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"The Gallery to the New World": Donne, Herbert, and Ferrar on the Virginia Project

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The seventeenth-century Protestant mission in the New World is usually seen as the preoccupation of Puritans and Separatists. Yet on the occasion of the special meeting of the "Honourable Company of the Virginia Plantation," in November 1622, attended by three to four hundred members of the Company, mostly merchants, it was no Puritan but John Donne, the Dean of St. Paul's, who preached the sermon urging the Company to the Apostolic task of propagating the gospel in the New World.[1]

Given the scant attention currently paid to the Virginia project and the missionary mentality in the Jacobean Church, Donne's participation on this occasion may seem incongruous. So too the presence of Nicholas Ferrar, again no Puritan and no Separatist, who must have been sitting in the congregation, since he had been a member of the delegation from the Company that had invited the Dean to give the Sermon.[2] Within three years of this event, Ferrar would found at Little Gidding the community that has often been viewed as an expression of Laudian Anglicanism, contemplative and semi-monastic—though it is doubtful whether Little Gidding is properly described by the terms that have conventionally been applied to it. Ferrar's part in the arrangements for Donne's missionary sermon thus requires further comment, along with the connections that run from Ferrar to Donne through their mutual friend, George Herbert, against the background of the Virginia enterprise. For while all three are remembered as being eminently concerned with the situation of the national Church, it is less often remembered

how much of the attention of that Church was engaged by the New World project. As within the country as a whole, there existed within the Jacobean Church a substantial consensus embracing clergy and laity, Puritans and non-Puritans alike, on the role of the Protestant nation in the New World—a consensus from which would emerge the colonies in both Virginia and Massachusetts. The subsequent events of the century, with the polarization of the Church under Laud and the ultimate division of the religious nation into the Anglican Establishment on the one hand and Non-conformity on the other, together with the very different developments after 1630 in Virginia and Massachusetts, have obscured the ideological matrix from which both colonies emerged.

Enthusiasm for the propagation of the gospel in lands abroad was a relatively late development within Protestantism, lagging by generations behind the example of Rome, but it was spurred in England by the defeat of the Armada and the subsequent years of war with Spain, by Hakluyt's publication of *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries* in 1589, by the reception of the Black Legend (Spain's cruelty to the Indians in the New World and her corruption of them by the propagation of an idolatrous faith), and finally by Bellarmine's taunt that the Protestants who criticized Rome's methods of evangelization had themselves converted no one to Christianity.

What the Hakluyts had first articulated, the Church and the nation now accepted, namely, the Providential task of the Protestant mercantile nation to carry its civilization and its reformed faith to the New World.[3] God, after all, in leaving the discovery of the Northern American coasts and their indigenous peoples until these latter days, was calling the Protestant nations, and England in particular, to bring the gospel to "infidels" who had never yet had the chance to hear it. Commerce was to be both the means and the reward of the work, since God would provide for those who served him, and open a new economic future to the nation that conscientiously undertook the task.

Within the Protestant consensus there was still divergence of opinion on such issues as how the mercantile and ideological struggle against Spain related to the apocalyptic scenario of the struggle between the True Church and the False familiar from Foxe's *Acts and Monu-*

ments, or whether the conversion of the Indians would lead directly to the millennium. It is clear from Donne's sermon that millennial expectations are part of his topic, and that it is useful for a preacher to show that he is well versed in the various kinds of Kingdoms predicted as part of various millennial scenarios, such as "the *Temporall kingdome* imagin'd by the *Apostles*, presently after the *Ascention*, And the *Emperiall kingdome* of the *Iewes*, before the *Resurrection*, And the *Carnall kingdome* of the *Chiliasts*, the *Millenarians*, after the *Resurrection.*"[4] None of these, he insists, is the true spiritual kingdom which Christ did indeed predict, but whose time is unknown. As indicated in the passage from Acts 1.18 which is his text, the gospel is certainly to be preached "even to the uttermost part of the Earth," i.e., to the New World—and the End will surely come. These two things are related in the scheme of Providence, but how they are related, and when the Endtime is to come, is not and cannot be known. Hence the sermon employs the Augustinian rhetoric that manages at one and the same time to invoke and to defer the millennial expectations, to proclaim the direction and achievement of the New World venture while emptying these of any final fulfillment: "this *Iland*, which is but as a *Suburbs* of the old world," will have become "a Bridge, a Gallery to the new," not so as to produce the final manifestation of the kingdom of God on earth, but "to joyne all" to Heaven, Heaven itself being the only "world that shall never grow old."[5]

The idea of England's mission informed official documents all the way from the charter granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, suggesting England as God's vehicle by which His compassion might reach the "poor infidels," to the charter granted by Charles I to the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629, stating that the principal objective of the colony was to bring the natives to the knowledge of the only true God and Savior. The charter for that latter colonizing venture in the territory of Northern Virginia (to be known henceforth as New England) followed the pattern of the original Virginia Company charter of 1606, spelling out clearly the dependence of trade upon colonization, and of colonization in turn upon the Indians' reception of the culture and religion of the colonizers. Progressive thinkers of the time evinced no

doubt that the Indians' acceptance of Christianity must be part and parcel of their acceptance of "Civility," that is, of European culture—however dubious this proposition has now become[6]—and advocated, as does Donne in the present sermon, that the Indians be treated accordingly with true civility, and with kindness and justice—consistent, of course, with military security. Directives for colonization with military force and for evangelization were apt to be set side by side without any recognition of the contradictions involved in the different enterprises.[7] The objectives stated in the Virginia Company's original charter of 1606 were reiterated in the new charters of 1609 and 1612, in the instructions issued over the years to successive governors of the colony, and in the reports, tracts and sermons which the Company put out for its own members and for the public at large. Thus when Donne in his Sermon insists that the true task of the merchant company is to carry the gospel to the natives of America, he is not devising a remedy for the immediate occasion but recalling the Company to its foundation documents.

As the presence of the Dean of St. Paul's on this occasion indicates, it was the official English Church, and not just a special group of Puritan preachers, that was engaged in the enterprise. Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611, was himself one of those clerics who had experienced, like Hakluyt, a "mystical conversion to sacred geography" as the science which would supply the tools for the new stage of the Church's mission.[8] Even before Pocahontas, now the anglicized and christianized Lady Rebecca, had arrived in London to provide a paradigm of the Indian convert (the "first-fruits of Virginia")[9] the King, as Head of the Church, had instructed the Archbishops to authorize special collections throughout the dioceses to enable the Company to finance the christianization of the Indians through the establishment of schools for Indian students.

Working through its College Committee, the Company had formed ambitious plans for an Indian College—more precisely, for an Indian Free School at the secondary level (the "Indian College" proper) and a University for those who would prove themselves "scholars" and would eventually, it was hoped, become the propagators of the gospel

among their own people. A model of what might be hoped for from American Indian scholars was provided by Petrus Papa, the young East Indian convert, who, after only three years of instruction, had not only learned English but had become an accomplished Latinist, and who had recently been baptized in London in the presence of the King, the Lord Mayor and the members of the mercantile companies.[10] In Virginia, the Company had staked out ten thousand acres for the University and another thousand for the Indian College at Henrico, at the James Falls, and had sent out college tenants to bring the land under cultivation.[11] By 1622, £2,000 had been raised for the purpose in the country at large, half of this in the Diocese of London through the strenuous efforts of Bishop John King who had received the christianized Pocahontas—the same Bishop who had ordained Donne and was the father of Donne's lifelong friend, Henry King. Other contributions had come directly from private donors among the laity, some of them anonymous; as Donne approvingly notes in his Sermon, "the greatest part, almost all, have limited their devotion and contribution upon that point, the propagation of Religion, and the conversion of the people; for the building and beautifying of the house of GOD, and for the instruction and education of their young Children."[12]

Accepting the burden of England's cultural mission, the Virginia Company, with its solid core of merchants, members of livery companies and town corporations, now included among its members and investors substantial representation from all the parts of the governing class of the country—the nobility, the gentry, and the professions; the city and the country. A number of its prominent courtier members had been associated with the court of Henry, Prince of Wales, who had espoused Raleigh's policy of aggressive Protestant expansion and used his position to sponsor navigation and colonization, especially with regard to Virginia.[13] The Company's unusual degree of representivity was signified by the composition of the new leadership of the Company that had taken over when Sir Thomas Smith, London's leading merchant, gave up the job of Treasurer in 1619. The new leader was Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the great number of country gentry subscribers, and a man who carried political weight because of his effective

management of the gentry in the House of Commons in opposition to the Crown. Nominal leadership with the position of Treasurer was held by the Earl of Southampton, while the office of Deputy Treasurer (the point man who ran the Company's day to day business in London) was held successively by the two brothers from a merchant family, John and Nicholas Ferrar.[14] Clerics like Donne were not usually individual subscribers to the Company (though Hakluyt himself had been one of the four London patentees of the original charter), but they served as publicists and historians of the enterprise, as chaplains in the garrisons, or as ministers for the new settlements like Jamestown and Henrico, where the church was among the first buildings to be erected and services were held every day.[15] Not least, clerics served as preachers to the London Company. There was an established tradition of sermons addressed to and published by the Company well before 1622 when, in a particularly difficult year, the Company issued its invitation to the Dean of St. Paul's, who occupied a pulpit more illustrious than that of any of the previous preachers, to give the second of a new series of Annual Sermons.

What was Donne's own interest in and connection with the Virginia Company? As early as 1609 he was said to be angling for the position of Secretary to the colony—the position eventually given to his friend William Strachey. (One sees the possibility that it could have been Donne rather than Strachey writing letters back to England a year later about the miraculous escape from the tempest and the safe landing on the "enchanted" islands of the Bermudas.) From 1619 the position of Secretary in the colony was held by John Pory, whose path had crossed Donne's at several points. Through the years Donne appears to have been well-informed about the affairs of the Company, especially because he had moved in social circles with many who were attached to Prince Henry's court. A number of his associates and friends were subscribers to the company, among them the Earl of Carlisle, the Countess of Bedford, the Earl of Dorset, Sir Robert Drury, the Earl of Warwick, Sir George More, Henry Goodyer, Francis Wolley, and Henry Wotton, while some of his closest friends sat on the Council of the Company—Christopher Brooke, Arthur Ingram, Richard Martin

and Thomas Roe. Chiefly, however, among Donne's friends it was Sir John Danvers, husband of Magdalene Herbert and stepfather of George Herbert, who along with Southampton and the Ferrars had risen to a position of influence in the Company as part of the Sandys group that administered the Company from 1619. Like Southampton, Danvers had been attached to Prince Henry's court. In the narrative of the events of these years later penned by Arthur Woodnoth, Danvers is presented as the chief man of the group, especially because he had the favor of the King when Sandys was *persona non grata.*[16]

As for Nicholas Ferrar, he was by this point at the center of the Company's operation.[17] His father, Nicholas Ferrar, Senior, substantial merchant and citizen, was Sandys' ally in the Company; from the time Sandys took over the leadership, the daily or weekly meetings of the Council were held at Ferrar's house in St. Sythe's Lane. The older Ferrar was also a fervent layman who had played his part in the substantial work of restoration going on in London's churches in the early years of the century—a work involving Puritans and non-Puritans alike—by paying for the restoration of his own parish Church of St. Benet Sherehog and appointing and paying the lecturer there.[18] John, the older son, himself a ship-owner, became the Deputy Treasurer of the Company, the officer who was charged with the daily responsibility of finding and despatching the settlers, ships and provisions that maintained the colony, and who also served as Counsel to represent the Company before various commissions of government. Both he and Danvers sat on the Company's College Committee. When Nicholas Ferrar, Senior, was ready to retire, his place was taken by the younger Nicholas, just returned from abroad, who eventually succeeded his brother as the Deputy Treasurer. Presumably it was through the close family alliance between Danvers and the Ferrars on the Virginia Council and at this point, rather than in their Cambridge years, that George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar became fast friends and "spiritual brothers." (They were both to be members of the Parliament of 1624 in which the Virginia Company interest predominated.)

Sandys, the great voice in the Virginia Company and the architect of the Opposition in the Commons, was also a fervent layman: the son

of an Elizabethan Archbishop of York, he had been the pupil and then the patron of Hooker, taking responsibility in the 1590s for ensuring the publication of the first books of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.[19] His own *Relation of the State of Religion* (1605) was the most informative book of the time on the situation of the various orders and institutions of the Roman Church, the politics of the Catholic/Protestant division in Europe, and the arguments for peaceful, if vigilant, co-existence.[20] The period of his leadership of the Virginia Company was to be marked by the transformation of the colony from a military garrison to a civil society, with the establishment of the private ownership of land and the institutions of representative government, especially the Virginia Assembly—measures which had been approved by the previous leadership but which Sandys' group actually accomplished. His willingness to assist the group of Separatists whom we know as the Mayflower pilgrims planning their own colony on the Hudson in what was then Northern Virginia indicates both his pan-Protestant views and his eagerness to find all the immigrants he could for the Virginia enterprise.

Between Sandys and the Ferrar brothers in particular there developed a strong and lifelong friendship. It is no surprise to read in John Ferrar's notes for his biography of his brother that upon Nicholas's return from five years of travel in Europe where, like Sandys before him, he had spent his time studying closely the culture and institutions of both Protestant and Catholic countries, Sandys and he discovered common ground in their concern to establish a progressive Protestant society in the New World, and that Sandys, the master political manager and rhetorician, recognized and immediately employed the similar abilities of the younger man: as John Ferrar writes, "Sir Edwin Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar had frequent discourse of the gloriousness of the undertaking which would answer the papists' objection that we convert none. Now Nicholas Ferrar was sure to be one of the committees for drawing up instruments and letters of advice to the colony in Virginia. All was put upon him to frame and order and write, for matters of government and other affairs."[21]

It was under the leadership of the Sandys/Danvers/Ferrar group that Donne (while never a subscriber) was invited to be first an honorary

member of the Company and then of the Council,[22] that he began to attend some of the meetings in person, and that he was invited to deliver and later publish the Annual Sermon in the fall of 1622. The Company knew their preacher, and the preacher his audience. In his Sermon, Donne takes the opportunity to comment approvingly on a number of moves taken by the new leadership, even citing, as an example of their "just government," the Company's long public auditing of accounts for the years of the previous administration—a process so long and by this time so embittered that modern historians of the Company see it as the point where the Company began to fall apart.[23] In retrospect, Donne's Sermon marks the beginning of the end for the Virginia Company, which would in turn mark the end of the period of the national consensus on the ideology of the New World mission.

But that was not how it appeared at the time. After the hardship and struggle of the first years of the Virginia colony, it had seemed by the early months of 1622 that the original difficulties were now resolved. The sermon preached to the Company in April of that year by the Revd. Patrick Copland had been titled appropriately *Virginia's God be Thanked*, since finally the colony appeared to be populous and prosperous, and the benefits obvious for which the thanks were due. Whereas previously a majority of the emigrants on each voyage had died en route or soon after arrival, the sea-lanes now established made for a faster and safer voyage: the last fleet, Copland reminded his audience, had reached Virginia with all alive on board. The settlers were raising their own food and would surely soon produce other export crops beside tobacco. Various long-awaited projects were in hand, such as the iron-works, the glass-works, and the new accommodations at Jamestown. After some setbacks, the college lands at Henrico were now being cultivated under the supervision of the excellent George Thorpe, who was a great friend to the Indians. Most significantly, the treaty recently established with Opechancanough, Powhatan's successor, had left the Indians pacified and well-inclined towards the settlers whose security was now guaranteed. Copland relayed from the pulpit Thorpe's account of his conversations with Opechancanough indicating that the Chief was discontented with his own religion, and beginning to feel the

stirrings of the gospel. Copland could thus invoke fervent thanksgivings to God who had preserved the colony and the Company through all their trials and was now turning the Indians' hearts and showing his favor to the colony.[24]

But in mid-July, London had received the devastating news of the Jamestown attack in March, a reversal which must have thrown into doubt not only the goodwill of the Indians but the assurances of God's favor. Three hundred and forty-seven of the settlers had been killed, by the traditional count—perhaps a third of the population of the colony; only the warning given by friendly Indians had prevented Opechancanough from killing the whole population. George Thorpe, along with many of the college tenants, had been killed, and his body mutilated. The survivors in the colony were left in such miserable condition that hunger and sickness would shortly wipe out as many as those who had been killed in the attack itself. Even before the disaster the Company's arrangements for defense and its economic and Indian policies had come under challenge in Virginia and at home, while serious divisions had emerged within the London Company itself. It was thus at a time of disappointment, recrimination, and confusion that Donne accepted—very willingly, as Danvers' and Ferrar's delegation reported—the chance to preach to the Company.[25]

In the event, Donne's Sermon, the second sermon of the new series, was also the last. A year later, the donor's offer for a third sermon would be declined. By that time, the acrimony within the Company had became a matter of public notoriety, the Company's bankruptcy and the failure of its economic policies were increasingly apparent (investors had not received a return on their money in eleven years), and the Lord Treasurer and the Privy Council, formerly favorable to the Company's leaders, had begun to investigate the charges made against the Company in a process would lead precipitately to the revocation of its charter in 1624. In retrospect, the Jamestown attack was the prelude to the end, and Donne's Sermon was the last opportunity for the Company to overcome its divisions by reaffirming its commitment to the common task.

Donne at this juncture uses his sermon to refocus attention on the mission to the Indians, reminding his fellow Christians who are his "Beloved" in Christ that the American Indians are equally Christ's beloved and that, whatever the motives with which individual adventurers had joined the enterprise, the civilizing and evangelizing mission is the only purpose that it serves in Providential history.

More than fifty years ago, Stanley Johnson drew attention to the importance of Donne's advocacy of the Indians at this juncture.[26] Since only Indian treachery could explain the "massacre" at Jamestown, outrage and punishment had become the order of the day. In the month before Donne gave his sermon, arms were being collected in London to be used for the colony's defense, but ultimately for aggressive all-out war against the Indians, friendly and non-friendly alike.[27] Meanwhile, certain publications, some sponsored by the Company itself, described the Indians not just as the enemy, but as sub-human—brutish, unnatural or even demonic. Among these was the official Company pamphlet, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia*, which suggested in passing that the Indians had proved themselves unfit for anything but slavery;[28] another was the poem illustrated by the Company's seal and written by Donne's personal friend on the Council, Christopher Brooke, arguing that the Indians were not God's creatures at all, but "the sonnes of hell." Hence

> What feare or pittie were it, or what sin
> (The rather since with vs they thus begin)
> To quite their Slaughter, leauing not a Creature
> That may restore such shame of Men, and Nature?[29]

In that crucial year of 1622, Donne's voice remained one of the very few to speak unequivocally of the dignity of the Indian in the sight of God and as fellow human being, amplifying the message that he had given on Easter Monday of that same year:

> A man is thy Neighbor, by his Humanity, not by his Divinity; by his Nature, not by his Religion: a Virginian is thy Neighbor, as

> well as a Londoner; and all men are in every good mans Diocess, and Parish. *Irrides adorantem lapides*, says that Father [St. Augustine]; Thou seest a man worship an Image, and thou laughest him to scorn; assist him, direct him if thou canst, but scorn him not.[30]

But Donne's topic was ultimately not the Tidewater Indians and their situation—he has no particular knowledge or curiosity about them. They belong in his sermon simply as the people who, living in the "uttermost parts of the Earth," have nevertheless become neighbors, the "Naturals" to whom the Virginia Company is sent to "present both *Spirituall* and *Temporall* benefit,"[31] and who represent the next stage of the Church's mission, the next group to be built into the Church. Finally, it is the building of the Church that is the larger topic of his sermon, while his immediate work, in the present time and place, is the building of the present congregation into the Body of Christ. As he develops his text in the second part of his sermon, more and more clearly it is they (the very congregation in this place who are the Apostles' successors doing the Apostles' task) who "shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and . . . be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the Earth."

But to become "*Witnesses* for *Christ*, is to be like *Christ*; to conforme your selves to Christ."[32] The sermon performs their conversion—or rather it persuades them to recognize that they already are converted, that they already do receive this power, that they have already become such witnesses, in London/Jerusalem, in England/Judea, in the face of Samaria/Rome—and now in the uttermost parts of the Earth. Like the Apostles they may err and misunderstand the power they are to receive, because they have mixed motives, or because they have been fixed in their desire for a temporal kingdom—for "the riches and commodities of this world."[33] The Apostles (as Part I of the sermon demonstrated) had done the same—and yet found themselves transformed into the vehicle of the Spirit.

Donne's Sermon to the Virginia Company is at its most timely in its attention to laying out clearly, consistently, and yet in a complex way,

the perennial issues of Sin and Grace. Against Donne's, Copland's sermon to the Company in April had been a confused affair. For one thing it was loosely patched together from different materials: the navy chaplain's favorite passages from the Book of Jonah and the Psalms for "those that go down to the sea in ships"; the rehearsal of the great dangers which the Virginia project had survived, along with his own escape from a terrifying typhoon off the coast of Macao; recent reports from Virginia that gave encouragement for the work .... But behind the disorganization of the contents lay a more serious moral confusion, especially on the issues of Sin and Grace. Virginia's God is to be thanked, and yet thankfulness cannot be left alone; it must be fortified or undermined by guilt and by the suggestion that the project has experienced failure in the past because God was not thanked enough. The Company needs to ponder the reasons why God may have been displeased with the Virginia project in the past, and yet be reassured that vicissitudes roll off the back of the elect! Most confusing of all is the preacher's alternating flattery and condemnation of the mercenary motive: greed may well be the "sin" that God has been punishing by giving such slow returns, yet the Company can be thankful that Virginia now proves to be a rich country where all the dreams of reward may yet be realized—where copper mines have been found, and there is still the possibility of finding yet richer metal. The merchants in his audience who some months ago had been afraid that their whole venture was lost should be thankful to God that they can hope again for big returns!

All this was perplexing enough, even before news of the attack arrived, and made the very impulse to thanksgiving, let alone the particular instances of God's favor that Copland had seized on as grounds for thanksgiving, now look like delusion.

By contrast, Donne, dealing with a far more confusing and desperate situation, is clear in his approach. At the outset, he brushes aside the listeners' anxious self-preoccupation by the elaborate exordium which sweeps them up to set them upon the bigger stage of God's purposes—a stage so vast as to encompass the world ("Beloved, you are *Actors* upon that same Stage too; the uttermost part of the Earth are your *scene*"[34]), and to stretch from the beginning to the end of time, from

Noah to the Judgment Day. Their impatience for returns on the Virginia venture is seen to be a trivial thing in the vista of Providential history: God will not "binde himselfe to a certaine time, *Non est vestrum nosse tempora*, it belongs not to us to know *Gods* times." They are meanwhile to "use godly meanes, and give *God* his leisure." "Bee not discouraged, if the Promises which you have made to your selves, or to others, be not so soone discharg'd."[35] The "massacre" itself he barely mentions; since it had already overwhelmed all other issues, he needs to diminish it in the vastly larger perspective. The mention when it comes is precise enough ("though you see not your men, though a *Flood*, a *Flood* of *bloud* have broken in upon them, be not discouraged . . ."[36]), but the bloodshed is not attributed directly to the Indians; abstracted from the human agents, that flood of blood is subsumed into the saving "flood" of Grace hailed in the exordium: God has "powred out another *red Sea*, his owne bloud, for them [those "that sit in darkenesse"] and us."[37]

As for the unworthy motives, they are openly acknowledged and taken for granted—since they are already known and used by the Spirit of God who "refuses *Nullum vehiculum*, no conveyance, no doore of entrance into you"; "what collateral respect soever drew thee in, if now thou art in, thy principall respect be the glory of God"; all that is required is that one respond to God's entrance by at least "post-posing" the "consideration of temporall gaine, and study first the advancement of the *Gospell* of *Christ Iesus*."[38] The moral contradictions that Donne the satirist of the 1590s would have played for the exposure of pretension and hypocrisy, Donne the preacher of the 1620s uses as the wedge for Grace. Words on the edge of satire move on into exhortation, as when on the subject of the laity's appropriation of the Church's property under cover of the Reformation of religion, a subject on which many a preacher had inveighed bitterly, Donne merely remarks that, since "in this *Citie*, you have taken away a great part of the revenue of the Preacher, to your selves, [you must] take thus much of the labour upon your selves also, as to preach to one another by an holy and exemplar life, and a religious conversation."[39] Throughout, he maintains the rhetoric of conversion, recognizing the errors, and the shortcomings (the impatience of the investors, the discouragement, the disunity in the

Company) as the things that the Spirit continues to "rectifie" in the conscience; whatever is lacking can be invoked in prayer ("Looke graciously upon them who are as the *braine* of this body . . . : blesse them with [a] disposition to unity and concord . . ."[40]). The members of the Company can look to the promise of empowerment by the Spirit as it is already being fulfilled in their "own Examples" of what they have achieved, and the gifts they have already given both in England and Virginia, especially those gifts "for the conversion of the people" of Virginia, "for the building and edifying of the house of GOD, and for the instruction and education of their young children."[41]

The possibility of satire which Donne eschews in the Sermon is picked up, however by George Herbert in his poem, "The Church Militant," written in this same period of 1621-22. Herbert's name is mentioned less often in connection with the Virginia project, though the stepfather whom he admired was deeply engaged in it. In his controversial—and to seventeenth-century ears, prophetic—couplet ("Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,/ Readie to pass to the *American* strand"),[42] he surely has Virginia in mind, though as early as the 1650s Thomas Hall began the practice of appropriating it for New England alone.[43] From the evidence of the Williams MS. the poem was no mere addition to *The Temple*, but part of the schema from the beginning—an indication of the larger political and ecclesiastical views which frame Herbert's personal piety and devotion. Despite the complaints of some modern readers, Herbert's own early readers seemed not to find it incongruous that Herbert (or any Jacobean churchman) would address the public as well as the private aspects of the Church, the political as well as the devotional. Indeed, the juxtaposition in *The Temple* of poems of personal affliction and devotion with satire and prophecy was familiar from Herbert's closest model, the prophet Jeremiah, whose prophecies likewise spoke of the imminent destruction of the Temple and the nation.

"The Church Militant" as a Virginia poem provides an affirmation and a contrast for Donne's Virginia Sermon. It too addresses the passage of the Church to the New World, sees this passage or mission as part of the very definition of the Church—and avoids the apocalyptic

scenario. Indeed, the poem avoids that scenario to the extent that it goes out of its way to provide an alternative myth. The translation to the New World is the latest of a series of westward translations—from Mesopotamia to Israel, to Egypt and Greece, to Rome and the West, and now to the New World. Even with the completion of the circle, the tone is barely triumphant, since Sin dogs the Church's heels. America will have its periods of Grace and Sin, but Sin now follows so hot in pursuit that, whereas in the earlier sequences of the poem the Church had a grace period of a verse paragraph or so, now Sin closes in on her: in the space of one line, "The Church shall come, & Sinne the Church shall smother" (l. 266). Where Donne in his sermon on the Apostolic task in Virginia is reassuring against the evidence ("though you see not your money, though you see not your men, . . . be not discouraged"), Herbert's account in this poem seems to be a race against despair. And whereas Donne must avoid satirizing his congregation for Sin and instead cajole them into Grace (if they could only be as attentive to the success of Christ's Kingdom as they are to the return on their investment; if they could transcend the profit motive, or even lay it aside for a while . . .), Herbert's poem is savage and sardonic about the sin of the Western Church, blatant in its greed to despoil the New World of its gold, and morally bankrupt by way of consequence:

> We thinke we rob them, but we think amisse:
> We are more poore, and they more rich by this. (ll. 253-4)

From the Ferrars at Little Gidding there emerges a similarly ironic comment on the errors and delusions of the New World project in a passage from the conversations held by the young women of the family, the older Collett nieces—conversations attended by Nicholas, transcribed by him, and presumably to some extent prescripted by him. The conversations date from the early 1630s, when the Ferrars had served as the first readers of *The Temple*, Nicholas Ferrar acting as Herbert's literary executor for the manuscript, while the Collett sisters transcribed the manuscript to prepare it for publication from the press at Cambridge. We have not only Walton's but John Ferrar's suggestion that Nicholas

Ferrar insisted, against the objection of the Cambridge censor, that the manuscript be printed complete, with the controversial couplet intact.[44]

Little Gidding itself has long been thought of as a place of monastic retirement which Nicholas Ferrar set up at the time of his renunciation of the world, and his disillusionment with politics, especially with the demise of the Virginia Company. But Little Gidding is as much concerned with the remaking of the world as with retirement from it, and the project of the Ferrar family (since it was indeed a family project, though spearheaded by Nicholas and his mother) of setting up their colony in rural Huntingtonshire has something in common with the plantation of the colony at Jamestown. As before in their position as Deputy Treasurer of the Company John and Nicholas had been engaged in the logistics of setting up industry, agriculture, and educational institutions in the Virginia wilderness, so now the Ferrars undertook to occupy Little Gidding, where the village had been wiped out by the Black Death. They proceeded to restore the manor house and the church (used till then as a pig sty and a haybarn) and maintain the farmlands, but also to provide the food and physic needed daily by their poor neighbors, and set up a literacy program, by the reading and memorizing of the psalms, for the children of the area. Blessedly, this colony could be maintained without ships and without an army.

In the course of several conversations on the subject of the retirement of Charles V, whom the Ferrars take as a moral exemplar for their time, Mary Collett, the oldest of the nieces,[45] raises the question of exactly what Providence intended by having the full discovery of the New World coincide with Charles's reign, ensuring that the people of the New World were subjected to him. Surely Providence had appointed Charles "to conioyne" the two worlds, "not only by an intercourse of Ciuil Commerce, but by the farre more perfect Bond of Christian Religion," and by his personal example of renunciation to offer the remedy for the illusions held by his subjects in both worlds.

For, in this New World encounter, the supposedly Christian Europeans (in this case, of course, the "subtle Spaniards") had imposed upon the "simple Indians" in a way most "prejudicial to the Entertainment of Christian faith," feeding their imaginations and affections with a

discourse not of Heaven but of the "Luster and Magnificence of this old world," and demanding for themselves and the reality they represented "that Tribute of Devotion, which is only due to God."

The Christian Europeans for their part had been led to the New World by their own "ravishing conceit" that they would find there "a place of Perfect Happines," a Paradise or a Fortunate Island. The gold that was indeed there, in abundance, proved to be a curse; the "Fortunate Ilands, . . . so long boasted of by Antiquitie," proved to be "but a few petty barren rocks yielding a scanty maintenance to their short-lived inhabitants." What Europeans did find and appropriate in the New World, however, was indeed the "true and lively Emblem of this world's Happiness; the prime and universally accepted Commodity there of Tobacco." And here Mary Collett, as satirist, presses home her interpretation of the plant as the emblem of False Happiness by laying out its disgusting, addictive, and debilitating qualities, all of which pervert the happiness of both the body and the soul, that is, both the natural pleasure of the senses and the soul's desire for felicity. Tobacco is

> loathsomly noysome in the Tast, unbeseeming in the use, & prejudicial in the operation, yet bewitching all that meddle there with, & violently retaining them, that have begun to take it with a kind of Absolute Necessitie, as though Life & Livelines were depending thereon. Whereby in truth with the dulling of the spirits & increase of vitious humours, by the wast & drying up of the radical moysture the very life itself is abridged.[46]

While the set piece in the dialogue belongs to an established tradition of satire on tobacco,[47] the Ferrar brothers had had their own experience of tobacco as the corruption of the best hopes and plans not only for the lives of individuals but for an economy and a society. Aiming always for diversity of agriculture, the Virginia Company had been continually frustrated by the colony's reliance on tobacco as its single crop; it was particularly galled that the single crop that flourished in Virginia was the noxious weed, whose effects not only King James but any serious moralist of the time deplored. The Sandys administra-

tion, which inveighed in its official pronouncements against the "settlers' darling tobacco," had gone from recommendations to positive injunctions that the settlers were to put a certain portion of money and time into (mostly futile) efforts to produce other export crops like wine, oil and silk—much to the settlers' resentment. Nevertheless, the Sandys administration too had found itself relying on tobacco even to pay its own officials, and in the last months of the Company's existence its most successful move to ensure the colony's survival had been to procure the London monopoly for Virginian as against Spanish tobacco—again, through the strenuous efforts of Nicholas Ferrar as its Deputy Treasurer and Counsel.[48] Under the Company, the colony had suffered disaster. The Company, for all its courage and high-mindedness, had foundered. Direct royal government of the colony since 1624 had not been a conspicuous success: despite James's promises that he would make the colony "one of his masterpieces, . . . all was let loose and to go to six and seven," as John Ferrar recounted.[49] Amid the failure of so many hopes, so many efforts to plant healthful crops, so many social ideals, economic theories, and institutions, tobacco continued to flourish—the weed that emblemized the vanity of this world in that it grew only to be burned, and in the process consume its consumer.[50]

But the comment in the conversation at Little Gidding is offered as an ironic gloss on a project to which the Ferrars themselves remained committed. The new generation like the old was raised on the stories of the Navigations and Voyages read aloud at family mealtimes. The Virginia colony itself remained a chief subject of interest, especially when more members of the family joined the emigration of the 1650s.[51] As an old man in the 1650s, John Ferrar, still living at Little Gidding, was receiving good news from Virginia about Indian conversions.[52] He had encouraged his daughter, Virginia (born and raised at Little Gidding), in her experimentation with silkworms and her publication of a tract enthusiastically announcing the results to her readers in Virginia.[53] John Mapletoft,[54] one of the last of the children to be educated at Little Gidding and throughout his life strongly attached to that tradition, gave up a distinguished career as surgeon in his prime to be ordained for parish ministry, and lived long enough to become a charter

member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—the Society that, finally, in the reign of William III, picked up the mission and, as its title indicates, the very rhetoric of the Virginia project of the Jacobean Church. By then, however, the organization that would once have represented the consensus of the Protestant nation as to its mission in the New World would represent instead, in much of the Protestant New World, an Anglican rival to other Protestant churches and perhaps an Anglican bid for ecclesiastical hegemony in the colonies. Instead of a force for unity, the Society would be both a symptom and an exacerbation of the division that had taken place in the religious nation at home and abroad.

In retrospect, Donne's Sermon to the Virginia Company marks the last moment when the whole colonial enterprise might have been held together under the aegis of the national Church. The last and most sweeping exposition of Hakluyt's vision for the Protestant nation engaged upon its Apostolic task, the Sermon is delivered just at the time when the Protestant nation was about to be permanently divided. The Tidewater Indians, for whom Donne pleads the right to be recognized as fellow human beings and potential members of the Church Universal, would soon be harassed into virtual extinction; the Virginia Company itself, engrossed in quarrels and recriminations, would be dissolved in two years, and along with it would disappear the policies of the Sandys administration that had tried desperately to bring education and Christianity to the Indians as well as to regulate tobacco and the tobacco planters. Having got rid of the Company and its regulations, the planters, as George Donne, the poet's son, reported in the 1630s, would show no more respect for the royal government which succeeded it. In this respect, he thought, Virginia was no better than Massachusetts![55] Meanwhile, as the colonies slipped away from the control of the Crown and the Church, the Laudian Church itself would show little interest in the Apostolic task in the New World, leaving the enterprise to the increasing numbers of those disaffected.

For Donne and for the Sandys leadership of the Virginia Company that invited him to preach and publish his sermon, the threat to the New World enterprise of Church and nation had already presented itself as

greed for money and for the power of this world—greed on the part of those both within the Company and without, the merchants, the privateers, the tobacco planters, and indeed the sinner in each human being. The profit motive had always been a necessary part—the engine, as it were—of the enterprise, as Hakluyt conceived it. But the engine was not to decide the course of the race. Likewise, the profit motive was to be harnessed to the larger welfare of the nation and of the Universal Church. Where Herbert and the Ferrars satirize greed and the idolization of the riches of this world, where Copland alternatively invokes greed and rebukes it, Donne sees the profit motive already at work as part of the Divine Plan to bring all humankind into one universal community. Thus he exhorts his merchant congregation to commit themselves to be the voluntary vehicles of Grace and the benefactors of those other human beings whom they encounter in the New World venture.

Given at such a time the Sermon may seem naively confident. But there is no reason to think that Donne underestimates the gravity of the Company's situation or fails to recognize the forces of division within the Company, the Church or the nation. Herbert and the Ferrars, likewise sympathetic to the New World enterprise, are pessimistic enough. Rather, Donne's Sermon is to be seen as a brave performance. While it puts energy into exhorting the merchant congregation to use the divine potential of the present moment, it gives its own caution against impatience and despair at the meager results. In rehearsing the original mistake made by the Apostles and the long history of mistaken expectations of the Kingdom, Donne reinforces for himself and his congregation the discipline of the continual postponement of hope. In the meantime, there is, for the preacher, as for his congregation, simply the injunction to "use goodly meanes, and give *God* his leisure."

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Notes

1. *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1962), 4: 264-82.

2. The minutes for the Virginia Company's Court for October 23 record the names of the four members of the delegation, including those of Sir John Danvers and Nicholas Ferrar. Danvers and the two Ferrars, along with Sandys and Southampton, are among those present at the short meeting on the afternoon of November 13, preceding Donne's sermon. Presumably all attended the sermon. (*The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. Susan Kingsbury, II [Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1906], 114.)

The Court Books for 1619-24, transcribed from the manuscripts in the Library of Congress, occupy the first two volumes of Kingsbury's 4-volume work, which includes records from archives on both sides of the Atlantic, including a selection of Virginia Company papers from the Ferrar archive at Magdalene College, Cambridge. The Court Book manuscripts themselves are the copies of the original Company records made under Nicholas Ferrar's supervision in the early months of 1624 in the attempt to save the Company's reputation when he expected the Privy Council commission to call in the records — as it did in mid-year. Ferrar's copy is the only record of the meetings that survives; it was acquired by a Virginia buyer in the late seventeenth century and eventually came into Jefferson's possession.

3. Louis B. Wright wrote informatively on this topic in *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1943; rep. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1965). See also Perry Miller, "The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia: Religion and Society in the Early Literature," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., V (1948): 492-522, with the second part in *WMQ*, 3rd ser., VI (1949): 24-41. For more recent studies of colonization in Virginia, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery—American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975) and Gary B. Nash, *Red White and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall; orig. publ. 1974).

4. Sermon, 270.

5. Sermon, 280-81.

6. Stephen Neill notes only one dissenting intellectual of the time, namely, Francesco Ingoli, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith from its foundation by Pope Gregory XV in 1622 until his death in 1649. Neill quotes the instructions sent out to the vicars apostolic ten years after Ingoli's death: "Do not regard it as your task and do not bring any pressure to bear on the peoples, to change their manners, customs and uses, unless they are evidently contrary to religion and sound morals. What could be more absurd than to transport France, Spain, Italy, or some other European country to China? Do not introduce all that to them, but only the faith, which does not despise the manners or customs of any

people . . . ." Shrewdly, the document points out that any human beings will be offended when deprived of their own long-standing laws and customs, especially when the laws and customs of a foreign people are imposed in their place. (Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, Harmondsworth, etc.: Penguin Books, 1964, pp. 178-9.)

Such insights as these would be applied more readily to China and India, where Europeans found civil structures that they could not avoid recognizing as such, than to North America and the people whom they called "savages"—though the English did recognize some affinity between the society of the Confederation ruled by Powhatan and their own monarchical society.

Despite the case of Pocahontas (which in retrospect looks more like an anomaly than the example that it appeared to be at the time), the Tidewater Indians were to prove resistant to Christianity. Their rejection of English civility and religion is understandable, given that those who made the offer were also aggressively invading and occupying their land, committing various atrocities against them, stealing food from them in many cases, taking it by force, or burning their crops.

7. The intellectuals and the London Company might advocate that the Indians be treated with justice and kindness. The Company could even send out injunctions in 1621 that settlers were to fraternize with the friendly Indians in order to bring them to a love of civility and finally to the love of God and true religion. The average Virginian settler on the ground, however, was more interested in security, while the Company's officers, trained as soldiers, were performing a military mission where the Indians were as often enemies as allies. In any case, as both Morgan and Nash (*supra*) emphasize, the European perception of the Indians was a dualistic one, seeing them as innocent on the one hand, but, on the other hand, ignorant, probably hostile, and capable of being subdued only by violence.

8. The phrase is Louis Wright, *Religion and Empire, supra,* 34-5. Wright deals specifically with the involvement of the clergy, Hakluyt, Abbott, Purchas and others.

9. For Pocahontas' baptism and her visit to London, see Philip L. Barbour, *Pocahontas and Her World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), esp. pp. 132-3 and 162-3; and David R. Ransome, "Pocahontas and the Mission to the Indians," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 99 (1991), pp. 81-94.

10. He had been tutored by Patrick Copland, at that time a chaplain on the *Royal James*, the flagship of the East India navy. In his sermon for the Virginia Company in April 1622, Copland holds up Petrus Papa as a hopeful example (the unfortunate baptismal name had been chosen for him by the King!), and he places samples of the young convert's accomplishments—two sets of letters, one in English, one in Latin, addressed to the King and to the commander of the East India fleet—at the front of the published sermon. See Patrick Copland, *Virginia's God Be Thanked* (London, Printed by I.D. for William Shefford and Iohn Bellamie, 1622).

11. The Company also planned a free public school for settlers' children, which would feed into the University, so that apparently English and Indian scholars

would be educated together. The original donation for the free school came from Patrick Copland who, as East India navy chaplain, had raised a collection for Virginia from the men in the fleet. By 1622, Copland was working with the Company's College Committee on the staffing of the school, and had been promised the rectorship of the University at Henrico. Among many accounts of the Company's education projects, one of the most detailed is Robert Hunt Land's "Henrico and Its College," *WMQ*, 2nd ser., XVIII (1938): 453-98.

12. Sermon, 281. Donne would have in mind such donors as the anonymous "Dust and Ashes" who had given the Company £450 for the maintenance of young Indians to be instructed, from 7 to 12 years of age, in reading and the Christian religion, intending that as adults they would enjoy "like liberties and pryveledges wth our native english in that place." Likewise, Nicholas Ferrar, Senior, on his death in 1620, had left a legacy of £300 to be paid to the College at such time as ten Indian children were enrolled there; his executors meantime were to pay £24 yearly for three honest men in Virginia to bring up three Indian children in the Christian religion.

But finding the students for the Indian College was a difficult business; the Indian adults did not want Christianity for themselves or for their children, and were wary of English notions of education and discipline. Likewise, most of the English settlers were not interested in having Indian children live in their homes and preparing them for a college education. When "Dust and Ashes" found that after two years his offer had failed to produce results, he begged the Company to use his money to open a free school where English and Indian children would be taught together; alternatively, he offered to double the sum, if the Company would agree to bring a group of Indian boys over to school in England. By 1622, still no Indian students had appeared, and no school or college had been built in Virginia; the Jamestown attack and the subsequent demise of the Virginia Company spelled the end of the projects. See Land, "Henrico and Its College," *supra*.

In the event, Harvard would be the first English college in North America, but it too would be intended, at least by Dunster, its first President, as a place where English and Indian students would study together. Harvard's publicity material published in London in 1643 appeals to the same kind of constituency that had supported the college project in Virginia. See *New Englands First Fruits; in respect, first of the conversion of some, conviction of divers, preparation of sundry of the Indians. 2. Of the progresse of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge, in Massacusets Bay* .... London, Printed by R.O. and G.D. for Henry Overton, 1643. Samuel Eliot Morison reprints the tract in *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard Univ. Press, 1935; rep. 1995), Appendix D.

13. For an account of Henry's activities, see Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales, and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986). Henrico, appropriately the second town in Virginia after Jamestown, was named for the Prince

by its founder, Sir Thomas Dale, who thought of Henry as his "Master."

14. In the celebrated Company election of 1620, the King, annoyed by Sandys' opposition in the Commons, had blocked him from the position of Treasurer and submitted his own list of candidates for the post. The Company had thereupon turned down the King's candidates and voted instead for Southampton, a Privy Councillor and Sandys' supporter. Southampton took office on condition that John Ferrar remain as Deputy Treasurer. Nicholas Ferrar became Deputy Treasurer in 1622 when his brother's term expired.

15. William Strachey's description of the "pretty Chappell" in Jamestown and the round of services and sermons, Sundays and weekdays, is reprinted in Richard Beale Davis's *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer* (London: The Bodley Head, 1955), pp. 194-5.

16. [Arthur Woodnoth], *A Short Collection of the most remarkable passages from the original to the dissolution of the Virginia company (* London, for Edward Hubbard, Printed by T.H. for John Stephenson, 1651). The tract was published posthumously. Woodnoth, a London goldsmith and perhaps a member of the Virginia Council, was closely connected to Danvers and Herbert (he was one of Walton's informants for the *Life of Herbert*); he was also Ferrar's cousin and business agent for Little Gidding. Woodnoth apparently expected another effort to revive the old Company, and so presented the case for Danvers as Treasurer, at a time when Sandys and Southampton were both dead.

17. There is no satisfactory modern biography of Nicholas Ferrar. The standard biography in the twentieth century, one that continues in the somewhat hagiographic tradition of previous centuries, is Alan L. Maycock's *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (London: S.P.C.K., 1938). Like Ferrar's eighteenth-century biographer Peter Peckard, Maycock was familiar with the Ferrar papers stored from Peckard's day at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and thus realized the extent of the Ferrars' involvement in the Virginia Company. But Maycock did not take advantage of Craven's work on the dissolution of the Virginia Company (see fn. 23), so that in this, as in other respects, his work is outdated. Meanwhile there has appeared an extremely helpful publication: *Materials for the Life of Nicholas Ferrar: A reconstruction of John Ferrar's account of his brother's life based on all the surviving copies*, ed. Lynette R. Muir and John A. White, Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section XXXIV, Pt. IV (Leeds: The Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Ltd., 1996). *Materials* pretty much supersedes all previous reconstructions of John Ferrar's lost manuscript and gives an account of the tangled manuscript history, along with supporting documents and an extensive bibliography.

18. John Ferrar gives a colorful account of his father and of the family ethos: his father, as merchant adventurer, traded "to the East and West Indies, Spain, Flanders, Germany, etc."; he "kept, as they term it, a good free table, and . . . often had men of eminency to dine with him . . . Sir John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, Sir

Walter Raleigh, all gallant seamen, with whom he was an adventurer, evermore affecting the planting of Christian religion in the New World and advancing trade and commerce for a common good, as well as his own lawful trading.... A zealous lover of the church he was and ever ready to supply king and state what was required of him. £300 upon a privy seal he willingly lent and Queen Elizabeth writ him esquire," *Materials, supra,* [326]42. On the work of church restoration in the early years of the century see J.F. Merritt, "Puritans, Laudians, and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London," *The Historical Journal* 41 (1998): 935-60.

19. A portrait of Sandys serves as the frontispiece to Volume IV of the Potter and Simpson edition of the *Sermons* containing the Virginia Company sermon. For the definitive biography, see Theodore K. Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561-1629* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998) which gives in Part III an up-to-date and detailed account of Sandys' leadership of the Virginia Company, including his—and the Ferrars'—implication in its collapse.

20. Sandys' book had its own celebrity. It was controversial enough to be ordered burned by the Court of High Commission on its first appearance, for reasons that are now unclear; it was reprinted without incident and under a slightly different title in 1629 and thereafter, went through 14 editions in 4 different languages, and was much admired by an international readership that included Wotton, Grotius, Sarpi, and Diodati. See Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman, supra,* chap 2.

21. *Materials, supra,* 56 [340].

22. Donne also had friends and associates in the Company who were not part of the Sandys group. The Earl of Warwick, originally Sandys' ally, had come into collision with him, because the Sandys group disapproved of Warwick's privateering and had refused to give harborage for his vessel. In the bitter fights within the Company that were to occur in the months after Donne's Sermon, Warwick would lend decisive support to the Smith group. Warwick's prominence in the New England colony as well as in Virginia and Bermuda is another indication of the continuity that runs through the several enterprises.

23. From the Sermon: "as you give example of just government to other companies in the *Citie*,... so you may be content to give reason of your proceedings, and account of moneys levied, over the *Countrey*" (277). The breakthrough in the study of the Company was Wesley Frank Craven's *The Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1932; rep. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965). Previous historians, working under the Whig interpretation of constitutional history, had for the most part assumed that the Company was dissolved by the Crown because of James's alleged jealousy of its success, his tyranny, his hatred of Sandys and his drive to destroy the Company responsible for establishing, especially in the Virginia Assembly, genuinely representative and republican institutions in the New World. Craven insisted that the Company's economic policies and administration had indeed failed, that by 1624 the failure was abundantly documented, and that the Crown would have

been amiss had it not investigated the charges and acted upon them. He notes that the Virginia Assembly remained intact under direct royal administration. Craven's thesis holds, even if later writers find his verdict on the Company and its policies too harsh. Perhaps no Company could have succeeded in what the Virginia Company was attempting: the task of colonization was extraordinarily difficult and complex; there was no successful precedent; and the particular decision by the Sandys administration to send thousands of immigrants to a colony not prepared to receive them, while much criticized at the time and in retrospect, was probably the move that saved the colony's very existence, especially given the deathtoll in 1622-23. More successful policies evolved later, but only on the basis of the experience of those years.

24. Patrick Copland, *Virginia's God Be Thanked, or a Sermon of Thanksgiving for the happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare* .... London, Printed by I.D. for William Shefford and Iohn Bellamie, 1622.

25. The delegation sent to invite Donne to preach reported back that his answer was very favorable, that he thanked them for the courtesy they had done him by choosing him to be of their Council, and that "hee seemed glad they had occasion to vse him in that kinde wherein he was able to do them seruice" (Kingsbury, *Records*, II, 119).

26. "John Donne and the Virginia Company," *ELH* 14 (1947): 127-38.

27. In the colony itself, where there had always been scepticism about the Company's policy of "kindness" towards the natives, opinion had now turned violently against all Indians and to a large extent against the Company, which the settlers felt had never understood their own situation, especially their vulnerability on the isolated plantations where the attack took the heaviest toll. In particular, George Thorpe's policy of fraternization and the Company's 1621 injunctions to that effect were blamed for aggravating that vulnerability. Even the Company's highest and best trusted officials in Virginia took this view—the new Treasurer, George Sandys (who was Sir Edwin's brother, the poet and translator of Ovid but also a highly conscientious and energetic administrator) and the Governor, Sir Francis Wyatt (also an able administrator, and a friend and relation by marriage of the Sandys brothers). An excellent account of conditions in Virginia and the text of several of Sandys' long letters to the Company and to various individual members are to be found in Richard Beale Davis's biography, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer, supra.*

Alden T. Vaughan, in an authoritative article, sees the effect of the attack as the complete erasure of previous distinctions between friendly and hostile Indians, so that all Indians were now seen as the enemy. Even Wyatt would come to view his task as the policy of expulsion or extirpation of the "Salvages." As soon as the colony had reorganized itself after the Massacre, it was to begin a series of ruthless reprisals and military campaigns against all neighboring tribes, whether they had participated in the uprising or not, so that within ten years there would be hardly an Indian left in the territory claimed by the colony. See Alden T. Vaughan, "'Expulsion of

the Salvages': English Policy and the Virginia Massacres of 1622," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 1 (1978): 57-84.

Vaughan's article is also informative about the particular provocations that had caused Opechancanough to strike in March 1622, and the over-all situation as it must have appeared to the Indians themselves, who "wanted trade; . . . not . . . Christianity or encroachment on their lands" (63). He summarizes the options left to the Indians, especially those between the James and York rivers, by the increasing pressure on their land: 1) political subjection and cultural assimilation; 2) further retreat often into lands held by hostile tribes, or 3) making an attempt to wipe out the colony. Powhatan had made a significant retreat, presumably hoping that the English settlements, constantly facing sickness and hunger, would disappear of their own accord. His successor, faced with the heavy expansion of the English settlements in 1619-22, decided that it was time to wipe them out.

28. London, Imprinted by G. Eld for R. Mylbourne, 1622. Edward Waterhouse, the author, was secretary to the Company.

29. *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia.* More lines are quoted in Johnson's article, "John Donne and the Virginia Company," *supra,* which first drew attention to the poem.

Even Samuel Purchas who had taken on Hakluyt's mantle as publicist for the Protestant mission would grow sceptical as to whether much good would come from "so bad a people, having little of Humanitie but shape, ignorant of Civilitie, of Arts, of Religion; more brutish then the beasts they hunt" (*Hakluyt Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XIX [Glasgow: J. MacLehose,1906, orig, London, 1625], 231).

30. *Sermons*, IV, 110.

31. Sermon, 267.

32. Sermon, 275.

33. Sermon, 266.

34. Sermon, 265.

35. Sermon, 270-1.

36. Sermon, 271.

37. Sermon, 265.

38. Sermon, 273-4.

39. Sermon, 276.

40. Sermon, 282.

41. Sermon, 281. Donne is not only validating the work of the hard-pressed College Committee on which his friend Danvers sat, but once again finding ground on which the various factions of the Company should be able to meet. (The Earl of Warwick and his brother, Sir Nathaniel Rich, likewise friends of Donne, were also supporters of the schools.)

Even as it urged the colony to consult for its security and take reprisals against treacherous Indians, the Company, as long as it remained in existence, would remind

the settlers to give recognition to friendly Indians, including the Christian converts who had given warning at the time of the attack, and would continue to work on the educational projects; it asked George Sandys, the sorely strained Treasurer of the colony, to take personal command of the college project at Henrico and pick up the work that George Thorpe had begun. After the demise of the Company, however, little is heard of the education project; the College's remaining assets, the lands and tenants, were presumably swallowed up by the settlers. See Land, "Henrico and Its College," *supra*. The Ferrar brothers eventually transferred their father's legacy for the Indian College to the Somer Island (or Bermuda) Company, the longer-lived sister company to the Virginia Company, where they also had financial interests.

42. "The Church Militant" in *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F.E. Hutchinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), pp. 190-98. The couplet runs through lines 235-6.

43. In his *Practical and Polemical Commentary* of 1658, Hall quotes Herbert's couplet to back up his statement that "The Lord is now removing his Gospel to *New-England*, the Son of Righteousnesse begins to rise there, and set here," quoted in *The Herbert Allusion Book*, compiled and edited by Robert H. Ray, Studies in Philology, 1986 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1986), p. 66. Ray includes numerous 17th-century tributes to the "prophetic" quality of Herbert's poem. For an extended commentary on "The Church Militant" in the larger context of *The Temple*, Herbert's life, and the Herbert family's interests, see Jeffrey Powers-Beck, *Writing the Flesh: The Herbert Family Dialogue* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne U.P., 1998), esp. chap. 7.

44. *The Temple* was licensed at Cambridge, John Ferrar writes, "with some kind of scruple by some, if I was not misinformed, only for those his verses upon America, etc.," *Materials, supra*, 94 [378]. Barnabas Oley is a good candidate to be one of John Ferrar's informants on this point, and he is also presumably the source of Walton's information to this effect in the *Life of Herbert*, with Woodnoth as the middle man.

45. Mary and her sister Anna were the two women in the family who had resolved not to marry, while their younger sisters at Little Gidding made the more conventional choice. Mary and Anna thus became the so-called "nuns" of the vicious anonymous pamphlet, *The Arminian Nunnery* (London, Printed by Thomas Underhill, 1641), published as part of the campaign against Laud.

46. "On the Retirement of Charles V," in *Conversations at Little Gidding*, ed. A.M. Williams (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1970), pp. 68-72.

47. See Jeffrey Knapp, "Elizabethan Tobacco" in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley, etc.: Univ. of California Press, 1993), pp. 272-312.

48. Ferrar's Declaration of 28 April, 1624, "made before the Committe appoynted by the Parliament . . . touching the Oppressions in matter of Tobacko" is printed in "The Parliamentary Papers of Nicholas Ferrar 1624," ed. David R. Ransome, in *Seventeenth-Century Political and Financial Papers*, Camden Miscellany XXXIII,

Camden Fifth Series, VII (London: For the Royal Historical Society; Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 71-82.

49. *Materials, supra,* [344] 60.

50. For Nicholas Ferrar there must have been many causes for hurt and frustration in the dissolution of the Virginia Company, not the least of them the experience, for someone with brilliant abilities in management and control, of finding both in the situation of the colony and in the defense of the Company before the Privy Council commission a situation that he could not control. His anger and outrage are evident in the paper he appears to have written around this time against the older leadership of the Company, Sir Thomas Smith and his group, who had seized the opportunity of the recent woes in Virginia to settle old scores against the Sandys group and become their accusers before Cranfield and the Privy Council. See [Nicholas Ferrar], *Sir Thomas Smith's Misgovernment of the Virginia Company*, ed. with an introduction by D[avid] R. Ransome (Cambridge, For Presentation to the Roxburghe Club, 1990). (Ransome argues convincingly for Ferrar's authorship of the paper, previously attributed to Samuel Purchas.) There is the suggestion even in the older hagiographic biographies that Ferrar suffered wounds of conscience from the whole experience, especially because of his later remark that he regretted his part in the attack upon Cranfield in the 1624 Parliament that led to the Lord Treasurer's conviction and fall from office. The campaign was orchestrated by Sandys in the Commons and Southampton in the Lords, with Ferrar one of the group that launched the attack in the Lower House. (See Rabb's account in *Jacobean Gentleman, supra,* chap. X). There is no denying the motive of revenge on the part of the parliamentarians who were Sandys' supporters in the Virginia Company and who wanted nothing less than to bring down Cranfield whom they saw as responsible for bringing down the Company.

51. Much of the evidence of John's continuing interest in Virginia after the Company's demise comes from the period after Nicholas's death in 1637. David and Joyce Ransome caution me that there is not the same evidence for interest on Nicholas Ferrar's part. Both brothers were summoned to a Virginia Commission in the summer of 1631 when Dorset, George Sandys and others were attempting to revive the Virginia Company, and Nicholas was indeed in London during that summer, but there is no record of the Ferrars' attendance at the meetings.

52. See the letter from Francis Yardley, dated 8 May, 1654, printed in J.H.R. Yardley's *Before the Mayflower* (London: William Heinemann, Ltd, 1931), Appendix E. Yardley, the son of a governor of the colony in Virginia Company days, has befriended a Roanoke Indian who has just brought his son to be baptized and to be raised as a Christian.

53. See *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm, Or, a Rare and New Discovery of A speedy way, and easie means, found out by a young Lady in England, . . . for the feeding of Silk-worms in the Woods, on the Mulberry-Tree-Leaves in Virginia . . . .* London, Printed by John Streeter, for Giles Calvert, 1655. John and Virginia Ferrar

also produced a map which is highly optimistic about the prospect that only a few days' journey separates the territory of Virginia and "Nova Albion" on the eastern coast of the Continent from the "Nova Albion" of which Sir Francis Drake had taken possession on the Pacific coast. Printed by John Stephenson in 1651, the map exists in variant forms; it is most accessible as reprinted in *Materials, supra*, p. [404] 120.

54. Mapletoft, born in 1631, the grand-nephew of Nicholas Ferrar, is discussed in Alan L. Maycock's *Chronicles of Little Gidding* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), pp. 110 ff.

55. In assuming that George Donne, the author of "Virginia Reviewed," is the poet's son, I follow T. H. Breen, "George Donne's 'Virginia Reviewed': A 1638 Plan to Reform Colonial Society," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 30 (1973): 449-66. R. C. Bald, writing *John Donne: A Life* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1970), decided that "chronology" forbade the identification of the writer as the poet's son (pp. 552-5), but he was apparently misled by an incorrectly dated document. "Virginia Reviewed" is written for Charles I, who had appointed Donne Muster-Master-General and Marshal of Virginia. Critical of the planters' disrespect for the crown and of the colony's lack of military preparedness against a Spanish attack, Donne recommends a more assertive royal government.