeth I and her nephew James I, the English viewed themselves as God's chosen nation.
This belief showed clearly in the sermons preached to those adventuring to Virginia. Ministers often compared England to the ancient Israelites. America became the new land of milk and honey, occupied by Indians rather than Gentiles. A favorite biblical story proved to be the tale of Joshua. Historian Harry Culverwell Porter explained, "Joshua in the 1580s was an honorary adventurer in Virginia, and from 1606 an honorary member of the Virginia Company." Unlike the forceful Joshua, the English hoped to live in peace with and convert the Indians of Virginia. Only if the Indians failed to cooperate with the English plan would they, like the Irish before them, have to be reformed and "reduced to civility".

In a 1609 sermon entitled A Good Speed to Virginia, the Reverend Robert Gray stressed the English need to attempt in good faith all other avenues before war. "Although the Children of Joseph [had] a[n] express commandment here in this place to destroy those Idolaters, and possesse their land, yet for as much as we have no precept but by example, we must first try all means before weapons...." Gray hoped that force would not be necessary. He believed that the Indians could and would be educated and
thereby converted, "for it is not the nature of men, but the education of men, which make them barbarous and uncuuiuill and therefore change the education of men and you shall see their nature will be greatly rectified and corrected". He stressed that the Indians could be saved and made over in an English model. This belief placed him in agreement with Captain John Smith and others who had met the Indians and knew of their intelligence.

The view that the Indians could be eliminated, like the Cannanites, and a colony in Virginia still survive could only be held by armchair adventurers who had never journeyed to Virginia. Both the colony at Roanoke and the colony at Jamestown benefited from the largess of the local Indian population. Alexander Whitaker, who lived and worked in Virginia, certainly knew that his colony needed the Indians. The basis of his 1613 sermon *Good News from Virginia* stressed the positive aspects of the English relationship with the Indians. Whitaker chose as his verse a passage from the book of Ecclesiastes, "Cast thy bread upon the water: for after many days thou shalt finde it." In this sermon, sent to the Virginia Company, Whitaker explained how the colony interacted with the Indians and the great possibility of both temporal and spiritual reward, but only if the colony were given enough time. Whitaker
never mentioned the possibility of eliminating the Indians; he knew how the English depended on the Powhatans to provide food.

Unlike the Israelites, who entered their promised land and started attacking cities, most English believed that they should give the Indians every opportunity to convert peacefully. In his sermon Virginia in 1609, the Reverend William Symonds stressed the "difference betwene a bloudy invasion, and the planting of a peaceable Colony, in a waste country, where the people live but like deere." While Symonds had the wrong impression of how the Indians in Virginia lived, he felt sure that the Indians and the colonists could coexist. "Let us be cheerefull to goe to the place, that God will shew us to possesse in peace and plentie, a land more like the garden of Eden: which the Lord planted, then any part else of al the earth".

Symonds, who had not gone to Virginia, believed as did most who had that the Indians did not use or even need all of the land at their disposal. Therefore, the English occupation and use of the land as God had commanded Noah in Genesis 9:7 "...be fruitful and multiply, bring forth abundantly on the earth and multiply in it." would not be a problem. Robert Gray expounded:
Some affirme, and it is likely to be true, that these savages have no particular proprietrie in any part or parcell of that Countrey, but only a general recidence there, as wild beasts have in the forest, for they range and wander up and down the country, without any law or government, but being led only by their own lusts and sensualitie, there is not meum + tuum amongst them: so that if the whole lande should bee taken from them, there is not a man that can complaine of any particular wrong done unto him.30

At both Roanoke and Jamestown, adventurers on the ground only discussed converting the natives; they never discussed the possibility of wiping them out.

In 1585 the younger Hakluyt thought that the English had not converted enough Indians to Protestant Christianity. In 1609 Symonds felt the same way. In his sermon Virginia, he preached that "the summe is, what blessing any nation had by Christ, must be communicated to all Nations: the office of his Prophecies to teach the ignorant; the office of his priesthood, to give remission of sinnes to the sinneful: the office of his kingdome, by word, and sacrament, and spirit to rule the inordinate."31 Like his predecessor Hakluyt, Symonds knew that Roman Catholic missionaries were spreading around the world "corrupting" innocent native souls, while the English stayed at home and did nothing. "It is a shame that the Iesuits and friars, that accompany every ship, should be so diligent to destroy
souls, and wee not seeke the tender lambes, nor build up that which is broken."^{32}

In his **Discourse on Western Planting** Hakluyt stressed to Elizabeth I that Spanish priests were making great headway among the natives while the English were not. "And this enterprice the Princes of the Relligion (amonge whome her Matie ys principall) oughte the rather to take in hande, because the papists confirme themselves and drawe others to their side, shewing that they are the true Catholicke Churche because they have bene the only converters of many millions of Infidells to Christianitie: Yea, I my selfe have bene demaunded of them howe many Infidells have bene by us converted?"^{33} Hakluyt believed that the English monarch had a duty to join the fray: "Nowe the Kinges and Queens of England have the name Defenders of the Faithe: By which title I thinke they are not onely charged to mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also inlarge and advaunce the same."^{34} Hakluyt went on to point out that, although the Spanish and the Portuguese had accomplished great things, the English could do better.

Now yf they, in their superstition, by meanes of their plantinge in those partes, have don so greate thinges in so shorte space, what may wee hope for in our true and syncere Relligion, proposinge unto ourselves in this action not filthie lucre nor vaine
ostentation as they in deed did, but principally the gayninge of the soules of millions of those wretched people, the reducinge of them from darkness to lighte, from falsehood to truthe, from dombe Idolls to the lyvinge god, from the depe pitt of hell to the highest heavens.35

While both Hakluyt and Symonds believed that only if ministers accompanied the planters could the native population be swayed, this never become an absolute requirement of early English expeditions. No minister accompanied the 1585 colony to Roanoke, where the responsibility of planting Christianity among the natives fell to Thomas Harriot. The list of colonists for John White's colony, the "lost colony", listed no minister either. The lack of a minister forced White, as governor, to baptize his own granddaughter Virginia Dare. In the three ships that traveled to Jamestown, only one carried a minister, Robert Hunt.36

Although the English had not actually tried to convert many natives by the time he spoke, the Reverend Gray believed that conversion would be easy. "Seeing therefore men by nature so easily yeelde to discipline and government upon any reasonable shewe of bettering their fortunes, it is everie mans dutie to travell both by sea and land, and to venture either with his person or with his purse
to bring the barbarous and savage people to a civil and christian kind of government". This belief in the ease of converting the natives to the English variety of Christianity came from the descriptions the adventurers who had met the Indians sent back. Barlowe, Lane, Harriot, and Smith all believed that the Indians were just waiting for somebody to come and convert them.

Harriot described what happened when he began to explain his religion to the Indians and showed them a Bible. "Yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their breast and headess, and to stroke ouer all their bodie with it; to shew their hungrie desire of that knowledge which was spoken of."  

The more militant Ralph Lane showed his confidence in the conversion of the natives in his letter to Sir Francis Walsingham of August 12, 1585. Although living in arduous conditions, Lane felt "comforted cheefly hereunto with an assuerance of her Maiestes gretenes hereby to growe by ye Addycione of suche a kingdom as thys ys to ye reste of hir Domynyones, by meane whereof lykewyse ye Churche of Chryste throughge Chrystendome."  

John Smith explained how the conversion of the
To divert them from this blind Idolatry, we did our best endeavours, chiefly with the Werowance of Quiyoughcohanoch, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those countries, who although we could not as yet prevale, to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeve that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrowes, and many times did send to me to Jamestown, intreating me to pray to my God for raine, for their Gods would not send them any.40

Like the werowance of Quiyoughcohanoch, the English knew that guns exceeded bows. Robert Gray knew that his countrymen could take land by force, but believed they would not have to, "for they [the Indians] are wiling to entertaine us, and have offered to yeelde into our hands on reasonable conditions, more lande then we shall bee able this long time to plant and manure".41 Symonds stressed that the Indians proved much less a threat to the English than the Cannanites did the Israelites: "A mat is their strongest portcuilis, a naked brest their target [shield] of best prooufe: an arrow of reede, on which is no iron, their most feerful weapon of offence, heere is no team of nine hundreth iron charrets".42 Many felt there would be peace and an easy conversion of the Indians.

But Robert Gray, Thomas Harriot, and the rest failed to consider the importance of native religion in the Indian world. The Indians were more than willing to trade in their lithic technology for the Europeans' metal tools, but religion would prove to be another matter entirely.
The initial fascination with aspects of Christianity by the Indian population, the people rubbing the Bible over themselves and the werowance who added the English god to his pantheon for example, may have reflected the impact of mass death; which had hit the Indian populations of the Americas as a result of European contact. The arrival of the Europeans to North America introduced not only new religions and technology but a deadly variety of pathogens. Thomas Harriot described the effect of European diseases on the Indian population at Roanoke. "There was no towne where we had any subtile devise practised against vs, we leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentleness) but that within a fewe dayes after departure from every such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in a short space, in some townes about twentie, in some fortie, and in one six score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers". In the first quarter of the seventeenth century Powhatan told Captain John Smith of the number of deaths among his people.

Even without the impact of massive death, American religions had a long tradition of adopting facets of other religions. The English mistook Indians adopting some
aspects of their religion with a wholesale desire for Christianity. The English interested in Virginia had believed since the 1580s that the Indians were waiting for English religion.

When compared to the missionary practices of the Catholic clergy, those of the Anglican Church look minimal. The early voyages to Roanoke contained no minister, and the early complement at Jamestown had only enough clergymen for the needs of the English crew. It was not until the first decade of settlement that the English attempted to found a mission.47

The English in Virginia never developed the missionary style their Catholic opponents did in Mexico or Canada. The reason for this difference was that the English believed it would not be necessary, since they felt sure they could convert the Indians by example. In a broadside from 1620 the Virginia Company of London stated,

And to the end that the People, both present and to come, may be faithfully brought vp in the true knowledge and service of Almighty God ... but also by their good example, to allure the Heathen people to submit themselves to the Scepter of Gods most righteous and blessed Kingdom, and so finally to ioyne with them in the true Christian profession: We doe hereby ordaine and require, that in every Burrough there
be prouided and placed at the least one godly and learned Minister...48

This belief that the laity could by example convert the Indians became personified in George Thorpe. A wealthy Londoner, Thorpe left his home and family to aid in the conversion of the Powhatans and had most likely received no training in missionary work. He hoped to convert the Powhatans by example and education. He was in charge of the colony's planned college for the education of Indian children, but that never really developed. The college had difficulty convincing Indians to enroll their children, and much of the money pledged to support the school was poorly invested and lost. Although Thorpe worked hard to improve relations with the Powhatans and to convert them to English-style living, he was killed when the Powhatans rose up against the English on the morning of March 22, 1622.49
Notes for Chapter Three


2) Taylor, *Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 327.


6) Taylor, *Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 104.

7) Ibid., 217.

8) Ibid., 215.


16) Quinn (ed.), The Roanoke Voyages, 100.


18) Quinn (ed.), The Roanoke Voyages, 259.

19) Ibid., 373.


25) Ibid., 11.

26) Whitaker, Good New From Virginia, 1.


29) Kupperman, Settling with the Indians, 100-101.

30) Gray, A Good Speed to Virginia, 14-15.

31) Symonds, Virginia, 52.
32) Ibid., 54.
33) Taylor, Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluylts, 217.
34) Ibid., 215.
35) Ibid., 216.
37) Gray, A Good Speed to Virginia, 15.
38) Quinn (ed.), The Roanoke Voyages, 377.
39) Ibid., 203.
40) Kupperman (ed), Captain John Smith, 154.
41) Gray, A Good Speed to Virginia, 15.
42) Symonds, Virginia, 25.
44) Quinn (ed.), The Roanoke Voyages, 378.
45) Rountree, The Powhatan Indians of Virginia, 141.
47) Axtell, The Invasion Within, 179-180.
Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 180.
Conclusion:

Like the Irish before them, the Powhatan Indians, did not want to see their home turned into England. So on the morning of March 22, 1622 they attacked the English in Virginia. The attack, led by Powhatan's brother and successor Opechancanough, killed 347 English. Instead of convincing the English to go home, it gave them more reason to stay.

As the Reverend Symonds pointed out, the English were sure that they were only occupying those parts of Virginia that the Indians did not use and were acting in the best interest of the Powhatans. Besides, the English felt sure that the benefits they brought -- Christianity and English-style living -- were so great that they outweighed any minor difficulties for the Powhatans. These expectations changed when the Powhatans attacked.

The attack gave the English reason to step up their activities in Virginia. In his report to the Virginia Company, Edward Waterhouse hunted for positive outcomes from the attack. He came up with seven reasons the attack might be beneficial for the colony. The first was that
the "betraying of innocency never rests vnpunished": basically, God would punish the Powhatans. But the second reason was most compelling.

Because our hands which before were tied with gentleness and faire vsage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the Sausages, not vntying the Knot, but cutting it: So that we, who hitherto haue had possesion of no more ground then their waste, and purchase at valuable consideration to their owne contentment, gained; may now by right of Warre, and law of Nations, inuade the Country, and destroy them who sought to destroy vs: whereby wee shall enjoy their cultivated places, turning the laborious Mattocke into the victorious Sword (wherin there is more both ease, benefit and glory) and possessing the fruits of others labours. Now their cleared grounds in all their villages (which are situate in the fruitfulllest places of the land) shall be inhabited by vs, whereas heretofore the grubbing of woods was the greatest labour.

Another benefit Waterhouse saw was "the way of conquering them is much more easie then of ciuilizing them by faire meanes, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to Victory, but hinderances to Ciuilite." Arthur Barlowe would have been sorely disappointed.

The English now felt free to attack the Powhatans at will, but how would they go about this? Waterhouse had some ideas:

victorie of them may bee gained many waies; by force, by surprize, by famine in burning
their corne, by destroying and burning their Boats, Canoes, and Houses, by breaking their fishing Weares, by assailing them in their huntings, whereby they get the greatest part of their sustenance in Winter, by pursuing and chasing them with our horses, and blood-Hounds to draw after them, and Mastiues to tear them, which take this naked, tanned, deformed Sausage, for no other then wild beasts.4

This idea of how to fight the Powhatans was similar, if not identical, to the techniques used to destroy the resistance of the Old English lords in Munster and the O'Neil and his supporters. Edmund Spenser put it succinctly in his *A Brief Note on Ireland*: if Ireland was to be subdued, "Great force must be the instrument but famine must be the means for till Ireland be famished it cannot be subdued."5

In just forty-two years the native population of Virginia had gone from being a "civil", although "heathen", group, who only needed a little guidance to enter both the house of God and the English nation, to "savage beasts" who should be removed. To give the Elizabethans some credit, they did wait before trying to utterly destroy the Indians until they had in their own minds a real and legal justification for attacking the Powhatans with total warfare. Before 1622 the English were not sure of the legality of their ever-expanding colony. They had tried to buy
land, but as with surrender and regrant there were problems with those transactions, mainly their not being acceptable under traditional land holding systems. After 1622 the English could easily justify conquest in Virginia as easily as in Ireland.

In Ireland it took several hundred years before the English adopted "extra-legal" methods to subdue the Irish. In Virginia it took fewer than fifty years to adopt similar methods. Perhaps the lesson in all this is that the first time you declare your enemy to be less than human is the hardest, the next easier and the next easier still. The decision by the Elizabethans to consider the Irish and then the Indians as sub-human has had major and lasting effects on the modern world. One need only look at Belfast or any Indian reservation for proof.
Notes for Conclusion


2) Ibid., 556-557.

3) Ibid., 557.

4) Ibid., 557-558.

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